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JULY/AUGUST 2005



The Next Pandemic?

LAURIE GARRETT

Probable Cause

MICHAEL T. OSTERHOLM

Getting Prepared

WILLIAM B. KARESH and ROBERT A. COOK

The Human-Animal Link

LAURIE GARRETT

The Lessons of HIV/AIDS

Regime Change and Its Limits RICHARD N. HAASS

Europe's Angry Muslims ROBERT S. LEIKEN

A Trade War with China? NEIL C. HUGHES

Iraq: Occupational Hazards PHEBE MARR

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JULY / AUGUST 2005
VOLUME 84, NUMBER 4

Special Section

The Next Pandemic? *Laurie Garrett* 3

Since it first emerged in 1997, avian influenza has become deadlier and more resilient. It has infected 109 people and killed 59 of them. If the virus becomes capable of human-to-human transmission and retains its extraordinary potency, humanity could face a pandemic unlike any ever witnessed.

Preparing for the Next Pandemic *Michael T. Osterholm* 24

If an influenza pandemic struck today, borders would close, the global economy would shut down, international vaccine supplies and health-care systems would be overwhelmed, and panic would reign. To limit the fallout, the industrialized world must create a detailed response strategy involving the public and private sectors.

The Human-Animal Link *William B. Karesh and Robert A. Cook* 38

Recent outbreaks of avian flu, SARS, the Ebola virus, and mad cow disease wreaked havoc on global trade and transport. They also all originated in animals. Humanity today is acutely vulnerable to diseases that start off in other species, yet our health care remains dangerously blinkered. It is time for a new, global approach.

The Lessons of HIV/AIDS *Laurie Garrett* 51

To get a sense of the broader damage a new pandemic might do, it helps to consider the one the world is currently enduring: HIV/AIDS. Because this deadly scourge moves slowly, many of its social, political, and economic effects have yet to be understood. But the impact is hard to overstate. And it is growing.

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The Time for Urgency

War, terrorism, workplace violence, sabotage, theft . . . the list of security-related worries preoccupying today's executive seems to grow each year. Who can predict what looms on the horizon? It's easy to pretend that corporations cannot shield themselves from these threats. Publicized tragedies heighten vigilance: anthrax made people think twice about opening parcels, workplace shootings led to new focus on disgruntled employees, and the September 11 attacks united the nation in a fight against terrorism. Unfortunately, complacency seems always to return with time.

Do you compromise on security when it comes to protecting your family? Experts know that *the more you do, the safer you are*. Workplace security is no different; only the stakes are much greater. A large corporation is like an extended family living in a huge neighborhood: the chance of something going wrong somewhere increases with scale and there are more lives and livelihoods at risk.

Not all organizations think about security in terms of its total cost—at their peril. Some corporate budgets measure the dollars spent on security personnel and equipment but ignore the costs of crime and terror—the human tragedy, the liability expenses, the legal fees, the public relations and crisis management costs, the increased insurance premiums, the lost revenue from business interruption, the shaken confidence of customers and shareholders, the devastation in employee morale. Consider one example: A terminated employee, heavily armed, gains unauthorized entry past a new and inexperienced security officer. A single mistake, and several minutes later, lives are lost. Just one such tragic incident can jeopardize the future survival of an entire organization.

When companies view security services as a commodity, that is what they get. Some purchasing departments often only look at the unit cost, selecting the lowest bidder. Many service providers, however, fail to include additional costs, such as health insurance, vacations and even training, in their rates—which the customer may not discover until the invoicing starts. Other companies compete by minimizing their investment in wages, training and employee screening. Transient hourly employees treat their jobs in a perfunctory way. With limited authority, security managers cannot invest in quality or innovation. And yet if a serious incident occurs, they take the blame for failing to bring in a quality provider. This vicious circle detracts from buying the necessary value and focusing on what truly counts in security—results.

Being serious about security is not just about employing more security officers or buying more technological equipment. It is about approaching security in a different, smarter way. It is about knowing the

backgrounds of one's employees and on-site contractors. It is about ensuring that the one person accountable for security also purchases security. It is about considering the realm of possible threats and developing proactive solutions. It is about forming vendor partnerships to give others a stake in ensuring that all that can be done is done. It is about a commitment to total quality.

No entity can be entirely immune from crime and terrorism. When organizations commit time and resources to an urgent focus on security, however, they can minimize risk and create tangible value. A thoughtful security infrastructure supported by dedicated, energetic employees offers a shield against attack and often surpasses the traditional call of duty: responding to an accident on the shop floor and saving an employee's life or detecting a mechanical malfunction that could lead to a plant shutdown. A strong security program also acts as a deterrent. According to reports published in a leading national newspaper, a murderous terrorist cased a sensitive public facility in California and found the Guardsmark security to be so tight that he selected different targets, shooting six people and killing one. The wounded included three children.

When we founded our company in 1963, we saw an industry that failed to focus on total quality. We sought to fill a market void by offering higher pay to employ and retain better people—offering a career, not a job. To support these professionals, we built an unmatched management team composed of former FBI and Secret Service officials, military officers, and leaders of law enforcement agencies, creating a unique think tank for a broad spectrum of security-related issues.

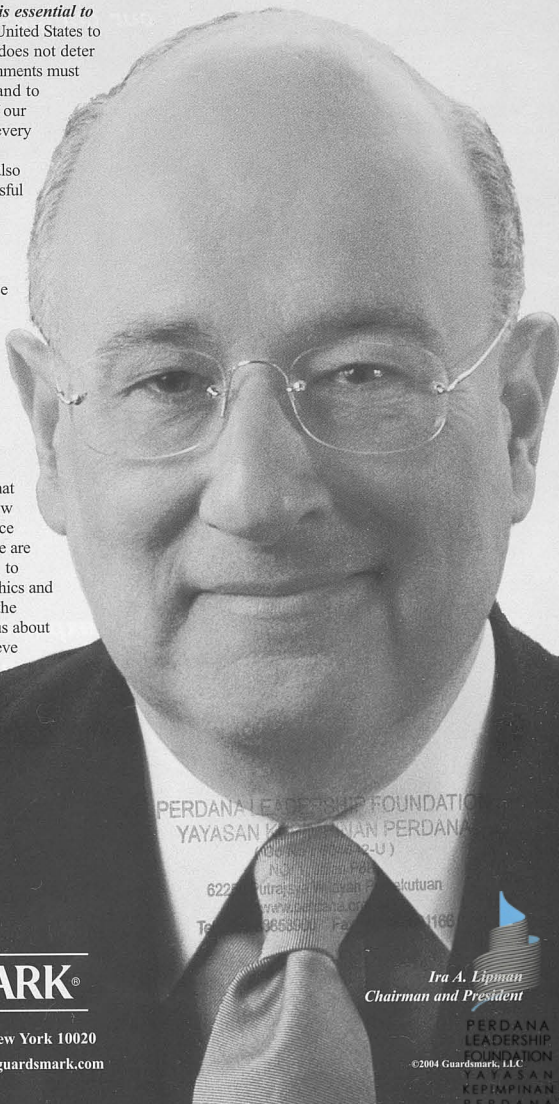
Whatever concerns our clients face—from routine loss prevention investigations to dealing with kidnappings and assassinations in distant lands—our men and women stand ready with the wisdom of experience, the ability to manage uncertainty, and an intricate network of valuable relationships. These crisis-resolution skills give our clients the confidence that their security provider can respond to any emergency anywhere at a moment's notice.

Never before has confidence in security been more critical. Homeland security has emerged as an unprecedented concern. The United States of America is engaged in a war against terrorists who want to attack Americans at home, and the nation must take immediate action to correct its greatest vulnerabilities. Unfortunately, some institutions and organizations have failed to demonstrate sufficient urgency, focus and attention to safeguarding against the heightened risk facing the entire nation. The threat is not restricted to high-profile cities such as New York and Washington, D.C.; in fact, tighter security measures in those municipalities may convince the enemy to seek softer targets in less-prepared areas of the country.

Urgency Is NowSM

Increasing emergency preparedness is essential to minimizing casualties. The ability of the United States to strike back with swift, devastating force does not deter agents of terror. Consequently, local governments must receive assistance to prepare for attack and to improve the technological capabilities of our emergency response agencies. Similarly, every organization must not only strengthen its defenses to prevent an attack, but it must also prepare to manage the aftermath of a successful assault by training on-site emergency responders and developing partnerships with firefighters, police and medical professionals. Securing a facility so that an attack will either fail outright or produce minimally disruptive consequences at best will significantly decrease the likelihood of a future strike.

The world has changed. Complacency has never been wise, but at this time of increasing uncertainty, it has become outright dangerous and irresponsible. At Guardsmark, we realize that each of our employees is the critical ingredient in securing some facility somewhere. Who that person is, what that person thinks and how that person reacts may make the difference between calm and calamity. That is why we are committed to excellence in management, to continuous innovation, to organizational ethics and diversity, and to an unyielding focus on the customer. It all has to do with being serious about security. That is our mission. And we believe that is the mission that you need. **The time for urgency is nowSM.**



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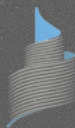
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Essays

Regime Change and Its Limits *Richard N. Haass* 66

So far, the Bush administration has shown it would like to resolve its problems with North Korea and Iran the same way it did with Iraq: through regime change. It is easy to see why. But the strategy is unlikely to work, at least not quickly enough. A much broader approach—involving talks, sanctions, and the threat of force—is needed.

Giving Justice Its Due *George Perkovich* 79

President Bush is only half right to trumpet the spread of freedom as the main objective of U.S. foreign policy; the pursuit of justice is just as important. Broadening the focus would not only benefit the United States' political tradition, but also help neutralize opposition from radical Islamists and critics of globalization.

A Trade War with China? *Neil C. Hughes* 94

With China's economic clout growing rapidly, Americans are accusing Beijing of every offense from currency manipulation to crooked trade policies. None of these charges has much merit, but they have increased the probability of a U.S.-Chinese trade war that would do considerable damage to both sides.

Antidumping: The Third Rail of Trade Policy
N. Gregory Mankiw and Phillip L. Swagel 107

Although few U.S. politicians will admit it, antidumping policy has strayed far from its original purpose of guarding against predatory foreign firms. It is now little more than an excuse for a few powerful industries to shield themselves from competition—at great cost to both American consumers and American business.

Europe's Angry Muslims *Robert S. Leiken* 120

Radical Islam is spreading across Europe among descendants of Muslim immigrants. Disenfranchised and disillusioned by the failure of integration, some European Muslims have taken up jihad against the West. They are dangerous and committed—and can enter the United States without a visa.

How to Help Poor Countries
Nancy Birdsall, Dani Rodrik, and Arvind Subramanian 136

Increasing aid and market access for poor countries makes sense but will not do that much good. Wealthy nations should also push other measures that could be far more rewarding, such as giving the poor more control over economic policy, financing new development-friendly technologies, and opening labor markets.

Addressing State Failure
Stephen D. Krasner and Carlos Pascual 153

In today's interconnected world, weak and failed states pose an acute risk to U.S. and global security. Anticipating, averting, and responding to conflict requires more planning and better organization—precisely the missions of the State Department's new Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization.

From the writer of **LOVE ACTUALLY**, **NOTTING HILL** and **FOUR WEDDINGS AND A FUNERAL**

Love can't change
what's wrong in the world.
But it's a start.



Bill Nighy Kelly Macdonald

the girl in the cafe

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Contents

- A Partnership for Central Asia *S. Frederick Starr* 164
U.S. engagement with Afghanistan has brought all of Central Asia to a turning point, but flagging interest and uncoordinated policies risk undermining recent gains. To seize the opportunity for progress in a vital region, Washington should form a Greater Central Asia Partnership for Cooperation and Development.

Reviews & Responses

- Occupational Hazards *Phebe Marr* 180
Two postmortems on the Iraq occupation lambaste Washington for handling the job poorly. But doing much better would be so difficult that perhaps the bar should be raised for going to war in the first place.
- Counterterrorism in Retrospect *Martha Crenshaw* 187
A new history of the United States' pre-September 11 efforts to combat terrorism portrays them as marked by myopia, indecision, and diffidence.
- How Scary Is the Deficit? *Brad Setser et al.* 194
The trade deficit poses a major threat to U.S. economic stability, argue Setser and Roubini; Levey and Brown demur.
- His Master's Voice? *David S. Jackson et al.* 201
The head of the Voice of America rebuts Sanford Ungar's charges of politicization; Ungar responds.
- Letters to the Editor 206
Pollack, Takeyh, and critics debate the value of economic carrots for Iran; Posen weighs in on the EU's economic competitiveness; and more.
- Foreign Affairs* Bestsellers 212

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