



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

JANUARY / FEBRUARY 2006

Women, Islam, and the New Iraq

Isobel Coleman on the Impact of Sharia

Tyranny and Terror

Democratizing the Middle East: A Debate

Writing of Wrongs

Freedman on Packer's Grim View of the War

Is Washington Losing Latin America?

Peter Hakim on the Danger of Policy Drift

Furthering Democracy in Mexico

Enrique Krauze on Avoiding Oligarchy's Return

The Forgotten West Bank

George Gavrilis on the Perils of Gaza Fixation

A Natural History of Peace

Robert Sapolsky's Lessons From Primates

\$8.95 IN USA · \$12.95 IN CANADA · WWW.FOREIGNAFFAIRS.ORG



0-2>
ISSN 0014-1801
74851 64799

PERDANA
LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION
BATAAN
KEPIMPINAN
PERDANA

It took us 125 years to use
the first trillion barrels of oil.

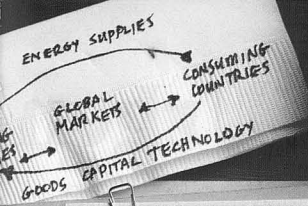
We'll use the next trillion in 30.

So why should you care?



CHILMARK is a registered trademark of Chevron Corporation. The CHEVRON HALLMARK and WILMOT ENERGY are trademarks of Exxaro Corporation.
©2005 Chevron Corporation. All rights reserved.





DAVID J. O'REILLY
CHAIRMAN & CEO
CHEVRON CORPORATION



Energy will be one of the defining issues of this century. One thing is clear: the era of easy oil is over. What we all do next will determine how well we meet the energy needs of the entire world in this century and beyond.

Demand is soaring like never before. As populations grow and economies take off, millions in the developing world are enjoying the benefits of a lifestyle that requires increasing amounts of energy. In fact, some say that in 20 years the world will consume 40% more oil than it does today. At the same time, many of the world's oil and gas fields are maturing. And new energy discoveries are mainly occurring in places where resources are difficult to extract, physically, economically and even politically. When growing demand meets tighter supplies, the result is more competition for the same resources.

We can wait until a crisis forces us to do something. Or we can commit to working together, and start by asking the tough questions: How do we meet the energy needs of the developing world and those of industrialized nations? What role will renewables and alternative energies play? What is the best way to protect our environment? How do we accelerate our conservation efforts? Whatever actions we take, we must look not just to next year, but to the next 50 years.

At Chevron, we believe that innovation, collaboration and conservation are the cornerstones on which to build this new world. We cannot do this alone. Corporations, governments and every citizen of this planet must be part of the solution as surely as they are part of the problem. We call upon scientists and educators, politicians and policy-makers, environmentalists, leaders of industry and each one of you to be part of reshaping the next era of energy.

willyoujoinus.com

Dave

LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION
AN PERDANA

(Co. No. 1, Jalan PBM,
62250 Putrajaya, Wilayah Persekutuan
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Tel : 603-88991111 : 603-88991111

Human energy™



TOP 5 NET OIL EXPORTERS



PERDANA
LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION
YAYASAN
KEPIMPINAN
PERDANA

The Time for Urgen

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. It is in the tighter security measures in those municipalities may convince the enemy to seek softer targets in less-prepared areas of the country.

In the past 100 years, we've designed world-class manufacturing facilities, installed pipelines across mountains and deserts, and engineered a fiber-optic network that covers an entire continent.



But all along, we've been working on **SOMETHING BIGGER.**



Find out about our most ambitious undertaking by turning ahead to our special section.

FLUOR[®]

www.fluor.com
LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION
YAYASAN
KEPIMPINAN
PERDANA

FOREIGN AFFAIRS



JANUARY / FEBRUARY 2006
VOLUME 85, NUMBER 1

Comments

Failing the Stalin Test

Sarah E. Mendelson and Theodore P. Gerber

2

Polls show that most young Russians hold ambivalent or even positive views of their country's worst dictator. Such attitudes stem not from defects in the Russian character, but from a massive failure in education. The West can help, and must do so fast.

Understanding Madrasahs *Alexander Evans*

9

Since 9/11, Muslim schools have been denounced as breeding grounds for terrorism. But instead of seeing madrasahs as a threat, Western policymakers should recognize that they present an opportunity for engagement and reform.

Reforming the World Bank *Jessica Einhorn*

17

The World Bank's outdated financial structure is a threat to its continued relevance. Paul Wolfowitz, the bank's new president, should begin closing the wing of the bank that lends to middle-income countries.

Essays

Women, Islam, and the New Iraq *Isobel Coleman*

24

Although questions of implementation remain, the new Iraqi constitution makes Islam the law of the land. This need not mean trouble for Iraq's women, however. Sharia is open to a wide range of interpretations, some quite egalitarian. If Washington still hopes for a liberal order in Iraq, it should start working with progressive Muslim scholars to advance women's rights through religious channels.

PUSTAKA PERDANA



1006737

You don't have to say you're an economist.
It's written all over your face.



John R. Commons, pioneering economist

Is the dismal science of economics getting you down? Need to add some dynamism to your work?

Study entrepreneurship. This area of research is wide-open, challenging and rich with promise. We should know.

The Kauffman Foundation is the only major philanthropic organization dedicated to advancing entrepreneurship in America. A critical part of our work is funding research by leading economists to deepen understanding of how entrepreneurial activity drives the U.S. economy.

So put entrepreneurship into your research. And put a smile on your face.

Ewing Marion

KAUFFMAN
Foundation

The Foundation of Entrepreneurship

Visit www.kauffman.org to receive the
Kauffman Thoughtbook and the Research and Policy Report.



- Is Washington Losing Latin America? *Peter Hakim* 39
 For nearly a decade, U.S. policy toward Latin America has been narrowly focused on a handful of issues, such as China's growing influence in the region and the power of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez. Latin Americans want economic ties with the United States but feel slighted by Washington and uneasy about the U.S. role in the world. The costs of the estrangement will be high for both sides.
- Furthering Democracy in Mexico *Enrique Krauze* 54
 As it approaches its first presidential election in the post-PRI era, Mexico is at a crossroads: it could either consolidate democracy and proceed with needed reforms or fall back into a familiar state of crisis. Which way it goes will depend above all on the candidates of the three major political parties, who must rise above their short-term interests to further the nation's progress toward democratic stability.
- The Forgotten West Bank *George Gavrillis* 66
 The relative ease of the Gaza withdrawal has fooled many observers into thinking that the Palestinian Authority can now concentrate on consolidating its hold over the territory. Washington and its allies are pushing hard for the PA to do so. But everyone is ignoring the West Bank, where chaos is quickly mounting. If wide-scale violence erupts there, it could quickly bury the entire peace process.
- The Turkish Military's March Toward Europe
Ersel Aydinli, Nihat Ali Özcan, and Dogan Akyaz 77
 Without the Turkish military's support, Ankara cannot comply with the reforms necessary for Turkey to join the EU. So far, the top brass have cooperated, even when reforms have curbed their power, because they have looked at EU membership as both the culmination of the country's modernization and a way to battle nagging domestic problems. But how much further will they go?
- Recovering Sustainable Development *David G. Victor* 91
 Sustainable development—the notion that boosting economic growth, protecting natural resources, and ensuring social justice can be complementary goals—has lost much appeal over the past two decades, the victim of woolly thinking and interest-group politics. The concept can be relevant again, but only if its original purpose—helping the poor live healthier lives on their own terms—is restored.
- A Natural History of Peace *Robert M. Sapolsky* 104
 Humans like to think that they are unique, but the study of other primates has called into question the exceptionalism of our species. So what does primatology have to say about war and peace? Contrary to what was believed just a few decades ago, humans are not “killer apes” destined for violent conflict, but can make their own history.

