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On this page: United States' Emily Kallfelz '19, Kate Knifton, Daisy Mazzio-Manson and Kelsey Reelick '14 compete in the women's four rowing repechages at the 2024 Summer Olympics in Vaires-sur-Marne, France. Ebrahim Noroozi/Associated Press

Back page: "Reflection" by Ryan Moores '28

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In the Nation's Service and the Service of Humanity

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‘Peaces, Like Wars, Are Made’

This issue of *Princeton Int’l* is devoted to “war and peace.” Armed conflict within and between groups and nations is so constant and so salient to our minds and news feeds that it becomes hard to recognize the peace we aspire to, which does eventually conclude each war — though it may take a long time, and it may not feel peaceful when it comes.

Although Princeton’s campus has not been the site of a shooting war since Jan. 3, 1777, wars both American and otherwise continue to shape it profoundly. Indeed, perhaps more than any given war, the periods of peace following those wars have been significant for the institution and those who later came to pass through it. Consider three examples, recent enough that there are some readers of these lines who will remember all of them.

World War II initially marked Princeton’s campus by emptying it, as students and faculty alike joined the war effort while officers cycled through to be trained in many of the technologies and methods of military violence. What came with the peace was much the opposite: Campus filled — with veterans using the GI Bill; with faculty who returned from various forms of service on battlefields, laboratories and the home front; and with an expansive reimagining of federal funding of research, both civilian and military. The research university, embryonic in the interwar era, reached maturity in these early postwar years of a cold but prosperous peace.

Two decades later, the Vietnam War splintered the campus with controversy, as some were drafted into combat or volunteered, and some faculty advised the highest levels of the Pentagon on its conduct — juxtaposed with other faculty and students together vehemently protesting the conflict. (Both sides, too little recognized, believed they were acting for a more peaceful future.) The unrest of that era transformed the University, creating new structures of governance — the Council of the Princeton University Community, for example — opening the campus to the broader community and bringing about social transformations, including a rapid and long overdue diversification of the student body.

PHOTO: Sameer A. Khan/Fotobuddy

The third war is not a single event but an ongoing series of “forever wars” that have studded the 30 years since the Cold War came to what now seems to have been an unstable conclusion: Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Ukraine, Gaza and many others. Those five wars are ongoing, as is the campus’ passionate engagement with them, both through scholarship and outside of it. What Princeton will make of the peace in their wakes is unknown.

Peaces, like wars, are made. How they are made shapes our understanding of how the next war is understood and inspires how we once again take up the hard labor of ending that conflict. It is a mission that animates much of the scholarly work that takes place at Princeton and that you will see reflected throughout this issue.

Michael D. Gordin
Dean of the College, Rosengarten Professor
of Modern and Contemporary History

A Lifeline Online

SPIA's Afghanistan Policy Lab shows how Afghan women endure under Taliban rule

By Carrie Compton, Princeton Int'l

In February 2020, Noorin was a second-year computer science student at Kabul University. At the top of her class, she aspired to run Afghanistan's Ministry of Communications and Information Technology.

But in the four years since the Taliban returned to power, her parents, who diligently saw to the education of all six of their daughters, were unable to overcome the pressure to marry her off.

"Now she is the wife of someone in a very traditional Afghan family," said Lutf Ali Sultani, a resident fellow at the Afghanistan Policy Lab (APL), who interviewed Noorin. Afghan women are expected to give birth within a year of marriage, he said, "and after that, she will be busy raising her kids and serving her husband." The lab, supported by the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA) and the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, aims to help build an inclusive, peaceful and prosperous Afghanistan, equally representing all citizens.

From 2017-2021, Sultani worked as a journalist at a newspaper in Kabul known for its investigative reporting, especially on corruption. At the APL in Princeton, where he landed soon after his arrival in the United States, he has continued his reporting, written policy papers and produced a newsletter.

For International Women's Day in March, Sultani and Afghan journalist Anisa Shaheed, another APL fellow, connected with women in their native country who have been forced to reckon with the Taliban's regressive gender apartheid. Over the course of a three-part reporting series, Sultani and Shaheed gave voice to eight women and girls — each identified by a pseudonym for their protection — fighting to continue their education. After U.S. troops left Afghanistan in 2020 and the Taliban took power, virtually every woman they spoke to reported depression, punctuated by fear and isolation. One likened it to "falling into a dark hole."

"The girls who are stuck back in Afghanistan are in a desperate situation," said Sultani in an interview. "But there is an opportunity to learn through the internet, and that's important," he said, adding that the web is only available to those with means.

"Even if women cannot go to university physically, they can access the internet" he said, before adding that as the Taliban become more technically savvy, he fears a forthcoming crackdown on internet freedom.

The stories demonstrate resilience, courage and adaptation. A pair of teenage sisters wore their brother's clothing and surgical facemasks to continue going to school. One day, a school administrator discovered them.

"Seeing us dressed as boys, his voice trembled, and he started crying. We cried too," one of them said. The administrator "told us to ensure no one learns about this, so we can continue our studies."

An 18-year-old medical student discussed practicing midwifery, one of the few female professions allowed by the regime. "Taliban are afraid of educated women because they know that an educated woman will not raise Taliban," she said. "They know that an educated woman will raise educated children, not those who believe in the language of guns."

Sultani was able to flee the country with the help of the National Endowment for Democracy, through his employment at the newspaper. "We had freedom of speech, freedom of movement. We had demonstrations, protests and overall, we had we had a democratic system," he said of the 20 years before U.S. troops withdrew. The repressive Taliban regime created a kind of emotional whiplash for him — he watched, stunned, as the country he grew up in fell apart.

As the Taliban rule enters its fifth year, Sultani estimates that thousands of Afghan women have fled the country for Pakistan, the U.S., Australia and Europe — wherever they can find refuge, assuming they can find a male guardian to escort them abroad, per Taliban rules.

But for now, one takeaway from his project has been the catharsis he was able to provide the women by telling their stories. "For them, an email or a text makes them hopeful — gives them energy and helps them not to fall down into those deep holes," he said.

Discussing Israel-Hamas War, Princeton and Columbia Deans Model Scholarly Discourse

By Emily Aronson, Office of Communications

Observing the often vitriolic discourse that emerged in the wake of the war between Israel and Hamas, Princeton's Amaney Jamal and Columbia's Keren Yarhi-Milo co-wrote a widely cited *New York Times* op-ed last October about the vital role universities can play in fostering constructive dialogue on complex and difficult topics.

On campus last November, the two policy-school deans came together in a wide-ranging conversation, moderated by Princeton President Christopher L. Eisgruber, to show how they themselves navigate this difficult territory — as scholars, long-time colleagues and friends.

Jamal, dean of Princeton's School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA), and Yarhi-Milo, dean of Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs, spoke at SPIA's Arthur Lewis Auditorium in an event expanding on their *Times* essay, "The Discourse is Toxic. Universities Can Help."

"One of the things we are here to learn more about is precisely how to grapple with complexity and nuance at a time of heightened tensions and in a way that leads to new and productive insights," Eisgruber said in his introduction.

"The sanctity of a university is in its ability to make sure that we can always teach about a diverse set of perspectives — that we can have difficult conversations on our campuses," Jamal said. "If we can't do that in our universities, then where are we going to be able to do that?"

In our op-ed we talked about the importance of freedom of speech, freedom of organization and ensuring that our universities remain spaces where people can talk about those difficult conversations," she added.

Yarhi-Milo said she and Jamal — both political scientists in addition to their other roles — have a responsibility to educate and to elevate the discourse about the Israel-Hamas war. "We can step in and use this moment to talk about this conflict, bring more knowledge, understanding, perspective and civil dialogue," Yarhi-Milo said.

In their Oct. 30, 2023, *New York Times* commentary, the two scholars noted that "as leaders of public policy schools, we train the leaders of tomorrow to think creatively and boldly. It starts with countering speech that is harmful; modeling civic dialogue, mutual respect and empathy; and showing an ability to listen to one another."

While Jamal is Palestinian-American and Yarhi-Milo is Israeli-American, they approached the discussion as academics committed to scholarly research and thoughtful debate, as Eisgruber noted in his introduction.

"They are not here today to speak on behalf of any national or religious or political identity," he told the audience of students, faculty and staff. "Rather they are scholars with deep expertise in the region as well as leaders of major policy schools that are playing host to a lot of important, and also terribly difficult, conversations about what's happening."

Speaking to Jamal and Yarhi-Milo, Eisgruber added: "Part of the strength of your op-ed is that it acknowledges your respective identities as Palestinian and Israeli and that it's a model of constructive and courageous conversation about a very difficult topic."

> *"The sanctity of a university is in its ability to make sure that we can always teach about a diverse set of perspectives — that we can have difficult conversations on our campuses. If we can't do that in our universities, then where are we going to be able to do that?"*
>
> **– Amaney Jamal, dean of Princeton's School of Public and International Affairs**

Throughout the event, the two deans provided important historical background about the longstanding Israeli-Palestinian

PHOTO: Denise Applewhite

Top: Amaney Jamal (left), dean of Princeton's School of Public and International Affairs, and Keren Yarhi-Milo (center), dean of Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs, talk with Princeton President Christopher L. Eisgruber during a public conversation on Princeton's campus.

conflict, the failed promise of the Oslo Accords and the current war that followed Hamas' terror attacks in Israel on Oct. 7, 2023.

Jamal, the Edwards S. Sanford Professor of Politics and professor of politics and international affairs, is the former director of Princeton's Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice. She is the co-founder and co-principal investigator of the Arab Barometer Project.

Yarhi-Milo, the Adlai E. Stevenson Professor of International Relations at Columbia, is an expert in international security, crisis decision-making and political psychology. Before becoming dean, she led Columbia's Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies. Yarhi-Milo previously spent a decade on the Princeton faculty.

"Do we have personal feelings about this? Of course. But in terms of the scholarship, we are both political scientists by training," Yarhi-Milo said. "This is a conversation that I will have based on arguments, evidence, literature. That is how I approach it."

She noted that she and Jamal lead international policy schools where faculty and students from across the world come together to share their different experiences and perspectives. "I am a dean of everyone, and they all need to feel that I am there for all of them," she said.

The deans said a commitment to learning is important in volatile times, and college campuses should be environments where people can express differing opinions in respectful ways.

As with many conflicts, Jamal said, polarizing voices about the current war often get outsize attention on social media and in the news media.

"The more extremist voices … have taken over this conflict, and the silent majority around the bell curve have been silenced and a little bit pushed off stage," she said. "And I think this is a moment when we want to reclaim our position on the stage."

When one student at the assembly asked about a way forward in the Middle East, both Jamal and Yarhi-Milo said that peace is possible but that it requires tremendous work.

"I want to make sure that every student hears this," Jamal said. "Peace is not simply hiding out there and that if you call it, it is going to come and present itself. Peace requires work. Peace requires leadership, and all of you who are going to be future policymakers need to think about it concretely."

Finding Common Cause

A PIIRS' research community seeks universal principles to stabilize world order

By Tom Durso, Princeton School of Public and International Affairs

In 1787, with the nascent United States of America in danger of financial ruin and possible dissolution, a group of delegates met in Philadelphia to revise the young country's governing document, the Articles of Confederation. The resulting Constitutional Convention produced an entirely new system of governance with markedly increased power at the federal level.

Almost 240 years later, a group of international scholars and public intellectuals, deeply concerned by the state of the world, convened at Princeton for a kind of latter-day constitutional convention, this one aimed at fostering unity on a global level. The COVID-19 pandemic, Russia's invasion of Ukraine and strained relations between the United States and China are among the matters that inspired the initiative.

The 2023 meeting, "Reconnecting the World," produced the "Princeton Principles:" a document outlining "minimum conditions for rebuilding the international, rules-based order."

The Princeton Principles' 10 tenets posit rules of diplomatic engagement, economic development and competition, humanitarian law, nuclear weaponry, dispute settlement and matters of sovereignty.

"The idea was to bring a group of leading thinkers together and see if they could identify a set of shared principles," said G. John Ikenberry, the Albert G. Milbank Professor of Politics and International Affairs, who co-organized the gathering. "It's a fairly ambitious effort to see what countries might agree upon, despite their deep differences, and to use those foundational principles and norms to rebuild what is widely seen as a troubled, even crisis-ridden, international system."

PHOTO: Mark Czajkowski

The Princeton Principles is an initiative of the Reimagining World Order (RWO) research community, which is directed by Ikenberry and housed in the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS). The Princeton Principles conference was co-hosted by Harold James, the Claude and Lore Kelly Professor in European Studies and a professor of history and international affairs at the University, and Oliver Letwin, a former member of parliament in the United Kingdom.

"The fragmentation of the global system may not be reversed, but we believe that its decay can be arrested and its complexity can be managed by the adoption of a minimal set of shared principles, which may, in due course, be a stepping stone towards something greater."

– Princeton Principles: Minimum Conditions for Rebuilding the International, Rules-Based Order

Since that initial meeting, Ikenberry has hosted a series of meetings to continue to revise the Princeton Principles. In spring 2024, RWO's fourth annual conference explored the Global South's role in shaping world order, bringing together leading scholars from across the globe. In April 2025, scholars will consider the topic, "China and the U.S.: A Struggle for Power or a Struggle for Modernity?" These meetings will culminate in a larger international conference — a sort of simulated global constitutional convention — in the spring of 2026.

"There's a lot of scholarly activity these days focused on the sources and future of international rule-based order," Ikenberry said. "But this initiative tries to look for deeper principles that might be able to help guide and illuminate more specific efforts."

Read the Princeton Principles.

Dialogue Today, Peace Tomorrow

Princeton University undergraduates Alanys Rodriguez Cruz '27 and Riley Yowell '26 spent last summer exploring a potential legal career through Princeton's International Internship Program (IIP), which places over 300 students in workplaces across 50 countries each summer. Their internships at the Judicial Center for Conflict Resolution and Citizenship (CEJUSC) in the south of Brazil offered them an opportunity to explore restorative justice practices that are increasingly important in both domestic and international contexts.

Rodriguez Cruz and Yowell shadowed and assisted CEJUSC's resident psychologists and legal mediation professionals in weekly group workshops for aggressors in domestic violence cases. The workshops facilitated open conversations, group activities, individual assessments and counseling, providing participants with tools to eschew escalation in future conflict. Rodriguez Cruz and Yowell reflect on their transformational summer.

Alanys Rodriguez Cruz '27 (second from left) and Riley Yowell '26 (third from left) in a meeting with CEJUSC staff.

Alanys Rodriguez Cruz '27 (Left) and Riley Yowell '26

"Through mediation, conciliation and restorative justice practices from a neutral perspective, CEJUSC offered an opportunity to explore alternative methods for conflict resolution. I saw firsthand how these processes help individuals and communities reach agreements that preserve personal relationships, stabilize society and promote long-term peace. Overall, this internship provided me with a richer, more nuanced view of the world, a stronger foundation in international legal practices and a deeper appreciation for the cultural factors that influence them."

– Riley Yowell '26

"Throughout our IIP, I engaged with a new legal environment that deepened my understanding of how public policies and legal systems operate globally. Living and working in a different country greatly improved my cross-cultural communication skills, particularly in overcoming language barriers and adapting to new environments. This adaptability, along with the experience of building professional relationships in a diverse setting, has prepared me for the global challenges I aim to tackle as I pursue a career in law and public affairs."

– Alanys Rodriguez Cruz '27

A Way Forward

A new strategic plan illuminates the Mpala Research Centre's next chapter

By Carrie Compton, Princeton Int'l

Conservationist Paula Kahumbu *02 has fond memories of a rustic one-month research trip on a Kenyan riverbank near a cattle ranch in 1994. She and 10 other graduate students slept in tents and spent their time researching, hauling water for camp and cooking over an open flame. The scholars were also blazing a path toward what would become the Mpala Research Centre, now celebrating its 30th anniversary. Working under the guidance of Daniel Rubenstein, Class of 1877 Professor of Zoology, Emeritus, Kahumbu, who is now the CEO of conservation nonprofit WildlifeDirect, recalls the field trip as "one of the major highlights of my Ph.D. program."

A lot has happened at Mpala since then. In reflecting upon the center's history, its executive director, Winnie Kiiru P14, a renowned conservationist, said, "if I think of Mpala as a young person, I see a past that was very adventurous because it was very unstructured — shaped by curiosity, freedom and adventure." But now, as she considers the center's many long-term ecological experiments (see inset box), its almost 800 peer-reviewed publications and this year's rollout of its first strategic plan, she said it's clear Mpala is "all grown up" and ready to start an ambitious new chapter. "There are certain areas we want to stay true to, such as research on savannah ecology, but we want to include other areas of research and welcome many more people to Mpala."

After George Small '43 decided to transform his massive cattle ranch in central Kenya into a research center, several nonprofits and governmental organizations worked together over decades to realize his vision. Those partnerships have kept the center afloat, but eventually the need for a primary managing partner became clear. Princeton formally stepped into this role in 2021, working alongside Mpala's long-time collaborating organizations: the Smithsonian Institution, Kenya's Wildlife Research and Training Institute, Kenya Wildlife Service, and National Museums of Kenya.

Aly Kassam-Remtulla, vice provost for international affairs, who oversees the center and is chair of its board of directors, has steered substantial infrastructure improvements in recent years, such as constructing a solar-power plant; adding and improving wells, dams and roadways; upgrading facilities and laboratories; overhauling information technology; and adding leadership and staff positions. "We've been moving from an organic and responsive approach to a forward-thinking, strategic perspective," he said. Mpala has also clarified its purpose, which is to advance inquiry into society's most consequential issues through research and teaching with real-world applicability.

The strategic plan unfurls many new initiatives, including a 10-year campus master plan that will support an increased number of researchers. Other priorities include closer collaboration with local stakeholders, greater dissemination of research findings, and increased visibility and impact in Kenya. "The thing that gets me most excited is the opportunity to improve access and affordability for Kenyan and African scholars," Kassam-Remtulla said. "Africa needs more scientists. If we look at the challenges that the continent is going to face in the decades ahead, there is a need for more local scientists and scholars who can best harness opportunities and develop sustainable solutions."

Mpala lab Technician Tevin Onyango and Princeton in Africa Fellow Rachael Mutisya in the Mpala Genomics Lab.

These changes present great opportunities for Princeton, according to Kassam-Remtulla, who said that through enhanced infrastructure and capacity, Mpala can support faculty members from a range of disciplines in engineering, social science and the humanities, in addition to the natural scientists who have been the most active researchers. This, in turn,

Princeton Dean of the Graduate School Rodney Priestley, a biological and chemical engineer, works with grad students Charlotte Knopp and Yoon Chang during a recent trip to Mpala.

expands opportunities for graduate dissertations and undergraduate independent work and opens up the possibility for earlier exposure for first- and second-year undergraduates, he says.

Grace Penn '99, associate director for international affairs and operations, sees Princeton's endorsement and investments in the strategic plan as a sign of a larger trend. She said that Princeton's increasing focus on Africa, its commitments to Mpala and the recently created Africa World Initiative, "signal an understanding that Africa is going to be playing a huge role in our world going forward."

Provost Jennifer Rexford '91 highlights how Mpala's geography is well situated for students and faculty from a range of disciplines to study the many facets of climate change and its impact on ecology. "If you look at a lot of the priorities and strategic investments for the University right now — whether it's AI or environmental studies, engineering, design — a lot of those intersect very naturally with Mpala," Rexford said. She will chair a new executive committee that will help guide Princeton's strategy for the center's future. Other committee members include a large cohort drawn from President Christopher L. Eisgruber's cabinet, who will help "identify areas that are mutually of interest to the folks at Mpala and Princeton," she said.

Kahumbu previewed the strategic plan for Mpala with approximately 80 others from around the world at an event in August 2024. The open engagement, she said "proves that Mpala leadership is listening and caring." She was especially glad to see an effort to remove financial barriers for more Africans to do research at the center and concluded that she believes that Mpala will play a key role in positioning the continent and its people at the center of "innovation, research and relevant problem-solving for Africa and the world, particularly in the climate space," she said.

A Sampling of Mpala's Long-Term Projects:

Princeton Zebra Project: 30 years

Peer-reviewed publications: ~65

Principal Investigator: Daniel Rubenstein *(Princeton University)*

Did you know? Early work on Mpala's zebras revealed two varieties: The plains zebra that live in permanent family groups, and the Grevy's zebra, which show more social flexibility. Recent work has shown that plains zebras avoid areas where livestock graze heavily, while Grevy's zebras prefer the short grass that livestock create, offering hope that people and their herds can share the landscape and help sustain this endangered zebra.

Kenya Long-term Exclosure Project (KLEE): 29 years

Peer-reviewed publications: ~200

Principal Investigator: Truman Young *(University of California-Davis)*, Duncan Kimuyu *(Karatina University)*, Wilfred Odadi *(Egerton University)*, Kari Veblen *(Utah State University)*, Amy Wolf *(University of Texas)*

Did you know? Elephants appear to reduce many of the negative effects of cattle on wildlife and soil properties, in part by reducing forage uptake by cattle.

Ungulate Herbivory Under Rainfall Uncertainty (UHURU): 16 years

Peer-reviewed publications: ~20

Principal Investigator: Rob Pringle *(Princeton University)*, Jake Goheen *(University of Wyoming)*, Todd Palmer *(University of Florida)*

Did you know? Large carnivores, like leopards and African wild dogs, make savanna tree communities less thorny by altering the foraging patterns of antelope.

Samburu-Laikipia Wild Dog Project: 10 years

Peer-reviewed publications: ~45

Principal Investigator: Dedan Ngatia *(University of Wyoming)*

Did you know? Vaccinating domestic dogs and cats for rabies and distemper helps save the endangered wild dog species. In 2023, over 25,000 domestic dogs were vaccinated through the Laikipia Rabies Vaccine Campaign run by this project.

Every year, Mpala works to vaccinate local cats and dogs.

Language and Legacy

Celebrating 30 years of Princeton in Beijing

By Michelle Tong, Office of International Programs

In summer 2024, the Princeton in Beijing (PiB) summer language program made its highly anticipated return to in-person instruction in China post COVID and celebrated its 30th anniversary. Since 1993, PiB has offered 4,500 students from Princeton University and around the world the chance to master Mandarin in a real-world learning environment and has trained nearly 1,700 Chinese language teachers using language-teaching techniques pioneered by co-founder Chih-p'ing Chou, professor emeritus of East Asian studies.

Amid ongoing U.S.-China geopolitical tensions, programming in China gives students an invaluable opportunity to spend meaningful time in the country and experience its complexities firsthand. "These programs help students develop practical language skills and cultural awareness — qualities that are vital for becoming responsible and informed global citizens," says Jing Wang, director of PiB and the Chinese Language Program on campus.

Hosted at one of China's premier institutions of higher learning, Beijing Normal University, PiB uses a total immersion approach: eight weeks of rigorous coursework prioritizing accuracy in pronunciation and grammar, components necessary for true fluency. Students pledge to speak only Mandarin for the duration of the program, within and outside of the classroom.

For Jessica Wei '27, participation in PiB was motivated by a personal goal of being able to fluently communicate with her Chinese relatives. "The improvement in my Mandarin language

The 2024 cohort of Princeton in Beijing.

The inaugural cohort of Princeton in Beijing in 1993.

skills was beyond anything I could have had elsewhere," she said. "I was able to tell stories about my time in Beijing and describe events in detail to my family without stuttering."

Students also engage in cultural activities — like calligraphy, painting and tea-tasting sessions — and participate in excursions to historical and cultural sites such as Jingshan Park and, most notably, the Great Wall of China. "To stand on the very spot that contained thousands of years of history and look out into a landscape with a breathtaking view was truly indescribable," Wei said.

Dean Minello '27's most memorable experience happened unexpectedly, with his classmates in one of Beijing's famed hutong restaurants. "We stayed for three hours, making friends with the other customers and the restaurant owner, learning about Chinese eating and drinking customs while practicing Mandarin."

Participating in the program reinforced the importance of fostering open dialogue and collaboration between the U.S. and China, said Minello. "The more we embrace the possibility of openness in China, the more likely we are to find common ground on the global stage."

Celebrating the past, looking to the future

On July 14, PiB celebrated its anniversary milestone at Beijing Normal University. Instructors, alumni and representatives from Princeton and other American and Chinese institutions gathered for a day of commemorative speeches reflecting on the achievements of the program. Chou was recognized for creating a superior model for Chinese-language instruction in the U.S. and fostering educational collaboration.

Chou emphasized that the program's driving force was twofold: to enable students to achieve rapid improvement in their Chinese proficiency and, more importantly, to "develop a respect and affection for China, the Chinese people, the Chinese language and writing system and Chinese history and culture."

Rory Truex '07 was a member of the program's cohort in 2004. Today, he is associate professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton and a leading expert on Chinese politics. "It turned out to be a formative summer in my life, leading me down the path of teaching and writing about China," he said. "Programs like Princeton in Beijing cultivate the next generation of China experts and allow our students to see China with their own eyes."

2024 Marked the Return of Other Programs to China

In the **PIIRS Global Seminar, "Contemporary Japan and China,"** led by James Raymo, professor of sociology and the Henry Wendt III '55 Professor of East Asian Studies, and Yu Xie, the Bert G. Kerstetter '66 University Professor of Sociology, students split time between the University of Tokyo and Peking University in Beijing where they had the opportunity to immerse themselves in contemporary Japanese and Chinese societies. Students explored topics such as demography in Japan and East Asia, Japan-China relations and politics and social inequality while considering historical, cultural, political and economic context.

In the **Center for Health and Wellbeing's Global Health Exchange Program with Zhejiang University**, facilitated by Yibin Kang, a Warner-Lambert/Parke-Davis Professor of Molecular Biology, four Princeton students traveled to Zhejiang University in the city of Hangzhou. In exchange, four Zhejiang University students visited the Princeton campus. The Princeton undergraduates worked on research projects focusing on global health concerns such as cancer, infectious diseases and the prevention and treatment of obesity and related chronic diseases. The visiting Zhejiang students participated in the Summer Undergraduate Research Program, co-hosted by Princeton's Department of Molecular Biology and the Lewis-Sigler Institute for Integrative Genomics.

Read more about the Global Health Exchange Program with Zhejiang University.

In Conversation With Trisha Craig

Princeton Int'l talks with PIIRS' new executive director

By Pooja Makhijani, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies

When it comes to experience, it's difficult to imagine someone more suited to the role of overseeing the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS) than Trisha Craig. With a career in international academia and policy work, Craig brings to PIIRS experience in fostering interdisciplinary research, enhancing global education and building international partnerships. Prior to arriving in New Jersey in April 2024, she was vice president for engagement and senior lecturer in global affairs at Yale-NUS College, an undergraduate liberal arts institution founded jointly by Yale University and the National University of Singapore, where she developed comprehensive study abroad and experiential learning programs. Craig was previously executive director of the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University, where she expanded the center's interdisciplinary focus and global engagement, broadened its academic and cultural offerings, and strengthened its ties with global institutions, diplomatic and business communities and Harvard's European alumni.

Craig is eager to leverage her expertise and experience to expand PIIRS' influence and enrich its contributions to international and regional studies. "As the events of the past 15 years have made clear — the financial crisis, the pandemic, climate change, the rise of K-pop — the world today is highly interconnected," she said. "Universities exist to advance knowledge and understanding those global connections is key to our core mission."

Princeton Int'l spoke with Craig about telling stories, nurturing international relationships and engaging alumni.

Why is international engagement important to students, faculty and alumni?

One of the best things we can do for students is help them to understand how interconnections work, and experiential learning, such as what we do on Global Seminars, is an up close, immediate way to do that. It exposes them to the importance of local or regional factors: What are local solutions to problems? How were they arrived at? How are they influenced by the history and culture of the place? How does the structure of the state influence outcomes in ways that might be very different than what they're used to? That well known dictum of anthropology, "making the strange familiar and the familiar strange," is a key part of learning.

For faculty, having an opportunity to engage in international collaborations or interact with international colleagues at conferences and seminars is also key to their knowledge production.

Princeton alums are passionate about their attachment to the school: They want to know that Princeton is carrying out the kind of work that is making a difference in the world. They love interacting with students abroad; it's a bonding experience and helps students create connections that can be meaningful to them in the future. It gives our alums the chance to give back to the school through helping students see their part of the world.

What are the opportunities in and the challenges of international collaboration?

Partner institutions are extremely conducive to effective collaboration, which often spans multiple disciplines. Access and local knowledge are important to faculty-knowledge production. Collaborations in Africa or Latin America allow for research that simply couldn't be done on campus. Collaborations also allow students to experience interaction and form long-lasting connections with their peers abroad. Partnerships can offer students access to local scholars, policymakers, officials, activists and entrepreneurs.

Establishing these kinds of relationships takes time and patience; understanding how other institutions work doesn't

PHOTO: Tori Repp/Fotobuddy

happen overnight. Local ways of doing things are often extremely different, and figuring out those nuances is important, as is creating bonds of trust between partners. Different institutions also have different constraints. Being mindful of that is important.

To what end has your personal experience shaped your hopes for international at Princeton?

I'm the product of a liberal arts education, and I think it's one of the best forms of education to build the foundation for meaningful and purpose-driven work. It allows you to see the way the seemingly unconnected parts of your career form a coherent narrative. For many of us, a career is not a linear path, but one with many branches that interconnect and intersect. My experience has shown me that the kinds of skills that students need to live in this interconnected world — the ability to thrive in multicultural environments and to understand ways that global networks impact people's lives — are crucial to their future success and their ability to make an impact in that world. I've been fortunate to live in Asia, Latin America and Europe for extensive periods. My personal experience has taught me that there are opportunities out there, and they can be viewed through multiple lenses. I hope that this way of looking at the world allows me to bring real value when there are opportunities for Princeton faculty and students that might not be immediately obvious.

What are you most excited about in this new position?

I'm passionate about engaging with alums. I've enjoyed creating those ties at other institutions; it's a big part of any institution's international puzzle. PIIRS has an amazing community of visitors. I'm excited about ensuring that the community, when people are here, is a vibrant one and also that we maintain ties with those people in the future.

Global Seminars is PIIRS' flagship undergraduate program. I want to dispel the notion that there's a dichotomy between a "learning experience" or an experience in which you gain practical skills, like an internship. We help students deepen their intellectual understanding of a place or a topic, but we are also giving them a broad set of tools that they can deploy elsewhere, including teamwork, adaptability, presentation skills and intercultural competency. I'm excited to help translate that into their own personal narrative and help students think about how they want to do that. Is it through continued language acquisition or pursuing a minor? Is it through an internship or creating self-directed projects? One of my main priorities for my first few years is to consider how we take the Global Seminars and build a richer and more complex future for them.

Crowd Work

Cultivating new audiences for *World Politics*

By Pooja Makhijani, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies

World Politics, a preeminent journal of international relations and comparative politics housed at Princeton University, celebrated its 75th anniversary in 2023. As the quarterly publication looks to its next era, its editorial team is committed to bringing its research to an audience outside academia.

Grigore Pop-Eleches, professor of politics and international affairs and current chair of the editorial committee, and executive editor Emily Babson have set an ambitious vision for the future of *World Politics*. "We're trying to accelerate the transition from a traditional hard copy-based model to a more diverse set of digital strategies," Pop-Eleches said, "including an active social media presence connecting our articles to current political events, as well as a recent initiative to interview authors of newly published articles about the broader relevance of their research beyond academic audiences."

"The Storied Teller," for example, is a new series on the *World Politics* website conceived and produced by Babson that features interviews with *World Politics'* contributors asking them to distill their rigorous research into digestible takeaways for the well-informed lay reader.

James Raymond Vreeland, professor of politics and international affairs and former editorial committee member, considers this sort of public engagement a vital extension of the University's mission to teach. "Imparting knowledge is the job," he said. "We do this through our specialized publications for scholarly journals; we do this in the classroom; and now, increasingly, we can do this through all sorts of outlets accessible to people outside of academia." Speaking to a wider audience also feeds Vreeland intellectually: "The process deepens my appreciation for the policy implications of my studies: By pushing myself to reach a wider audience, I reach a deeper understanding of the work."

Read
"The Storied Teller."

Such bite-sized distillations also have practical application outside the proverbial ivory tower, says Naima Green-Riley, assistant professor of politics and international affairs and *World Politics'* associate editor. Before she was an academic, she was a foreign service officer at the State Department. In her role, she often fielded "questions about systematic patterns and relationships in the world that I didn't have the time or resources to investigate independently," she said. "Given the nature of my job, any efforts by academics to summarize their work and clarify takeaways were very helpful. Social science research can be helpful to policymakers, but the research needs to reach that audience — a task that requires translation and building relationships with those in policy positions."

In an age of misinformation and disinformation, when many ongoing political debates are increasingly either evidence-free or rely on questionable facts and arguments, it's imperative that academics "play an active role in 'translating' their research findings to the wider public in accessible and engaging ways," Pop-Eleches said. "Academic research can provide a powerful corrective for these worrying trends."

An Election Year

India's electoral surprise

This past year was *the* election year. Globally, 64 countries and the European Union — representing a combined population of about 49% of the people in the world — held national elections in 2024.

In India, nearly 650 million citizens went to the polls. As was widely expected, Prime Minister Narendra Modi won a record third successive term; however, his Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) lost its outright majority in Parliament. An opposition bloc of 20 regional parties, spearheaded by the Indian National Congress party, performed far better than predicted by focusing on issues like unemployment and the high cost of living.

Princeton scholars spoke to the moment. Several faculty members and alumni provided commentary on democracy, identity politics and unequal economic growth, drawing on their research as well as their own personal experiences.

Read more about the Indian election, including a critical essay by Gyan Prakash, the Dayton-Stockton Professor of History, on the fight against caste inequality and an editorial about the results by Anu Ramaswami, Sanjay Swani '87 Professor of India Studies and the director of the M.S. Chadha Center for Global India.

PHOTO: Sameer Khan/Fotobuddy

"[This] election was not an ordinary election. At stake was the continuing possibility of politics itself. At the very least, the result pricks the bubble of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's authority. He made this election about himself: His performance, his omnipotence and omniscience and his ideological obsessions. Modi is, for the moment, not the indomitable vehicle for history or the deified personification of the people. Today, he is just another politician, cut to size by the people."

– **Pratap Bhanu Mehta *90,** ***Laurence S. Rockefeller Visiting Professor for Distinguished Teaching, University Center for Human Values, in*** **The Indian Express**

"Unlike most election observers and political scientists, who mostly talk to men, I have spoken with both men and women party workers. Each election cycle has revealed an impressive pattern: Women party workers are building stronger, more granularly developed party organizations that often extend from the district level down to the level of the booth. This trend is evident not just in the BJP, but across various parties, especially those successful in winning panchayat and municipal elections. What has captured my imagination is not merely the increasing turnout of women voters or the proliferation of pro-women welfare schemes. It is the rise of ordinary party women, the unsung backstage actors, who play a crucial role in shaping the political landscape. Their contributions, often overlooked, are integral to the success and dynamism of India's participatory democracy."

– **Tanushree Goyal,** ***assistant professor of politics and international affairs, in*** **The Indian Express**

"What lies ahead? Modi is likely to have many a sleepless night. He also does not have the personality of a consensus builder. Whether the circumstances make a statesman out of him remains to be seen. What is clearer is that the pressures of a coalition government will temper Modi's authoritarian instincts. And that is good news for India."

– **Atul Kohli,** ***David K.E. Bruce Professor of International Affairs, in*** **The Indian Express**

Migration, Displacement, Adaptation

Aleksandar Hemon's journey as a refugee

By Jennifer Altmann for Princeton Int'l

Creative writing professor Aleksandar Hemon's life was upended by war. In 1992, he was a 27-year-old journalist on an international visitors' program in the United States when war broke out in his homeland of Bosnia.

"It's *the* defining event of my life," Hemon said. With Sarajevo under siege, he stayed with friends in Chicago, worked on his English and eventually decided to make the United States his home.

Hemon went on to write several acclaimed books in English, including, most recently, *The World and All That It Holds*, which won France's 2023 Grand Prix de Littérature Américaine. Hemon was the 2003 recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship and won a "genius grant" from the MacArthur Foundation in 2004.

Hemon spoke with *Princeton Int'l* about his displacement, current conflicts, and migration and xenophobia.

When you realized your stay in the United States was going to be longer than planned, what did you do?

I started working for Greenpeace, canvassing door-to-door in the Chicago suburbs. In retrospect, it was useful for a writer to talk to people every day. People would invite me in, ask me where I was from and spontaneously tell stories. I like stories. I realized I wouldn't be able to write in my native language because I was cut off by war. I figured the way to learn the English language was to read a lot, so I read a lot, and I went to graduate school and got a master's degree in English literature at Northwestern.

You finished your first story in English in 1995. Five years later, your first book of stories, *The Question of Bruno*, was published. Why did you create characters who were struggling with displacement?

For most of my life, I've lived away from my home space, so to speak. It defines the way I see the world. I wasn't in the war. I don't know how war works. But I know how displacement works. Acquiring a new mind in a new language — it's all conditioned on an act of war for me. That's why war is always present in my work.

In fiction, I have an amplified sense of agency. My characters often find themselves in situations similar to mine. Human beings strive toward a space for more agency. That's why people move around the world, cross the sea or move to a place where they can have more agency. This is our struggle as humans.

How does your experience of displacement influence your thinking about the current conflicts in the world?

My most recent book, *The World and All That It Holds*, begins in Sarajevo when the archduke is assassinated, which started World War I. On June 28, 1914, most of the planet was governed by four empires: Ottoman, British, Russian and Austrian-Hungarian. That had lasted for hundreds of years. It was a social order that everyone thought was eternal. Within five years, three of those empires are gone without a trace. Only the British survived.

We are making a terrible mistake, conceptually, thinking that whatever is happening is happening gradually and that it will sort itself out. This is where fiction can help. Everyone operates with continuity bias: Everything will continue as is. For me — not only because I'm a Bosnian, but also because I'm a fiction writer — I can imagine the bottom falling out. Five years before the Bosnian War, it didn't look good, but we thought we would sort it out. Who would want to destroy everything?

"For most of my life, I've lived away from my home space, so to speak. It defines the way I see the world. I wasn't in the war. I don't know how war works. But I know how displacement works."

– Aleksandar Hemon, professor of creative writing

Why do you think migration has become a source of tension in many countries and a rallying cry for some political parties?

One of the points of acceleration in the rise in fascism is an increase in xenophobia toward migrating people. But the basis of all human culture is helping others in need. There would be no humans at all if there weren't migration. Humans migrating led to the development of language and the transmission of knowledge.

Neanderthal bones that were recently discovered in Spain belonged to a child who had Down syndrome. He was 6 years old. The Neanderthals did not kill the weak one. They took care of the child. It's in human evolution to help those who need help.

PHOTO: Frank Wojciechoski

'Science, Policy, Education and Action for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World'

The Program on Science and Global Security marks 50 years of nuclear-disarmament efforts

By Sherri Kimmel for Princeton Int'l

Fifty years ago, India alerted the world there was a new player in the atomic arms race with its first nuclear weapons test, code-named Smiling Buddha. That same year, two Princeton University scientists launched something new, now known as the Program on Science and Global Security (SGS). The project had a bold agenda: to confront the nuclear threat worldwide by advancing nuclear-arms control and ending development and deployment of the world's deadliest weapons.

SGS co-directors (from left) Zia Mian and Alexander Glaser with SGS founders Frank von Hippel and Harold Feiveson. In 2014, the four co-authored Unmaking the Bomb: A Fissile Material Approach to Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation.

Through decades of research, policy outreach education and training, SGS has pursued its goal of a world free of nuclear weapons. Its beneficiaries have been policy makers, politicians, activists, media, the general public and countless Princeton students.

Global in its aspirations

SGS began when two public-interest-oriented researchers met in 1974. Frank von Hippel, a theoretical physicist specializing in elementary particles, had arrived in New Jersey from Stanford, where his students' opposition to the Vietnam War had turned his thoughts toward the need to challenge U.S. policies and push them toward peaceful paths.

"My grandfather had been in the Manhattan Project, so I was interested in nuclear-weapons policy growing up," said von Hippel. "I thought I had to become a famous physicist before anybody would listen to me. I didn't know how to contribute until I met Hal Feiveson and saw that he was chewing on an interesting problem."

Physicist Feiveson *72 had impressed von Hippel with his work at the U.S. State Department to create the 1970 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, an international agreement limiting the development and spread of the bomb

and establishing a binding obligation to achieve nuclear disarmament.

Feiveson and von Hippel pressed their cause, urging public scrutiny of U.S. nuclear-weapon and nuclear-energy policies and recruiting and training an array of young science, engineering and policy experts.

They advocated for the Nuclear Freeze movement by publishing in scholarly journals and, in 1982, joined a million other activists (and a busload of other Princetonians) in New York's Central Park to call for nuclear disarmament and an end to the Cold War. They founded the peer-reviewed research journal *Science and Global Security* in 1989 and traveled to Moscow to meet with members of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat.

Feiveson, now senior research scientist emeritus, and von Hippel, senior research scientist and professor emeritus, co-directed SGS until 2006. Christopher Chyba, professor of astrophysics and international affairs, directed the program until 2016. Since then, it has been led by Zia Mian, a physicist, and Alexander Glaser, associate professor of mechanical and aerospace engineering and international affairs.

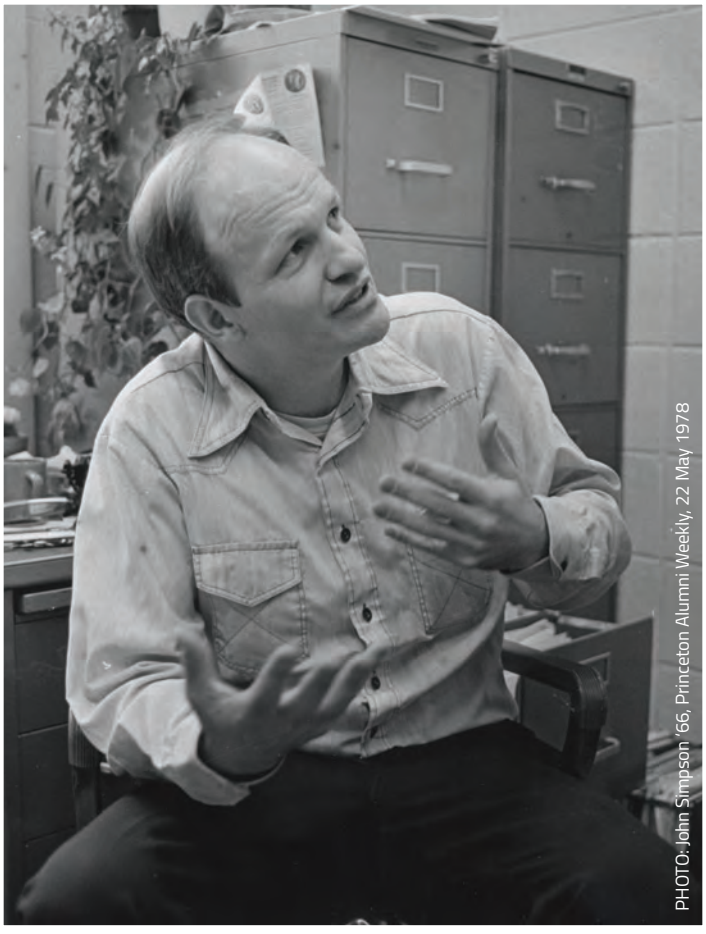
Global in its influence

Nuclear threats and risks have ebbed and flowed during the last half-century. Though there are now over 12,000 nuclear weapons, down from 60,000 at the end of the Cold War, the number of nuclear nations has increased to nine: the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea.

During the last 50 years, SGS has done much to bring about major achievements for the disarmament cause. Its 1980s work with Soviet scientists contributed to the end of nuclear testing

Left: Alexander Glaser (left) and Sébastien Philippe have collaborated on a novel way to verify the authenticity of nuclear weapons.

Below: Since 1998, SGS has gathered South Asian physicists to discuss the South Asian nuclear-arms race. From left: A.H. Nayyar, M.V. Ramana, Ramamurti Rajaraman and Zia Mian.



SGS' co-founder Frank von Hippel (shown here in 1978) is traveling less than in the past, such as when he visited Moscow to brief Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on a nuclear weapon test ban. But he is still researching, writing and working with promising new talent such as Sébastien Philippe, whom he considers a leader of SGS's "third generation."

by the superpowers, significant bilateral cuts in nuclear weapons and the unilateral decrease in Soviet heavy weapons in Central Europe. In the 1990s, SGS introduced its Project on Peace and Security in South Asia to bring together Indian and Pakistani physicists to address the South Asian nuclear arms race.

Building on early work by von Hippel, Glaser and his students have pioneered theoretical, computational and experimental approaches to reconstructing historical uranium enrichment and plutonium production in nuclear weapons programs, holding countries to account as part of future disarmament processes. He also has developed partnerships — including with the Princeton Plasma Physics Laboratory. Tactics include using novel methods to inspect sensitive nuclear-weapon facilities as well as robots and virtual reality to measure nuclear warheads without revealing classified design information.

SGS also embraces the role of global citizen scientists, said Mian: "We engage with researchers in academia, government officials in the U.S. and other countries, with nongovernmental organizations around the world, and have given many briefings at the United Nations." For him, SGS seeks, "to engage and inform nuclear policy debates and decision making everywhere and have ordinary people be an informed part of the decision making."

With an eye to this future, since 2020 SGS has recruited young scientists and engineers from around the world to the annual Princeton School

Glaser, Philippe Recognized by American Physical Society

In October, the American Physical Society (APS) announced Alex Glaser as the winner of its 2025 Leo Szilard Award. The award recognizes outstanding accomplishments by physicists in promoting the use of physics for the benefit of society in areas such as the environment, arms control and science policy.

Glaser was cited by APS "for seminal scientific contributions and innovations to advance nuclear arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament verification and for leading the Princeton Program on Science and Global Security" and mentoring many students and young researchers.

Zia Mian was the 2019 recipient of the same award.

It was also announced that Sébastien Philippe won the APS' 2025 Joseph A. Burton Forum Award, which recognizes outstanding contributions to the public understanding or resolution of issues involving physics and society.

Philippe is being honored by APS "For accurately estimating radiation doses from French and U.S. nuclear tests and effectively communicating these findings to the public, as well as assessing potential radiation from nuclear attacks on U.S. ICBM silos, demonstrating the importance of addressing scientific findings and consulting affected individuals."

Frank von Hippel has won both awards in the past.

on Science and Global Security. The school is the latest iteration of a U.S./Russian initiative von Hippel began with a Soviet scientist to train the next generation to "learn about nuclear weapons issues together and see themselves as part of one community addressing a shared danger," said Mian.

Sébastien Philippe, a French SGS research scholar, runs attention-grabbing collaborations with investigative journalists. In 2019, the group acquired a declassified archive of documents from the French government. Philippe used it to independently reconstruct, for the first time, the impact of French nuclear testing in the Pacific, the exposure of the local population and the contamination of the environment. The resulting book, *Toxique*, said Philippe, led the president of France to make an apology in Tahiti, to open all French archives related to nuclear testing, to improve compensation to nuclear test victims and to clean up remaining pollution.

Philippe, a member of the Scientific Advisory Group of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, now studies the effects of nuclear war and nuclear testing and the impacts of U.S. plans to modernize its nuclear weapons.

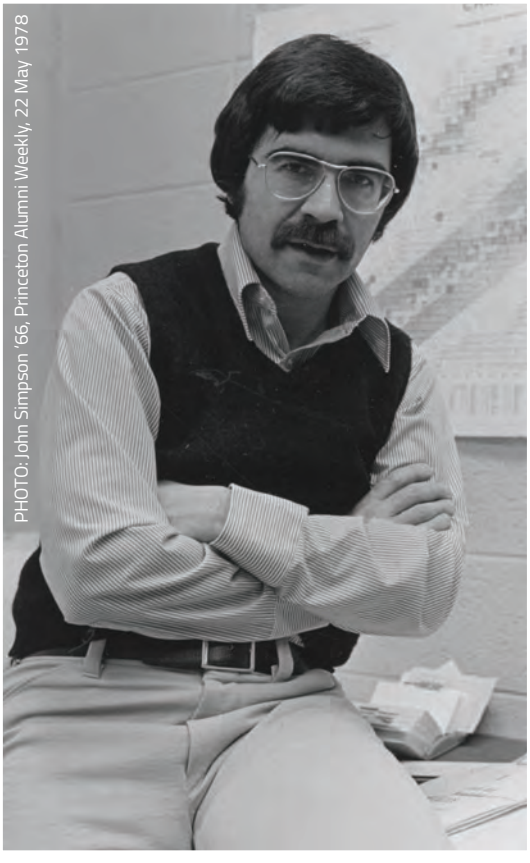


PHOTO: John Simpson '66, Princeton Alumni Weekly, 22 May 1978

From science and policy to art and culture

Turning technical and policy research and findings into storytelling and art has become a key tool in the SGS strategy. *On the Morning You Wake (to the End of the World)*, a virtual-reality film developed at SGS by Glaser and doctoral student Tamara Patton, is based on the January 2018 incident "where everybody in Hawaii was falsely told by the alert system that there were incoming missiles from North Korea," explained Glaser. "There was complete panic." Glaser served as executive producer and provided technical advice for the film. It premiered at the Sundance Film Festival in 2022, won a jury award at SXSW later that year and has been exhibited around the world.

Above: Since 2020, SGS has hosted a training program for engineers and scientists from around the world to learn about nuclear threats and remediation. Shown here is the 2023 group of 17 students from seven countries with SGS staff.

Left: SGS co-founder Harold Feiveson (shown here in 1978) has focused some of his work on ways to dismantle the nuclear arsenals of the U.S. and the former Soviet Union.

A traveling art exhibition, *Shadows and Ashes: The Perils of Nuclear Weapons*, developed by SGS in 2017, explains the danger nuclear weapons pose. *Plan A*, the exhibit's animated short film, shows the stages of war escalating between the United States and Russia using realistic nuclear-force postures, targets and fatality estimates. SGS projected there would be more than 90 million people killed and injured within the first few hours of the conflict.

Plan A also was part of the fall SGS 50-year anniversary exhibition, *Close Encounters, Facing the Bomb in a New Nuclear Age*, which features an immersive multimedia installation, *the bomb*, created by Eric Schlosser '81 and Smriti Keshari, and material by SGS on current nuclear threats.

The anniversary celebration will continue throughout the spring semester and include the launch of von Hippel's memoir and a reunion of SGS researchers from its first 50 years. "It will be a chance to reflect on our work, learn some lessons and assess the challenges ahead," said Mian.

The Global Ghetto

A PIIRS Global Seminar in Italy and Poland delves into the history of the Jewish ghetto, tracing how the concept has traveled through time and space

By Alexandra Jones for Princeton Int'l

"The Global Ghetto," a summer 2024 PIIRS Global Seminar, transported 13 Princeton students to Rome and Warsaw for six weeks of immersive instruction, during which they traced the history of Jewish ghettos from their origins in 16th-century Italy through the Nazi era.

"The students received an in-depth introduction to the history of the idea of the ghetto over five centuries, but they also came away with a greater understanding of how certain concepts, such as diaspora, racism, genocide and exploitation, have helped to shape the modern experience across societies," said instructor Mitchell Duneier, the Gerhard R. Andlinger '52 Professor of Social Science, chair of the sociology department and author of the 2016 book *Ghetto: The Invention of a Place, the History of an Idea*.

Duneier, along with his co-instructor Nathaniel Deutsch, Distinguished Professor and Baumgarten Endowed Chair in Jewish Studies and director of the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of California-Santa Cruz, and their students spent three weeks in Rome and three weeks in Warsaw. Here, the students studied history, Italian and Polish; screened films; and hosted speakers, including Italian historian Alessandro Portelli, Pulitzer Prize-winning photographer of the global black experience Ovie Carter, and Etan Michaeli, author of an award-winning history of Chicago's Black newspaper *The Defender*. In Rome, these lessons were complemented by visits to the Vatican and to the Jewish ghetto, which was created by papal decree in 1555. As Deutsch pointed out, "The seminar traced the birth and spread of the ghetto, both as a series of historical sites and also as a metaphor and a social scientific concept that has really traveled around the globe."

'It felt more real'

The concept of the ghetto as we know it originated in Venice and Rome in the 16th century, and gradually spread to many other European cities, where Jewish communities were

segregated into ghettos, typically just a few square blocks in undesirable areas, until the 19th century. The motivation for their segregation was economic and theological; here, Jews could be separated from the rest of the population by physical walls, with limits placed on their freedom of movement and property ownership. In the years leading up to World War II, the Nazi regime once again designated certain neighborhoods throughout Europe as Jewish ghettos, from which they later often transported their residents into concentration camps.

For Blaise Stone '26, a pre-med molecular biology major whose grandfather escaped the Holocaust by emigrating to the United States, the Global Seminar experience was highly personal. "It was a lot more emotional, not only because of my family background, but because it felt more real," she said. "Being within the [ghettos] was just a lot more intense, and I felt more invested in the class."

Shamma Pepper Fox '25, a philosophy major, agreed. "On campus, it's easy to get bogged down in Firestone and get stuck in the classroom. This experience pops that bubble in a very real

In 'The Global Ghetto,' a 2024 PIIRS Global Seminar, students visit museums (top), Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum (facing page), a wailing wall and Jewish cemetery in Kazimierz, Poland (bottom, l. to r.) while tracing the history of Jewish ghettos from their origins in 16th-century Italy to the Nazi era.

way," he said. "There's something about being in those spaces — visiting Auschwitz, seeing the museums, talking to Polish people — that made salient what would have otherwise remained abstract if we were in a classroom."

In Warsaw, classes were held at the new POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, and the instructors led visits to Krakow's intact Jewish ghetto, which dates to the Middle Ages. The group also visited the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, the site of the largest Nazi concentration camp, in which around 1 million Jews were killed during the war. "To see the traces and afterlives of these ghettos added a whole other dimension for our students that only this kind of course could," Deutsch said.

The ghetto travels and transforms

Throughout the seminar, Duneier and Deutsch expanded on the concept of the ghetto, illustrating how its meaning and application had shifted across time and place. The term later came to be used for Black neighborhoods in the U.S., as well as Chinatowns, gay neighborhoods and even the Gaza Strip.

"Our focus was on the way that concepts travel and transform," Duneier said. "We're mainly talking about the Early Modern period, the Nazi era, and the 20th century in the United States. But we're also talking about the current moment. The question of Gaza and how to think of it in terms of the history of ghettos is a question that we have covered in this course for many years, but it had a particular timeliness this year."

This robust, on-the-ground history lesson, accompanied by critical analysis, made this particular Global Seminar experience indelible and more relevant for the students.

"The seminar gave me the vocabulary to talk about very controversial things," Pepper Fox said. "There are buzzwords these days around geopolitical events that carry a lot of emotion that can paralyze how I interact with those topics. Visiting the sites of historical tragedy, reading sociological theory and learning how to think about certain things has helped me engage with current events and has given me a stronger vocabulary for that."

The Art of Healing

Novogratz Bridge Year Cambodia participants delve into the restorative power of the arts

By Michelle Tong, Office of International Programs

Located in the bustling city of Battambang, Phare Ponleu Selpak is a Cambodian nonprofit that utilizes arts education as a means to heal the traumas of war and celebrate Cambodia's rich cultural heritage. In the fall of 2023, Princeton's innovative Novogratz Bridge Year Program — which provides incoming first-year students the chance to begin their Princeton journey with nine months of international community-engaged learning — expanded to six program locations, including Cambodia. Bridge Year participants learn with and from community partners like Phare by collaborating on projects that respond to community concerns while learning about Cambodia's ongoing process of truth and reconciliation.

Between 1975 and 1979, the Khmer Rouge regime massacred almost one-fourth of Cambodia's population. Those atrocities, as well as the wars that followed, forced hundreds of thousands into refugee camps in neighboring countries.

The idea of Phare Ponleu Selpak, which translates into "the brightness of the arts," began in 1986 in a Thai refugee camp called "Site II" where French humanitarian Véronique Decrop conducted art therapy classes for children. In 1994, Decrop and a group of her most dedicated students returned to Battambang, where they formally founded Phare. Phare has since become a major artistic and cultural hub, supporting more

Eliot Witherspoon '28 (left) and Soree Kim '28 (top left) with the Phare communications team and Cambodian musical artist and Phare alum, Vanthan (front, second from right).

than 1,000 low-income students each year in a range of performing, visual and applied arts programs while offering free primary education and social services.

"Arts and culture bring the joy, sharing and love to a community" said Osman Khawaja, executive director of Phare. "With all that was lost during the Khmer Rouge, Cambodia is still rebuilding its cultural identity and integrating arts into daily lives."

Bridge Year Cambodia participant Eliot Witherspoon '28, who collaborated with Phare's communications team to produce content for their website and social media channels, said that an art installation at Phare's 30th anniversary gala gave him an eye-opening "glimpse into the first art classes taught at Site II." He said, "seeing these pictures [of violence and trauma] drawn by such young people is heartbreaking. But you can also see how getting the memories of these experiences out onto paper could and did feel very liberating," and added, "the backstory of Phare taught me the value of working through trauma and opened my eyes to the use of artistic expression as a means to do that."

Over the years, Phare began teaching traditional Khmer musical instruments and traditional dances — a practice stigmatized and suppressed by the Khmer Rouge — to rebuild community and cultural identity for young Cambodians.

"The children and youth not only played a part in preserving arts and culture, but they also deepened their sense of belonging to their community after having been raised in a refugee camp, isolated from many cultural elements," said Khawaja. "Despite the traumatic pasts, even at times having been on opposing sides of the war, the shared cultural heritage helped them forgive and heal."

"I loved that Phare was so interactive with the community," said Soree Kim '28 who also worked with Phare's communications team during the past year. She noted that events and festivals attracted "not only Battambang citizens but also those from other provinces and countries." One program, the Phare Battambang Circus, offers weekly performances by students and is considered one of the city's top attractions.

"Phare is the life force of the arts in Battambang," said Witherspoon. "And the city is all the better for it."

"Despite the traumatic pasts, even at times having been on opposing sides of the war, the shared cultural heritage helped them forgive and heal."

– Osman Khawaja, executive director of Phare

PHOTO: Stefano Morrone

The Phare Battambang Circus

Kim, who helped coordinate special events such as Phare's Sangker River Run, a fundraiser to mark its 30th anniversary, said: "Phare was one of the most influential factors in my Bridge Year experience. It taught me that passion is nothing without hard work." She added that the experience also revealed to her an affinity for working with communities.

"Phare showed me that peace and reconciliation are a constant effort," said Kim. "War may last years, but reconciliation takes decades."

Rose Castle Foundation Engages Princeton Students to Become 'Agents of Reconciliation'

By Jamie Saxon, Office of Communications

Last fall, 16 Princeton students from different faiths and political orientations traveled to an English castle to come together across differences.

The goal of their week at the Rose Castle Foundation (RCF) was to understand how to create tolerant spaces for others — "spaces in which we can disagree substantially, without walking away," said RCF co-founder Sarah Snyder.

Rose Castle, in England's Lake District, facilitates group trainings in reconciliation and conflict transformation. The foundation hosted, for example, Ukrainians and Belarusians on different sides of the Russia-Ukraine war.

Programs are designed to create "reconcilers" in their own communities. This trip was the third of its kind for Princeton students.

"The goal is not agreement," said Alison Boden, now-former dean of religious life and the Chapel at Princeton, who first took Princeton students to Rose Castle in 2019 and led this trip. "The goal is to create a relationship — that's it."

Alison Boden (left), former dean of religious life and the Chapel at Princeton, and Rose Castle Foundation staff members Robbie Leigh and Phoebe Dill review an exercise during the 2023 trip.

One signature activity focuses on a conflict of the group's choosing. In groups of six, two students take one side, two take the other, and two alternate being the reconciler facilitating conversation.

The group focused on abortion, Israeli-Palestinian relations and free speech. Previous years' issues have included immigration, affirmative action and cancel culture.

Rose Castle "taught me to slow down, breathe, recenter myself," said Emmie Pickerill '25. I learned to "go into it with the curiosity of wanting to learn" instead of shutting out dissent, she said.

After returning, the group filled two giant pieces of butcher paper with ideas for what to do next, including gathering a diverse group of student leaders for reconciliation exercises.

RCF facilitators have also led an immersive Wintersession seminar for faculty, staff and students on applying their principles to life and work.

Promoting free speech and inclusivity

Princeton University promotes a culture of free speech. In 2015, the University adopted the Chicago Principles on freedom of expression, and incoming students attend an orientation program on free speech. Princeton also works with PEN America, a worldwide champion for free expression, to conduct workshops about free expression and academic freedom.

RCF's Hannah Larn said practicing difficult conversations and learning to bridge differences as a student is pivotal.

"On the university campus, you have an incredible spread of political, religious and ethnic

diversity. You have people who have grown up in very different economic situations," she said. "If those people end up in positions of leadership, that's going to have a huge impact."

Practicing 'radical hospitality'

The cornerstone of the RCF experience is "radical hospitality," Larn said, which "opens up spaces for us to learn how to disagree well."

One workshop helps to develop traits — including curiosity, vulnerability, empathy, forgiveness and generosity — that the RCF says enable people to build bridges across divides.

Each student was asked to identify one habit as a particular personal strength and another as a habit they need to work on. Pickerill chose "hopefulness" as her strength and has been working on "lament," which RCF defines as being able to "name and mourn hurt and injustice when it occurs … and acknowledging that there may not be any viable solution."

"My gut reaction is still, if I hear something I disagree with, to get a knot in my stomach and I just want to leave," she said. "But now a second thought comes: Wait, is there something deeper to this? Where is this person coming from?"

Bridging differences on campus

After Boden took her first group of Princeton students to Rose Castle in 2019, the group formed the Princeton Rose Castle Society (PRCS), which meets over dinner to engage in discussion. They invite new members each year and kept the group going over Zoom through the pandemic.

Sensing the enthusiasm, Boden invited Snyder to Princeton. Snyder, a Cambridge University theologian and trained mediator, was the Archbishop of Canterbury's adviser for reconciliation from 2016 to 2020, overseeing his responses to peace-building and reconciliation of violent conflict around the world.

Having been to Princeton several times, she said that one critical area is to help students navigate difference "across the conservative-progressive (liberal) cultural-ideological spectrum."

She added: "Princeton students never cease to inspire and amaze us with their ability to push beyond comfort zones in order to listen to others with very different perspectives."

Carrying a new mindset forward

Naomi Frim-Abrams '23, who co-founded PRSC, was a first-year student on the 2019 trip to Rose Castle. She said it takes practice, but she returned better equipped to handle difficult conversations, whether one-on-one with friends or as part of student groups.

She is now a research fellow at the Centre for Human Rights, Multiculturalism, and Migration in Jember, Indonesia, and sees reconciliation as directly applicable to migration issues. "You have strangers now living in the same neighborhood," she said, "and they're coming from completely different religious, cultural, political backgrounds.

"Before Rose Castle, I was scared to even try to have a conversation with someone who had a different political or religious viewpoint," Frim-Abrams recalled. "But once you learn that if you approach someone with real curiosity about what they're saying — even if you're never going to agree with them — if you understand how to take a step back when things are getting too much and acknowledge that sometimes we have to [prioritize] the relationship over the conversation, it's less scary."

Left: Gabriel Gullett '25 (left), Aishwarya Swamidurai '26 and graduate student Haneen Khalid participate in a small-group exercise for facilitating dialogue on the 2023 trip.

Below: Brian Mmari '25, Davina Thompson '25 and Givarra Azhar Abdullah '26 during a break between learning sessions on the 2023 trip.

All photos courtesy of Rose Castle Foundation

In Conversation With Leonard Wantchekon

Interview conducted and condensed by Poornima Apte for Princeton Int'l

PHOTO: Denise Applewhite, Princeton University, Office of Communications

Leonard Wantchekon, James Madison Professor of Political Economy and Professor of Politics and International Affairs, traces much of his scholarship to his formative years as a student activist in Benin.

In the '80s, he helped found the Front Démocratique du Bénin, a national organization that included workers, student unions and pro-democracy groups. Through the 1970s and '80s, he rose to a prominent place in the opposition that helped hasten the end of the oppressive regime of General Mathieu Kérékou.

Princeton Int'l spoke with Wantchekon about peaceful conflict resolution and the African School of Economics, a project helping to erase some of Africa's colonial legacies.

What is a memorable incident from your student activism?

Probably June 3, 1979: I was one of the architects of the student movement. We were staging a sit-in at our university president's office. A group of students wanted to storm the office, and I remember preventing it. This may have saved the movement, because we were under military dictatorship. The commitment to nonviolence and dialogue was not only wonderful for the student movement, it also helped me grow into who I am today.

How has that activism shaped your work?

It's why I became a political scientist. I was a math major with a Ph.D. in economics, but through my activism, I became knowledgeable about key concepts related to social movements. More importantly, the experience shaped my current research on democracy and governance. It also shaped my work on African history because engaging in activism triggered many questions for me about the past.

You have written that democracy can take root even in a post civil-war landscape. Explain how.

The 1978 university sit-in taught me that people who disagreed on almost everything could still manage to talk to one another and find common ground. Later in my career, I realized it might be possible at the country level. This got me interested in studying post-civil war democratization, with a focus on El Salvador.

El Salvador was involved in a violent civil war for more than 12 years. Yet, the warring factions got together and negotiated a peaceful transition to democracy. I was struck by the fact that Joaquín Villalobos, one of the military commanders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, became far more focused on building institutions for lasting peace than winning the first post-civil war elections and taking control of the government. Similar patterns emerged later in Africa — in Mozambique and Liberia.

I pointed to two key conditions. First, the warring factions must see there's a stalemate and that no faction can win outright. Second, there must be a neutral mediation force that will bring all sides to the table and give them monitoring resources so they can agree on a transition government. Thus, warring factions can adopt democracy as a conflict-resolution mechanism.

How do you see the legacy of colonial wars shaping local economies?

In studying the legacy of independence movements in Africa, I find countries that fought colonial rule with violent rebellion are less likely to be politically stable and democratic in the post-independence period than those where the dominant form of resistance is peaceful urban protests. Violent rebellion countries also have worse economic performance. In other

Wantchekon with pro-democracy activists in a hideout in Cotonou (Benin) in 1983, two years before the 1985 student uprising.

words, countries with a culture of peaceful protests tend to grow faster than those without.

How does the African School of Economics build on that?

Sustained growth in Africa requires a robust research infrastructure of international caliber. The African School of Economics, which originally started in Benin, focused on training economists and sent nearly 20 percent of them to the U.S. and Europe for advanced graduate studies. We are rapidly expanding across Africa.

Currently we have two regional universities: one in West Africa, in Nigeria, and one in East Africa, in Zanzibar, offering degrees in economics and social science, as well as engineering, natural sciences, public policy and business. We are also setting up research hubs across the continent.

What is your advice for today's activists?

It's great that you are concerned about the state of the world and have the heart to try to do something about it. My own experience and research suggest that peaceful engagement is absolutely critical and in the long term, effective. It is also vital to be well-informed and open-minded about effective solutions.

"The 1978 university sit-in, taught me that people who disagreed on almost everything could still manage to talk to one another and try find common ground. Later, in my career, I realized it might be possible at the country level."

– Leonard Wantchekon, James Madison Professor of Political Economy and Professor of Politics and International Affairs

Blockbuster History Details Asia's Nuremberg Counterpart

Gary Bass' *Judgment at Tokyo* topped best-book lists in 2023

By Tom Durso, Princeton School of Public and International Affairs

A SPIA political scientist's sprawling, detailed history of the Nuremberg trials' lesser-known Asian counterpart has earned glowing reviews and a spot on numerous year-end best-of lists.

Professor Gary J. Bass' *Judgment at Tokyo: World War World II on Trial and the Making of Modern Asia* was named one of the 10 best books of the year by *The Washington Post*, one of the 12 essential nonfiction books of the year by *The New Yorker*, a best book of the year by *The Economist*, and one of the 100 notable books of the year by *The New York Times*, among other accolades.

In *Judgment at Tokyo*, Bass, the William P. Boswell Professor of World Politics of Peace and War, presents an exhaustive and nuanced look at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, which heard the prosecution of 28 high-ranking Japanese military and political leaders on charges of crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity. In addition to its coverage of the trial itself, *Judgment at Tokyo* contextualizes what was happening in Asia at the time and lays out the unanticipated regional and global complexities that it gave rise to and that continue to reverberate today — what Bass refers to as "its long shadow."

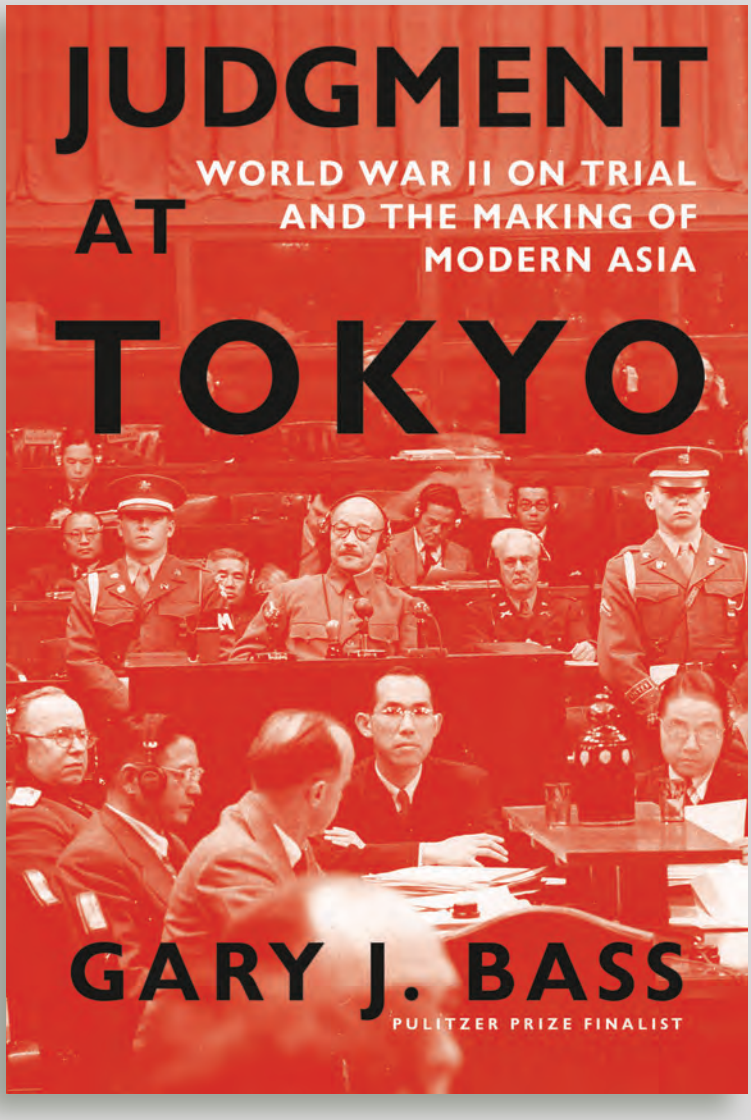
"This book is an attempt to tell the story of the Tokyo trial in the round," he wrote in his introduction.

Writing in *The New Yorker*, Ian Buruma, a prominent Asia expert, called it "exhaustive and fascinating" and praised its study of China. In *Foreign Affairs*, Jennifer Lind, a leading Japan scholar at Dartmouth College, described the book as "magnificent" and "profound." In *The Washington Post*, Robert Kaplan called it "comprehensive, landmark and riveting."

Bass is a former journalist, and his book is deeply researched and reported. He pored over archives and conducted interviews in Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Beijing, Nanjing, Hong Kong, Taipei, Seoul, Delhi, Kolkata, London, Edinburgh, Paris, The Hague, Canberra, Washington, D.C., Norfolk, Va., and Independence, Mo. The book is based on many thousands of pages of documentation gathered from 18 archives in seven nations, and the trial record was almost 50,000 pages. The book took a decade to research and write.

Bass said that he wanted to call attention to Asian voices and remember their wartime suffering. "Americans and Europeans still don't pay much attention to the billions of people in Asia, and this book is meant to encourage more understanding," he said. He also sees *Judgment at Tokyo* as a corrective to ideological or partisan approaches to foreign policy,

> "Americans and Europeans still don't pay much attention to the billions of people in Asia, and this book is meant to encourage more understanding."
>
> – Gary J. Bass, SPIA political scientist



"This book is meant to provide complexity and nuance, to immerse readers in the history and ask them to make up their own minds, to show that these judgments are never simple."

The trial at Tokyo began just five months after the International Military Tribunal got underway in Nuremberg, Germany. Despite their chronological proximity and procedural similarities, the two proceedings eventually were seen in far different ways. Nuremberg created a blueprint for calling to account purveyors of global atrocities. The Tokyo trial was a far messier affair and is largely unremembered, at least in the West.

"While the Nuremberg trial has come to symbolize a grand moment of moral clarity, the Tokyo trial is engrossing precisely because it remains so controversial," Bass wrote. "Nuremberg is exalted by lawyers and human rights activists as the template for recent efforts at international justice from Bosnia to Rwanda to the permanent International Criminal Court, while Tokyo is seen as an embarrassment best forgotten. The suffering of Asians gets little attention in the United States and Western Europe. If Nuremberg stands as a metaphor for ethical purity, then Tokyo represents a dive into murk. It calls into question a triumphalist view of World War II."

The Nuremberg trial was a prelude to decades of public introspection and atonement on the part of German leaders, the book observes, but the Tokyo prosecution did not have the same effect in Japan, where the firebombing of dozens of cities and the catastrophic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki compelled many to demand why U.S. leaders were not being held similarly accountable. According to Bass, the skepticism foreshadowed many challenges the United States is currently facing.

"In Japan in particular but across Asia, there are vexing doubts about the legitimacy of almost every aspect of the trial: its inception, its functioning, its verdicts and its legacy," he wrote. "Because it was defined by the limits of Allied power, marked Allied hypocrisy and the uncertainty of its outcome, the story of Tokyo is a far less heroic subject than Nuremberg — one that perhaps makes a more fitting World War II history for today, a time when American power is waning, its moral influence sharply diminished and its democracy in crisis."

Bass' book explores themes of racism, nationalism and imperialism, all of which played a role in the trial — and its aftermath. Indeed, Bass observes that the Tokyo proceeding was much more than either a legal matter or a military one.

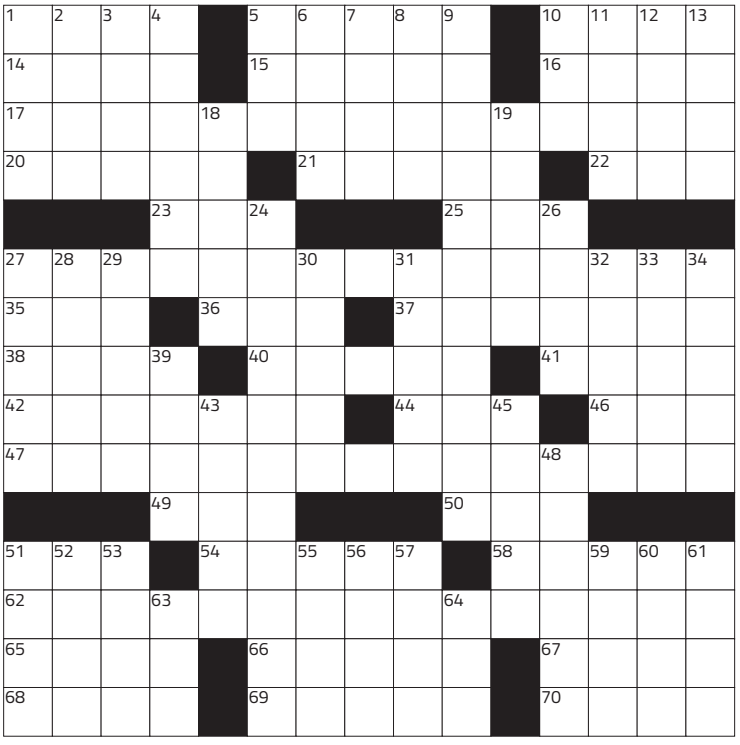
"It was a measure of Asia's colonial past and prelude of its Cold War future," he wrote. "The forging of a new Asia required military, political, economic and territorial arrangements, but also a moral reckoning with the war and its causes."

Around the World

An internationally themed puzzle, with a Princeton twist!

By Carrie Compton, Princeton Int'l

Finish this puzzle for a chance to win! Submit a photo of your completed grid to **international@princeton.edu** to be entered into a drawing for a free language translator device. (Scan QR code for details.) Submissions must be entered by April 1, 2025. Please include your name and mailing address.



ACROSS

1 ____uncertain terms
5 Passport certification
10 Nigerian-born British singer who was awarded a CBE in 2017
14 Princeton historian Wilentz
15 Alabama march site
16 Inter ____
17 Tourist perk for Tigers abroad
20 Titanic VIP
21 Doth speak
22 Sporty Brit. two-seaters
23 Secret locks?
25 France or Jordan leader
27 Overseas service program for alumni
35 Fox rival
36 Nickname of 1950s Reds slugger Ted
37 Yom Kippur observers
38 Old Italian bread
40 Per ____ ad Astra: RAF motto
41 VCR successor
42 Professors Anne Case and Angus Deaton, for example
44 Dr. Jekyll creator's monogram
46 ____-Werner Müller, Princeton politics prof
47 Where you can find PIIRS peers
49 Family nickname
50 Far-right nationalist party in Romania, abbr.
51 Coolers notably absent in most of Europe
54 Where you might find aviophobic travelers
58 Vowel sound in "amigo" and "ami"
62 Prestigious distinction held by Abdelhamid Arbab '23
65 Santa ____ (hot winds)
66 Calf-roping loop
67 Lung section
68 Flat sound
69 Al ____
70 Legis. period

DOWN

1 "Barbie" president Rae
2 Brings home
3 Kind of mile: Abbr.
4 "Come ____!" Notable "Price is Right" exhortation
5 U.S. passport application necessity
6 Vietnamese holidays
7 Alan of "M*A*S*H"
8 XIX Olympic Winter Games year
9 Ragu alla Bolognese, per esempio
10 ____Tomé and Príncipe
11 P-rade walker
12 Car scar
13 Slangy sustenance
18 Shortstop Aybar
19 Trouser material
24 Post-meal destination for 9-down partakers
26 Word from the Dutch for "talk nonsense"
27 Gdansk natives
28 "Spider-Man" director Sam
29 When dreams occur, for short
30 Italian city shrouded in mystery?
31 World's smallest island nation
32 Conductor Ozawa
33 Former Nascar driver Ernie
34 For ____ (cheaply)
39 Dadaist collection
43 Hoops great Thomas
45 Unsolicited manuscripts
48 Acts like a hot dog
51 Basic Latin verb
52 Holders of trash or Spam
53 Mmes., in Madrid
55 Gin fruit
56 X man Musk
57 Type of D.A.
59 Baffin Bay sight
60 File extensions
61 Bellicose Olympian
63 Draft org.
64 Middling mark

PHOTO: Fotobuddy

Anu Ramaswami (second row, center), the Sanjay Swani '87 Professor of India Studies and the director of M.S. Chadha Center for Global India, originated the idea for the Global India Frontiers Conference. "We wanted this conference to foster dialogue and discourse, breaking through disciplinary and viewpoint silos on India's future," she said.

Waging Peace

Children's rights activist and 2014 Nobel Peace Prize co-recipient Kailash Satyarthi served as one of several keynote speakers at the inaugural "Global India Frontiers Conference," a multidisciplinary gathering of luminaries across economics, politics, STEM, arts and humanities engaged in cross-disciplinary discourse. The event was a unique collaboration led by Princeton University's M.S. Chadha Center for Global India with the Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute at Harvard University and Indiaspora, a California-based nonprofit.

Satyarthi, who received the Nobel Peace Prize alongside Malala Yousafzai for their work against child exploitation and for the right of all children to an education, spoke about adolescents as casualties of war and about humanity's responsibility to all children. "Let us dare to imagine a compassionate world," he said. "I dare you to see what I see."

Watch
highlights of the "Global India Frontiers Conference" on the CGI YouTube channel.

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