BRIEFICATIONAL STUDIES BROWN UNIVERSITY WINTER 2006



inside

- 3 Experts Speak Out about Iraq
- 5 Who's New
- 7 New IWP Writer
- 8 Filmmaker Collaborates at Institute
- 9 Project Prepares UN White Paper
- **10** Events
- 12 Educational Programs
- 14 In the News
- **15** New Publications

BROWN



oday's news headlines are rife with stories about the turmoil in the Middle East. Yet the Middle East Environmental Futures (MEEF) Project under the auspices of the Watson Institute's Global Environment Program has found a way to transcend not only the turmoil but also national and cultural boundaries. MEEF has established an international network of researchers to conduct interdisciplinary and cooperative environmental research and outreach in Israel, the Palestinian Territories, and, more recently, other Middle East countries.

Steven Hamburg, director of the Global Environment Program, notes that "the MEEF project has proven a wonderful opportunity to extend the scope of the work of the Global Environment Program. It has allowed us to explore new linkages and provide a vital new policy forum to the region, in addition to bringing to the Institute a wide range of colleagues and offering a diversity of wonderful research experiences for undergraduates."

MEEF's roots began in 2002, when the project's principal investigators, Hamburg and Daniel Orenstein, a doctoral candidate in Brown's Envi-

> ronmental Studies Program, worked closely with other Brown scholars, such as Calvin Goldscheider, Sociology Department; Jeffrey Albert, Geological Science Department and Watson Institute; and Brian C. O'Neill, Watson Institute and International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in Laxenburg, Austria.

> Through a series of annual conferences and meetings held at Brown, Hamburg and the others recruited a growing cohort of researchers from Israel, the



I–r: 2004 interns Ilana Meallem, William Hewes, Elizabeth Dickson, and Mousa Diabat. Hewes and Dickson are Brown students and Meallem and Diabat are Israeli students from the Arava Institute for Environmental Studies.

"Even as purely national inquiries, the insights and policy relevance of these initiatives would be important in their own right, but what makes them unique is that they are done as part of a regional crossnational network of pooled knowledge and affiliation." Yaakov Garb

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Palestinian areas, and North America, who came to share understandings of each other's work as they hammered out a conceptual framework that allowed the bridging of disciplines and political viewpoints. This framework combined the scientific assessment of landscapes and environmental change with a study of the social and cultural narratives and meanings associated with these, as well as potential demographic, economic, and political scenarios for the future. All these factors led to the project's name.

A workshop in 2004 at York University in Toronto focused on "environmental narratives" in the Middle East, and resulted in an edited book of conference papers, *Palestinian and Israeli Environmental Narratives*, which is available online at the York Center's website (www.yorku.ca/yciss). This cooperation continued with a meeting held in Bethlehem in 2005. MEEF has planned more meetings to be held in Jerusalem and Amman, Jordan later this year.

Yaakov Garb, an early participant in the project, took over as coordinator when he joined the Watson Institute in 2005 as a visiting professor. MEEF has now expanded



The MEEF team above the Hebron/Halil River between the Jewish suburban town of Omer and the Bedouin village of Tel Sheva. The river has been straightened into a short section of artificial channel, thereby expanding Omer's territory. The makeshift bridge enables workers from Tel Sheva to cross over into Omer.

to 16 research projects, not only in Israel and Palestine but also in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, as well as proposed projects with researchers in Tunisia and Morocco. The project also has enabled Middle East students to intern at Brown, while Brown students have interned and conducted research in the Middle East.

Among the initiatives now underway is one that provides a "hydropolitical portrait" of the Halil (Hebron)/Besor watershed. The project's interdisciplinary team is tracing the source from Hebron's industrial area through Israel to the Mediterranean Sea in Gaza. At the same time, the team is interviewing stakeholders and surveying the remarkably complex social and natural landscapes through which this cross-border watercourse flows. The resulting hydropolitical portrait will serve as a basis for further research and policy-management recommendations.

Other research comprises a cluster of studies that offer a more multicultural perspective on Israeli environmentalism. Three student projects, for example, examine the environmental relations of Israel's ultraorthodox Haredi community—typically regarded as oblivious to such matters.

The first draws on a national survey of the environmental literacy of Israeli school children to examine the variations in knowledge and awareness among different communities in Israel, and to expand the notion of what constitutes "environmental literacy." The second project compares the consumption patterns of Haredim in Israel and Canada. And the final project examines the individuals who shuttle back and forth between secular environmental sensibilities and the Haredi religious world, acting as change agents across these cultural lines. This allows them to piece together "boundary objects" that are relevant to both communities, despite their social differences.

Another MEEF initiative examines the environmental impacts of quarries



At a garage in Hebron, makeshift oil pans are used to drain car oil, which is disposed through the grille into the sewer. All Hebron sewage flows untreated into the Hebron River.

and the already expansive stone industry, which has been identified as a major growth area for the Palestinian economy. The results of this research will be geared toward trying to reduce the environmental impacts of growth in this sector.

"Even as purely national inquiries, the insights and policy relevance of these initiatives would be important in their own right," says Garb, "but what makes them unique is that they are done as part of a regional cross-national network of pooled knowledge and affiliation. So far, we have had a Jordanian student working on coastal development in Egypt. Two Jewish-American students are working on traditional Arab agricultural practices in the Galilee in Israel. An Israeli researcher teamed up with a Palestinian and U.S. counterparts to examine claims of excessively high cancer rates in the Palestinian villages of southern Hebron."

MEEF has received generous support from the Watson Institute's Middle East and Islamic Studies Initiative fund; Brown University's research seed fund, administered by the vice president for research; York University's Center for Applied Sustainability; and the Canadian International Research Center. The project also has received in-kind support from the researchers who are part of the network. Interested faculty and student researchers can contact MEEF through meef@brown.edu.

Experts Speak Out about U.S. Iraq Policy

hree well-known experts and critics of the United States' intervention and war in Iraq shared their views this past fall at three different venues either sponsored or co-sponsored by the Watson Institute.

LARRY DIAMOND, former senior adviser on governance to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad and author of Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq (Times Books, 2005), spoke on October 11 about "A Bungled Intervention in Iraq: Prospects and Lessons," as part of the Institute's Directors' Series Lectures on International Affairs.

Outlining the grim prospects for a lasting peace, U.S. responsibility, and an inevitable civil war, Diamond framed his discussion of the Iraq war within the context of the Iraqi referendum on the newly revised constitution in October, which he described as a "really deep, depressing quagmire," while admitting that "we can't leave, and we can't stay."



Larry Diamond

Diamond argued that the U.S. invasion—not Saddam Hussein—has fostered a "language for resistance." The invasion has made Iraq a safe haven for al-Qaeda terrorists from the greater Arab world, and the Bush administration is in a Catch-22 situation. If the U.S. withdraws its troops, "inevitable civil war" among the ethnic and religious groups will erupt. If U.S. military presence is maintained, then the incursion will be seen as a "long-term imperial occupation of an Arab land," further enraging the Iraqis and their Arab neighbors. Without the U.S. military in Iraq, the main "rationale for resistance fueling the deadly Sunni insurgency would be gone," Diamond said.

With Iraq's three major ethnic and religious groups—the Sunni, Shi'a, and Kurds—currently vying for political and economic influence under the new constitution, growing rifts among the groups hindered cooperation, which leads toward a very dangerous situation that historically has led to all-out civil war.

Still, Diamond noted possibilities of a more peaceful path. First, political actors must give Sunni Arab communities a stake in the new political framework so that they will be motivated to denounce the insurgency and al-Qaeda affiliations. Second, it is imperative that the United Nations be involved as a moderator between the United States and the skeptical Sunnis. Finally, President Bush must announce that the U.S. has no imperial ambitions in the region, that he does not seek to control the oil fields, and that he is not planning on building permanent military bases in Iraq.

It is a "neoconservative fantasy" that Iraq will be the U.S.'s new ally in the Middle East," Diamond observed. Therefore, the Bush administration must "swallow its pride, reduce its ambitions, and negotiate."

RICHARD A. CLARKE, a former national security adviser to Presidents Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, and author of *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (Free Press, 2004) and *The Scorpion's Gate* (Putnam-Penguin, 2005), addressed the Global Security Program's DARE (Dialogue among Americans, Russians, and Europeans) project at the Yale Club in New York in late November. Clarke's speech capped a day-long debate led by DARE project leader Catherine McArdle Kelleher on the long-term relationship of the West to the Islamic states.



Richard A. Clarke

Clarke began by pointing out the major elements of American national security policy that affect the terrorism policy that has become Iraq. He argued that "Iraq is really the most important thing that is going on in American counterterrorism policy today, and that American actions in Iraq affect so many other governments' counterterrorism policies."

Clarke outlined the evolution of the U.S. military intervention in Iraq in six phases. The first "conflation phase" occurred immediately after 9/11, whereby "the American government conflated the war on terrorism with the war that it was planning on Iraq." The second phase was the administration's build up to the war on Iraq when some "80 percent of the American people had been persuaded during the preceding year that Iraq not only had something to do with terrorism but Iraq had something to do with 9/11."

"In the third, post-invasion phase, the Bush administration elaborated on its theory with a number of slogans and you'll see throughout this period, throughout this discussion, that the administration was very big on slogans which we call bumper stickers. His administration coined the phrase 'fly "Iraq is really the most important thing that is going on in American counterterrorism policy today, and that American actions in Iraq affect so many other governments' counterterrorism policies." *Richard A. Clarke* "Nobody knew Saddam Hussein better than I did. I was the last American to confront Saddam before the first war, though now I'm more often introduced as Valerie Plame's husband." *The Honorable Joseph Wilson* CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING PAGE

paper strategy' for its involvement in Iraq and its fight against terrorism. The U.S. troops would serve as fly paper—they would attract terrorists and then kill them much as flypaper does to flies."

The fourth phase marked the growth of the insurgency and the fifth phase has yet to come. That phase, Clarke noted, is our "withdrawal phase." He foresees a sixth, postwithdrawal phase, when there are no more U.S. combat forces in Iraq. "What will that be like?" he asked. "The White House says that it would be chaos, and my question is, how would you know the difference between now and then?"

At the end of his talk, Clarke cited historian Barbara Tuchman's book, *The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam*, in which Tuchman described leaders in history that pursued policies that they "knew were not working, could never succeed, but [that] they continued anyway." He then concluded, "For my money, at least, we are now as a nation in Iraq engaged in such a march of folly."

The Honorable **JOSEPH WILSON**, former acting ambassador to Iraq, career diplomat, and foreign policy expert addressed "The Politics of Truth" in November at Brown's Salomon Center for Teaching. Brown's Major Events, Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, and the Brown Dems cosponsored the event with the Institute. Wilson is author of *The Politics of Truth: Inside the Lies that Led to War and Betrayed My Wife's CIA Identity: A Diplomat's Memoir* (Carroll and Graf, 2004).



Ambassador Joseph Wilson

"The issues I've tried to address aren't partisan issues. They're issues of national security," Ambassador Wilson said as he began his talk. He then described his experiences during the past 15 years with U.S. foreign policy in Iraq and the Middle East and addressed his conflicts with the current Bush administration over the disclosure of the identity of his wife, Valerie Plame as a CIA operative.

While discussing the importance of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Wilson noted that "the United States had two fundamental pillars in its Middle East policy: first, be the best friend Israel ever had; second, be a bridge from Israel to the Arab community," he said. "The second pillar has been damaged by the Iraq war. But we are the guarantors of Israel's territorial integrity. With the U.S. there for them, Israel can be confident that in signing compromises it is not signing its own death warrant."

While working for President George H.W. Bush's administration, he served as acting ambassador to Iraq during Operation Desert Shield, preceding the First Gulf War. "I had two objectives there: to save as many American lives as possible, and to make Saddam Hussein appreciate the consequences of not leaving Kuwait peacefully," he said. Although he did not drawn any direct comparisons between the strategies of the first and second Iraq wars, Wilson highlighted the multilateral strategies of the first Bush administration as he related how the United States built a coalition of 42 nations' armed forces to challenge Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

When he observed the U.S. policy toward Iraq in 2002, Wilson said, "I got back into the debate because I believed that we weren't hearing all sides of the debate." He added, "I brought not partisan leaning, but the experience of having dealt with Hussein for two and a half years in the First Gulf War. Nobody knew Saddam Hussein better than I did. I was the last American to confront Saddam before the first war, though now I'm more often introduced as Valerie Plame's husband."

Wilson believes that in trying to prevent the United States from going to war in Iraq over false claims of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, he took "the position that most people would take in a vibrant democracy, that is, to hold my government accountable."

WHO'S NEW AT WATSON



Alice Ilchman

Alice Ilchman Joins Institute's Board of Overseers

he newest member to join the Watson Institute's Board of Overseers is Alice Ilchman, director of the Jeannette K. Watson Fellowship, a project of the Thomas J. Watson Foundation.

She holds a BA from Mount Holyoke College, an MPA from the Maxwell School for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, and a PhD from the London School of Economics.

She has spent 40 years in higher education and public service. Her career has spanned teaching, research, and management positions at institutions ranging from the University of California at Berkeley to the Berkshire Community College in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. She served as dean of Wellesley College from 1974 to 1978, and as president of Sarah Lawrence College from 1981 to 1998. President Jimmy Carter appointed her to the State Department as assistant secretary for educational and cultural affairs in his administration.

In addition to her commitment to higher education, Ilchman has a deep interest in the problems of developing countries, particularly India. She has studied the role of innovation in agricultural practice and the importance of education in human resource development. She has trained Peace Corps volunteers for service in India and taught Berkeley graduate students in New Delhi.

She served 13 years as a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, chairing the board from 1995 to 2000. She also serves on such international boards of the Court of Governors for the London School of Economics and the University of Cape Town, Fund Inc.

Ilchman is a trustee of the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) and a director of the Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center.

Ilchman joins a 22-member Board of Overseers, which provides guidance to the Watson Institute. Board members have included former ambassadors and heads of state, as well as presidents and directors of global firms, leaders of nongovernmental organizations, and renowned scholars of international relations.

Watson Board members have been guiding forces behind such endeavors as the Congressional 9/11 Commission, the Lower Manhattan Redevelopment Authority, and the World Trade Center Memorial Competition. S ince its beginning, the Watson Institute has been host to a wide range of distinguished scholars and visitors from around the world. The visitors have included practitioners such as government and nongovernmental officials, and, more recently, writers and filmmakers. These scholars and visitors contribute greatly to the academic excellence of the Institute and Brown by participating in multidisciplinary research and teaching, as well as providing diverse expertise to inform and enhance the Institute's programs.

This spring, the Institute welcomes the visitors. They are:

LORI A. ALLEN is a visiting fellow. She received a BA in anthropology from the University of Chicago, an MA in anthropology from Columbia University, and an MA and PhD in anthropology from the University of Chicago. Most recently, she was a postdoctoral research fellow at Brown's Pembroke Center where she worked on a book project: "A History of Suffering: Human Rights and the Holocaust in Palestinian Nationalism."

While at the Institute, she will assist Middle East Studies Director Elliott Colla in co-teaching the Middle East Studies Pro-Seminar. Among her research interests are the anthropology of violence, human rights, pain and suffering, media, aesthetics, torture, nationalism and globalization, ritual theory, the Palestinian Territories and Israel.

WHO'S NEW AT WATSON

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NATALIE BORMANN is a visiting assistant professor (research). She previously held posts at the University of Edinburgh and the University of Manchester, U.K. She received her MA in international political economy and PhD in international politics at the University of Newcastle. She also holds a joint "Vordiplom" in economics and political science from the University of Cologne, Germany.

Alongside her academic activities, she worked for a congressman in Washington D.C., and was a NATO research analyst at the Centre for European Security and Disarmament in Brussels, Belgium.

Her research interests include international relations theory and U.S. foreign and security policy, with a particular focus on interdisciplinary approaches borrowed largely from critical social theory and poststructuralism.

At the Watson Institute, she will concentrate on writing her book manuscript, "U.S. Foreign Policy and Identity: A Re-reading of National Missile Defense" (Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2007).

Her other projects include work on "The International Politics of Outer Space," in which she pursues a spatial reading of U.S. weaponization of outer space. She also has been commissioned to contribute a chapter, "Security and Gender," to an edited book on women and new labor.

ANTONIO FERRARA is a predoctoral visiting fellow and a doctoral candidate at the Frederick II University in Naples, Italy, where he also received his BA in political science. He is a graduate of Harvard University's Ukrainian Summer Institute.

While at the Institute, he will assist in organizing a future Borderlands Project workshop at Brown University and another in Germany. Ferrara is interested in history, historiography, and the politics of European population transfers from 1912 to 1953, ethnic conflicts in twentieth-century Europe, and policymaking.

EUGENE JARECKI, an awardwinning dramatic and documentary filmmaker, is a visiting fellow (*see p. 8*).

SHAHRIAR MANDANIPOUR, an acclaimed Iranian author, is the third International Writers Project Fellow resident at the Watson Institute (*see p. 7*).

ADRIANA APARECIDA MARQUES is a visiting fellow. She holds a BA in anthropology and political science and an MA in political science from the Universidade de Estadual de Campinas. She received her PhD from the University of São Paulo.

She is a resident in the Center for Latin American Studies, working with its Director James Green. Among other topics, she has worked on Brazilian military history, national defense and national security strategies, and military presence and strategy in the Amazon region and Latin America.

SILVIA PIETRANTONIO is a visiting scholar with the Brown/Bologna Exchange Program at the Watson Institute. She works as an editor with the Italian academic journal, *Ricerche di Storia Politica*. She is also a doctoral candidate in contemporary political history at the University of Bologna, where she also received her undergraduate degree in international and diplomatic sciences. She earned an MA in contemporary European studies from the University of Sussex, U.K. Her areas of interest include European reactions to events in the Middle East during the 1970s, particularly after the Yom Kippur war, and how those reactions influenced transatlantic relations, as well as political, diplomatic, and economic history.

ZLATKO SABIC, visiting fellow, is an associate professor of international relations in the Political Science Department at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, where he also received his PhD in international relations. He is also a research fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences' Center of International Relations in Ljubljana and vice dean at the Faculty of Social Sciences.

He is the author or editor of three books; his most recent with Charles Bukowski is *Small States in the Post-Cold War: Slovenia and NATO Enlargement.* He is also the author or co-author of more than 40 articles and book chapters.

Sabic's research has focused on the role of small states in the international community's accession in the EU and NATO, the role of national parliaments in the European integration process, and EU foreign policy. He also has worked on theory development and research in European and U.S. international relations, and especially on the Balkans region. Moreover, he is interested in international politics, procedural aspects of international organizations, the UN System, EU institutions, and international parliamentary organs.

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BOIMAHMAD SOLIEV is a visiting fellow. He teaches in the Political Science Department at the Tajik State National University in Dushanbe, Tajikistan. He holds a diploma from the Tajik State Institute of Languages and is working on an advanced degree in political science at the Tajik State National University.

While at Brown, he intends to focus his research on international relations after the collapse of the Soviet Union and look at changes in the sphere of international relations, political processes in the modern world, modernization, globalization, democratization, nationalism, and ethnic conflicts. He also intends to further his research on globalization and Islam.

Iranian Novelist Third IWP Fellow at Watson

Tranian novelist Shahriar Mandanipour arrived at Brown University in January to become the third International Writers Project (IWP) Fellow. IWP is a partnership between Brown's Literary Arts Program and the Watson Institute, where the fellows reside during their appointment at Brown.

Mandanipour is regarded as one of the most accomplished and successful writers in contemporary Iran. His honors include the Mehregan Award for the best Iranian children's novel of 2004, the 1998 Golden Tablet Award for best fiction in Iran during the previous two decades, and Best Film Critique at the 1994 Press Festival in Tehran.

Robert Coover, the T. B. Stowell Adjunct Professor of Literary Arts and an award-winning novelist, developed IWP to provide writers the opportunity to practice their craft in an environment free of political oppression. Fellows usually work within literary genre such as fiction, drama, or poetry.

The fellowship itself offers a year's residency at the University and full access to the resources and support of its faculty and students, especially within the Literary Arts Program and the Institute. Additionally, the project features each year a speaker series focused on human rights and free expression globally and a festival highlighting the particular national artistic and political identity of the resident writer.

Fellow Iranian novelist Shahrnush



The Persian cover of Mandanipour's most recent book, *Abi-ye Mavara-ye Behar—Ultramarine Blue*, which comprises 11 stories relating to the events of 9/11.



Shahriar Mandanipour

Parsipour was the first IWP fellow in 2003–2004, and Congolese playwright Pierre Mumbere Mujomba was the second in 2004–2005.

Mandanipour is the author of nine volumes of fiction, one nonfiction book, and more than 100 essays in genres such as literary theory, literature and art criticism, creative writing, censorship, and social commentary.

His five collections of short stories include *The Eighth Day of the Earth*, *Violent Orient, Midday Moon, Mummy and Honey*, and *Shadows of the Cave*. A recent work, *Ultramarine Blue*, gathers together 11 stories that relate in various ways to the events of 9/11. He is also the author of the two-volume novel, *The Courage of Love*.

Since 1999, he has been the chief editor of *Asr-e Panjshanbeh* (*Thursday Evening*), a monthly literary journal published in Shiraz. While at Brown, Mandanipour will complete a new novel.

The William H. Donner Foundation funds the International Writers Project. Shahriar Mandanipour is regarded as one of the most accomplished and successful writers in contemporary Iran.

WHO'S NEW AT WATSON

"What are the forces—political, economic, ideological—that drive us to fight against an ever-changing enemy?" *Eugene Jarecki*



Eugene Jarecki

Acclaimed Filmmaker Collaborates at Institute

Filmmaker Eugene Jarecki's latest work, *Why We Fight*, was released recently to general audiences in California and New York and will be seen throughout the United States during the next few months.

Why We Fight has already received international critical acclaim and won the Grand Jury Prize at the 2005 Sundance Film Festival. In this latest work, Jarecki, a Watson Institute visiting senior fellow, examines the contours of the military apparatus, asking "Why does America fight?" At the Institute, Jarecki is working on the Global Media Project, which is addressing and reframing pressing global issues and strengthening public interest in media worldwide.

Why We Fight focuses a clear lens on the "anatomy of the American war machine." The film has two influences: Dwight D. Eisenhower's farewell speech in which he first coined the phrase "military industrial complex," and Frank Capra's legendary World War II propaganda films bearing the same title. But Jarecki asks the important question of "what are the forces—political, economic, ideological—that drive us to fight against an ever-changing enemy?" For the film, he interviewed both military and Washington insiders to present a bipartisan perspective on the United States's "military industrial complex" and the rise of the "American Empire."

Jarecki first trained at Princeton University as a stage director, but in 1992 he turned to film. His first short film, *Season of the Lifterbees*, premiered at the 1993 Sundance Film Festival before winning both a Student Academy Award and the Time Warner Grand Prize at the Aspen Film Festival.

Another film, *The Trials of Henry Kissinger*, was released in 2002 again to critical acclaim in 130 cities, winning that year's Amnesty International Award and was nominated for an Independent Spirit Award. Since then, it has been broadcast in more than 30 countries. *Trials* was also selected to launch the Sundance Channel's DOCday venture as well the BBC's prestigious digital channel BBC4.

In 2001, Jarecki wrote and directed the dramatic feature *The Opponent*, which Lions Gate Films distributed. His first documentary, *Quest of the Carib Canoe*, premiered on the BBC before being distributed to more than 15 countries.

He holds a BA in English with a focus on stage directing and political drama from Princeton University. He also attended New York University's Film Intensive Program.

A versatile intellect, Jarecki is the founder and executive director of The Eisenhower Project, an academic public policy group dedicated in the spirit of Dwight D. Eisenhower to studying the forces that shape American foreign policy. He brings to the Watson Institute's Global Media Project this interest of integrating public media and policy. For Jarecki, these are not separate universes.

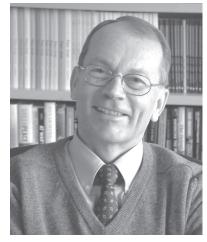
While at the Watson Institute, he joins a team led by Global Security Director James Der Derian and Visiting Fellow John Phillip Santos to develop this new research initiative, which intends to amplify the visibility and influence of research done at the Institute through the production and distribution of public interest media projects. The project aims to provide critical media analysis, expertise, and funding for these works. He also coteaches with DerDerian and Santos.

Jarecki recently discussed *Why We Fight*| with the Watson Board, Friends of the Watson Institute, and Watson Associates at a screening at the Tribeca Film Center in New York City (*see p. 11*).

Project Prepares White Paper to Strengthen UN Targeted Sanctions

n the struggle to counter global terrorism, are there ways to strengthen UN Security Council sanctions while at the same time providing due process safeguards for targeted individuals? The government of Switzerland, in conjunction with the governments of Germany and Sweden, want to know the answer to that question. It recently commissioned the Watson Institute's Targeted Sanctions Project to prepare a white paper, which analyzes current sanctions procedures and suggests measures to address due process concerns, as well as ensure the rule of law in the application of targeted sanctions. The project has gained international recognition for its work evaluating the implementation of targeted sanctions in general, and the global effort to implement measures to counter terrorist financing more specifically.

In recent years, five cases have come before the European Court of Justice, in addition to legal challenges in national courts of other countries, which raise questions about whether UN Security Council sanctions targeting individuals and corporate entities ensure adequate due process protections. The Security Council has procedures for the delisting of individuals that rely on bilateral negotiations between the listing state and the state of residence or citizenship of the targeted individual. Yet some states argue that existing bilateral processes may not be adequate and have recent-



Thomas J. Biersteker

ly expressed concern about adding names to the UN Security Council's list of suspected terrorists until these issues are addressed.

Thomas J. Biersteker and Sue E. Eckert, principal investigators for the Institute's Targeted Sanctions and Targeting Terrorist Finances Projects, have been investigating the development and implementation of Security Council sanctions for the past eight years.

Biersteker described the current problem: "The growing perception of unfairness and potential violation of fundamental human rights associated with targeted sanctions means there is a political problem that needs to be addressed. Failure to make the sanctions process more transparent and accessible threatens to undermine the credibility and effectiveness of international sanctions."

During January, Biersteker and Eckert drafted a white paper that was discussed at a special meeting in New York convened by the government of Germany on January 24 and 25. In addition to representatives of the three sponsoring governments, legal and terrorism experts, UN Secretariat officials, and more than a dozen Member States participated in the meeting. The paper surveyed the issues at hand, analyzed current procedures used by UN sanctions committees, and presented for discussion a variety of different proposals to address due process concerns as part of the UN's overall sanctions program.



Sue E. Eckert

The project team is currently reviewing detailed comments on their first draft and actively soliciting ideas and input from critical states that did not attend the initial meeting. They plan to revise the report and then present the results at a UN event organized by the government of Sweden at the end of March. "Failure to make the sanctions process more transparent and accessible threatens to undermine the credibility and effectiveness of international sanctions." *Thomas J. Biersteker*

EVENTS

Popular CCR Lecture Series Presents Spring Schedule

he Colloquium for Comparative Research (CCR), an ongoing seminar series for faculty and graduate students, is a project of the Political Economy and Development Program. CCR invites scholars from within and outside of Brown to speak on comparative work that focuses on areas outside of the United States and falls within the four overall disciplines of anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology.

Marsha Pripstein Posusney, an adjunct professor at the Institute and a professor of political science at Bryant University, is the series convenor for 2005–2006 and ensures that the series seeks a balance between the internal and external speakers and the four primary academic disciplines.

The series has been popular and has maintained "a consistent core of faculty and graduate students and, so far, talks focusing on democratization and economic development have generated the most attention," Posusney said.

The CCR series takes place on alternate Wednesdays at 4:00 p.m. in the McKinney Conference Room at the Watson Institute. Papers are generally available about one week in advance and can be obtained by contacting Kate Farrell (Kate_Farrell@brown. edu).

For updated information on the series, visit www.watsonistitute.org/ events.cfm?type=43.

CCR SPEAKER SERIES Spring Schedule

February

Wednesday, February 8: **DANIEL DREZNER**, University of Chicago, "Gauging the Power of Global Civil Society: Intellectual Property and Public Health"

Wednesday, February22: **PAULINE JONES LUONG**, Brown University, "Rethinking the Resource Curse: Lessons from the Soviet Union"

MARCH

Thursday, March2:

"Love, Marriage and HIV: A Multi-site Ethnographic Study of Gender and HIV Risk," presented by the Population Studies and Training Center Spring Colloquia Series. Panelists include **JENNIFER** HIRSCH, Columbia University; SHANTI PARIKH, Washington University; HARRIET PHINNEY, University of Washington; **DANIEL** JORDAN SMITH, Brown University; and Holly WARDLOW, University of Toronto Note time and Location:

12:00 pm–5:00 pm, Seminar Room of the Cabinet-Building, 68 Waterman Street

Wednesday, March 8: **KIMBERLY ELLIOTT**, Institute for International Economics, "Delivering on Doha: Farm



Marsha Pripstein Posusney

Trade and the Poor"

Wednesday, March 22:

MATTHIAS VOM HAU, Brown University, "States, Movements, and Nationalism: Peru in Comparative Perspective"

April

Wednesday, April 5: **KURT WEYLAND**, University of Texas, "Bounded Rationality and Policy Diffusion: Social Sector Reform in Latin America"

Wednesday, April19: KAY WARREN, Brown University, TBA

MAY

Wednesday, May 3: DILIP MOOKHERJEE, Boston University "Local Democracy and Land Reform in West Bengal"

New Seminar Series Debuts at Institute

he Watson Institute's newest seminar series continues this spring with six speakers who will explore the crossover between activism, research, and policy, and teaching, writing, publishing, and artistic practices. The Anthropology, Art, and Activism Seminar Series was inaugurated this fall with four cultural anthropologists, some of whom work in film and study activism and social movements.

On Tuesday, January 31, Professor Nazli Kibria of Boston University gave the first talk of the semester on "The Assassination of My Father in Bangladesh: Moral Shocks, Activism, and Sociological Writing."

The series examines the disconnect that sometimes occurs between the academy, political advocacy, and communities of creative expression -all of whom may be addressing similar issues. Through lectures, artistic presentations, and roundtables, speakers focus on these troubling boundaries and ask what might be gained from each constituency studying or participating in the other.

Other speakers scheduled for spring 2006 are João Biehl, Angelique Haugerud, Joshua Marston, William Rathje, and The Yes Men.

All programs are at 4:00 p.m. in the Watson Institute's Joukowsky Forum, 111 Thayer Street, and are free and open to the public.



Nazli Kibria

Friends and Board Gather for Film Screening

he Institute invited in February Board members, Friends of the Watson Institute, and Watson Associates to the Tribeca Film Center in New York City for a private screening of Eugene Jarecki's recently released documentary film Why We Fight (see p. 8).

The more than 60 attendees also enjoyed an introduction from Jarecki, as well as the opportunity to discuss the film with him afterward.

Why We Fight won the Grand Jury Prize at the 2005 Sundance Film Festival. The film is a commentary on the "American War Machine" and was inspired in part by President Dwight D. Eisenhower's farewell speech in which he first coined the phrase "military industrial complex."

For more information on how to participate in future events, contact Geoffrey Kirkman, the Institute's associate director.

Jiang and Xu at International Symposium on **China's Future** Challenges

atson faculty members Jiang Leiwen and Xu Wenli were panelists for Tufts University's Eighth Annual Institute for Leadership and International Perspective Symposium on "China's Future Challenges" in February. They joined more than 30 other international scholars, policymakers, governmental officials, military officials, and journalists to examine such themes as finance and trade, rising social problems, power dynamics in East Asia, and development dilemmas.

Jiang, an assistant professor (research) in the Watson Institute's Global Environment Program, was a presenter on the "Rural-Urban Divide" panel, and Xu, a senior fellow, served on the "Rule of Law and Political Reform" panel.

Jiang has received much attention for his work on population change and land degradation, as well as population and long-term household projections in China. Xu is best known as one of China's leading pro-democracy advocates and a former leader of the Democracy Wall movement.

The Tufts program, along with the University of Hong Kong, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and Beijing's Peking University, seeks to prepare the next generation of global leaders to address the burgeoning relationship between China and the world.





Xu Wenli

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

IR Program Offers New Courses

Brown University's International Relations (IR) Program is offering 18 courses this spring semester, 12 of which are senior seminars on topics ranging from the war in Vietnam to the democracy movement in China and from terrorism in international politics to the international political economy of Asia and the Pacific.

Among the new senior seminars offered are: "Environmentalism as Cultural Criticism: Enviro-Religious Critiques in a Globalizing World," with Visiting Assistant Professor Eilon Schwartz; "The Last Empire: Portuguese Colonialism and Decolonization in Comparative Perspective," with Visiting Assistant Professor Nuno Rodrigues; "Drugs and Society: The Politics and Culture of Coca and



Yong Wook Lee

olitics and Culture of Coca and Cocaine," with Postdoctoral Fellow Winifred Louise Tate; "Global Media: History/Theory/ Production," with Professor of International Studies (Research) James Der Derian, director of the Global Security Program and Visting Fellows Eugene Jarecki and John Phillip Santos; "Arab-Israel Conflict,"

> with Visiting Professor of Politcial Science Kenneth Stein; and "An American Diplomat in Nineteenth-Century Europe," with Brown Professor *Emerita* of History and Watson Adjunct Professor Patricia

Herlihy. Watson Institute faculty teach most of the courses offered through the IR Program.

There are also six senior seminars that have been offered in the past: "The United States in World Politics," with Adjunct Professor Linda B. Miller; "The Vietnam War Revisited," with Professor James G. Blight and Adjunct Associate Professor janet M. Lang;"From Dracula to Milosevic: Religion, Violence, and Questions of Nationalism in the Balkans (Fifteenth to the Twentieth Centuries)," with Dimitris Livanios; "The Chinese Democracy Movement in the Twentieth Century," with Senior Fellow Xu Wenli;"International Political Economy of Asia-Pacific," with Postdoctoral Fellow Yong Wook Lee; "Terrorism in International Politics," with Senior Fellow Catherine McArdle Kelleher.

There are six standard courses offered this spring: "Conflict and Cooperation in International Politics," with Assistant ProfessorPeter Andreas; "Theories of International Relations in the Twentieth Century," with Henry R. Luce Professor and Director of the Watson Institute Thomas J. Biersteker; "International Political Economy of Development," with

Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science Kirsten Rodine-Hardy; "International Organization and World Politics," with Associate Professor and IR Program Director Nina Tannenwald; "War and Society," with Professor Catherine Lutz; and "Violence and



The Watson Institute's Catherine McArdle Kelleher, a former senior Defense Department official and professor at the U.S. Naval War College, teaches a popular IR senior seminar.

the Media," with Charles B. Tillinghast, Jr. '32 Professor in International Studies and Professor of Anthropology Kay Warren.

Learn more about the International Relations Program and its requirements by visiting its website at www. watsoninstitute.org/IR



Winifred Louise Tate

New Choices Unit Examines Challenges of Nuclear Weapons

he Institute's Choices for the 21st Century Program has just published a new curriculum unit for secondary-level education that focuses on nuclear weapons and proliferation. *The Challenge of Nuclear Weapons* has been developed under a two-year grant from the Ploughshares Fund.

Proliferation of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons is not traditionally addressed within the high school curriculum, but it is on students' minds. In Choices' online ballot on America's role in the world, high school students cite proliferation as their top concern. Forty-five percent of almost 13,000 students participating in the ballot chose proliferation of weapons of mass destruction among their three main concerns from a list of 13, exceeding any other issue.

"Despite the high level of student concern, little is being done to help American youth to understand the issues and engage in informed deliberation on the choices before us," said Susan Graseck, director of the Choices Program. "This project is an answer to that need. It offers an opportunity for teachers at the secondary level to engage their students in substantive consideration of the issues, to weigh competing arguments, and to come to their own considered views."

The Institute's Nina Tannenwald, director of the International Relations Program, has served as the principle scholar who advised the Choices Program in developing this unit.

"At a time when nuclear proliferation is a leading global problem but public discussion of U.S. nuclear policy is at an all-time low, the Choices unit provides a welcome primer on these topics. It lays out clearly the major issues and debates, along with the possible consequences of various policy options. It encourages students to think critically about the choices and trade-offs facing U.S. leaders and citizens with respect to nuclear policy. This is exactly the kind of material we need to raise young people's awareness of this critical global issue," Tannenwald said.

Additional scholars included James Blight, P. Terrance Hopmann, janet Lang, and Linda B. Miller from the Institute; as well as Joseph Cirincione, director for Nonproliferation at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; William C. Potter, director of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies; Scott Sagan, co-director of the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University; and Andrew Winner, associate professor of Strategic Studies at the Naval War College.

In addition to a published text, the project will include additional resources. Among them are web-based lesson plans, an online ballot activity that gives students a venue through which to express their views beyond the classroom, and links to the online resources of various organizations such as the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. Drawing from the responses of students on the online ballot on nuclear weapons, the Choices Program plans to develop a report on student views that it will present to the new Congress in January 2007.

With this unit and online resources now available, the Choices Program is turning its attention to related outreach and professional development.

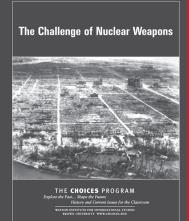
Outreach was initiated with notification that went out to the 12,000 teachers on Choices' eletter list in early February. Workshops are beginning to take place this spring at professional conferences.

The topic has been incorporated into the Choices' Capitol Forum initiative that is taking place this spring in eight states. Choices also has begun to write articles for professional

journals. The first will appear in the spring issue of *The Leader*, the journal of the National Social Studies Supervisors Association.

Although the initiative focuses primarily on high school students, Choices also plans to introduce these resources to college professors and students. This outreach began in early March when Choices sent a special "e-letter" to some 1,000 college professors on its mailing list.

Information on this new curriculum unit is available from the Choices Program website at www.choices.edu.



IN THE NEWS

Biersteker Serves Again on Gelber Prize Jury

or a second year, Thomas J. Biersteker, director of the Watson Institute, has served on the prestigious Lionel Gelber Prize Jury, which recently announced the finalists for the most outstanding book on international affairs in 2005. This year's jury is made up of distinguished scholars of international relations and noted foreign correspondents. Now in its sixteenth year, the \$15,000 prize is presented annually in association with the Munk Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto and the Washington-based Foreign Policy Magazine.

In addition to Biersteker, who is also Brown University's Henry R. Luce Professor, the jurors are George Russell, who not only chairs the jury but also is the executive editor with the Fox News Network in New York and former president and editor of TIME Magazine in Canada; David Halton, a distinguished broadcast journalist with the CBC; Tod Lindberg, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and editor of its Policy Review; and Anne-Marie Slaughter, the dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.

The jury received this year more than 120 nominations for the award and, in Toronto, Prize Board Chair Judith A. Gelber announced last month the five finalists:

The Next Attack: The Failure of the War on Terror and a Strategy for Getting It Right by Daniel Benjamin and Steve Simon (Times Books); Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya by Caroline Elkins (Henry Holt); Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves by Adam Hochschild (Houghton Mifflin); The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time by Jeffrey D. Sachs (The Penguin Press); Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy by Stephen M. Walt (W.W. Norton).

Lionel Gelber, a Canadian author, scholar, historian, diplomat, and expert on Anglo-American relations, wrote eight books and numerous articles on foreign relations and politics. He established the prize in 1989 to encourage scholarship from around the world on foreign affairs and international relations.

Lutz Captures Attention of Stars and Stripes

Professor Catherine Lutz of the Watson Institute's Politics, Culture, and Identity Program and Anthropology Department has been involved in a long-term research project on the presence of the U.S. military in Guam, Okinawa, and South Korea, as well as its aftereffects on the Philippines. During a recent trip to South Korea, her work was a *Stars and Stripes* feature article by Seth Robson titled "Professor examines effects of bases on Asian neighbors" (November 22, 2006).

The author of the acclaimed *Home Front: A Military City and the American Tiventieth Century*, Lutz told *Stars and Stripes* that she is also trying to understand how the [civilian] community relates to the military and vice versa.



Catherine Lutz

Home Front dealt with communitymilitary relations between Fort Bragg and Fayetteville, North Carolina. In this study, she investigates the impact of U.S. bases on the Asian communities surrounding them. Because of a greater focus on cultural awareness in the military today, she told Robson that she also wanted to examine how soliders become oriented to the culture around them and the challenges that presents.

Lutz is the principal investigator for the U.S. Military Bases and Global Response and The Ending of War Projects at the Institute. She also has been collaborating with two other Watson faculty members on a new cross-cutting research initiative examining cultural awareness in the military.

Stars and Stripes is a daily newspaper published for the military community and related civilians. To read Robson's entire article, visit the Stars and Stripes website at http://www. estripes.com/.

PUBLICATIONS

Pulver Featured in Canadian Foreign Policy News

A ssistant Professor (Research) Simone Pulver was interviewed this fall about the hundreds of environmentalists, nongovernmental, and business lobbyists who headed to Montreal for the United Nations Conference on Climate Change in late November. Her comments were in an article by Kady O'Malley titled "NGOs, Industry Advocates Will Do Their Best to Influence the Climate Change Agenda" in *Embassy: Canada's Foreign Policy Newsletter* (November 23, 2005).

Pulver, who is a Watson faculty member within the Global Environment Program, researches the roles played by transnational oil corporations and transnational environmental advocacy networks in the UN climate negotiations. She is working on a book manuscript tentatively titled "Power in the Public Sphere: Conflict and Cooperation between Oil Com-



panies and Environmental Groups in the UN Climate Change Negotiations, 1991–2003."

O'Malley interviewed her on the eve of the UN conference, where it was expected that hundreds of lobbyists of multiple perspectives would try to have their constituencies represented. O'Malley noted that:

"As part of her ongoing study into NGO participation on climate change negotiations, Ms. Pulver has been tracking the presence of business NGOs over time—and she says that the one of the largest delegations is that of the International Emissions Trading Association, which is very much in favour of Kyoto.

"Since they're an emissions trading organization, they're in favor, as is the World Business Council for Sustainable Development, which is the second largest business delegation. They're also in favour of Kyoto.

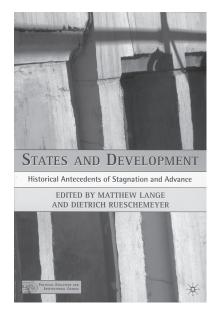
"While many American delegations represent the more conservative side of the business NGO spectrum, Ms. Pulver points to other groups like the Pew Institute, which is also a supporter of emissions reduction."

O'Malley also quoted Pulver about the meeting's significance, "What's really on the agenda at this meeting is not necessarily Kyoto, but what comes after. The Kyoto Treaty is to some extent a done deal, but these groups have a really strong interest in what happens after 2012, and that's going to be the focus of the discussion."

To learn more about Pulver's work at the Watson Institute, visit her bio on the Institute's website at www. watsoninstitute.org.

New Book Published by Watson Scholars

he Institute's scholars and visitors often collaborate with others at Brown and elsewhere in researching and writing a wide range of publications, among the most recent is a book by Matthew Lange and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *States and Development: Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). The book describes how states can prevail over collective action problems and create commodities that benefit social, economic, and political devlopment.



CORRECTION:

The Fall 2005 issue of *Briefings* incorrectly listed *Art and the State: Visual Arts in Comparative Perspective* (St. Anthony's, 2005) as a co-edited book.Victoria D. Alexander and Marilyn Rueschemeyer co-authored the book.

Simone Pulver

Workshop to Focus on Delta Cities and Environmental Change

symposium and workshop, "Urban Waters/Alternative Futures: Delta Cities and Environmental Change (Dhaka, Bangladesh and New Orleans, Louisiana)" will take place June 9-12, 2006, at the Watson Institute.

The symposium and workshop will explore the impact of global climate change on coastal and deltaic urban areas and landscapes in the developing and developed world.

Planned in advance of the devastation wrought by Hurricane Katrina in the fall of 2005, the symposium and workshop takes on greater meaning in light of the recent evidence of the vulnerability of the world's coastal regions.

Of the 20 largest cities in the world, those with populations of 10 million or more, 14 exist along endangered coastlines. Worldwide, almost 3.2 billion people, or half the world's population, live in these coastal zones. At the same time, the world's urban population is increasing by some 160,000 people per day.

"Urban Waters" is a collaboration between the Global Environment Program, Watson Institute for International Studies; Department of Landscape Architecture, Rhode Island School of Design; and the Institute for Sustainable Urban Societies/ISUS (Boston/Dhaka).

For more information, contact Elizabeth_Hermann@brown.edu or ehermann@risd.edu.

BRIEFINGS

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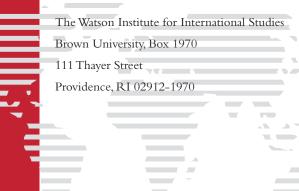
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