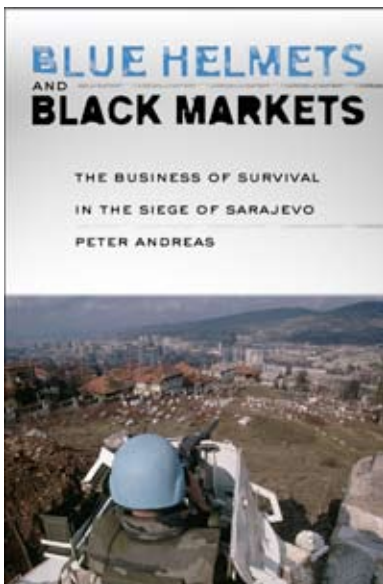


BRIEFINGS

FALL 2008

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

BROWN UNIVERSITY



CRIME WAR

Peter Andreas's new book depicts the Bosnian capital's 1990s spiral into a criminalized war economy – in a setting of ethnic conflict, humanitarian intervention, and intense media coverage.

Page 10.



BEYOND TERROR

The research project, Beyond Terror: Innovating Global Security and Global Media for the 21st Century, gains impetus with a major grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Page 5.

KENNEDY SPEARHEADS NEW STRATEGY

How is power exercised and security achieved among the world's cultures and nations? How does so much poverty and inequality persist in a world of such plenty? How is our world governed and policy most effectively made?

David Kennedy '76, Brown's vice president of international affairs, has been posing these questions since becoming interim director at the Watson Institute in July, as he leads deliberations on the Institute's strategic growth.

Kennedy calls this a transformative moment for the Institute, as a linchpin of the University's expanding international agenda.

"For over two decades, the Watson Institute has analyzed global politics, power, and society – becoming known for questioning settled policy prescriptions, thinking outside the range of conventional debate, and working across academic disciplines to identify new causes and cures for urgent international problems," he says.

"One of the things I'm most proud about at the Watson Institute is the extent to which we focus on history and context, bringing deep background knowledge to bear on the issues we investigate," Kennedy says. "For example, we have a much higher percentage of anthropologists, sociologists, and historians who work with us in a very intimate way when we address questions of global security. And that gives us a very special kind of perspective."



David Kennedy

Today, with even more room for critical inquiry into the nature of security and the future of globalization, the Institute is poised for growth.

"Going forward, we will probe these questions with increased rigor, establishing new collaborations with Brown colleagues and growing the Institute's cohort of researchers from around the world," Kennedy says. "We will apply the scrutiny of an even wider range of academic disciplines. We will redouble our commitment to making a difference by working with policymakers and generating public-interest media. And we will innovate our teaching and mentoring of graduate, undergraduate, and

high school students – as rising generations of leaders equipped to address the issues of their own times.”

Kennedy has also been developing a new initiative that will convene policy professionals and scholars from across academic disciplines to understand, improve, and influence the machinery of global governance.

“The question ‘What can be done about it?’ has always been at the forefront of our minds – making the research that is done here at the Institute real in the world,” Kennedy says. “Yet it is no longer obvious precisely how one can do something about the problems that most concern us – whether the global environment, problems of poverty and development, or problems of security,” he says. “Knowing where the levers are, knowing how the machinery of governance works on a transnational basis has become an important puzzle that will take an interdisciplinary team of researchers to unravel.”

Kennedy, who had been teaching at Harvard Law School for 25 years before coming to Brown, is a leading figure in international law whose books include *Of War and Law* (Princeton University Press, 2006) and the forthcoming *Economic Development: An Intellectual History*. Coordinating



Vasuki Nesiah

the research is Vasuki Nesiah, a legal scholar, Watson lecturer, and University director of international affairs whose research focuses on human rights and ethnic conflict.

The stage was set in June, with a summer institute of younger scholars from around the world, followed by an international conference, “After Empire: Global Governance Today.” Over time, the Institute is looking to add a group of international law specialists working in parallel with its research on development, security, and other issues.

Visiting fellows have begun arriving at the Institute to work in this new area, building toward a portfolio of related undergraduate and graduate courses and workshops, lectures, and publications. A detailed global governance research strategy is under development.

“This is a very exciting moment for the Watson Institute,” Kennedy says. “We are in the middle of a major process of rethinking, reforming, and restructuring to deepen our connection with the social science departments at Brown and to expand our capacity to build

global networks to address poverty and security and find the most effective policy tools for global governance.”

As he advances the strategic review begun by former director Barbara Stallings, who is resuming her work as a full-time faculty member, Kennedy adds that, “It is a time which we hope will provide a basis for broad growth not only in the scope of our research, but in our own community – expanding the faculty, expanding the number of students that are involved, and expanding our links with researchers and scholars across the campus and around the world.”



Read the Watson Institute's new annual report at: www.watsoninstitute.org/annualreport08.

Read an interview with Kennedy at www.watsoninstitute.org/kennedyinterview.

NEWS



Advice to Next President

Watson Institute faculty have been offering a range of advice to the next US administration.

In a policy paper distributed in Washington, Visiting Fellow Catherine McArdle Kelleher lays out five prescriptions for the next secretary of state. Among them: “Restore diplomacy as the administration’s international instrument of first resort.”

A white paper from the Institute and the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies advocates: “a US foreign policy that respects the sovereignty of foreign nations.” A letter signed by faculty members and over 350 other scholars of the region urges the US to “renew its active support for human rights throughout the region.”

On the qualities that must be in play in the White House, on the truthdig.com website, Professor James G. Blight and Adjunct Professor Janet M. Lang recommend “(a) skepticism about the utility of military solutions to political problems; and (b) the willingness and the ability to inform and instruct the American people as to why, as Churchill once put it, ‘to jaw-jaw is better than war-war.’”

In a lecture this month on campus, Associate Professor Nina Tannenwald spoke about nuclear weapons issues that will face the president, who will not only have to control “loose nukes” but should act on the growing movement among senior US policymakers of all stripes for nuclear abolition.

The input has been building for some time, since US Ambassador Richard Holbrooke ’62, a Brown professor at large, gave a speech last fall predicting that “The next president of the United States is going to inherit the worst opening-day hand in foreign policy in American history.”

To put it all in context, Gordon Wood provides his perspective as a Brown professor of history in a new installment of the Institute’s Open Source podcast series: “Something that I think our political leaders need, they should be more humble in the face of this complicated world.”

Financial Crisis Elicits Comment

Institute faculty and associates have provided alternative views on the current financial crisis as the issues have multiplied and grown.

In late October, Institute Board Member William Rhodes ’57 laid out a plan in the *Financial Times* to help emerging countries weather the storm. “The situation is deteriorating; these countries should not be left adrift,” he said.

On campus and in the media, Rhodes Center for International Economics Director Ross Levine suggested that in the United States, despite hard times ahead, “I don’t think we’re going to experience a depression.” He noted in mid-October that unemployment reached 25 percent during the depression of the 1930s (versus the current 6 percent) and that the default rate on mortgages was 40 percent (versus the current 4 percent).

Visiting Fellow Christopher Lydon conducted an Open Source interview with Vanguard founder John C. Bogle in late September. “We broke the link in the chain that relates the lender to the borrower,” Bogle said. Now, “the hole is very deep for the credit side of the business.” Looking ahead, “nobody ever knows where the bottom will be,” Bogle said, putting the end of the economic crisis some two to three years away.





Abbott Gleason

A Personal Tour of Soviet Art

At a curator's lecture this fall, Watson Institute Adjunct Professor Abbott Gleason compared the exhibit of Soviet political art on view at Brown's List Art Center to a "cocktail party where the guests are happy to interact even if they don't all agree."

Such analogies set the personal tone of Gleason's talk, given in conjunction with an exhibit titled "Views and Re-Views: Soviet Political Posters and Cartoons." The exhibit, which he co-curated with Bell Gallery Director Jo-Ann Conklin, includes over 160 pieces of propaganda dating from 1918 through the late Soviet era.

Gleason, the Keeney Professor of History *Emeritus*, discussed his own biases as a young academic and used personal experience as a lens through which to challenge the assumptions that may shape one's views of Soviet political art.

Like many scholars, Gleason used to dismiss Soviet art for being coercive and politically exploitative, he said. "When your colleagues are debating how many people Stalin killed, how do

you see this art in aesthetic terms?" he asked. However, Gleason also stated that all art becomes historicized as the political issues that animated the art recede into the past. Gleason was eventually surprised to discover the "energy and passion" that went into the production of these works.

Soviet artists drew upon artistic influences outside the boundaries of their political restrictions, he said, such as Russian folk art and 19th century European art.

Soviet artists also made valid critiques of Western societies, Gleason said. For example, Soviet artists' criticisms of American racism were often justified. Now that the Soviet state is gone, we can more readily acknowledge the truth of certain Soviet depictions of our own society, he said.

Gleason is also teaching a course on the materials this fall, called "Friends, Enemies and Heroes: Reading the Soviet Poster."

By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur Juliana Friend '11

Nuclear Order Revisited

The global nuclear debate today is being recast by technological acceleration, the rise of terrorist networks, and new and aspiring nuclear nations. Institute faculty are launching a new research project, on Nuclear Dilemmas in the 21st Century, to reexamine the assumptions and practices underlying the current world nuclear order.

The Nuclear Dilemmas project is co-led by Associate Professor Nina Tannenwald, author of *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Nonuse of Nuclear Weapons since 1945* (Cambridge University Press, December 2007); Visiting Fellow Catherine McArdle Kelleher, a former official with the US Defense Department and National Security Council; and Senior Fellow Sue E. Eckert, a former assistant secretary of export administration and co-author of *Countering the Financing of Terrorism* (Routledge, 2007).

Amid recent calls for practical national and international steps toward the abolition of nuclear weapons, the project seeks to analyze and debate nuclear issues in terms of the givens and options available in the 21st century. It will offer a series of courses, public lectures drawn from a range of scholars and practitioners, research conferences, films, and an outreach program to educators and the community.

The project was launched with a related panel discussion of increasing tensions today between the US and Russia, titled "Georgia and Kosovo: A New Cold War?" Several film screenings and discussions have also taken place, including the classic *Dr. Strangelove*.

RESEARCH

Innovating Global Security

The Institute will continue to build on two major research initiatives – the Innovating Global Security and Global Media projects – with the renewal of a significant foundation grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Led by Professor James Der Derian, the work aims to “move national security policies beyond a preoccupation with terrorism and towards multilateral responses to new global threats and vulnerabilities.” Now entering its third year, the renamed Beyond Terror: Innovating Global Security and Global Media for the 21st Century project is producing new thinking and new tools to create a network of informed policy experts and increase public awareness and participation in security matters.

Among the components of this multifaceted project are:

- Documentary films including *Virtual JFK: Vietnam, If Kennedy Had Lived*, which premiered at the New York City Film Forum in September; *Cultural Warriors*, premiering later this year; and *Jihadi Media*, now in production;
- Web-based media and applications, such as the Open Source podcast series by national radio host Christopher Lydon and the Global Security Matrix

Visit the Global Security Matrix ranking risks worldwide at www.watsoninstitute.org/globalsecuritymatrix.



James Der Derian

for analyzing threats to security;

- A series of lectures and workshops with innovative security theorists from around the globe and an international conference on sustainable diplomacy – both to result in edited volumes;
- An undergraduate course, “Global Media: Theory, History, and Production,” co-led by Der Derian and Visiting Fellow John Phillip Santos, and secondary school instructional materials from the Choices Program; and
- Major new research and education on nuclear proliferation.

“Power has been reconfigured in world politics,” said Der Derian, as he announced the \$375,000 grant. “With the end of a unipolar order dominated by the US, we are entering a heteropolar world, with new national, multinational, nonstate, and cultural actors who can magnify their influence through networks of global media.

“Carnegie’s renewal of this grant will help us to apply intellectual insights gained from the past two years so that we might help create global security policies more in line with this changing world.”

Research Aims for Sustainable Diplomacy

A “Global Security and Sustainable Diplomacy” conference last spring analyzed efforts to produce a more viable diplomatic system – even as the changing global security landscape places new pressures on it.

There is long-running dissatisfaction with the current system’s inability to resolve pressing global issues, said Keele University Professor Costas Constantinou, a co-convenor. Diplomacy must transform itself to remain viable, added fellow convenor James Der Derian, a professor at Watson. Der Derian identified terrorism, instantaneous media, and other new challenges to traditional diplomacy, in a world where globally networked nonstate actors practice diplomacy as well as a growing number of increasingly powerful nations.

Yet for all of the discussion of nontraditional diplomacy, “sovereignty is a concept that remains in play. ... That’s where we still are,” noted J. Peter Burgess, professor at the Oslo-based International Peace Research Institute (PRIO). An edited volume of papers on the subject is in development.



J. Peter Burgess

Researchers Track Human Trafficking

Brown's Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women is hosting a year-long research seminar in the 2009-2010 academic year that will analyze global flows of people and technology through the lenses of several academic disciplines.

The seminar will be led by Kay Warren, the Charles B. Tillinghast Jr. '32 Professor of International Studies at the Institute and at Brown's Anthropology Department. Applications are being accepted until December 10 for three post-doctoral positions for younger PhDs in the social sciences and humanities.

The "Markets and Bodies in Transnational Perspective" seminar, according to Pembroke, "will explore sites of anxiety when innovations in global labor markets and biotechnologies appear to push ahead of the law. How are these sites moralized and politicized? How are international norms and regulatory strategies formulated to define rapidly moving currents of change?"

Warren researches the development of global norms to define human trafficking, the enforcement of these norms, and the development of a new generation of transnational anti-trafficking campaigns.

In May, she described her research at a commencement forum at the University.

From her study of the trafficking of people between Colombia and Japan for labor or sexual exploitation, she has

come to three overarching conclusions. "We need to understand that we are dealing with morphing criminal enterprises on both sides of the Pacific Rim. ... We need to understand the growing flow of migrant labor around the globe. ... And the third factor to consider is the international funding cycle for the activities of non-profit organizations that seek to help potential migrants," said Warren.

Building Democracy after Conflict

Since the mid-1990s, the international community has invested time, energy, and resources to promote democracy in socialist Yugoslavia's successor multi-ethnic states. After over a decade, and in the face of continuing economic problems, intercommunal violence, and the resurgence of nationalist political parties, critics question the impact of all this well-intentioned foreign intervention. They discredit the very means of measuring it.

Associate Professor Keith Brown recently presented new work with policymakers and practitioners to document the impacts of different approaches to democracy-building and to develop assessment techniques to help guide future initiatives. His report was published in *EES News*, a publication of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, where he spoke.

His research project, "Muabet: Local Dimensions of Democracy-Building in Southeast Europe," is analyzing the life of a US-funded nongovernmental orga-

nization and of an unrelated community-driven activist group in Macedonia.

The project aims to portray the empirical realities of democratization and the less tangible, longer-term impacts of such efforts – moving well beyond the quantitative indicators that often characterize official evaluations. Brown, an anthropologist, keeps interviews deliberately informal – like a "muabet," a regional word for "chit-chat" – to close the distance between interviewer and interviewee and produce new findings.

A documentary film will capture the conversations and their insights – such as the commonality of purpose but lack of connection between the international and local efforts and, more generally, the side effects of international donor funding and philosophies on civil society in the country.

University undergraduates have been working with Brown on the project in Macedonia and on campus, supported by Brown Undergraduate Teaching and Research Awards (UTRAs).



Keith Brown (right) engages in a 'muabet' in Macedonia.

PEOPLE



Excerpt from “Waiting”

“Every day, everyone’s waiting for one day. 1997. Yu was waiting for one day. It had been nearly a decade, since Zaw left home in 1990. Yu had been waiting. She was waiting to be with him again, at least to meet him without iron mesh, bars, and concrete blocks between them... in the murky, murky interview room in the Insein Prison. ...”

Listen to a reading by Thida at www.watsoninstitute.org/thidanews.

Burmese Writer Arrives at Watson

Ma Thida is this year’s International Writers Project Fellow at Brown. A Burmese fiction writer, human rights activist, and physician, she has been active on campus since arriving this fall, giving talks and readings – particularly marking the recent one-year anniversary of the violent crackdown on peaceful protests in her home country.

In the 1990s, Thida herself spent five years in a Burmese prison for work to promote democratic change as a campaign assistant to Aung San Suu Kyi, a Nobel laureate and leader of Myanmar’s main opposition party. Thida was also among the health professionals who treated the injured during pro-democracy demonstrations in 1988.

She has written many articles and stories about the damage done to her country by successive repressive regimes. Her books, such as *The Sunflower* and *In the Shade of an Indian Almond Tree*, are banned in Burma.

Visiting Scholars Enhance Institute Research, Teaching

New visiting scholars and practitioners at the Watson Institute this fall include an especially large contingent of legal scholars – from several countries – as the Institute pursues a new research agenda in the field of global governance.

The list of new visitors follows:

- Daniel Maurício de Aragão – Office of International Programs visiting fellow and PhD candidate at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro – research interests include the role of transnational corporations as political actors in the United Nations.
- Jonathan P.G. Bach – visiting associate professor of international studies – research interests include global transformations, economic zones as states of exception, international organizations, East-West security, disarmament – PhD in political science from Syracuse University.
- Yishai Blank – visiting associate professor – research interests include torts, legal aspects of the globalization of cities, local government law, law and space, and law and political thought – SJD from Harvard.
- Phillippe Bonditti – visiting fellow – research interests include security studies, US security state apparatus, and antiterrorism – PhD in international relations from CERI-Sciences Po.

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PEOPLE

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- Douglas Bushey – visiting scholar – doctoral candidate at the Energy and Resources Group, University of California at Berkeley – research interests include renewable energy systems, sustainable development, Kyoto Protocol, and politics in international agreements.

- Brian Connor – visiting fellow – doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst – research interests include cultural sociology, political sociology, theory, and comparative nationalisms in Japan and the United States.

- Richard Gordon – visiting associate professor – faculty member at Case Western Reserve University School of Law – research interests include corporate governance, financial systems, international taxation, money laundering, and terrorism financing – JD from Harvard.

- Sikina Jinnah – visiting fellow – research interests include international trade and environmental politics, emissions trading, and bureaucratic management – PhD in international environmental politics from the University of California at Berkeley.

- Stephen Kosack – visiting fellow – research interests include political economy and development, democracy, foreign aid and foreign direct investment, governance, political organization, and educational policy-making – PhD in political science from Yale University.

- Gregory S. Krauss – visiting fellow – research interests include public international law, human rights law, and international environmental law – JD, University of Texas at Austin.

- Zinaida Miller – visiting fellow – research interests include humanitarian law, human security, civil rights, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, reconciliation, and transitional justice – JD from Harvard.

- Juan Otero Garabís – Cogut Visiting Professor of Latin American Studies – associate professor of Hispanic studies at the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras – research interests include American and Caribbean literature – PhD from Harvard.

- Ileana M. Porras – visiting faculty – research interests include international law and legal theory, environmental law, globalization, international trade, corporate form and sovereignty, and religious freedom and state secularity – JD from Harvard.

- Frederik Rosén – visiting fellow – doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science at Copenhagen University – research interests include global security, civil-military relations, security sector reform, private security and governance in Afghanistan, and Giorgio Agamben's method in philosophy.

- Clara Saraiva – visiting fellow and Brown's Luso-American Development Foundation (FLAD) Visiting Associate Professor with the Department of Brazilian and Portuguese Studies – senior



Richard Gordon describes his research on terrorist financing.

researcher at the Lisbon Institute for Scientific Tropical Research – research interests include funerary rituals and conceptions of death and issues of transnational religions and transnational therapeutic practices – PhD in social and cultural anthropology from the Institute for Scientific Tropical Research.

- Nisha Shah – visiting fellow – SSHRC Postdoctoral Fellow in International Studies – research interests include critical and normative theories of globalization, global governance, security studies, surveillance technologies, and terrorism/counterterrorism – completing a PhD in international relations at the University of Toronto.

- Elana Shever – visiting fellow – research interests include cultural anthropology, ethnography, environmental politics, globalization, corporations, inequalities, oil industry, development, and Latin America – PhD in anthropology from the University of California at Berkeley.



Fernando Henrique Cardoso

Cardoso, Robert Join Board

Two new members have joined the Watson Institute's board of overseers. Following five years as a Brown professor at large based at the Institute, former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso now takes a seat on the board. Also joining is Stephen Robert '62 P'91, who is chancellor emeritus of Brown University and former CEO of the Oppenheimer Group Inc.

The board of overseers provides guidance to the Institute. Board members include former diplomats and government officials, as well as heads of global firms, leaders of nongovernmental organizations, and renowned scholars. John P. Birkelund LLD'02 hon. P'81'82'85'88 GP '12 is chair of the board, and David E. McKinney P'80'82'89 serves as vice-chair.

In Memoriam

The Watson Institute would like to express our gratitude and deep appreciation for the lives and work of two former Institute scholars: Visiting Fellow Ruth Cardoso and Adjunct Professor Marsha Pripstein Posusney.

Brazil's former First Lady, Ruth Cardoso died in June at the age of 77. She was an anthropologist and visiting professor at the Institute, where former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso has also been a visiting scholar and is now a board member. She was praised for her work as one of the first academics to study Brazil's *favelas*.

Marsha Pripstein Posusney died of cancer in August at the age of 55. A Middle East specialist, she was also a professor of political science at Bryant University. She is remembered as a "quintessential scholar-activist," award-winning author, teacher, and mentor to junior scholars – as someone whose passions included academic freedom, human rights, and feminism.

Xu Honored by President Bush

Watson Institute Senior Fellow Xu Wenli was honored in October for his democracy advocacy by President George W. Bush. Xu was among activists from Belarus, Burma, Cuba, North Korea, Russia, and other countries attending a "Freedom Agenda" lunch with the president. They are "courageous men and women who have stood strong for freedom," Bush said.

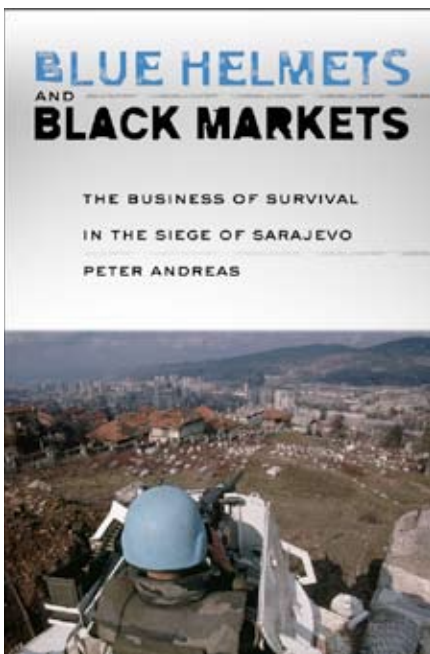
One of China's most recognized pro-democracy advocates, Xu spent 16 years in prison for his activities as a dissident. He came to the Watson Institute soon after his release in 2002. He is chairman of the China Democracy Party.

Xu also recently completed a 3,000 mile "Tour of Thanks" in Canada, visiting Amnesty International activists who had helped secure his release from prison, establishing future collaborations with them, speaking at the York University in Toronto, and giving media interviews.



Xu Wenli

“We were feeding both the victims and the cause of the oppression.” – Former UN Amb. Richard Holbrooke '62, on a recent book panel discussion of *Blue Helmets and Black Markets*. Read about the panel at www.watsoninstitute.org/bluehelmetnews.



***Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo* (Cornell University Press, 2008), by Associate Professor Peter Andreas**

“Inside the UN-run airport in besieged Sarajevo hung a makeshift sign: Maybe Airlines. Along the edges of the sign, aid workers, journalists, and diplomats had posted stickers – CNN, ITN, CBS, RTL, MSF, VOX, UNICEF, the French flag, the Canadian flag, the Swedish flag, and so on. Above the sign was a piece of plywood with the word ‘destinations’ handwritten at the top, with a changeable placard below (the placard choices included New York, Geneva, Rome, Berlin, Zagreb, Paris, and Heaven).

‘Maybe Airlines’ was the nickname given to the unreliable UN flights in and out of wartime Sarajevo – the longest-lasting airlift ever attempted and the centerpiece of the international humanitarian response to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Meanwhile, underneath the airport tarmac ran a narrow and damp 800-meter tunnel that bypassed both UN controls and the siege lines. Protected from Serb shelling and sniper fire, thousands of people and tons of food, arms, and other supplies moved through the underground passageway every day (which the UN pretended did not exist), providing both a vital lifeline for the city and an enormous opportunity for black market profiteering.

While the UN airlift was part of the highly visible front stage of the siege, the tunnel was part of the much less visible but equally important backstage action. Together, they helped Sarajevo survive for over three and a half years, setting a siege longevity record.

The 1992-95 battle for Sarajevo was not only the longest siege in modern history but also the most internationalized – an urban magnet for aid workers, diplomats, UN ‘Blue Helmet’ soldiers, journalists, artists, celebrities, peace activists, adventure seekers, embargo busters, and black market traders.

Sarajevo under siege became the most visible and recognizable face of post-Cold War ‘ethnic conflict’ and humanitarian intervention. At the same time, the less visible and less recognized face of the siege included aid diversion, clandestine commerce, and peacekeeper corruption... and for well-placed black market entrepreneurs on all sides the siege conditions assured a captive market with highly inflated profits. ...”

Read Kennedy's "The Mystery of Global Governance" online at www.watsoninstitute.org/mystery.

"The Mystery of Global Governance," Kormendy Lecture, Ohio University, by David Kennedy '76

"... We can be confident that global politics will be remade in the twenty-first century – it is just very difficult to say how. There are lots of forces out there which might well turn out to have the revolutionary energy to remake the way we are governed. The emergence of new leadership across Latin America, of tribal nationalism in so many places, of religious fundamentalism in the developed and developing world alike. We might even see the Iraq war as the revolutionary project of a confident American leadership supported by an American middle class experiencing its global vulnerability. The decline of the European project, the rise of China, the erosion of confidence in the West's recipes for humanism and development. Any of these might be the sign of things coming loose.

As they do come loose, I'm afraid 'constitutionalism' will not be up to the task of holding the fort any more than channeling peaceful change. The conflicts are too real, the status quo too unstable, our current institutions far too wedded to the details of technical management to constitute a new politics. The same, I'm afraid, may be said about proposals for more transparency,

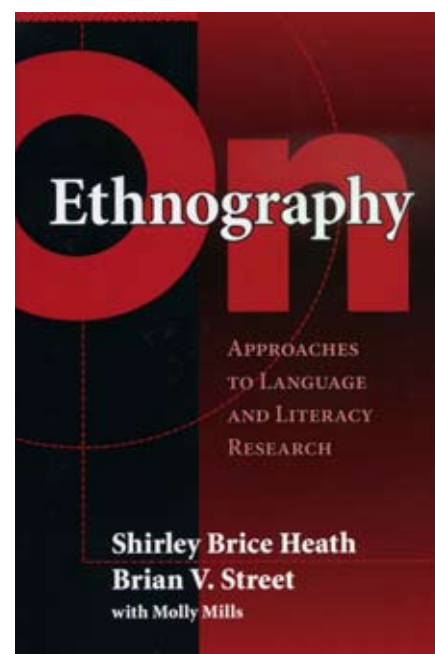
accountability, participation, good governance, or an improved administrative process. They may remake management of the regime, but not the politics of the globe.

My own hope would be that we might quicken the pace and emotional tenor of decisions in the background institutions of life. Render the forces affecting people's lives more contestable, awaken a sense among actors outside the spotlight of 'leadership' and the fishbowl of the international political system that they also govern, that they have discretion, that they can act to change their – and our – institutional arrangements. I have in mind less new procedures than a new spirit of management, encouraging the human experience of responsible freedom throughout the worlds of corporate, private, public, and technical expertise. ..."

***On Ethnography: Approaches to Language and Literacy Research* (Teachers College Press, 2008), by Brown Professor at Large Shirley Brice Heath**

"...In our comparative work, we have depended on international colleagues working in diverse, sometimes turbulent, and often underresourced communities. ... Often, these colleagues have been engaged in national and institutional reforms in which choices and functions of different languages in oral and written forms mattered greatly for disenfranchized and marginalized populations. State systems such as

those of South Africa, Guatemala, India, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, and Mexico have to think their way forward by selecting among orthographies, dialects, and languages. Policymakers in these locations also must consider legal, educational, and social implications of their language planning decisions. Social justice in matters such as citizenship and equal access to legal counsel, education, and health benefits often hangs precariously on official language choice by governments. ..."



“How Ukrainian is Odesa? From Odessa to Odesa,” by Adjunct Professor Patricia Herlihy

“... Only two years ago, the region of Odesa and others in eastern and southern Ukraine talked of secession out of fear of dominance by Ukrainian-speakers from the west. The debate over language was one of the most heated during the 2004 Orange Revolution. Official Russian reaction to a Ukrainian state resolution in 2000 titled ‘On Additional Measures to Expand the Use of Ukrainian as the State Language’ was to protest. Russia’s foreign minister denounced the ‘de-Russification of Ukraine’ and predicted that such policies ‘directed against the preservation and development of the Russian language and culture’ went against the Ukrainian Constitution’s guarantee of the ‘free development, use, and protection of the Russian language.’



Patricia Herlihy

Ukrainian language policies and those of other states in the Near Abroad contributed to then-President Vladimir Putin’s declaration of 2007 as ‘The Year of the Russian Language.’ Russia organized a conference on that topic in Moscow in May 2007, and others were held in the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Baltic states. ...

Today Ukrainian has emerged from second-class status, slipping quietly into the chambers of governmental and popular culture. This marks more than a cultural change: it could doom any hopes Russia may have of restoring its traditional political influence over this country of 47 million. ...”

“Sustainable Biofuels Redux,” co-authored by Watson Faculty Associate Steven Hamburg in *Science Magazine*

“Last May’s passage of the 2008 Farm Bill raises the stakes for biofuel sustainability: A substantial subsidy for the production of cellulosic ethanol starts the United States again down a path with uncertain environmental consequences. ...

The identification of unintended consequences early in the development of alternative fuel strategies will help to avoid costly mistakes and regrets about the effects on the environment. Policies that support long-term sustainability of both our landscapes and our atmosphere are essential if we are to chart a low-carbon economy that is substantially better than business as usual. ...

Sustainable biofuel production systems could play a highly positive role in mitigating climate change, enhancing environmental quality, and strengthening the global economy, but it will take sound, science-based policy and additional research effort to make this so.”

The Japanese Challenge to the American Neoliberal World Order (Stanford University Press, 2008), by former Visiting Fellow Yong Wook Lee

“The end of the Cold War, with the demise of socialism as a viable alternative for organizing the political economy of the world, reinforced the legitimacy of the US-led neoliberal world order... ‘the magic of the marketplace,’ while deligitimating the relevance of the role of the state in economic development. ...

Japan has challenged the foundation of the neoliberal world order by ‘bringing the state back in’ for economic development since the mid-1980s. These efforts resulted in confrontation with the United States in numerous international financial and economic development forums. ...

The Japanese challenge constitutes one of the most provocative Japanese foreign economic policies in the post-war era. ...”

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Explores Institutions

“States are central to development and human well-being.” So begins the new special issue of *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)*, dedicated to “Revisiting State Infrastructural Power.”

The fall/winter issue explores why and how some states are better than others in providing basic security and public goods, with lessons from Argentina, Germany, Mexico, South Africa, and elsewhere. It closes with an article by Michael Mann, the sociologist from the University of California, Los Angeles who devised the concept of infrastructural power in the 1980s, as “the capacity of the state to actually penetrate civil society and implement its actions across its territories.”

Contributing editors for this issue are Hillel Soifer, a lecturer at Princeton University’s Department of Politics, and Matthias vom Hau PhD’07, a post-doctoral research fellow in the Brooks World Poverty Institute at the University of Manchester.

Another contributor to the special issue is Daniel Schensul, a Brown doctoral candidate in sociology. Schensul and vom Hau had served as *SCID* editorial associates from 2005 to 2007.

Read *Studies in Comparative International Development* online (with university subscription) at www.watsoninstitute.org/scid.

The summer issue of *SCID* also included three analyses of institutions’ role in social and economic development – in Latin America, Jamaica, and the Middle East.

Based at Watson, the journal is edited by Barbara Stallings, the Institute’s William R. Rhodes Research Professor. It is published quarterly by Springer Science + Business Media.

Inequality Initiative Produces Findings

Working papers from the Globalization and Inequality Initiative are revealing new findings in such areas as the relation of land ownership to the transition to an industrial economy, the role of cultural assimilation and diffusion in economic development, market competition’s effect on racial discrimination, and more.

The papers, by Rhodes Center for International Economics Director Ross Levine, Watson Faculty Associate Oded Galor, and co-authors, are some of the early results of the Initiative, which explores the dynamics of global integration and the inequalities it produces and perpetuates – with the aim of fashioning policy solutions.

For instance, in “Cultural Assimilation, Cultural Diffusion and the Origin of the Wealth of Nations,” Galor, a professor in Brown’s Economics Department, writes:

Read the Globalization and Inequality Initiative working papers online at www.watsoninstitute.org/inequality_papers.

“The contemporary distribution of income per capita across countries attests to a Great Divergence in their developmental paths since the Industrial Revolution, bearing witness to reversals in economic performance for some of the technological leaders in the pre-industrial era. The gap in per capita GDP between the richest regions of the world and the poorest increased from a modest 3 to 1 ratio in 1820 to an astounding 18 to 1 ratio in 2000 (Maddison, 2001).

Moreover, historical evidence indicates that, as late as the end of the 1st millennium CE, the civilizations of Asia were well ahead of Europe in both wealth and knowledge. Nonetheless, by the time of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century, Europe had already overtaken these societies (Landes, 1998).

This research argues that variations in the interplay between the forces of cultural assimilation and cultural diffusion have played a significant role in giving rise to differential patterns of economic development across the globe, contributing to the Great Divergence and to reversals in economic performance. ...”

PUBLICATIONS

Empathy in Iran

Institute Professor James G. Blight writes of his recent Tehran screenings of the Oscar-winning *The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara* in the November issue of the *World Policy Journal*.

Blight, a principal substantive adviser on the film, points out that “McNamara’s first and most important lesson, is ‘empathize with your enemy.’” He describes how Iranian viewers responded to *The Fog of War* and what that might indicate for better US-Iran relations.

“... With regard to Bob McNamara’s message of embracing empathy as the agent of positive change between adversaries, hundreds of Iranians – after their very first exposure – ‘got it.’ Moreover, we should not underestimate how subtly subversive it was for the Iranians watching McNamara in Tehran this year – as subversive, with regard to foreign policy as, in a cultural context, ‘reading *Lolita* in Tehran’ was and no doubt still is. It suggests that we should not let our imaginations fail us.

“If Iranians can respond positively to a virtual representation of an 85-year-old former US official, we should try to imagine what might be possible with a US Interest Section in Tehran and, at some point, even embassies staffed with specialists in one another’s capitals. Imagine what might happen if we began to really listen to each other. We need to imagine now, when the disconnect between Washington and Tehran is nearly total and very dangerous, what might be possible if each side could bring itself to empathize with the

other – to try, as anthropologist Clifford Geertz once put it, ‘to figure out what the devil *they* think *they* are up to.’ ...”

When World Orders Coexist

In a series of plenary roundtables, Institute scholars including Professor James Der Derian and Adjunct Professor Thomas J. Biersteker addressed the central themes of this summer’s World International Studies Conference in Slovenia, “What Keeps Us Apart, What Keeps Us Together? International Order, Justice, Values.”

In a conference paper, Biersteker wrote of different world orders composed of a complex of ideas and practices, such as American liberal internationalism and Islamic transnationalism:

“... There are multiple, competing, and often contradictory world order views contending for the power (or room) to define their identity and order.

“Indeed, it is often the contestation of these different world order conceptions that constitutes the contemporary construction of politics and identity in many places on the globe.

“Given the complexity and contradictions inherent in our contemporary world – with its overlapping, interpenetrating, and simultaneously coexisting world orders – we need an analytical approach that enables us to comprehend them.

“Thus, the challenge facing us as scholars of International Relations is to develop an approach to IR that can

accommodate otherwise apparently incommensurable differences between coexisting world orders and to develop an approach to international relations that is not deeply rooted in the national perspective, experience, or orientation of the great powers alone. ...”



Russia in the World

Russia and Globalization: Identity, Security, and Society in an Era of Change (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), edited by Adjunct Professor Douglas Blum, describes a battered giant, struggling to rebuild its power and identity on the world stage – and struggling to guarantee stable domestic order as well. Ambivalence is a recurrent theme – ambivalence about globalization’s costs and benefits and the efforts required to manage them.

TEACHING



Shirley Brice Heath (center) at the retreat

Doing Good Well

Social entrepreneurs from Brown and other universities gathered at the Institute during a weekend in September for a retreat on “Sustaining Social Entrepreneurship: Helping Good Works Stay Well.” The event was sponsored by the Watson Institute and the Swearer Center for Public Service.

Led by Shirley Brice Heath, a Brown professor at large at Watson who studies youth-initiated social entrepreneurship around the world, the retreat highlighted steps young people have taken to create innovative social change and to sustain and extend these efforts. The emphasis was on strategies of surviving and thriving, evaluating effectiveness, and adapting to local needs and governmental, financial, and corporate realities.

In the opening panel, alumni from Brown and Harvard and a current Brown student shared their journeys.

Caitie Whelan '07.5 is educational director and Folk Arts Rajasthan director at the Merasi School in Jaisalmer, India. The school strives to improve economic conditions in the community through music education and concert tours.

The Merasi are a community of impoverished lower-caste musicians who live in Rajasthan, a sprawling desert state in northwestern India. “In the face of crippling social adversity,” Whelan said, “the Merasi have created, maintained, and sustained a 37-generation musical legacy that exists nowhere else in the world.” While at the school, she went from wanting to pull the Merasi out of poverty to working within their musical heritage toward a more positive future.

David Poritz '11 hopes to use the corporate model as a platform for social entrepreneurship in South America. Traveling to the region, Poritz once saw barefoot students walking to school through the oil sludge on the streets. With the help of Esperanza International, Poritz started a program to provide shoes for the Ecuadorian students.

Poritz intends to start a for-profit oil company that uses local resources as a revenue source for social-support programs in the region. “Extracting oil does not imply environmental and cultural degradation,” Poritz noted. “These resources can be used to support social and environmental programs.”

Sarah Choi, a Harvard alumna, traveled to the Dominican Republic with the initial intent of understanding biodiversity in the region. She soon found herself heading a nonprofit organization aimed at improving health and education.

According to Daniel Sobol '09, a student teaching assistant for Brice Heath whose own project focus has been on theater as a social tool, the retreat provided an opportunity “to bring together voices of people who have the energy to begin projects that we hope we will sustain for a long time.”

By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur Christina Ma '09



Caitie Whelan and Daniel Sobol

Choices Digital Initiative Gains Momentum

The Choices Program's digital curriculum initiative has been gaining momentum as it works to close the gap between the print and online worlds in secondary schools across the country.

Already, Choices has produced 500 video clips representing Scholars Online interviews with almost 50 university scholars and policymakers. Scholars Online brings these sources, many of whom have participated in the development of its curriculum units, directly into the classroom via the internet.

In addition, Choices recently published its most integrated offering to date: *Iran through the Looking Glass: History,*

Reform, and Revolution. Included with the printed curriculum unit are Scholars Online interviews, a blogging exercise, web-based "Teaching with the News" resources, and other digital learning activities to help students clarify values and concerns driving alternative policy positions. This comprehensive approach to learning about Iran was also the subject of two teacher institutes at Brown over the past year.

Choices' Iran offering provides a model for the further development of its library of instructional materials on over 30 international topics – including *Russia's Transformation: Challenges for US Policy*; *Caught Between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads*; and *Contesting Cuba's Past and Future.*

"Scholars Online is an invaluable resource for teachers and has really revolutionized the Choices Program's curriculum offerings," says Choices Professional Development Director Mollie Hackett. "It allows teachers – no matter where they teach – to access renowned scholars as well as political figures and bring them directly into the classrooms. Just imagine how motivating it would be for students studying human rights to be able to hear from Paulo Pinheiro or studying about Brazil's transformation to democracy to hear from President Cardoso. Further, these clips are pedagogically designed for the teenage learner and present very complex ideas in a format that is age appropriate."



Scholars Online Moments

(left to right, top to bottom)

"Increasingly law provides the vocabulary for assessing the legitimacy of political activity on the global stage." – Institute Interim Director David Kennedy '76;

"When you can call the actions of one party against another 'genocide' is not a crystal clear moment." – UN peacekeeping official Susan Allee;

"Development is often at the cost of conservation, and conservation is often at the cost of development." – Watson International Scholar of the Environment Anil Kumar;

"There is this misperception of Muslim women being passive, oppressed, unintelligent." – Shahla Haeri, director of Boston University's Women's Studies Program;

"It is very important to strengthen the capacity of state institutions to protect human rights." – Adjunct Professor Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro;

"We don't have enemies. So it's senseless in a developing country to use resources to prepare the country to be ready for war." – Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

Hear more at www.choices.edu.

EVENTS

Danish Ambassador Critiques Terrorism Tactics

The United States must take a larger role in using and reforming the mechanisms of the United Nations to better fight terrorism, according to Friis Arne Petersen, Danish ambassador to the United States. In a recent talk, Petersen commended yet challenged the US counterterror strategy, asking “did we really commence the fight against terrorism in the best possible way?”

He stressed the importance of a mix of hard and soft power. Military operations should be combined with long term development assistance, he said, and should be as flexible as the Danish military mission in Afghanistan, which also engages with civil society organizations to become a trusted entity within the community.

And, “we cannot possibly get the political or developmental impact that we want or need” without a strong and engaged UN, Petersen argued. He criticized the reluctance and indifference of countries to a stronger or reformed UN, which he sees as essential. This includes expanding the Security Council to include nations such as Brazil, Germany, Japan, and some African nations.

Denmark has so far prevented any attacks on its soil although it has been the victim of terrorism outside of its borders – for instance, a fatal bombing at an embassy in Islamabad, linked with controversial cartoons of Mohammed in the Danish press.

By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur Brenna Carmody '09

Lagos Pushes for Climate Policy Change

Former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos Escobar expressed frustration with the international community’s limited efforts to curtail global warming in a recent talk at the Institute. As a United Nations special envoy for climate change, he has concluded that there is little sense of urgency about the issue in the developed world.

“We produce the problem,” Lagos said, referring to both the human-produced emissions that increase the earth’s average temperature and the failed participation of key international actors in efforts to reduce emissions. So far, 194 countries have ratified the treaty, excluding the United States, which is responsible for 19 percent of global warming. “American specialists say the time to talk seriously is 2015,” he complained.

Some Western governments place accountability on the developing world, Lagos said. Other governments make unrealistic goals. “Some countries claim they are able to decrease energy consumption in spite of an increasing population,” he said, referring to China. Europe and Japan have committed to a 20 percent reduction in emissions by the year 2012, Lagos said. “To accomplish that, 20 percent of energy is going to be renewable sources,” he said, but developed nations have been unable to produce five percent of energy from renewable sources.

The post-Kyoto agreements have been insufficient in measuring the responsibility of nations without considering their economic resources, Lagos said. If developed nations worked with the developing world, they could catalyze dramatic change, he said. On the other hand, “the less you are willing to invest, the less developing countries are willing to make a commitment,” said Lagos, who is a professor at large at Brown.

By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur Renata Sago '10



Presidential Dialogue: Former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos joins with Leonel Fernández, president of the Dominican Republic, for a University lecture where they discussed US free market policies and their impact on Latin America – particularly in the current global financial crisis.

Torture as Policy

“Lawyers as the ultimate guardians of legality have a particular responsibility,” Philippe Sands, an international lawyer and author of *Torture Team: Rumsfeld’s Memo and the Betrayal of American Values*, said during a recent talk at the Institute. Sands discussed the role of lawyers in drafting the torture memos that changed the way the US interrogated prisoners, their disregard for international legal norms – and their impact on the United States’ reputation in the world.

An example of the torture memos he discussed is the February 2002 decision by President Bush that the detainees at Guantanamo did not have rights under Common Article 3 of the Geneva Convention. Sands blamed a small



Modern Morocco: Ambassador Aziz Mekouar described political and economic reforms in a speech at the Institute, adding that as the country modernizes and democratizes, its image in the world is enhanced.

group of ideologically driven political appointees for “in effect, a sort of coup d’etat” leading to such measures.

Quoting from a Supreme Court decision striking down Bush’s decision, Sands said that a “specter of war crimes arises.” He suggested taking steps including criminal investigations and possibly prosecutions, special prosecutors, and the extension of ongoing Congressional hearings. “If you do nothing, others will do it for you,” he said, citing the principle of universal jurisdiction in which countries can try individuals for breaking international law, even if the country has not been directly involved.

Sands also discussed the effect that the exposure of the use of torture has had on America’s reputation. He stated that policymakers had not thought about the repercussions before enacting the changes, as they would have thought that “these techniques were not worth the price they would have cost the United States even if they could have produced meaningful information.”

*By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur
Brenna Carmody ‘09*

International Aid ‘Reality’

What happens when US-style reality TV meets US-style overseas development assistance?

Filmmaker and educator Rob Davenport recently screened his *Reality Show* documentary at the Institute, featuring the testimonies of the participants

of *Challenge 10*. This TV reality show in Guatemala was funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in the mid 1990s and modeled after *The Apprentice*. Its premise was to transform 10 former youth gang members into small business entrepreneurs in 14 days.

While some of the *Challenge 10* participants had intended to start web design businesses or internet cafes, they were instead directed to launch a shoe shine stand and a carwash. After the conclusion of *Challenge 10*, most participants abandoned the businesses as having little opportunity for economic or social advancement. Two of the 10 participants were subsequently murdered by youth gang members.

The film depicts USAID as naive, if not knowingly deceptive – to argue that the plights of former gang members could be alleviated in two weeks, to overlook the dangers they faced, and to suggest that the masks used to protect their identities on television would work. Nor did USAID provide the young men with the necessary long-term resources to improve their situations, Davenport said.

The underlying message of his 2008 documentary is that international aid organizations may sometimes value “success stories” that impress supporters – in this case with the immediacy of a televised aid initiative – to the sacrifice of long-term improvements in people’s quality of life.

*By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur
Juliana Friend ‘11*

IN THE NEWS

Mugabe's Past Revisited

On the eve of what were being called sham elections in Zimbabwe this summer, International Writers Project Fellow Chenjerai Hove gave his view of the situation as a Zimbabwean exile on the *Charlie Rose Show*.

Hove described President Robert Mugabe's history of brutality since the 1970s. "It's not as if it's just new. People decided to ignore it because it was convenient to ignore it" – and because acknowledging it would be "bad for the liberation movement."

In fact, Mugabe never dismantled the torture technology of the colonial regime he ousted, but has rather used it himself against enemies and political opponents, Hove said. In doing so, Mugabe has taken torture to an unprecedented level in the country. "I have never seen anything like the level of torture which is happening now," he said of the preelection violence.

Profiting from War

While the former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic faces charges for war crimes during the 1990s siege of Sarajevo, what is being overlooked is his organized criminal conspiracy as a war profiteer, according to Watson Institute Associate Professor Peter Andreas.

"While most Sarajevans struggled for survival and lived in a state of terror from 1992 to 1995, some key figures, on all sides, were reaping benefits. This

was particularly true of Karadzic and his closest associates," Andreas writes in an opinion piece published recently in the *Washington Post*.

"Publicly, they portrayed themselves as motivated by ethnic grievances and animosities; privately, they turned the city's captivity into a profitable enterprise," says Andreas, who is author of the new book, *Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo* (Cornell University Press, 2008).

"The collaborators were involved in large-scale looting, theft and diversion of UN supplies; sanctions busting; and clandestine trading of food, arms and other supplies across the battle lines. Siege dynamics were often more about controlling humanitarian supplies and smuggling routes than about military success or failure."

Reviewers Praise *Virtual JFK*

The reviews are in for *Virtual JFK: Vietnam If Kennedy Had Lived*, which had its theatrical premiere in September at the Film Forum in New York.

Said *New York Magazine* critic Sara Cardace: "With its fascinating central question and well-chosen, nostalgic footage of John F. Kennedy in his prime, this well-played documentary manages to escape the fate of other dry historical overviews. Filmmaker Koji Masutani wisely avoids any comparisons to the current administration; they'll rise unbidden from your psyche nonetheless."



Ronnie Scheib of *Variety* said, "An extended glimpse into a bygone era of statesmanship. ... [JFK's] weighing of complex factors in an international situation and consciousness of how much rides on his decisions strikes a now unfamiliar note."

J. Hoberman of the *Village Voice* wrote, "The question: can an individual leader take a nation to, or keep it from, war? The conclusion: individual temperament matters, and John F. Kennedy's example proves it. ... Masutani's no-frills, largely black-and-white production is as evocative of early-'60s masculine styles as any episode of *Mad Men*."

The film was directed by Visiting Fellow Koji Masutani '05 and produced by Professor James Blight, Adjunct Professor Janet Lang, University of Toronto Professor David A. Welch, and filmmaker Peter O. Almond.

**Open Source Series
Opens the Conversation**

“An American conversation with global attitude” is taking place at the Watson Institute, and all can join in.

It is an engaging conversation, where the likes of “Candid Capitalist” John C. Bogle, founder of the Vanguard Group, will tell you the difference between today’s lending practices and the policies at the Bailey Building and Loan Association in *It’s a Wonderful Life*.

It is an online conversation, where bloggers can have their say when America’s exceptionalism is challenged by someone like Andrew Bacevich, author of *The Limits of Power*. It is an in-depth conversation, where a three-part series on “this miser-

able business of sanctioned American torture” airs the views of Philip Gourevitch, the author of *Standard Operating Procedure*; Errol Morris, director of a documentary by the same name; and Philippe Sands, author of *Torture Team*.



Christopher Lydon brings his interviewing style to Institute lectures.

The Open Source podcast series is produced by renowned radio host Christopher Lydon, a visiting fellow. It features authors, media figures, policy-makers, scholars, and others – many of them engaging with Brown and Watson faculty and students or speaking on campus.

Institute researchers also discuss their work on the series, as when Adjunct Professor Abbott Gleason surveyed his co-curated exhibition of Soviet posters with Lydon, saying “in an age in which the worldwide image of the United States is at an all time low, it is interesting to confront these critical images from an earlier time, now emptied of any serious, practical challenge.”

**Join the conversation at
www.radioopensource.org.**

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