



## HONORING A PUBLIC INTELLECTUAL

Former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's seminal research on development is revisited on its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary, as he also makes *Foreign Policy* magazine's "Top 100" list.

Pages 4 and 20.



## WHAT IF JFK HAD LIVED?

The documentary *Virtual JFK* is chosen as finalist at the Hot Docs film festival.

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## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

The Watson Institute's grounding as a leading policy research center is having a marked impact on Brown students of international relations (IR) and development studies (DS).

Undergraduates in these academic concentrations go well beyond term papers and far outside the classroom. The level of such activities as thesis writing, independent study, research assistantships, overseas fellowships, meetings with policymakers, work with documentary filmmakers, and community service in developing countries sets Brown students apart from their peers and prepares them for future endeavors.

This mix has proved attractive. "Students have voted with their feet. We have a record-breaking graduating class this year," said IR Program Director Peter Andreas. In fact, the IR concentration has the largest number of graduates of any academic concentration at Brown's 2008 commencement, with an estimated 160. Another 30 will graduate in development studies.

Many of these students come from abroad – for instance, 15 percent of this year's IR graduates. Going forward, a University-wide international strategy aims to bring even more students, faculty, and ideas from around the world to Brown.

The Watson Institute is playing a key role in realizing the University's goals of ensuring that students are prepared

for lives and careers in an increasingly globalized world.

Watson's faculty and visiting scholars split time between research and teaching; they led some three dozen Brown undergraduate courses in the 2007-08 academic year, in addition to providing such graduate training as the Graduate Program in Development. As such, the DS and IR programs provide a multifaceted learning experience, enabling students to draw on the perspectives of Brown- and Watson-based anthropologists, economists, historians, political scientists, sociologists, policymakers, and others.



2007 IR commencement ceremony

During the coming year, over a dozen courses will be taught in a new area, global governance, by legal scholars visiting Watson from countries including India, Israel, and South Africa. Current IR tracks of study include global environment/global health, global security, political economy of development, and politics, culture, and identity.

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See pages 10-14 for '08 student honors, internships, and more.

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Specific examples from the IR and DS graduating classes underscore the benefits of the hands-on, in-depth, and in-the-field activities complementing work in the classroom. As described by Alyson Richards '08, the IR honors research program "has opened so many doors for me."

- The internationally renowned *Brown Journal of World Affairs* is produced twice a year by undergraduates, with this year's issues taking on such matters as the United States' international debt, the future of US foreign policy, and space politics.

- Twenty IR students have chosen to pursue the honors program, which requires a graduate-level thesis and a presentation to faculty and fellow students. Topics this year include "Best Practices for Business Involvements in Peacebuilding," "Sesame Street and Foreign Aid in Egypt," and "Environment as 'High Politics.'"

- Development Studies is one of the only concentrations at Brown in which every student must write a senior thesis – with many students conducting field work overseas on such subjects as student activism in Africa, tsunami and civil conflict in Sri Lanka, and HIV/AIDS in Mexico.



Claudia Elliott introduces thesis presentations

- Policymakers and practitioners in residence lead study groups – interactive sessions providing students a behind-the-scenes look at international relations in the making. Groups this academic year have been led by past presidents of Brazil and Chile, a former US ambassador to the United Nations, a UN peacekeeping official, and Poland's former deputy prime minister.

- Award-winning documentary directors help lead the "Global Media: History, Theory, Production" course, engaging with students who, in turn, produce media of their own.

- The Watson Institute is supporting 11 undergraduate summer internships this year, for projects including work with Iraqi refugees in Syria, HIV/AIDS victims in Thailand, and medical researchers in South Africa.

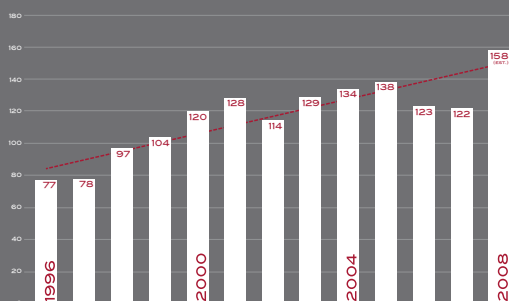
- IR and DS students have also tapped into resources from Brown's Undergraduate Teaching and Research Assistantships, Research at Brown grants, and other sources, for work largely done overseas. Some 50 undergrads have been working with Watson faculty over the course of the year as research assistants, translators, editors, and in other capacities.

- One IR and two DS concentrators were singled out this year for national awards for their community service in developing countries: Johnny Lin '08, by *Newsweek*, for gathering students from China, Taiwan, and the US each year to discuss regional conflict; Emma Clippinger '09, by JPMorgan Chase, for work in Rwanda; and Caitlin Cohen '08, by *USA Today*, for work in Mali.

- Many IR students leave Brown having learned more than two languages – 19 percent of this year's seniors are equipped with much-in-demand Arabic and Chinese language skills.

Over time, IR Program Assistant Director Claudia Elliott PhD'99 has seen considerable growth and change in the program, which has more than doubled in size since the mid-1990s. "Students increasingly seek to understand, engage in, and better this world," Elliott said. "The International Relations Program helps them develop knowledge and skills to become innovative thinkers and leaders in our global society."

## GROWTH IN IR GRADUATES



## GLOBAL MEDIA

### Premiering *Virtual JFK*

*Virtual JFK: Vietnam If Kennedy Had Lived* was a finalist for both the Special Jury Prize and Best International Feature Film as it premiered in April at the Hot Docs Canadian International Documentary Festival in Toronto.



Introducing *Virtual JFK* at Hot Docs

The accolades at Hot Docs, North America's largest documentary film festival, spoke both to the quality and significance of *Virtual JFK*, 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 Peter O. Almond, producer of the Cuban Missile Crisis documentary *Thirteen Days*.

Film industry insiders saw the documentary as particularly relevant during the current US presidential campaign. It starts with the statement that the Vietnam War was a war of choice. In July 1965, President Lyndon

Johnson chose to take the nation to war. Would John F. Kennedy have made the same decision, had he lived and been reelected president in 1964? This is the question that *Virtual JFK* addresses.

Masutani uses historical footage to portray Kennedy's foreign policy education as he resisted pressure for military escalation over Cuba, Laos, Berlin, and Vietnam. Footage of Johnson depicts his struggle as he committed the United States to a war in Vietnam.

Combining black-and-white archival footage with insightful narration by Blight and a mood-setting soundtrack by Joshua Kern '03, the film employs what Harvard historian Niall Ferguson calls "virtual history," testing the plausibility of historical "what ifs" and the outcomes they might have produced.

*Virtual JFK* was developed as part of the Watson Institute's Global Media Project, which analyzes the importance of media in world affairs and produces media addressing international issues.

### **Culture War In Production**

A new documentary, now in final production at the Institute, explores the US military's controversial effort to transform the American way of war. A rough cut of *Culture War* was previewed last month at the Massachusetts Multicultural Film Festival, as part of the Landscapes of Violence Film Series in Amherst, MA.

The documentary, made by Global Media Project Director James Der Derian, David Udris, and Michael Udris, explores the US military's "cultural



(l-r) David Udris, Michael Udris, and James Der Derian filming *Culture War*

sensitivity" training for soldiers going to Afghanistan and Iraq and the role of social science in the ongoing war on terror.

With two protracted conflicts in the Middle East, the military has engaged anthropologists and other academics to create culturally sensitive soldiers who would be as effective in making peace as waging war.

"Enlisting the best and the brightest to win over the hearts and minds of enemies produced a new civil war, within the military as well as the universities," says Der Derian, who is also director of the Institute's Global Security Project.

To tell the story, the filmmakers embedded with Marines in the Mojave Desert as they engaged in cultural training exercises in mock Iraqi towns and gained rare access to urban warfare training at Quantico, Virginia.

The resulting film, now in final production, is "a road-trip into the heart of the war machine, a critical investigation of the architects of the 'revolution in military affairs,' and a moving tribute to the foot soldiers and Marines who have been tasked to clean up the mess left behind."

## Rhodes Center Ramps Up

The William R. Rhodes Center for International Economics held a major conference in April – one of several early milestones toward its goal of advancing policy-oriented research and teaching on international economic issues.



Ross Levine

The Rhodes Center is focusing on two broad subjects: the movements of capital, services, and people across borders, and the differences in growth, development, and income distribution both within and across countries. The center works by sponsoring research conferences, funding speakers and visitors, and granting seed money for promising research.

Its recent conference, on “International Global Challenges,” featured over two dozen leading scholars presenting and analyzing new research in these areas.

The nature and spirit of the gathering was captured by William Easterly, of New York University, who described the first paper presented, on “Transparency and Accountability,” as “a new data series that is going to be incredibly useful.” The paper, by Andrei Shleifer,

of Harvard University, and Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes, of École de Hautes Études Commerciales du Nord, analyzes the rules and practices of financial disclosure by parliamentarians in 126 countries, to determine their effect.

In May, the center also hosted a meeting of fellows from the Bureau for Research and Economic Analysis of Development, bringing 40 of the world’s top junior and senior micro-development economists together to discuss their work.

Additionally, the Rhodes Center is providing Brown faculty and PhD students with seed money for research projects that “have a very good chance of speaking to policymakers and at the same time be published in the best journals,” said Rhodes Center Director Ross Levine, an economics professor at Brown.

The center has already identified and funded a number of projects. One studies the impact of international trade on long-run growth and on the migration of people. “There are obviously big policy concerns within the US and other countries both about immigration and about whether trade will promote growth,” Levine said. “One strategy would be to rely on international trade to reduce pressures on immigration to the United States,” he explained. “The research seeks to identify what actually happens in such a situation. That would be a natural input into policymakers’ decisions.”

Other research focuses more on finance. One such question addressed: What is the impact on a developing country’s capital market when its larger companies rely on overseas stock exchanges to raise money? Levine himself is conducting research in this area, with Brown economics PhD student Juan Carlos Gozzi.

“We are off to a good start this year,” Levine said. “In this initial phase, the center has attracted the participation of extraordinary scholars, working to advance the center’s goals.”

The center, based at Watson, was made possible by a \$10 million gift to Brown from William R. Rhodes ’57, a member of the Institute’s board of overseers (see related story, page 20).

## Revisiting Cardoso’s Major Work

The work of former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso was the centerpiece of a recent two-day conference at Watson, as his seminal research on economic development was revisited on the 40th anniversary of its completion and recast for today’s global economy.

The conference, “International Inequality, Then and Now: Revisiting Cardoso and Faletto’s *Dependency and Development in Latin America*,” was organized as a capstone of Cardoso’s five-year term as a Brown professor at large based at Watson. For the occasion, Cardoso drafted a new paper, titled “New Paths: Reflections about Some Challenges of Globalization.” Leading thinkers on globalization, development, and democracy came to the Institute, representing expertise in sociology,

Visit the center’s new website at [www.watsoninstitute.org/rhodes](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/rhodes).

political science, economics, and law in various world regions.

*Dependency and Development*, co-authored with the late Chilean scholar Enzo Faletto, challenged conventional economic development theories of its day, such as the limitation of Latin American and other “peripheral” countries to agricultural production while more developed, “central” countries grew through manufacturing and other innovations.

As Cardoso reflected in “New Paths,” such structuralist arguments were expanded with historical and political aspects that conditioned the development of peripheral economies. He and Faletto shifted the emphasis to “the variability of the forms of integration into the world market and the existing alternatives for countries’ economic growth, even when in situations of dependency. ... What we then called ‘the new form of dependency’ was, actually, the beginning of the process that would fully unfold later and be known as globalization.”

At the time of its release, *Dependency and Development* was like “a breath of fresh air,” said Peter B. Evans, a sociology professor at the University of California, Berkeley. It provided “a way of moving beyond various opposed tendencies in the analysis of development,” such as what Evans called “abstract” modernization theory and “flat-footed theories of imperialism.” Instead, it introduced “a sense of political possibilities and a bias toward hope,” he said, while opening up comparative studies in development and helping shift the focus in economics beyond technology to the importance of institutions.



Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Peter Evans

Today, especially given China’s growth and demand for raw materials, there has been an enormous revenue transfer from the center to the periphery through trade, Cardoso said. Latin America’s external accounts are positive, with developed countries today borrowing from developing countries. “There is a reverse; is this stable?” Cardoso asked.

His answer, underscored in “New Paths,” is that it depends on the way in which states react to the new situation. He urged policymakers to form a consensus on national targets and move forward, despite the challenges in anticipating what will occur.

“Everything will depend not only on the economy but also on the world political scene, and mainly, on the capacity of local societies and their leaders to frame policies, as much as possible consensual, that seize opportunities ... and make the effects of globalization and democracy more favorable to the developing countries and to their peoples,” Cardoso said in “New Paths.”

Some of the papers from the conference will be published as part of a special issue of *Studies in Comparative International Development*, a journal edited at the

Watson Institute. A separate edited volume is also planned, according to Richard Snyder, director of the Institute’s Political Economy of Development Program.

The conference represented a milestone within Watson’s Globalization and Inequality Initiative, launched last year by Institute Director Barbara Stallings.

### Summer Institutes Draw International Scholars

The Office of International Affairs (OIA) will begin in June to bring a steady stream of scholars from developing countries to Brown each summer to exchange ideas and cutting edge work in diverse academic disciplines.

At least four international summer institutes will be held this year – with two organized by the Watson Institute, on inequality and on global governance; one co-organized by the Center for Latin American Studies with the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, for teacher training in the Portuguese language; and one run by the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, on “Archaeologies of Memory in the Global South.”

Various models of institutes will be piloted this summer, with a view to scaling up in the coming years. An early list of attendees this year shows participants from Brazil, China, Ghana, India, Jamaica, Mexico, and South Africa, among other countries.

The OIA is also soliciting proposals for future summer institutes.

A roundtable discussion of Associate Professor Nina Tannenwald's recently published book on *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945* and another session dedicated to the memory of Hayward Alker, a longtime associate of the Watson Institute, were among the highlights of Watson faculty members' participation in this year's International Studies Association Convention. Excerpts from some of their papers follow.



Peter Andreas



### **“Number Games: (Mis)measuring Illicit Flows and Policy Effectiveness,” by Associate Professor Peter Andreas**

“We live in a hyper-numeric world preoccupied with quantification. In practical political terms, if something is not measured it does not exist; if it is not counted it does not count. ...

Quantification is politically consequential and thus highly contentious, as evident in policy debates across a wide range of domestic and international issue areas. Proponents and opponents of a particular policy marshal reams of data (and offer a particular interpretation of the data) to bolster their position and to weaken support for rival positions.

These debates using numbers are mostly about the formal, licit world, ranging from international issues such as trade agreements and foreign aid, to domestic issues such as education spending and poverty alleviation. Some of the most heated political battles, however, are about the more informal, illicit world and efforts to police it. This includes, for instance, sex trafficking, the trade in prohibited psychoactive substances (such as cocaine and heroin), migrant smuggling, corruption, money laundering, terrorist financing, embargo busting, and intellectual property theft.

By definition, the illicit world takes place in the shadows and is thus inherently difficult to quantify. ... The actors and activities in the illicit world are not only hard to ‘see,’ but most are actively attempting to avoid being noticed, counted, and quantified. ...

Yet the preoccupation with quantification is as strikingly evident in evaluating the illicit world as it is in the licit world. This is reflected in both the attempts to measure the size and magnitude of various illicit flows and the effectiveness of policy measures to combat them. ...

Illicitness makes possible a politics of numbers that is particularly susceptible to speculation, manipulation, distortion, and sometimes even outright fabrication that is rarely scrutinized and challenged in policy debates and media reporting. To some extent, this reflects cynical manipulations by politicians and bureaucrats, but more importantly it reflects their everyday coping strategies and conundrums in a broader policy arena that privileges and rewards quantification. This quantification imperative (or quantification fetish) prioritizes bad data over no data (or limited data) and privileges simple and visible metrics of policy ‘progress’ and ‘success’ that are not only ambiguous but can be highly misleading.

While bad data and its highly politicized nature understandably inhibit scholarship on illicit flows, it is precisely the political use (and abuse) of the bad data that should attract more scholarly scrutiny.”

**“The Politics of Numbers in the Financial ‘War’ on Terrorism,”**  
by Professor Thomas J. Biersteker and Senior Fellow Sue Eckert

“One of the most oft-cited and highly touted ‘success’ stories of the United States’ ‘War on Terrorism’ concerns the Bush administration’s efforts to stem the flow of money to terrorists. ...

The commitment of acts of terrorism requires resources – the recruitment of human resources, training of those individuals, material for munitions, the dissemination of information (both before and after attacks), and finance. ...

The most commonly cited metrics characterizing terrorist financing efforts are the number of designated individuals and entities on the lists of terrorists, and the amount of assets frozen or blocked. ...



Thomas Biersteker

[However, these] metrics are inadequate and can be misleading. A thorough analysis of the costs and benefits of the existing regime needs to be undertaken.

As difficult as such an endeavor would be, it is important to attempt to assess the numbers associated with terrorist financing. The consequences of failing to do so are inappropriate and ultimately ineffective policies to thwart terrorist acts.

Policymakers and academics alike must demand better and more transparent sources of information in order to more thoroughly understand and assess the politics of numbers in the realm of terrorist financing. Notwithstanding six years of experience since 9/11, it is humbling to conclude how little we know about the financing of acts of terrorism. Terrorist financing remains a little understood and inadequately researched topic.”

**“The US and the Middle East in Theory and Practice since 9/11,”** by Adjunct Professor Linda B. Miller

“... The Middle East reveals some of the major difficulties with US foreign policy overall. The gap between aspirations and attainments stands out, as well as a predilection for short term fixes rather than long term planning. The over-dependence on particular leaders and the lack of accountability when things have gone wrong are familiar trends. The lack of any Plan B vis à vis lesser powers or the tendency to downplay the possibilities of soft power to turn the tide in a more favorable direction for American national interests, however loosely defined, is prominent. The failure to understand, let alone manipulate successfully, other cultures or local imperatives is also obvious. ...

Indeed, what US policy in the Middle East expresses clearly is what [the late Harvard University Professor John D. Montgomery] foresaw as early as 1986, well before the end of the cold war and the 9/11 attacks. The US requires ‘skills of patient diplomacy and a national self confidence independent of military

assertiveness’ in order to be a ‘great power’ rather than a superpower. The Middle East as a region offers the chance of testing these home truths as the Bush administration fades into history.”

**“Europe’s Energy Dilemmas: The New Security Dimensions,”** by Senior Fellow Catherine M. Kelleher

“... Europe’s energy dependency was first revealed in the oil shocks of the 1970s. Today, Europe’s dependency on energy imports is again rising.

Unless Europe can make domestic energy more competitive, in the next 20 to 30 years about 70 percent of the European Union’s energy requirements, compared to 50 percent today, will be met by imported products – most from regions threatened by instability.

Reserves are concentrated in a few countries. Today, roughly half of the EU’s gas consumption comes from only three countries (Russia, Norway, and Algeria). The EU is especially alarmed by the several disruptions of supplies to Europe, in the pricing rows between Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Belarus. More upsetting have been successful moves by Russia’s Gazprom to renege on or block foreign partners in new gas fields and emerging oil exploration.

The EU so far has failed to develop countervailing policy strategy – on imports, pipelines, distribution, or diversification. ...”

Read Watson’s ISA papers online at [www.watsoninstitute.org/ISApapers](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/ISApapers).

## PUBLICATIONS



### Brown Journal Goes Online

The *Brown Journal of World Affairs* has launched a new website, making contents of past journal issues available free online to registered members.

Journal articles on the site now date back to 1997. Future plans call for additional online content, including interviews with visitors to the Institute.

April's web launch preceded the publication of the journal's Spring/Summer 2008 issue in May, with four thematic sections: "Global Sport," "India's Left Behind," "US Debt," and "Sex and Demographics."

Also in the issue is a debate between two former US ambassadors to the United Nations – John Bolton and Brown Professor at Large Richard C. Holbrooke '62, as well as essays by linguist and political commentator Noam Chomsky on "Contradictions in US Foreign Policy" and former Iraqi minister Ali Allawi on "Iraq's Past, Present, and Future."

The Fall/Winter issue analyzed space politics, genetically modified food, and authoritarian transitions, among other issues.

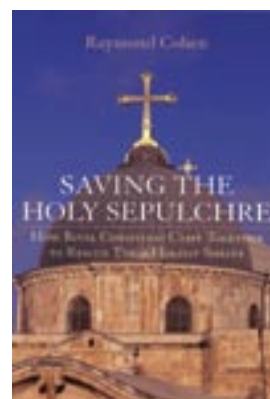
A recognized journal, run by undergraduates, the *Brown Journal of World Affairs* attracts contributions from leading scholars and policymakers in its mission to publish at the intersection of news and academic theory.

Craig Kennedy '08 and Shiyin Wang '08 are the outgoing editors; Tushar Khadloya '10 and Solomon Eppel '10 are the editors for the next academic year.

### Resurrecting Goodwill

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, said to be built on the spot in Jerusalem where Jesus Christ was crucified, was in danger of collapse following a 1927 earthquake. *Saving the Holy Sepulchre: How Rival Christians Came Together to Rescue Their Holiest Shrine* (Oxford University Press, 2008) tells how three groups – Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Armenian Orthodox – overcame centuries of division to restore "the mother of all churches."

Authored by Raymond Cohen, who worked on the book while a fellow at Watson in 2004, *Saving the Holy Sepulchre* "tells a story of intrigue and tangled diplomacy that no novelist would invent," according to one reviewer. "The book tells us a great deal about interfaith relations, about the preservation of antiquity, and about the Middle East."



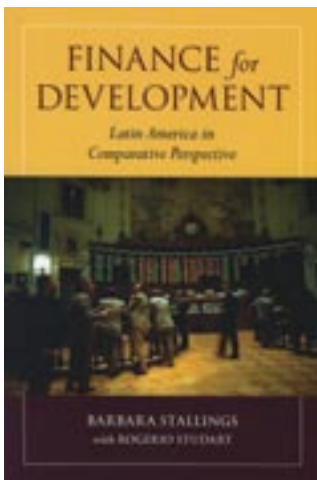
Cohen, who is professor of international relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, recounts how, "thanks to the dedicated efforts of a cast of kings, popes, patriarchs, governors, monks, and architects, the deadlock was eventually broken on the eve of Pope Paul VI's historic pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1964."

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## Stallings Book Honored

The American Library Association (ALA) has honored *Finance for Development: Latin America in Comparative Perspective* (Brookings Institution Press, 2007) as one of 2007's Outstanding Academic Titles. Authored by Institute Director Barbara Stallings, in collaboration with the Inter-American Development Bank's Rogerio Studart, the book offers policy guidance for strengthening Latin American banks and capital markets.



Stallings has also provided her analysis of China's growing economic influence in Latin America in a new edited volume, *China's Expansion into the Western Hemisphere* (Brookings Institution Press, 2008).

In honoring *Finance for Development*, the ALA's *Choices Magazine* noted the book's excellence in scholarship and presentation and its contribution to the field. The book challenges recent arguments for the elimination of public-sector banks, substitution of private monitoring for government regulation

and supervision, and more complete integration with international capital markets. Instead, it advocates a more balanced approach that emphasizes individual country situations and strengthens the institutional context in which financial systems operate.

Separately, in the concluding chapter of *China's Expansion into the Western Hemisphere*, Stallings writes that "China's flirtation with Latin America is likely to be tempered" by domestic and international considerations on both sides of the Pacific. While their budding trade relations are therefore not as threatening to the United States as some perceive, Stallings nevertheless suggests they should act as a wake-up call to the United States to fix its neglectful foreign policy in the region.

## Disarming in Afghanistan

*Afghanistan, Arms and Conflict: Armed Groups, Disarmament and Security in a Post-War Society* (Routledge, April 2008) assesses small arms and security-related issues in post-9/11 Afghanistan.

Co-authored by the late Michael Vinay Bhatia '99, who worked on the book last year as a visiting fellow at the Watson Institute, *Afghanistan, Arms and Conflict* includes case studies from distant regions of the country (see related story, page 24). In the runup to its publication, Bhatia conducted 350 interviews with combatants throughout Afghanistan, among other research.

"Exploring various facets of armed violence and measures to tackle it, the volume provides significant insight into broader issues such as the efficacy of international assistance, the 'shadow' economy, warlordism, and

the Taliban-led insurgency," according to the book summary. "The book offers valuable lessons to the state-builders of Afghanistan as well as those of other countries and regions struggling to emerge from periods of transition."



Photo of Kandahar combatant by Michael Bhatia

Publication of *Afghanistan, Arms and Conflict* follows the release of another book edited by Bhatia, assessing the nature, power, role, and function of such names as "terrorist" and "freedom fighter" in contemporary debates.

Names are not objective, say the writers of *Terrorism and the Politics of Naming* (Routledge, September 2007). The book seeks the truth behind those assigned in such cases as the US hunt for al-Qaeda, Russia's demonization of the Chechens, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The volume also includes a chapter from Watson Global Security Program Director James Der Derian, on "Imaging Terror: Logos, Pathos, and Ethos."

*Terrorism and the Politics of Naming* was previously published as a special issue of the journal *Third World Quarterly*.

## IR GRADS RECEIVE PRIZES

### Mark and Betty Garrison Prize

Awarded for the best thesis in international relations, foreign policy analysis, or diplomatic history, in honor of Mark and Betty Garrison, who helped create the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown in 1981:

- Kelly Dreher and Jonah Stuart Brundage

### Samuel Lamport Prize

Awarded for the best thesis on international understanding, with an emphasis on cooperation and tolerance:

- Kayleigh Scalzo and Dorothy Tegeler

### Anthony Riccio Prize

This prize in international relations is given to the graduating senior who has demonstrated unquenchable curiosity about another part of the world, a commitment to the rigorous learning of a foreign language, an intrepid pursuit of study abroad, and a pride in the University and in the US. The prize is in memory of Anthony Brian Riccio, Brown Class of 1996, who lost his life in Moscow on September 20, 1994:

- Phoebe Sloane, for her commitment to the study of the Middle East and the Arabic language

## 2008 IR Grads Present Honors Theses

The International Relations (IR) Program is the largest concentration at the University this year. Housed at the Watson Institute, the IR Program challenges students to think and perform beyond the undergraduate level.

Students must complete with distinction 11 courses and three years (or equivalent) of a foreign language. Seniors in the Honors Program are also required to take two thesis courses, including a thesis preparation seminar. This year, 13 percent of IR concentrators completed a senior thesis. IR Assistant Director Claudia Elliott PhD '99 designed the current program, now in its seventh year, and worked closely with IR Program Director Peter Andreas and other faculty in advising the honors students. Elliott describes the program as "one of the most important intellectual endeavors of an undergraduate career."

The honors thesis differs greatly from a term paper, not just in length, but also in depth and complexity. The thesis is most students' first real attempt at scholarly research and writing. Each senior works with two faculty advisors and takes the thesis preparation seminar in the fall semester when beginning to research and conceptualize the project.

Students complete their research and writing during the spring semester and submit their theses in mid-April for evaluation. They then present their theses in May to the Brown community in a public forum.

This year's 19 honors recipients are listed below in the order they presented:

### Conceptualizing Security and Governance in the 21st Century

- Jane Smith, "Choosing to Fail? A Comparative Study of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan";
- Amy Chang, "Know Thy Enemy, Know Thyself: An Argument for the Importance of Regime Type in Counterterrorism";
- Mark Tumiski, "Wielding the 'Front Line Experience' as Securitized Authority: The Japanese Self Defense Forces in Iraq 2004-2006";
- Daniel Altman, "The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism and the Modern Form of Preventive War."

### Mobilization: Migrants, Communication, and Protest

- Ann Kidder, "Mobile Mobilization: A Study of Mobile Phone Activism and City Culture";
- Nevena Radoynovska, "Faces of Invisibility: Discursive Opportunity Structures, Protest, and Media Frames in Paris and Buenos Aires";



Thesis cover, 'Environment as High Politics?'



IR prize winners (l-r) Kayleigh Scalzo, Kelley Dreher, Dorothy Tegeler, Jonah Stuart Brundage, and Phoebe Sloane

- Kayleigh Scalzo, “Made in the USA, Past and Present: Perceptions of Assimilation and Assimilability of Immigrants in the United States”;
- Adrienne Healey, “Migrants on the Margin: Chile’s Narrow Media Representation of its Female Peruvian Population”;
- Dorothy Tegeler, “Dismantling the Migrant-Refugee Dichotomy: The Case of Colombian Migration to Ecuador.”

#### **Working the System: The Creation and Maintenance of Regional and Global Institutions**

- Jonah Stuart Brundage, “A Culture of Modernity: The Everyday Practices of Diplomats and the Early Modern European States-System”;
- Alyson Richards, “‘No Cambio’: The European Union’s Weak Influence on the Foreign Policies of its Member States”;
- Kyle Evans, “Regional Identities in Norm Formation: The Case of the Responsibility to Protect”;
- Kelly Dreher, “Environment as ‘High Politics’? Explaining Divergence in the United States and European Union’s Hazardous Waste Export Policies”;

- Shyam Sundaram, “The Weak as the Strong: Coalitions of Developing Countries in Multilateral Trade Negotiations.”

#### **Building Peace and Community in an International Context**

- Jessica Majno, “In Pursuit of a Durable Peace: Peacebuilding and the Development of Civil Society in Bosnia-Herzegovina”;
- Johnny Lin, “Do Good, Do Well, and Do Good Well: Delineating Best Practices for Business Involvements in Peacebuilding”;
- Patrick Molitoris, “Approaching South Atlantic Resolution? The Principle of Self-Determination in the Falkland Islands”;
- Phoebe Sloane, “Balancing the Global and the Local: Sesame Street and Foreign Aid in Egypt”;
- Steven Butschi, “Rejecting Europe? The 2005 French Referendum on the European Constitution.”

#### **Students Complete Development Studies**

The Development Studies (DS) Program, directed by Brown University Associate Professor Gianpaolo Baiocchi, provides Brown undergraduate students an interdisciplinary concentration centered in the social sciences.

The program has been designed to provide a comparative perspective on the long-term social, political, and economic changes that have

**For more information about the International Relations Program, visit [www.watsoninstitute.org/ir](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/ir).**

accompanied industrialization and the growth of the modern state in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, as well as in the historical experience of European countries.

Among other topics, the DS concentration focuses on understanding how processes of change affect the distribution of wealth and opportunity among nations. Institute Visiting Fellow Miguel Glatzer assists Baiocchi as thesis advisor.

Development Studies is one of the only concentrations at Brown in which every student must write a senior thesis. This year’s DS presenters and their topics are as follows:

- Sarah Adler-Milstein\*, “Resisting the Race to the Bottom: Gender, Power and Worker Organizing in the Global Apparel Industry”;
- Bethany Allen, “Integrating the Local: A Community-based Analysis of India’s Integrated Child Development Services”;
- Emily Benjamin\*, “Social and Political Reconstruction in Post-Conflict States: A Case Study of Rwanda Fourteen Years On”;
- Jessica Bloome\*, “Young People’s Relationships and Sexual Risk in Urban Kenya”;

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## TEACHING

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- Caitlin Cohen\*, “Top-down Meets Bottom-up? The Millennium Villages Project in Mali and the Illusive Quest for ‘Community Ownership’”;
- Andrea Francesca Dasso, “Sharing Best Practices: An Evaluation of Government Innovation Awards”;
- Jennifer Garcia\*, “Imagining Candomble through Anthropology and Tourism”;
- Melanie Gelfand\*, “The Silent Partner: HIV Transmission to Married Women in Mexico”;
- Nureen Ghuznavi, “Sin Ingredientes Artificiales: Community Development and Tourism in Costa Rica”;
- Tara Gonsalves\*, “Discrimination against Female Education in Kerala, Karnataka, and West Bengal: A Comparative Approach”;
- David Gumbiner, “Social Disorganization and Methamphetamine Use in Cape Town, South Africa”;
- Jonathan Guyer, “Inside Dar Lamane: A Case Study of Experimental Housing in Casablanca”;
- Julia Hazen\*, “The Tradition of Student Political Activism in Africa: A Case Study of Protest at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania”;
- Stefan Lallinger, “Race and Identity in the Dominican Republic: Antihaitianismo and La Raza Dominicana”;
- Helen Lamphere\*, “The Cultural Context of Obesity: Adolescents’ Perspectives on Weight, Diet, and Exercise in American Samoa”;
- Andrew Lim\*, “Shadows across Borders: Nationalism in Burma and the Migrant Health Crisis over the Thai Burmese Border”;
- Justine McGowan\*, “Risky Business: Masculinity and Economics in Kenya and their Effect on Sexual Behavior”;
- Julie Mandolini-Trummel, “Economic Development Programs in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Reasons and Costs”;
- Suchita Mathur\*, “The 2004 Tsunami and the Exacerbation of Civil Conflict in Sri Lanka”;
- Monica Melgar\*, “Battling a Youth Health Epidemic in Rural Kenya: A Case Study Bridging Adolescent Motherhood and the Nutritional Health Status of Children under Five”;
- Catherine Panella\*, “Female Youth on the Streets and HIV in Zambia”;
- Jessica Robertson\*, “Africa and China: The Promise and the Peril of a New Era of Partnership”;
- Alexander Schrobenhauser-Clonan\*, “Who’s Leading the Fight? The Community Response and Centralized Command in the Making of the Ugandan HIV/AIDS Success Story”;
- Lucy Schulson\*, “Effective Responses to HIV/AIDS in Uganda and Senegal: Implications for Faith-Based Organizations and Social Marketing in Prevention Paradigms”;
- Robert Shady\*, “Scaling-up of Antiretroviral Therapy in Papua New Guinea, Haiti, and Botswana”;
- Marco Steinsieck\*, “Structural Adjustment Programs and Health Sectors in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Human Costs of Loan Conditionality”;
- Nicole Summers\*, “Participatory Approaches to Malnutrition Intervention: How Normative ‘Truths’ Drive a Public Health Model”;
- Mikiko Thelwell\*, “The Interface of Micro and Macro Health Worlds in South Africa: An Alternative Development Discourse?”;
- Erica Trauba\*, “Waste, Water, and Well-Being: Promoting Development through a Healthy Environment in Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire”;
- Kelly Trout\*, “Putting Participation in Perspective: Avenues and Impacts of Popular Engagement in Planning Reforms in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.”

In addition, three DS concentrators presented their theses at the end of the 2007 fall semester. They are:

- Jessica Vosburgh '07.5\*, “A Liberating Pedagogy of the Arts: Based on a Study of Arts Education Organizations in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil”;
- Cynthia Wise '07.5\*, “Transition and Transformation in a Post-Apartheid City: Johannesburg, South Africa”;
- Nathan Wyeth '07.5\*, “A New Approach to Rural Electrification in India.”

\* Graduating with honors

## 2008 Summer Internships Awarded

Watson has awarded summer internships to six Brown students for 2008. The Institute administers the summer fellowship competitions as part of its mission to undergraduates who are pursuing degrees, research projects, and careers in international relations.

The **Richard Smoke Fellowships**, named in memory of a prominent Watson Institute scholar who died in 1995, are grants available to current Brown undergraduates who are pursuing internships abroad involving research, advocacy, or service on contemporary global problems. This year's recipients are:

- Eunice Chyung '10, a neuroscience concentrator, with Missionaries of Charity in Kolkata, India;
- Reshma Ramachandran '09, physics, with the South African Medical Research Council, Health Systems Unit in Cape Town, South Africa.

The **McKinney Family Fellowship** is awarded to a student in the Smoke Fellowship applicant pool who exemplifies excellence in international studies, as strongly encouraged and supported by Watson Institute Board of Overseers Vice-Chair and Brown Corporation Member David E. McKinney and his family. The 2008 awardee is:

- Chantal Berman '10, international relations and Middle East studies.



Photo of Burmese refugees by intern Bremen Donovan '08

**Jack Ringer '52 Summer Fellowship in Southeast Asia** is made possible by this Brown alumnus, who served in Burma after graduating. The award provides Brown students and faculty with unique opportunities for research or internships in Southeast Asia. The recipients are:

- Belinda Navi '09, economics, with Kamay at Puso in Luzon, Philippines;
- Sarah Schoenbrun '09, human biology and religious studies, with the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS in Thailand.

The **Marla Ruzicka International Public Service Fellowship**, named after a dedicated human rights activist who died in April 2005, supports a Brown undergraduate who displays the characteristics of compassion, determination, and selflessness in the pursuit of international human rights, post-conflict rehabilitation, or international public service in its most noble spirit, and whose summer plans reflect those traits. This fellowship is supported by Lucinda B. Watson, a member of the Watson Institute board of overseers. This year's awardee is:

- Jebediah Koogler '10, international relations, research project on Iraqi refugees and post-conflict rehabilitation in Damascus, Syria.

## Luce Environmental Fellows Named

The Luce Environmental Fellows Program, administered by Watson's Global Environment Program, supports graduate and undergraduate fellowships for environmental research in developing countries. Each student works with an alum of the Watson Institute Scholars of the Environment program, which trains mid-career professionals from around the world. The 2008 awardees, projects, hosts, and Watson Scholar sponsors are:

### Graduate Students

- Laura Mattison '09, an environmental studies concentrator, "Gender Equity and Coastal Resource Management," MS Swaminathan Research Foundation, Kerala, India, sponsored by 2007 Watson Scholar Anil Kumar;
- Dane Wetschler '10, environmental studies, "Protecting India's Sacred Rivers: Working Towards Effective Public Awareness Campaigns," Mitharth Environmental Institute, India, sponsored by 2008 Watson Scholar Abha Shenda;
- Kemen Austin '08, environmental studies, "Reducing Emissions from Deforestation: Credits for Forest Conservation in Papua New Guinea," Bishop Museum of Hawaii, Papua New Guinea, sponsored by 2008 Watson Scholar Michael Forova Avosa.

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### Undergraduate Students

- Grant Lee '08, history, "Environmental History in Riverine Resource Management: A Case Study of Hambukushu Resource Utilization Skill-Sets," Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Center, Maun, Botswana, sponsored by 2008 Watson Scholar Lizzie Mujuru;
- QingHui Lin '09, environmental studies, "Alternative Livelihood Projects for Sustainable Development in Amazonian Communities: Effects on Standard of Living and Forest Resource Use in the Short Term," Instituto de Investigaciones de la Amazonia, Peru, sponsored by Dennis del Castillo Torres (2003 Watson Scholar Luis Campos Baca);
- Will Lippitt '09, international relations, "Ecotourism in Himachal Pradesh: An Inquiry in Camp Potters Hill," India Institute of Advanced Study, India, sponsored by 2008 Watson Scholar Jasjit Singh Walia.
- Melea Atkins '10, public policy, and Natalie Wilhelm '10, engineering, "Project Assida: Appropriate Technology for Kilimanjaro: An

### STUDENTS NAMED FULBRIGHTS

Amy Chang '08, an international relations concentrator, has received a Fulbright Scholarship to conduct research in China. Christina Koningisor '07, an IR concentrator, has also been awarded a Fulbright, to conduct research in Kuwait next year.

Evaluation of Biogas Energy in Rural Tanzania," sponsored by 2007 Watson Scholar Godfrey Kimaro.



From research on air quality in Nigeria, by Luce Intern Erica Moen '08

### CLAS Honors 2008 Grads

This year's Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS) undergraduate honors and awards recipients are:

- Aubrey Bracco, CLAS concentrator, received honors for his thesis, "A Sea Cow's Tale";
- Marco Martinez, CLAS concentrator, received honors for his thesis, "Trapped: The Socioeconomic and Cultural Confinement of the Rio Grande Valley";
- Ashley Morse, a double concentrator in CLAS and Portuguese and Brazilian studies, received the William Gaston Premium Scholarship for excellence in Latin American Studies and honors for her thesis, "Drugs and Democracy: The Continuity of State Violence against the Margins of Carioca Society";
- Samuel Novacich, CLAS concentrator, is the recipient of the William Gaston Premium Scholarship for excellence in Latin American Studies for his thesis, "Violence and Public Opinion in Rio de Janeiro."

### Interdisciplinary Views of Middle East

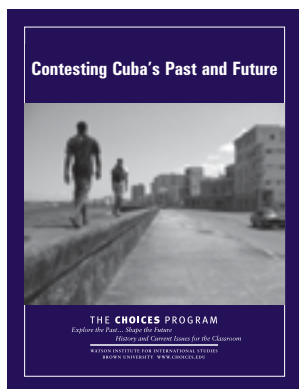
Students in Brown's Middle East Studies Program examine the diverse, often contradictory facets that define the region. The program offers students an interdisciplinary undergraduate concentration that draws upon courses offered in the Departments of Anthropology, Classics, Comparative Literature, Egyptology, History, History of Art and Architecture, Judaic Studies, Old World Archaeology, Religious Studies, and Political Science. Following are the capstone presentations by graduating seniors:

- Atena Asiaii, "HIV/AIDS in Iran: A Look at the Perceptions of Women at Khaneyeh Khorshed in Tehran on Drug Abuse and HIV Status";
- Thaila Beaty, "Learning Arabic: The National Security Contradiction";
- Emily Cushman, "Water Scarcity in Jordan: A Sustainable Development Trajectory?";
- Elizabeth Gilbert, "Education and Construction of the Self: A Perspective on the Islamic Revival in Egypt";
- Roxanne Horesh, "The Arab Jewish Horseman: Transcending and Supervising the Border";
- Jill Luxenberg, "Istanbul in Literature: Intersections of Place and Plot";
- Rebecca Russo, "Cousins vs. Cousins? Narratives of Jewish-Muslim Relations in North Africa."

## Seeing Cuba Anew

With Fidel Castro's retirement in February after nearly 50 years as president, Cubans are weighing the options ahead: Should Cuba recommit to socialist principles? Build a new economy? A new Cuba based on political freedom?

These three options form the centerpiece of the Choices Program's new secondary school curriculum unit, *Contesting Cuba's Past and Future*. The printed unit and its supplementary materials on the web help students step into the shoes of ordinary Cubans on the island and consider Cuba's future in the post-Castro era.



The unit was developed in collaboration with such scholars as Philip Brenner, professor of international relations at American University; Julia Sweig, director for Latin American studies at the Council on Foreign Relations; and Adrián López Denis, a Cuban postdoctoral fellow in international humanities at Brown University.

It includes readings that trace Cuba's history from the country's pre-colonial past to its most recent economic,

social, and political changes. Lesson plans help guide students' investigation of Cuba, and suggested student activities range from debating political options to examining Cuban art, literature, and hip hop. Additional online materials will include Scholars Online interviews, interactive learning activities, and links to a range of other resources.

The new unit is Choices' second Cuba offering this year, following the posting in early March of an online lesson, *Castro's Legacy and the Future of Cuba*, as part of its Teaching with the News series. Both launches were funded in part by the United States Institute of Peace.

"Long a source of international fascination, Cuba has been thrust back into the limelight in recent months, which makes this a crucial moment to make this information accessible to secondary schools," says Sarah Massey, the researcher leading the Cuba curriculum development.

"Often overlooked is the perspective of Cubans about their country and its history, a history that's always been highly contested," she says. "With this curriculum, we really wanted to give students a sense of the differing viewpoints of Cuban people and their ideas about the future."

*Contesting Cuba's Past and Future* brings to 34 the number of curriculum units now published by the Choices Program, which is bringing university-level research and innovative learning tools into secondary school classrooms across the country.

## Scholars Go Online

Scholars Online videos have been proliferating on the Choices Program's website ([www.choices.edu](http://www.choices.edu)), giving secondary school students and teachers uncommon access to leading university scholars, many of whom have contributed to the development of Choices curriculum units and participated in its professional development programs.

Interviews with more than two dozen scholars are currently available, including:

- Susan Allee, senior political affairs officer at the United Nations and Watson visiting fellow, on the UN;
- James Campbell, professor of Africana studies at Brown University, on the Atlantic slave trade;
- Fernando Henrique Cardoso, former president of Brazil, on the environment;
- Joseph Cirincione, director for nuclear policy at the Center for American Progress, on nuclear weapons;
- Jo-Anne Hart, associate professor at Lesley University and adjunct at the Watson Institute, on Iran; and
- Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, professor of political science at the Center for the Study of Violence at the Universidade de São Paulo and Cogut Visiting Professor at Brown, on human rights.

## Bolivian President Cites Strides

Evo Morales, Bolivia's first indigenous president, listed his administration's accomplishments in a recent lecture at Brown.

While Bolivia secured approximately \$300 million per year in oil revenues prior to his presidency, for instance, the country is reaping some \$2 billion per year following nationalization, he said.

Moreover, Morales said, Bolivia's balance of payments has been strengthened since his inauguration. As of March 2008, the country has accumulated \$6.2 billion in international reserves, a jump from \$1.7 billion in January 2006, he said.

With the earnings from increased oil revenues, Morales' administration has been able to implement crucial welfare programs.

One has been to lower the retirement age from 65 to 60, with accompanying moves to close the wide pension gap so that the cross-section of Bolivia's elderly may have a livable income upon retirement.

Morales also inaugurated the "Bono Juancito Pinto" social program in October 2006, as an annual subsidy



Evo Morales

awarded to families so that children can be enrolled in the first through the fifth grades.

"It is not confiscation but redistribution," Morales said of his measures.

"One thing that encourages me is that although Bolivians were poor, Bolivia is not poor," he said. "Mother Earth has given us an abundance of resources. But we need partners, not owners."

For instance, Morales is supporting a joint effort between Bolivia and Japan on the study of geothermal energy. Similarly, Morales said, France is working with Bolivia to harness its lithium reserves, which are the largest in the world.

Morales delivered the 78th Stephen A. Ogden Jr. '60 Memorial Lecture at Brown following an invitation from Watson Institute Distinguished Visiting Fellow Lincoln Chafee '75.

## US Diplomat Maps Progress in Asian Relations

Ambassador Christopher R. Hill, US assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, reported progress in nuclear weapons negotiations with North Korea during a recent talk on "US Foreign Policy in Korea and the Asia-Pacific."

"It's been real tough; it's slow going," conceded Hill, who has been the lead US negotiator in the ongoing "six-party talks" on North Korea's nuclear program among China, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, Russia, and the United States. But there have been measurable successes, he said.



Christopher Hill

North Korea has agreed that the Korean peninsula needs to be denuclearized, and now talks are centered on making that happen. Last July, North Korea shut down its nuclear reactor and was in turn given 50,000 tons of fuel oil. Another shipment of 950,000 tons of fuel oil was promised in exchange for permanently disabling it. These are positive steps, Hill said, although North Korea must still give a full disclosure of its nuclear program and relinquish existing stores of plutonium.

"If they're going to want more fuel oil, and I suspect they will, then they'll have to take additional steps toward denuclearization," he said.

There is an additional pair of North Korean issues that concerns Hill: the possible existence of a uranium enrichment program and the country's past assistance in a Syrian nuclear program. Hill believes that today, North Korea is engaged in neither activity, but said there must be ways to verify this.

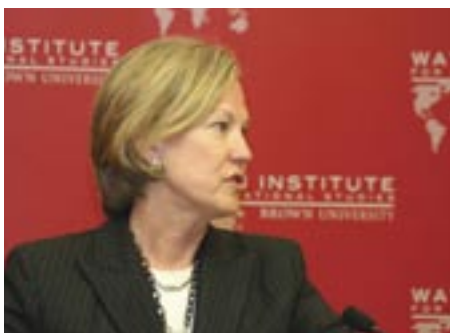
"There's no trust in this business," Hill said, emphasizing the importance of verification.

His talk was the annual Chong Wook Lee and Vartan Gregorian Distinguished Lecture – a program aimed at increasing understanding about global issues and problems, with a focus on Asia and the US.



## Saudi Women's Lot Improves Slowly but Noticeably

In her three decades of traveling in, and reporting from, Saudi Arabia, Karen Elliott House has seen the kingdom take tentative steps toward reform, she said in a recent lecture at the Institute.



Karen House

There has been slow but noticeable progress in the treatment of women, said House, a Watson Institute overseer and former publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*. Yet women's rights remain at the epicenter of an internal struggle among the country's political and social leaders.

Women in Saudi Arabia are being educated – a law school for women opened in 2006, despite a ban on their practice of law – and they are beginning to push for opportunities to use their education, House said. This is putting a severe strain on the country's ruling dynamic where the Al-Saud family controls politics and conservative Wahabi Muslims control the social aspects of life, including the courts.

"All the trappings of modernity are there," House said, "[but with] efforts to keep the hearts and minds of people in the 7th century."

House is now on an extended trip to Saudi Arabia to gather more information on a book she is writing. She said much of her reporting will be done by speaking with women and the kingdom's bulging youth population, whose perspective she feels will give insight into the country's future prospects for reform.

## Of Energy and War

Discussing the future of world energy supplies at the Watson Institute, author Michael Klare painted an apocalyptic picture of global energy supplies, resource shortage, and conflict, based upon his book, *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: The New Geopolitics of Energy* (Macmillan, April 2008).

In Klare's view, there are three driving forces in this new energy crisis: a huge increase in energy consumption caused by the rise of developing economies; a drop in supplies of traditional energy sources, such as oil; and the tendency of states to securitize and militarize their interests in scarce natural resources.

The growing energy needs of developing countries, such as China and India, are piling on to the existing energy consumption of developed economies in the US and Europe, according to Klare, who is the Five College Professor of Peace and World Security Studies. Under these conditions, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and other groups predict a 60 percent rise in global energy demands by 2030.

With traditional sources of energy, such as coal, oil, and gas, running

out or creating too much pollution to be sustainable, no one knows what will fill this growing demand. Though alternative energy sources, such as hydrogen, water, and wind, have been developed, none are yet ready to use on a large enough scale to meet world energy needs.

Klare believes that finding alternative energy sources is not the only issue at stake in this debate, because resource scarcity has become a key security concern in international politics.

Much of the world's remaining oil is in relatively unstable countries, such as Nigeria, Angola, and Colombia. Securing oil pipelines in these countries is a risky business.



Citing China's involvement in Sudan, and US partnership with countries such as Saudi Arabia, Klare also said he believes resource scarcity is driving the formation of partnerships with volatile regimes. He sees these shaky alliances as a possible cause of global conflict, on a greater scale than the two World Wars.

His talk was part of the Innovating Global Security Lecture Series.

## Bankers Go Green

JPMorgan Chase took the position three years ago that human beings are contributing to climate change through the burning of fossil fuels and deforestation, putting the investment banker ahead of the curve among its peers, according to Amy Davidsen '84, director of the bank's Office of Environmental Affairs.

Today, JPMorgan Chase supports a cap and trade policy, which sets limits on carbon emissions and then allows companies who have used up their emission credits to buy them from others with unused credits. From a capital markets perspective, cap and trade is more effective than a carbon tax policy, Davidsen said.

The company has begun to factor in environmental impact when making investment decisions, she said. In fact there are certain "no go" situations as laid out in a policy known as the "Carbon Principles."

The Carbon Principles, endorsed by a group of big banks to reduce the regulatory and financial risks associated with greenhouse gas emissions, emphasize energy efficiency, renewable and low carbon distributed energy technologies, and enhanced diligence regarding certain conventional and advanced generation technologies.

Davidsen said the banking industry realizes there will be carbon regulations coming and said it is her company's goal to get its clients prepared and out in front of the future requirements.

Her talk was part of the Next Generation of Corporate Responsibility Lecture Series.

## Handling Post-Communism

The post-communist refashioning of Eastern Europe was a focus of the European Politics Seminar Series this semester.

In Kosovo, identity plays a large role in the dispute between Serbs and ethnic Albanians over the state's recent declaration of independence, according to Daniel Serwer, vice president for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations at the US Institute of Peace.



Daniel Serwer

For reasons of religious history, Serbs view Kosovo as "vital to our identity whether there is a single Serb living there or not," Serwer said. He warned that a surge in pan-Albanianism in the region would cause extreme instability. While this is not currently an issue, "if Kosovo is mistreated, all bets are off."

In the developed post-communist countries of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, there are few institutional remnants of communism, according to Mitchell Orenstein, associate professor of European Studies at Johns Hopkins University. But they have not yet been able to develop clear, new social policy models.

Orenstein attributed this to three factors: weak interest groups, the social legacies of communism, and transnational actors – particularly the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and others who attempted to liberalize the social welfare states but met with the countervailing influence of West European welfare policy models.

In Kaliningrad, transformed from the German city of Königsberg after World War II, Russian citizens today are engaging in an unexpected effort to resurface the city's German roots, according to Olga Sezneva, an assistant professor at the University of Chicago.

The Soviet government had evicted the German population, forced Russians to repopulate the city, and rebuilt it in the Soviet modernist style. Now, however, there is an urge among the Russian population to piece together a collective genealogy that places Kaliningrad on the wider social map of historically European cities and to maintain a "collective memory" of the German city, Sezneva said during her talk, cosponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages.

Russians secretly reprint banned German maps, embark on risky expeditions of old buildings, and unearth bottles, house keys, and other objects. They argue over these reconstructed linkages, contest anxieties about their national identity, and weigh a new kind of European identity.

## PEOPLE

### Iraqi Professor Gives Inside Story

“He becomes the Iraqi uncle you didn’t know you had.” So began the introduction of Behnam Abu al-Soof to the Brown community recently, as the visiting professor of archaeology and international studies gave his first public talk here.

Watson Institute Visiting Fellow Christopher Lydon was the moderator, as al-Soof shared his views based on life in a war zone and on his decades of experience in the teaching, research, and government administration of antiquities.

The wide-ranging conversation touched on al-Soof’s advice to US military leaders in 2003 (“I told them we were not ready for democracy.”); on the return of important artifacts to Iraq’s National Museum (“And in Iraq, it is possible to do digs that would bring a lot more.”); and on the future (“People like me are waiting for security and peace to prevail, and we’ll all go back.”).

Al-Soof’s year-long visit at Brown has been made possible through the support of the University’s Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, the Watson Institute, and the Office of the Dean of the Faculty, together with the Institute of International Education’s Scholar Rescue Fund, which has been finding safe havens for senior scholars whose lives and work are threatened in Iraq.

He is spending the year teaching, conducting research, writing a book on his life’s work, and continuing as scientific advisor to Iraq’s Antiquities Department and the Iraq Museum.

A recent podcast of another conversation between al-Soof and Lydon is available at [www.radioopensource.org](http://www.radioopensource.org).

### Environmental Scholars Make New Connections

The 2008 Watson International Scholars of the Environment have just completed a semester of mid-career training in land use science and policy.

Since 2001, the Watson Scholars program has hosted environmental leaders from universities, governments, and nongovernmental organizations throughout the developing world. About 60 scholars from 40 countries have now participated.

This year’s scholars were:

- Michael Forova Avosa, Bishop Museum of Hawaii, Papua New Guinea
- Edenise Garcia (of Brazil), Jacques Whitford Axys Ltd., Canada
- Rahanna Juman, Institute of Marine Affairs, Trinidad and Tobago
- Bala Ram Kandel, Department of Forests, Nepal
- Lizzie Mujuru, Department of Environmental Science, Bindura University, Zimbabwe
- Abha Shende, Environment and Energy Department, Mitarth Environmental Institute, India
- Jasjit Singh Walia, Himachal Pradesh Forest Department, India

While at Brown, scholars worked with program leader Steven Hamburg, director of Watson’s Global Environment Program, and other faculty members from several departments at Brown.

In addition to on-campus learning, scholars this year held a series of meetings in Washington with senior science and policy officials at organizations such as the Environmental Defense Fund; US Environmental Protection Agency; Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; and World Resources Institute, among others. The meetings were designed to exchange information and ideas, as well as reinforce connections between Washington and the scholars’ local issues and organizations.

In New England, scholars spent time off campus at the Conservation Law Foundation, Woods Hole Research Center, and Harvard Forest, an experimental forest.

Watson Scholars form an enduring network with each other and with Brown. As evidence, many host Brown undergraduates as summer interns (see related story, page 13).

The program will host its next class of scholars in fall 2009.



Steven Hamburg (l) with Watson Scholars



**FP Lauds Cardoso:** *Foreign Policy* magazine has named former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso one of this year's top 100 public intellectuals. The list represents "the thinkers who are shaping the tenor of our time," editors said. Cardoso is a Brown professor at large based at Watson and an incoming member of the Institute's board of overseers.

### **Pulver Awarded Fulbright Grant**

Watson Assistant Professor Simone Pulver has been selected as a Fulbright Scholar grantee to India. With support from the six-month grant, she will study the environmental practices of Indian enterprises, while based in New Delhi at Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Specifically, her research will investigate decisions by Indian sugar companies to implement greenhouse gas-reducing technologies. Pulver will compare her findings in India with parallel results from the sugar sector in Brazil, for a cross-national comparative project.

The Indian research expands on her work on businesses' role in climate change and on such multinational policy tools as the Clean Development Mechanism.

As the guest editor of a recent special issue of *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)* on "Greening Development," Pulver wrote that: "Tracing the pathways by which [firms in developing countries] come to adopt innovative environmental technologies and practices illuminates the institutional dynamics that enable and foster developing-country firm greening and will be central to any search for global sustainability."

### **Hamburg Receives Earth Day Honors**

On the occasion of Earth Day, the US Environmental Protection Agency last month presented Global Environment Program Director Steven P. Hamburg with a 2008 Environmental Merit Award.

Hamburg was honored for his "significant contributions to environmental awareness and problem solving." Specifically, the award acknowledged his work advancing the use of energy-efficient light bulbs known as CFLs.



Steven Hamburg

Hamburg has been advising Wal-Mart on improving its environmental performance – an effort embodied in the giant retailer's campaign to market lightbulbs that use 75 percent less electricity.

"Hamburg's vision accelerated the sale of CFL bulbs, and led to a reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 20 million tons in 2007. At the same time, customers who bought these bulbs saved a total of \$2 billion a year," the EPA said in presenting the award.

### **Rhodes Honored For Life's Work**

William R. Rhodes '57, a member of Watson's board of overseers, this month received a lifetime achievement award from *Latin Finance* magazine. "Bill's renown as an international financial diplomat and the critical role he has played in sovereign risk restructuring throughout his career has left an indelible mark on the global financial community," the magazine said in presenting the award.

*The Banker* magazine also presented him with a lifetime achievement award late last year, saying that "In international banking, Bill Rhodes, the chairman, president and chief executive of Citibank NA, is synonymous with trust, integrity, and an incredible ability to relate to people across the planet. His negotiating skills are legend."

Rhodes gained a reputation for international financial diplomacy in the 1980s for his leadership in helping manage external debt crises that involved developing nations and their creditors worldwide.

## IN THE NEWS

### Why No Nukes Now?

Senior Fellow Catherine Kelleher analyzed the new momentum behind global nuclear disarmament in a recent interview on the syndicated radio program, *A World of Possibilities*.

“It’s an interesting restart of the debate,” she said – even at a time when presidential candidates are ignoring the issue and US-Russian relations are souring.



Catherine Kelleher

Kelleher explained the development by looking back to early arms control accords, during the tensions of the 1950s and ‘60s, including the Cuban Missile Crisis. “Arms control was devised originally as a strategy to overcome bad relations and to stress common and convergent interests even in times of hostilities,” she said.

Today’s resurgent interest in the issue reflects “the realization that eight years of the Bush administration will in fact have led to the dismantlement of many of the things that made it possible to maintain common interest even in the face of hostility. The resurgence of Russian nationalism makes that hostility palpable on the front pages.”

She added: “We’re really back to a point where we need what we can use as points of convergence and points of cooperation to control the common danger.”

Kelleher also analyzed recent pro-disarmament opinion pieces by “a remarkable lineup of people,” including conservatives who have held top government positions.

“For someone like Henry Kissinger, who has been at this for more than 50 years, to say that he can see foresee a world in which there is an elimination of all nuclear weapons is really quite remarkable. He has never subscribed to this.”

### Watching Zimbabwe Fall Apart

International Writers Project Fellow Chenjerai Hove has been reflecting on events in his home country of Zimbabwe, where violence has been escalating since the opposition presidential candidate is said to have won national elections in March.

“He is a hostage, really,” Hove says of President Robert Mugabe. The 84-year-old president is ready to leave, but “his own military people are saying, ‘No, we won’t allow you to leave,’” Hove recently told *allAfrica.com*. “The army generals don’t trust that [anyone] can guarantee their safety.”

With the initial vote suppressed and manipulated, a run-off election is planned. Even if it reaffirms the opposition’s victory, “these guys are not going to allow themselves to be pushed out easily. They’re going to fight. And that will make a lot of chaos,” Hove says.



Chenjerai Hove

He listed national institutions currently run by the military – the nation’s parks, transportation systems, oil companies, and more. “Everywhere is military. You are looking at the whole structure of these institutions which have to be depersonalized to make them state institutions again. In the next year or two I think we are going to go through a period of real chaos – political, economical, social disintegration – before we start rebuilding.”

Hove, a novelist, poet, essayist, and political commentator in residence at Watson and Brown’s Creative Writing Program, left Zimbabwe in 2002. At the time, he was urged to save himself after having published views including the statement that “the president has ruled the country through the use of fear and force – he has frightened others so much that now he fears himself.”

## Gaming War

The line between war and war game has started to blur and become more porous, Global Security Program Director James Der Derian said recently on “Het oorlogsspel” (“The War Game”), on Dutch public TV station VPRO. “It’s important to understand the extent to which games now shape not only the preparation for war but also the execution and the representation of the war during and afterward,” he said.



Military videogame

Modeled after the popular “first-person shooter” genre of videogames, the US Army’s videogames for training and recruiting “are one step further into the illusion of control, the illusion of total superiority, and the idea that you get killed but then you push the reset button and you get to fight again. That sort of takes the edge off the

worst aspect of war and why people don’t like to join the military,” said Der Derian, who also leads the Institute’s Global Media Project.

Der Derian described other risks of the increasing automation of war – discussing possible points of failure in network-centric warfare, a new virtual alliance between the military-industrial and media-entertainment complexes, and the concept of “virtuous war.” He coined this term to “highlight the fact that you have this new confluence in the United States – this remarkable capability to project force from a distance to use your technological superiority to stand off and yet have military impact – simultaneous with the view that we must use our moral superiority to convince the world that democracy and free markets are the best possible systems for the international order.”

On the other hand, Der Derian noted that these videogames can have a deterrent effect on US adversaries. “They present a [US] military superiority that no longer exists on the ground. So I can see why they would want to carry on with this image through videogames.”

## Chafee Gets Booked

C-SPAN’s Book TV channel this month featured former US Sen. Lincoln Chafee ’75 and his recent book launch event at Brown for *Against the Tide: How a Compliant Congress Empowered a Reckless President* (St. Martin’s Press, April 2008).

The candid political memoir, which Chafee wrote as a distinguished visiting fellow at Watson, “offers a behind-the-scenes look at the first six years of the Bush administration from the vantage point of one of the few Republican moderates in the Senate,” according to the publisher.

In the *Providence Journal*, reviewer Darrell West, a political science professor at Brown, called the book “a Shakespearean tale filled with drama, tragedy and betrayal.”



Lincoln Chafee

The book has been reviewed widely, and he has been interviewed recently by National Public Radio’s *Fresh Air*, *Rolling Stone*, Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI), and the Huffington Post blog, among other media.

Links to interviews and full articles are available at [www.watsoninstitute.org/inthenews](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/inthenews).

## The Semantics of Military Basing

When the Bush administration recently said it would “expressly foreswear” permanent military bases in Iraq, Professor Catherine Lutz was called upon by the Institute for Public Accuracy for a reality check.

Editor of the forthcoming book *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against US Military Posts* (Pluto Press), Lutz called the claim “entirely misleading.”



Catherine Lutz

“The U.S. government has taken to calling bases it intends to build and hold for the indefinite future ‘enduring bases’ or ‘cooperative security locations’ or other such euphemisms. The Bush administration is attempting to circumvent congressional Defense bills’ provisions by characterizing any Iraq bases as ‘temporary’ or ‘enduring’ rather than ‘permanent,’” she said.

“Maintaining bases in Iraq is also a veiled way to prevent the withdrawal of US forces against the wishes of large and growing majorities in both the United States and Iraq,” she added.

Last month, Lutz was interviewed on the subject by 10 radio stations – from Washington, DC, to Wyoming.

## Who Triggered Riots in Tibet?

Who was really behind the riots in Tibet in March?

The question is still being debated weeks after the clash between Tibetan protesters and Chinese government forces. In a recent opinion piece in the *Providence Journal*, Watson Institute Senior Fellow Xu Wenli said he sees preemptive tactics on the part of the Chinese government – timed to avoid later disruption of the Olympic Games this summer in Beijing.

“Provoking the Tibetans with violence gives the government ample justification to aggressively clamp down early on any activity that could derail the perfect execution of the Olympics in the name of security,” wrote Xu, a prominent dissident who spent 16 years in Chinese prisons.

“It also gives the government the excuse to restrict foreign media access to politically sensitive regions in western China – reducing, if not eliminating, the possible annoyance and embarrassment that the Tibetans and the Uighurs might cause before China becomes the center of the world’s attention in August,” he said.

## Khrushchev Views Stalin’s Rehabilitation

The rehabilitation of Joseph Stalin’s reputation, encouraged by Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, has been at the expense of the reputation of his critic, former Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, according to Senior Fellow Sergei Khrushchev, his son.

In Russia, “you cannot mention Khrushchev, good or bad,” Khrushchev says in a video interview with theday.com, a New England newspaper. “Stalin is now a great hero for the Soviet Union. ... and you cannot say anything good about Khrushchev because he exposed Stalin’s crimes.”

The wide-ranging interview also touches on US relations with Cuba and Iran, among other subjects. In these two countries, Khrushchev says, US policy missteps have actually reinforced unfriendly governments’ positions. By using such terms as “axis of evil,” for instance, the Bush administration has actually empowered some extremist governments in the eyes of their citizens, he says.



## IN MEMORIAM

### Michael Vinay Bhatia '99



Michael Vinay Bhatia '99 died May 7 in Afghanistan, where he was working as a social scientist in consultation with the US military.

In addition to graduating *magna cum laude* in international relations from Brown University, Michael was a visiting fellow at the Watson Institute from July 2006 to June 2007. At the

Institute, he was involved in a research project on Cultural Awareness in the Military, writing his PhD dissertation, and teaching a senior seminar on "The US Military: Global Supremacy, Democracy and Citizenship."

Over several years, Michael's research and humanitarian work took him to such conflict zones as Sahrawi refugee camps, East Timor, and Kosovo, in addition to Afghanistan.

In 2004, Michael and co-authors wrote: "Prime Minister Tony Blair's 2001 declaration that the international community 'will not walk away from' Afghanistan missed the real question: When will the international community really walk *into* Afghanistan, and make the necessary commitments and investments that will give the Afghan people a reasonable chance at building a peaceful and stable country?"

In November 2007, Michael wrote of his work in Afghanistan: "The program has a real chance of reducing both the Afghan and American lives lost, as well as ensuring that the US/NATO/ISAF strategy becomes better attuned to the population's concerns, views, criticisms and interests and better supports the Government of Afghanistan."

Michael was a doctoral candidate in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford, working on a dissertation titled "The Mujahideen: A Study of Combatant Motives in Afghanistan, 1978-2005."

He had recently published some of his research on Afghanistan (see related story, page 9).

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