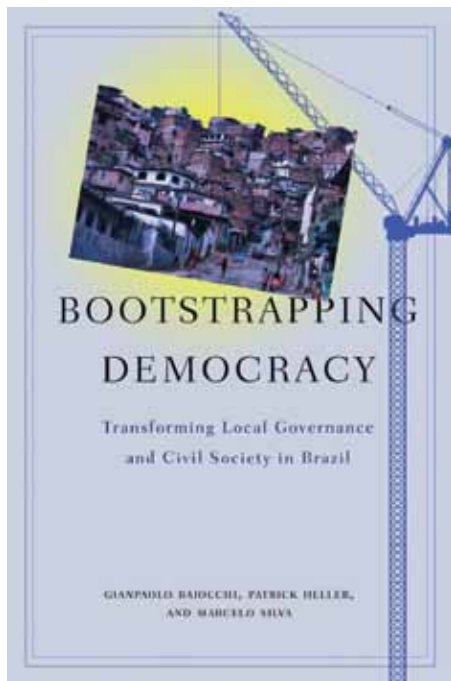


BRIEFINGS

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

BROWN UNIVERSITY

WINTER 2012



PARTICIPATING IN DEVELOPMENT

Is the World Bank right? Does involving citizens in local government have a demonstrable impact? [Page 11.](#)



EURO FUTURES

Academics, media, and policymakers will gather in a public conference in April on "The Failure of the Euro?"

[Page 4.](#)

REDEFINING SECURITY STUDIES AT THE INSTITUTE

What security concerns arise in a world with a destabilized physical environment? How will political developments in the wake of the 2011 Arab Spring shape living conditions in this strategically important region? How do we connect technologists and policymakers to work against mounting cyber threats to the computer networks underpinning our national and global economies and societies?



Timmons Roberts

The Watson Institute is again expanding its exploration of global security – beyond such traditional areas as war and weapons – with three new pilot projects on environmental security, human security, and cybersecurity.

Bridging the Institute's long-standing research priorities in development and security, the three pilots complement existing and growing strengths at Brown and provide valuable lenses for analyzing contemporary global challenges.

Environmental Security

Human societies have adapted over centuries to prevailing environmental conditions, including water availability and temperature and rainfall patterns. However, it is unclear whether increased intensity of extreme weather will threaten stability in key regions.

The Human Security in a Changing Global Environment pilot centers itself in key international debates on preserving human security and improving standards of living in the face of environmental changes.

It draws on the continuing presence at Watson of Brown Professor at Large Ricardo Lagos, former president of Chile and UN special envoy for climate change. It has also developed a student/faculty Climate

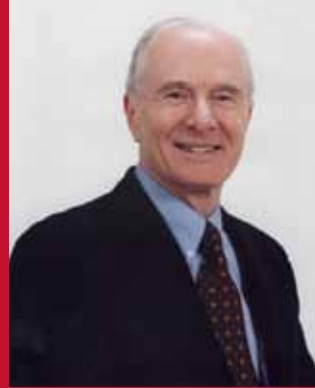
and Development Lab under the leadership of Center for Environmental Studies Director Timmons Roberts and Associate Sociology Professor Leah VanWey.

Lab members recently participated in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change negotiations in Durban, South Africa. There, they not only investigated the role security is playing in climate change funding but also supported the chair of the Least Developed Countries negotiating bloc.

Activities planned for the spring include two conferences: one on food security and development (March 8-9) and another on the environment in China (April 6). Speakers from the US and abroad will deliver state-of-the-knowledge presentations and discuss planning for future collaborative activities.

[Continued on next page](#)

FEATURE



"Hazards lurk here that were unanticipated when the Internet was designed."

- John Savage, testifying in Congress last April

Spring Conferences

March 8-9:
Feeding 9 Billion: The Future of Large-scale Agriculture in Brazil

April 5-6:
Arab Revolutions and Scholarship

April 6:
Beyond Competition? China, Climate Change, Security, and the Developing World

April 27:
Cybersecurity and International Relations

April 28:
Sino-American Relations in Cyberspace

Continued from preceding page

Human Security in the Middle East

The 2011 Arab Spring and its aftermath call for serious research on the evolving political economies in the Middle East. An understanding of the factors that shape living conditions in this strategically important region is critical both for answering enduring scholarly questions about political and economic change and for crafting development policy.

A research cluster at the Watson Institute is exploring human security in the Middle East and North Africa, under the leadership of Middle East Studies Program Director Melani Cammett, an associate professor in Brown's Political Science Department.

Related individual and collaborative faculty research projects include Cammett's work on non-state social welfare and on governance and the provision of public goods by Islamist organizations in the Middle East. Other work includes Assistant Professor of Anthropology Sherine Hamdy's research on public health in Egypt and a collaborative project between Brown faculty from various departments and researchers at Birzeit University and the American University in Beirut on the political determinants of access to health care in Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine.

Also engaging in the initiative this spring are University of Illinois Professor Asef Bayat, as Brown's Aga Khan Visiting Professor in Islamic Humanities,

and Elizabeth Kassab, a visiting professor at Brown's Cogut Center.

Planned activities in the spring include a conference on Arab Revolutions and Scholarship (April 5-6), sponsored by Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Cybersecurity Technology and Policy

Cyber threats are among the most serious security and economic challenges facing the national and global community. Addressing these problems requires a broad and deep understanding of both cybersecurity policy and technology.



Melani Cammett

A collaborative research pilot on cybersecurity will include activities this spring such as a conference on Cybersecurity and International Relations (April 27) and Sino-American Relations in Cyberspace (April 28).

Leading the pilot is John Savage, the An Wang Professor of Computer

Science at Brown and Jefferson Science Fellow at the US State Department in 2009-2010.

Evolving Security Research

Born of Cold War concerns about nuclear proliferation, the Watson Institute has expanded over the last three decades to analyze the changing nature of global security issues – adding research on non-state actors, new global media, networked terrorist finances, and more – as it has also taken up related questions of political economy and development.

Bridging Research and Policy on Security and Development

Policy issues ranging from the conduct of UN peacekeepers to capitalism in India to patterns of development assistance have been aired by Institute faculty in national and international policymaking arenas in recent months.

- At the United Nations in October, Professor **Catherine Lutz** recommended steps to address patterns of sexual exploitation and abuse that have emerged around UN peacekeeping missions. In a high-level meeting working to identify solutions for Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon, Lutz pointed to the need for heightened cultural awareness and greater enforcement, based on her field research with UN Conduct and Discipline Units in Haiti, Lebanon, Kosovo, and New York.
- At the World Economic Forum's India Economic Summit in November, Institute Professor **Ashutosh Varshney** spoke about state capitalism, entrepreneurial capitalism, and crony capitalism. "In India we have to increase instances of entrepreneurial capitalism, while crony capitalism has to go down," he told regional business and policy leaders.
- At the Japan International Cooperation Agency's Research Institute in November, Professor (Research) **Barbara Stallings** noted that "International foreign aid is being dramatically transformed with the entry of emerging donors such as China, Korea, India, and Brazil, which want to influence the

POLICY ENGAGEMENT

development trajectory of today's poor countries." Patterns of overseas development assistance differ dramatically between new and established donors, she said.

- In Washington this fall, findings from the Institute-based Costs of War project were presented in Congress, having also made their way this summer into Congressional statements. Costs of War co-director **Neta Crawford**, a professor at Boston University, appeared before the Congressional Progressive Caucus Peace and Security Task Force with research showing up to \$4 trillion in spending on a decade of war in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan.
- Institute Professor (Research) **James Der Derian** met with Armenian Foreign Affairs Minister Edward Nalbandian in November, emphasizing the important balance between open borders and state sovereignty. The visit by Der Derian, co-editor of *Sustainable Diplomacies: Studies in Diplomacy and International Relations* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), also included a lecture on "Diplomacy and Global Media" at the ministry's school of diplomacy.
- Also in Washington, Senior Fellow **Catherine McArdle Kelleher**, who has served the government in various high-level security roles, was selected to participate in the Women in Public Service Project in December at the US Department of State. The project is establishing public service training institutes worldwide.



Barbara Stallings

- In July, **Melani Cammett**, director of the Institute-based Middle East Studies Program, testified at a congressional hearing on "Hezbollah in Latin America – Implications for US Homeland Security," held by the House Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence. "The notion that Hezbollah intends to launch terrorist operations against US interests ... seems implausible at this juncture," she told the policymakers.

A centerpiece of the Watson Institute's strategy involves bridging academics and policymakers to produce policy-relevant research on contemporary global issues.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT



Romano Prodi and Alfred Gusenbauer

Analyzing the Sorry State of the European Economy

Was the Euro an accident waiting to happen, the victim of a mugging by the markets, or a self-inflicted wound? What else could have been done to avoid the crisis? Is the whole European Project now going forward or backward?

Such are the tough questions that will drive an April 17 conference planned by the Watson Institute on “The Failure of the Euro? Causes and Consequences for Europe and Beyond.”

Participating will be leading academics, media, and policymakers such as former European Commission President and Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi, as a Brown professor at large, and former Austrian Chancellor Alfred Gusenbauer.

Co-hosting the conference will be Institute Professor Mark Blyth and Ross Levine, director of the Watson-affiliated William R. Rhodes Center for International Economics and Finance.

“The title is intended as a provocation and should be seen as such,” Blyth says. “By the time we hold this conference in April we shall perhaps know whether the Euro has survived in its current form. But even if the Euro survives, we must ask to what extent the project of ‘one currency and one Europe’ can be seen as a success or a failure after the crisis.”

A webcast is planned for parts of the daylong, five-panel event. For details in advance, please contact watson_institute@brown.edu.

Get ready for April’s “Failure of the Euro?” conference by watching conference leader Mark Blyth’s “Austerity” video online: <http://bit.ly/bppuoj>.

GLOBAL SECURITY

Multi-University Research Tallies Ongoing Costs of War

Last year ended with the withdrawal of US troops from Iraq. The new year began with the announcement of a reduction in Pentagon spending. A weary American public is turning the page on a decade of wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan.

Yet the costs of war continue to mount. In the US alone, they are measured in the jobless rate among returned soldiers, in the trillions of dollars due for injured veterans’ healthcare and interest on war debt, and in the declining state of infrastructure whose funding was squeezed as tax dollars flowed to the Middle East. Meanwhile, in Afghanistan, uniformed and civilian casualties continue. In Iraq, the US embassy takes up the mantle of military trainer. And in Pakistan, an invisible war continues. Throughout the region, everyday life is lived amid the damages of war.

The Watson Institute-based Costs of War research project is now in its second year as a multi-university research collaboration documenting the economic, human, social, and political toll of America’s post-9/11 wars. Institute Professor Catherine Lutz, award-winning author of such books as *The Bases of Empire: The*

Global Struggle against US Military Posts; Homefront: A Military City and the American 20th Century; and Breaking Ranks: Iraq Veterans Speak Out against the War, is co-director of the project.



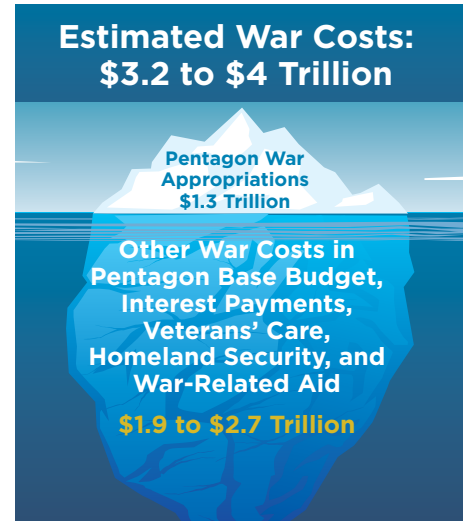
Catherine Lutz

Lutz brings years of research and perspective to bear at a time when policymakers in Washington are redefining war and America’s role in global security.

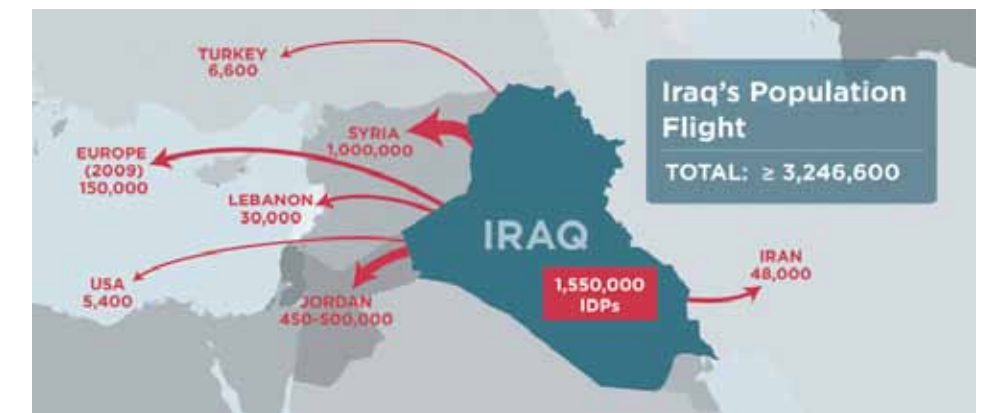
The Costs of War research, released in June and presented in Congress in October, has been widely discussed in recent months in the *New York Times*, *Economist*,

Xinhua, Reuters, AP, NPR, CBS, PBS, Huffington Post, *Politico*, and Al Jazeera.

The findings are readily available at costsofwar.org – both in summary and in two dozen in-depth academic papers. A book is forthcoming.



Visit costsofwar.org.



GLOBALIZED AREA STUDIES

Defining a Globalized Area Studies Agenda

“Do we still need area studies in a globalized world?” asks Richard Snyder, director of Brown’s Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. Posing this provocative question to open the pages of CLACS’ annual report for 2010-2011, he goes on to argue that both place-based and global perspectives are needed to advance understanding and address today’s pressing social, economic, and political issues. “Globalization creates a dual demand for knowledge that is broad and deep, alert to cross-regional patterns and commonalities yet also carefully attuned to contextual specificities,” he says.

To meet these challenges, CLACS is setting a new Globalized Area Studies agenda at Brown, together with its sister area studies programs and the Watson Institute.

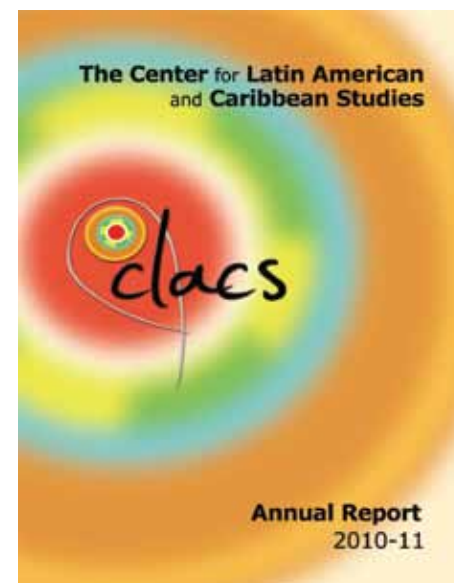
The research and events featured in the pages of the center’s annual report provide case studies of this comparative, multi-sited, cross-regional approach to interdisciplinary scholarship and public policy analysis. For instance, a CLACS conference in the spring of 2011 on “Violent Cities: Challenges of Democracy, Development, and Governance in the Urban Global South” paired academics and practitioners from different world regions to discuss causes and potential solutions to urban violence.

This model is being reproduced in the 2011-2012 academic year and beyond. For example, a conference April 18-19 on “Innovative Approaches to Poverty and Inequality throughout the Global South” will convene

leading policymakers and scholars from around the world. It will be chaired by former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos, a Brown professor at large, and co-sponsored by Brown’s Graduate Program in Development, India Initiative, Middle East Studies Program, William R. Rhodes Center for International Economics and Finance, and Watson Institute.

Additionally, CLACS’ undergraduate and graduate student teaching and training point to a similar pattern throughout the center’s instructional as well as research engagements.

In the annual report, Snyder presents Brown with an open invitation. “As we begin another year, I invite you to join us in the excitement of defining a new agenda of Globalized Area Studies at Brown.”



Read the annual report at watsoninstitute.org/clacs.



Former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos will chair a conference April 18-19 on “Innovative Approaches to Poverty and Inequality.”

Winter Media Fellows File Global Reports

The fourth cohort of AT&T Media Fellows has been posting videos, radio segments, photos, and essays from the Americas, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East on the Global Conversation.

There, you can watch Nicholas Carter ’11.5’s video of street musicians and dancers in Colombia, listen to Brigitta Greene ’12’s radio reports on fracking, read Tala Worrell ’14’s moving account of a visit to her grandfather’s childhood home in Egypt, and follow Kaori Ogawa ’12’s conversation with Chinese immigrants in Paris, as well as Kai Heng Loh ’14’s exploration of innovation as an engine of China’s future.

Introducing this year’s AT&T Winter Media Fellows:

- **Nicholas Carter ’11.5**, an anthropology concentrator, is using his video camera to explore the expression of Afro-Colombian history and identity through street music in Colombia.
- **Brigitta Greene ’12**, a geology-biology concentrator, is producing radio segments on the controversy surrounding hydraulic fracturing, or “fracking,” and the Keystone XL pipeline proposed to connect Canada’s oil sands to refineries along the Gulf of Mexico.
- **Kai Heng Loh ’14**, an economics concentrator, is investigating the current state of innovation in China and the global implications of the country’s shift toward a knowledge-based economy. He will produce a documentary based on research in Beijing.

TEACHING AND TRAINING

- **Kaori Ogawa ’12**, a development studies concentrator, will produce a photo documentary on France’s recent immigration policy of assimilation by examining two Chinese-dominated neighborhoods in Paris.



The 798 Art District in a former military factory in Beijing, by AT&T Fellow Kai Heng Loh ’14

- **Tala Worrell ’14**, a visual arts concentrator, is tracing the story of her late grandfather, a member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood dedicated to resisting British colonialism, and will create a mini-documentary using his extensive archives alongside modern-day interviews to shed light on the recent revolution in Egypt.

The AT&T Media Fellowships support Brown students who are pursuing innovative international projects during the summer or winter break that address

global politics, culture, and society – and who document their experiences with new media on the Global Conversation website. The fellowships and Global Conversation have been made possible through generous grants from the AT&T Foundation and AT&T Corp.

Applications are being accepted for the summer 2012 AT&T Media Fellowships through late February.

Visit globalconversation.org.

China 
Conversation

Blogging the Year of China

Join Brown students and alums who are blogging about China during the University’s 2011-2012 Year of China program of major lectures, cultural performances, and other activities.

Reflections by Mary Pan ’99 on growing up in China, by Meia Geddes ’14 on teaching there, and by Michelle Jackson ’09 and Leland Lazarus ’12 on China’s influence in Panama are interspersed with interviews of Year of China speakers, images from events, and more.

Join the conversation at: yearofchina.globalconversation.org.

TEACHING AND TRAINING



Final Strait Talk presentation

Strait Talk Symposium Models China-Taiwan Dialogue

Last November, following 35 hours of what they call “interactive conflict resolution,” the 15 Strait Talk 2011 delegates at Brown presented the culmination of their efforts: the consensus document.

Their recommendations included a Framework for Channels of Culture and Communication, including joint history textbooks, high school exchanges, and joint college degrees; an experimental administration zone in Fujian to promote integration; and the development of some form of confederation.

Strait Talk is a student-run, non-partisan dialogue program that seeks to transform international conflict by connecting young people from both sides of the Taiwan Strait and the United States and empowering them to strive for peace. It is supported in part by the Watson Institute.

Latin American Youth Network at the Institute

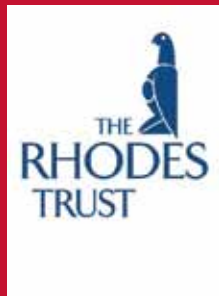
The second annual cohort of Botín Scholars came to Brown as part of a multi-week program that seeks to support a network of university students committed to public service and reform of civic organizations in the region.

Their program included a lecture by Domingo Cavallo, a former Argentinian minister of economy and foreign affairs, who described the rampant inflation of Latin America’s past as a cautionary tale for the future. Students also participated in talks by Brown faculty and leadership- and team-building exercises during their week of study on campus. The 40 Botín Scholars then traveled to Europe, where they also spent several weeks engaging with academics and policymakers.

The program is led by Fundación Marcelino Botín in association with the Watson Institute and Brown’s Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies.

Rhodes Scholar Named

David Poritz '12 is one of this year's Rhodes Scholarship honorees. A major in anthropology and Latin American and Caribbean studies, Poritz is also founder of two organizations focused on the environmental effects of the oil industry on the lives of people in the Amazon. This spring, he is also playing a role in the Center for Latin



American and Caribbean Studies' April 26-27 conference on “Innovation and the Oil Industry in Latin America.”

TEACHING AND TRAINING

BJWA Highlights Diplomacy, Cybersecurity



The fall/winter 2011 issue of the *Brown Journal of World Affairs* (BJWA) features leading academics and policymakers addressing such key themes as diplomacy in the 21st century, cybersecurity, the global food crisis, and the privatization of security.

Among them is White House Cybersecurity Coordinator Howard Schmidt, who provides “The View from Washington” in an interview with journal editors, while noted author Parag Khanna weighs in on “Global Governance and Megadiplomacy.”

An excerpt from Schmidt’s interview: “We need to understand that these threats will exist, and we should build systems that address that fact as opposed to just connecting things to

an open network, which makes them increasingly vulnerable.”

And from Khanna’s: “I measure the utility and the legitimacy of a global governance tool on its effectiveness. People tend to think of legitimacy and effectiveness as two different things. They think that the UN and the World Bank are legitimate, and some actors are legitimate, just because they represent governments. ... I think the world is impatient. ... I think that legitimacy derives almost exclusively from effectiveness.”

Run by undergraduate students and supported in part by the Watson Institute, the BJWA attracts contributions from leading scholars and policymakers in its mission to publish at the intersection of news and academic theory. Its editors are Samuel Magaram '12 and Mustafa Safdar '12.

Visit bjwa.org.



Chinua Achebe, noted author and Brown Professor at Large, at BIARI 2011

Inequality Institute Draws Developing World Scholars

Institute faculty will provide academic and administrative leadership for the Brown International Advanced Research Institutes (BIARI) again this summer.

Now in its fourth year, BIARI provides a platform for promising young faculty from the developing world to engage in intellectual and policy dialogue with each other and with leading scholars in their fields.

In June, BIARI will host 150 participants and visiting faculty from around the world. The four institutes include Global Health and HIV/AIDS, Theater and Civil Society, Population and Development, and Climate Change and its Impacts.

BIARI is sponsored by Brown’s Office of International Affairs and Santander Universities. Institute Associate Professor (Research) Keith Brown is director.



Watson Fellow Geri Augusto facilitates a leadership session with Botin Scholars.

CHOICES PROGRAM

Engaging US Teens in Middle East Issues

High school teachers face increasing challenges in keeping up with fast-paced change in the Middle East and addressing the passing of each major milestone – from the 1st anniversary of the Arab Spring uprisings to the 10th anniversary of US military engagement in Afghanistan.

The Watson-affiliated Choices Program has been issuing a series of print and online resources to help inform deliberations on these issues in secondary schools.

The United States in Afghanistan curriculum unit is typical of the series, providing students with primary source documents, readings, and new media sources and asking them to engage in role play and discussion on four distinct policy options in order to articulate their own perspective. In addition, Scholars Online videos accompany the curriculum unit, as do learning tools including graphic organizers, maps and photographs, online lessons to accompany the printed unit, links to resources on other sites, and a list of recommended print resources.

On related issues this year, Choices has also published:

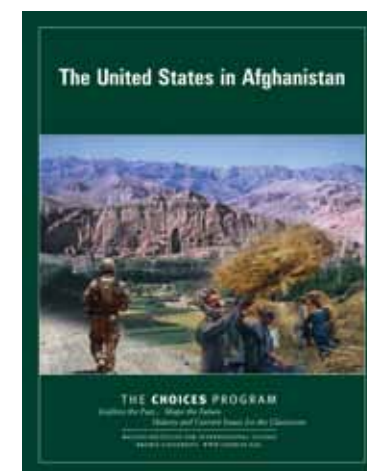
- *A Global Controversy: The US Invasion of Iraq*, which encourages students to recreate the national public debate that took place as the country stood on the brink of invasion in March 2003.
- *The Middle East in Transition: Questions for US Policy*, engaging

students in analyzing the mix of interests, values, and principles behind the US presence in the region.

- *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy*, the seventh edition, updated in time for the 10th anniversary of 9/11.
- Teaching with the News online lessons, on the Arab Spring one year later, the death of Osama bin Laden, the Iraqi refugee crisis, and oral history of September 11.

Brown University's Choices Program is known for bringing university-level research and innovative learning tools into secondary school classrooms across the country. With a library of 40 published curriculum units and an expanding collection of online materials, Choices develops teaching resources on historical and current international issues and provides professional development for classroom teachers.

Visit choices.edu.



Gauging the Merits of Participatory Democracy

Despite increasing interest in how citizen involvement in local government can improve governance and lead to civic renewal, questions remain about the impact of such participatory democracy.

In *Bootstrapping Democracy: Transforming Local Governance and Civil Society in Brazil* (Stanford University Press, 2011), Institute Associate Professor Gianpaolo Baiocchi and Professor Patrick Heller investigate participatory budgeting – a mainstay now of World Bank, UNDP, and USAID development programs – to ask whether its reforms truly make a difference in deepening democracy and empowering civil society.

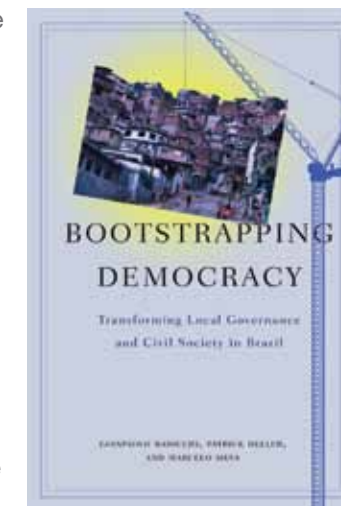
With co-author Marcelo K. Silva of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, they look closely at eight cities in Brazil, comparing those that carried out participatory budgeting reforms between 1997 and 2000 with those that did not to determine whether and how institutional reforms take effect.

Bootstrapping Democracy highlights the importance of local-level innovations and democratic advances, charting a middle path between those who theorize that globalization

BOOKS

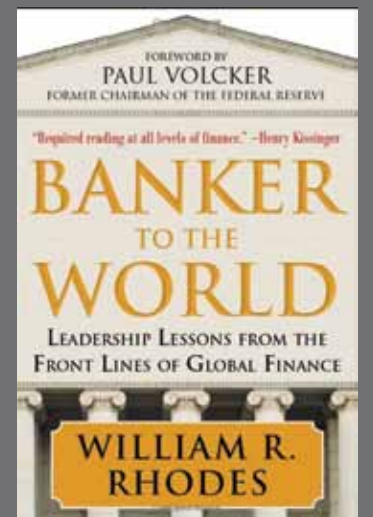
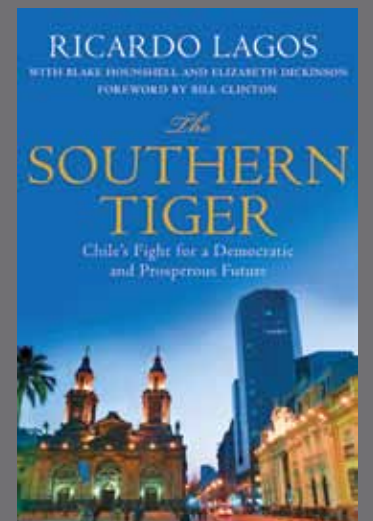
hollows out democracy and those who celebrate globalization as a means of fostering democratic values.

Participatory budgeting, the authors write, “is the idea ... that citizens can and should play a direct role in shaping the budgets of the towns and cities in which they live.” As such, participatory budgeting can act both as an “instrumental response to the challenges of coordinating the functions of localities” and as an “ethico-political project of empowering citizens.”



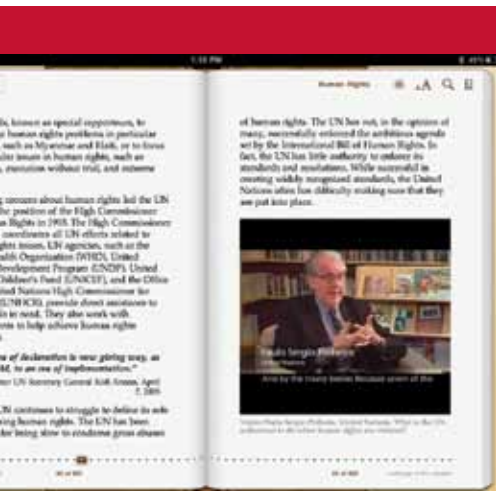
The most striking finding “was the degree to which local actors proved to be extremely inventive” in designing local variants of participatory budgeting. The book outlines the structure of civil society in the Brazilian cities discussed, explores “the impact of institutional reforms on the capacity of civil society to ... influence democratic governance,” and advances “a new typology of state-civil society relations.”

Participatory budgeting “represents only one form of a varied range of new political practices and institutional reforms that ... embrace the ideal of participatory democracy.” Institutional reform, the authors conclude, must be taken seriously, without relying on “blueprint replications of participatory budgeting models.”



Lives of Public Service

Two Brown professors at large at Watson have published memoirs of their lives in politics and finance. Financial diplomat William Rhodes provides “leadership lessons from the front lines of global finance,” as former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos describes Chile’s “fight for a democratic and prosperous future.



Choices Publishes eBooks

The Choices Program has embarked on a new initiative to develop eBooks of its curriculum titles, including embedded Scholars Online videos and other media. A prototype, *Competing Visions of Human Rights: Questions for US Policy*, is now available, with all 40 Choices titles to be ready for the coming academic year. The digital edition was funded by the US Institute of Peace, with the original work funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York.

EVENTS

Chinese Academics See New Economic Models Emerge

Leading Chinese academics spoke at Watson last fall of their country's need for new economic and social models for the future, as part of the Institute's involvement in the campus-wide Year of China program.

Nanjing University Chancellor Hong Yinxing listed several factors that contributed to China's rapid growth at an average annual rate of 9.9 percent over the past 30 years, including the low cost of labor and a high investment rate. He said that the low cost of labor, in particular, was due to the surplus of workers in the cities as a result of rural-urban migration and a large young population.

But some of these factors are unlikely to hold in the future, said Hong, who also holds key positions at several national and provincial institutions in China. For example, the low cost advantage of China is being eroded, because the entry of migrant workers into the cities is slowing. "In the east coast now, there is a clear lack of migrant workers," he said. As a result, the average wage of a migrant worker in 2009 was twice that of 2001, making it increasingly difficult for China to sustain the labor-intensive industries that were key to powering growth.

It is important for the country to move up the value chain and focus on technological innovation in areas such as renewable energy, life sciences, and new materials, Hong said. He added that China needs to rethink the kind of foreign investment it is attracting and to place more emphasis on luring foreign talent as well.



Hong Yinxing

In a separate public lecture, Li Xiguang, dean of the Tsinghua University International Center for Communication, presented the city of Chongqing as a model and "message of hope" for the rest of China.

Li offered the Chongqing story as an angle for discussion of the forces behind the recent socioeconomic changes in China. The Chongqing story, he said, provides a model of government marked by a large public sector and multiple state-owned enterprises. In Chongqing, the government seeks to provide social services, such as housing and security, while pursuing environmental goals, an expansion in infrastructure, and increased health care for all citizens, whether they are from urban or rural areas.

In recent decades China has witnessed rapid economic growth, but Li said that lately the gap between rich and poor in the country has widened, with the top 10 percent holding 45 percent of the wealth and the per capita income of urban residents more than tripling



Li Xiguang

that of rural dwellers. People in coastal areas make twice as much as residents of the western provinces, Li said, and the widening wealth gap has sparked social unrest and undermined the government's authority over its people.

He pointed to the introduction of a set of well-being indices and social equality measures in Chongqing as examples of the sort of reform that might help all of China. These social equality measures include offering public housing, free public health care, and loans for individuals to start up small enterprises.

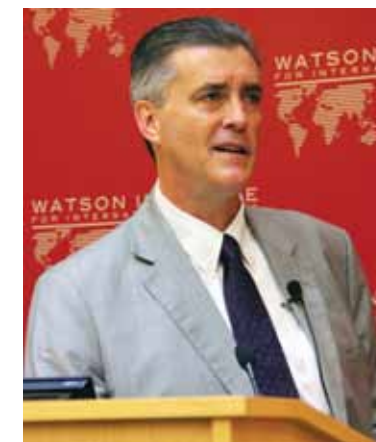
Hong's Year of China talk was co-sponsored with Brown's Department of Economics, Office of International Affairs, and Rhodes Center for International Economics and Finance. Li's Year of China talk was co-sponsored with Strait Talk and the Taubman Center of Public Policy and American Institutions. China will continue to be a theme of Watson events this spring.

By Lauren Fedor '12 and
Kai Heng Loh '14

US Ambassador Points to Improvements in Afghanistan

"If one reads nothing but the headlines, it is easy to be pessimistic about Afghanistan," Ambassador Richard Olson '81, P'14, told an Institute audience last fall.

"The challenges we face are real: in the security arena, in economic transition, and in reconciliation," said Olson, who has been the coordinating director for development and economic affairs at the US embassy in Kabul since June 2011. "But at the same time, there has been a substantial improvement in the lives of Afghans over the past decade."



Richard Olson

Olson spoke at the Institute exactly one week after the 10th anniversary of US military engagement in Afghanistan. "What have we – Afghans and Americans – accomplished in the last ten years?" he asked.

In addition to listing security objectives met, he underscored improvements to Afghans' lives and livelihoods.

EVENTS

"The US has provided more economic assistance to Afghanistan than to any other country," Olson said, adding, "After ten years and more than \$21 billion dollars in assistance, we have achieved some real successes."

More Afghan citizens received direct government services, including education, health care, power, and water in the last decade than "any time in recent memory," he said.

US involvement in the region has contributed to a 22 percent drop in infant deaths and a 52 percent increase in access to basic health services, he said, while 7 million children in Afghanistan are now in primary and secondary school, compared to 1 million children under the Taliban. Economic growth in Afghanistan has averaged 10 percent since 2002, he said, including improvements in infrastructure and telecommunications.

"In times of economic challenges at home, and newer opportunities and challenges abroad, it is tempting to think that we have not accomplished much in Afghanistan, and to succumb to the urge to cut our losses," Olson concluded. Such thinking is "analytically wrong" because "we have some substantial successes to point to."

Quoting former US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, he added that, "If we abandon these countries, once we are in there and engaged, there is a very real possibility that we pay a higher price in the end."

By Lauren Fedor '12

Japan's Ambassador Cites New Nuclear View

Japanese Ambassador Ichiro Fujisaki gave a public lecture in the fall on the progress Japan has made since the 3/11 earthquake and tsunami.

He spoke to the intensity of the disaster, its toll on human life, and the effect on the Japanese economy – but emphasized that radiation had returned to levels comparable to those of the United States and France.

He also touched on Japan's distribution of energy use and the change in earlier plans that would have increased the use of nuclear power.

"People do not want to increase nuclear at this juncture," Fujisaki said, citing a survey showing that 80 percent of Japanese oppose it.

By Brittany Check '12



Ichiro Fujisaki

EVENTS



Hemispheric Conditions

US concerns over the rise of new regional intergovernmental bodies in Latin America are largely unfounded, according to José Miguel Insulza, secretary general of the Organization of American States. In a talk at the Institute, he discussed the nascent Union of South American Nations and Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, asking: “Does this mean that the inter-American system is under threat? I don’t think so, really.”

Lagos Issues Call for ‘Democracy that Delivers’

A dramatically changing Latin America can only face the challenges and opportunities ahead with policies that advance economic and social equality through progressive taxation, according to former Chilean President Ricardo Lagos.

Progress in democracy, human rights, and poverty reduction since the early 1980s has changed regional dynamics. And the past 10 years have largely spared Latin America – and especially South America – from the economic crises of Europe and the United States, with exports to China and the rest of Asia leading to double-digit increases in gross domestic product.

“Now you have middle income countries,” Lagos said in a lecture last fall at the Institute, where he is in residence as a Brown professor at large. But with a growing middle class come greater expectations for “democracy that delivers,” as he termed the current demand in the region for better education, healthcare, and opportunity.

In the face of these demands, however, Latin America’s policymakers and institutions remain mired in a system of extremely unequal income distribution and low taxation of the privileged, he said.

“This is quite a different world, the one we are entering. Are we in a position to understand and fulfill its demands?” asked Lagos. With many Latin American countries approaching

the “first world” per capita income benchmark of \$20,000, what should their social priorities be?

Beyond the \$20,000 benchmark, he said, what determines quality of life and social cohesion is equality in the distribution of income.

Among the challenges he issued:

- Define a more participatory democracy that allows for continuing improvements in such areas as human rights, gender, and the environment.
- Provide better access to higher education for all.
- Build a new infrastructure that can accommodate the region’s shifting trade focus to Asia.
- Handle dramatic demographic shifts, including South-South immigration and a sea change from historically high rates of population growth to very low rates, in such cases as Chile.
- Impose higher taxes on the region’s wealthiest people, who today pay far lower taxes than their counterparts in Europe and the United States, and devote much of the new revenue to education.

Failure to face these challenges will lead Latin America down a path already trodden in such countries as the United States, he suggested, where the highest per capita income and a wide income gap are accompanied by some of the lowest health, education, and social indicators among its peers.

In Latin America, “we need to take steps now,” he said. “Addressing the issue of income distribution is the most important challenge we have to face.”

Kennedy Compares Movements Worldwide

Institute Professor Michael D. Kennedy recently discussed Occupy Wall Street, its offshoots around the world, and various other ongoing protest movements in the Egyptian daily newspaper *Al-Masry Al-Youm*.

In the article, “From Bringing down Ben Ali to Fixing up Wall Street,” Kennedy said it is not coincidental that such protests are taking place at the same time. “There is more and more power concentrated in global financial sectors that are increasingly distant from democratic regulation.”



Michael Kennedy

Varshney Reflects on a Year in Indian Democracy

India’s political conflicts as the world’s largest democracy and one of the fastest growing market economies was analyzed at the year’s end by the *Wall Street Journal India*, *Forbes India*, and the *Financial Times* – all of which turned to the work of Institute Professor Ashutosh Varshney to address different facets of the situation.

“As recently articulated by political scientist Ashutosh Varshney there is an ‘elite politics’ that ‘is constantly asking about growth rates’ and a ‘mass politics’ that is ‘asking about inclusion of the marginalized, and inclusion of the excluded,’” reported the *Wall Street Journal India*.

However, as Varshney was quoted by *Forbes India*, “In a market-based economy, no assumption of equality of all is made, which is intrinsic to elections, a vital principle of democracy.”

In the specific case of the 167 million Dalits at the bottom of India’s caste system, the *Financial Times* reported how India’s market presents obstacles in both founding and expanding businesses, citing Varshney’s explanation that “The evidence shows that as India’s economy has grown the middle castes have benefited considerably, but so far most Dalits have not.”

Varshney also penned his own year-end account of India’s 2011 democratic record in the *Indian Express*: “Using democratic modes, three different groups rebelled this year: the urban middle class against corruption, farmers against land acquisition, traders against reform of retail. All three groups are numerically large. On the domestic front, the Central government remained paralyzed for much of the year. Even when the government tried to break the logjam, it would move forward only to pull back. This can be read as a narrative of government bowing to citizen preferences. What could be more democratic?”

Baiocchi Observes Spain’s Indignados

In the January issue of the *Boston Review*, Institute Associate Professor Gianpaolo Baiocchi has co-authored

an article on Spain’s *indignados*, described as “a mass movement whose participants come together directly as equal citizens – not as members of interest or identity groups, or through representatives – to debate the merits of policy.”

The *indignados*, the authors say in “No Parties, No Banners: The Spanish Experiment with Direct Democracy,” represent not only a striking departure but a profound challenge to conventional democratic politics.

Blyth Predicts Austerity Binge in the Coming Year

Predicting a “combined austerity binge” for 2012, with 11 of the Euro-zone’s 17 countries poised to slash their budgets in hopes of averting financial crisis, Institute Professor Mark Blyth recently professed Europe’s austerity policies “not much of a solution.”

“We can’t all simultaneously cut our way to growth because someone has to be spending to maintain economic growth,” he said in an interview on Bloomberg TV.

In recent months, Blyth has been a frequent commentator in the media on the plight of Europe’s economy and has been featured by public radio’s Marketplace program, Deutsche Welle, Reuters, and other outlets.

Speaking on ABC Radio National in Australia, for instance, Blyth said austerity “doesn’t work most of the time,” pointing to historical evidence that the “negative cases vastly outweigh the positive ones.”

WATSON INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
BROWN UNIVERSITY



111 THAYER STREET, BOX 1970
PROVIDENCE, RI 02912-1970

T 401.863.2809

F 401.863.1270

WATSON_INSTITUTE@BROWN.EDU

WWW.WATSONINSTITUTE.ORG

NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATION
US POSTAGE PAID
PERMIT NO. 202
PROVIDENCE RI

FOR MORE, FOLLOW US ON FACEBOOK
(FACEBOOK.COM/WATSONINSTITUTE)
AND TWITTER (@WATSONINSTITUTE).



CAROLYN DEAN, INTERIM DIRECTOR

KAREN LYNCH, COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR

JASON TRANCHIDA/LLAMAPRODUCT, DESIGN CONCEPT

© 2012 THE WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES, BROWN UNIVERSITY. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

NEWS

Major New India Initiative Begins with Urban Research

The India Initiative has been launched at Brown, based at Watson under the leadership of Institute Professor Ashutosh Varshney.

The initiative will have two profiles – one research-related and the other dealing with India's public sphere and policy debates.

An initial project on urban governance has already begun. Jointly directed by Varshney and Institute



Ashutosh Varshney

Professor Patrick Heller, the project is building collaborative arrangements with two Indian institutions: the Center for Policy Research (Delhi), a leading policy research institute; and Janaagraha (Bangalore), a major urban non-governmental organization. Early work is focused on Mumbai, Delhi, and Bangalore.

By 2030, India's population will be 50 percent urban for the first time in history. With rapid economic growth rates, rural to urban migration is swelling cities, causing new urban

settlements to be built, and putting huge pressures on the environment and governance.

What happens to Indian cities will shape India's rise and fortunes in the coming decades. The new urban research project will not only enhance understanding, but also aim to propose workable solutions.

Additional research is foreseen in such areas as national security, domestic conflict management, political economy, and the environment.

Further details about the initiative will unfold in the coming semester.