

# BRIEFINGS

WATSON INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

BROWN UNIVERSITY

FALL 2009



## DIPLOMACY GOES PUBLIC

Francis J. Ricciardone Jr., the deputy US ambassador to Afghanistan, describes the changing face of the American diplomatic mission. [Page 11.](#)



## CALLING FOR FINANCIAL REFORM

Faculty Fellow Mark Blyth, a member of the Warwick Commission on International Financial Reform, joins in the call for post-crisis stability as the commission issues its findings. [Page 8.](#)

## GLOBAL COMPLEXITY DRIVES INSTITUTE'S EVOLUTION

Created during the Cold War to diminish the risk of nuclear confrontation between two superpowers, the Watson Institute is at work today in a world of far greater complexity. Indeed, in this time of global transformation, "one of the most pressing issues facing us is precisely the absence of a single problem defining threats to global well being," according to Institute Director Michael D. Kennedy.

"The Watson Institute should be the site in the world known for recognizing this global complexity – for addressing the relationships among critical international issues with innovation and consequence," Kennedy says.

In his first year as director, Kennedy is advancing this engagement as he also expands the Institute's use of the methodology of reflexivity. As such, Watson will not only consistently engage the challenges of a world in transformation but simultaneously study how it is that scholarship influences those changes.

Increasingly, the Institute's study of global transformation is coordinated around the problems of inequalities, in such areas as economic and social development, and flows, in such areas as border controls and militarization. It is also focusing more on the agents who can make a difference, from policymakers and civil society to knowledge institutions and networks.

"Bringing scholarship into practice, and practice into our research, the Institute not only develops new theories about how the world works, but collaborates



Michael Kennedy

with scholars, policymakers, and public figures from across the world to help bring good ideas into the public good," Kennedy says. "We must always look for the best ways to bring scholarship, policy, and practice together in making a more peaceful, prosperous, just, and sustainable world."

Watson is not only convening scholars and global leaders to change the quality of the relationship between the academy and the public sphere. It also supports the development of new kinds of policies and institutions – as well as new forms of social organization and communication – that more appropriately recognize the complexity of the world and the ways in which new kinds of collaborative learning might matter.

"It is in dialogue across distances, and differences, that new imaginations of what we might become and how we might not just survive, but thrive, are made," he says.

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As Kennedy shapes this course of action, he is drawing on his own sociological research on the relation-

ship between global transformations and the organization and transmission of knowledge – particularly in Eastern Europe and on the question of energy security. And he is bringing to bear the

experience of a seasoned administrator who was the University of Michigan's first vice provost for international affairs and director of its Weiser Center for Europe and Eurasia.

## GLOBAL PROBLEMS, GLOBAL AGENTS

### Inequalities

“Watson has a longstanding program on development, a term that has new meaning today. It’s basically a question of inequality – to understand its dimensions, its causes, and consequences.”

### Flows

“The study of flows focuses on how different types of connections among peoples and places create opportunities or dangers, and therefore inspire concerns for facilitating or limiting flows. Consider migration, foreign investments, nuclear proliferation, militarization – there is no compelling cross-disciplinary framework that understands well how these flows are related to each other.”

### Publics

“Right from the start, my predecessors at Watson assembled scholars and practitioners to develop concepts and mechanisms to reduce the likelihood of violence. Today, given the democratization of societies and the explosion of new media, one cannot only think about the ways in which elites figure out solutions; publics, within and across nations, must be brought into the conversation. In fact, they very well may shape it.”

### Knowledge Institutions

“We need to bring together knowledge institutions and networks in a strategic fashion that will enable us to articulate the quality of ties among our most pressing global issues, and the means among policymakers and publics to address them. We will each do it in our own niches, but we want Watson to bring it together.”

– Michael Kennedy

Recent public programs, publications, and major grants reflect this approach to collective scholarly work in what is becoming the hallmark of the Watson Institute. Among those described elsewhere in this newsletter are the following:

- a National Science Foundation grant to advance doctoral training and research on economic, social, and political inequalities in developing countries;
- a two-day public analysis of “The European Union in a Moment of Crisis” involving European political leaders Romano Prodi and Alfred Gusenbauer;
- an award-winning documentary on US military strategy; and
- new published research on international sanctions, global finance, violence in illicit markets, and development.

In line with the Institute’s research, “we are at work giving the undergraduate international relations concentration an accent befitting its Watson pedigree,” Kennedy says. “In the end, much like Brown University itself, it is in the impact that our research and graduate training moves into undergraduate learning that we might have our most immediate – and long term – effect.”

## WATSON'S ISSUES: INEQUALITY

### Ramping up Research and Doctoral Training on Inequality

The Institute has received an award from the National Science Foundation (NSF) to advance doctoral training and research on economic, social, and political inequalities in developing countries.

The NSF is providing the five-year grant for \$3.1 million under its Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship (IGERT) initiative, which encourages interdisciplinary academic training for US doctoral students.

The NSF-supported work will be part of a broader program that will include partner institutions in the Global South. It will be directed by Barbara Stallings, the William R. Rhodes Research Professor, and Sociology Professor Patrick Heller, a Watson faculty fellow.

The program addresses the growing international concern about the causes and consequences of inequality, and the increasing recognition of the need for a new, more comprehensive approach to understanding and mitigating inequality.

Despite tremendous efforts over the last 60 years, basic social and economic inequalities remain pervasive, and there is an emerging consensus in the social sciences and in policy circles that such

inequalities can hinder growth, exacerbate health disparities, feed political and social conflict, and undermine governance. It is also now widely recognized that in an increasingly interconnected world the global repercussions of domestic inequalities include the spread of infectious diseases, economic migration, terrorism, cross-national crime, environmental degradation, and political upheaval.

The Institute's program, designed for PhD students in anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology, aims to transform doctoral training in development in four ways:

- teaching interdisciplinary theories for tackling the multiple dimensions of inequality;
- training in a range of advanced measurement and analytical techniques;
  - providing solid grounding in local context; and
  - supporting field work within international, interdisciplinary research teams.



Barbara Stallings

“Brown’s interdisciplinary ethos positions us well to take on these critical issues, break through some of the complexity that has made them so intractable, and train the next generation of scholars to carry the work forward,” said Provost David Kertzer.

While the NSF awards few IGERT grants in the social sciences, “it has clearly responded to our new style of social science research, which draws not only on cutting-edge methodologies but also the kind of international teamwork so familiar in the ‘hard’ sciences,” said Stallings.

In substantive terms, she said, the program aims to close an important gap in social science research. In developed economies the interplay of gender, class, race, and income inequalities has been extensively researched, but in developing countries the problem of inequality, although widely recognized, has received surprisingly little attention from researchers.

The program will initially comprise five research initiatives, drawing on Brown’s strengths and aiming for policy relevance:

- markets and social inequality;
- public health and social disparities;
- megacities and inequality;
- democratic governance and participation; and
- global governance and inequality.

The IGERT support complements topics studied at the Institute. “One of the central themes of our abiding work involves the world’s deepening inequalities,” said Institute Director Michael Kennedy, “But the other side, which Watson is increasingly engaged in analyzing, is their relationship to different kinds of global ‘flows’ — of power, for instance, or disease, or investment.”

The program also builds on such related efforts as the Brown International Advanced Research Institute on De-

## WATSON'S ISSUES: INEQUALITY



### Lagos Confronts Chile's Persisting Inequalities

The Republic of Chile has undergone unprecedented economic growth and profound social transformations in the past two decades, writes Ricardo Lagos, a former Chilean president and University professor at large. His recent book, *El Futuro Comienza Hoy* (La Copa Rota, 2008), written in part at the Institute, recommends a path of action that builds upon Chile's past successes to confront persisting inequalities.

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velopment and Inequality, which drew 52 young scholars from the developing world for a two-week workshop in June, and on Watson's Graduate Program in Development.

Institutional collaborations for the IGERT program have been forged with the Institute of Population and Labor Economics at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing; the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria; the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning in São Paulo, and the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies in New Delhi. Arrangements with partners include hosting students in the program and Watson support for visiting faculty and graduate students from partner institutions, complementing the NSF funding for US students.

At Brown, 30 faculty members are participating from the departments of anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology — and from such interdisciplinary centers as the Population Studies and Training Center (PSTC) and Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences (S-4). The executive committee will include Stallings, Heller, Economics Department Chair Andrew Foster, S-4 Director John Logan, PSTC Associate Director Daniel Smith, and Political Science Professor Richard Snyder, a Watson faculty fellow.

### Revisiting a Cardoso Classic

How should development in the Global South be conducted in a “post-neoliberal” world where free-market economic policies have run their course? In a special issue of the Institute-based journal, *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)*, scholars address this question through critical and comparative lenses.

Co-edited by Paul Dupee Faculty Fellow Patrick Heller, Adjunct Professor Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Watson Institute Faculty Fellow Richard Snyder, the issue, entitled “Dependency and Development in a Globalized World,” compiles the revised versions of articles originally presented at a conference held at the institute in 2008 with former president of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso, then a Brown University professor at large in residence at the Institute. Taken together, the articles employ Cardoso's classic book, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, as a springboard to explore development strategies that address both the constraints posed by global power imbalances and the possibilities for transformation in the Global South.

In their introduction, the editors revisit key changes and continuities in the study of the political economy of development over the last half century. In contrast to the determinism present in dependency theory in the 1960s, Cardoso and co-author Enzo Faletto foresaw dependent development as a realistic, if problematic, path of action for countries in the “periphery” of the global economy. Cardoso and Faletto's critical realism as well as their attention

## WATSON'S ISSUES: INEQUALITY

to the impact of class on development outcomes directly informed later generations of research.

However, profound changes in the globalized political economy call for a re-examination of the distinction between “core” and “periphery” nations, assert the editors. “Doing justice to the legacy of *Dependency and Development* in these times of defanged ideologies and new uncertainties calls for careful comparative assessments that can help identify the specific configurations of institutions, actors, and interests shaping the pathways of global integration.”

Cardoso himself nuances his assertions of years past. He argues that in order to develop, Latin American countries should pursue “globalized social democracy,” opening their economies to international markets, embracing socially just practices, and increasing the accountability of the state. The remainder of the issue critically engages with this position. For example, Peter Evans of the University of California, Berkeley, asserts that Cardoso has underestimated the barriers posed by international economic institutions that continually give countries in the North the upper hand.

The authors in this special issue share several common values – above all, a critical awareness of the power asymmetries that perpetuate unequal relations between nations and societies. They also share a “possibilistic approach,” recognizing the capacity for the Global South to engage in transformative projects of emancipation.

*By Watson Institute Student  
Rapporteur Juliana Friend '11*

### SCID SPECIAL ISSUE: WHAT'S INSIDE

**“Dependency and Development in a Globalized World: Looking Back and Forward”** – Patrick Heller, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Richard Snyder



**“New Paths: Globalization in Historical Perspective”** – Fernando Henrique Cardoso (at left)

**“From Situations of Dependency to Globalized Social Democracy”** – Peter Evans

**“Democracy and Development in a Globalized World: Thinking About Latin America from Within”** – Gerardo L. Munck

**“Enclaves and Development: An Empirical Assessment”** – Jonathan H. Conning and James A. Robinson

**“Nationalist Versus Dependent Capitalist Development: Alternate Pathways of Asia and Latin America in a Globalized World”** – Atul Kohli

**“Transnationalization, Social Integration, and Capitalist Diversity in the East and the South”** – László Bruszt and Béla Greskovits

**“How Much Space is there for Political Agency in Dependent Economies? Reflections on Papers on Contemporary Development Inspired by Cardoso and Faletto’s *Dependencia y Desarrollo en America Latina*”** – John Harriss

**“Cores, Peripheries, and Contemporary Political Economy”** – Erik Wibbels

**“Response”** – Fernando Henrique Cardoso

## WATSON'S ISSUES: FLOWS

### Report Sees Risks in Debate on Sanctions

Recent legal and parliamentary challenges to the use of targeted sanctions, which “play a central role in UN efforts to maintain peace and security,” could severely compromise the UN Security Council’s ability to counter terrorism and prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, according to a new report co-authored at the Watson Institute.

The report, *Addressing Challenges to Targeted Sanctions*, sums up the problem in this way: “National and regional courts have increasingly found fault with the procedures used for making designations of sanctions on individuals and entities, as well as with the adequacy of procedures for challenging designations. Human rights advocates have been outspoken in their criticisms of the measures, contending that the prevailing UN procedures for making designations violate fundamental norms of due process.”

What is more: “National legislative and parliamentary assemblies have begun to question the authority of their executive officials to implement UN targeted sanctions without their consent. As a result, a number of member states have found themselves in the difficult position of being forced to choose between contravening the rulings of their domestic courts and decisions of their legislative bodies on the one hand, and their obligations to implement binding Chapter VII decisions of the UN Security Council, on the other.”

Authored by Watson Institute Adjunct Professor Thomas Biersteker and Senior Fellow Sue E. Eckert, the report carries forward years of research that the two have done on targeted sanctions. “There is no inherent contradiction between the defense of fundamental human rights and the maintenance of international peace and security,” the authors find. “A broad international consensus on this point already exists.”

Yet targeted sanctions continue to be framed by policy practitioners and external observers in terms of a trade-off between security and human rights, they say. “It is time to move beyond this conceptualization.”

The new report, following on the *Strengthening Targeted Sanctions through Fair and Clear Procedures* report they co-authored in 2006, aims to head off “a further erosion and diminution of Security Council legitimacy to address critical problems of terrorism and proliferation.”

The 2006 report recommended improvements in due process, and the Security Council’s procedures have since undergone significant reform, they say. The new report updates progress and presents options – from changes to the current UN review procedure, to measures at the national and regional level, and finally to proposals for the creation of a review mechanism at the UN Security Council level.

All UN sanctions today are targeted sanctions, following the severe humanitarian consequences of comprehensive sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s.

#### ADDRESSING CHALLENGES TO TARGETED SANCTIONS

AN UPDATE OF THE “WATSON REPORT”



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OCTOBER 2009

Read the full report at  
[www.watsoninstitute.org/  
sanctions\\_report\\_2009](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/sanctions_report_2009).

## WATSON'S ISSUES: FLOWS

### Special Issue Analyzes Illicit Markets and Violence

In one of the first collective attempts to understand the relationship between illicit markets and violence across market sector, place, and time, the special September issue of the journal *Crime, Law and Social Change* demonstrates the multi-disciplinary approach required to understand the role of violence in illicit economic transactions.

Co-edited by Institute Associate Professor Peter Andreas, the issue notes that illicit markets tend to be more violent than their licit counterparts, as illicit market actors cannot resolve business disputes through legal mechanisms. This, however, does not mean the relationship is simple or clear; on the contrary, it needs to be evaluated with skepticism and critical scrutiny.

In the provocative guest editors' introduction, "Illicit Markets and Violence: What is the Relationship?," Andreas and co-editor Joel Wallman challenge some of the conventional wisdom regarding the violent nature of illicit economic transactions. For instance, they emphasize the "selective nature of violence" since violence does not occur randomly or pointlessly but is highly instrumental and targeted. They also problematize "the crime-conflict connection," emphasizing that there is not an automatic causal relationship between illicit trade and armed conflict.

"These observations suggest the need to pay more attention to the non-events, the lower-profile cases,

where there is not such a close or clear connection between illicit markets and violence," note Andreas and Wallman. Doing so will produce a better understanding of the cases in which there seems to be a stronger linkage.

Another article, "Does Illegality Breed Violence? Drug Trafficking and State-sponsored Protection Rackets," also points out that the illicit economy is



Peter Andreas

not automatically associated with high levels of violence. Its authors, Watson Institute Faculty Fellow Richard Snyder and Brown Political Science PhD candidate Angélica Durán-Martínez, argue that institutions of protection, particularly what they call state-sponsored protection rackets, "help explain varying levels of violence within and across

illicit markets. Where state-sponsored institutions of protection exist, levels of violence will likely be low."

They add that, "the breakdown of state-sponsored protection rackets, which may result from well-meaning reforms intended to strengthen and improve law enforcement, can ironically lead to large increases in violence."

The special issue addresses central questions in the illicit economy debate, such as:

- Why are certain countries, such as Colombia, overwhelmed by illicit trade-related armed insurgency while other countries, such as Mexico, are not?
- Why are certain illicit drugs, such as cocaine, closely linked to organized violence while other drugs, such as marijuana, are much less so?
- Why is organized violence directly connected with illicit markets such as heroin and cocaine but much less connected to other markets such as the trafficking of antiquities and endangered species?
- How do prohibitions and their enforcement shape the nature of organized violence in illicit market activities?

The issue was sponsored by the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation and based on papers initially presented at a conference Andreas co-organized at the foundation. It includes contributions from political scientists, historians, economists, sociologists, and criminologists.

*By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur Samura Atallah '11*

## WATSON'S ISSUES: FLOWS

## Globalization Spurs Rapid Urban Change

Globalization has fundamentally changed the role of cities, Patrick Heller said in a talk at last summer's Brown International Advanced Research Institute (BIARI) on "Development and Inequality in the Global South." Professor of Sociology and Paul Dupee Faculty Fellow at the Institute, Heller explored the ways in which new flows of ideas, goods, and political allegiances have spurred rapid urban transformations.

"Power used to be concentrated in the nation-state," Heller said. Likewise, cities were loci of power in which people formed their identities.

He cited sociologist Manuel Castells' argument that in the context of globalization, power is increasingly located in the "flows" or "connections between places" rather than in the places themselves. This creates "a disconnect between where people live and think and generate their identities of self... and the actual sources of power," Heller said.

To shift focus to these relationships, networks, and flows, "we need an approach that is configurational," Heller asserted. Instead of thinking of cities as static essences, one needs to take into account cities' linkages to the

global economy as well as urban interactions among state, private, and civil society actors.

Heller contested the premise that globalization's impact on cities is predetermined. While the struggle to become a global city may create a tradeoff between economic growth and livable conditions, local actors have the agency to navigate that duality and confront social inequality, Heller said. "There

are democratic possibilities for governing global cities," he said.



Patrick Heller (r) and BIARI student

Brown inaugurated BIARI this year with support from Banco Santander and under the direction of Institute Visiting Professor Ileana Porras. The BIARI on development and inequality

was one of four on campus that drew young scholars from developing countries to address pressing global issues. Others included "Law, Social Thought, and Global Governance," "Towards a Global Humanities: Critical Traditions from the Global South" and "The Genome and the Computational Sciences: The Next Paradigms."

*By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur Juliana Friend '11*

## Commission Seeks Global Financial Stability

A new report spurred by the latest global financial crisis recommends reforms including greater emphasis on host country regulation within a more legitimate system of international cooperation. The report, *In Praise of Un-level Playing Fields*, was issued by the Warwick Commission on International Financial Reform, whose members include Watson Institute Faculty Fellow Mark Blyth.

"The current international financial crisis asks us to rethink our answer to an important question: what are our financial systems for?" the commission says. The report answers the question by bringing together world-class economists, political scientists, and lawyers to explore how to best enhance international financial stability through regulation that is sensitive to variations in what countries want from their financial systems.

The resulting recommendations for a well-regulated financial system include a stress on dealing with boom-bust cycles, introducing macro-prudential

the warwick.  
commission

regulation, recognizing the need for a better allocation of risks among financial institutions, dealing with issues of regulatory capture, and bolstering national rules with international coordination to promote international financial stability.

## MEDIA

### **Human Terrain Wins Film Festival Award**

*Human Terrain*, a documentary by the Watson Institute's Global Media Project, won the Audience Award at November's Festival dei Popoli in Florence, Italy. The documentary explores the controversy over a US military strategy to use "culturally aware" soldiers and embedded social scientists in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The 50-year-old Festival dei Popoli, founded by a group of humanities scholars, anthropologists, sociologists, ethnologists, and experts in mass media, brings together some of the best international documentary productions.

*Human Terrain* is the most recent film by Institute Professor James Der Derian and filmmakers David Udris '90 and Michael Udris '91 of Udris Film and Brown University's Department of Modern Culture and Media.

The filmmakers traveled from the cultural warfare training facility at the 29 Palms Marine Corps Center in California, to the behind-the-scenes debates in universities over the use of academics in military operations, and finally to the Human Terrain System in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Along the way, they capture all sides of the controversy surrounding the Human Terrain System, defined by the Pentagon as an attempt "to improve the military's ability to understand the highly complex local socio-cultural environment in the areas where they are deployed."

In the process of making the film, questions about the collaboration between academics and the military end on a human note, as an advisor to the film, Michael Bhatia '99, joins the first Human Terrain Team in Afghanistan and is killed by a roadside bomb in May 2008.

The details of the new military counter-insurgency strategy and the tragic story of Michael Bhatia's participation in the Human Terrain program merge in the documentary to examine what occurs when war becomes academic and when academics go to war.

Der Derian dedicated the festival's award to the memory of Michael Bhatia, who was also a visiting fellow at the Watson Institute working on its Cultural Awareness in the Military Project.

The film was produced by Udris Films and the Institute's Global Media Project, which analyzes the role of media in international affairs and produces media about global issues. The project is funded in part by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

*Human Terrain* was also screened in November at Denmark's CHP:DOX Copenhagen International Documentary Film Festival.

Watch the film's trailer at [www.humanterrainmovie.com](http://www.humanterrainmovie.com).



## POLICYMAKERS AT WATSON

On the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Institute this semester hosted a four-part event analyzing the sweeping changes that continue to reshape Europe today. “The European Union in a Moment of Crisis,” organized by Institute Director Michael Kennedy (at right), featured two of Europe’s leading political figures: past EU President Romano Prodi (also at right, the former Italian prime minister who is now a Brown professor at large) and former Austrian Chancellor Alfred Gusenbauer (a Watson Institute visiting professor).



### EU Forecast: A Mix of Opportunities and Challenges

Despite its initial successes as a transnational political unit, the European Union may face serious challenges to its growth and sustainability. In the fourth and final panel of a two-day discussion of “The European Union in a Moment of Crisis” this fall, Brown

Professor at Large Romano Prodi and Watson Visiting Professor Alfred Gusenbauer drew on knowledge gleaned during their years in political office as president of the European Commission and chancellor of Austria, respectively. They stressed two major

impediments to European unity: the absence of an exit protocol from the EU and the unequal system of internal funding. Both also found significance in the struggle for unanimity in political proceedings.

Moderator Mark Blyth, a Watson Institute faculty fellow, began the panel on the EU’s future by presenting a brief history of the EU and analyzing its precedents. After a century of unceasing warfare, Europe in the years following WWII recognized the need for a multinational group to arbitrate further disputes. “The European Union,” Blyth said, “was the last chance for European civilization.”

The EU was initially a product of economic necessity; centralized policy presented an alternative to perpetual capitalist competition among European nations. Yet the most demonstrable successes of the EU may be found in its foreign policy, despite its lack of an army and limited official foreign policy role. Supranational intervention in the Balkans, for instance, led to the incorporation of former Eastern Bloc countries into the democratic body of the EU. For Blyth, these movements toward internal collaboration have marked a “tremendous political success.” The EU has continued to expand the diversity of its membership, but there is a “very crowded bargaining table already.”

As a political experiment, the EU for the most part has realized its initial goals. But this fulfillment could hinder the organization’s future growth; “what the EU has done in its past defines what it can do, and what it will do.” Blyth explained that present day issues, like the environmental crisis and security threats, require a global rather than European strategy for resolution.

The most immediate threat to the EU, however, is the ideological gulf between the European public and the political elite. Many Europeans continue to resist the cosmopolitan idealism of the EU; they operate within localized social systems “that demonize the ‘Other’ – the immigrant, that which is different.” The EU must adopt a more

Watch EU panels on institution-building, foreign policy, and more at [www.watsoninstitute.org/eu](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/eu).

## POLICYMAKERS AT WATSON



Alfred Gusenbauer

populist platform or else face destabilization at the hands of a disenchanted citizenry.

Prodi approached these challenges to European sustainability by setting forth a number of conditions for further growth. His proposals dealt with the issue of unanimity: there “must be a door to enter and a door to exit,” Prodi said. The EU should adopt a flexible outlook toward the matter of consensus, since most reforms are enacted in stages. The organizational structure should thereby accommodate the changing alliances that form throughout the legislative process.

Gusenbauer delved into the politics of collaboration by citing the Treaty of Lisbon as a case study. The EU initially favored a constitution as an alternative to the outmoded Treaty of Nice. “The beauty of the text was comparable to Penelope Cruz,” Gusenbauer noted, but the fervor of the project gradually diminished as national governments vied for greater power. A decade of proposals and alterations lay in the

formulation of the Treaty of Lisbon; this delay “sends a signal to the citizens that we are not dealing with [immediate] problems.” When unanimity remains elusive, the public calls into question the legitimacy of the political project.

Gusenbauer concluded his response with a criticism of the complex financial structures that underpin EU spending.

In the current system, each member country contributes to the EU in proportion to its national GDP; this revenue is in turn allocated to individual countries for specific projects. As a result, the EU contribution to a national budget is a hodgepodge of unequal payments from varying member states.

Gusenbauer recommended financial consolidation through the imposition of a direct European tax for EU revenue. With this system, the EU could abandon its current distribution network and invest its funds in broader initiatives.

The EU, Gusenbauer suggested, must look beyond its immediate borders and recognize its position within the larger world order. The future of the EU rests in its ability to respond to issues of global significance.

*By Watson Institute Student Rapporteur Zak Leonard '10*

### Diplomacy Goes Public

Francis J. Ricciardone Jr., US deputy ambassador to Afghanistan, described a continuing trend toward much more engaged public diplomacy during a visit to the Institute in November.

Expectations of 30 years ago were that a diplomat would be an introverted but

brilliant foreign policy analyst, he said in a free-ranging interview with Institute Director Michael Kennedy. Today, in contrast, diplomacy could involve delivering public health, teaching, set-

ting up institutions of government, or helping start new businesses, he said.

The past emphasis on a “global war on terrorism” is ceding to a focus on engagement – interactions and flows of people and technologies. “We’re more prepared to collaborate,” he said. “You can see societies in the remaking; it’s exciting stuff.”

There is also much more openness in the machinery of the US government to working with the academy and non-governmental organizations, he said. “That’s now a normal part of the way we do business,” he said.



Institute Director Michael Kennedy with Francis Ricciardone

### **Women in Power Looks at Post-Communist Shifts**

*Women in Power in Post-Communist Parliaments* (Indiana University Press, August 2009), co-edited by Marilyn Rueschemeyer, examines the life and work of women who have reached positions of political power after the end of communism in Europe. It explores the roles they have adopted, the relationships they have cultivated, and the agendas they have pursued.

Much of the literature on women in post-Communist states has focused on one or two countries. This volume treats the issues comparatively, in six countries – the Czech Republic, Germany (with a focus on the former GDR), Slovenia, Bulgaria, Poland, and Russia. It also includes interviews with and written statements by the very “women in power” discussed in the first half of the book, giving voice to their common and divergent experiences as political actors within an environment of stormy economies and new foreign engagements, particularly with the European Union.

Mitchell A. Orenstein, associate professor of European Studies at John Hopkins University’s Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, has called *Women in Power*, “the most important cross-national comparative book to date on the role of women in post-communist politics.”

Beyond co-editing, Rueschemeyer also contributes a chapter on female politicians from the former German

Democratic Republic: “East German Women in the Unified German Parliament.”

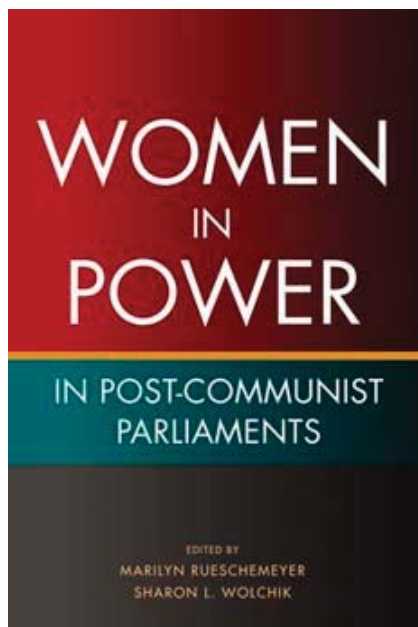
Rueschemeyer, professor *emerita* of sociology at the Rhode Island School of Design, has an appointment at the Watson Institute, where for several years she has chaired the European Politics Seminar Series.

### **Taking Issue with Military Strategy**

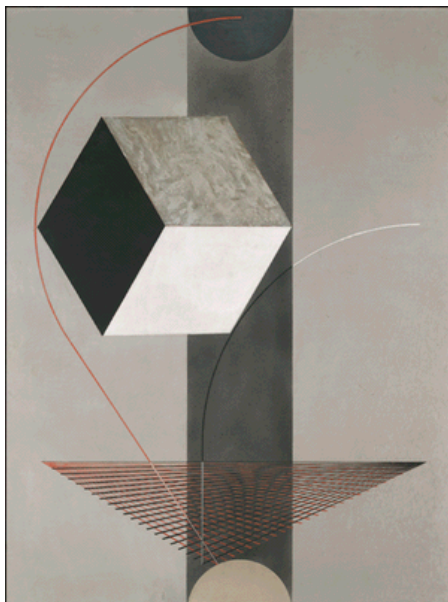
Professor Catherine Lutz and colleagues in the Network of Concerned Anthropologists have published *The Counter-Counterinsurgency Manual*, taking issue with the Pentagon’s *Counterinsurgency Field Manual*.

As they write, “at a moment when the US military decided it needed cultural expertise as much as smart bombs to prevail in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Pentagon’s *Counterinsurgency Field Manual* offered a blueprint for mobilizing anthropologists for war. *The Counter-Counterinsurgency Manual* critiques that strategy and offers a blueprint for resistance.”

The co-authors explore issues with the Pentagon’s Human Terrain System, which hires social scientists in military contexts. They probe what they see as increasing militarization of academic knowledge since World War II and suggest strategies for resisting the exploitation of anthropological knowledge by the military.



## BOOKS



**Usable Theory** ■ Dietrich Rueschemeyer  
Analytic Tools for Social and Political Research

### **Usable Theory Equips Researchers**

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, a sociologist long associated with the Watson Institute, offers tools for theory building in social and political research in the new *Usable Theory: Analytic Tools for Social and Political Research* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

As described by the publisher, “The project of twentieth-century sociology and political science – to create predictive scientific theory – resulted in few full-scale theories that can be taken off the shelf and successfully applied to empirical puzzles. Yet focused ‘theory frames’ that formulate problems and

point to relevant causal factors and conditions have produced vibrant, insightful, and analytically oriented empirical research. While theory frames alone cannot offer explanation or prediction, they guide empirical theory formation and give direction to inferences from empirical evidence. They are also responsible for much of the progress in the social sciences.”

In *Usable Theory*, Rueschemeyer shows graduate students and researchers how to construct theory frames and use them to develop valid empirical hypotheses in the course of empirical social and political research. Combining new ideas as well as analytic tools derived from classic and recent theoretical traditions, the book enlarges the rationalist model of action by focusing on knowledge, norms, preferences, and emotions, and it discusses larger social formations that shape elementary forms of action. “Throughout, *Usable Theory* seeks to mobilize the implicit theoretical social knowledge used in everyday life.”

### **Plotting New Directions in Foreign Policy**

*New Directions in US Foreign Policy* (Routledge, June 2009), co-edited by Adjunct Professor Linda B. Miller, provides a guide to recent developments in US foreign policy, the myriad actors helping to shape these changes, and the theoretical lenses that can be called upon to help interpret it all.

Following a series of chapters offering an overview of the major theories of international relations and applying each

to US foreign policy, subsequent chapters provide case materials that explore the influences of key non-state actors on policymaking as well as examples of new policy directions.

In addition to co-editing the book, Miller also penned two chapters: “US National Security: Still an Ambiguous Symbol? Still an Illusion?” and “The Middle East in US Foreign Policy.”

The authors aim not to make definitive prescriptions for each issue area broached, but rather to encourage debate over contentious issues and policies and to identify promising routes of inquiry.



## Visiting Fellows Bring Diverse World Views

Visiting fellows from a variety of national origins and academic disciplines have arrived at the Institute this semester to add new dimensions to its research on pressing global issues.

Joining Watson from as far away as Chile, India, Macedonia, India, and Turkey – and from as close as other University departments – are scholars in history, legal studies, political science, and more. They include:

- **Mark Blyth** is now a Watson Faculty Fellow, and a professor of international economy at Brown's Political Science Department, having joined from Johns Hopkins University. His areas of interest are comparative and international political economy, particularly on questions of uncertainty and randomness in complex systems.

- **Richard Snyder**, a longtime collaborator, is now a Watson faculty fellow, as well as professor in Brown's Political Science Department. His areas of interest are the effects of "lootable wealth" on political order, the responsiveness of democratic regimes to marginalized citizens in Latin America, and how dependence on foreign funding affects the social sciences in poor countries.

- **Saptarishi Bandopadhyay** is a visiting fellow from the law firm of Radon and Ishizumi (New York). His areas of

interest are public international law/theory/intellectual history (specifically issues related to alienation and "humanization"); the nature of international legal discourse/the establishment of disciplinary boundaries; exceptionalism in international affairs; international environmental law; and globalization, culture, and technology.



Mark Blyth

- **Arnulf Becker Lorca**, a visiting fellow, is a lecturer in public international law at King's College in London. His areas of interest are public international law, history, and theories of international law; laws of war; law and development; comparative law; and law in Latin America.

- **Katrina Burgess**, a visiting associate professor, is a former William R. Rhodes Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute and is an associate professor of international political economy at Tufts University. Her areas of interest are Latin America, politics of economic reform, political parties, labor unions, and the impact of a crisis of traditional political institutions on linkages between the state and civil society.

- **Rueben George Oliven**, Cogut Visiting Professor in Latin American Studies, is professor of anthropology at the Federal University of Rio Grande

do Sul in Brazil. His areas of interest include urban anthropology, urban cultures, revival of tradition, national and regional identities, global culture, popular culture, cultural industry, popular music, symbolic meanings of money, Latin America, and Brazil.

- **Christina Rowley**, a visiting fellow in international studies, is a PhD candidate in the Department of Politics at the University of Bristol (UK) and an expert in militarization. Her areas of interest are international relations theory and the practices of world politics; representation of conflict, security, and militarization; Vietnam War and post-Vietnam US foreign policy; gender; and popular and visual cultures.

- **Surakiart Sathirathai** is a legal scholar and chairman of the board of directors at Siam Preier International Law Office, Ltd. He was previously a visiting scholar at Harvard Law School and has held various cabinet positions in the government of Thailand. His areas of interest are international law, trade, and development.



Richard Snyder

- **Irena Stefoska**, a Fulbright Scholar, is a doctoral student in the history department of the University of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Skopje, Macedonia. Her research links debates about historical truth, the political importance of academic research, and the different roles

## PEOPLE

played by universities, think-tanks, and media in the production of knowledge.

· **Z. Umut Turem** is a PhD candidate in law and society at New York University. His areas of interest are the globalization of law and global governance; administration and regulatory state; state reform and the Global South; law, development, and globalization; and the sociology of neoliberalism.

· South Asian Studies scholar **Ashutosh Varshney** is also new to Watson as head of the committee for the Year of India, based at the Institute, having recently joined Brown's Political Science Department.

The Institute hosts a changing cohort of visiting faculty and fellows from around the world, continually bringing a diversity of views and expertise to bear on its exploration of global issues.

### Gutmann Named International Vice President

Matthew Gutmann, professor of anthropology and director of the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at Brown, has been named vice president for international affairs. He will shape and carry out an international agenda that ranges from enhancing the undergraduate international experience to expanding the University's role in addressing global problems.

### Kelleher Awarded Hubert Humphrey Prize

The American Political Science Association has honored Adjunct Professor Catherine Kelleher with its Hubert H. Humphrey Award in recognition of notable public service by a political scientist. Past recipients have included former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, past US Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Lee Hamilton, and other leading international figures.



Catherine Kelleher

Kelleher, who has a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has served the US government in several capacities. During the Clinton Administration, she was deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia and the secretary of defense's representative to NATO in Brussels. During the Carter Administration, she was on the staff of the National Security Council.

This fall, she has been teaching an international relations seminar at Brown on "The Nuclear Revolution Revisited." She is also co-lead on the Watson Institute's research project on Nuclear Dilemmas in the 21st Century.

One of her most recent research papers, co-authored with Scott Warren '09 and published in the October issue of *Arms Control Today*, offers that tactical nuclear weapons should be among President Obama's first priorities, as he works toward a future US policy

goal of zero nuclear weapons. These weapons, designed for use on a battlefield, "are an important priority partly because of their seemingly easy solution, but also because the challenges they present are emblematic of those in the larger arms control debate," says the article, "Getting to Zero Starts Here: Tactical Nuclear Weapons."

### Andreas's 'Blue Helmets' Receives Honorable Mention

Watson Institute Associate Professor Peter Andreas has received honorable mention for *Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo* (Cornell University Press, 2008), as part of the 2009 Wayne S. Vucinich Book Prize program co-sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and Stanford University's Center for Russian and East European Studies. The prize honors "the most important contribution to the study of Eastern Europe, Eurasia, and Russia in any discipline of the humanities or social sciences."

The judges remarked: "This insightful page-turner describes the unintended consequences of the United Nations' humanitarian intervention in Sarajevo during the Bosnian war ... prolonging the conflict and complicating post-war political and economic reconstruction."

## Environmental Scholars Bridge Policy and Practice

Joachim Ibeziako Ezeji was deeply involved in Nigeria's Rural Africa Water Development Project when he found the announcement for the 2009 Watson Scholars of the Environment Program on the Internet. The program's "academic flesh" immediately caught Ezeji's attention, he said. The residency's emphasis on land use seemed directly relevant to Nigerian aquaculture, and compelled him to "drop everything and go." Two months into the residency, Ezeji is not disappointed. "I feel I will be a better professional after this program," he said.

Ezeji is one of nine African environmental scholars and practitioners currently in residence at the Institute. Hailing from seven African countries, the scholars arrived at the Institute with diverse goals. Kawsu Jammeh, environmental education officer and project coordinator of DBD Programme of Work on Protected Areas in the Gambia, sought academic study to round out his practical and policy experience. "I don't know what's inside a university," he said. In contrast, with an academic background in archeology, researcher Susan Keitumetse traveled from Botswana to the Institute in part to enhance practical data mapping skills. The Watson Scholars program fills a different gap for Oluseun Sunday Olubode, lecturer at Caleb University in Nigeria, who said he has had little opportunity to study the policy dimensions of environmental issues.

The Watson Scholars program's combination of theoretical and practical approaches reflects the diverse backgrounds of its participants. In addition to instruction by Brown professors in both environmental science and policy, the program includes hands-on training in Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology.

GIS is still relatively new in Africa, said Mwangi Githiru, chief research officer in the Department of Research Development at Kenya's Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology. Even where resources do exist to map and analyze spatial data, GIS training opportunities are limited and facilities do not match those available in the United States, he said.

Field trips also integrate the academic and applied dimensions of environmental work, bringing the Watson Scholars to research institutes and environmental NGOs throughout New England. The Watson Scholars have already spoken with top officials, analysts, and activists at the Environmental Defense Fund, Tropical Agriculture and Rural Environment Program, and the United Nations Environment Programme.

Such site visits will advance a comparative approach to environmental change, enabling scholars to learn from the successes and failures of US



2009 Watson Scholars of the Environment with Ricardo Lagos, UN Special Envoy on Climate Change and a Brown professor at large

NGOs, said Olubode. Nigeria can learn from the environmental revolution that has taken root in the US, he added.

The intellectual exchange between the Watson Scholars and US institutions works in both directions. Throughout their residency at the Institute, the Watson Scholars work closely with Brown University undergraduates. Nineteen Brown undergraduates and two graduate students also glean insight from the Watson Scholars' on-the-ground experience as they all take a course in African Environmental History taught by Professor Nancy Jacobs, director of the Watson Scholars program.

Collaboration with Brown students has affected the Watson Scholars as well. Impressed with the students' enthusiastic participation, Yawe has become intrigued with the principles of liberal learning. She plans to hold a public discussion about pedagogical strategy upon her return to Uganda, she said.

## PEOPLE

In addition, the students in Jacobs's history class will directly advance the Watson Scholars' work through related historical research projects, whose topics range from the evolution of land tenure policies in Cameroon to the role of local knowledge in Botswana's eco-tourism industry. In the words of Githiru, Brown undergraduates and the Watson Scholars have entered into a "symbiotic relationship."

A geologist by training, Ezeji said this history course addresses a blind spot in many African institutions of environmental policy. "No one talks about the future with the knowledge of yesterday," he said.

This statement may have once held true for Gaudensia Aomo Owino, research scientist at Kenya Industrial Research Institute, who said she had never before considered history to be relevant to the environment before arriving at the Institute. Now she finds the intersection between science, policy, and history "so fascinating, so stimulating," she said. Likewise in Uganda, historical inquiry into environmental problems "is not an institution. Environmental history only comes up when there is a problem," according to Hilary Bakamwesiga, assistant lecturer at Uganda's Makerere University.

The history course has changed the way Jane Nagayi Kalule Yawe thinks about her own work. A lecturer at Gulu University in Uganda, Yawe has watched people return to their homes after 20 years of war, only to find once-familiar landscapes covered in forest. Many lack the knowledge or skills to obtain resources sustainably in this new

environment. Thus, while her work on sustainable fishing practices has always been inscribed in Uganda's political and social history, Yawe and her colleagues only spoke of "the past," she said. Even when drawing on historical examples to educate people about their environmental impact, "I didn't know I was doing history," she said.

Historical study is not an academic luxury, but a way to provoke concrete change, agreed Jammeh. By providing examples of how irresponsible policy decisions have negatively impacted humans and their environment, "history can get people to act," he said.

For Cyrille Ngouana Kengne, history is where theory and practice meet. As director and environmental advisor at Cameroon's Centre for Transdisciplinary Studies in Aquaculture, Environment and Development Support and Civil Society Organizations, Kengne will employ the historical frameworks and practical skills developed through the Watson Scholars program to tackle Douala City's "obsolete" land rights policy, he said. Using GIS technology, he will chart the expansion of Douala City over time. With such a data map, he could show policy makers the impact of land use policies in concrete, visual terms, and hopefully, spur them to reform existing policies.

"The skills that I'm going to share with policymakers and activists will help them establish a better future for our land," Kengne said.

*By Watson Institute Student  
Rapporteur Juliana Friend '11*

### 2009 WATSON SCHOLARS

- Hilary Bakamwesiga, Uganda
- Joachim Ibeziako Ezeji, Nigeria
- Mwangi Githiru, Kenya
- Kawsu Jammeh, The Gambia
- Susan Keitumetse, Botswana
- Cyrille Ngouana Kengne, Cameroon
- Oluseun Sunday Olubode, Nigeria
- Gaudensia Aomo Owino, Kenya
- Jane Nagayi Kalule Yawe, Uganda

## CHOICES PROGRAM

### Choices Receives Support for New Content, Technology

The Choices Program has received a \$300,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to advance discussion in secondary schools of issues surrounding human rights and the war in Afghanistan. An additional anonymous gift of \$100,000 will be used by Choices to further develop its digital learning activities on international history and current events.

“The Carnegie Corporation’s International Program has long sought to identify and focus public and policy-level attention on the most serious challenges on the global security agenda,” said Choices Director Susan Graseck. “There are two pressing topics that clearly highlight the recent evolution of international relations: human rights and the risks that unstable states pose to security.” She pointed to the increasing consideration of human rights in issues from economic policy to military interventions, international aid to health policy – and to the serious regional and international fallout if an unstable state such as Afghanistan were to fail.

Under the grant from Carnegie, the Choices Program will publish new curriculum units on human rights and Afghanistan, complemented by online materials and professional development institutes for teachers.

And, as Choices adds these two subjects to its library of over 35 curriculum units, the anonymous gift of \$100,000 will also help expand its range of related digital offerings. Choices’ two-year-old digital initiative has already stocked

its website with some 500 Scholars Online videos, Teaching with the News resources, and other supplementary materials including timelines, maps, primary resources, and more. Choices is looking to build new interactive learning activities, increase the integration of its various media offerings, and give teachers more opportunities to tailor them to their needs.

As the Watson Institute increases its use of media to raise pressing global issues in the public sphere, Choices is digitally empowering America’s youth to be engaged citizens of a global society. Its university-quality educational materials and innovative learning approach are used in one-third of high schools nationwide.

### Learning Afghanistan Online

As President Obama was weighing options for the United States’ future military operations in Afghanistan, the Choices Program began providing secondary school educational resources on its website to facilitate deliberation of the issue in class.

Using Choices’ free two-day lesson, students debate three possible options for US policy in Afghanistan and articulate their own views on the issue.

As the latest in Choices’ Teaching with the News series of online materials, “US Policy in Afghanistan” has been drawing strong interest among teachers, who are downloading the lesson plans, backgrounders, news coverage, policy options, guidelines for deliberation, and videos for their classes.



**North Korea’s nuclear stance must be understood in a historical context, according to Jonathan Pollack, chairman of the Asia-Pacific Studies Group at the US Naval War College. “Though it is easy to look at North Korea as a cartoon, it’s a system,” he said in a lecture launching the Choices Program’s 2009 summer institute for secondary school teachers on nuclear issues.**

## IN THE NEWS

### Der Derian: What is the Real Cost of Drones?

In a recent interview on Al Jazeera, Institute Professor James Der Derian suggested that competition among armed services and US agencies could be a factor spurring the use of drones as weapons in Pakistan.

He also questioned these weapons' precision and warned of the ethical toll of waging war with no human cost to one's own side in a conflict.

Der Derian is author of *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment-Network* (2nd Edition, Routledge, 2009).

### Identifying the New Berlin Walls

Even as the world celebrated the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall in November, "overlooked is a far more expansive wall built up over the past two decades," according to Watson Institute Associate Professor Peter Andreas.

"The new wall takes many forms – virtual and physical, high tech and low tech," Andreas wrote in an op-ed published in the *Boston Globe*. It runs along the borders of Germany, the European Union, the United States, and elsewhere – keeping out immigrants in ways that are at least counterproductive and at most deadly.

"The triumph of the freedom of exit that the fall of the Berlin Wall so potently symbolized has increasingly become meaningless for the vast majority of the

world's inhabitants who lack freedom of entry," concluded Andreas, author of *Border Games: Policing the US-Mexico Divide*, the second edition of which was released earlier this year by Cornell University Press.

### Op-ed Calls for Accountability in Gaza

When the US House of Representatives voted in November to shield Israel and Hamas from accountability for military actions in Gaza, it made a mockery of the US commitment to human rights and justice for all, according to Institute Associate Professor Nina Tannenwald.

"Shielding Israel from what are possibly legitimate criticisms of its military conduct makes the United States look hypocritical and undermines its position in the Middle East and more broadly," she wrote in an op-ed published in the *Providence Journal*.

### Khrushchev Visit Commemorated

Senior Fellow Sergei Khrushchev helped commemorate his father's historic 1959 visit to the United States this summer, speaking at "Khrushchev in Iowa," a four-day conference in Des Moines, and on C-SPAN Book TV.

Nikita Khrushchev's two-week diplomatic tour of the US, the first ever made by a Soviet leader, took him

primarily through large cities, like Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, and Washington, DC, as he not only held talks with government leaders, but met with film stars, toured supermarkets, and made an abortive attempt to visit Disneyland. However, as recounted in the *Des Moines Register*, Iowan Roswell Garst, a successful farmer, entrepreneur, and hybrid seed corn innovator, persuaded the Soviet leader to make a two-day stop in Iowa to observe US advances in agricultural technology.

Speaking to the *Register*, Sergei Khrushchev said, "I think that Mr. Garst's relations with my father were not less important than his relations with the American president. They understood each other, and they represented the mood of the people."



Nikita Khrushchev and Thomas J. Watson Jr. in an IBM cafeteria

Sergei Khrushchev also appeared on C-SPAN's Book TV with the author of *K Blows Top: A Cold War Comic Interlude, Starring Nikita Khrushchev, America's Most Unlikely Tourist*.

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

MICHAEL D. KENNEDY, INSTITUTE DIRECTOR

GEOFFREY S. KIRKMAN '91, DEPUTY DIRECTOR

KAREN LYNCH, COMMUNICATIONS MANAGER

JASON TRANCHIDA/LLAMAPRODUCT, DESIGN CONCEPT

PHOTO CREDITS

JAMES DER DERIAN

WATSON INSTITUTE PHOTOGRAPHY ARCHIVES

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## YEAR OF INDIA

### Exploring India's Global Rise

Renowned author Salman Rushdie, information technology pioneer Narayan Murthy, and former Indian cabinet minister Mani Shankar Aiyar are among the luminaries visiting Brown for the Year of India, based at the Watson Institute.

Brown students and faculty have developed a full and varied program of major public lectures, art, film, academic conferences, and other events for the 2009-2010 program on India. Activities are taking place on campus and beyond – including the recent launch of the Brown Club of India in Mumbai and visits by Brown delegations to India.

A Year of India website ([www.brown.edu/india](http://www.brown.edu/india)) serves as the focal point for

“all things India” at Brown, including reports on public lectures, India research findings, pointers to libraries and art collections, and various ways, including Facebook and email, of learning more and taking part in the year's events.

The Year of India aims to advance the understanding of India's people, culture, economy, and politics – and their growing impact worldwide. What is more, according to Brown Dean of Faculty Rajiv Vohra, the program aims to build new collaborations and other initiatives into the fabric of Brown University.

No less than the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi spoke of the merit of such a program. “For better or for worse, the one billion-plus Indian population is going to impact the world,” Rajmohan

Gandhi, a public intellectual, recently told the *Brown Daily Herald* after a Year of India lecture. “Remember, too, that the median age in India is quite small. In the years to come, active, energetic, educated Indians will be quite a factor in the world.”

