



JUST JERUSALEM COMPETITION LAUNCHED



The Dome of the Rock in old Jerusalem, an area sacred to three religions.

On Friday, March 2, CIS and the Department of Urban Studies and Planning (DUSP) held an event to launch the Just Jerusalem competition. The international competition invites participants to submit urban plans and other creative works that offer novel ways to transform Jerusalem into a city whose residents live more peacefully.

After introductory remarks by CIS director Richard Samuels and project co-director Diane Davis (associate dean for the School of Architecture), Ira Katznelson gave the keynote address. Katznelson, Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia, called the project “Rawlsian” because it employs two concepts associated with the late political theorist John Rawls. First, he said, the project seeks a kind of “reasonable pluralism” in Jerusalem between competing sets of beliefs. Second, it employs “realistic utopias” in its use of idealist visions to solve practical problems. Katznelson

also discussed the difficulties such liberal ideas have overcoming contending and violent nationalisms.

Leila Farsakh, project co-director and assistant professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, and Tali Hatuka, a research fellow at DUSP, outlined the details of the competition. Several members of the project’s design selection jury also delivered their thoughts on the project, including Ute Meta Bauer, director of the visual arts program at MIT, William Mitchell, professor of architecture and media arts at MIT, and Salim Tamari, director of the Institute for Jerusalem Studies at Birzeit University in the West Bank.

Competition entrants are encouraged to form interdisciplinary and multinational groups. There are four different categories for entries: physical infrastructure, economic infrastructure, civic infrastructure, and symbolic infrastructure. At least one winner will be picked for each category with five total winners. An international panel of diplomats,

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CIS MOURNS STEPHEN MEYER

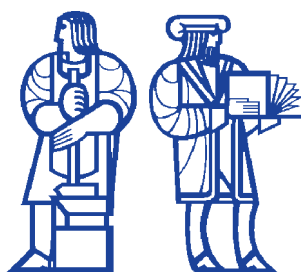


Stephen M. Meyer, an MIT political science professor and former member of CIS, died of cancer on December 10.

After getting his PhD from the University of Michigan in 1978, Meyer joined MIT’s faculty and established himself as a leading expert on the Soviet Union’s military and arms control. He wrote dozens of articles on the Soviet military, arms control and weapons proliferation. In 1984, he published a book, *The Dynamics of Nuclear Proliferation*, and received tenure.

Meyer, who taught himself Russian, created several courses on arms control and the

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researchers and professionals will jury the competition. The winning teams will be awarded fellowships at MIT, a prize equivalent to \$50,000 per person. The winners will use their time in Cambridge to draw on MIT's resources to develop and hopefully implement their ideas.

"The competition's goal is to move beyond the nation-state level of the conflict and reflect on the problems of daily livability, the right to the city, and citizenship in Jerusalem," said Davis.

Just Jerusalem is the culmination of Jerusalem 2050, a project jointly sponsored by CIS and DUSP that brings together Palestinian and Israeli scholars, activists, business leaders, youth, and others to discuss unconventional approaches to solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The project, four years in the making, began when Boaz Tamir, an Israeli businessman and MIT graduate, and his friend Marwan Awartani, a Palestinian professor at Birzeit University, met in Boston seeking novel ways to improve Israeli-Palestinian relations. They contacted Samuels, Ford International Professor of Political Science, who offered to help the pair by setting up meetings at MIT and Harvard to brainstorm ideas for a new kind of peace project.

Awartani and Tamir met with a group of MIT faculty and doctoral students from DUSP and CIS, including Davis. One suggestion was

to hold a competition that would encourage participants to imagine a brighter, more peaceful future for the city of Jerusalem. The idea that developed was to bypass the standard route of negotiation and turn instead to imagination and design. Rather than aiming for unity or synthesis among competing parties in their plans for the city, the aim was to encourage particularistic visions for Jerusalem. The assumption was that the process of putting forward ideas could help create a shared understanding of the urban conditions necessary for a tolerant city to prosper independent of ethnic or religious partisanship.

CIS provided initial financial support to move the project forward. Over the four years since, the project gained additional funding, developed a course and lecture series on cities and nationalism, and hosted a Visionaries Conference in April 2005. The conference brought Israel and Palestinian scholars and politicians together to discuss the city and help lay the groundwork for the design competition.

According to Samuels, the project fits MIT's motto, "*Mens et Manus*," or "Mind and Hand," which means that scholars at the institution are interested not just in ideas but in their application: "MIT prides itself on identifying and trying to solve some of the world's most intractable problems. In Jerusalem, we have embraced one of our greatest challenges yet."

The deadline for submission to the competition is December 31, 2007. Winners will be announced in 2008. Additional details are online at: <http://web.mit.edu/justjerusalem/>. ■

précis

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CUTTING THROUGH THE MYTHS OF CHINA'S GROWTH

BY EDWARD S. STEINFELD

Popular accounts often depict China's economic rise as the result of a carefully coordinated strategy inimical to American interests. In the following essay, associate professor of political science Edward Steinfeld argues that this view is too simple. China's growth, he writes, comes amid the globalization of production and ownership, which gives American consumers and firms a stake in the success of Chinese products that compete with other American interests. Steinfeld also shows that China's central government cannot carefully manage its far-flung enterprises, and thus that the idea of a unified "China Inc." is mistaken. The essay was originally published by the National Security Working Group of the Tobin Project, a Cambridge think tank that links academics with policy-makers.



Edward Steinfeld

China's trade surplus with the United States (\$202 billion in 2005), rapid overall economic expansion, and growing appetite for energy have made China's growth a salient issue for average Americans. While the facts of Chinese growth are indisputable, the causes and ramifications of that growth story are anything but. For many Americans, though, the story is straightforward—China is winning the game of globalization because it is playing by a different set of rules from us, and its gains come at our expense. From this standpoint, the only real question is whether we should do anything about it. Do we stand up to China—on trade issues, foreign exchange valuation, intellectual property rights protection, etc.—or let the situation ride? This perspective has a certain gut appeal, but it is based on faulty assumptions about the Chinese economy and our own. Left uncorrected, such assumptions will lead to policies that damage American interests.

Globalization of Production and Ownership

China's economic rise, unlike Japan's a generation ago, is taking place amidst revolutionary changes in production. The physical

products we consume are now made through international production chains involving myriad corporate actors, firms bearing a wide variety of national flags of origin, and firms operating across a host of geographic locales. China has become a key node in these chains, a shop floor for manufacturing activities. Yet, who actually benefits—which countries, companies, and stakeholders—is murky. Just as Americans feel that we are losing the globalization game, many Chinese too feel that they are losing, often for the same reasons. The sections below explain why.

China today is running substantial trade surpluses with North America and Western Europe. Simultaneously, China, unlike Japan in the 1980s, is running substantial trade deficits with other key parts of the world, including Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and virtually every Southeast Asian nation, a fact that says much about internationalized production chains. Many products that Americans view as "made in China" are assembled in China, but are composed of parts—often high-value parts—manufactured outside China. In personal computer production, for example, the product gets booked as a Chinese export, but 60–85 percent of the profits go to American firms (software, integrated circuit design, branding), 10–35 percent to Taiwanese, Singaporean, or Korean component and ODM (original design manufacturer) firms, and five percent to Chinese assemblers. When Americans see a "made in China" computer, they rue their nation's economic demise. When Chinese see a "made in China" computer, they see Intel inside (processors), Samsung inside (screens), and Microsoft inside (operating software), and rue their nation's inability to compete globally. This partly explains why China accounts for such a small portion of global production value. In 1990, Japan accounted for 22.5 percent of global production, the United States 20.7 percent, and China 2.2 percent. By 2003, the United States

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had grown to 23.3 percent, Japan was at 18.1 percent, and China at 6.6 percent.

Globalized production chains complicate national economic interest. Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Australia—all net exporters to China—hardly sympathize when major net importers from China, namely the United States, complain about Chinese trade practices. Similarly, firms producing the high-value guts of Chinese-assembled products

invested firms produced 57 percent of Chinese exports. Such relationships now extend even into China's strategic industries, including oil and gas. When the Chinese National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) attempted to acquire UNOCAL in the summer of 2005 for \$18.5 billion, Goldman Sachs and JP Morgan provided advice and over two-thirds of the financing. Davis Polk provided legal counsel; Aiken Gump lobbying. One should then be skeptical about arguments attaching clear-cut "flags of origin" on commercial interactions. Similarly, one should be skeptical about assertions that the actions of ostensibly Chinese firms—like CNOOC—are either dictated by the Chinese government or part of Chinese state geostrategy.

When Americans see a “made in China” computer, they rue their nation’s economic demise. When Chinese see a “made in China” computer, they see Intel inside (processors), Samsung inside (screens), and Microsoft inside (operating software), and rue their nation’s inability to compete globally.

Manufacturing, Benefits, and Social Services

Globalized production also makes for complicated societal outcomes, whether in the U.S. or China. Manufacturing employment in the United States stood at 35 percent of the total in 1950, and 13 percent in 2004. A comparable decline has occurred in China, albeit at China's substantially lower level of per capita income (according to World Bank estimates, China's per capita income in 2004 was \$1500, compared to \$41,440 for the United States). During the first fifteen years of China's economic reforms, manufacturing jobs rose absolutely and as a percent of total employment. By 1995, however, manufacturing jobs, then at 98 million, began to decline, absolutely and relatively. By 2001, they were down to 80.8 million. Several things were happening. First, the bulk of new job creation in the Chinese economy shifted to the service sector, namely construction and transportation. These are generally temporary jobs, devoid of benefits and performed by migrants moving from the countryside into cities. Second, the remaining manufacturing jobs have lost the extensive benefits traditionally associated with socialism. Lifetime employment, guaranteed housing, free healthcare, and extensive pension programs are mostly gone. Chinese per capita income is up, largely because the nation is undergoing an industrial revolution. For large parts of the population, extreme agrarian poverty has

(the software, the processors, etc.) or the capital-intensive machines driving Chinese industrialization (construction equipment, high-end looms and textile production equipment, semiconductor assembly equipment) are also unresponsive to concerns about China's rise. Similarly, despite justifiable U.S. Department of Commerce complaints about intellectual property rights violations in China, victims of such piracy—firms like Microsoft, IBM, and Hewlett Packard—have been unwilling to bring cases to the WTO.

The situation is made more complex by ownership patterns within Chinese industry. China has been open to foreign direct investment – whether through foreign equity investment in Chinese companies or wholly-foreign owned companies/subsidiaries in China. Today, foreign-invested or wholly foreign-owned entities perform the bulk of export-oriented manufacturing in China, particularly at the higher end. In 2004, foreign-

been replaced by a somewhat wealthier, but tenuous semi-urbanized existence. Meanwhile, along the coast, clusters of real wealth lie in cities like Shanghai, a municipality whose local per capita income is now on par with Portugal's. Disparities in wealth are growing rapidly, far outstripping those in the United States. These disparities developed alongside a shift to fee-for-service provision of basic public goods like healthcare and education. In China today, if you want healthcare or education you generally have to pay cash for it. Chinese law guarantees free provision of both, but practice is a different story.

Governance

The divergence of public goods provision from legal requirements stems mainly from governance. Governance in China has several characteristics. First, the state bureaucracy is decentralized. Policies emanate from the center, but local officials define and implement them. Reform has moved through frequent instances of local experimentation, which often directly contravene formal central rules. Successful experiments may get propagated regionally and nationally, all the while technically in contravention of existing law. If success continues, only then does the experiment become official policy and the existing laws amended. This means that within a single national system of rules and regulations, multiple—and often contradictory—local institutional systems operate. Second, boundaries

to go into business. For example, entrepreneurs often locate in a particular city because land is given to them for free by the municipal government. The municipality often acquires that land by forcibly relocating farming households, in violation of national rules. The municipality grows economically, local officials take a shadow equity position in the firm, the entrepreneur thrives, the peasant suffers, and the central government scrambles to address the socio-political dislocation that results. What we witness is not so much “China, Inc.”—a national business system adroitly managed by a clear governmental hierarchy with a clear strategy—but instead a “government in business, government as business” model. Local governments are making the rules at the same time they are deeply involved in commercial affairs. Meanwhile, they barely provide public goods, whether in tangible form like healthcare or education, or intangibles like fair enforcement of rules.

Even in something as strategic as the energy sector, we see this pattern. In the electricity sector, China's total national generating capacity is approximately 500 gigawatts (GW). Yet, central officials estimate that approximately 110 GW of that capacity is produced by “illegal” power plants built, often with local governmental investment, without receiving required central approvals. These plants rarely comply with centrally-mandated engineering standards, environmental controls, or technical requirements. Chinese corporate entities, often with foreign advisory partners and investors and Chinese local governmental investors, end up making de facto policy through *fait accompli* infrastructure projects. Central officials, meanwhile, play catch up, scrambling not just to regulate, but also simply to learn what is happening.

Ramifications for American Politics

Two main points emerge from this analysis of China. First, American politicians should be cautious about playing the China economic threat card. Decrying “Chinese” currency manipulations, lobbying, IPR violations, and asset grabs may be politically appealing. The problem, however, is that many of the actions described as “Chinese” often involve substan-

Over the past two decades, the basic governance norm throughout the system has been that virtually any action is permissible if it brings economic growth.

between the commercial and governmental sectors are blurry. Over the past two decades, the basic governance norm throughout the system has been that virtually any action is permissible if it brings economic growth. Many local officials interpret this not just as a mandate to foster business, but also as a mandate

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tial American stakeholders—investors, corporate partners, suppliers—whose support for China bashing will prove tepid at best. Growing portions of the American population benefit indirectly from “made in China” production through cheap products, low interest rates fostered by Chinese investment in the United States, or service-sector jobs related to the production of “made in China” products. Given these interests, bashing China is no longer a low-risk, low-cost political strategy.

STEPHEN MEYER

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USSR as part of MIT’s Defense and Arms Control Studies Program (which later became the Security Studies Program). He did considerable work for the federal government, serving as a consultant to Los Alamos Laboratory, the Office of Net Assessment, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency and other agencies. He also worked with non-profit organizations like the RAND Corporation, Pew Charitable Trusts, and the Ford Foundation.

When the Cold War ended, Meyer shifted his focus to governmental regulation of the environment. He wrote a series of articles on the relationship between economic growth and environmental regulation, particularly the endangered species act. He published his second book, *Environmentalism and Economic Prosperity*, in 2004. He consulted for several Massachusetts agencies including the Department of Environmental Protection and the Division of Fish and Wildlife. In 1997, he became a faculty associate with the Tufts School of Veterinary Medicine. In 2005, the Massachusetts Division of Fisheries and Wildlife awarded Meyer the Francis W. Sargent Conservation Award. He was a member of MIT’s

Second, by miscasting China as overly unified, coherent, mercantilist, and geostrategic—in effect, by interpreting economic outcomes we do not like as products of Chinese strategic intent—we risk failing to identify areas in which American and Chinese interests overlap—for example, as major energy-consuming nations. We also miss areas where Chinese officials are as eager as we are to address the Chinese outcomes we find objectionable (for example, in the environmental area, or even in the area of currency valuation). In short, we risk missing opportunities to cooperate and creating conflict where none is foreordained. ■

Council on the Environment.

Meyer was also involved in the politics of the environment in his home town of Sudbury, which is how he met Deborah Dineen, Sudbury’s conservation coordinator. They were married in 1998.

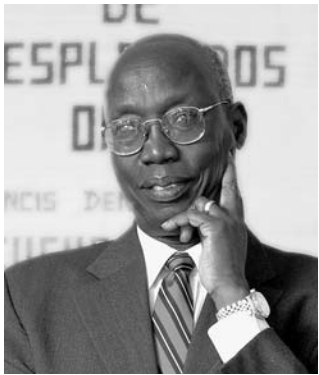
After being diagnosed with cancer and given only a short time to live, Meyer continued to teach and write. His third book, *The End of the Wild*, laments the collapse of global biodiversity, noting that “‘the extinction crisis’—the race to save the composition, structure and organization of biodiversity as it exists today—is over, and we have lost,” but argues that we should still preserve what biodiversity we can. Meyer finished the book, which was published last September, using speech-to-text software because his hands were paralyzed.

Aside from these accomplishments, Meyer was known for his commitment to teaching his students that social science must have practical application. In recent years he taught courses on public policy and on methodology.

In addition to his wife and son, Seth, from a previous marriage, Meyer leaves his parents, Harvey and Rebecca of Worcester; a sister, Debra Blumenthal of Rockville Centre, N.Y.; and a brother, Kenneth of Hendersonville, Tenn. ■

FRANCIS DENG

Francis Deng, director of the Sudan Peace Support Project at the U.S. Institute for Peace and Research and professor of international politics, law and society at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, joined CIS as a visiting scholar in May 2006. Ambassador Deng served from 1992-2004 as the representative of the United Nations secretary-general on internally displaced persons. He was Sudan's ambassador to Canada, the Scandinavian countries and the United States as well as its minister of state for foreign affairs, prior to the rise to power of an Islamic fundamentalist government in the early 1980s.



Francis Deng

A leading scholar of indigenous cultures and the role of tradition in development, the politics and conflicts of identity in the Sudan, conflict management and the challenges of nation building in Africa, and the global crisis of internal displacement, Ambassador Deng is the author and co-author of many publications. He is a non-resident scholar at the Brookings Institution, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and

the recipient of numerous scholarly and humanitarian awards.

précis: *Americans are very concerned about the situation in Darfur. Do they understand the conflict?*

Francis Deng: There is strong moral outrage about the conditions in Darfur, but usually people isolate the crisis from what is really going on in the country. It is true that when you have a humanitarian crisis, priority should go to securing the lives of the people and providing them with assistance, but that does not solve the problem if you do not get deeper into what is causing the tragedy.

The situation in Darfur is the latest of a series of regional crises in the Sudan, beginning with the South. The people of the South went to war in the 1950s with the aim to separate from the rest of country. They compromised on autonomy seventeen years later, but the North unilaterally abrogated that agree-

ment ten years after that. So they went back to war, this time not to separate from the North but to transform the whole country, which had been distorted into an Arab-Muslim country. In reality, those who claim to be Arabs are not only a mixture of Arabs and Africans but a minority, a minority that was privileged by the colonial powers over the Africans. Claiming to have some Arab blood raised them above the blacks who were considered heathens and potential targets for slavery. When the South fought to liberate the country from domination by the Arab minority, the non-Arabs of the North got inspired and many, who are Africans by any criteria, and in some cases also Muslims, joined in.

The people of Darfur are the latest to join this proliferating conflict. The government in Khartoum reacted against Darfur in a more ruthless manner because the revolt was unexpected, intense and concentrated. In contrast, the war against the South was gradual, and could not be fought with impunity because the North was not familiar with the area. But the South and the neighboring areas of the Southern Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains suffered as much as Darfur is suffering now. Over two million people were killed in the 20 years after the war resumed. Over 4.5 million were displaced internally. Half a million became refugees abroad.

What is happening in Darfur has happened in other areas of Sudan. But the fact that we have the horror of Rwanda in mind is making people more responsive to Darfur. Plus it is more glaring. Khartoum is becoming more ruthless, fearing that the rebellion will continue to proliferate and the tables could be turned against the minority Arabs in power. It has become genocidal because of the threat Darfur now poses to the center.

So you have to get to the politics of it and see how the international attention can be used to bring a just peace to the Sudan. Just stopping the fighting will not succeed if we do not

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FRANCIS DENG

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address the root causes of the war: marginalization, discrimination, real abuse of people's rights.

précis: *What leverage do outside powers have?*

FD: The African Union (AU) and to some extent the UN are improving the principles by which they deal with internal conflict. In the past the AU would not get involved in internal conflict. Now it feels it has a right to help nations torn apart by conflict. Also the UN is building the idea of sovereignty as responsibility—a concept that I helped develop at Brookings and that guided me for my time at the UN. The idea is that sovereignty cannot be a barricade. This has developed into the principle of the responsibility to protect and has been a very effective tool of dialogue with governments.

That said, we are still far away from being able to coerce countries to be responsible. Just see what Sudan is doing in Darfur, challenging the world. The president of Sudan has said that he will resign the presidency and go to lead the war against any foreign intervention. What he knows is that nobody is going to send in troops against his will. Therefore he is shouting, being macho, so that he emerges as a hero who has confronted the international community. So rather than raise the stakes and be confrontational, we should make less noise but do more to push for a credible response. This government is not going to disarm the Janjaweed, the militia killing people, because they are using them as allies in the war against the rebels. What should be done is to support the AU as much as possible and implement what they call “AU plus plus,” where the force retains the AU title but other troops are added, making it like an international force with the AU label. That is more doable than continuing to push for troops going in. So rather than waste time discussing labels, asking “is it legally genocide or not?” and proving intent to eliminate a whole people, just sit down quietly and do what needs to be done.

The only circumstance where a purely

international force should be sent is if it were negotiated and Khartoum were consenting. Then the potential for aggravating the situation would be reduced. But if they were to go in by force, Islamic extremists will declare holy war. Like Iraq and Afghanistan, elements motivated by what they see as confrontation between Islam and the West will come in and complicate the situation.

précis: *Under the agreement signed in 2005, which ended the civil war, southern Sudan will vote in a referendum in 2011 to decide whether to remain part of Sudan or become an independent nation. Almost everyone expects that the majority will vote for independence. Will the war restart then?*

FD: One has to distinguish the rhetoric from analysis. The government says it will honor the decision of the South, and that if the South wants to secede, they will have their oil fully. So rhetorically, people are being lofty about how the agreement will be implemented. The general assumption, shared by the people of the South, is that the government in Khartoum is playing for time, and when the time comes several elements in the North will contest the idea of allowing the South to become independent.

A lot is at stake, not least the question of oil. According to the agreement, the North-South borders are the 1956 borders, but these are not clearly demarcated. There is likely to be conflict over exactly where the borders are and therefore where the oil wells fall. If the spoilers have their way, they will find some pretext to say the agreement is not implementable. If they stand against the right of self-determination for the South, it is likely that South will declare its independence. It is also likely that this will be contested, and then war could easily resume.

Another flashpoint is my own area, Abyei, which has been administered as part of the North. The people of my area, the Dinka, are very prominent now in the southern liberation movement. Many of them are actually my family members. By special protocol, mediated by the United States, the people of Abyei received the right to decide at the same time as the South whether their administration would go back to the South or remain in the North.

A commission was created to demarcate the border between the Ngok Dinka and their tribal northern neighbors. The commission came up with proposals which the South and people of Abyei have accepted but the government in Khartoum is rejecting.

précis: *Has the South prepared for the resumption of the war?*

FD: The agreement gave the South not only its own government that is virtually independent and a share in the government of national unity, but allowed the South to have its own army. So what was a rebel army is becoming a conventional army for the South. The South is giving it tremendous attention because they want to build the capacity to deter the North from violating this agreement, as there have been many agreements violated in the past.

On the other hand, the government had actually recruited tribal militias in the South to fight proxy wars against the rebel movement. The agreement said these militias would have to decide by a certain date whether they join the southern or the government army. Some have not yet decided, and there are allegations that they are still being used to destabilize and discredit the southern government. Again there is a difference here between what is being said and what is being done. The gov-

ernment says it is committed to disarming the militias and forcing them to join either the army of the government or of the south. In reality this is not done.

précis: *What role did the United States play in negotiating the end of the conflict between the North and the South?*

FD: The United States played a pivotal role in ending the war in the South. One of the factors that I believe helped bring the war to an end was September 11. Khartoum had been accused of being involved with international terrorism; several terrorist groups had an office in Khartoum. So when the government saw what was done to Afghanistan and what was going to be done to Iraq, they were afraid that they would be next. So they bent over backwards to try to win the favor of the United States, cooperating with the United States in the war against terror. The rebel movement received great support from the West, particularly the United States. But the rebel leadership, especially the late John Garang, felt that if they were difficult when the United States was leading the peace process, that they too could be labeled a terrorist movement and be in trouble. So both sides wanted to please the United States. ■

Michelle Nhuch joins CIS as its new director of public programs. Michelle has more than twelve years of combined professional experience in academia, science and healthcare.



Previously, she worked at MIT's Broad Institute where she helped develop the identity of the new Institute, a Harvard and MIT research collaboration dealing with genomics. She managed and wrote articles for print and web publications. She worked in public relations and also got involved in public outreach, launching Broad's first public science education series and its high school outreach program. Before Broad, she worked as a research coordinator for a healthcare company. There she managed research efforts and helped develop a research methodology for clinical monographs. She also worked as the managing editor of publications and coordinated clinical rotations, training medical and pharmacy students, resulting in an appointment as a clinical adjunct professor at Northeastern University's School of Pharmacy. Although she has spent more time as a working professional in science and healthcare, she is thrilled to get back into politics, the subject in which she received her B.A. She is currently pursuing an M.S. at Tufts Medical School.

PHRJ TAKES ON HUMAN SCAVENGING

On December 1, CIS's Program on Human Rights and Justice (PHRJ), along with the Department of Urban Studies and Planning (DUSP), hosted a conference on manual scavenging in India.

Manual scavenging, the act of removing excreta from dry pit latrines, is a prevalent practice in parts of India where water shortage has made the widespread use of public pour-flush toilets infeasible. Dalit (untouchables) workers gather excreta without protective apparel, often using their bare hands and feet and a broom to perform their job. They earn less than a dollar a day. This work is often the sole economic opportunity for Dalit women.



The demonstration Ecosan unit near completion.

The Indian government has declared manual scavenging to be a violation of human rights. It is also a detriment to public health. The scavengers are at high risk for disease, and sludge from pit latrines threatens to contaminate water resources. The construction of dry pit latrines and the practice of human waste removal were outlawed in 1993, but the laws are rarely enforced because of the lack of feasible alternatives.

The conference centered on a proposed alternative to manual scavenging drafted by a team of MIT, Harvard, and Tufts students. Panel discussions were held on sanitation delivery in developing countries, human rights and sanitation. Panelists included scholars from New York University, Boston University, MIT, and Wisconsin, the World Bank's Water and Sanitation Director, and experts from Oxfam. Manjula Pradip, director of the Navsarjan Trust, gave the keynote address before the students presented their report.

The report comes out of a practicum led by Balakrishnan Rajagopal, Ford International Associate Professor of Law and Development and director of PHRJ. Practica are courses now required for DUSP planning students, and are designed to help put theory into practice by

providing field experience in city and regional planning.

The practicum consisted of a semester-long course conducted during spring 2006, fieldwork during the summer and the completion of a major report this fall to the sponsor, Navsarjan, a leading Dalit non-governmental organization in India. The classroom teaching in the spring introduced students to the Indian caste system, the nature of manual scavenging, and its causes and consequences. The course also covered the technical and institutional aspects of water and sanitation projects and the legal, policy and institutional efforts by governments in India to tackle the problem.

During the summer fieldwork, students lived in the Navsarjan compound and endured daily temperatures well over 100 degrees. They also completed a comprehensive socio-economic and health survey in collaboration with Navsarjan, and designed a new technology that makes sanitation safe from both the users' and cleaners' perspectives.

Requiring neither water nor expensive sewer piping, their Ecosan latrine separates liquid from solid waste, removing foul odors and encouraging biodegradation. The desiccated waste is safe to handle after a specified period of time, and may even be used as soil conditioner and fertilizer. Over time, if correctly operated, such latrines are more sustainable and less resource-intensive than pour-flush toilets.

The team built a demonstration model and presented it in two village meetings, leading to the placement of more than 80 orders. They also provided information materials, written in Gujarati and English.

Professor Rajagopal is collaborating with Navsarjan on the implementation of the recommendations in the report. He has also received a grant of \$150,000 from the Omidyar Network for the continuation of the project.

The report is online here: http://web.mit.edu/phrj/dalit_report_final.pdf. ■

PROMPT GLOBAL STRIKE: A BRIEF ASSESSMENT

BY AUSTIN LONG

Today, the United States can destroy almost any target in the world within an hour using ballistic missiles launched from submarines or land. But the fact that the missiles are armed exclusively with nuclear warheads makes them useless in all but the most dire circumstances. Some policy-makers therefore want to arm these missiles with conventional warheads. In this article, Austin Long takes issue with this proposal, while noting that several common objections to it are hyperbolic.



A submarine-launched Trident ballistic missile takes flight.

Beginning a few years ago, certain defense analysts began to advocate the concept of “prompt global strike.” This concept called for the United States to be able to attack virtually any point on the globe in less than one hour using non-nuclear weapons. This was not an entirely new concept, having been advocated by some during the late Cold War period as a means of providing flexible options and controlling escalation in a possible U.S.-Soviet confrontation. However, prompt global strike gained little traction until after the terrorist attacks of September 11. Since then the concept has moved into the broader public debate. Most notably, former Secretaries of Defense James Schlesinger and Harold Brown advocated the concept in an op-ed in May 2006.¹ The commander of United States Strategic Command (STRATCOM), General James Cartwright, has also been a notable public advocate.² At the same time, a number of analysts have expressed serious concerns about some prompt global strike systems’ impact on arms control and nuclear stability.

This paper assesses the most widely discussed systems for prompt global strike—conventional versions of the Trident II submarine launched ballistic missile (SLBM) and the Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). Trident II and Minuteman III are both solid fuelled ballistic missiles with ranges in excess of 4,000 nautical miles designed to deliver multiple independently-targetable nuclear warheads. Both are very accurate by nuclear weapons standards, with warheads likely to be

delivered within only a few hundred feet of their targets. Converting these weapons to conventional use would require redesign of the warheads to incorporate additional guidance and maneuvering features to make the warheads likely to impact within the tens of feet (or less) needed for the much lower power of high explosives.

Proponents of such systems present four main arguments. The first is that they can be used to strike terrorist targets that have been identified but are of a fleeting nature. These terrorist targets might even be in possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), making their rapid destruction critical. The second is that of striking the vulnerable nuclear systems of regional powers that might potentially threaten the United States. North Korea and Iran, for example, use long range missiles that are not in hardened silos and could readily be destroyed before launch if their readying for launch were detected early enough and a weapon could quickly be delivered. Third, these systems could be used to almost instantly strike targets in countries that had lost control of WMD assets to rogue commanders or theft. A fourth argument, which emerged in wake of the recent Chinese anti-satellite missile test, asserts that such assets could be used to strike targets such as launching facilities deep inside China in the event that China began to use its anti-satellite weapons (ASATs) against the United States. A corollary to this argument is that prompt global strike might be used to strike Chinese ICBMs conventionally.

Those against prompt global strike systems make three main arguments. They argue that such systems will be difficult if not impossible to distinguish from their nuclear variants, which complicates arms control verification. This worry also existed with cruise missiles in the 1980s, which had both nuclear and conventional variants. Second, they are concerned that any launch of these weapons could be misinterpreted as a nuclear first strike by Russia and potentially China. A third concern is the cost of

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GLOBAL STRIKE

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the systems. Depending on the options chosen, this cost could vary widely, but is unlikely to be less than \$500 million. A single new Trident II missile costs over \$60 million.

The first two arguments against prompt global strike are somewhat overstated. Cruise missile indistinguishability was an arms control challenge, but did not scuttle any of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) talks. The worry about accidental nuclear war is more serious, but could be mitigated if not eliminated. A single missile launch is unlikely to provoke an instant response from the Russians, particularly given how degraded Russian warning systems have become since the end of the Cold War. Further, the Russians do not appear to be maintaining forces on high alert and have already shown themselves to be reasonably cautious in responding to false alarms of nuclear launch. Chinese nuclear forces are even less likely to respond. They do not have the same level of early warning as even the degraded Russian system. Also, as currently configured, Chinese systems are almost incapable of an instant response, as the warheads are not maintained permanently on the missiles.

However, some of the scenarios proponents of prompt global strike imagine for its use are even more unlikely than accidental nuclear war. The first scenario is far and away the least likely. Assuming that the United States could receive, process, and analyze terrorist targeting information in real-time (an assumption better suited to Tom Clancy novels than defense analysis), it would still be unlikely to be worth expending such an expensive weapon to kill a few terrorists, particularly given that the target could be near civilians. Only if terrorists were known to possess WMD would this be likely to be worth the costs and risks. Yet this is an argument for working to prevent terrorist WMD acquisition rather than acquiring a potential counter weapon.

Further, if real-time intelligence is available, it is likely to come from systems such as the Predator unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV). Predator is already armed with Hellfire missiles. In 2002 it was successfully used to strike a terrorist “target of opportunity” in Yemen.

Future UAVs will be even more capable, making prompt global strike superfluous.

The second and third scenarios, regional powers and loose WMD, can also be addressed in other ways. Regional powers’ nuclear arsenals are already vulnerable to preemption from existing systems such as cruise missiles or from new cheaper systems such as tactical ballistic missiles, either of which could be carried on submarines that can approach North Korea undetected in a crisis. Loose WMD can also be addressed by existing systems and better efforts to secure nuclear arsenals.

The fourth argument is perhaps the most dangerous. Striking targets deep in China, particularly their ICBMs, might provoke a nuclear response if the Chinese leadership perceives “use them or lose them” incentives. Even if one is a proponent of counterforce, it would be better to use existing nuclear weapons to perform the mission rather than risk a nuclear response from a failed conventional attempt.

Prompt global strike via ballistic missiles, while probably not as disastrous as its detractors claim, is not worth pursuing. However, an unspoken political argument may actually make the best case for these systems. This argument is that some form of prompt global strike is all but irresistible to many military and civilian leaders. It just seems like a good capability to have even if never used. If this is the case, then the alternative ways to do it are either by modifying existing missile systems for at most a few billion dollars, or by building new hypersonic bomber aircraft that will cost at least tens of billions of dollars if not hundreds of billions. Those who hold this view argue that it is better to satisfy the perceived requirement cheaply and then never use the systems. This is the only persuasive argument in favor of such systems and, unfortunately, an illustration of the limits of truly rational defense planning. ■

Austin Long is Ph.D. candidate in the Political Science Department and a member of the Security Studies Program. He is also an adjunct researcher at the RAND Corporation.

1. Harold Brown and James Schlesinger, “A Missile Strike Option We Need,” *Washington Post*, May 22, 2006.
2. See Cartwright’s recent testimony to the Strategic Forces Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee; <http://armed-services.senate.gov/statemnt/2007/March/Cartwright%2003-28-07.pdf>.

DARFURIAN LEADER VISITS CIS

On February 8, CIS hosted a round-table discussion with Ahmed Ibrahim Diraige, former governor of the Darfur region of Sudan. Diraige is now head of the National Redemption Front, an alliance of Darfurian rebel groups, whose conflict with the government of Sudan and its militia, the Janjaweed, has sparked international attention and outrage. Diraige was introduced by a fellow native of Sudan, Francis Deng, director of the Center for Displacement Studies at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and a Wilhelm Fellow at CIS. Deng, a longtime Sudanese diplomat, directs the Sudan Peace Support Project.

Diraige began by noting that in 1964 he helped form the Darfurian Development Front, which pressed for Darfur's economic rights within Sudan. Sudan's government still has not granted those rights, Diraige said. Diraige argued that the situation in Darfur must be viewed in the context of Sudan's broader politics. Separatist war first broke out in the southern part of the country in 1955, and uprisings occurred decades later in several regions in the north, most recently Darfur. Diraige argued that the principal problem in Sudan is that a northern Arab elite is attempting to define Sudan's multi-cultural north as Islamic. Sudan, he said, must restore a national identity and adopt a federal structure to achieve peace.

The government of Sudan has divided the various rebel groups by negotiating with them separately, and a better solution for the nation would be a negotiation among all Sudanese parties and militias, Diraige also argued. The South, he said, is disinterested in Darfur because it is biding time until it holds a referendum on independence in four years, which might renew its war with the government.

Diraige took issue with the criticism that two of three rebel groups in his party acted in bad faith when they rejected a peace agreement offered by international negotiators last spring. He argued that the agreement failed to resolve the problem of the 3.8 million Darfurians that the war displaced from their homes. A settlement, he said, will have to help these people resettle, provide for their security, and protect their rights.

Francis Deng also spoke, pointing out that Sudan is a large country with many identities, not just Arab and African. Moreover, he said, these two identities are largely invented; most Sudanese, let alone outsiders, cannot tell who is what by sight. Deng believes that because the various ethnic rebellions have strengthened the appeal of Islamic fundamentalism in the North, peace might undermine its attraction. Deng warned that with support from Arab states, the government in Khartoum could prosecute war in several regions for a long time. ■

CIS LAUNCHES FOREIGN POLICY INDEX

In March, CIS launched its Foreign Policy Index, a "yearbook" of data and analysis on a broad range of topics including the countries most discussed in the context of US foreign policy and issue areas like the drug trade and immigration. Designed to complement the "Audits of the Conventional Wisdom" publication series, the Foreign Policy Index provides students, scholars, journalists, and citizens with easily accessed, high-quality information on pressing international issues. It includes links to relevant documents, data sources, and issue summaries. The Index, supported by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and other donors, was compiled by CIS graduate students Kelly Grieco and Peter Krause. It is found online here: <http://web.mit.edu/cis/fpi.html>

CIS Co-Hosts Event on European Research

On February 1, leaders from public and private research on both sides of the Atlantic came to MIT to discuss the competitiveness of European research. The event, held on the eve of the 11th European Career Fair at MIT, was sponsored in part by CIS and the MISTI program. Speakers included Claude Canizares (vice president for research and associate provost, MIT), Andrew Dearing (secretary general, European Industrial Research Management Association), Fientje Moerman (vice-minister-president of the Flemish Government and minister for economy, enterprise, science, innovation and foreign trade), Charles Wessner (program director, Board on Science, Technology and Economic Policy, US National Research Council), Gunther Winkler (vice president, Strategic Initiatives, Biogen Idec), Ernst Ludwig Winnaker (secretary general, European Research Council), and moderator Isi Saragossi (director, European research area: knowledge-based economy, European Commission).

CIS Welcomes Iranian Reformers

On February 6 and 7, CIS hosted a conference called, “The Past and Future of Reform in Iran.” Organized by former Iranian parliamentarian, Fatemeh Haghghatjoo, a visiting fellow at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government who was a fellow at CIS last year, and John Tirman, executive director of CIS, the event brought together leading Iranian journalists, activists and professors to discuss democratic development in Iran. The conference, conducted in Farsi, included two days of panel discussions about issues related to reform in Iran. The Iranian government prevented several expected participants from attending.

Condry on Hip-Hop Japan

In March, as part of “Cool Japan: Love and War in Japanese Popular Culture,” a four-day conference at MIT and Harvard to explore Japanese pop culture, Ian Condry, MIT associate professor of Japanese Cultural Studies, discussed his recently published *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization*. The event, co-sponsored by MIT-Japan, featured comments from local hip-hop scholars Thomas DeFrantz (MIT) and Murray Forman (Northeastern) and audience Q&A. “Cool Japan” included panel discussions, an anime filming, and a performance by Japanese rapper Miss Monday at the Middle East club in Cambridge.

Pollack on Iran

Kenneth Pollack, director of research at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy and senior fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, spoke on March 20 at the Emile Bustani Middle East Seminar on “Iran: War or Peace?” Pollack, the author of *The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America* and alumnus of the Security Studies Program, argued that U.S. military action against Iran is unwise and that the United States should exploit splits in Iran between hardliners and pragmatists. Another Bustani speaker this semester was Gilbert Burnham, lead author on *The Lancet* survey of war deaths in Iraq. Burnham, co-director of the Center for Refugee and Disaster Response at Johns Hopkins, spoke on February 27. He discussed the number of civilian deaths in Iraq since the U.S. invasion in 2003 and the controversy around counting them. For more on the Bustani lecture series, see http://web.mit.edu/shass/temp/bustani/bustani_seminar.htm.



Kenneth Pollack
of the Brookings
Institution

Bloom on the Radicalization of Muslims in Europe

Mia Bloom, assistant professor at University of Georgia, Athens, spoke at CIS on March 21 as part of the MIT Security Studies Program Wednesday seminar series. An expert on terrorism, Bloom

is the author of *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. Among the other Wednesday seminars this semester were Dwight Williams (U.S. Department of Defense) on detecting nuclear and radiological weapons, SSP alumnus Peter Liberman (City University of New York) on justice and war in Iraq and Major General Dennis Hejlik on the creation of the organization he heads, U. S. Marine Corps Forces Special Operations Command. The talks are open to the public. The schedule and summaries of past talks are online here: <http://web.mit.edu/ssp/seminars/wednesday.html>.

Alter on Bollywood

In an April 2 event co-sponsored by MIT-India, part of CIS's MISTI program, Stephen Alter, former writer in residence at MIT, spoke about his latest book, *Fantasies of a Bollywood Love Thief: Inside the World of Indian Moviemaking*, a behind-the-scenes look at India's film industry. MIT-India also sponsored another Bollywood event, welcoming Indian actress and human rights activist Nandita Das on April 12. Das came to screen her 1997 film, FIRE, and answer questions from the audience.

Mueller on the Terrorism Industry

John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies and professor of political science at Ohio State University, spoke on April 5 as part of CIS's Starr Forum seminar series. Mueller discussed his new book, *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them*. He argued that American's fear of terrorism is exaggerated, largely because it is stoked by politicians and experts. Because the reaction to terrorism is usually more costly than the act itself, we should reconsider many counter-terrorism measures, Mueller said.

Persian Gulf Initiative Examines India

On March 21, CIS hosted a conference, "India and the Gulf," the latest in an ongoing series of workshops held as part of its Persian Gulf Initiative. Organized by CIS executive director John Tirman and Ambassador Barbara Bodine, a Wilhelm Fellow at CIS, the conference brought together leading experts on the Persian Gulf and India to explore the relationship between the states. The conference consisted of four panel discussions and a working lunch. Among the speakers were Bruce Riedel of the Brookings Institution, Jamal Khashoggi, former advisor to the Saudi ambassador in Washington, and Sumit Ganguly, the Rabindranath Tagore Professor of Indian Cultures and Civilizations at Indiana University. For more information, including a report on this workshop, see http://web.mit.edu/CIS/act_pgi.html.

MIT Alum Produces Film on Iraq

Former CIS affiliate and MIT Political Science Department alum Charles Ferguson spent the last several years producing a documentary about the war in Iraq. The film, *No End in Sight*, which won a special jury prize at this year's Sundance Film Festival, explores in painstaking detail how the Bush administration made disastrous decisions about the Iraq war and subsequent occupation. It features footage from Iraq – where Ferguson traveled for several months – and interviews with senior policy-makers and scholars including Barbara Bodine, a former ambassador and current Wilhelm Fellow at CIS who was assigned to Baghdad at the start of the US occupation, and Barry Posen, Ford International Professor of Political Science and MIT's Security Studies Program director. Ferguson did much of the work on the film while a visiting scholar at MIT in 2005-2006. A screening of *No End in Sight* took place on May 2 at MIT. Ferguson attended and took audience questions.

Swiss Ambassador on Immigration in Europe

On April 26, Urs Ziswiler, ambassador of Switzerland to the United States, spoke on the topic of, “Legal and Illegal Immigrants, Asylum Seekers: Curse or Blessing?” In his talk, sponsored by the Program on Human Rights and Justice and the consulate of Switzerland in Boston, Ziswiler focused on the conflict between the need for European countries like Switzerland, with aging populations and falling birth rates, to attract skilled foreign workers and the growth of concerns over illegal immigration, terrorism, and people smuggling. The consulate offered a Swiss-style reception after the lecture.

People

Huda Ahmed, an Iraqi journalist and the Center’s Elizabeth Neuffer fellow, spoke on “Women and Islam: Understanding and Reporting” at this year’s Elizabeth Neuffer Forum on Human Rights and Journalism in March.

Suzanne Berger, Raphael Dorman and Helen Starbuck Professor of Political Science, gave the inaugural address at the doctoral school, Sciences Po in Paris on January 29, 2007. Sections of the speech were published in *Le Monde* on January 31.

Recent Ph.D. graduate **Vanda Felbab-Brown**, now a post-doctoral research fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, will join the faculty of Georgetown University in the fall as an assistant professor in the Security Studies Program of the School of Foreign Service. In January, Vanda lectured at CIS’s Seminar XXI program about narcoterrorism in Latin America and Asia. In March, she spoke about crime and insurgency at the International Studies Association conference in Chicago. And in April, she spoke about drugs and insurgency in Afghanistan at Southern Methodist University in Dallas and at Brookings.

In November, SSP associate director **Owen Cote** gave a talk on China and U.S. naval strategy at a conference hosted by the Center for Naval Analysis in Washington. Owen is also a participant in the Naval Studies Board’s Manpower and Personnel Needs Committee.

Assistant professor of political science **Taylor Fravel** spoke at Draper Labs about rising power and international conflict in November. In December, he was in Taipei to give a conference talk on regional reactions to China’s military modernization. In January, he spoke at RAND about China’s frontier defense and at CENTRA in Washington, D.C., about studying the Peoples Liberation Army through open sources. In February, he spoke at the National Institute for Defense Studies about the Chinese military. He also gave talks about China’s territorial conflicts at Dartmouth in November, Harvard in February and the University of Texas and the Naval War College in March.

Alicia Goldstein is the new coordinator of MIT-Spain. The program also signed up the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce to provide seed funding for research collaboration between MIT and entities in Spain.

SSP affiliate **Jeanne Guillemin** was a featured commentator on “The Living Weapon,” an American Experience (PBS) film on the history of biological weapons, which aired February 5 and is available on the PBS web site. The film draws heavily on her work. In November, Jeanne spoke about the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal at the Pugwash Workshop in Geneva and about federally-funded university research on biodefense at John Jay College of Criminal Justice. In December, she spoke again about the tribunal, this time at Yale University Law School and spoke about biosecurity and secrecy at the Max Planck Institute in Berlin. In April, Jeanne was in Washington for a workshop at American

University on “Assessing Bioterrorism and Pandemic Disease after 9/11.”

The Air Force promoted Ph.D. candidate in political science **Phil Haun** to the rank of colonel.

An interview with **Llewelyn Hughes**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, appeared in the *Oriental Economist* in November under the title, “Japan Not Going Nuclear.”

Ph.D. candidate in political science **Colin Jackson** joined the faculty of the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island in the fall. He began teaching there this spring.

Ph.D. candidate in political science **Austin Long** spoke in November about the monograph he recently wrote for the RAND Corporation, “On ‘Other War’: Lessons from Five Decades of RAND Counterinsurgency Research,” at a congressional luncheon panel discussion in Washington. Austin begins full-time work at RAND next fall.

Paul Staniland, Ph.D. candidate in political science gave a talk entitled, “Explaining the Rise of Urban Insurgency” at the Harvard Civil Conflict Workshop in February. Paul also gave a talk in April at the Harvard-MIT-Yale Civil Conflict Conference.

Ford International Professor of Political Science and director of CIS **Richard Samuels**’ next book, *Securing Japan*, will be published in August 2007 by Cornell University Press. Nikkei Publications will bring out the Japanese edition.

In January, SSP principal research scientist **Cindy Williams** was in Geneva, Switzerland at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy to give a lecture about the U.S. military after Iraq and to participate in a panel discussion on U.S. Foreign Policy and the 2008 elections. In February, Cindy participated in a press briefing at the National Press Club in Washington about the fiscal year 2008 defense budget. In March,

she spoke about defense spending and readiness at a conference held at the U.S. Naval Academy. Along with Gordon Adams, a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Cindy co-chaired a working group on national security resource allocation, which met in Washington in December and March. She is also co-chairing the Naval Studies Board Committee on Manpower and Personnel Needs for the Navy.

Professor of history **Elizabeth Wood** is spending May at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris to give four lectures entitled, “The Performance of Power under Putin.”

Published

Boaz Atzili, Recent Ph.D. Recipient

“When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors: Fixed Borders, State Weakness and International Conflict,” *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Winter 2006/07).

Vanda Felbab-Brown, Recent Ph.D. Recipient

“Opium Wars,” *Wall Street Journal* (February 20, 2007).

“What President Bush Needs to Ask President Uribe,” *Brookings Institution Op-ed* (March 9, 2007).

“From Sanctuaries to Protostates,” in Michael Innes, ed., *Denial of Sanctuary: Understanding Terrorist Safehavens* (Praeger: 2007).

Taylor Fravel, Assistant Professor of Political Science

With Albert Wolf, “Correspondence: Structural Sources of China’s Territorial Compromises,” *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall 2006).



Taylor Fravel

Benjamin Friedman, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

Review of Gabriel Weimann, *Terror on the Internet: the New Arena, the New Challenges in Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 122, No. 1 (Spring 2007).

Jeanne Guillemin, SSP Affiliate

“The Legacy of Secret State Programs” in Andreas Wenger and Reto Wollenmann, eds., *Bioterrorism: Confronting a Complex Threat* (Lynne Rienner, 2007).

“Commentary – Terrorism and Dispelling the Myth of a Panic Prone Public,” *Journal of Public Health Policy*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2006).

Phil Haun, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

“Hit by a SAM: A Close Call in a Warthog,” *Flight Journal Magazine*, Vol. 12, No.1 (February 2007).

Michal Ben-Josef Hirsch, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

“Agents of Truth and Justice: Truth Commissions and the Transitional Justice Epistemic Community,” in Volker Heins and David Chandler, eds., *Rethinking Ethical Foreign Policy: Pitfalls, Possibilities and Paradoxes* (Routledge, 2007).

“From Taboo to the Negotiable: The Israeli New Historians and the Changing Representation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 2007).

Llewelyn Hughes, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

“Dangerous Games: Kim Jong-Il’s Nuclear Test Has Caused Japan to Think the Same,” *The Diplomat* (December 2006).

“Why Japan Won’t Go Nuclear (Yet) – an Examination of the Domestic and International Constraints on the Nuclearization of Japan,” *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Spring 2007).

Joshua Itzkowitz-Shiffrin, Ph.D. Student in Political Science

“The Kurds and Regional Security: An Evaluation of Developments since the Iraq War,” Crown Center for Middle East Studies, *Middle East Brief*, No. 14 (December 2006).

Chappell Lawson, Associate Professor of Political Science

“How Did We Get Here? Mexican Democracy after the 2006 Elections,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (January 2007).

Austin Long, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

“Coordination Could Breed Control in Iraq,” *WashingtonPost.com*, Think Tank Town (January 24, 2007).

Roger Petersen, Associate Professor of Political Science and Evangelos Liaras, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

“Countering Fear in War: The Strategic Use of Emotion in Thucydides,” *Journal of Military Ethics*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Winter 2006-2007).

Barry Posen, Ford International Professor of Political Science and Director of the Security Studies Program

“A Nuclear-Armed Iran: A Difficult But Not Impossible Policy Problem,” Century Foundation (December 2006).

Whitney Raas, Masters Student in Political Science and Austin Long, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

“Osirak Redux? Assessing Israeli Capabilities to Destroy Iranian Nuclear Facilities,” *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Spring 2007).

Richard Samuels, Ford International Professor of Political Science and Director of CIS

“Securing Japan: The Current Discourse,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Winter 2007).

Harvey Sapolsky, Professor of Public Policy and Organization and Benjamin Friedman, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

“No to Africa Command,” *Defense News*, April 2, 2007.

Edward Steinfeld, Associate Professor of Political Science

“Cultural Chaos: From the Dystopian Heyday of Maoism to the Making of Modern China,” *Harvard Magazine* (January/February 2007).

Jeremy Streatfeild, CIS Visiting Student

Editor with Simon Lacey, *New Reflections on International Trade: Essays on Trade and Agriculture, WTO Accession and Systemic Issues* (Cameron May: 2007).

Caitlin Talmadge, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science

“Deterring a Nuclear 9/11,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring 2007).

Lily L. Tsai, Assistant Professor of Political Science

“Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (May 2007).

Stephen Van Evera, Professor of Political Science

“Bush Administration, Weak on Terror,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (Winter 2006).

Bernd Widdig, MIT-Germany Director

Co-author, “In Search of Global Engineering Excellence: Educating the Next Generation of Engineers for the Global Workplace,” Report for Continental AG (Hannover, Germany 2006).

Cindy Williams, Security Studies Program Principal Research Scientist

Editor with Curtis L. Gilroy, *Service to Country: Personnel Policy and the Transformation of Western Militaries* (MIT Press, 2007).



“Surge Could Push Troops to the Breaking Point,” *Boston Globe*, January 10, 2007.

“Many Hidden Costs Line National Security Path,” *Kansas City Star*, February 21, 2007.

New Audits of the Conventional Wisdom

Among the topics in the Center’s “Audits of the Conventional Wisdom” publications in the winter and spring were the humanitarian crisis in Sudan, China’s rise and energy policy, North Korea’s nuclear weapons program, manpower in stability operations, biological weapons, homeland security spending, internal displacement, and Iraq’s disintegration. All of the audits are available at: http://web.mit.edu/CIS/acw_h.html.

Recently published:

Can Scientific Codes of Conduct Deter Bioweapons? (Jeanne Guillemin); China’s Premature Rise to Great Power Status (Liselotte Odgaard); Internally Displaced Populations: The Paradox of National Responsibility (Francis Deng); Paying for Homeland Security: Show Me the Money (Cindy Williams); Sudan at the Crossroads (Francis Deng); North Korea: Negotiations Work (Leon V. Sigal); China’s Energy Governance: Perception and Reality (Edward A. Cunningham); Troop Levels in Stability Operations: What We Don’t Know (Peter Krause); Iraq’s Political Factions: The Last Chance to Build a Governing Coalition? (Barry R. Posen); Regionalizing the Iraq Conflict? (John Tirman).



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