



précis

n. a concise summary of essential points, statements, or facts

précis Interviews David Miliband

Right Hon David Miliband MP joined CIS as a Robert E. Wilhelm Fellow in Residence from April 11 through April 15, 2011. Miliband was the Foreign Secretary for the United Kingdom from 2007 to 2010 and is an alumnus of the Department of Political Science at MIT.

Among the topics discussed in the interview are: reasons he came back to MIT; suggestions about how academics might better bridge the gap between research and political action; and key elements of his vision for the future of Afghanistan.



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CIS Turns 60: An Interview with Three Directors

In recognition of the Center's 60th anniversary, *précis* discussed the evolution of CIS with three generations of directors: Richard Samuels (2000 to present); Kenneth Oye (1992 to 2000); and Eugene Skolnikoff (1972 to 1987). The directors discuss their time at the helm, the advantages of being located in a technology school, and the future of CIS.

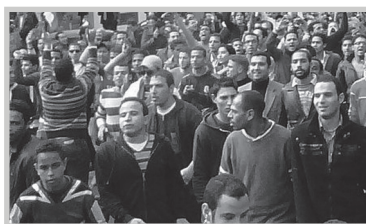


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Why Do Violent Substate Conflicts Spread?

by Nathan Black

The recent collapse of the authoritarian regimes in Tunisia and Egypt—and the wave of anti-authoritarian protests in numerous other Arab countries—has reacquainted scholars and policy-makers with a long-known truth: Unrest in one country sometimes spreads to another.



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Sanam Anderlini is one of the world's most respected experts on gender and security. She currently serves as the Senior Gender, Peace, and Security Advisor on the UN's Mediation Standby Team.

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At a Starr Forum on March 16, MIT experts addressed Japan's nuclear past, present, and future from a political and engineering perspective. The event was cosponsored by CIS and the Department of Nuclear Science and Engineering.

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David Miliband

Robert E. Wilhelm Fellow in Residence
April 11 - 15, 2011



Photo by Justin Knight Photography

précis: First of all, thanks for agreeing to spend some time with the Center for International Studies. We at CIS are always excited to hear from practitioners of international politics. What motivated you to come to CIS, and how did this opportunity come about?

DM: At this stage in my career I wanted to reflect and invest, as well as talk and lecture. I was a minister in government for eight years; in and around government for thirteen years. After the 2010 general election we are, obviously, no longer in government—though I am still a member of parliament for South Shields, a town of about 65,000 people in the Northeast of England. But one of the blessings of opposition, of which there are few, is that you do have more time to think and reflect. I had very fond memories of my time at MIT, and I came back here last year to give the Compton lecture. Richard Samuels was kind enough then to suggest that I might be able to make a contribution to the learning of the Center and the University more generally, and I was very keen to do so.

précis: Along the same lines, a core part of the CIS mission is producing policy relevant research that can have a real world impact. Having presided over several cabinet level ministries, what is your impression of how well the academy is serving policy-makers? Do you have any suggestions about how academics might better bridge the gap between research and political action?

DM: I have several thoughts. First, people in academia often think the only key is to “keep it short” for politicians, but I don’t think that is a sufficient injunction or rationale for how you engage in policy debate. I hope any sensible politician would say they don’t want to

do something that has been shown to be stupid. Academia rightly prizes its independence and its objectivity. But politics is by definition value-laden, and I think it is important to be explicit about that. So, it’s not that there is no place for objective analysis in politics, it’s that politicians want to use information, analysis, and ideas in order to advance their own agenda. Just as academics deserve respect for their independence and objectivity, politicians deserve respect for having strongly held values.

Secondly, academics should not be ashamed of in-depth research on the lessons of history. Certainly in foreign policy, but also in economics, the lessons of history are very important because they provide important perspective on how modern problems compare to those that have been faced in the past. Good politicians are informed by history, not trapped by it, and academic research can be essential in illuminating the difference.

Thirdly, there is indeed tension between the real time pace of politics and the more decorous deep dive that marks academic work. It’s not that politicians don’t have time to think. Good politicians make time to think, because if you don’t take time to think you make more mistakes than you would otherwise. But politicians do face pressing deadlines. Those deadlines come in two forms, one more reasonable and one less so. Deadline one is that you may have to make a decision this week, and being told there is a research project that will take three months is not very helpful. Deadline two is that politicians have a vice of wanting not just quick decisions, but quick impacts. It’s not unreasonable for a politician to say “look, I’ve got to take a view on this by next week,” because of a speech in parliament, a policy debate, or something along those lines. But saying “I need to see an impact

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by the end of the year” is an unfortunate habit politicians sometimes have.

précis: Let’s tackle a few policy questions. Last time you spoke at MIT you gave a spirited defense of the NATO commitment to Afghanistan, and you will give a lecture on April 13, “Afghanistan: Mending It, Not Just Ending It.” What are the key elements of your vision for the future of Afghanistan, and where should international policy be heading on this issue?

DM: The key elements of my vision are simply stated: without a political strategy no amount of military or development effort is going to work. A political settlement in the villages of Afghanistan means compromise among the peoples of Afghanistan, within a political ring that has a pretty minimal bottom line: no longer hosting Al-Qaida. The absence of a political north star has severely hampered the economic and security effort; it’s almost as though the diplomats and the soldiers have had one or two hands tied behind their back. Without the political vision for a decentralized polity in Afghanistan, in which compromises are made within the grain of Afghan history, culture, and society, it’s very hard to build a sustainable state.

Last year, in the Compton lecture, I made the case for such a settlement. A year on, I think the case is even more urgent. But rather than just re-make the case, this year I am outlining the five key points for making it happen: the need for a UN mediator; the rationalization of civilian command among all the international players; the development of a regional council for stability; confidence building measures as a prelude to talks about a political settlement; and of course a continuing emphasis on the importance of Pakistan.

I say “mending it, not just ending it” because, since I last spoke, the date of 2014 that has been established by NATO for a transition to Afghan security forces has been taken as an end-date to the war. But the point I try to make in my speech is that an end date without an endgame is going to prove to be a chimera.

précis: On the other side of the Middle East, NATO has just adopted a new mission in Libya. This commitment has been both praised for its humanitarian benefits and criticized for what some say is a lack of a clear mission. How do you view the Libya engagement? In general, is this the type of mission NATO should be involved in, and if so, what do you see as the conditions for success in humanitarian interventions?

DM: I think the administration here, and to be fair, the government in London, have been more right than wrong. If you think there is a decent chance of slaughter, and if you have the tools to stop it, then you are morally culpable if you don’t. It is maybe easier in opposition to say this, but stalemate is better than slaughter. Now, the fact that there is no clear endgame, in circumstances where the military effort we are making is relatively limited, makes it important to justify stalemate. It’s not a first best solution, but it’s not a twelfth best solution either.

Now the second thing to say is that Libya is a very bad test case for anything. Qaddafi is sui generis, and the country is not strategically significant except to the extent that it affects the rest of the Middle Eastern revolutions. There is a very fine line to tread between the West stepping in to prevent slaughter and the West being seen as trampling on an internal conflict. It’s not clear how it’s going to end, and an enduring stalemate is certainly a strong possibility, but that is better than Qaddafi’s iron fist ruling the country.

précis: You have served Britain as both foreign secretary and environment secretary. This is a useful combination, as many people believe environmental issues are more and more becoming issues of foreign policy. What do you think is the best way to spur international cooperation on issues of global concern? How should individuals think about the connection between their own actions on behalf of conservation and sustainability in a policy area that now spans national borders?

DM: The only way there will be progress towards the goal of consuming resources as though there was one planet rather than three is a combination of government leadership, business innovation, and mass mobilization. It’s a massive challenge, because the problems are long-term, are often in other countries, and the action is costly. This is a difficult collective action problem, but history has shown that people do in fact overcome collective action problems by taking action because it’s morally right and then forming pressure groups to encourage others. However, leaders of society need to get their house in order as well, and if government and business aren’t doing their bit, then individuals are going to feel very left out.

There are real dangers that the resource crunch is going to be an increasing factor in global tensions. Climate change, food price inflation, and rising gas prices are all new factors that mark a shift from resource plenty to resource scarcity. This is a profound shift. You asked, “how do you get more international cooperation on these issues?” Well, in Europe we have quite a bit of international cooperation, but that is because we share sovereignty. That is a very challenging notion for the rest of the world. But if you accept that we live in an interdependent world, you need new rules for governing that world, and the sharing of sovereignty is part of that.

But the truth is, on the environment, and especially global warming, we are going to have a bottom-up approach rather than a top-down approach. Copenhagen didn’t work, and the search for a 192-nation agreement didn’t work. We are going to have to build this up from the bottom with commitments in each country.

précis: On a more personal note, I’d like to ask you about your career. Your father was, of course, a distinguished intellectual, and you have a reputation as one of the deeper thinkers in British politics today. Have you found a tension between serious intellectual engagement and the demands

of practical politics? Do you have any advice for students at CIS who might consider public service after we get our degrees?

DM: I would encourage anyone to go into public service, not just because it is a career serving fellow citizens, but also because the bottom line is so complex. There is no greater honor than being a public servant and also no greater challenge. One of the healthy things about the US system is that there is a great deal of interflow between private academia and government service at both the federal and state level. The traditional secondment period of two years isn't long, but it is long enough to make a real impact. For those who want to pursue a career in government, the Foreign Service, both in this country and in my own, is an institution with real roots and real expertise, and one that allows you to build and use that expertise.

Is there a tension between politics and academic thought? Yes there is, but deeper thought is an underestimated virtue in politics. The public knows when they are being sold something superficial and can intuit when they are being told something deeper. Moreover, for politicians, I think it's unsatisfying if you are just skating along the surface. In our parliamentary system with five year terms, you can't just be in permanent campaign mode.

précis: We at MIT are very excited that one of our alums has had such a distinguished career. Do you think there was anything distinctive about education at MIT that has contributed to the way you approach problems? That is, can we plausibly claim any credit for your achievements?

DM: Certainly! To the extent that I've had successes, many fathers and mothers can claim them, and to the extent that I've made mistakes, they are my own fault.

I think that MIT awakened me to deep thinking; to what scholarship is about; to the internationalism of the modern world and the internationalism of the problems it faces. MIT was a microcosm of the global village before we even invented the term. I think MIT reinforced for me Anglo-American similarities and contrasts, but above all the deep relationship between the two countries. And I think it gave me a sober recognition of how little one knows—a piece of humility is always helpful in politics.

précis: Final question, which jumps off of your remarks about the Anglo-American relationship. How do you think that the United States can best cultivate this relationship, regardless of who is in power in each country? If you were to advise the next president, what would you tell him?

DM: I think that it's important that the British side is not too "precious." It's a partnership. You're a superpower; we're not. But we can bring things to the partnership. The key for the UK is to remain committed internationalists, and to ensure that our culture and resources—from diplomacy, to business, to sport, to education, to the military—are all part of the international system. And it's important to remember that it is not an exclusive partnership. We hope that America continues to have strong relationships with Paris, Berlin, and Warsaw; that's a good thing, not a bad thing.

I wouldn't presume to advise an American president. From the American side though, I do think it's important not to get stuck in a sepia tinted view of what Britain is like. Because Britain is a country that's changing rapidly, and the most dynamic parts of Britain are twenty-first century versions of Britain. Whether on the foreign policy front, the technology front, or the health care front, Britain is at the cutting edge. London is in a way the ultimate twenty-first century city, though New Yorkers wouldn't like to hear that. "Proud of the past, but not living in it" is the best of modern Britain. The more America approaches our relationship from such an understanding, the more productive that relationship will be. ■

Anderlini Named Senior Fellow



Sanam Naraghi Anderlini is one of the world's most respected experts on gender and security. She currently serves as the Senior Gender, Peace, and Security Advisor on the UN's Mediation Standby Team. She is the co-founder of the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN), a US-based NGO dedicated to supporting civil society activism in peace and security in conflict-affected countries. For over a decade she has been a leading international advocate, researcher, trainer, and writer on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, working with women

worldwide. In 2000, she was among civil society drafters of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. Between 2002-2005, as Director of the Women Waging Peace Policy Commission, Anderlini led ground-breaking field research on women's contributions to conflict prevention, security and peacemaking in twelve countries. Since 2005, she has also provided strategic guidance and training to key UN agencies, the UK government, and NGOs worldwide, including lead consultant for a UNDP global initiative on "Gender, Community Security and Social Cohesion."

She has served on the Advisory Board of the UN Democracy Fund (UN-DEF), and in 2010 she was appointed to the Civil Society Advisory Group (CSAG) on Resolution 1325, chaired by Mary Robinson. Her most recent book, *Women Building Peace: What they do, why it matters*, was published by Lynne Rienner in 2007. She was lead author on the joint CIS-ICAN study, "What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325," which was launched at the US Mission to the UN in October 2010. A native of Iran, she holds degrees from Oxford Brookes and Cambridge University.

Oye Receives Teaching Prize



Photo by J-B Guillemin

Kenneth Oye, was awarded a Levitan Teaching Prize in the School of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences. This is a very prestigious award and a great recognition of his skills and dedication to teaching. Oye holds a joint appointment in Political Science and Engineering Systems and directs the Center's Program on Emerging Technologies (PoET).

CIS Turns 60: An Interview with Three Directors

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MIT CIS
1951-2011

In recognition of the Center's 60th birthday, précis discussed the evolution of CIS with three generations of directors: Richard Samuels (2000 to present); Kenneth Oye (1992 to 2000); & Eugene Skolnikoff (1972 to 1987).

précis: What was the programmatic focus of CIS during your time at the helm? Did you start your directorship with a clear idea of how the Center would continue to develop? Have you been surprised by any of the directions that it's taken?

RS: The only programmatic focus I thought appropriate was to provide the resources to faculty and let them drive their projects in the direction of their choosing. It's a very MIT approach to research, which is that it is faculty oriented. Very little at MIT that is top-down works. Not everything that is faculty driven succeeds, but it's a necessary condition for success.



Richard Samuels

When we started, the associate director, Steve Van Evera, and I began by looking at the Center's terrific portfolio to see if there were any missing pieces. One of those missing pieces was human rights and justice, and so we seeded some work in that area. That has morphed in a variety of ways, into environmental and global studies and other projects. Another innovation was increased funding for graduate student research. We have funded a lot of graduate students to do field work and for summer support to work on their dissertations, and we have been very happy with our contribution there. But as a general matter, our approach is to help provide support for faculty and to let them run with their ideas because they know best.



Kenneth Oye

KO: All CIS directors—past, present and future—seek to maintain existing areas of strength while fostering development of programs to address unmet needs. Eugene Skolnikoff sought to strengthen research on technology policy, building toward the School of Engineering and School of Science. Myron Weiner sought to strengthen programs on development issues, building a program on refugees and forced migration with faculty from Tufts, Boston University and Harvard. During my two terms as director (1992–2000), I sought to strengthen initiatives in those areas while setting up a new program on transnational security issues.

The MacArthur Foundation funded work on religion and conflict, run by Steve Van Evera and J. Bryan Hehir and work on economic security issues, run by Dani Rodrik and me. The Japan Foundation, the Alliance for Global Sustainability, and NEDO supported research on technology policy and environmental issues. In subsequent years, NSF IGERT supported the CIS Program on Emerging Technologies, a research and training program. Currently, the MIT Center for Biomedical Innovation supports CIS research on adaptive regulation of pharmaceuticals by EMA Medical Director and Wilhelm Fellow Hans-Georg Eichler, Lawrence McCray and me while NSF SynBERC supports the CIS Synthetic Biology Policy Group.

ES: Primarily I gave priority to how science and technology interacted with international affairs. That had been my primary focus of scholarship before becoming director, and it was a subject congenial to my interests. MIT was a logical and fertile ground,

especially because of the faculty's willingness to deal with multidisciplinary issues. That was not all I tried to do, but it was what interested me most.

I did not start with a clear focus for I did not expect to become director. I was not the logical next director after Everett Hagen, but for a variety of MIT personnel reasons, I was asked to take over.



Eugene Skolnikoff

précis: What are the advantages and challenges of CIS being located in a technology school?

RS: MIT, or really any school that is science and technology focused, needs to have a high quality center for international studies. CIS is consistent with the goals and missions of the Institute itself, which are to identify and tackle the world's most pressing problems and come up with solutions. Walking through the lobby of Building 7 you quickly learn what MIT is all about—the generation and application of knowledge. And that is what the Center is about as well.

It's no accident that we reinvented area studies at MIT. Area studies came of age after World War II in the United States, but MIT was the first to create applied area studies. Applied area studies means making sure that people in problem solving fields can work comfortably in foreign contexts, can speak foreign languages, and can generate a network of associates that is broader than the eastern seaboard as they build their careers.

Our attitude was that it's not just political scientists, historians, and literature experts who need to know about the world, but also the engineers, architects, and managers who are going to be pursuing careers beyond 02139. It's very important that they understand the context in which they are working. Not everybody solves problems in the same way in different parts of the world. So we invented this approach, and we now have the largest and most widely copied program of its kind, which is MISTI. This is an educational innovation of which we are very proud.

KO: The advantages? Barriers to research linking engineering and the sciences to the social sciences and humanities at MIT are low. The Program on Emerging Technologies originated as an NSF funded joint venture with Daniel Hastings, Frank Field and Dava Newman of Engineering Systems, and historian Merritt Roe Smith of STS. Retrospective studies on past emerging technologies inform prospective studies on implications of current emerging technologies. Our work on Synthetic Biology is in partnership with faculty and research staff in Biological Engineering and EECS. Our work on next generation Internet has been led by David Clark of CSAIL, and Nazli Choucri's Project Minerva has deepened that link and pushed work on cybersecurity to the next level. An earlier project on Chinese Coal Combustion was with Adel Sarofim and Janos Beer of Chemical Engineering and Tsinghua, Taiyuan, Tokyo and ETH Zurich. The extraordinary quality of technologists here at MIT was expected. The receptivity of world-class technologists to multidisciplinary collaboration was unexpected and welcome. The challenges? CIS is a relatively small actor within MIT. Understanding of our purposes, our questions and our methods in other parts of MIT may not be assumed.

ES: The faculty and administration in general are very supportive and show a lot of interest. Since I was Director, it is clear that MIT's international focus has expanded enormously under the leadership of Dick Samuels and the Provost. It should be an exciting time now for the Institute.

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CIS Turns 60: An Interview with Three Directors

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précis: CIS is known for a strong emphasis on both theoretical and policy contributions in its programming, as well as an interdisciplinary approach. Generally speaking, how did these aspects of the Center impact its work during your tenure as director?

RS: CIS's interdisciplinary method does not stem from its management. Rather, it develops from the way in which we think about problems, which is in turn a consequence of the way the Institute is set up. At MIT, teaching is done in departments, but research is done in centers and labs, and those centers and labs are almost always interdisciplinary. CIS is no exception. For instance, we have reached out and worked very closely with colleagues in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning. Indeed, Urban Studies and Planning is a great example of applied area studies; it's in a school of architecture, and it's a problem solving discipline often with an international context.

But as I mentioned earlier, these are also characteristics of political science at MIT. Being at MIT bestows on political science certain characteristics that make it distinctive—our policy focus, our empirical orientation, our penchant for taking on big theoretical questions. This is particularly true of security studies. Where else do you see this kind of work? Basically just at MIT. We have always done security studies here, and, alas, will always need to, because the problems of war and peace have not gone away.

KO: Most lively contemporary policy debates rest on dry-as-dust theoretical and empirical disputes. CIS takes pride in addressing unresolved foundational issues that underpin current policy debates, many of which require multidisciplinary research. In this respect, CIS differs from Washington think tanks that tend to reinforce conventional wisdoms of the moment and from academic departments that focus on disciplinary development without reference to policy. For example, as the Washington Consensus embraced globalization, Suzanne Berger, Ronald Dore, and Michael Piore combined institutional political economy, anthropology and economics in work that defended national diversity. As Japan, France and England moved toward commercialization of plutonium reprocessing, Eugene Skolnikoff, Tatsujiro Suzuki, and I conducted a study that questioned the safety, security and economic implications of commercialization of reprocessing. As support for humanitarian military intervention swelled, Steve Van Evera conducted historically informed theoretically rich studies that warned of the effects of intervention, while graduate student Kelly Greenhill's dissertation probed how refugee relief can contribute to ethnic conflict. Myron Weiner cut against received wisdoms of the 1990s with research on how democratization can exacerbate ethnic conflict and on the perverse effects of well-intentioned child labor policies. Barry Posen drew fire from conservatives for questioning claims of American military weakness and for attacking policies that eroded firebreaks between conventional and nuclear conflict, and then drew fire from liberals by challenging conventional wisdoms on expected high US casualties in advance of the first Gulf War. As President George H. W. Bush and the US Army claimed that the Patriot missile was effective against Iraqi Scuds, Ted Postol and George Lewis conducted technical studies that showed that the system did not work and sparked political studies on the credible assessment of risks under conditions of controversy and uncertainty. CIS faculty, research staff and graduate students do not hesitate to follow the implications of their foundational research to controversial conclusions.

ES: I was much more interested in policy than theory, especially when subjects had to cross disciplinary boundaries. My impression is that the much closer ties (topographical and substantive) to political science may add more theoretical heft to the work of the Center.

précis: Where do you see the Center going in the next 60 years?

RS: I confess it's impossible to know, which is why we have to cleave tightly to our philosophy of problem-oriented social science. Where the problems are is where the Center will go, of that we can be sure. What those problems will be—not so much.

KO: I hope the essential qualities of CIS will not change. CIS should continue to offer cross-disciplinary research and training that sheds light on policy relevant theoretical and empirical issues. CIS scholars should continue to follow the implications of research even when it cuts against received wisdoms. It is my expectation that CIS will continue to provide a setting for rigorous and courageous scholars to sail against the prevailing winds.

ES: It is impossible to forecast the next 60 years, other than to note that the kind of multidisciplinary issues now engaging the Center and the Institute as a whole can only become more central and more important to international affairs. ■

CIS ON OBL's Death

CIS members responded to the death of Osama Bin Laden in various formats: the Security Studies Program co-sponsored with the Department of Political Science a Wednesday Seminar, "The Post Osama Bin Laden Era." The roundtable discussion included the following faculty: Barry Posen, director, Security Studies Program; Gabriel Lenz; Vipin Narang; Roger Petersen; Stephen van Evera; also joining the discuss was Charles Samaris, a Colonel with the US Army and a SSP Military Fellow. CIS senior fellow Christian Caryl wrote *The President's Triumph: Obama Gets His Man*; Fotini Christia (pictured and quoted below), assistant professor of political science, discussed with the MIT News Office the implications of OBL's death for the war in Afghanistan and US-Pakistan relations. Melissa Nobles, the Arthur and Ruth Sloan Professor of Political Science, was featured on WGBH's Basic Black, Peter Krause, PhD candidate in political science, was featured on NECN regarding the OBL videotapes; and the *New York Times's* spoke with Pakistani journalist Rabia Mehmood (the current CIS Neuffer Fellow) on Pakistani media and its response.



Photo by Donna Coveney

"This death basically gives fodder to people who feel we should be moving out of there [Afghanistan] faster, for sure. But the mission has changed. Things have evolved and developed, and Bin Laden has been a marginalized figure. There is a lot of symbolism in having killed Osama bin Laden, objectively. But it doesn't mean the end of al-Qaida, and it doesn't mean the Taliban will be running to negotiate for peace, either, since Bin Laden was not driving the Taliban insurgency. Moreover, the way things have been planned [by the United States and its allies] it would be really hard for the transition to go faster,

even if the pressure for that to happen will be greater. For President Obama, this is a huge success, because people didn't think it was possible, but at the same time it creates expectations now that he will not be able to meet." Fotini Christia

Why Do Violent Substate Conflicts Spread?

by Nathan Black

The recent collapse of the authoritarian regimes in Tunisia and Egypt—and the wave of anti-authoritarian protests in numerous other Arab countries—has reacquainted scholars and policymakers with a long-known truth: Unrest in one country sometimes spreads to another. The cascade of revolution from Tunisia to Egypt shares important similarities with the cascade of Eastern European revolts against de facto Soviet control in the 1980s, reminding us that the internal politics of a state are not always entirely determined by internal forces.



Nathan Black is a Ph.D. candidate in the Dept of Political Science at MIT and an affiliate of the Center's Security Studies Program. His dissertation seeks to explain the spread of violent coups and insurgencies across international borders. Other research interests include the security consequences of climate change and political leadership and decision-making.

Fortunately, the protests in the Arab world have been mostly nonviolent. Although hundreds of protesters died in both Tunisia and Egypt at the hands of repressive governments,¹ ultimately dissidents never mobilized to resist those governments militarily. But the fruits of this wave of protest in Libya have been significantly more tragic. This also is a reminder: that there is a darker side to the international spread of civil unrest. My dissertation research is focused on a particular aspect of this dark side. I seek to explain why a substate conflict in one state—anti-government fighting involving militarized rebels that has killed at least 25 people in battle—sometimes touches off a civil war, or anti-government fighting involving militarized rebels that has exceeded 1,000 cumulative battle-related deaths, in another state. For example, the spread of substate conflict from Rwanda to what was then Zaire in 1996 has since cost millions of lives, and the spread of substate conflict in the Balkans evoked tragedy on a similar scale.

US foreign policymakers seem to live in perpetual fear that the spread of unrest from one state to another will look less like Egypt and more like Zaire. In fact, nearly every US military intervention since the end of World War II has been predicated, in whole or in part, on fears about the nature of the spread of substate conflict that often proved to be wide of the mark. The US went to Vietnam, the far-flung outposts of the Reagan Doctrine, and to a lesser extent Korea because of fear of a “domino effect” of communist revolution; she went to the Balkans for fear of a bloody ethnonationalist conflict that, in President Bill Clinton’s words, “could spread like poison throughout the entire region”;² she “stayed the course” in post-2003 Iraq to keep Islamist extremists from “toppling” neighboring governments, according to President George W. Bush;³ and a similar logic partially motivates today’s mission in Afghanistan. This spring’s intervention in Libya is no exception—in his address to the nation of March 28, President Obama said that a massacre in Benghazi “would have driven thousands of additional refugees across Libya’s borders, putting enormous strains on the ... fragile transitions in Egypt and Tunisia.” If we took these presidential rationalizations at their words, we would have to conclude that substate conflicts spread constantly and uncontrollably, like a virus in a crowded room of unvaccinated toddlers, and that the result is almost always bloody civil war.

My research into the causes of “substate conflict contagion” suggests quite a different view of this mysterious and important phenomenon. I have found that the most violent cascades of substate conflict—those that result in full-fledged civil wars—can generally only occur when a sovereign state government takes actions that allow the contagion to happen. Three specific state government actions seem particularly conducive to contagion: (1) a state being taken over by rebel forces which, now at the reins of the state, try to export their revolution abroad; (2) a state government expelling rebel fighters from their borders, driving the fighters into another state which they proceed to destabilize; or (3) a state government meddling—for example, supporting rebels—in another state’s conflict, resulting in the “boomeranging” of conflict back to the meddling state.

Without these state actions, substate conflict contagion is not impossible, but it is highly unlikely. Therefore, contrary to their own beliefs about the spread of substate conflicts, American policymakers have some control over whether a given conflict will spread. By using coercive diplomacy against sovereign state governments—an imperfect tool, but one in which Washington is well practiced—policymakers can prevent the state actions that enable substate conflict contagion and thereby prevent the contagion itself in most cases.

In the remainder of this essay I will first elaborate the basic principles of “State Action Theory” in more detail and discuss the empirical support for the theory. Then I will apply the theory to the current situation in the Arab world.

State Action Theory

State Action Theory derives its predictions from a single initial premise: Spreading large-scale substate conflict is hard. For one thing, when violent intrastate conflicts break out, they do not automatically inspire potential rebels in neighboring states to take up arms as well. In fact, substate conflicts seem just as likely, if not more so, to horrify people around the region with their brutality and futility. For instance, potential rebels in Mozambique were at one point uninspired by the bloody civil war in Angola.⁴ Also, once a substate conflict starts in one state in a region, the governments of the other states in that region are more alert to the possibility of such a conflict in their own state. Hence neighboring governments can take actions to “fortify” themselves against the spread of conflict from the original state.⁵

These natural obstacles to substate conflict contagion theoretically can be overcome through a variety of means and by a variety of actors. In general, though, nonstate actors alone cannot cause substate conflict contagion, because the obstacles to its occurrence are too great. This insight contradicts the current conflict contagion literature, which emphasizes the importance of nonstate factors such as transnational rebel networks and flows of refugees.⁶ Instead, I argue that the most effective means to overcoming the formidable obstacles to contagion lie within the exclusive power of state governments, which have military and economic resources far exceeding those available to nonstate actors.

Specifically, relative to nonstate actors, state governments have enhanced capability to take the following three actions, each of which facilitates substate conflict contagion:

(1) State governments which have been taken over by rebels can evangelize their revolution to other states, by providing arms and training to nascent rebel groups abroad and thereby helping them overcome the natural obstacles to full-fledged civil war. Examples include Communist China’s support for the Naga rebels in India in the 1950s, and Liberia’s support (under Charles Taylor) for the rebellion in Sierra Leone.

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Why Do Violent Substate Conflicts Spread?

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(2) State governments fighting an insurrection at home may expel rebel combatants into another state. The result is often that these rebels provide the manpower and experience necessary to start a civil war in the receiving state. Examples include Uganda's expulsion of the future Rwandan rebels back to Rwanda, and the Afghan expulsion of jihadists such as Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to Iraq.

(3) State governments also sometimes meddle with overt partiality in the internal conflicts of other states, taking the side of either the rebels or the government and providing tangible assistance, such as arms or basing rights. This meddling can backfire in one of three ways. First, the state that is the target of the meddling may retaliate, starting a civil war in the meddling state (as did Rwanda in the former Zaire). Second, the meddling state's own population may be angered by the meddling and start a civil war (as did Somalis after the failed war in Ethiopia). Third, the meddling may enable the rebels in the target state to expand their conflict into the meddler's territory (as did the Afghan Taliban into Pakistan, its most prominent state sponsor).

If these state actions are necessary though not necessarily sufficient—for most substate conflict contagion to occur, then it means that contagion is a more preventable phenomenon than the conventional wisdom suggests. The US can use its significant leverage over other state governments to pressure them to refrain from evangelization, expulsion, and meddling. State-to-state coercion of this kind is certainly not easy, but it is easier than keeping dissidents from talking to each other or controlling mass population flows.

My empirical research so far lends strong support to this simple and relatively optimistic theory of substate conflict contagion. I have identified 82 cases of substate conflict contagion between 1946 and 2007—cases in which a substate conflict contributed causally to a civil war in another state, ultimately involving at least 1,000 battle-related deaths. At least one of the state actions described above was involved in 64 of these 82 cases (78 percent). In only 18 cases were nonstate factors such as rebel networks sufficient to create a cascade of conflict leading to civil war.

Furthermore, the theory seems to explain cases in which substate conflict contagion did not occur. In Central America between 1978 and 1996, a substate conflict only led to the outbreak of civil war in another country once—in El Salvador, where guerillas were aided by the Sandinista regime that had just overthrown the Nicaraguan state (a case of evangelization). Contagion did not occur elsewhere despite numerous nonstate risk factors: transnational ethnic ties between disaffected social groups, arms flows between states, and significant refugee populations spilling from conflict zones into peaceful neighbors. This pattern suggests that evangelization, expulsion, and meddling on the part of state governments are the key enablers of this dangerous phenomenon.

The Theory and the Arab World

If we accept State Action Theory, what can we say about the recent tumult in the Arab world? First, we should note that nonviolent protest movements and violent substate conflicts are different phenomena that we should expect to spread under different conditions. Seemingly without the aid of the state actions described above, nonviolent protests spread rapidly from Tunisia to Egypt to a variety of other Arab states—yet because my theory is about the spread of militarized resistance movements, this is neither evidence for nor against the theory.

Second, however, I cannot ignore Libya. There dissidents did arm, resulting in a full-scale civil war. While State Action Theory could not have predicted the onset of this war, since it was spurred by a foreign nonviolent protest movement rather than a foreign

substate conflict, it can predict the conditions under which the Libyan violence is likely to spread. Unfortunately, the prognosis is not good. One of the state actions enabling contagion is already present—the United States, France, and Great Britain have meddled in the Libyan conflict by supporting the anti-Qaddafi rebels. While this meddling is unlikely to adversely affect the internal stability of the major Western powers—advanced democracies far removed from the conflict zone—the Arab states supporting this meddling, such as Qatar,⁷ are at an increased risk of major violent conflict according to State Action Theory. For instance, Qaddafi could retaliate against Qatar by supporting an insurrection there. We also know little about the rebels who aspire to control the Libyan government. They could easily turn out to be expansionists or “Pan-Africanists” in the vein of Mao Tse-Tung, Charles Taylor, or Qaddafi himself, unleashing a new wave of evangelization on the region.

This brings us to a final policy implication of this research. While substate conflict contagion is significantly more preventable than many scholars and policymakers currently believe, the means of prevention are important. Coercive diplomacy—for instance, economic sanctions or the threat of force—is likely a more efficacious means than military intervention for major states trying to prevent other states from evangelizing, expelling, or meddling. Because military intervention is usually itself meddling with overt partiality, it carries with it the potential for significant security consequences, either for the principal meddler or for its weaker supporting allies.

So the next time a substate conflict appears in the world, US policymakers should not just wring their hands. But neither, conversely, should they undertake a military intervention designed to head off contagion. Instead, they should try to use their non-kinetic leverage to keep state governments from evangelizing, expelling, or meddling. In so doing, policymakers stand a good chance of staving off the most dangerous international consequences of substate conflicts at a reasonable cost in blood, treasure, and legitimacy. ■

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The Nuclear Crisis and Japan's Government

by Peter Dizikes, MIT News Office

At a Starr Forum on March 16, MIT experts analyzed the country's response to the crisis, and give a first-hand account of what it was like in Tokyo as the earthquake hit. This article was reprinted with permission by the MIT News Office.

Below, a photo of the panelists: (l-r) Kenneth Oye, Michael Golay, and Richard Samuels.

The response of Japan's government to its multiple unfolding disasters has been better than its past performance in moments of crisis, but the country's political leaders still have a long way to go to manage events well and win public confidence, MIT experts said in a public forum on March 16, 2011.

"As best as I can tell, people have been reasonably straightforward in revealing what is going on," said Kenneth Oye, an associate professor of political science who was in Japan during the March 11, 2011, earthquake and for a few days afterward. However, he noted, in the past Japan has had "a culture and a system that has often valued secrecy and covered up problems," which has proven problematic in significant ways relating to the current crisis.

While the ongoing problems with the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant remain extremely serious, in its overall emergency response for people affected by Friday's earthquake and subsequent tsunami, "the government has learned and benefitted from the mistakes of the past," said Richard Samuels, Ford International Professor of Political Science at MIT and director of the Center for International Studies. Samuels noted that 100,000 troops have been mobilized for the larger relief effort.

However, as Samuels also remarked, "it remains to be seen if government will be up to the task."

Moreover, while government and industry leaders have viewed nuclear power as a logical option in a "resource-poor" country, Samuels noted, numerous problems in recent decades, including an accident and management-ordered cover-up at one plant in 1999, have eroded public trust on the issue. "The public has been profoundly ambivalent about the introduction of nuclear power in Japan," Samuels said.

At the event—a CIS Starr Forum co-sponsored by the Department of Nuclear Science and Engineering—Oye gave his first-hand account of the Japan earthquake. He was scheduled to meet Japanese Prime Minister Naoto Kan on Friday, March 11, at 6 pm local time, as part of a delegation from the US-Japan Council. When the earthquake hit, a few hours before, Oye was sitting in a bus in a parking lot, not close to any potential hazards.

Right after the quake, on Friday in Tokyo, "people were calm," Oye said, and over the weekend, "life was relatively normal." But as the situation with the nuclear reactors worsened, by Monday "life was changing," Oye observed, with rolling blackouts to preserve energy, and a large portion of



Photo by J-B Guillemin

mass-transit networks closed. This has resulted in a “shutdown of the economy to a significant degree.”

The fact that Tokyo’s buildings survived the main earthquake and its many large aftershocks is a “testimony to the quality of building codes, the quality of engineering and the enforcement of those codes,” Oye said. However, he drew a distinction between the vigilance Japan has showed in the area of earthquake safety and the relative lack of stringency it has shown in the area of nuclear power. “The same country and the same political system which performed so beautifully in terms of seismic codes for buildings ... is also the country which didn’t perform quite as well in terms of proactive responses” regarding power plants, he said.

One reason for this, Oye suggested, is that since earthquakes are a recurring phenomenon in Japan, they provided a lot of natural feedback for “a political system and a regulatory system that is designed to learn from experience.” By contrast, he said, the “lack of integrity and forthrightness” about Japan’s earlier nuclear incidents “led to bad policy-making and bad responses to the accidents. You don’t respond well when you’re lying, because you’re lying to yourself as well as to others. And that’s what happened in some of the earlier accidents.”

Still, Oye said, “it is my view that things have improved,” a judgment made in part by extensively talking to officials and observers of the government before leaving Japan on Tuesday.

What’s next?

The next phase of government action will depend on events at the Fukushima Daiichi plant. Michael Golay, a professor of nuclear science and engineering at MIT, summarized the situation at the plants.

Showing design drawings of the types of reactors at risk, Golay again emphasized the problems caused by the lack of power to the plant, which has led to major problems cooling the active fuel rods and spent fuel rods at Fukushima Daiichi.

“With any nuclear power plant today, if you lose power, you’re going to have this problem,” Golay said. “It’s not contingent on the exact hardware here.” Thus the notion that these reactors in Japan have had problems because they represent older technology “can be exaggerated.” Moreover, Golay said, “the time to get the grid restored has been much longer than you’d want.”

Due to the release of radiation from the reactors, an area of a radius about 12 miles around the plant has been evacuated, by order of the Japanese authorities, and those within 20 miles have been ordered to take shelter. Golay pointed out that if the situation dramatically worsened, however, an evacuation of Tokyo (with a metropolitan-area population of about 35 million lying roughly 130 miles away) was not a realistic scenario.

“Should there be a larger release of material ... the primary option is going to be sheltering the public, and decontamination,” Golay said.

As Golay noted, however, the situation is ever-shifting, and it is not possible to draw definite conclusions based on limited information from afar.

“This story is not over,” concluded Golay. ■

SSP Wednesday Seminars

The Security Studies Program's lunchtime lectures included: Jennifer Lind, from Dartmouth College, on "The Collapse of North Korea"; Christopher Chivers, from *The New York Times*, on "Military Small-Arms Distribution and the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq"; David Miliband, British Labour Party, MP, in a roundtable discussion on "The Future of Pakistan"; and Charles Glaser, from Georgetown University, on "International Security Implications of Energy Dependence and Vulnerability."

CIS Shines at MIT 150

The Center participated in the MIT 150 Open House on Saturday, April 29, which attracted 20,000 visitors to campus. The CIS display included a poster session, videos, printed materials, and a challenge: "Ask us about the world!" Guiding the Center's Open House activities were the following faculty members: Barry Posen, Ford International Professor of Political Science and director, Security Studies Program (SSP); Cindy Williams, principal research scientist, SSP; and Stephen Van Evera, Ford International Professor of Political Science and associate director, CIS.

MISTI's Global Seed Winners

A project to examine quark-gluon plasma and a study of computationally optimized photovoltaics are among the 46 international faculty research collaborations that will receive more than \$900,000 from the 2010-2011 MISTI Global Seed Funds competition. Now in its third year, this growing initiative received 112 proposals, up from the 104 received for the inaugural 2008-2009 grant round. All awardees include undergraduate, graduate or postdoctoral student participation.

Puerto Rico Economy Project (PREP)

Responding to a generous gift from MIT alumnus Jon Borschow, senior faculty and researchers from CIS and DUSP's CoLab are building an initiative to promote sustainable economic development of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean Basin. To get the project underway, CIS hosted a conference February 3-4, 2011, hosting several Puerto Rican scholars and business leaders as well as an array of MIT talent. Working in cooperation with the Center for a New Economy in San Juan, several faculty and graduate students are lined up to work on the project, which should generate actionable ideas for the island within two years. Gustavo Setrini, a PhD candidate in political science, will serve as the project's research associate starting fall 2011.

Brazil-MIT Forum

The Brazil-MIT Forum/Conferência Brasil-MIT brings together leaders from Brazil and MIT to seek solutions to common challenges. Sponsored by Santander Universities and hosted by the MIT-Brazil Program (MISTI), the inaugural meeting was held at MIT on April 14 and 15, 2011.

Migration Seminar Series

The Myron Weiner Seminar Series on International Migration hosted two talks: “Creative State: Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico” with Natasha Iskander, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, New York University; and “Mobilizing for Refugee Protection: To Mark the 60th Anniversary of UNHCR and the 1951 Refugee Convention” with Luise Druke, co-chair of UN Studies, Suffolk University/Leibniz University of Hannover.

Starr Forums

The Center hosted multiple Starr Forums in an effort to address today’s global challenges, including: “Egypt’s Revolution: A Conversation with the Founders of the April 6 Youth Movement”; “Afghanistan: Mending It Not Just Ending It” with David Miliband; a book talk with Abbas Milani and Ali Banuazizi on Milani’s book *The Shah*; and “Japan’s Nuclear Crisis” featuring Richard Samuels and Kenneth Oye of CIS.

Green Movement and Nonviolent Struggle for Democratic Iran

The Center co-sponsored with the Nonviolent Initiative for Democracy a public talk featuring Ardeshir Amirarjomard, the Mousavi Representative for the Green Movement. Joining the discussion was John Tirman, the Center’s Executive Director and Principal Research Scientist, and Farzin Vahdat, Founding Member of Nonviolent Initiative for Democracy.

Italy and MIT Workshop

Italy and MIT both turned 150 this year. Besides sharing a birthdate, they are linked by common research interests, cultural affinities and personal and institutional connections. MIT’s dome closely resembles the Pantheon’s while its motto *Mens et Manus* brings to mind the Renaissance workshop, with its focus on the doing and the knack for integrative invention that distinguish Italian excellence. The workshop celebrated current collaborations and discussed ways of strengthening them, especially with in the areas of energy, the environment and biomedical engineering. The workshop was sponsored by the MIT Italy Program, Program, MITALY, MISTI, The Consulate General of Italy in Boston, and Technology Review, Italy.

People

Barton L. Weller Professor of Development Economics **Alice Amsden** taught in three South African cities this May with APORDE, the French Foreign Ministry's Organization for Alternative Approaches to Economic Development.

Baktybek (Bakyt) Beshimov, a visiting researcher at CIS, lectured at the Monterey Institute of International Studies on "The Role of Culture, Democracy and the Rule of Law in the Nation Building Experiment in Kyrgyzstan," and at the Naval Post-Graduate School on "Central Asian Security and the Role of Big Powers." He also gave a speech in New York organized by the Institute of International Education.

Ph.D. Candidate **Nathan Black** was selected to be a 2011-2012 Predoctoral Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. He also was awarded a Smith Richardson Foundation World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship for 2011.

Mellon Foundation/American Council of Learned Societies Post-doctoral Fellow and CIS Affiliate **Sarah Zukerman Daly** gave several recent talks: "State Strategies in Multiethnic Territories: Explaining 'Riotous Variation' in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc," at the Association for the Study of Nationalities Convention, New York, April 14, 2011; "Post-War Reintegration or Recidivism of Ex-Combatants," at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, March 31, 2011; and "Bankruptcy, Guns or Campaigns: Explaining Armed Organizations' Post-War Trajectories" for the International Politics Seminar, Columbia University, New York, NY, March 2011. She also attended a conference on "Organized Crime and State Capture," in Lima, Peru, and gave a talk to the Colombian Government and Organization of American States on "Ex-Combatant Recidivism," both this spring, 2010 presented by NARP.

Ph.D. Candidate **Kristen Fabbe** was hired as an Assistant Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College, in Claremont, CA. She will take up her position in winter 2012.

Ph.D. Candidate **Keren Fraiman** presented her paper "Not in Your Backyard: Coercion, Base States, and Violent Non-state Actors" on the panel "When Terror Works: Analyzing the Success and Failure of Terrorist Operations" at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, in Montreal, Quebec.

Cecil and Ida Green Career Development Associate Professor of Political Science **M. Taylor Fravel** recently spoke on "China's Strategy in the South China Sea" at the Center for Naval Analysis, Alexandria, VA, April 2011; "Explaining the Evolution of China's Military Strategy" at MIT, Stanford, and Ohio State this winter; and "Myths about China's Military Modernization and the Potential for US-China Conflict," Tobin Project Workshop on the Prudent Use of Force, December 2010.

Security Studies Program Affiliate **Jeanne Guillemin** chaired the plenary session on "Biosecurity" at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington, DC, February 20, 2011. Panelists included Anthony Fauci, head of the National Institute for Allergies and Infectious Diseases, Rita Colwell, former head of the National Science Foundation, Claire Fraser-Liggett, director of the Institute for Genome Sciences at the University of Maryland School of Medicine, and New Jersey U.S. Representative Rush Holt.

Annette M. Kim, Associate Professor in the International Development Group of the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, was the POSCO visiting fellow at the East-West Center in January 2011 during which time she wrote and presented a working paper entitled, “The Ties that Bind: analysis of recent civilian economic activity in North Korea.”

Ph.D. Candidate **Peter Krause** was hired as an Assistant Professor at Boston College starting in fall 2012. In 2011-2012 he will be a Junior Research Fellow at the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University. In March he presented a paper “The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: Paradox, Polarity, and the Pursuit of Power” at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec.

Ph.D. candidate **Tara Maller** was named a Visiting Scholar at the American Political Science Association Centennial Center in Washington, D.C.

Harlene Miller, an Administrative Assistant with the Security Studies Program, received a SHASS Infinite Mile Award in the category of “Unsung Hero.” Miller has been with SSP for eleven years and was honored for being a valuable asset to the program, including taking on new challenges on short notice, and offering help and support to faculty, staff and students alike.

Ph.D. Candidate **Reo Matsuzaki** will be a Postdoctoral Fellow starting in September 2011, at Stanford University’s Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. This April, he presented his paper “Building Colonial Governance in Early Twentieth Century Taiwan and the Philippines: Similar Contexts, Different Outcomes,” at Joint Conference of the Association for Asian Studies and the International Convention of Asia Scholars, Honolulu, Hawaii.

CIS Postdoctoral Fellow **Gautum Mukunda** accepted a position as an Assistant Professor in the Organizational Behavior Unit of Harvard Business School starting fall 2011. He was also chosen as a White House Fellows Regional Finalist and received but declined a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship.

Assistant Professor of Political Science **Vipin Narang** spoke on regional power deterrence at George Washington University (Jan 2011), University of Wisconsin-Madison (Feb 2011), and the University of Virginia (April 2011). He was also a panelist on the “Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia after Mumbai” session at the Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference (March 2011). ber 2009.

Thomas Neff, Research Affiliate at CIS, has been advising Japanese authorities on initiatives to help resolve the Fukushima accident (one of his former students is Vice Chairman of the Japan Atomic Energy Commission). One of his comments to Reuters (also referring to CIS) went viral on the internet in March when he called the Japanese disaster “a slow-moving nightmare” resulting in more than a half million citations (Google: “Thomas Neff nightmare”). He continues to advise the Department of Energy on nuclear policy issues. He is architect of the U.S.-Russia Highly Enriched Uranium deal that has resulted, to date, in the destruction of more than 17,000 nuclear weapons, converting them to nuclear fuel that supplies 10 percent of U.S. electricity.

Ford International Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center's Security Studies Program **Barry Posen** was quoted extensively in "Stand Alone: the Case for a New Isolationism," *Boston Globe*, February 6, 2011. He was also quoted extensively, with SSP alumni Daryl Press and Alan Kuperman, in an April 4, 2011 NPR article titled "Can 'Limited' US Engagement in Libya Stay Limited?" On April 12, 2011, he was a panelist at an event "After Libya—Revival of the Age of Intervention?" at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Ph.D. Candidate **Miranda Priebe** was awarded a Smith Richardson Foundation World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship for 2011.on Annual Convention in New Orleans, February 2010.

Associate Professor of Law and Development and Director of the MIT Program on Human Rights and Justice **Balakrishnan Rajagopal** delivered three lectures: Keynote Lecture at the Toronto Graduate Law Conference, York University, Canada, January 29, 2011; Valerie Gordon Human Rights Lecture, Northeastern University Law School, March 23, 2011; and the Keynote Lecture at the Institute for the Study of Political Economy and Law at the International University College of Turin (IUC), Italy, in May 2011. He was also appointed by the government of Turkey as a member of the International Academic Advisory Group for the UN Conference on Least Developed Countries, and will attend the conference in Ankara in May 2011. During his spring 2011 sabbatical, he was a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Ford International Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for International Studies **Richard Samuels** spoke on the Japanese earthquake and nuclear crisis in a variety of venues in March: a CIS Starr Forum; on CNN.com; and on National Public Radio's nationally syndicated program, "On Point."

CIS Affiliate **Carol R. Saivetz** has been invited to be a contributing guest editor of a special volume of the journal, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. The issue will deal with contemporary Russian foreign policy. This past year, she chaired a joint CIS/SSP seminar series "Central Asia in Global Affairs."

Ford International Professor of Political Science **Ben Ross Schneider** gave talks on: "Hierarchical Capitalism and Business Politics in Latin America," for the Danish Institute for International Studies, in Copenhagen, March 2011; "The Low Skill Trap and Hierarchical Capitalism in Latin America," at Georgetown University, January 2011; and "Labor Markets in Latin America: Informality, Inflexibility, and Other Complementarities," for the Conference on Reviving Political Economy, at the University of Coimbra, October 2010.

Associate Professor of Political Science **David Andrew Singer** presented a draft chapter of his manuscript, "Migration and Global Capital," to the Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security (PIPES) seminar at the University of Chicago, and at the Harvard Comparative Politics Seminar, both in April 2011. He also participated in a featured roundtable discussion on "The Future of Global Economic Governance" at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, March 2011.

Ph.D. Candidate **Joshua Shifrinson** was named a 2011-2012 Predoctoral Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. He was awarded three research grants: a Title VIII Research Grant at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; a Tobin Project National Security Fellowship; and a Graduate Dissertation Research Fellowship from Harvard's Center for European Studies."

Professor of Political Science **Edward Steinfeld** and CIS Affiliate **Peter Goodings Swartz** have received research funding from the Indiana University Research Center for Chinese Politics and Business' "Initiative on China and Global Governance" for their proposal: "Making Markets both at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of China's Futures Exchange for Copper."

Ph.D. Candidate **Caitlin Talmadge** presented her paper "Explaining Military Effectiveness: Political Intervention and Iraqi Battlefield Performance, 1980-1988," in March at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec. Also in March she joined a delegation of American academics, former government officials, and think tank scholars to Taiwan, led by former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage.

Professor of Political Economy in the International Development Group at DUSP, **Judith Tandler**, was honored at a Festschrift celebration co-hosted by the Department of Urban Studies and Planning (DUSP), the Special Program in Urban and Regional Studies (SPURS), and the Political Science Department. Attending the Festschrift event were one hundred faculty, alumni, SPURS Fellows, and others from MIT and all over the world. The all-day session had four panels, with 12 Tandler ex-advisees presenting their current research. Following was a dinner, with guest speaker Brazilian governor/senator Tasso Jereissati, in addition to lively and humorous toasts and dancing late into the evening.

Ph.D. Candidate **Joseph Peter Torigian** presented his paper "The Rhetoric of Rise" on the panel "Reassessing Power Transitions," in March at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec.

Associate Professor of Political Science **Lily L. Tsai** talked on "Exit as Voice: Regime-Reinforcing Noncompliance in Rural China" at Harvard University's Harvard-Yenching Institute, in May; the University of Wisconsin-Madison, in May; and Yale University, in January. She also spoke about "Village Solidarity Groups in Rural China," at the Conference on Civil Society and Nonprofits in China, Harvard University, in January.

Sarah Jane Vaughan joins CIS as an Administrative Assistant. She coordinates events for the Migration Seminar and the Program on Human Rights and Justice, supports the Wilhelm fellows, and serves as a faculty assistant to Professor Ken Oye. Prior to coming to MIT, she worked in student affairs at Harvard Law School and taught English in South Korea. Sarah Jane received her master's degree in English from Loyola Marymount University, and her bachelor's degree from Kalamazoo College.

Security Studies Program Research Associate **Jim Walsh** presented his paper, "The Additional Protocol in the Middle East and North Africa: Explaining Lag in Adoption," at the DTRA Workshop on Nonproliferation Decision-making in February. Also in February, he gave a talk on North Korea for the Harvard Project on Asian and International Relations Conference; and two talks on Iran at the Tufts EPIIC Conference.

In March, he made numerous media appearances on CNN to discuss the Japanese earthquake.

Ph.D. Candidate **David Weinberg** received a research grant award from the George C. Marshall Foundation/Baruch Fund for excellence in diplomatic or military history. His research focuses on intentional U.S. efforts to influence internal politics in the Palestinian Authority and Israel.

Principal Research Scientist **Cindy Williams** prepared a policy analysis for the German Ministry of Defense, March 2011, "Von der Wehrpflichtigen- zur Freiwilligenarmee: Erkenntnisse aus verbündeten Staaten," with Bjoern H. Seibert. She also presented her paper "Regional Representation in the U.S. Military," at the conference "Defense and Its Realms," sponsored by ENSTA Bretagne, France, and the University of Western Brittany, Brest, France, April 15, 2011.

Published

Alice Amsden, Barton L. Weller Professor of Political Economy

"Growth Identification and Facilitation: The Role of the State in the Dynamic of Structural Change," *Development Policy Review*, March 29, 2011 (debate with the Chief Economist of the World Bank, Justin Lin).

"The WTO: A Sweet or Sour Chinese Banquet?," in Zdanek Drabek (ed.), *Is the World Trade Organization Attractive Enough for Emerging Economies? Critical Essays on the Multilateral Trading System*, OUP, 2010.

Baktybek (Bakyt) Beshimov, Visiting Researcher at CIS

"1992-2008: A New Phase in the History of the Ferghana Valley," in S. Frederick Starr (ed.) *Ferghana Valley: The Heart of Central Asia* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2011) (with Pulat Shozirov and Murat Bakhadyrov).

Sarah Zukerman Daly, Mellon Foundation/American Council of Learned Societies Post-doctoral Fellow and CIS Affiliate

"Reintegration of Ex-Combatants" in Lavinia Stan and Nadya Nedelsky (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.) 2, May 2011.

M. Taylor Fravel, Cecil and Ida Green Career Development Associate Professor of Political Science

"International Relations Theory and China's Rise: Assessing China's Potential for Territorial Expansion," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (December 2010).

Benjamin Friedman, Ph.D. Candidate

"Managing Fear: The Politics of Homeland Security," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 126, No. 1 (Spring 2011).

“When Intervention Is Easy” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 8, 2011 (with Emeritus Professor of Political Science, **Harvey Sapolsky**).

“New Republicans, Same Old Militarism,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 24, 2011.

“Overwrought on START,” *National Interest* (Online), December 1, 2010 (with Principal Research Scientist, **Owen Cote, Jr.**).

Lu Gao, Ph.D. Candidate

“Achievements and Challenges: 30 Years of Housing Reforms in the People’s Republic of China,” *Asian Development Bank Working Paper Series*, No. 198, April 2010.

Annette Kim, Associate Professor in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning

“Real Rights to the City: Cases of Property Rights Changes Towards Equity in Eastern Asia,” *Urban Studies*, 48(3): 459-69, 2011.

“Talking Back: The Role of Narratives in Vietnam’s Recent Land Compensation Changes,” *Urban Studies*, 48(3): 493-508, 2011.

Richard Samuels, Ford International Professor of Urban Development and Planning

“Japan’s Black Swan,” *Foreign Policy Magazine*, March 16, 2011 (with Robert Madsen).

Joshua Shiffrin and **Miranda Priebe**, Ph.D. Candidates

“A Crude Threat: The Limits of an Iranian Missile Campaign Against Saudi Arabian Oil,” *International Security* Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011).

Eugene Skolnikoff, Professor of Political Science Emeritus

“Scientific Cooperation with China in the Face of US Controls on Technology,” *National Council of Research University Administrators (NCURA)* magazine (forthcoming, May 2010).

Tara Maller, Ph.D. Candidate

“Diplomacy Derailed: The Consequences of Diplomatic Sanctions,” *Washington Quarterly*, Volume 33, No. 3.

Lily L. Tsai, Associate Professor of Political Science

“Friends or Foes? Nonstate Public Goods Providers and Local State Authorities in Nondemocratic and Transitional Systems,” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Spring 2011).

CIS Welcomes Wilhelms

Rt Hon David Miliband MP joined CIS as a Robert E. Wilhelm Fellow in Residence from April 11 through April 15, 2011. Miliband was the Foreign Secretary for the United Kingdom from 2007 to 2010 and is an alumnus of the Department of Political Science at MIT.

Also at CIS as a Wilhelm Fellow through December 2011 is Hans-Georg Eichler. Eichler is the Senior Medical Officer of European Medicines Agency (EMA). As a Wilhelm Fellow, he will collaborate with the MIT community in research, seminars, conferences, and other intellectual projects. Eichler also will work closely with the MIT Center for Biomedical Innovation (CBI)—as a CBI Visiting Scholar—on the New Drug Development Paradigms (NEWDIGS) initiative.

A generous gift from Robert E. Wilhelm supports the Center's Wilhelm fellowship. The fellowship is awarded to individuals who have held senior positions in public life and is open, for example, to heads of non-profit agencies, senior officials at the State Department or other government agencies, including ambassadors, or senior officials from the UN or other multilateral agencies.

Photo: Hans-George Eichler (far left), David Miliband (far right), with Richard Samuels



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