The Buffett Center, with the support of the Office of the Provost, is building a comprehensive profile of international programs at Northwestern: the Northwestern University Global Opportunities (NU GO) website.

The goal of this ongoing project is to increase awareness of existing international activities and encourage opportunities for future internationalization at Northwestern. The website will be dynamic and continually updated, making information easily accessible. It will be a place to find a comprehensive listing of international programs and search for specific programs of interest—by region of the world, program type, school, department, and more. NU GO will also facilitate better understanding of the overall map of activities into which new programs will fit; aid in the identification of possibilities for beneficial synergy and coordination; highlight people on campus with experience, advice, and resources helpful to those creating new programs; and identify gaps and opportunities in our offerings. This project will also enhance efforts to present a comprehensive picture of Northwestern's international profile to those outside of the university community, raising the visibility of the many excellent programs at Northwestern.

Meghan Beltmann, the Buffett Center's program coordinator, is managing this project. In winter and spring 2009, she will contact faculty and administrators across the University to collect information. If you coordinate an international program and would like to generate a profile for NU GO, please contact m-beltmann@northwestern.edu or 847-467-6206.

Faculty Affiliate Research: Youth and the City in the Global South

by Karen Tranberg Hansen, Department of Anthropology

Youth and the City in the Global South is an unusual book. It is not an edited collection but rather a collaborative study that arises from a four-year project undertaken by six researchers in three cities in different parts of the developing world: Recife in northeastern Brazil, Hanoi in Vietnam, and Lusaka in Zambia. The multi-site study involved three anthropologists (Hansen, Dalsgaard, and Valentin) carrying out the detail work in each of the three cities and three interdisciplinary scholars from geography (Gough), media studies (Wildermuth), and education (Ambrosius Madsen) who conducted brief observations shaped by their distinct fields in all the three cities. We all worked closely with local collaborators. Because it was a collaborative project, the three anthropologists tried to work in a parallel manner methodologically, adjusting of course for difference, in the three cities.

All the collaborators except Northwestern's Hansen hold positions in Danish Universities. Hansen was the principal investigator of the project that was funded by the Council for Development Research of the Danish International Development Agency. From its conception in 2000 to its completion in 2005, the Institute of Anthropology at the University of Copenhagen hosted the project.

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Conference on Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid: Sovereignty, Accountability, and Effectiveness

by Shalyn Hockey, Sarah Malin, and Hallie Ryab

The Northwestern University Conference on Human Rights (NUCHR) is the United States’ largest undergraduate student-organized conference on human rights. The 2009 conference brings together distinguished academics, activists, policy-makers, and students from around the globe to discuss the subject of “Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid: Sovereignty, Accountability, and Effectiveness” in the context of man-made and natural disaster response. Speakers will examine the complexities involved with satisfying the humanitarian imperative and address the potential disjuncture between theoretical and realistic humanitarian aid goals. The focus will be on the work of non-governmental organizations and their efforts to balance the ethical responsibility of the international community and the sanctity of state sovereignty. The three-day summit, to be held on the Evanston campus from Tuesday, January 22 through Friday, January 25, is free and open to the public.

This year, conference co-chairs Shalyn Hockey, Sarah Malin, and Hallie Ryab have introduced significant changes to the traditional event program. The 2009 conference has been moved to early winter quarter so that the rest of the year may be spent building programming around the conference and using it as a catalyst for continued conversations and movement on the subjects it raises.

Conference organizers are scheduling keynote speakers for each of three topic areas, as well as a youth humanitarian action leader who can illustrate what conference delegates might do for the world in merely a couple of years, as Mark Hanis did last year. Nicholas De Torrente, Executive Director of Doctors Without Borders, has committed to delivering one of the keynote speeches. Currently, Dirk Salomons, Director of Humanitarian Affairs at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs has verbally committed to speaking about the illusion of humanitarian space and inequities in meeting the needs of people affected by violent conflict or other human-made (or human-exacerbated) disasters. Jeffrey Sachs, Director of Columbia...
Faculty Affiliate Research: The UN Security Council and the Politics of International Authority

by Ian Hurd, Department of Political Science

The Buffett Center Newsletter’s Faculty Affiliate Research series provides a forum for our affiliates to present their recent research from books, articles, and project proposals to colleagues and to a wider public.

The United Nations Security Council has been at the front of many of the most pressing problems of world politics over the past sixty years, and along the way it has seen some notable successes, some enormous failures, and a great deal of change. The UN Security Council and the Politics of International Authority looks at the ways the Council has engaged itself in international relations, and how both the Council and its world have changed as a result. Through the recent practices of the Council in areas from international courts to terrorist financing to non-governmental organizations, the book examines how the Council has redefined its role in world politics and redefined world politics.

The early work for the book was greatly assisted by a conference and grant from the Buffett Center. This support enabled us to bring together the contributors to the book for a meeting to discuss the work in progress, allowing us to talk through how the chapters contributed to the broad themes of the book and how the themes of the book threaded through the chapters. It made the final result more coherent—and more interesting.

The book begins with the observation that the power of the Security Council has increased greatly over the past 30 years. This has happened despite the fact that there has been no formal change to the UN Charter, where the Council’s powers and capabilities are defined. Despite the absence of such formal change, both the practical and the legal powers of the Council have expanded.

The contributions to the book examine a range of activities in which the Council’s powers have grown. These include its recent counter-terrorism resolutions, its contribution to enforcing international criminal law, its relationship to the General Assembly, and its efforts to construct a new system of international authority.

The Security Council has the capacity under the Charter to define its own scope of authority: the Charter authorizes the Council to take decisions relating to “threats to and breaches of international peace and security,” but nowhere defines what these terms mean. It leaves the specification of that key phrase to the Council itself, and so leaves the matter open to future development.

The Council is both limited by and empowered by the concept of ‘international peace and security.’ On the one hand, the Council cannot take action on any problem that does not fall within that concept, but on the other hand it has unlimited freedom to interpret the concept.
as it sees fit. As a result, the Council has over the years continually broadened its understanding of what counts as a threat to international peace and security, thereby expanding its sphere of legal competence. For instance, in addition to traditional inter-state wars, it has also decided that threats to international peace and security may come from refugee flows, certain international financial flows, the status of girls and women in domestic society, and countries’ domestic nuclear policies. With each finding of a new kind or source of threat, the list of areas in which the Council can intervene grows longer.

Many of the chapters in the book trace individual cases of this expansion. For instance, Ian Johnstone’s contribution looks at how the Council increased its influence after 9/11 with two major resolutions aimed at international terrorism. These gave the Council the power to require states to adopt new regulations for financial transactions and new limits on weapons of mass destruction. But beyond the individual resolutions, Johnstone also shows that the Council has claimed a broad new procedural power to legislate for the international community. This is a very significant change. Its traditional practice had been to issue decisions relating to specific crises of international relations, but with these two resolutions, the Council instead set general regulations for the indefinite future with which all states must comply. The chapter by Wayne Sandholtz shows how the Council’s authority has been increased by its involvement in creating international criminal tribunals for Rwanda and for Yugoslavia. Bruce Cronin’s contribution examines how the Council has used its procedures of deliberation to increase its political authority.

These developments in the life of the Council are important and interesting in themselves, but they also point to an enormously important and broad change that has occurred in world politics, from an ‘anarchic’ system to an ‘authoritative’ system. The book argues that the expansion of Council power in recent years has become legitimated to the member-states of the United Nations to the point that the Council now occupies a position of political authority above countries. This change suggests a dramatic reordering of the international system, from one in which countries are sovereign over their affairs to one in which a centralized institution is seen as a source of legitimated political authority over states.

The book is interesting both for its conceptual payoff—regarding the construction in the Council of an independent source of international political authority—and for its insight on particular aspects of Council activity in particular crises. It treats the Council equally as a legal institution and a political actor. It is therefore useful both as a textbook about the UN Security Council in world politics and as an innovation in the field of international relations.

Several interesting questions are left unanswered, and might usefully be addressed in the future. These include what might be the limits to the expansion of the concept of ‘international peace and security’; how the strategic manipulation of the Council by powerful states might affect perceptions of its authority; and what the relation is more generally between the Council as a collective body and the individual states that make it up. All of these questions have important implications for the political authority of the Council. The book does not attempt to answer them, but by setting out a model of how political authority and legitimation work with respect to one international organization, it does provide some tools for future research on these and other important questions.

The UN Security Council and the Politics of International Authority
edited by Bruce Cronin and Ian Hurd
(Routledge, 2008)
The Research Process: Interdisciplinary Collaboration

The organization of *Youth and the City in the Global South* and its contents reflect on the nature and practice of collaboration and the challenges and negotiations that are part of it. As an interdisciplinary team, we learned creative techniques from one another. We also found that we sometimes had to draw the line—that there were boundaries for influencing each other’s ideas. Chapter 2, “Youth across the Globe: Comparison, Interdisciplinarity, and Cross-National Collaboration,” written by Dalsgaard and Valentin, showcases some of these negotiations as the following excerpt about “Writing across Disciplines” demonstrates:

Coming from four different, yet related, disciplines, we have approached the two central themes of the project differently, identified different objects of study, raised different questions, and applied different concepts. Urban studies in anthropology and geography frequently have the city as their focus, while in education and media the city is generally perceived as the context or backdrop for young people’s cultural practices and learning processes. In education and media studies youth is a privileged subject, especially in the latter, where many discussions of youth culture have developed as part of, or at least in relation to, cultural studies. In anthropology the study of “youth culture” has been marginalized and has somehow never really gained status, though studies of young people’s position and agency in the wider world are manifold. This is partly due to the overlapping but growing body of childhood studies, which focus on children’s agency and the socially and culturally constructed character of childhood. Geography has contributed to the field of youth studies through its increasing interest in the relationship between youth, spatiality, and place-making. Given the considerable overlap between the disciplines, no single discipline can colonize either youth or the city (p. 35).

The Research Themes: Youth and the City

*Youth and the City in the Global South* is a book about a very particular conjuncture brought about by three processes: 1) The rapid growth of urban places in the developing world and predictions about the continuous pace of this urbanization process; 2) The large proportion of young people of the overall urban population in developing countries—in parts of urban Africa, for example Zambia, where 65 percent of the total population is below 25 years of age; and 3) The succession of the World Bank’s Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) by a Poverty Strategy Reduction Program (PRSP) offering debt relief and requiring democratic governance and open markets. While this changed policy approach does not engage with the critical issues arising from rapid urban growth or the youth bulge, it has important ramifications across urban space, affecting the livelihoods of different population segments in unlike ways, sharpening social and spatial inequalities, and extending them in new ways. The privatization of land and housing today in rapidly growing cities such as Recife, Hanoi, and Lusaka, make upscale shopping malls displace small-scale vendors from market space, while gated communities with around-the-clock guards distance the rich from the growing proportions of the urban population who crowd the informal housing areas.

Highly visible in public, young people invigorate the urban scene, investing space with meanings that help to organize social life. But social science scholarship and development intervention have by and large viewed youth and the city as separate topics: youth

*Photo: Karen Tranberg Hansen*
as a globally circulating category that has become part of development policy, and cities as settings that are playing an increasing role in the global human experience. Each of these topics has witnessed a recent spurt in both interdisciplinary scholarship and development-oriented reports. Even then, international development agencies and local governments have refrained from intervening actively in matters related to either youth or urban growth, leaving the field open to small-scale initiatives by foreign and local NGOs, including faith-based organizations with limited practical development experience. Perhaps for different reasons, but with the same result, major international agencies and national governments have until recently approached the demographic reality of urban growth in developing countries with neglect, hostility, and a downright anti-urban attitude.

The youth and the city research project aimed to bring together the two topics: youth, and the city. While our observations emphasize the severe constraints on the lives of many of the young people we studied due to entrenched poverty and inequality, we also demonstrated how central these young urban people already are to urban social reproduction. This is important. By recognizing that a growing proportion of the world’s population is both urban and young and by acting in collaboration with young people, both national governments and international development agencies can transcend their long-held reluctance to intervene in youth and urban issues by launching initiatives that invest in young people’s urban futures across the board—from education through culture to the urban environment and health. Such efforts to effect change on a wider scale will create fresh stakes for young people in the urban futures of their countries and in turn help build new forms of participation and democracy. In the book’s concluding chapter, I note that in that sense, youth and the city are becoming a shorthand for an increasingly urban future that entails room for youth participation (p. 218). Youth is now, not tomorrow.

Context Matters

The young people we studied live in worlds of marked contrasts and striking inequalities within Recife, Hanoi, and Lusaka; regionally in their own countries; and between them and the world at large. The numerical ranking of the three countries on the UNDP Development Index place Zambia near the bottom of the least-developed countries, while Vietnam and Brazil are ascending the ranks of the middle-income countries. But such measures do not correlate with urban life in any straightforward way. The same is true of class, as Dalsgaard and Valentin note in the methodology chapter, reflecting on the uneasy fit between socioeconomic groups and urban location in the three cities. Although poverty is widespread everywhere, it manifests itself very differently across urban space. For example, we found poverty to be far less visible in Hanoi than the rest of the country; within Hanoi, however, the same was not true. Young people are everywhere in urban space, Hanoi 2002. Photo: Karen Tranberg Hansen
Buffett Center Invites Applications for Graduate Student Grants

Buffett Center Graduate Student Summer Research Awards provide a maximum of $2500 for fieldwork outside the United States. The travel grants fund Northwestern doctoral students who are writing dissertations on comparative and international topics relevant to important contemporary political, economic and social issues. Students at any stage in their dissertation research are eligible to apply, and applications from students conducting exploratory thesis research are particularly encouraged. Awards are normally granted for work during the summer, but exceptions can be made if warranted.

All applicants are expected to concurrently seek research support from other sources, and those who have previously received a Buffett Center Summer Research Travel Grant are specifically required to demonstrate that they have also applied for funding from a source outside of Northwestern. Applicants should download and submit the application form along with a 2-3 page, single-spaced proposal letter; an estimated budget and statement about other funding sources being sought; and one letter of recommendation. The application deadline for 2009 Summer Research Awards is February 20, 2009.

Graduate Student Conference Travel Awards fund attendance at professional conferences for Northwestern PhD students working on international and comparative topics. The maximum award is $300, and students are limited to one Conference Travel Award per academic year. Applicants should submit proposals providing the conference name, location, and date; the student's role at the conference (such as paper presenter, discussant or chair); and an estimated budget by email to Brian Hanson at bhanson@northwestern.edu.

Regular participants in the Buffett Center Graduate Student Colloquium series receive preference in both grant competitions. For complete information on application requirements, visit http://www.bcics.northwestern.edu/students/graduategrants.

♦

Youth and the City in the Global South
by Karen Tranberg Hansen in collaboration with Anne Line Dalsgaard, Katherine V. Gough, Ulla Ambrosius Madsen, Karen Valentin, and Norbert Wildermuth (Indiana University Press, 2008)
University’s Earth Institute and author of *The End of Poverty* may also attend.

The first day of the conference will provide an analytical framework for thinking about humanitarian aid. Panels will focus on three key paradigms: the legal tension between concepts of humanitarian intervention and sovereignty; the ethical ramifications and dilemmas facing aid organizations; and the short- and long-term effects on countries’ economies.

The first panel, Tensions Between State Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect, will examine the legal and civic aspects of humanitarian aid initiatives. Tracing the development of the concept of state sovereignty from its origin as political protection for newly independent countries to its relevancy to the overarching topic of this year’s conference, this panel will examine the argument that state governments have the right to provide their people with disaster relief. In light of multiple atrocities where natural disasters become human-made disasters as governments ignore the needs of their people, however, the Responsibility to Protect becomes a central consideration in the international community’s decision to move into action. The resulting question is whether this concept can be an excuse for imperialism. The focus of this panel will be balancing local rights to self-governance and freedom from foreign intervention with individual rights to food, water and shelter. Roberta Cohen, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute, has verbally committed to this panel.

A second panel, Accountability and Humanitarian Aid, will examine the ethical underpinnings of humanitarian aid initiatives. Topics may include the search for an overall good, maintaining neutrality, state responsibility, the necessity for sustainability, non-governmental organization (NGO) accountability, and the occurrence of conflict exacerbation. Speakers are expected to include Mike Wessells, Co-Chair of the U. N. Task Force on Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Emergency Settings, and Marshall Wallace, Director of the CDA Collaborative Learning Projects’ Do No Harm Project.

A third panel, The Effectiveness of Humanitarian Aid, will examine the economic impact of humanitarian aid initiatives. Topics under discussion may include war economics, economic breakdowns, aid sustainability, economic growth, and reliance on foreign resources. A plan representative from CARE International is expected to discuss a recent report on effective aid giving from the organization’s United Kingdom office.

In order to incorporate the increasingly pervasive phenomenon of independent student interest and mobilization regarding international crisis action, the second day will expand the scope of discussion with a new program feature. In the morning, experts will critically consider the humanitarian situation in Burma in the wake of Cyclone Nargis, keeping in mind the intellectual framework developed during the previous day. Conference organizers have also contacted staff members of InterAction, a coalition of more than 150 humanitarian organizations providing disaster relief, refugee assistance and sustainable development programs worldwide.

Delegates will then have the opportunity to form groups, using the established framework and Burmese example to create their own analysis of various humanitarian crisis scenarios. Encouraging undergraduates to reflect and broaden their academic foundations on this topic will allow for more effective initiative and engagement. After further reflection, delegates can submit proposals of their ideas for a just, ethical and effective aid initiative developed in response to their scenario. Ideally, the author of the best proposal will receive a human rights or humanitarian action project grant.

Many new faces have joined NUCHR this year. The size of the staff has doubled, and organizers are expanding the role and scope of NUCHR beyond the conference itself. NUCHR is committed to raising awareness, promoting academic dialogue, and mobilizing social action on international human rights issues. Beyond the conference, NUCHR is committed to catalyzing reflection, discussion and action regarding human rights issues among members of the Northwestern student body and faculty.

NUCHR also holds events throughout the year, including a student-organized seminar during winter quarter that is intended to introduce the campus to the current topic.

For further information on NUCHR and this year’s conference, visit www.nuchr.net or contact the organizers at conferenceonhumanrights@u.northwestern.edu. ♦
International Visiting Scholars

This winter we have a strong group of visiting scholars in residence, who have much to contribute to the intellectual life on campus. We encourage you to read through the bios to identify people you would like to get to know during their stay. We will also be featuring these visitors in our Faculty & Fellows Colloquium series throughout the year.

Etiido Inyang, visiting Fulbright research scholar at the Buffett Center, is a lecturer at the University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria, where he teaches graphic design, design history and printmaking. He obtained his bachelor’s degree in graphics from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and an MFA degree also in graphics from the University of Uyo. Currently, he is undertaking a doctoral research on the narrative ingredients offered by the war propaganda posters, and allied ephemera for the reconstruction of the history of the Nigerian Civil war. Besides publishing regularly in *Africa Studio, Journal of Creative Arts*, among other journals. Inyang is also the author of the book, *Logo for the typical client: Reflections on theory and practice of the Business mark and visual identity*.

Guy Laron, visiting assistant professor in the Department of History, received his PhD from Hebrew University in 2007. He recently completed his dissertation on Israeli-Egyptian relations in the 1950s and is currently revising it into a book. Laron is also engaged in research on the Soviet involvement in the Six-Day War. His publications include: Cold War International History Project Working Paper No. 55, *Cutting the Gordian Knot: The Post-WWII Egyptian Quest for Arms and the 1955 Czechoslovak Arms Deal*; International History Project e-dossier no. 16, “Assessing the Damage: the June 1967 Czech Delegation to Egypt”; and a forthcoming article in the *Middle East Journal* on the Israeli intelligence services assessment of the impact of the 1955 Egyptian-Czech arms deal on the Egyptian army.

Keila Grinberg, one of Brazil’s most respected young historians, is the Roberta Buffett Visiting Professor of International Studies in winter 2009. Grinberg received her PhD in 2001, and has written or edited ten books and dozens of articles in English and Portuguese. She is a specialist in legal history and comparative slavery, but has also written on topics as varied as Jewish history, citizenship, and the life of Brazilian writer Machado de Assis. In addition to her innovative scholarly work, Grinberg has published a number of books that aim to bring serious history to the general public and children. Her current research focuses on slavery and freedom in Brazil’s southwestern frontier regions in the 19th century. Grinberg has previously been a visiting scholar at the Universities of Maryland and Michigan and a participant in Harvard’s Atlantic World Seminar. At Northwestern, she will offer a graduate course on the history of comparative slavery, as well as an undergraduate seminar on Brazil’s 19th-century history. Grinberg will deliver the Buffett Visiting Professor Lecture on Monday, March 2 at 4pm.

The Roberta Buffett Visiting Professorship in International Studies, created through a gift from Roberta “Bertie” Buffett Bialek, brings to campus leading scholars from around the world to build international scholarly relationships and to provide educational opportunities for Northwestern students.

Historian Keila Grinberg of Brazil to Give Roberta Buffett Visiting Professor Lecture
New Publications from Buffett Center Affiliates

We are proud to announce new publications by our affiliates. If you have a recent publication we should know about, contact Krzysztof Kozubski at kozubski@northwestern.edu.

**The Balkans in World History**
by Andrew Baruch Wachtel, Department of Slavic Languages & Literatures
(Oxford University Press, 2008)

In the historical and literary imagination, the Balkans have often been portrayed as a region racked by racial and ethnic hatred, ever ready to burst into violent conflict. *The Balkans in World History* re-defines this space in positive terms, taking as a starting point the cultural, historical, and social threads that allow us to see the region as a coherent—if complex—whole. The volume depicts the Balkans as a borderland geographical space in which four of the world’s greatest civilizations have overlapped in a sustained and meaningful way. It is the space in which the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome, of Byzantium, of Ottoman Turkey, and of Roman Catholic Europe met, clashed and sometimes combined. The history of the Balkans is thus a history of creative borrowing by local people from the various civilizations that have nominally conquered the region. Encompassing Bulgaria, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, Greece, and European Turkey, the Balkans have absorbed many voices and traditions, resulting in a complex, dynamic, sometimes combustible, multi-layered local civilization.

**Benjamin’s –abilities**
by Samuel Weber, Department of German
(Harvard University Press, 2008)

“There is no world of thought that is not a world of language,” Walter Benjamin remarked, “and one only sees in the world what is preconditioned by language.” *Benjamin’s –abilities* reveals a new and productive aspect of Benjamin’s thought by focusing on a little-discussed stylistic trait in his formulation of concepts: the critical suffix “-ability” that Benjamin so tellingly deploys in his work. The “-ability” of concepts and literary forms traverses Benjamin’s oeuvre, from “impartibility” and “criticizability” through the well-known formulations of “citability,” “translatability,” and, most famously, “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility.” Nouns formed with this suffix refer to a possibility or potentiality, to a capacity rather than an existing reality. Weber first situates Benjamin’s engagement with the “-ability” of various concepts in the context of his entire corpus and in relation to the philosophical tradition, from Kant to Derrida. Subsequent chapters deepen the implications of the use of this suffix in a wide variety of contexts. The result is an illuminating perspective on Benjamin’s thought by way of his language.
Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment
by Risa Brooks, Department of Political Science
(Princeton University Press, 2008)

Good strategic assessment does not guarantee success in international relations, but bad strategic assessment dramatically increases the risk of failure. *Shaping Strategy* attempts to explain why states and their leaders are sometimes so good at strategic assessment—and why they are sometimes so very bad at it. The volume builds on insights from both international relations and comparative politics, developing a novel theory of how states’ civil-military relations affect strategic assessment during international conflicts. The resulting conclusions have broad practical importance, including the indication that in order to anticipate states’ strategic failures abroad, we must look at how civil-military relations affect the analysis of those strategies at home. Good strategic assessment depends on civil-military relations that encourage an easy exchange of information, as well as a rigorous analysis of a state’s own relative capabilities and the strategic environment. Diverse case studies are presented, including an exploration of why strategic assessment in Egypt remained poor under Gamal Abdel Nasser but improved under Anwar Sadat. The book also offers a new perspective on the devastating failure of United States planning for the second Iraq war. These failures, far from being unique, constitute examples of an assessment pathology to which states commonly succumb.

The Politics of Secularism in International Relations
by Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, Department of Political Science
(Princeton University Press, 2007)

Conflicts involving religion have returned to the forefront of international relations, yet political scientists and policymakers have continued to assume that religion has long been privatized in the West. However, this thinking is flawed, as the secularist assumption ignores the contestation surrounding the category of the “secular” in international politics. The secularist divisions between religion and politics are not fixed, as has been commonly assumed, but socially and historically constructed. Through an examination of the philosophical and historical legacy of secularist traditions that shape European and American approaches to global politics, this volume shows why this distinction matters for contemporary international relations, and in particular for two critical relationships: between the United States and Iran, and between the European Union and Turkey. The first book to consider secularism as a form of political authority in its own right, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* describes two forms of secularism and their far-reaching global consequences, developing a new approach to religion and international relations that challenges realist, liberal, and constructivist assumptions that religion has been excluded from politics in the West.
Until recently, the tiny African country of Rwanda was famous for primarily one thing: genocide. It is one of the best-known countries in sub-Saharan Africa, for that horrific reason.

In the last few years, though, Rwanda has become the focus of much interest and enthusiasm. During fall 2008, the Buffett Center hosted a series of events to explore Rwanda’s problems and its remarkable efforts to overcome them.

After the 1994 massacres in which as many as one million people were slaughtered, Rwanda and Somalia were probably the most devastated countries on earth. Both seemed certain to face a future of either ethnic dictatorship or unending violence. Somalia has collapsed, just as outsiders expected it to, but Rwanda has rebelled against its destiny.

Rwanda has progressed so far from the terrible days of genocide that some development specialists believe it could be the first country in Africa to move from absolute poverty to modest prosperity in the space of a generation or two. Rwanda’s president, Paul Kagame, has emerged as one of Africa’s most intriguing leaders.

Yet the government’s authoritarian style troubles some human rights advocates, and not everyone sees a promising future for Rwanda.

This complex story is still unfolding. It is not just intellectually absorbing, but also hugely important. If Rwanda can find a way out of underdevelopment, other countries might be able to copy its model. That could make a great contribution to global stability in the 21st century.

Many outsiders first become interested in Rwanda after hearing about the remarkable process of reconciliation that is underway between perpetrators of the genocide and survivors. One such outsider is the 29-year-old filmmaker Laura Waters Hinson, who presented her film _As We Forgive _to open the Buffett Center Rwanda Series. Narrated by Mia Farrow and winner of the Best Documentary prize at the 2008 Student Academy Awards, the film follows two widows as they seek the strength to forgive their husbands’ killers. It is a powerful document that shows how reconciliation is proceeding not just on a national basis through government efforts, but also on an individual level.

In addition to helping organize this series, I was the second speaker. In my talk, I traced the history of Rwanda and told President Kagame’s story. He was among hundreds of thousands of Tutsi forced to flee Rwanda in the 1950s and 60s. After growing up in a refugee camp, he helped organize the Rwandan Patriotic Front, the guerrilla force that ultimately staged an “armed return” to Rwanda and overthrew the genocide regime. Although largely unknown in the United States, Kagame certainly qualifies as one of the most successful revolutionaries of the modern era. Reflecting the breadth of his appeal, he is the only head of state in the world to have received military training in both Cuba and the United States.

The most outspoken critic of Kagame’s government, Paul Rusesabagina, the former hotel manager on whose story the film _Hotel Rwanda _was based, was the next speaker. He asserted that most Rwandans are still very poor, and that President Kagame ruthlessly suppresses opposition. While the Rwandan government frowns on the use of communal identity and wants all citizens to consider themselves Rwandan only, Rusesabagina said this is unrealistic. He urged that Rwandans be allowed to face each other “as Hutu and Tutsi” to discuss their grievances, something President Kagame says is dangerous because it could trigger another round of ethnic hatred.

Asked whether he would consider returning to Rwanda and running against Kagame for the presidency, Rusesabagina demurred. He said it was “my right” to enter politics in his homeland, but conceded it would be difficult for him to do so now.

One of Kagame’s former close aides, Dr. Theogene Rudasingwa, came to the Buffett Center several days later and offered a personal view of what the Northwestern Daily called Rwanda’s “troubled history and optimistic future.” Dr. Rudasingwa served as secretary general of the RPF, Rwandan ambassador to the United States, and President Kagame’s chief of staff. He said Rwanda needs to become “less of a begging nation and more of a nation that’s able to produce.” Schools in Rwanda and other poor countries, he said, should teach “knowledge and skills that will allow you to have an idea and convert it to a product or service that you can sell in the market.
and make a profit.”

Although Dr. Rudasingwa has criticized some aspects of his former boss’s rule, his critique was gentler and more nuanced than Paul Rusesabagina’s. While the former hotel manager seemed to suggest that Rwanda would be better off with a completely new regime, Dr. Rudasingwa believes such a change would only cause more upheaval.

The final speaker in the Rwanda series was Michael Arietti, who until July was the United States ambassador to Rwanda. Arietti has just retired from the State Department after more than 35 years of service, and his public appearance at Northwestern was one of his first as an independent figure. He painted a generally positive picture of developments in Rwanda, and said restrictions on freedom that President Kagame has imposed are necessary in order to prevent the explosion of new conflict. Some human rights groups, he suggested, judge Kagame too harshly because they fail to appreciate the volatility of Rwandan society just 14 years after genocide.

Arietti said that since Rwanda is too small to earn money from agriculture, it needs to invest in its people. Its plan is to become the trade and commercial hub of East and Central Africa, a region full of riches but plagued by corruption and inefficiencies that Rwanda hopes to avoid.

This series attracted considerable interest and focused attention on a country about which many Americans know little. By presenting a wide array of perspectives, it served one of the Buffett Center’s principal goals, which is to stimulate thought and discussion on questions of global import. The idea of presenting a series of speakers on a particular topic proved so successful that the Buffett Center is planning to present another series in the winter term, focused on Iran and Turkey. ♦
Buffett Center Presents: Iran & Turkey Series

The Buffett Center is pleased to present a quarter-long series on Iran and Turkey. The series will focus on important political, economic, historical, and social issues in both countries, and aims to provide a multi-faceted and nuanced perspective of the region, as well as implications for current U.S. foreign policy.

The first speaker, professor John Woods of the University of Chicago, focuses on the history of Turkey, Iran, and Central Asia from the 13th to the 18th century in a talk entitled Timur and the Origins of the Turks. Woods is particularly interested in aspects of the encounter between sedentary and nomadic people in those regions. He is working on several projects dealing with the age of Chinggis Khan and Timur (Tamerlane).

Ada Holly Shissler is associate professor of Ottoman and modern Turkish history in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Chicago. The topic of her talk will be How History Shapes Today’s Turkey. Professor Shissler is the author of Between Two Empires: Ahmet Aðaoðlu and the New Turkey (2003) and various articles, including “Beauty Is Nothing To Be Ashamed Of: Beauty Contests as Tools of Women’s Liberation in Early Republican Turkey” in Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East (2004). Her research interests include Ottoman history, history of the early Turkish republic, modern Middle Eastern history, nationalism, and intellectual history in general.

Ahmad Sadri, professor of sociology and anthropology and James P. Gorter chair of Islamic world studies at Lake Forest College, will contribute to the series with a talk entitled A Key to Modern Iran: Fighting the British and Russians to Establish a National Bank. Sadri is an active member of the Reform movement in Iran and has written two books in Persian, as well as more than one hundred articles for a variety of scholarly journals in the areas of sociology of religion, social interaction, and political sociology.

Born in Iran and educated in the United Kingdom, Fakhreddin Azimi is a recognized authority on the history of modern Iran. In his talk, Iran: 100 Years as an Emerging Democracy, professor Azimi will discuss the long quest for democratic rule in the country of his birth. With Iran in the headlines these days, Azimi is sometimes reluctantly pulled from his historical studies into contemporary events. An associate professor of history at the University of Connecticut, Azimi acknowledges that although “democracy” and “Iran” may not often be linked in the minds of evening television news viewers, democratic institutions and aspirations have been part of the Iranian political landscape since 1906. He recently published, The Quest For Democracy In Iran: A Century Of Struggle Against Authoritarian Rule.

Trita Parsi is the author of Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Iran, Israel and the United States (Yale University Press, 2007) and recipient of the Council on Foreign Relation’s 2008 Arthur Ross Silver Medallion. He wrote his thesis on Israeli-Iranian relations under Professor Francis Fukuyama (and Zbigniew Brzezinski, R. K. Ramazani, Jakub Grygiel, and Charles Doran) at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies while heading the largest Iranian-American organization in the United States, the National Iranian American Council. The title of his talk is Iran and the US: Time for a New Beginning.

In the final lecture, professor Rashid Khalidi will analyze the legacy of the Cold War in the Middle East. One of the foremost historians of the modern Middle East, professor Khalidi argues that the global conflicts now playing out explosively in the Middle East were significantly shaped by the Cold War era, and that any successful peace process must begin with a thorough understanding of this history. After discussing the crucial dynamics of power between the United States and the Soviet Union as it played out in the Middle East during the Cold War, he will argue that the intense rivalry between the United States and the USSR in the region set the stage for the tragic conflicts that have followed. According to Khalidi, a critical analysis of the legacy of the Cold War in the current political climate of the Middle East is essential to the development of a lasting peace. ✦
Winter Events Calendar

JANUARY

Iran & Turkey Series » Timur and the Origins of the Turks
John Woods, University of Chicago
Monday, January 12 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » After the Revolution: Democratic Practice in Postsocialist Serbia
Jessica Greenberg, Communication Studies
Friday, January 16 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery
Siddharth Kara, author
Tuesday, January 20 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » Detente Interrupted: Soviet Involvement in the Middle East, 1965-1967
Guy Laron, History
Friday, January 23 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Iran & Turkey Series » How History Shapes Today's Turkey
Holly Shissler, University of Chicago
Monday, January 26 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » The University of Arizona as a Borderlands Institution
Gerry Cadava, History
Friday, January 30 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

FEBRUARY

Iran & Turkey Series » A Key to Modern Iran: Fighting the British and Russians to Establish a National Bank
Ahmad Sadri, Lake Forest College
Monday, February 2 at 4pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

The Israel-Palestine Conflict:
What we can learn from Gandhi
Norman Finkelstein, independent scholar and author
Wendy Pearlman, Political Science, discussant
Sponsors: Northwestern’s Students for Justice in Palestine and the Buffett Center
Thursday, February 5 - time and location to be announced

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » Why Democracies Continue to Fight Small Wars...Poorly
Jonathan D. Caverley, Political Science
Friday, February 6 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

MARCH

Roberta Buffett Visiting Professor Lecture
Keila Grinberg, Buffett Center Visiting Professor
Monday, March 2 at 4pm - Guild Lounge, Scott Hall, 601 University Pl.

Energy and Politics in the Middle East
Rachel Bronson, Chicago Council on Global Affairs
Tuesday, March 3 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Faculty & Fellows Colloquium » Deconstructing ‘Europe’
Theodore Christov, Political Science
Friday, March 6 at 12pm - Buffett Center Conference Rm.

Iran & Turkey Series » Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East
Rashid Khalidi, Columbia University
Wednesday, March 11 at 4pm - McCormick Tribune Forum, 1870 Campus Dr.

The Buffett Center is located at 1902 Sheridan Road in Evanston. All events are free and open to the public. For additional information visit www.bcics.northwestern.edu or call 847/467-2770.
On December 1-3, President Bienen and Provost Linzer welcomed the President and Deans of Brazil’s Fundação Getúlio Vargas to Northwestern to launch a cooperative agreement between the two schools. The Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) is home to Brazil’s premier business, social science, and law programs, as well as the country’s most important 20th-century political archives. The agreement reflects both the expanding scope of Northwestern’s international initiatives and Brazil’s increasing importance in the world arena.

The agreement is the culmination of more than a year of conversations and reciprocal visits initiated through the Office for International Program Development and the Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program (LACS). The Fundação has agreed to host a new undergraduate study abroad program for Northwestern students at its Rio campus, to begin fall 2009. The program, Northwestern’s first in Brazil, will give students a unique insider’s view of the country’s history and contemporary political economy; the ten week stay will feature courses in Rio as well as opportunities to travel to São Paulo and Brasília.

In addition, representatives from all of FGV’s schools met with their counterparts at Northwestern to discuss possibilities for meaningful collaboration at the graduate and faculty levels. Initial proposals include continuing collaboration between Northwestern and FGV political science faculty on issues of violence and policing; a graduate seminar on oral history planned jointly between FGV historians and Northwestern’s Center for Historical Studies; and faculty conference on poverty and urban space that would be jointly sponsored by the FGV and the Buffett Center. The visitors also initiated conversations with faculty at the Law School, the Kellogg School, the Economics Department, and the Institute for Policy Research. The first collaborative ventures are expected to begin in 2009-10.