

# WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



H A R V A R D U N I V E R S I T Y

two thousand two - two thousand three  
2002 - 2003

ANNUAL REPORTS

two thousand three - two thousand four  
2003 - 2004

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**2002–2004**

THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WAS FOUNDED IN 1958. In the spring of 1998 it was renamed the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs in gratitude for the magnificent endowment established by Albert and Celia Weatherhead and the Weatherhead Foundation.

The Center is the largest international research center in the social sciences within Harvard University's Faculty of Arts and Sciences. The core interests of the Weatherhead Center are broadly defined to encompass research on international, transnational, and comparative topics (both contemporary and historical), as well as the study of specific countries and regions besides the United States.

The Center is structured to encourage the highest practical level of personal and intellectual interaction among a diverse community of scholars and practitioners. It is distinctive in its recognition that knowledge is a product not only of individual academic research, but also of vigorous, sustained intellectual dialogue among scholars and nonacademic experts. To stimulate this dialogue, the Center sponsors an array of seminars, research programs, workshops, and conferences. These activities encourage interaction among resident affiliates and involve a wide variety of scholars, government and military officials, corporate executives, and practitioners from around the world. In 2002–2003 and 2003–2004 the Center housed eighteen professors, several dozen graduate students and postdoctoral fellows, some twenty Fellows, and many other visiting scholars, associates, and staff.

The Weatherhead Center is composed of diverse research communities, including faculty from all ranks, graduate and undergraduate students principally at the dissertation or senior thesis stages, visiting scholars, and Fellows who are practitioners. The faculty and students come from all the social science departments, and nearly all schools of the University. It is part of the Center's mission to support and connect work conducted throughout the University on the affairs of other countries and cultures.

Faculty research defines the fundamental activities of the Center and orients its priorities. The specific research activities and programs of the Center respond to faculty initiative, and they change as faculty and research priorities shift. The Center, therefore, is structured to maximize a capacity for responding, flexibly and swiftly, to scholarly initiative.

The Weatherhead Center also supports the research, houses, and helps finance the work of graduate students from various schools of the University. The Center awards many grants to undergraduates to conduct field research in various countries for senior theses. Academic year 2003–2004 was also the first when income from a new endowment gift from the Weatherhead Foundation started to benefit the Center's student programs. The original Weatherhead gift included substantial support for our student programs, but the new gift will in due course nearly triple the amounts originally destined to support student research and related activities at the Center.

The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, housed at the Weatherhead Center, also began in 2003–2004 its new program of research support for junior faculty who are undertaking projects different from their research trajectory or new means of improving the quality of the work of the projects in which they have been engaged. These new activities are funded from the income from the Kukin and Weatherhead endowments.

Between 2002 and 2004, the Weatherhead Center's staff thoroughly and deliberately re-examined the working environment at the Center. Called "new work systems," this review was sponsored by the University and the labor union; the Center volunteered to participate in this process as one of three such pilot endeavors at Harvard.

The results of Center research are made available to the public policy community through books, working papers, articles, reports, seminars and lectures, and through the personal participation of Center members in policy planning and decision making in governments and institutions outside the University.

The Center remains a vibrant intellectual community. It is, most importantly, a community of people who work with each other to advance knowledge and support each other's work through the lively exchange of ideas and shared experience.

The Center is headed by a director who is assisted by an executive director. An executive committee, primarily composed of senior Harvard faculty involved in Center-sponsored programs, provides guidance on matters of substance and policy. Professor Jorge I. Domínguez, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, is the Center Director. James A. Cooney is the executive director.

The Center is housed at 1033 Massachusetts Avenue, on the Harvard University campus in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In June 2005, we expect to move to our new permanent quarters, which are being built on both sides of Cambridge Street approximately at the Center's old site.

## Visiting Committee 2002–2004

### Alan G. Quasha

(Chairman) President, Quadrant Management, Inc.

### Frank Boas

Attorney

### Craig Burr

Founder, Burr, Egan, Deleage and Company

### Gurcharan Das

Chairman of the Board, Citibank–India

### Michael W. Doyle

Edward S. Sanford Professor of Politics and International Affairs; Director, Center for International Affairs, Princeton University

### Helga Haftendorn

University Professor, Freie Universität Berlin

### Diego Hildalgo

President, Fundación Para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE) (2002-2003); Chairman of the Board, University of Extremadura (from 2003-2004)

### George R. Hoguet

Principal, State Street Global Advisors

### Robert Jervis

Adlai E. Stephenson Professor of International Relations, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University

### Karl Kaiser

Professor of Political Science, emeritus, University of Bonn; Former Director, German Council on Foreign Relations

### Pierre Keller

Former partner, Lombard Odier & Cie.

### Robert O. Keohane

James B. Duke Professor of Political Science, Duke University

### Ira Kukin

Chairman of the Board, Apollo Technologies International Corporation

### Yukio Matsuyama

Honorary chairperson, Editorial Board, *The Asahi Shimbun*

### Hassen Nemazee

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Nemazee Capitol Corporation

### Pedro J. Pick

Member of the Supervisory Board, Patria Finance, a.s. (2002-03); Chairman, Patria Finance, a.s. (from 2003-04)

### Emma Rothschild

Director, Centre for History and Economics, King's College

### Susanne Hoeber Rudolph

William Benton Distinguished Service Professor of Political Science, emerita, University of Chicago

### Adele S. Simmons

Senior Research Associate, Center for International Studies, University of Chicago (2002-2003); Vice-Chair and Senior Executive, Chicago Metropolis 2020 (from 2003-2004)

### Leah Zell Wanger

Portfolio Manager, Head of International Teams, Liberty Wanger Asset Management

### Albert J. Weatherhead III

President, Weatherhead Industries

### Celia Weatherhead

Vice President, Weatherhead Foundation

## 2002-2003

### Beth A. Simmons

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California at Berkeley

### C. Dixon Spangler, Jr.

President Emeritus, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

## 2003-2004

### Lisa Anderson

Dean, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University

## Executive Committee

### 2002–2004

The Executive Committee provides overall policy guidance to the Weatherhead Center and is a forum for scholarly exchange among its members.

### Jorge I. Domínguez

Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs; Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs and Harvard College Professor

### Robert H. Bates

Eaton Professor of the Science of Government

### William C. Clark

Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science, Public Policy, and Human Development

### John H. Coatsworth

Munroe Gutman Professor of Latin American Affairs; Director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies

**James A. Cooney**

Executive Director, Weatherhead Center  
for International Affairs; Director, McCloy  
German Scholars Program

**Richard N. Cooper**

Maurits C. Boas Professor of International  
Economics

**Jeffry Frieden**

Stanfield Professor of International Peace

**Peter A. Hall**

Frank G. Thomson Professor of Government  
and Harvard College Professor; Director,  
Minda de Gunzburg Center for European  
Studies

**Stanley H. Hoffmann**

Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University  
Professor

**Samuel P. Huntington**

Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor;  
Director, Harvard Academy for  
International and Area Studies,  
Weatherhead Center for International  
Affairs

**Alastair Iain Johnston**

Governor James Albert Noe and Linda Noe  
Laine Professor of China in World Affairs

**Herbert C. Kelman**

Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social  
Ethics; Director (until June 2003), Program  
on International Conflict Analysis and  
Resolution, Weatherhead Center for  
International Affairs

**William C. Kirby**

Edith and Benjamin Geisinger Professor of  
History; Dean of the Faculty of Arts and  
Sciences

**Steven Levitsky**

Assistant Professor of Government; Director,  
Graduate Student Programs, Weatherhead  
Center for International Affairs

**Charles S. Maier**

Krupp Foundation Professor of European  
Studies

**Lisa L. Martin**

Professor of Government

**David Maybury-Lewis**

Professor of Anthropology; Director, Program  
on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural  
Survival, Weatherhead Center for  
International Affairs

**Kathleen Molony**

Director, Fellows Program, Weatherhead  
Center for International Affairs

**Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**

Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy; Dean,  
John F. Kennedy School of Government

**Susan J. Pharr**

Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese  
Politics; Director, Program on U.S.–Japan  
Relations, Weatherhead Center for  
International Affairs

**Robert D. Putnam**

The Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of  
Public Policy; Director, Saguaro Seminar

**Dani Rodrik**

Rafiq Hariri Professor of International Political  
Economy, John F. Kennedy School  
Government

**Stephen Peter Rosen**

Beton Michael Kaneb Professor of National  
Security and Military Affairs; Director,  
John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies,  
Weatherhead Center for International  
Affairs

**Theda Skocpol**

Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government  
and Sociology; Director (from 2003-2004),  
Center for American Political Studies

**Debora Spar**

Professor of Business Administration

**Wendy E.F. Torrance**

Assistant Dean of Freshmen, Harvard  
College; Director, Undergraduate  
Program, Weatherhead Center for  
International Affairs

**Stephen M. Walt**

Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of  
International Affairs; Academic Dean, John  
F. Kennedy School of Government

**2003-2004****Emmanuel Akyeampong**

Hugh K. Foster Associate Professor of African  
Studies

**Beth A. Simmons**

Professor of Government

*Graduate Student Associate Representative*

**Naunihal Singh** (2002-2003)

**David Singer** (2003-2004)

**Staff****2002-2004****Jorge I. Domínguez**

Director

**James A. Cooney**

Executive Director

**Steven B. Bloomfield**

Associate Director (from March 2003);  
Director for Public Information (until  
March 2003)

**David Atkinson**

Staff Assistant to the Executive Director (until August 2002)

**Beth Baiter**

Program Coordinator, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies; Assistant to Professor Samuel P. Huntington

**Hamutal Bernstein**

Research Assistant, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies (from June 2003)

**Douglas Bond**

Associate Director, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival

**Wanthani Briggs**

Staff Assistant for Administration, Publications, and Student Programs (May 2002–August 2003); Staff Assistant, Fellows Program (from September 2003)

**Elizabeth Burden**

Staff Assistant to Professors Jeffrey Frieden, Iain Johnston, Lisa Martin, and Beth Simmons (July 2002–August 2004)

**Theresa Camire**

Program Coordinator, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival (until June 2004)

**Helen Clayton**

Staff Assistant to the Canada Seminar; Assistant to Professor Richard N. Cooper and to the Mackenzie King Chair for Canadian Studies

**James Clem**

Executive Officer, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies

**Maura Dowling**

Administrative Officer (through August 2002)

**Hugh Doherty**

Staff Assistant, Financial Office

**Jeana Flahive**

Program Officer

**Amanda Flohr**

Web Communications Specialist

**Katie Gallagher**

Research Assistant, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies (until July 2002)

**Nadine Gerstler-Lopes**

Staff Assistant for Conferences (until August 2003)

**Donald Halstead**

Writing and Research Advisor, Fellows Program

**Donna Hicks**

Deputy Director, Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution (until August 2003)

**Kathleen Hoover**

Assistant to the Director

**Leah Kane**

Assistant to the Executive Director (from July 2002)

**Byoung-jo Kang**

Financial Assistant (from February 2003)

**Ethan Kiczek**

Manager of Information Technology

**John Kuczvara**

Staff Assistant, Program on U.S.–Japan Relations; Assistant to Professor Susan Pharr (until February 2004)

**Richard Lopez**

IT Support Specialist (from June 2003)

**Theodore Macdonald**

Associate Director, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival

**Kenneth Marden**

User Support Specialist (until March 2003); Administrative Officer (until April 2004)

**Rachel McCleary**

Director, Project on Religion, Political Economy, and Society

**Patrick McVay**

Financial Officer

**Kathleen Molony**

Director, Fellows Program

**Thomas Murphy**

Coordinator of Housing and Affiliate Services

**Amanda Pearson**

Publications Manager

**Christopher Perry**

Network and Systems Administrator

**Clare Putnam**

Program Coordinator, Student Programs and Fellowships

**Shannon Rice**

Program Coordinator, Program on U.S.–Japan Relations (from August 2002)

**Aya Sato-DiLorenzo**

Staff Assistant, Program on U.S.–Japan Relations

**Tanya Schreiber**

Staff Assistant, Fellows Program (until September 2003)

**George Scialabba**

Assistant Building Superintendent

**Frank Schwartz**

Associate Director, Program on U.S.–Japan Relations

**Charles Smith**

Assistant Financial Officer

**Robert Threlkeld**

Librarian (from January 2003)

**Ann Townes**

Program Coordinator, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies

**Rebecca L. Webb**

Managing editor, *International Organization*





### Faculty Grants for Individual Research

The Center annually awards a limited number of grants, up to \$5,000, to individual scholars to pursue research on important international and comparative topics. The Center supports basic research that deepens an understanding of the forces, both domestic and international, that is transforming many countries as well as the international system. Proposals may include requests for travel, research assistance, and other project-related expenses. They may also include authors' workshops for recently published books. The subcommittee of the Center's Executive Committee reviews all these proposals. There are three deadlines during the academic year for these grants.

The recipients of faculty grants for individual research projects for 2002–03 were:

The Empire of Cotton: A Global History  
–**Sven Beckert**

Stalled Democracy: Capital, Labor, and the Paradox of State-Sponsored Development  
–**Eva Bellin**

Complex Causation and the Study of Politics  
–**Bear F. Braumoeller**

The Evolution of U.S. Outbound FDI  
–**Mihir Arvind Desai**

Extending Economic Integration to a Wider Set of Countries  
–**Jeffrey Frankel**

Beijing Area Study  
–**Alastair Iain Johnston**

Data Bank Development Based on Israeli-Palestinian Problem Solving Workshops  
–**Herb Kelman**

Autocracy by Democratic Rules: The Dynamics of Competitive Authoritarianism in the Post-Cold War Era  
–**Steven Levitsky**

Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912-1949  
–**Roderick MacFarquhar**

Constitutional Frameworks: A Study of Performance in Eighty-Nine Democracies  
–**Cindy Skach**

Making Anthropology International Across the Pacific Rim  
–**Kay Warren**

Harvard-Oxford-Stockholm Graduate Student Conference  
–**Mary Waters**

The recipients of faculty grants for individual research projects for 2003–04 were:

Science and Technology in International Affairs  
–**William Clark**

The Evolution of U.S. Outbound FDI  
–**Mihir Desai**

Democracy and Capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing the Legacy of Communist Rule  
–**Grzegorz Ekiert**

Exchange Rate Pass-through Around the World  
–**Jeffrey Frankel**

Presidential "Opportunities" to use Military Force  
–**William Howell**

Public Opinion in Beijing on International Affairs  
–**Alastair Iain Johnston**

Words and Deed: Mistrust and Reassurance in International Relations  
–**Andrew Kydd**

Autocracy by Democratic Rules: The Dynamics of Competitive Authoritarianism in the Post-Cold War Era  
–**Steven Levitsky**

The Politics and Sociology of Information in the Soviet Union, 1918-1953  
–**Terry Martin**

Growth Transitions  
–**Dani Rodrik**

### **Other Faculty Support and Faculty Nominations**

The Weatherhead Center also offers faculty associates support for a variety of research-related purposes. Small grants of up to \$1,500 per academic year are awarded to faculty associates to fund, for example, research assistance or indexing. Dissemination of research is facilitated by inviting junior faculty to request, once per semester, that the Center circulate copies of their published or unpublished work, with a cover letter, to up to ten scholars in their field. The Center also offers staff support for resident faculty associates through a program that subsidizes the services of administrative staff. Applications for small grants and dissemination of research are accepted throughout the academic year. Requests for staff support must be submitted before the beginning of each semester. Encouraging them to nominate visiting scholars, students and Fellows to the Center also supports the work of faculty associates. Through these nominations, the faculty is able to bring to the Center those with whom they wish also enriching the intellectual life of the Center. Deadlines for nominations vary according to the appointment or award.

### **Faculty Research Leaves**

One of the most important forms of support for faculty members is the opportunity for a sustained period of research. Each year, the Center considers proposals from Weatherhead Center faculty associates for awards that provide salary support for one-semester faculty leaves to conduct research relating to the core interests of the Center. All faculty associates of the Weatherhead Center are eligible for faculty research semester leaves, and special emphasis is given to junior faculty requests. Research proposals are evaluated by an external review committee.

### **2002-03**

**Margarita Estévez-Abe**, faculty associate and assistant professor of government, received the one-semester Dillon Junior Faculty Research Fellowship to complete a study on "Bringing Firms Back Into the Study of Global Market Pressures: Politics of Harmonization of Accounting Standards and Corporate Pensions in Japan." This study seeks to assess the impact of financial globalization, specifically the actual mechanisms of convergence at the firm-level. The study will emphasize two sets of factors:

(i) firm-level differences in corporate finance strategies and workforce compositions; and (ii) institutional settings that might mitigate or exacerbate pressures from the equity market. This study will be an essential part of Professor Estévez-Abe's book manuscript on *Welfare and the Unwinding of Japanese Capitalism*.

**Jeffry Frieden**, faculty associate and professor of government, received a one-semester Faculty Research Fellowship to work on a book manuscript on the politics of exchange rate policies. Government policies toward exchange rates have gained increasing prominence in recent years. The economic analysis of exchange rates is extremely well-developed. There is virtually no general work, however, on the domestic political economy of currency policy. Professor Frieden has been working in this area since the late 1980s. His principal goal has been to contribute to the development of generalizable propositions about the politics of exchange rate policy. He is particularly interested in how the distributional impact of exchange rate policies affect special-interest and mass-political pressures on politicians. His leave fellowship will allow him to collect his ideas and evidence about the political economy of exchange rates in one theoretically and empirically grounded book.

**Jennifer Hochschild**, faculty associate and professor of government, received a one-semester Faculty Research Fellowship to work on a book project that examined the implications of race and ethnicity for American democracy, focusing particularly on the context of deep strains attendant on high levels of immigration and persistent but changing racial inequality. Professor Hochschild envisioned that the book would include six chapters: The first will lay out the analytic and normative issues at stake, by examining the valences of the claim that the Federalist #10 model is threatened by the growth and persistence of large, visible blocs based on racial and ethnic or immigrant identity; chapters two to five will develop a typology of American society that organizes the many possible trajectories of incorporation among racial/ethnic groups and immigrants. Chapters five and six will provide empirical and normative conclusions, respectively.

### **2003-04**

**Caroline Elkins**, faculty associate and assistant professor of history, received a one-semester faculty research semester grant for

the academic year 2003-04 to examine the relationship between the lack of reconciliation in post-conflict Kenya and its impact upon the discourse of citizenship and the formation of the nation-state. In the case of Kenya, Elkins proposes that the lack of reconciliation in the aftermath of the Mau Mau is at the heart of both intra-ethnic bitterness and inter-ethnic hostility. The research project examined the relationship between post-conflict amnesia, the reconstitution of Kikuyu communities and the creation of a multi-ethnic Kenyan nation. The book that results from this project will be framed within the broader readership on post-conflict reconciliation and its relationship to the nation-building process.

**Yoshiko Herrera**, faculty associate and associate professor of government, received a one-semester faculty research semester grant for spring 2004 to investigate the recent transformation of the Russian State Statistical Committee, Goskomstat. The restructuring of Goskomstat in the 1990s is a remarkable story of major institutional change in a very short period. What makes this transformation noteworthy is the traditionally politicized and guarded status of information, and especially state statistics, in the Soviet Union and Russia. The study considers organizational and methodological changes, focusing on the shift to a system of national accounts in the mid-1990s and the 2002 Russian census. The causes of the administrative-institutional changes at Goskomstat are considered in terms of ideas, international and domestic actors, and resources. Herrera expects to have a completed manuscript by fall 2004.

**William G. Howell**, faculty associate and assistant professor of government, received a one-semester C. Douglas Dillon Junior Faculty Research Fellowship to produce a book tentatively entitled *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers*. (Professor Howell has deferred the award until 2004-05.) The study will examine the conditions under which Congress checks the president's power to use the U.S. military, and the implications this has for U.S. foreign policy. The project builds upon Howell's previous research by taking seriously the notion that presidential power is critically defined by the institutional checks that Congress places upon it. The book will examine how the partisan makeup of Congress critically affects the frequency with which presidents deploy troops abroad; the timing

and duration of these deployments; as well as their initial size and scope. The book will also present new findings on Congress's influence over media coverage and public opinion on the 2003 Iraq War.

**Charles S. Maier**, faculty associate and Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, used his grant in fall 2003 to advance his research and study of the evolution of "territoriality." This project examines the history of what can be termed territoriality and the recent trends that undermine its political role. Commentators on globalization often assume that current economic, demographic, and cultural changes are undermining an ancient stable status quo of state capacity built on the control of territorial space. In fact, the images, concepts, and resources of territory have changed remarkably over time. The proposed work was intended to focus on the changing ideas of territory, frontiers, and the organization of the state system since the seventeenth century. But the implications of his project, with its differentiation of "spongy" imperial territoriality from the more coherent spatial organization of the post-Westphalian state system, have led him in the first instance to devote particular attention to empire. On the basis of the sabbatical grant he is thus finishing a book, under contract to Harvard University Press, entitled *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and its Predecessors*, which should appear in late 2005 or early 2006.

### Conferences

The Weatherhead Center supports faculty-directed conferences, particularly those with expected research results. The Weatherhead Center provides logistical and organizational support for these conferences, as well as financial assistance, in order to bring scholars and practitioners from around the country and the world to participate with Harvard faculty in conferences and workshops designed to advance research. The Center sponsored thirteen conferences in 2002-2003 and thirteen in 2003-2004.

Detailed information about each conference is available at:  
[http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/res\\_activities/conferences/](http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/res_activities/conferences/)

### **Crafting Cooperation: The Design And Effect Of Regional Institutions In Comparative Perspective**

*October 4-5, 2002*

Organizers: **Alastair Iain Johnston**, Harvard University and **Amitav Acharya**, Nanyang Technological University

This conference drew together about fifteen experts on Latin American, Asian, African, European, and Middle Eastern international institutions to examine if and why there is regional variation in the design and efficacy of international institutions. Out of the discussions came a more finely tuned list of potential independent variables that might account for these differences. This was the first of two conferences in a project co-sponsored by the WCFIA, the Asia Center, and the Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies at the Nanyang Technological Institute, Singapore. The end product will be an edited volume that hopes to fill a large gap in comparative knowledge about institutional design and efficacy.

### **Evaluation of Social Service Delivery**

*November 1-3, 2002*

Organizers: **Michael Kremer**, Professor of Economics, Harvard University and **Abhijit Banerjee**, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The joint Radcliffe-Weatherhead-MIT conference brought together academics, representatives from NGOs, and policymakers to discuss ways to foster mutually beneficial collaboration among these groups in evaluating social service delivery in developing countries. The conference focused on opportunities to conduct randomized program evaluations in which the effects of the program can be measured directly and the results will be transparent to policymakers. One key goal of the Radcliffe-Weatherhead-MIT conference was to understand what kinds of programs can be evaluated using randomized evaluations. The conference brought together social scientists involved in randomized evaluations, current and potential "clients" for the evaluations, i.e., government officials and NGOs that have programs that may be evaluated in this way, and donors. It provided a valuable forum to discuss ways to foster mutually beneficial collaboration among social scientists, government officials and NGOs,

and donors to better understand how social service provision can be improved through randomized evaluations.

### **Conference on the Study of Religion and Terrorism**

A Project Initiated by Sidney R. Knafel  
*November 20-22, 2002*

Organizers: **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University; **Stephen Peter Rosen**, director of the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies; and **Monica Duffy Toft**, associate director of the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies.

The Conference on the Study of Religion and Terrorism took place from November 20 to 22 at the Harvard Faculty Club. The conference was designed to investigate a new form of political action with international consequences. Prior to September 11, 2001, terrorism was far from unknown, and political conflicts with religious elements were frequently encountered. The attacks of September 11, however, made us question whether we adequately understood the role of religion and its relation to political violence. Among the questions the conference sought to answer were: Does religion add a distinct and different character to political action? What does Islam say about inter-religious conflict? Does terrorism fundamentally alter the political structure of the time and place where it occurs? What are the policy implications of September 11 for the American military and U.S. foreign policy?

Some 90 conference participants heard approximately twenty presentations on scholarly and public-policy issues. The conference was made possible by a generous gift from former chair of the Weatherhead Center's Visiting Committee, Sidney R. Knafel.

### **Modeling Constructivist Approaches to Ethnic Identity and Incorporating Them in New Research Agendas**

*December 6-7, 2002*

Organizer: **Kanchan Chandra**, assistant professor of political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

(Co-sponsored by the Harvard Academy and the Center for International Studies at MIT. For more information on this event,

please refer to the *Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies* section.)

### **Research Group on Political Institutions and Economic Policy (PIEP)**

*December 14, 2002*

Organizers: **Jeffry Frieden**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace, Harvard University, and **Kenneth Shepsle**, George D. Markham Professor of Government, Harvard University

The most recent meeting of the Research Group on Political Institutions and Economic Policy was held on December 14, 2002 at WCFIA. The meeting was attended by about thirty scholars from departments of political science and economics, and schools of business and law. Approximately one-third of the participants were Harvard faculty. Three papers were presented, with one or two appointed discussants per paper.

The papers were presented expertly, and the discussants did their jobs especially well. Discussion was extremely lively and productive. Overall, the conference was a great success and we look forward to the next one in May 2003.

### **International Conference on East Asia, Latin America and the “New” Pax Americana**

*February 14-15, 2003*

Organizers: **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, and **Kim Byung-Kook**, Korea University

The International Conference on East Asia, Latin America, and the “New” Pax Americana met on February 13-15, 2003 at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. The thirty-five participants included professors, Harvard graduate students, and Center Fellows and visiting scholars. Eight papers were presented; paper presenters came from Brazil, Japan, Mexico, South Korea, and the United States. The discussion emphasized comparative themes between the East Asian and Latin American cases. The key focus of the empirical analysis was to account for continuity and change upon the end of the cold war, the acceleration of democratization, and the deepening of market economies in the two regions.

### **Rethinking Dual Transitions: Argentine Politics in the 1990s in Comparative Perspective**

*March 20-22, 2003*

*March 20*

#### **Roundtable on the Argentine Economy**

David Rockefeller Center

**Andrés Velasco**, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University  
**Luis Servén**, World Bank  
**Rafael Di Tella**, Harvard Business School  
**Jeffry Frieden**, Harvard University

Chair: **John Coatsworth**, director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University

The conference “Rethinking Dual Transitions: Argentine Politics in the 1990s in Comparative Perspective” (co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center and the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies) focused on the dynamics of political and economic change in Argentina during the 1990s. Its primary goals were (1) to evaluate, in retrospect, the major changes and continuities in Argentine politics and political economy during the 1990s; and (2) to use the Argentine case to draw more general lessons for comparative and Latin American politics. The conference panels included 28 Argentine and U.S. scholars from the disciplines of political science, sociology, economics, and law. (Three Argentine scholars canceled their trips at the last minute to due the outbreak of the U.S. war with Iraq.) Approximately 30 other scholars attended the conference, roughly two-thirds of which were from Harvard. Seventeen written papers were presented and discussed over the course of five panels. The conference was highly successful. Eleven of the conference papers have been selected for publication in a volume to be edited by Levitsky and Murillo.

### **Delegation to International Organizations**

*April 26, 2003*

Organizer: **Lisa Martin**, Professor of Government, Harvard University

The working group on Delegation to International Organizations held its most recent meeting on April 26, 2003, at the Weatherhead Center. The meeting was attended by seventeen scholars of

international relations. These scholars came from departments of political science throughout the United States, and included both senior and junior professors. Four papers were discussed. Papers were distributed before the conference so that the authors did not make formal presentations. Two discussants were appointed for each paper. The discussion was lively and productive; the discussants were thorough and well prepared. We also had a general discussion of the future of the project. The group has met at Brigham Young University, at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard, and will meet again in September 2003 at the University of California at San Diego.

### **Viral Disease Emergence and Social Change in the Tropics**

*April 28-29, 2003*

Organizer: **Rebecca Hardin**, Ph.D., Yale University

(Co-sponsored by the Harvard Academy and Harvard AIDS Institute. For more information on this event, please refer to the *Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies* section.)

### **Relating to the Powerful One: How Canada and Mexico View their Relationship to the United States**

*May 5-6, 2003*

Organizers: **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, **Maureen Molot**, professor, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, and **Rafael Fernández de Castro**, professor of political science and chair of the Department of International Studies at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

(For more information on this event, please refer to the *Canada Program* section.)

### **On the Edge: Is the Canadian Model Sustainable?**

*May 9-10, 2003*

Organizer: **Robert Vipond**, professor of political science at the University of Toronto.

(For more information on this event, please refer to the *Canada Program* section.)

### **The Future of the World Trade System: The US, the EU and the Doha Development Agenda**

Tufts University European Center,  
Talloires, France  
*June 13-15, 2003*

Organizers: **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, **James Cooney**, Executive Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, and **Robert Lawrence**, Albert L. Williams Professor of International Trade and Investment, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

This year's annual gathering of international participants in Talloires, France, met for three days to discuss *The Future of the World Trade System: The US, the EU and the Doha Development Agenda*. Approximately forty participants (including Harvard faculty and faculty from other institutions in the United States and Europe, former Weatherhead Center Fellows, and several former trade negotiators) considered the likelihood for success of the current round of trade talks, which, unlike previous talks, has explicitly made the interests of the developing countries a central focus. While conference participants conceded that the broadening of the talks to include more countries creates new challenges, they concluded that there would eventually be a successful outcome of the talks. They also agreed that the United States and Europe bore a major responsibility for ensuring the future success of the international trading system.

### **Wianno Conference**

*June 23-27, 2003*

Organizer: **John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies**

(For more information on this event, please refer to the *John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies* section.)

### **The International Diffusion of Democracy and Markets**

*October 3-4, 2003*

Organizers: **Beth Simmons**, Department of Government, Harvard University, **Frank Dobbin**, Department of Sociology, Harvard University, **Geoffrey Garrett**,

director, International Institute, University of California at Los Angeles

The most recent meeting of the Diffusion of Liberalism Group was held on October 3-4, 2003. The meeting was attended by about thirty scholars from departments of political science, economics, sociology, and schools of business and law. Approximately one-third of the participants were Harvard faculty; primarily they served as discussants. Ten papers were presented, with one appointed discussant per paper. Topics of these paper included diffusion of democracy, human rights, the spread of capital account liberalization, trade liberalization, bilateral investment treaties, government downsizing, privatization, tax policies, and the spread of the Internet.

**The Politics of Globalization: How Citizens, Firms, and Workers Respond to International Market Forces**  
*October 24-25, 2003*

Organizers: **Margarita Estévez-Abe**, assistant professor of government, Harvard University, **Michael J. Hiscox**, John L. Loeb Associate Professor of the Social Sciences, Harvard University

The first workshop for this project was held on October 24-25, 2003. About 26 scholars attended the workshop, during which twelve papers were presented and two people led discussions on each paper. The papers were extremely useful in advancing the discussion on the topic and in thinking about how the core participants, as a group, might carry out an ambitious multi-country research project in the future. The workshop proved to be a very successful first step for the collaborative project that we are now considering.

**Workshop on Well-Being and Social Capital**  
*November 7-9, 2003*

Organizers: **Robert D. Putnam**, Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, and **John Helliwell**, University of British Columbia, Department of Economics

Fourteen leading scholars on the topic of social capital and subjective well-being was convened on November 7-9, 2003 at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Roughly a dozen papers were discussed. Attending were three Harvard

faculty members, four faculty and scholars from elsewhere in North America, and seven international faculty members. The conversation was very interesting, and the opportunity to exchange ideas across the various disciplines (health, economics, sociology, political science, well-being, social capital, development) represented a clear benefit. After some initial difficulties in developing a shared vocabulary, the conference was very stimulating and we look forward to interesting collaborations in the future.

**Fellows' Alumni Conference and Reunion: America's Role in the World Today**  
*November 20-22, 2003*

Organizers: **Fellows Program**

(For more information on this event, please refer to the *Fellows Program* section.)

**Research Group on Political Institutions and Economic Policy**  
*December 6, 2003*

Organizers: **Jeffry Frieden**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace, Harvard University, and **Ken Shepsle**, George D. Markham Professor of Government, Harvard University.

(Sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University, with support from the National Science Foundation.)

The most recent meeting of the Research Group on Political Institutions and Economic Policy was held on December 6, 2003 at WCFIA. Despite a major blizzard, the meeting was attended by about 25 scholars from departments of political science and economics, schools of business and law, and international financial institutions. Approximately one-third of the participants were Harvard faculty. Three papers were presented, with one or two appointed discussants per paper.

**Weatherhead Center Distinguished Speakers Series**  
*December 11, 2003*

**Beatriz Merino**, President of the Council of Ministers of Peru, "Facing the Challenges of Development in Peru."



**Distinguished Visiting Scholar Series**  
February 18, 2004

**Kenneth Schultz**, University of California at Los Angeles, “Could Humphrey Have Gone to China? Measuring the Electoral Costs and Benefits of Making Peace.”

**Moving Beyond Armed Actors: The Challenges for Civil Society in Colombia**  
February 20-21, 2004

Organizer: **Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival**

(For more information on this event, please refer to the *Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival* section.)

**Mexico’s 2006 Elections**  
**Binational Study Workshop**  
March 5-6, 2004

Organizers: **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, and **Chappell Lawson**, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The purpose of this workshop was to finalize plans for this major survey research project on “issue emergence” during Mexico’s 2006 presidential race, building on the success of a similar project in 2000. In addition, for the 2006 election we expect to carry out a survey of activists as well and to follow some key political campaigns to be able to observe the interactions between politicians, activists, and citizens. At the working group meeting, we divided up key tasks among core members of the project team, with an eye toward submitting a complete proposal to the National Science Foundation and other potential funders. An appealing feature of the 2006 campaign is the fact that it will be conducted binationally, as Mexicans living in the United States will soon be permitted to vote. The project expects to move forward in collaboration with Mexico City’s leading daily newspaper, *Reforma*. Project organizers have received a strong expression of interest from Stanford University Press in publishing a book based on the findings. Stanford University Press published our book from the previous project: Jorge I. Domínguez and Chappell Lawson, eds., *Mexico’s Pivotal Democratic Election: Candidates, Voters, and the Presidential*

*Campaign of 2000* (2004).

**Security Challenges in Southeast Asia**  
March 15, 2004

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, and the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, are collaborating on a number of projects related to the comparative study of regional institutions and security issues in Southeast Asia. Professor A. Iain Johnston, Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and the Governor James Albert Noe and Linda Noe Laine Professor of China in World Affairs in the Harvard Government Department, held the S. Rajaratnam Chair in Strategic Studies at IDSS during the spring term of 2003. As part of the ongoing collaboration, a one-day seminar titled “Security Challenges in Southeast Asia” was held at the Weatherhead Center. The seminar on “Security Challenges in Southeast Asia” brought together international security and area studies specialists from IDSS and Harvard University with the objective to exchange ideas and network between researchers and academics from both organizations. The participants were asked to reassess the security challenges confronted by the states and societies in Southeast Asia from a thematic and theoretical perspective and to press for ways forward in re-thinking some of these challenges as well as the responses from governments and the academic community.

**Workshop on International Knowledge Systems for Sustainable Development**  
April 14-16, 2004

Organizers: **Bill Clark**, Director of the Sustainable Development Program, Center for International Development, Harvard University, and **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, Director of the Energy Technology Innovation Project at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

The conference on International Knowledge Systems for Sustainable Development was jointly sponsored by the Weatherhead Center and the National Academy of Sciences Roundtable on Science and Technology for Sustainability’s Task Force on Knowledge for Development. The purpose of this

conference was to advance understanding regarding the effectiveness of alternative institutional arrangements for harnessing science and technology to support development around the world. The conference pursued this goal through a comparative approach involving scholars with expertise in a variety of sectoral (e.g., agriculture, health) and national research and innovation systems. Enriched with outside expertise, the conference built upon and integrated the results of a semester-long research seminar on “Knowledge for Development,” which was organized by Harvard’s Center for International Development.

**Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture**  
*April 22, 2004*

**Amram Mitzna**, member of the Israeli Knesset and Labor Party candidate for Israeli Prime Minister in 2003, “Geneva Initiative—Realistic Utopia: Creating a Window of Opportunity in a Wall of Separation.”

**Research Group on Political Institutions and Economic Policy**  
*May 22, 2004*

Sponsored by the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, with support from the National Science Foundation.

The most recent meeting of the Research Group on Political Institutions and Economic Policy was held on May 22, 2004. The meeting was attended by about 35 scholars from departments of political science and economics, schools of business and law, and international financial institutions. Approximately one-third of the participants were Harvard faculty. Three papers were presented, with one or two appointed discussants per paper.

**(Trans) National Identities: New Media and Global Cultural Flows**  
*May 26-29, 2004*

Organizer: **Rosemary J. Coombe**, William Lyon Mackenzie King Chair of Canadian Studies

(For more information on this event, please refer to the *Canada Program* section.)

**Canadianation: Negotiating New Spaces, Politics, and Identities in and through Global Cultural Flows**  
*May 27-29, 2004*

(For more information on this event, please refer to the *Canada Program* section.)

**Assessing the United States: Politics, Institutions, Economy, and Foreign Policy**  
*June 18-20, 2004*

Tufts University European Center,  
Talloires, France

Planning Committee: **Karl Kaiser**, Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, University of Bonn, **Jorge Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, **James Cooney**, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

The conference “Assessing the United States: Politics, Institutions, Economy, and Foreign Policy” brought 38 scholars and practitioners from around the globe to Talloires, France from June 18-20, 2004. Some of the questions addressed throughout the weekend were: What should non-Americans understand about American political developments? Is there a fundamental shift in American beliefs and identity? How do the political parties and politicians affect political developments? What are the domestic forces shaping American institutions? What is the role of the courts, and how does it link to the role of the President or the role of Congress? Which Institutions uphold American values most effectively? Are the institutions effective in a globalized world? What role does civil society play in the United States, including nonprofit and philanthropic organizations? How do issues relating to race, immigration, and religion steer American policies? What explains the success of the American economy? What are the potential weaknesses of the American economy? Is this the sector where globalization most clearly impinges on U.S. policies? How do American policies on international trade, the trading system, and economic development relate to each other? How do they relate to the rest of the world, especially Europe? How should the United States balance its superpower status with the need to act in concert with its

global partners? Does America's "grand strategy" need to be reformulated? Is the choice as stark as "global domination" versus "global leadership?" Can America's "soft power" be recaptured? How can the unknown nature of the enemy, the weakness of international institutions, and the dependence of the world on U.S. leadership be reconciled?

### **Weatherhead Initiative in International Affairs**

The Weatherhead Initiative in International Affairs supports large-scale, innovative research on international topics at Harvard. The emphasis is on interfaculty research with a clear integrative core. Approximately \$220,000 is available each year to support one major project, and small planning grants for potential future projects are also available. The first Weatherhead Initiative project, "Military Conflict as a Public Health Problem," is directed by Professors **Gary King** (Department of Government) and **Chris Murray** (School of Public Health). The second Weatherhead Initiative project, launched in 2001–02, is on the role of identity—national, ethnic, religious, and otherwise—in international and domestic politics. It is directed by Professors **A. Iain Johnston** and **Yoshiko Herrera** (Department of Government), **Terry Martin** (Department of History), and **Rawi Abdelal** (Harvard Business School). The third Weatherhead Initiative project, which started in 2002, focuses on "Religion in Global Politics." The team includes Harvard faculty members **Samuel P. Huntington**, **J. Bryan Hehir**, **David Little**, **Jessica Stern**, and **Monica Toft**. The newest project, announced in January 2003, is "International Human Capital Flows and their Effects on Developing Countries." The four faculty members are **Mihir Desai** (Harvard Business School), **Devesh Kapur** (Department of Government), **Dani Rodrik** (Kennedy School of Government) and **Mark R. Rosenzweig** (Kennedy School of Government). The focus of the project is the political economy of migration and, in particular, the foreign migration of skilled labor.

**AFRICA**

The Harvard Africa Seminar explores issues of importance to Africa and scholarship on Africa from a multidisciplinary perspective. The Harvard Committee on African Studies organizes the seminar, which is co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center and the Center for International Development at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. The seminar was chaired in 2002-03 by Emmanuel Akyeampong, Hugh K. Foster Associate Professor of African Studies, who is also chairman of the Harvard Committee on African Studies and both a faculty associate and executive committee member of the Weatherhead Center.

**2002-03***October 1*

“Reflections on the Ecological History of West Africa,” **James Webb Jr.**, associate professor of history and director of the Program in African Studies, Colby College.

*October 8*

“How Much Democracy in Africa? Demand, Supply and Regime Consolidation,”

**Michael Bratton**, professor of political science and African studies, Michigan State University.

*October 15*

“Those in Kayes (Mali): The Impact of Remittances on Africa,” **Jean Paul Azam**, professor of economics, University of Toulouse and Institute Universitaire de France.

*November 5*

“Violence in Burundi,” **Janvier Nkurunziza**, postdoctoral fellow, Center for International Development, Harvard University.

*November 12*

“Caste, Pawns, Peasants and Social Inequality in West African History,” **Ishmail Rashid**, assistant professor of history, Vassar College.

*November 19*

“The Press and Political Culture in Ghana: Style, Sociality, and the Spectacle of Discourse,” **Jennifer Hasty**, assistant

professor of anthropology, Pacific Lutheran University.

*December 3*

“Ghanaian Popular Painting,” **Michelle Gilbert**, fellow, Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions; Department of Fine Arts and Anthropology, Trinity College, Hartford.

*December 10*

“Civil Conflict in Senegal and Mali,” **Macartan Humphreys**, academy scholar, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs; Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government, Harvard University.

*February 4*

“Rashomon Goes to Rwanda: Understanding Genocide in Space, Time and Perspective,” **Christian Davenport**, associate professor of political science, senior Fellow and director of research, Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, College Park; and **Allan Stam**, associate professor of government, Dartmouth College, deputy director of Dartmouth’s Nelson A. Rockefeller Center.

*February 11*

“We Have Supped So Much in Horrors: Understanding Colonialist Emotionality and British Responses to Female Infibulation in Northern Sudan,” **Rogaia M. Abusharaf**, anthropologist; visiting Fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights, Harvard University; visiting assistant professor of Africana and gender studies, Brown University.

*February 25*

“Emerging Legislatures in Africa: Benin, Ghana, Kenya and Senegal,” **Joel Barkan**, professor of political science, University of Iowa; senior consultant on Government, Public Sector Reform Unit, Africa Region, World Bank; resident Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center.

*March 4*

“Moving Through and Passing On: Fulani Mobility, Survival and Identity in Ghana,” **Yaa Oppong**, research fellow, Center for Population and Development Studies; Ph.D., social anthropology, School of

Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

*March 18*

“Aliquid Novo: New Evidence Concerning the Emergence of Complex Society in West Africa,” **Susan Keech McIntosh**, professor of anthropology, Rice University, Houston, Texas.

*April 1*

“The Rule of Law and the Abuse of Power in French Colonial Guinea,” **Martin A. Klein**, Coville Visiting Professor of History, Wellesley College; professor of history, University of Toronto.

*April 8*

“Prophetic Critiques of Colonial Agriculture: Alinesitoue and Vichy Senegal,” **Robert Baum**, professor of philosophy and religious studies, Iowa State University.

*April 28*

“Education Challenges and Policy Responses in Kenya,” **George Saitoti**, Honorable Minister of Education, Science and Technology, Republic of Kenya.

*April 29*

“The Old Dixie Narrative and Africa,” **Ibrahim Sundiata**, W.E.B. Du Bois Fellow; professor of history and African and Afro-American studies, Brandeis University.

## **ASIA**

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### **Seminar on Security and Domestic Politics in East Asia**

The Seminar on Security and Domestic Politics in East Asia brought together scholars and practitioners from East Asia to discuss current security issues and domestic politics of concern for regional peace and democratic consolidation of East Asia's Third Wave democracies. Topics for discussion included North Korean nuclear development, cross-strait relations, change and continuity in the security role of the United States, free trade agreement initiatives, anti-Americanism and nongovernmental organizations, the post-1997 politics of corporate reform, and electoral politics. The seminars were organized and coordinated by **Byung-Kook Kim**, Ralph I. Straus Visiting Professor at the John F. Kennedy School of Government.

**2003-04**

*October 7*

“Taiwan's Security Dilemma: Military Rivalry, Economic Dependence, and the Struggle over National Identity,” **Yunhan Chu**, distinguished fellow, Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica; professor, National Taiwan University; and president, The Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation.

*October 8*

“Korea at a Crossroads,” **Kyung-Won Kim**, president, Korean Institute of Social Sciences; president, Seoul Forum for International Affairs; former ambassador to the United States (1985-88); and permanent representative to the United Nations (1982-85).

*November 12*

“Global Investors, Legislative Institutions, and the Mediating State: Insights from Corporate Reform in Japan, Korea and France,” **Yves Tiberghien**, assistant professor, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia.

*November 18*

“Mass Publics and East Asian Security: Perspectives from South Korea,” **Byung-Kook Kim**, professor of Political Science, Korea University, and Ralph I. Straus Visiting Professor, Kennedy School of Government.

### **South Asia Seminar**

Established in 1989, the South Asia Seminar completed its fifteenth year in 2003-04. Since its inception, the seminar has had an interdisciplinary orientation and has focused on political, economic, security, and cultural issues in South Asia. Scholars, journalists, and public figures from (or specializing in) the subcontinent have presented their work in the seminar, and these presentations are followed by a question and answer period. The South Asia Seminar attracts faculty, visiting scholars, and students from Harvard and other universities in the Greater Boston area and is co-chaired by Professors **Sugata Bose** and **Devesh Kapur**. The seminar is co-sponsored by the Harvard University Asia Center and meets on selected Fridays in the Bowie-Vernon Conference Room at the Weatherhead Center.

## 2002-03

October 11

“Ethnicity and Empire: The Pashtuns and the North-West Frontier Province of India,” **Robert Nichols**, Historical Studies, Richard Stockton College.

October 15

“Indian Economic Reforms: Where They Are At and Where They Are Likely To Go,” **Jairam Ramesh**, Economic Policy Cell, Indian National Congress and author of *Kautilya Today: Jairam Ramesh on a Globalizing India*.

November 1

“The Saffron Screen? Hindu Nationalism and the Hindi Film,” **Rachel Dwyer**, Department of Languages and Cultures of South Asia, and chair, Centre of South Asian Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Co-sponsored with the Modern Asia Series, Asia Center.

November 8

“Missions, Mantras and the Mahatma: India and America,” **Leonard A. Gordon**, senior research associate, South Asian Institute, Columbia University and professor of history, Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center of City University of New York.

November 22

“Religion and Region: The Forging of State Ideology and Social Identity in Kashmir,” **Mridu Rai**, assistant professor, Department of History, Yale University.

February 28

“Leviathan Divided: The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India,” **Aseema Sinha**, assistant professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin at Madison.

April 18

“Conceptualizing from Within: Theories and Representations of Modernist Religion in India and Vietnam,” **Susan Bayly**, Department of Social Anthropology and Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge. Co-sponsored with the Modern Asia Series, Asia Center.

April 25

“The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party

Competition in India,” **Pradeep Chhibber**, associate professor of Political Science, University of California - Berkeley.

## 2003-04

October 3

“The Former ‘Manchester of India’: Earning a Living in Ahmedabad,” **Martha Chen**, lecturer, Department of Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

October 24

“Electoral Competition and Hindu-Muslim Riots in India,” **Steven Wilkinson**, assistant professor, Department of Political Science, Duke University.

November 7

“Causes and Consequences of the Ascendance of the Deobandi Ulama Networks in South Asian Islamism,” **Vali Nasr**, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School.

November 21

“Indian Constitutionalism and the Problem of History,” **Uday Mehta**, professor, Department of Political Science, Amherst College.

December 12

“(Post)Colonial Damage and the Political Minority: History, Hurt and Injury from a Constitutional Perspective,” **Anupama Rao**, assistant professor, Department of South Asian History, Barnard College.

February 13

“Consensus and Religious Authority in Modern South Asian Islam,” **Muhammad Qasim Zaman**, Robert Gale Noyes Assistant Professor of the Humanities, and assistant professor, Department of Religious Studies, Brown University.

February 27

“The Political Economy of Land Reform in West Bengal,” **Dilip Mookherjee**, professor, Department of Economics, Boston University.

March 5

“Archiving Language: Orientalism in Colonial South India,” **Rama Mantena**, visiting associate professor, Department of History, Smith College.

April 9

“Economic Agents, Cultural Subjects: Law, Market Ethics and Staging Capital in India, c. 1870-1930,” **Ritu Birla**, assistant professor, Department of History, University of Toronto.

## CANADA

The Canada Seminar examines Canadian economic, social, cultural, and political issues, both in their domestic and international dimensions. Presentations are made by public figures, scholars, artists, and experts in various fields. The Canada Seminar provides Harvard faculty and students, as well as the broader community, with a window on Canadian scholarly and public life. It seeks to enhance the understanding of the closest ally and largest trading partner of the United States, and to provide a forum for the lively exchange of ideas on a wide range of issues. Because Canada and the United States, like many other industrialized countries, must respond to similar economic and social challenges with distinctly different institutional frameworks and historical legacies, the study of Canadian issues offers rich opportunities for scholars engaged in comparative studies. The chair of the seminar each year is the William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies. **Robert Vipond**, professor of political science at the University of Toronto, chaired the seminar during the 2002-03 academic year and hosted a total of six speakers, including academics, public figures, journalists and public servants. The first talk of the year, by **Roy Romanow**, whose Royal Commission report on the future of the Canadian health care system, was especially noteworthy and attracted national media attention in Canada. The seminars are off the record and open to the public. **Rosemary J. Coombe**, a social anthropologist and Canada Research Chair in Law, Communications, and Culture from York University, chaired the seminar during the 2003-04 academic year and hosted a total of seven speakers. In the fall term, the Canada Seminar explored themes of comparative media studies and global cultural flows; that theme was continued and addressed in the spring term.

### 2002-03

October 16

“Policy in Process: Modernizing Canada’s Healthcare System,” **The Hon. Roy Romanow**, Q.C., commissioner on the

future of health care in Canada.

November 25

“The Media in Canada,” **Russell Mills**, Nieman Fellow, Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University.

December 2

“Global Governance or External Constitution? How NAFTA and the WTO Have Transformed Canada,” **Stephen Clarkson**, professor of political science, University of Toronto.

March 3

“A First Nation, Again: The Return of Self-Government and Self-Reliance in Canada’s Nisga’a Nation,” **Joseph Gosnell, Sr.**, president, Nisga’a Lisims Government, British Columbia.

April 7

“Open Trade, Open Borders? (A Canadian Perspective on the 2000 World Values Survey),” **Neil Nevitte**, professor of political science, University of Toronto.

April 22

“The Canada We Want,” **Paul Genest**, director of policy and research, Prime Minister’s Office, Canada.

### 2003-04

November 13

“Marshall McLuhan’s View of ‘Cosmic Media’ and the Future of Globalization,” **Janine Marchessault**, Canada Research Chair in Art, Digital Media, and Globalization, York University in Toronto.

December 3

“Blockbusters and Trade Wars: Popular Culture in a Globalized World,” **Peter S. Grant**, senior partner, McCarthy Tetrault.

December 17

“Managing Radiation Danger as a National Culture: Navy Men, Cowboys and Fishermen,” **Joy Parr**, fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, Canada Research Chair in Technology, Culture, and Risk, University of Western Ontario.

March 16

“Lost in Translation: The Problem of Global Culture,” **Mark Kingwell**, professor of philosophy, University of Toronto.

April 14

“Power to the People: British Columbia’s Citizens’ Assembly on Electoral Reform: A Unique Social Innovation in Democratic

Governance,” **Jack Blaney**, chair, Citizens’ Assembly, British Columbia. (Co-sponsored by the Labor and Worklife Program, Harvard Law School.)

*April 21*

“21st Century Diplomacy: Understanding Transgovernmental Networks in U.S. - Canada Relations,” **John Higginbotham**, vice president, Research and University Relations at the Canada School of Public Service. (Co-sponsored by the WCFIA Fellows Program.)

*May 3*

Screening and Discussion of the Film, “The Corporation,” **Joel Bakan**, professor of law, University of British Columbia. (Co-sponsored by the Labor and Worklife Program, Harvard Law School.)

## **COMMUNIST AND POSTCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES**

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From the 1970s to the 1990s, countries with communist political systems faced many similar challenges but responded in remarkably different ways. By the beginning of the 1990s, communist regimes survived only in Cuba and East Asia. Nearly all communist and postcommunist countries now confront crises of political legitimacy, economic growth and performance, and national and ethnic identities. The communist and postcommunist worlds pose stunning challenges in the redesign of the international system: China is an emerging superpower, and Russia is seeking a new international role. Harvard University has numerous faculty associated with various departments, research centers, and institutes, who work on nearly all of these countries and issues. A faculty seminar on these topics met three times under the sponsorship of the Weatherhead Center in 2002-03 and an additional three times in 2003-04. Each session was deliberately comparative, seeking to address themes that cut across various countries. The Communist and Postcommunist Countries Seminar, which is by invitation only, is chaired by Professors **Jorge I. Domínguez**, **Elizabeth Perry**, **Timothy Colton**, and **Grzegorz Ekiert**.

### **2002-03**

*October 17*

“Unification of East and West Germany,” **Professor Charles Maier**, Department of History, Harvard University;

“Hong Kong’s Reversal to China,” **Professor James Watson**, Department of Social Anthropology, Harvard University.

*November 26*

“AIDS in China and Cuba,” **Dr. Joan Kaufman**, East Asian Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School; **Dr. Arachu Castro**, Department of Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School.

*April 22*

“Identity and Information in the USSR and Russia,” **Professor Terry Martin**, Department of History, Harvard University and **Professor Yoshiko Herrera**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

### **2003-04**

*October 16*

“The State of Historical and Social Science Research on the USSR and the People’s Republic of China,” **Elizabeth Perry**, Henry Rosovsky Professor of Government, Harvard University, and **Andrea Graziosi**, visiting professor, Department of History, Harvard University.

*November 13*

“The Role of ‘Nostalgia’ in Political and Institutional Development of Postcommunist Countries,” **Cindy Skach**, assistant professor, Department of Government, Harvard University, and **Daniel Ziblatt**, assistant professor, Department of Government and Social Studies, Harvard University.

*March 23*

“What Legacy: Varieties of Socialism in Contemporary China, Cuba, and Vietnam,” **Regina M. Abrami**, assistant professor, Harvard Business School, and **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs and Director of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

## **COMPARATIVE POLITICS**

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### **Comparative Politics Seminar**

Harvard University hosts many professors with interests in comparative politics. Some study specific countries or issues; others focus on key themes, such as political economy; and several emphasize work on formal models of politics. For the most part, these scholars have interacted little with each other. The principal purpose of the Comparative Politics



Seminar, therefore, is to facilitate discussion among faculty who have different approaches to the study of the subject. To advance this objective, the seminar distributes papers prior to each meeting in order to foster discussion, comments, criticisms, and suggestions. The Comparative Politics Seminar is chaired by Professor **Jorge I. Domínguez**.

### 2002-03

*October 1*

“Gendering the Varieties of Capitalism: Explaining Occupational Segregation by Gender in Advanced Industrial Societies,” **Margarita Estévez-Abe**, assistant professor of government, Harvard University.

*October 29*

“Did Mexico’s 2000 Presidential Election Campaign Really Matter?” **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

*November 5*

“Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Preliminary Research Agenda,” **Gretchen Helmke**, assistant professor of political science, University of Notre Dame; **Steven Levitsky**, assistant professor of government, Harvard University.

*November 19*

“Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior,” **Pippa Norris**, McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

*November 26*

“Birds of a Different Feather? Varieties of Capitalism, Factor Specificity, and Interindustry Labor Movements,” **Michael Hiscox**, John L. Loeb Professor of the Social Sciences, Department of Government, Harvard University, and **Stephanie Rickard**, Ph.D. candidate, political science, Harvard University.

*February 4*

“Electoral Systems and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others,” **Torben Iversen**, professor of government, Harvard University.

*March 5*

“Infectious Credulity: Strategic Behavior in the Manufacture and Use of Data,” Professor **Yoshiko Herrera**, assistant

professor of government, and **Devesh Kapur**, associate professor of government, Harvard University.

*April 1*

“Getting Their Way, or Getting in the Way? Presidents and Party Unity in Legislative Voting,” **John Carey**, visiting scholar, Weatherhead Center.

*May 13*

“Organizing Violence,” **Robert Bates**, professor of government, Harvard University.

### 2003-04

*October 7*

“Perversions and Conversions: The Rational Choice of Party Democracy,” **Cindy Skach**, assistant professor, Department of Government, Harvard University.

*October 14*

“When Can History be Our Guide? The Pitfalls of Counterfactual Inference,” **Gary King**, David Florence Professor of Government, Harvard University.

*November 4*

“Rethinking Federalism’s Origins: Multitiered Governance Structures and European Political Development,” **Daniel Ziblatt**, assistant professor, Department of Government and Social Studies, Harvard University.

*February 24*

“Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes Toward Immigration in Europe,” **Michael J. Hiscox**, John L. Loeb Associate Professor of the Social Sciences, Harvard University.

### Research Workshop On Comparative Politics

The Research Workshop on Comparative Politics was founded in 2001 as the Research Workshop on the Performance of Democracies and developed under the leadership of **Robert Putnam** during his tenure as director of the Center for International Affairs. Formerly called the Sawyer Seminar and supported initially by a grant from the Mellon Foundation, the workshop is now supported by a grant from the Office of the Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Other faculty members who have led the workshop include **Jorge I. Domínguez**, **Grzegorz Ekiert**, **Devesh Kapur**, **Samuel Huntington**, **Elizabeth**

**Perry, Michael Sandel, Cindy Skach, and Theda Skocpol.** Doctoral student participants who receive academic credit, and the faculty leading the workshops present their work in progress on issues in comparative politics, especially problems relating to democracy and democratization, with other workshop members serving as discussants. Those leading the seminar also presented their work in progress. A key feature of the seminar has long been its commitment to the notion of research as a common enterprise, in which scholars at all stages of training and experience benefit from sharing their ideas and receiving feedback. Occasionally, other scholars are invited to present their work. Professors **Eva Bellin, Samuel Huntington, and Susan Pharr** led the workshop in 2002-03; Professors **Susan Pharr, Robert Putnam, and Margarita Estévez-Abe** led the workshop in 2003-04. (*A detailed schedule of events in 2003-04 is not available.*)

## 2002-03

*September 25*

“Factional Politics and its Financial Implications,” **Victor Shih**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Christian Brunelli**

*October 2*

“Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East,” **Eva Bellin**, associate professor of government and faculty associate, Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

Discussant: **Ben Smith**

*October 9*

“Making Tradeoffs over Time: Retrenchment, Investment and Pension Reform,” **Alan Jacobs**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Victor Shih**

*October 16*

“The Political Incorporation of Immigrants in Multinational States,” **Fiona Barker**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Antje Ellermann**

*October 23*

“State-Society Relationships and the Japanese Police,” **Christian Brunelli**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Lily Tsai**

*October 30*

Book Chapter: “Immigration and American National Identity,” **Sam Huntington**, Albert J. Weatherhead, III University Professor, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Peter Bruland**

“The Wrong Kind of Crisis: Oil Shocks and the Failure of Democratic Transitions,” **Ben Smith**, Harvard Academy Scholar.

Discussant: **Robert Fannion**

*November 6*

“Administrative Reform and Multiparty Presidentialism in Latin America,” **Daniel Gingerich**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Sam Huntington**

*November 13*

“Financial Sector Reform in Central and Eastern Europe,” **David Lehrer**, graduate student, Helsinki University, visiting exchange scholar at Brown University.

Practice Job Talk: “Making Trade-offs over Time: The Politics of Pension Reform in Canada, Germany and the UK,” **Alan Jacobs**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Mikhail Pryadilnikov**

*November 20*

“Psychological Theories of Nationalism and Group Membership in the Former Soviet Union,” **Peter Bruland**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Practice Job Talk: “Factional Politics and Banking Sector Reform in China,” **Victor Shih**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Dan Epstein**

*December 4*

“Deportation Policy in the United States and Germany” **Antje Ellermann**, Department of Political Science, Brandeis University.

Practice Job Talk: “Oil Shocks and Transition Paths in Indonesia and Iran,” **Ben Smith**, Academy Scholar, WCFIA.

Discussant: **Eva Bellin**

*December 11*

“Local State Behavior in Rural China,” **Lily Tsai**, graduate student, Department of Government. Discussant: **Alan Jacobs**.

“Political Party Development in Russia and Brazil,” **Dan Epstein**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Fiona Barker**

*February 5*

“Targeting by an Activist State: Japan as a Civil Society Model,” **Susan Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, Department of Government.

Discussant: **John Carey**

*February 19*

“Democratization of the Tibetan Government in Exile,” **Lobsang Sangay**, doctoral student, Harvard Law School.

Discussant: **Susan Pharr**

*February 26*

“Corruption Control and Quality of Bureaucracy in Latin America,” **Daniel Gingerich**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Verena Blechinger**

“Theorizing the Behavior of Village Governments in Rural China,” **Lily Tsai**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Victor Shih**

*March 5*

“Roundtable on Conducting Fieldwork,” **John Carey**, visiting scholar, Weatherhead Center, **Susan Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, Department of Government, Harvard University; **Ben Smith**, Harvard Academy Scholar; and **Patricia Woods**, visiting scholar, Weatherhead Center.

*March 12*

“Clientelism and Political Parties in Brazil,” **Dan Epstein**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Sam Huntington**

*March 19*

“Collapse of Discipline: The First Inflationary Cycle in China,” **Victor Shih**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Mikhail Pryadilnikov**

*April 2*

“State Building in Latin America: A Critical Juncture Argument,” **Hillel Soifer**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Fiona Barker**

*April 9*

“American National Identity,” **Samuel Huntington**, Albert J. Weatherhead, III University Professor, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Eva Bellin**

“Politics after Pension Reform: Institutional Change and Political Participation in Latin America,” **Shannon O’Neil** Trowbridge, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Patricia Woods**

*April 16*

“The Information Nexus: Understanding Corruption in Japan,” **Verena Blechinger-Talcott**, advanced research fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

Discussant: **Ben Smith**

“State-building in Postcommunist Russia,” **Mikhail Pryadilnikov**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Xiu Li**

*April 23*

“Regional Contestation over Citizenship and Integration Policy in Belgium,” **Fiona Barker**, Graduate Student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Peter Bruland**

“Judicial Politics and Political Islam,” **Patricia Woods**, visiting scholar, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Florida.

Discussant: **Lobsang Sangay**

*April 30*

“Defining Ourselves: Psychology and Ethnic Relations in the Former Soviet Union,” **Peter Bruland**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Dan Epstein**

“Migrant Workers in China,” **Xiu Li**, graduate student, Department of Government.

Discussant: **Lily Tsai**

## **CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION**

Re-named the Herbert Kelman Seminar on Conflict Analysis and Resolution in 2003-04, this seminar was focused on exploring the necessity and feasibility of a new Non-Governmental Organization: an international facilitating service for interactive conflict resolution. Sessions dealt with the interface between conflict resolution activities and

other governmental and nongovernmental activities in conflict and post-conflict settings, including peacekeeping, human rights, humanitarian aid, reconstruction, economic and political development, and reconciliation; the relationship between Track I and Track II diplomacy; and the role of some existing NGOs in conflict resolution and related fields. The seminars, chaired by **Donna Hicks**, met nine times during the 2002-03 academic year and eleven times in 2003-04, and were attended by Weatherhead Center Fellows, visiting scholars, practitioners, students from Harvard and other local universities, and the interested public.

## 2002-03

*September 22*

“Dialogue Between Conflict Groups in Uncertain Times,” **Shay Ben Yosef**, **Ada Mayer**, **Anat Sarel**, and **Nimer Said**, members of the Israeli organization, Besod Siach.

*October 20*

“Facing Reality: Why the Conflict Resolution Community is not on the Bush Radar Screen,” **Mari Fitzduff**, professor, Department of Politics and International Ethics, Brandeis University.

*November 3*

“System Dynamics in Intractable Conflict,” **David Peter Stroh**, principal, Bridgeway Partners, Cambridge, MA.

*November 17*

“An Old Threat to Global and National Security: Violence in God’s Name,” **Oliver McTernan**, writer and broadcaster, BBC; consultant, Club of Madrid; Weatherhead Center Fellow (2001-02).

*December 1*

“NGO Peace Work: Why Isn’t It All Adding Up?” **Mary Anderson**, executive director, CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, Cambridge, MA.

*February 23*

“When Dialogue and Peacemaking Goes Virtual: Cases from the Middle East and Sri Lanka,” **Liza Chambers**, executive director, Solis; and **Hannes Siebert**, media and technology consultant, Sri Lankan Peace Process.

*March 15*

“The Application of Conflict Resolution

Processes to Complex Humanitarian Emergencies,” **Rebecca Dale**, consultant, Famine Center, Tufts University.

*April 19*

“In Search of a Realistic and Acceptable Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Geneva Accord,” **Alexis Keller**, senior fellow, Swiss National Science Foundation, and fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

*May 3*

“Educating the Enemy: The Case of the Muslim Minority in Western Thrace, Greece,” **Thalia Dragonas**, professor, Department of Social Psychology, University of Athens; and **Anna Frangoudaki**, Department of Sociology of Education, University of Athens.

## 2003-04

*October 7*

“Casualties of Conflict: Human Rights Issues in Afghanistan,” **Jennifer Leaning**, professor of international health; director, Program on Humanitarian Crises, FXB Center, Harvard School of Public Health.

*October 28*

“Cyprus: Paradoxes and Challenges at the Societal Level,” **Maria Hadjipavlou**, professor of political science and conflict resolution, Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cyprus; president of the Cyprus Peace Center.

*November 4*

“Health as a Bridge to Peace: Psychosocial Assistance for Social Reconstruction in Former Yugoslavia,” **Paula Gutlove**, director, International Conflict Management Program, Institute for Resource and Security Studies.

*November 18*

“Identity Reconstruction with Politically Divided Communities: The Cuba Case,” **Carlos Alvarez**, associate professor of psychology, director of the Conflict Resolution Area of the Graduate Program of International and Intercultural Development and Education, Florida International University.

*December 2*

“A Real Chance for Peace: Sri Lanka at the Crossroads” (Panel Discussion), **Donna Hicks**, deputy director, PICAR; **Tim**

**Phillips**, co-founder, Project on Justice in Times of Transition; and **William Weisberg**, PICAR associate and director, Children's Aid Society.

*February 24*

Panel Discussion: "Advancing the Field of Conflict Resolution: The Role of the Alliance for International Conflict Resolution (AICR)," **David Fairman**, vice president, International Programs, Consensus Building Institute; **Paula Gutlove**, director, International Conflict Management Program, Institute for Resource and Security Studies; and **Donna Hicks**, deputy director, PICAR.

*March 10*

"Coordinating and Integrating the Range of Peacebuilding Interventions: Challenges to Conflict Resolution and Related Fields," **Kevin Clements**, secretary general, International Alert, London, England.

*March 12*

"Why Do Some Third Party Interventions Make Things Worse?" **Arman Grigorian**, fellow, Belfer Center on Science and International Affairs and Ph.D. candidate in political science, Columbia University.

*April 7*

"The Complementary Roles of Track I and Track II Diplomacy," Ambassador **Jose Maria Argueta**, former national security advisor, Guatemala.

*April 21*

"Conflict Resolution, Human Rights, and Humanitarian Assistance: Synergies and Obstacles," **Eileen Babbitt**, assistant professor of international politics; co-director, Center for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; **Jennifer Leaning**, professor of international health, director, Program on Humanitarian Crises, FXB Center, Harvard School of Public Health; and **Stephen Marks**, François-Xavier Bagnoud Professor, director, FXB Center, Harvard School of Public Health.

*May 5*

"The Role of an International Facilitation Service for International Conflict Resolution," **Herbert Kelman**, Richard Clarke Cabot Research Professor of Social Ethics, Harvard University, and director, PICAR.

## **ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT**

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Initiated in 2002-03, the Economic Growth and Development Workshop convened weekly to discuss papers on international economics, development, and economic relations between the industrialized and less industrialized countries. Faculty participants were drawn from the Department of Economics and the John F. Kennedy School of Government, as well as from other Departments and Schools of the University. The workshop also invited economists from other universities and research institutions to present their work. The papers discussed were available before each talk and posted on the Economic Growth and Development Workshop Web site. In 2002-03 Professor **Michael Kremer** directed the workshop along with Professors **Dwight Perkins** and **Robert Barro**. Michael Kremer continued to lead the workshop in 2003-04, along with Weatherhead Center faculty associates **Francesco Caselli**, **Dwight Perkins**, and **Mark Rosenzweig**. During the fall semester the workshop met on Tuesday afternoons.

### **2002-03**

*September 17*

"Religion and Political Economy in an International Panel," **Robert Barro**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

*September 24*

"The Theory and Empirics of Institutional Choice," **Dani Rodrik**, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

*October 1*

"How Easily Do Lawbreakers Adapt to Increased Enforcement? Philippine Smugglers' Responses to a Common Customs Reform," **Dean Yang**, graduate student, Harvard University.

*October 8*

Guest speaker **Larry Iannaccone**, professor of economics of religion, George Mason University.

*October 15*

"The Burden of Knowledge and the Death of the Renaissance Man: Is Innovation Getting Harder?" **Ben Ben**, graduate student, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

October 22

“The Supply of Birth Control Methods, Education and Fertility: Evidence from Romania,” **Christian Pop-Eleches**, graduate student, Harvard University.

October 29

“Are Debt Crises Self-Fulfilling?” **Marcos Chamon**, graduate student, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

## 2003-04

September 16

“Traditional Institutions Meet the Modern World,” **Kaivan Munshi**, associate professor, Department of Economics, Brown University.

September 23

“Polygyny and Poverty,” **Michele Tertilt**, Stanford University.

September 30

“Trading in Phantom Markets,” **Asim Khwaja**, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

October 7

“On the Costs and Benefits of Political Centralization: a lesson from African Indigenous Institutions,” **Ilia Rainer**, Graduate Department of Economics.

October 14

“The Poor Get Poorer: General Equilibrium Effects of Labor Supply as a Smoothing Mechanism in Developing Countries,” **Seema Jayachandran**, Graduate Department of Economics.

October 21

“Contracting in the Shadow of the Legal System,” **Nicola Gennaioli**, Graduate Department of Economics.

October 28

“The benefits of banking relationships: Evidence from Uganda’s banking crisis,” **James Habyarimana**, Graduate Department of Economics.

November 4

“Inequality, Growth and Trade Policy,” **Abhijit Banerjee**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

November 18

“Immigrating to Opportunity: Estimating the Effect of School Quality using A Natural Experiment on the Ethiopians in Israel,” **Victor Lavy**, Hebrew University of

Jerusalem.

November 25

“Dynastic Management,” **Francesco Caselli**.

December 2

“Competition and Incentives with Motivated Agents,” **Maitreesh Ghatak**, London School of Economics.

December 9

“Are Drugs More Profitable Than Vaccines?” **Michael Kremer**.

December 16

“The Micro and Mackerel Economics of Information,” **Robert Jensen**, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

## ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Seminar on Ethics and International Relations provides a forum for scholars to explore a broad range of ethical issues with relevance to international affairs. Speakers address issues from the perspectives of social science, public policy, and a variety of ethical and religious traditions. Participants are drawn from the Weatherhead Center, the Departments of Government, Philosophy, and History, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, the Divinity School, Harvard Law School, and other area universities. This year’s speakers addressed a wide range of issues, including the philosophical underpinnings of global distributive justice, constitutional accommodation of cultural minorities, human rights, and terror and American power. The seminars were chaired by **Stanley Hoffmann**, Paul and Catherine Buittenwieser University Professor, Harvard University.

## 2002-03

October 31

“On Human Rights,” **Charles R. Beitz**, professor of politics, Princeton University.

November 20

“Autonomy Regimes for Ethnic Minorities: Human Rights Perspectives,” **Henry J. Steiner**, Jeremiah Smith Jr. Professor of Law, Harvard Law School, and director, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School.

February 20

“Problems from Hell: U.S. Foreign Policy in an Age of Terror,” **Samantha Power**, lecturer on public policy, Kennedy School

of Government.

*April 23*

“Poverty and Inequality: The Challenge of Global Distributive Justice,” **Nancy Kokaz**, assistant professor, political science and peace and conflict studies, University of Toronto.

## **EUROPE**

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### **Challenges of the Twenty-first Century: European and American Perspectives**

Challenges of the Twenty-First Century is organized and coordinated by Renée Haferkamp, Fellow 1993-94, and is jointly sponsored by the Weatherhead Center and the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies. The seminars bring high-ranking officials from within the European Commission to Harvard to discuss and explore with the wider University community current issues of concern for the future of the European Union. Since its inception in 1996, the series has examined topics such as common foreign and security policy, European Monetary Union, EU enlargement, the state of transatlantic relations, and trade and competition strategy. Speakers in spring 2003 included Javier Solana, Dr. Pedro Solbes, Judge Melchior Wathelet, Ambassador Sir Jeremy Greenstock, and Ambassador Gunter Pleuger. Guest speakers scheduled for fall 2003 included Prime Minister Valéry Giscard d’Estaing and Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa from the European Central Bank.

### **2003-04**

*October 8*

“The Philadelphia Convention of 1787 and the European Convention of 2002: Drafting a Constitution,” **H.E Valery Giscard D’Estaing**, president of the European Convention; former president of France.

*November 7*

“The New Europe,” **Sir John Kerr**, secretary general of the European Convention.

*November 14*

“International Monetary Cooperation: A Perspective from the European Central Bank,” **Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa**, European Central Bank.

## **GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP**

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The Redefining the Boundaries of Belonging Working Group held seven dinner talks attended by a group of ten faculty members, postdoctoral and graduate students from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Boston University, and Wellesley College. Everyone in the group was involved in research that either directly or, in some cases, indirectly addressed the rights and responsibilities of global citizenship. Group members used the sessions to present work to one another. At the end of each session, the person who had presented the previous time was asked to summarize how the new work that had been presented contributed to our growing body of collective wisdom. This technique of “systematic knowledge building” worked quite well. Although this seminar will not continue during academic year 2003-04, some exciting developments resulted from our conversations. Some of the participants put together a proposal to write a comparative ethnography of transnationalism that was recently funded by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

### **2002-03**

*October 28*

“Globality and Transnationality,” **Peter Dobkin Hall**, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

*November 25*

“Defining and Explaining Variations in Transnational Practices,” **Peggy Levitt**, Department of Sociology, Wellesley College.

*December 10*

“Compassion Relief and Its Global Diaspora,” **Robert Weller**, Department of Anthropology, Boston University.

*January 27*

“Theorizing the Localization of Human Rights,” **Sally Merry**, Department of Anthropology, Wellesley College.

*February 18*

“Religious Ideals in Social Movements,” **Sukki Kong**, doctoral candidate, Department of Sociology, Harvard University.

“Making Waves: The Impact of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in China,” **Dong Xio Liu**, doctoral candidate, Department of Sociology, Harvard University.

March 24

“International Religious NGOs: An Exploratory Analysis,” **Julia Berger**, The Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Harvard University.

“Creating Nationalism: The Role of Monuments,” **Lucia Volk**, senior tutor, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University.

April 28

“When Is Civil Society Uncivil?” Professor **Adil Najam**, Department of International Relations, Boston University.

“Gendered Citizenship,” **Kathy Coll**, lecturer, Women’s Studies and Anthropology, Harvard University.

## INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

The Workshop on International Economics covers a broad spectrum of recent theoretical and empirical research on international trade, capital markets, and monetary arrangements. Examples of session topics in 2002-03 included the benefits of a common currency, new open economy macroeconomics, the political economy of trade and income distribution, political budget cycles in open economy economies, financial crises, and direct foreign investment. Examples of session topics in 2003-04 included global financial adjustment, the international organization of production, and the effect of trade on growth and welfare. The seminars in 2002-03 were chaired by Professors **Marianne Baxter**, **Richard N. Cooper**, **Jeffrey Frankel**, **Elhanan Helpman**, **Dani Rodrik**, **Marc Melitz**, and **Andrés Velasco**. The workshops in 2003-04 were chaired by Professors **Pol Antràs**, **Richard Cooper**, **Elhanan Helpman**, **Marc Melitz**, and **Kenneth Rogoff**. In 2003-04 the International Economics Workshop met for 23 sessions, once jointly with the Industrial Organizations Workshop. Workshops attracted an average audience of twenty members.

### 2002-03

September 18

“Technology Superiority and Losses from Migration,” **Donald Davis**, Department of Economics, Columbia University.

September 25

“Exports vs FDI,” **Marc Melitz** and **Elhanan Helpman**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

October 2

“On the Benefits of Capital Account Liberalization for Emerging Economies,” **Pierre-Olivier Gourinchas**, Department of Economics, Princeton University.

October 9

“Fire-Sale FDI and Liquidity Crises,” **Mark Aguiar**, Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago.

October 16

“Tax Competition vs. Tax Coordination under Perfect Capital Mobility: Supply-Side Economics of International Tax Competition,” **Linda Tesar**, Department of Economics, University of Michigan.

October 23

“Does Globalization Increase Child Labor? Evidence from Vietnam?” **Nina Pavcnik**, Department of Economics, Dartmouth College.

October 30

“What Explains Cross-Country Differences in Price Levels,” **Doireann Fitzgerald**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

“Are Debt Crises Self-Fulfilling?” **Marcos Chamon**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

November 1

“Who Protected and Why? Tariffs in the World around 1870-1938,” **Jeffrey Williamson**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

November 6

“Bubbles and Capital Flows,” **Jaume Ventura**, Department of Economics, MIT.

November 13

“Asymmetric Lobbying: Why Governments Pick Losers,” **Richard Baldwin**, Department of International Economics, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva.

November 20

“The Role of Information in Driving FDI: Theory and Evidence,” **Assaf Razin**, Department of Economics, Cornell and Tel Aviv Universities.

December 4

“Trade, Tragedy, and the Commons,” **Scott Taylor**, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin at Madison.



*December 11*

“Who Is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Preferences on Immigration Policy,” **Anna Maria Mayda**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

“Exchange Rates and Fundamentals: Evidence from Commodity Economies,” **Yu-chin Chen**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

*December 18*

“How Easily Do Lawbreakers Adapt to Increased Enforcement? Philippine Smugglers’ Responses to a Common Customs Reform,” **Dean Yang**, graduate student, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

*February 5*

“Economic Development as Self-Discovery,” **Dani Rodrik**, professor of international political economy, Harvard University.

*February 12*

“Why Is Inflation So Low After Large Devaluations?” **Ariel Burstein**, Department of Economics, University of Michigan.

*February 19*

“Why Are One Third of People Indian or Chinese? Trade, Demographic Patterns and the Great Divergence,” **Oded Galor**, Department of Economics, Brown University.

*February 26*

“Can Information Dispersion Explain the Exchange Rate Determination Puzzle?” **Eric Van Wincoop**, Department of Economics, University of Virginia.

*March 5*

“Exchange Rates and Fundamentals,” **Charles Engel**, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin.

*March 12*

“International Trade in General Oligopolistic Equilibrium,” **Peter Neary**, University College, Dublin.

*March 19*

“Sprawl: A Portrait from Space,” **Diego Puga**, Department of Economics, University of Toronto.

*April 2*

“Ownership and Control in Outsourcing to China,” **Gordon Hanson**, Department

of Economics, University of California at San Diego.

*April 9*

“Incomplete Contracts and the Product Cycle,” **Pol Antràs**, Ph.D. candidate.

“Fault Lines in China’s Economic Terrain,” **Charles Wolf, Jr.**, RAND Corporation.

*April 23*

“Inefficient Foreign Borrowing,” **Jean Tirole**, Institut d’Economie Industrielle, France.

*April 30*

“Tough Policies, Incredible Policies.” **Andrés Velasco**, Sumitomo Professor of International Finance and Development Center for International Development, Harvard University.

## 2003-04

*September 17*

“International Agreements on Product Standards: An Incomplete-Contracting Theory,” **Giovanni Maggi**, professor of economics, Princeton University.

*September 24*

“Endogenous Nontradability and Macroeconomic Implications,” **Paul Bergin**, associate professor of economics, University of California at Davis.

*October 1*

“Crises and Growth: A Re-Evaluation,” **Aaron Tornell**, professor of economics, University of California at Los Angeles.

*October 8*

“The Modern History of Exchange Rate Arrangements: A Reinterpretation,” **Kenneth Rogoff**, professor of economics, Harvard University.

*October 15*

“International Trade and Macroeconomic Dynamics with Heterogeneous Firms,” **Marc Melitz**, assistant professor of economics, Harvard University.

*October 22*

“Trade, Growth and the Size of Countries,” **Alberto Alesina**, professor of economics, Harvard University.

*October 27*

“Trade Policy and Industrial Sector Responses: Using Evolutionary Models to Interpret the Evidence,” **Jim Tybout**, professor of economics, Pennsylvania

State University. (Joint session with the Industrial Organizations Workshop.)

*October 29*

“International Financial Adjustment,” **Hélène Rey**, assistant professor of economics, Princeton University.

*November 5*

“International Investment Patterns,” **Philip Lane**, professor of economics, Trinity College, Dublin.

*November 12*

“Multinational Enterprises, International Trade, and Productivity Growth: Firm-Level Evidence from the United States,” **Stephen Yeaple**, assistant professor of economics, University of Pennsylvania.

*November 19*

“Global Sourcing,” **Pol Antràs** and **Elhanan Helpman**, assistant professor of economics, and professor of economics, Harvard University.

*December 3*

“Market Size, Trade, and Productivity,” **Marc Melitz**, assistant professor of economics, Harvard University.

*December 10*

“A New Measure of Home Bias and its Determinants,” **Eugene Agronin**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics, Harvard University.

*February 11*

“Discrete Devaluations and Multiple Equilibria in a First-Generation Model of Currency Crises,” **Fernando Broner**, assistant professor of economics, University of Maryland at College Park.

*February 18*

“Why Doesn’t Capital Flow from Rich to Poor Countries? An Empirical Investigation,” **Laura Alfaro**, assistant professor, Harvard Business School.

*March 3*

“Trade Policy, Income Risk and Welfare,” **Pravin Krishna**, professor of economics, Brown University.

*March 10*

“Inequality and Trade,” **Devashish Mitra**, associate professor of economics, Syracuse University.

*March 17*

“PPP Strikes Back: Aggregation and the Real Exchange Rate,” **Jean Imbs**, assistant

professor of economics, London Business School and Princeton University.

*March 24*

“On the Effects of Trade Liberalization,” **Romain Wacziarg**, associate professor of economics, Stanford University.

*April 7*

“Once More into the Breach: Economic Growth and Global Integration,” **Andrew Warner**, economist, Center for Global Development and National Bureau of Economic Research.

*April 14*

“Commitment versus Flexibility,” **Manuel Amador**, assistant professor of economics, Stanford University.

*April 21*

“Benefits and Spillovers of Greater Competition in Europe: A Macroeconomic Assessment,” **Paolo Pesenti**, economist, Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

*April 28*

“Endogenous Firm Heterogeneity and the Dynamics of Trade Liberalization,” **Phil McCalman**, assistant professor of economics, University of California at Santa Cruz.

## **INTERNATIONAL HISTORY**

The International History Seminar offered presentations on a broad array of topics and themes in international history. The seminars spanned most regions of the world (Asia, Middle East, Europe, both east and west, North America) and emphasized relationships and connections among a number of regions. The timeframe covered was also broad; most papers focused on the relatively recent past, but some ventured as far back as the Roman Empire. The International History Seminar met approximately every two to three weeks in 2003-04, and speakers included both faculty and advanced graduate students, both from Harvard and beyond. Each session was attended by an average of twelve to fifteen participants, again a mix of graduate students and faculty, including a number of Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates. A few sessions, however, drew significantly more people, including the opening session in October (a panel discussion on “100 Years to the Russo-Japanese War”) and the closing session in early May (featuring **Lisa McGirr**, professor of history, Harvard University).

## 2003-04

October 1

“100 Years to the Russo-Japanese War – A Colloquium,” **Sugata Bose**, Gardner Professor of Oceanic History, Harvard University; **Akira Iriye**, Charles Warren Professor of American History, Harvard University; **John LeDonne**, lecturer, Harvard University.

October 29

“An American Empire? Implication for Democracy, Order, and Disorder in World Politics,” **Charles S. Maier**, Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, Harvard University.

November 16

“The Role of Anti-Western Ideas in International History: The Cases of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Asianism,” **Cemil Aydin**, assistant professor, Department of History, Ohio State University.

February 11

“The Outsider as Marginal Scholar: Reflections on the Past, the Foreign, and Comparative Studies in American History,” **Ron Robin**, professor, Department of History, Haifa University, Israel.

March 10

“New Rome, New Romans: The Re-Imposition of Imperial Rule in Late Antique North Africa, A.D. 533-698,” **Jonathan Conant**, Ph.D. candidate, Harvard University.

March 24

“Conflict in a Nutshell: Japanese and International Reactions to the Tripartite Intervention (1895),” **Matthias Zachmann**, Ph.D. candidate, Heidelberg University.

April 6

“The Maritime Nature of the Wars for Vietnam, 1945-1975,” **Christopher Goscha**, assistant professor, Department of History, University of Lyon II, France.

April 14

“Rethinking European colonial expansion: Some pointers,” **Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau**, professor, Department of History, University of Bretagne-Sud and the University Institute of France.

May 5

“Transnational Solidarities: The Sacco and Vanzetti Case in Global Perspective,” **Lisa McGirr**, associate professor, Department of History, Harvard University.

## MIDDLE EAST

Since its inception in 1975, the Middle East Seminar has focused on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Middle East peace process. Other topics have included state formation, the role of religion in politics, inter-Arab relations, internal social and political developments in particular countries in the Middle East, and the Middle East policies of the United States, the UN, as well as other governments and international organizations. The seminar met every other week for a presentation by an invited speaker, followed by discussion. Speakers included scholars, diplomats, writers, political figures, and organizational leaders from the Middle East, the United States, and elsewhere, and represented a variety of disciplinary orientations and political viewpoints. The seminar is co-sponsored by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Open to the public and off the record, it has become widely known as an arena for the civilized discussion of controversial issues. Professor **Herbert Kelman** has chaired the seminar since 1978; since 1996, Professor **Lenore Martin** and Dr. **Sara Roy** have co-chaired it with him. In 2002-03, the seminar continued under the leadership of Drs. Martin, Roy, and Kelman.

## 2002-03

September 26

“U.S. Policy in Iraq: A Weapons Inspector’s Critique,” **Scott Ritter**, former UN weapons inspector.

October 10

“Why Are We Here and What Is Next: An Overview of the Palestinian Situation,” **Islah Jad**, professor of gender and politics, Bir Zeit University, West Bank.

October 24

“Madison Avenue v. the Arab Street: U.S. Public Diplomacy and the Arab Media,” **Hafez Al-Mirazi**, bureau chief, *Al Jazeera*, Washington, DC.

November 7

“Iran: What Remains of the Islamic Revolution,” **Ali Banuazizi**, professor of history and co-director of the Program on

Middle East and Islamic Studies, Boston College.

November 21

“The Collapse of the Peace Process: Lessons for the Future,” **Raviv Drucker**, Nieman Fellow, Harvard University, former diplomatic correspondent, IDF Radio, and author, *Hara-Kiri*.

December 5

“The Socioeconomic Basis of a Palestinian-Israeli Peace: Development Imperatives,” **Landrum Bolling**, director-at-large, Mercy Corps, and senior advisor, Conflict Management Group.

February 6

“Violence and Cooperation: Developing Palestinian-Israeli Projects in Times of Crisis-A Case Study of the Shared History Initiative,” **Dan Bar-On**, professor of psychology, Ben Gurion University, Israel and visiting professor, Stockton College.

February 20

“Islam and the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” **Moshe Ma’oz**, professor of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies, Hebrew University, Israel, and visiting professor, Brandeis University.

March 6

“The Iraqi Opposition: Prospects and Challenges,” **Robert Rabil**, project manager, Iraq Research and Documentation Project, Washington, DC.

April 2

“Israeli-Palestinian Peace: Nonviolent Paths to Self-Determination and Security for Both Peoples” (Symposium) **Daniel Rothschild**, president, Israeli Council for Peace and Security and former coordinator of government activities in the Territories; **Michael Tarazi**, legal advisor to the Palestinian Authority; **Diana Buttu**, legal advisor to the Negotiations Affairs Department of the Palestinian Liberation Organization; and **Moshe Ma’oz**, professor of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies, Hebrew University, Israel and visiting professor, Brandeis University.

April 24

“Kuwait’s Economic Quandary and U.S. Policy in the Gulf,” **Karen Pfeifer**, professor of economics, Smith College.

May 1

“Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the

Peace Process in the Middle East, 1995-2002,” **Charles Enderlin**, Jerusalem Bureau Chief of France 2 Television.

May 8

“Recent Political Developments in Syria,” **Murhaf Jouejati**, scholar-in-residence, Middle East Institute and lecturer at Georgetown University.

## 2003-04

September 23

“Lessons from Kuwait’s Democratic Experience,” **Ahmad Bishara**, professor, Kuwait University.

October 2

“The Dialectics of Revolution and Reform in the Islamic Republic,” **Bahman Baktiari**, professor, International Relations, University of Maine.

October 16

“The Rage of Osama Bin Laden,” **Henry Munson**, professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Maine and visiting scholar, Harvard University.

October 23

“Claiming the Land of Israel: The Vagaries of Political Correctness in a Century-Old Dispute,” **S. Ilan Troen**, Lopin Professor of Modern History, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and Stoll Family Professor of Israel Studies, Brandeis University.

October 30

“Post-War Failings in Iraq,” **David Phillips**, senior fellow and deputy director, Center for Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations, and visiting scholar, Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

November 13

“The Militarization of the Intifadah: Reasons, Impact, and Future Implications,” **Salah Jawad**, associate professor, Political Science and History, Bir Zeit University, West Bank.

November 20

“Syria in the Post-Iraq Middle East,” **Peter Ford**, British ambassador to Damascus and former WCFIA Fellow.

December 4

“Ghetto Politics and Radical Religion among Postwar Iraqi Shiites,” **Juan Cole**, professor, Modern Middle Eastern and South Asian History, University of Michigan.

February 12

“The Clash of Fundamentalisms,” **Tariq Ali**, editor, *New Left Review*, and author, *Bush in Babylon: The Recolonization of Iraq*, and *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity*.

February 26

“Envisioning Alternative Futures for Iraq,” **Phebe Marr**, author, *Modern History of Iraq*, and former senior fellow, National Defense University.

March 11

“The Druze Community in Israel,” **Zeidan Atashi**, former Israeli diplomat and member of Knesset.

March 25

“The EU and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict,” **Pasi Patokallio**, former ambassador of Finland to Israel and Cyprus and WCFIA fellow.

April 19

“In Search of a Realistic and Acceptable Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Geneva Accord,” **Alexis Keller**, senior fellow of the Swiss National Science Foundation, and fellow of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, JFK School of Government. (Joint session with the Herbert C. Kelman Seminar on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution.)

April 22

WCFIA Jodidi Lecture, “Geneva Initiative: Realistic Utopia; Creating a Window of Opportunity in a Wall of Separation,” **Amram Mitzna**, member of Knesset, Labor Party candidate for Prime Minister in 2003, and former WCFIA fellow.

May 6

“Palestinian and Israeli Missed Opportunities,” **Philip J. Mattar**, guest scholar, United States Institute of Peace.

## **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

The Harvard/MIT Joint Seminar in Political Development (JOSPOD) was founded by **Samuel Huntington** (Harvard) and **Myron Weiner** (MIT) during academic year 1963-64. It met for 35 consecutive years until it was briefly discontinued for two years after Weiner’s death. Professors **Kanchan Chandra** (MIT) and **Jorge I. Domínguez** (Harvard) re-launched the Seminar in 2001. The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs

at Harvard and the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology co-sponsor the seminar. Alternating between the Harvard and MIT Faculty Clubs, the seminar meets for dinner on Wednesday evenings during the academic year to bring together scholars and practitioners of political development, mainly from the Boston area. **Jorge I. Domínguez** (Harvard) and **Kanchan Chandra** (MIT) chaired the seminar for both academic years, while **Naunihal Singh** served as executive secretary in 2002-03. The seminar met six Wednesday evenings throughout the academic year, alternating between the two sponsoring universities, bringing together scholars, selected graduate students, and practitioners of political development, mainly from the Boston area. Each meeting began with a presentation by an invited speaker on the year’s general topic, followed by an hour-long discussion. In 2003-04 the topic was an interdisciplinary approach to the study of democracy.

## **2002-03**

September 25

“Caste, Class and All That: Dynamism and Paralysis in Rural India,” **Abhijit Banerjee**, professor of economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

October 30

“Why Do Ethnic Parties Succeed?” **Kanchan Chandra**, assistant professor of political science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

December 5

“Sons of the Soil, Immigrants and Civil War,” **David Laitin**, professor of political science, Stanford University.

February 19

“Identity Regimes and Identity Politics: A Framework for Analysis,” **Terry Martin**, associate professor of history, Harvard University.

March 12

Guest speaker **Homi Bhabha**, professor of English and American literature, Harvard University.

April 2

“Cultural Adaptation and the Evolution of Institutions,” **Rob Boyd**, professor of anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles.

## 2003-04

September 24

“Democracy and Equality: In Theory and In Practice,” **Sidney Verba**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

October 22

“On the Choice of Forms of Government,” **Alberto Alesina**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

November 12

“The Politics of the Governed,” **Partha Chatterjee**, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

February 11

“A Way of Thinking about Democracy,” **Roberto Mangabeira Unger**, Harvard Law School.

March 17

“A Human Right to Democracy?” **Josh Cohen**, Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT.

April 21

“Islam and the Cross-Cultural Possibility of Democracy: Lessons from Indonesia and Beyond,” **Robert Hefner**, Institute on Religion and World Affairs, Boston University.

## POLITICAL ECONOMY

### Faculty Discussion Group on Political Economy

During the 2002-03 academic year, the Faculty Discussion Group on Political Economy, co-sponsored by the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, held an informal weekly luncheon meeting on Tuesdays to discuss a previously distributed paper on a wide range of subjects related to political economy. Papers were sent to approximately forty faculty members from various Schools and departments. A free-wheeling discussion of the paper ensued among the faculty who attended.

### Research Workshop on Political Economy

The Research Workshop on Political Economy was a year-long graduate seminar in 2003-04 that aimed to encourage cross-disciplinary research and excellence in graduate training. Political economy is a research tradition that explores how institutions affect political and economic outcomes. The workshop emphasized the development of dissertation proposals and was a place where graduate

students could present their research to an audience of committed and informed peers. It was open to graduate students in the Departments of Government, Economics, and the Program in Political Economy and Government. The workshop held both internal and public seminars and meetings. At the internal meetings, approximately ten a semester, graduate students and faculty presented their own work to one another. At the public meetings, three or four a semester, leading scholars were invited to Harvard to present their work. Affiliates of the Weatherhead Center were encouraged to attend the public meetings. Faculty members participating in this seminar were **James Alt**, **Robert Bates**, **Jeffrey Frieden**, **Michael Hiscox**, **Torben Iversen**, and **Kenneth Shepsle**.

## 2003-04

September 26

“Trading Spaces: The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment, 1960-2000,” **Sonal Pandya**

Discussant: **Michael Hiscox**

October 3

“Capital Rules: The Domestic Politics of International Regulatory Harmonization” (Practice Job Talk) **David Singer**

October 10

“Optimal Roadmaps: The Design of Successful Peace Agreements in Civil Wars,” **Gilles Serra**

Discussant: **Robert Bates**

October 17

“Paper Autonomy, Privation Ambition: Theory and Evidence Linking Central Bankers’ Careers and Economic Performance” (Practice Job Talk), **Chris Adolph**

October 24

“Communication and Communication Failure,” **Tao Li**

Discussant: **Robert Bates**

“A Formal Model of Identity,” **Pete Leeson**

Discussant: **Kenneth Shepsle**

October 31

“The Effect of Information on Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Natural Experiment,” **David Dreyer Lassen**

Discussant: **Nicola Gennaioli**

“A Comparison of NAFTA and Eastward

Expansion of the European Union,” **Will Phelan**

Discussant: **Kenneth Shepsle**

*November 7*

Brainstorming Session, “Skill Specificity, Political Coalitions, and Social Policies in East Asia,” **Jiyeoun Song**

“Investment, Institutions, and Boundaries,” **Robert Urbatsch**

Discussant: **Torben Iversen**

*November 14*

“Globalization and Human Capital: The Missing Factor?” **Ben Ansell**

Discussant: **Jeffry Frieden**

“Dissertation Thoughts on Military Alliances,” **David Margolis**

Discussant: **Jeffry Frieden**

*November 21*

“Corporate Stakeholders in Regional Development? Privatized Urban Services in Europe, the United States, and Latin America,” **Alison Post**

Discussant: **Robert Bates**

“Executive Budget Power: Institutional Foundations and Policy Implications,” **Shanna Rose**

Discussant: **Torben Iversen**

*December 5*

“It’s Not Partisan Politics, Stupid: A Quantitative Analysis of Controversial and Hazardous Facility Siting,” **Daniel Aldrich**

Discussant: **Michael Hiscox**

Brainstorming Session, “Paths to Economic Openness: A Political Analysis of Trade and Exchange Rate Policies,” **Pepe Fernandez-Albertos**

*December 12*

“Shaken, Not Stirred: Evidence on Ballot Order Effects from the California Alphabet Lottery, 1978-2002,” **Daniel Ho**

“Bailouts or Bail-in? International Responses to Financial Crises in the 1990s,” **Mark Copelovitch**

Discussant: **James Alt**

*February 13*

“Why the Poor do not Expropriate the Rich: An Old Argument in New Garb” (Group Paper Discussions ), **John Roemer**

“Redistribution in a Divided Society,” **Michael Wallerstein**

*February 20*

“Learning, Institutions, and Economic Performance,” **Chris Mantzavinos**

Discussant: **Ken Schultz**

*February 27*

“Land Tenure and Economic Development: Trust, Fee Simple, and Their Impact on Growth” (Brainstorming Session), **Randy Akee**

“Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes Towards Immigration in Europe,” Michael Hiscox

Discussant: **David Singer**

*March 5*

“How Many Laws Does the Legislature Make? Cross Country Comparison and Cointegrated Time Series of Japan,”

**Kentaro Fukumoto**

Discussant: **Ross Schaap**

“The Stability Dilemma: The Institutional Structure of Central Banks and Bank Regulation,” **David Singer** and **Mark Copelovitch**

Discussant: **James Alt**

*March 12*

“Bicameral Effects on Federal Outlays: The US Senate and the Distribution of Pork” (Brainstorming Session), **Kenneth Shepsle** and **Sam Abrams**

“Chasing Maastricht: The Impact of the EMU on the Fiscal Performance of Member States,” **Marius Busemeyer**

Discussant: **Will Phelan**

*March 19*

“The Electoral Cycle in Debt is Where You Can’t See It: Fiscal Transparency and Electoral Policy Cycles in Advanced Industrialized Democracies,” **James Alt**

Discussant: **Shanna Rose**

“Trade Liberalisation ‘off the Radar Screen’? What the Politics of NAFTA Tells Us about the European Union,” **Will Phelan**

Discussant: **Jeffry Frieden**

*March 26*

“Altruism, Bequest and Human Capital: A Positive Theory on PAYGO Social Security Systems,” **Guenther Fink**

Discussant: **Torben Iversen**

“Union Specific,” **Robert Urbatsch**

Discussant: **Kenneth Shepsle**

April 9

“Red States, Blue States, and the Welfare State: The Political Geography of Social Expenditures” (Brainstorming Session), **Jonathan Rodden**

“Institutional Foundations of Executive Budget Power: Evidence from the American States,” **Shanna Rose**

Discussant: **Michael Hiscox**

April 16

“Trading with Bandits,” **Pete Leeson**

Discussant: **Robert Bates**

“Liquid Assets and Fluid Contracts: Regulatory Regime Institutionalization Under Privatization in Europe and Latin America,” **Alison Post**

Discussant: **Kenneth Shepsle**

April 23

“Realignment of Social Protection in the Global Economy: Liberalizing Domestic Labor Markets in Japan and Korea,”

**Jiyeoun Song**

Discussant: **Torben Iversen**

“Scandal, Protection, and Recovery in Political Cabinets,” **Torun Dewan**

Discussant: **Gilles Serra**

April 30

“Trading Spaces: The Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment Policy Preferences,” **Sonal Pandya**

Discussant: **James Alt**

“How Much is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations,” **Eric Werker**

Discussant: **Michael Hiscox**

May 7

“The Obverse of the ‘Other White Meat’? A Quantitative Analysis of Controversial Facility Siting,” **Daniel Aldrich**

Discussant: **Robert Bates**

“The Political Economy of International Trade Policy in Transition Countries: Some Preliminary Thoughts,” **Magnus Feldmann**

Discussant: **Jeffrey Frieden**

## SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

The Seminar on Science and Society is co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center and the John F. Kennedy School of Government’s Program on Science, Technology and Society. One major purpose of the seminar

is to advance a joint agenda in science and international affairs, with participants engaged from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, the Harvard Law School, and the Harvard Medical School. In 2002-03 the Seminar on Science and Society, led by **Sheila Jasanoff**, faculty associate and Pforzheimer Professor of Science and Technology Studies, brought together an interdisciplinary and international group of scholars and practitioners interested in issues concerning new science and technology. These events also supported ongoing research on comparative and international issues in the Program on Science, Technology and Society, particularly the Program’s continuing interest in the life sciences and biotechnology. Past topics have included “Mediated Citizenship and Representation in a Digital Age,” “Genetics, Ethics and Public Policy,” and “Gene Campaign and the Connections between Agriculture, Biotechnology and Politics in India.”

### 2002-03

November 1

“Governing Biotechnology: From Regulation to Regime.” Young scholars from the fields of law, anthropology, sociology, and international relations presented talks about emergent governance structures in the constellation of practices, communities, and institutions involved in biotechnology.

December 5

“Genetics and Its Communities,” **Jonathan Beckwith**, Harvard Medical School.

February 20

“Mediated Citizenship: Representation in a Digital Age,” Bruno Latour, School of Mines, Paris; **Sherry Turkle**, MIT; **Charles Nesson**, Harvard Law School.

April 24

“Gene Campaign: Agriculture, Biotechnology, and Politics in India,” Dr. **Suman Sahai**, Gene Campaign, New Delhi, India.

### 2003-04

November 3

“Social Objectivity: Cognitive Objectivity and the Funding Effect in Science,” **Sheldon Krimsky**, professor, Department of Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning, Tufts University.



November 21

“Democracy and the WTO: Law, Science, and Regulation in Recent Case Law,” **Robert Howse**, professor, Michigan Law School; **Joel Trachtman**, professor, Tufts University; and **Sara Dillon**, professor, Suffolk Law School.

February 19

“SciDev.Net: An Experiment in Science Communication and Public Policy,” **David Dickson**, founding director, Science and Development Network (SciDev.Net), John F. Kennedy School of Government.

April 9

“Bioethics and the Global Governance of Human Genetic Databases,” **Ruth Chadwick**, Department of Bioethics, Lancaster University, and director of the ESRC Center for Economic and Social Aspects of Genomics (UK); **Georgia Dunston**, chair, Department of Microbiology, and founding director of the National Human Genome Center, Howard University; and **Gisli Pálsson**, professor, Department of Anthropology and Folklore, University of Iceland.

April 26

“One Size Does Not Fit All: Standardization, Identity Politics, and the Management of Difference in U.S. Biomedical Research,” **Steven Epstein**, professor, Department of Sociology and the Science Studies Program, University of California at San Diego.

### **SIZE OF STATES**

Why do nations have the size they do? How do states think about territory? In what ways have changes in international economic transactions, ideological changes, cultural trends, and fissiparous tendencies within states altered the meaning, salience, and effectiveness of territorial control and size? To explore these and related questions, the Weatherhead Center sponsored two Size of States Seminars to discuss the work of two Weatherhead Center faculty associates whom the Center has supported through its program of funding faculty research semester leaves. The same professors and graduate students were invited to both seminars in order to foster interdisciplinary discussions. **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Director of the Weatherhead Center, chaired these seminars.

**2002-03**

September 19

“The Size of Nations,” **Alberto Alesina**, Department of Economics.

September 26

“Transformations of Territoriality, 1600-2000,” **Charles Maier**, Department of History.

### **UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH WORKSHOP**

The Weatherhead Center offered a series of thesis research workshops throughout the year for the Center’s undergraduate associates and other Harvard College students who were conducting, or planning to conduct, senior thesis research. Workshops were given by faculty associates, graduate students, and staff of the Weatherhead Center. These sessions provided undergraduates practical information on choosing a thesis topic, formulating a successful proposal, applying for grants, conducting field research, and writing theses. In addition, the Summer Travel Grant Thesis Presentations, listed separately in the Student Programs section of this report, provided opportunities for seniors to present and receive feedback on their thesis research.

**2002-03**

November 18

“Oh My Gosh, It’s Already November! Writing and Revising Your Senior Thesis,” **Donald Halstead**, writing and research advisor, Weatherhead Center Fellows Program and writing instructor, Harvard School of Public Health.

Moderator: **Steven Levitsky**, assistant professor of government, Harvard University.

December 9

“Selecting a Thesis Topic, Writing a Successful Proposal, and the Challenges of Field Research,” **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

February 6

“Writing the Grant Proposal,” **Jim Cooney**, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs., Harvard University.

May 8

“Thesis Field Research: Preparation,

Techniques, and Tips,” **Haley Duschinski**, Anthropology Department, **Katerina Linos**, Government Department, and **Christian Brunelli**, Government Department.

## **U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**

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The U.S. Foreign Policy Seminar, which has existed at the Center for nearly three decades, features guest speakers from within and beyond the Harvard community, and provides time for questions and discussion. In 2002-03 the seminar focused on the evolving post-September 11 policy agenda for U.S. economic, military, and diplomatic relations abroad. Topics covered included anti-terrorism, national missile defense, regime change, the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, bilateral relations with Russia and China, the evolving role of NATO, trade differences with allies, and the domestic sources of policy change. In 2003-04 guest speakers from government, academia, policy research institutes, and the media spoke on topics ranging from grand strategy to the roadmap for peace in the Middle East, and policy in Africa, South Asia, and Iraq. The year began with Robert Art presenting the thinking in his new book on “U.S. Grand Strategy” and ended with Walter Russell Mead presenting his new book on “Power, Terror, Peace, and War.” The U.S. Foreign Policy Seminars met on occasional Tuesdays, and were directed by **Robert Paarlberg**, Weatherhead Center associate.

### **2002-03**

*October 8*

“U.S. Policy Toward China and North Korea” **Jonathan Pollack**, director of strategic research, U.S. Naval War College.

*October 22*

“The 2002 Mid-Term Election: What is at Stake for U.S. Foreign Policy?”

**Daniel R. Glickman**, director of the Institute of Politics, Harvard University; former member of the U.S. House of Representatives, chair of House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and U.S. Secretary of Agriculture 1995-2000.

*November 5*

“American Primacy in Perspective,” **Stephen G. Brooks**, Dartmouth College.

*November 19*

“Responding to Bali: The U.S. War

Against Terrorism in Southeast Asia,” **Zachary Abuza**, professor of political science and international relations, Simmons College.

*December 10*

“The New National Security Strategy (NSS) of the Bush Administration,” **John Lewis Gaddis**, Robert Lovett Professor of Military and Naval History, Yale University.

*February 11*

“The Illusion of Control in U.S. Foreign Policy,” **Seyom Brown**, Lawrence A. Wien Professor of International Cooperation, Brandeis University.

*February 25*

“The U.S. and the World Today,” **Stanley Hoffmann**, Bottenwieser University Professor and former chair of the Center for European Studies, Harvard University.

*March 4*

“Transatlantic Relations in Trouble: A German Perspective,” **Rudolf Scharping**, former German Minister of Defense.

*March 18*

“Exit, Voice, Loyalty, and U.S. Policy in Iraq,” **John Brady Kiesling**, former political counselor, American Embassy in Athens.

*May 6*

“The War on Terror After Iraq,” **Stephen Van Evera**, professor of political science, MIT.

### **2003-04**

*September 30*

“A Grand Strategy for America,” **Robert J. Art**, Christian A. Herter Professor of International Relations, Brandeis University.

*October 27*

“Perpetual Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy,” **Scott Lasensky**, Department of International Relations, Mt. Holyoke College.

*November 4*

“The Rise of China and America’s Response,” **Robert Ross**, Department of Political Science, Boston College.

*December 8*

“Human Rights Wars and America’s Response,” **John Shattuck**, Chief Executive officer, JFK Library Foundation.

February 17

“The Bush Administration and Africa,”  
**Princeton N. Lyman**, Ralph Bunche  
Senior Fellow and director, Africa Policy  
Studies, Council on Foreign Relations.

February 23

“India-Pakistan Detente: The Role of the  
United States,” **Ayesha Jalal**, Department  
of History, Fletcher School of Law and  
Diplomacy.

March 1

“Report from Iraq: Blinded by the  
Sunlight,” **Matthew Mcallester**, United  
Nations Bureau Chief, New York Newsday.

April 20

“History and the Hyperpower,” **Eliot A.  
Cohen**, Department of Strategic Studies,  
Johns Hopkins University.

May 6

“Power, Terror, Peace, and War,” **Walter  
Russell Mead**, Henry A. Kissinger Senior  
Fellow on U.S. Foreign Policy, New York  
Council on Foreign Relations.

## **WORLD AFFAIRS**

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The Weatherhead Center seeks to connect scholars and practitioners in the belief that each has much to contribute to the other. Discussions among faculty, Fellows, graduate students, and visiting scholars are a normal part of the Center's life. The WCFIA Fellows Roundtable on World Affairs, formerly known as the **Director's Seminar**, is one attempt to foster such discussions in an organized fashion. The seminar is also designed to take advantage of the considerable expertise of Center Fellows, who are usually asked to take the lead in presenting their ideas on an issue of current or continuing importance in world affairs. The seminars meet in the Bowie-Vernon Conference Room and are chaired by the director of the Weatherhead Center. A panel of two or three Fellows usually begins the discussion with brief remarks on the topic of the day. A general discussion follows, led by the director, with the goal of encouraging analytical approaches to the research interests of the Fellows. Faculty, other Fellows, visitors, students, and staff participated in these sessions.

### **2002-03**

October 7

“Europe as an International Player,”  
**Khalid Emara, Peter Gottwald, and Ove**

**Juul Joergensen**, Weatherhead Center  
Fellows.

November 14

“Security Issues in East Asia,” **Glenn  
DeSoto, Ezra Chen, and Shuji Shimokoji**,  
Weatherhead Center Fellows.

December 9

“Colombia: Building a Better Future,” **Luis  
Fernando de Angulo**, visiting scholar,  
**Pedro Medina** and **Juan Esteban Orduz**,  
Weatherhead Center Fellows.

February 5

“America's Image Abroad,” **David  
Reddaway, Jean-Louis Zoel, and Khalid  
Emara**, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

March 17

“Aspects of Global Security,” **Marialena  
Conalis-Kontou, Eero Pyotsia, and Dale  
Hayden**, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

April 28

“Diversity-Dimensions, Downsides,  
and Discontents,” **Paul Schulte, Jamal  
Khokhar, and Patricia Cooper**,  
Weatherhead Center Fellows.

### **2003-04**

October 6

“Tony Blair and the War in Iraq,”  
**Stephen Pattison** and **Philippe Le Corre**,  
Weatherhead Center Fellows.

November 13

“Afghanistan and Iraq: Military Lessons  
Learned,” **Valerie J. Lofland, Mark J.  
Devlin, Gina M. Grosso, and Henry J.  
Hendrix**, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

December 8

“Dealing with Exceptional Countries:  
Israel, Cuba, North Korea,” **Kenji  
Hiramatsu, Michael Small, and Pasi  
Patokallio**, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

March 22

“U.S. and EU Security Strategies: Do  
They Add Up?” **Rob Rooks** and **Gina  
Grosso**, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

April 26

“Institutional Decay: A Threat to  
Democracy in Latin America,” **María de  
los Angeles Moreno Uriegas, Mónica  
Aparicio-Smith, Javier A. Manrique, and  
María Cristina Fernández**, Weatherhead  
Center Fellows.

**CANADA PROGRAM**

The WCFLA's Canada Program sponsored a diverse range of events during the 2002-04 academic years. As in past years, the Canada Seminar served as linchpin for the program. The Canada Seminar, a series of occasional talks, provides Harvard faculty and students, as well as the broader community, with a window on the Canadian scholarly and public life. The Canada Seminar hosted a variety of speakers, including academics, public figures, journalists and public servants.

Beyond the seminar series, the Canada Program sponsored several other, less formal, discussions about Canadian affairs. This included lunchtime forums with **Lyle Vanclief**, the federal minister of agriculture, and another with **Michel Dorais**, deputy minister of citizenship and immigration. Targeted largely at undergraduate students, these events were useful in exposing undergraduate students to public figures and to issues of interest to them.

The Canada Program sponsored two conferences in 2002-03. The first, "Relating to the Powerful One: How Canada and Mexico View Their Relationship to the United States," was organized jointly by the Weatherhead Center (**Jorge I. Domínguez**), the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (**Rafael Fernández de Castro Medina**), and the Normal Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University (**Maureen Molot**). This triple collaboration produced a remarkable conference, which, in turn, will produce a very good book.

The second conference, entitled "On the Edge: Is the Canadian Model Sustainable?" was considerably more informal. Instead of presenting formal papers, a total of six participants were commissioned to write provocative "discussion starters," around which a day-long conversation about Canada's political, cultural, social and economic future revolved. One of the distinctive features of the conference was the attempt to include Ph.D. students from Harvard who have, or might have, an ongoing interest in Canadian politics. Another distinctive feature was that the conference served as an informal reunion of past Mackenzie King professors.

In 2003-04, in addition to the seminar series, the Mackenzie King chair sponsored a student symposium and a faculty conference. The symposium, "[Trans]National Identities: New Media and Global Cultural Flows," examined the role of new media in the re-imagination of nations under conditions characterized by the intensification of transnational flows of migrants, ideas, cultural texts, capital, and commodities. The faculty conference, "Canadianation: Negotiating New Spaces, Politics, and Identities In and Through Global Cultural Flows," explored changing relationships between communications technologies and national identities with particular emphasis on Canadian instances.

**(Trans) National Identities: New Media and Global Cultural Flows: Student Symposium**  
**May 26, 2004**

Chair: **Rosemary J. Coombe**, William Lyon Mackenzie King Chair of Canadian Studies

**Panel I: Policies of Truth and Aspiration: Canadian Cultural Policy and the Canadian Social Imaginary**

"Talking Canadian: A Tool for Nation Building," **Lucinda McDonald**, Department of Communication and Culture, York University.  
 "Dilemmas and Paradoxes in Implementing Canadian Cultural Policy," **Ed Rawlinson**, Department of Social Studies, Harvard University.

"Hegemonic Visions: Signals of Inclusion/Exclusion in The National Dream," **Wasim Ghani**, Department of Communication and Culture, Ryerson University.

**Panel II: Putting Canada in Place(s)**

"Apocalypse Now: Canada, Crisis And the National Sublime," **Rebecca Roberts**, Department of Communication and Culture, York University.

"From the Arctic to the Temperate Zone: Urban Interpretations of the Canadian North as Place," **Naomi Fraser**, Department of Communication and Culture, York University.  
 "Toward Errant National Monuments," **Mari Leesment**, Department of Environmental Studies, York University.

"Bush: Film Representations of Canada's North," **Brian Jacobson**, Department of Comparative Media Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

### **Panel III: Travels in Transnationalism**

"A Canadian in Edinburgh: An (Auto) Ethnography of How Canada Travels," **Andrea Foster**, Department of Communications and Culture, Ryerson University.

"Tales of the Cities: Transnationalism and Socio-Cultural Aspects of Citizenship in Berlin, London, and Toronto," **Sascha Marchang**, Department of Communications and Culture, York University.

"Transnational Politics: Negotiating Ealam Nation in Toronto," **Ashwini Vasanthakumar**, Department of Social Studies, Harvard University.

"Personals and Pappadam: The Negotiation of Hindu Sindhi [Trans]National Identities," **Zenia Wadhvani**, Department of Communications and Culture, York University.

### **Canadianation: The Process of Negotiating Relations between and beyond Nations in and through Global Cultural Flows**

May 27-29, 2004

May 27

Welcoming remarks and introductions by **James Cooney**, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs; **Rosemary J. Coombe**, Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies, Harvard University, and senior Canada research chair, York University; and **Andrew Herman**, visiting professor and research fellow in digital communications, York University (2003-04), and associate professor of communications, Wilfred Laurier University.

Screening of film, *Looking for my Pygmalion: Mémoires*, by Boulou de B'beri, film director, and professor of communications studies, Northeastern University.

May 28

### **Session I: The Changing Contexts of Global Cultural Flows**

"Accelerated Cinema: On the Speeds and Circuits of Film Culture," **Charles Acland**, Department of Communications, Concordia University.

"New Balance(r): The Geography, Context, and Design of Online Communities," **Marco Adria**, Department of Communications, University of Alberta.

"The Indiscrete Cultural Commodity," **P. David Marshall**, Department of Communications, Northeastern University.

Moderator: **Rosemary Coombe**, Department of Communications and Culture, York University.

### **Session II: The Movement of Media: New Mediations**

"From Nunavut to the 'New Media Nation': Indigenous Communications Networks and Identities," **Valerie Alia**, Department of Media and Ethics, University of Sunderland.

"Documentary Film as Global Media," **Seth Feldman**, Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, York University.

"Diasporic Media and the Deterritorialization of the Nation," **Karim Karim**, Department of Communications and Journalism, Carleton University.

Moderator: **Pete Steffens**, professor emeritus, Western Washington University.

### **Session III: People's Movement and People's Movements**

"Global Cultural Dissent," **Daniel Drache**, Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, York University.

"Second Generation Filipino Canadian Youth and Politics Beyond Bare Life," **Geraldine Pratt**, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia.

"No Borders Movements and the Emergence of Transnational Imaginations," **Nandita Sharma**, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of British Columbia.

Moderator: **Murray Forman**, Department of Communications, Northeastern University.

### **Session IV: Transforming Spaces and Making Places**

"Post-Colonial Spaces of Empire," **Simon Dalby**, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Carleton University.

"Artists Remaking Urban Spaces in and through Global Cultural Flows," **Janine Marchessault**, Department of Film and Video, York University.

"Geographies of Identity and Places of the Heart: The Heartland North or Hybrid Edges," **Brian Osborne**, Department of Geography, Queens University.

Moderator: **Andrew Herman**, Joint Graduate Program in Communications and Culture, York University.

### **Session V: Repositioning Nations in Canada**

"Canadian Nationalism(s) in the Context of Competing Identities," **Jules Duchastel**, Department of Sociology, Université du Québec à Montréal.

"Transnational Practices of Ethnic and Racialized Minorities in Quebec," **Micheline**

**Labelle**, Department of Sociology, Université du Québec à Montréal.

“Negotiating the Tension between the National and the Transnational: Indigenous Peoples and Quebec’s National Project,” **Daniel Salée**, Department of Community and Public Affairs, Université du Québec à Montréal.

Moderator: **Paula Chakravartty**, Department of Communications, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

May 29

### **Session I: Considering Research Networks**

“The Transculturalism Project,” **Rosemary Coombe**, Department of Communications and Culture, York University.

“A film screening: Transcultural/translators: Mediating Race, Indigeneity, and Ethnicity in Four Nations,” **Sneja Gunew**, Department of English & Women’s Studies, University of British Columbia.

### **Session II: Future Directions for Building Research Networks**

#### **FELLOWS PROGRAM**

There were nineteen Fellows in residence during both the 2002-03 and 2003-04 academic years. These men and women represented more than a dozen countries, and included participants from Europe, North America, East and Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Career diplomats and other civil servants, career military officers, journalists, business professionals, and the head of an NGO spent a full year together, participating actively in the intellectual life of the Center and the University. All highly experienced practitioners of international affairs, they audited classes throughout the university, attended seminars, met professors, and conducted independent research. They also spent considerable time together as a group, sharing ideas and debating international issues shaped by important global events of this past year.

At times, the discussions among group members could be tense, as each grappled with issues surrounding global developments. In particular, the events leading up to and including the war in Iraq had a profound impact on all the Fellows. The variety of expertise and experience among group members in dealing with different aspects of the war (i.e., there was an “in-house” expert on weapons of mass destruction; one Fellow had a deep familiarity with the Middle East

and western Asia, and there was interest in and concern with humanitarian responses to war) underscored the importance of listening to all perspectives in the debate, and provided Fellows an opportunity to broaden their understanding of the issues. Indeed, several Fellows were motivated to produce opinion pieces for influential national and international newspapers, and one Fellow shared his views with a feature in the Weatherhead Center’s *Centerpiece* newsletter.

Recognizing the important contributions of this class of Fellows, organizations both within the Harvard community and beyond invited members of the group to speak at conferences during the year. Fellows participated in Weatherhead Center conferences (including a fall conference on terrorism), spoke to undergraduates at gatherings organized by the Center’s student council and also at the Harvard Model United Nations, and shared their insights at other Boston-area universities, including MIT and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. The Fellows were individually engaged in the activities and work of other Harvard centers and programs, including those at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, and the Asia Center.

The Fellows benefited from interactions with faculty, students, Center staff, international affairs practitioners in the local community, associates in other programs, and even alumni of the Center’s Fellows Program. Their interactions with students were also deepened through the program’s undergraduate research initiative, in which students with a specific research interest are paired with Fellows. The students assisted Fellows with their research projects, lent guidance in navigating the university library system, helped identify sources of information, and offered editorial comments. In return, the undergraduates learned valuable lessons in the practice of international affairs from their new mentors.

The opportunity to learn from one another proved to be particularly valuable for members of the group. The Fellows met weekly over breakfast to listen to one another, share their individual experiences, and debate. These discussions covered a broad range of topics such as: a consideration of the psychological profile of a terrorist; an examination of

political influence in Washington; the perspective from Europe; the role of the U.S. military today; the situation in the Middle East; methods for building social capital in a country; a critique of Europe's approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; a discussion of the challenges for a diplomat operating in Castro's Cuba; a description of the Iraq situation from a non-U.S. perspective; an overview of the U.S. military and its priorities; a discussion of the threats to security posed by a nuclear North Korea; and a consideration of challenges to democratic institutions in some developing countries, to name just a few. Fellows also met weekly, over lunch, to listen to outside speakers share insights and perspectives on a variety of topics, many of them quite controversial. Among those who joined the Fellows at their weekly sessions were **Roger Porter, Noam Chomsky, Sir Crispin Tickell, Debora Spar, Michael Dukakis, Graham Allison, Michael Ignatieff, Stephen Walt, Susan Pharr, and Eric Lander**. Finally, Fellows participated in a monthly Director's Seminar and a monthly Roundtable on World Affairs, both moderated by WCFA Director **Jorge I. Domínguez**.

The Harvard experience of the Fellows was enhanced by their participation in several trips outside Cambridge. Moreover, on each of these trips, Fellows themselves played important organizational roles. In 2002-03 **Jamal Khokhar** and in 2003-04 **Michael Small**, both diplomats from Canada, guided the group through a study tour to Canada, in late August. Under the generous sponsorship of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), the Fellows traveled to Ottawa, Montréal, Québec City (2002-03), and Halifax (2003-04) where they discussed Canada's unique role in the international arena, new and challenging national security requirements in a changing world, the country's relationship with the United States, and federal and provincial issues. During the mid-term period in January 2003 and January 2004, the Fellows traveled to the American South on a trip facilitated by the International Visitors Program of the U.S. Department of State. In 2003, Fellows discussed issues of race with members of the South Carolina legislature's black caucus, learned about the challenges presented by a rapidly changing demographic profile in Houston, were briefed by the U.S. Border Patrol and city officials in Nogales, Arizona, and visited Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Tucson. The base visit was facilitated by Fellow **Dale Hayden**. In

2004, the Fellows discussed issues of race on a visit to a plantation outside New Orleans, learned about medical breakthroughs at the Texas Medical Center in Houston; were briefed by U.S. Navy officers while touring the USS John C. Stennis in San Diego; met with U.S. Border Patrol officers on the Mexico-California border; and discussed immigration and other important bilateral issues at El Colegio de la Frontera Norte in Tijuana, Mexico. Fellows **Henry Hendrix** and **María de los Angeles Moreno** assisted in the organization of some key meetings on this trip. In late spring 2003, Fellow **Glenn DeSoto** led a two-day trip to the United States Military Academy at West Point, where Fellows were briefed by academy officers and attended classes with cadets. **Patricia Cooper** and **Dale Hayden** also organized a trip to Colorado. Over a four-day period in late May 2003, Fellows discussed issues related to the environment, including alternative sources of energy and appropriate and responsible uses of water – a dwindling resource in the American West. They also spent a day at U.S. Air Force facilities in Colorado Springs, where they met with **Lance W. Lord**, a four-star general, and traveled to Cheyenne Mountain.

In January 2004, the Fellows spent a day in New Hampshire, where they met with political observers and staff of the major presidential candidates for a behind-the-scenes look at the presidential primary.

Also in 2004, **Kenji Hiramatsu**, Fellow from Japan, organized a spring trip to Japan. Over a four-day period, the Fellows met with government officials, leading politicians, academics, business leaders, and representatives of NGOs. They were briefed on Japanese foreign policy, U.S.-Japan relations, the impact of a rising China on Asia, the North Korean situation, the Japanese economy, changing business practices, and the role of civil society. The year concluded with a brief trip to Washington, D.C., where the Fellows attended a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, were briefed at the State Department, visited the Heritage Foundation, and toured the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. The Fellows Program was grateful for the assistance of Fellows **Mark Devlin, Caroline Dumas, Henry Hendrix, and Gerhard Kuentzle**, and **Peter Gottwald**.

## Fellows Friday Lunch Seminars

Chair: **Kathleen Molony**

### 2002

*September 27*

“An Insider’s View of Harvard,” **James Cooney**, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

*October 4*

“Writing the Fellows Paper,” **Donald Halstead**, research and writing advisor, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

*October 11*

“Trends in U.S. National Security Policy,” **Andrew Bacevich**, professor of international relations and director of the Center for International Relations, Boston University.

*October 18*

“U.S.-Mexico Relations,” **Jeffrey Davidow**, fellow, Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; former U.S. ambassador to Mexico; and WCFLA Fellow (‘82).

*October 25*

“How the U.S. Presidency has Changed Since the 1960s,” **Roger Porter**, IBM Professor of Business and Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

*November 1*

“U.S.-China Relations,” **Ezra Vogel**, Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences, Emeritus, Harvard University.

*November 8*

“Crimes and Punishments? How the WTO Responds to Violations,” **Robert Z. Lawrence**, Albert L. Williams Professor of International Trade and Investment, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; former member of the President’s Council of Economic Advisers (1998-2000).

*November 15*

“The Role of the United States in the Global Environmental Policy Debate,” **Crispin Tickell**, chancellor, University of Kent at Canterbury; chairman, Climate Institute of Washington, DC; and WCFLA Fellow (1974-75).

*November 22*

“Social Policy: Beyond Compassion,” **Orlando Patterson**, John Cowles Professor of Sociology, Harvard University.

*December 6*

“The Challenges of Hispanic Immigration,” **Samuel Huntington**, Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor; director, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies; chairman, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

*December 13*

“Health Care Financing,” **James Mongan**, chief executive officer, Massachusetts General Hospital.

### 2003

*January 31*

“Rethinking the Harvard Undergraduate Core Curriculum,” **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Harvard College professor; Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs; and director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

*February 7*

“The Republican Party Today,” **Mickey Edwards**, John Quincy Adams Lecturer in Legislative Practice, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

*February 28*

“Wars, Terror, Justice: Some Missing Headlines,” **Noam Chomsky**, Institute Professor and professor of linguistics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

*March 14*

“The Impact of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy,” **Maxine Isaacs**, adjunct lecturer in public policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; and former press secretary to Walter F. Mondale.

*March 21*

“Ruling the Waves: Business and Politics Along the Technological Frontier,” **Debora Spar**, Spangler Family Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School.

*April 18*

“Why International Affairs Practitioners Should Study Jazz,” **Robert Levin**, Dwight P. Robinson, Jr. Professor of the Humanities (Performance and Analysis), Harvard University; Head Tutor, concert pianist, and specialist in historical performance practice.

*April 25*

“The International Development of Space and its Impact on U.S. National Space Policy,” **Dale Hayden**, Fellow, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.



September 26

“An Insider’s View of Harvard,” **James Cooney**, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

October 3

“Reflections on the Current Political Scene,” **Michael Dukakis**, Distinguished Professor, Political Science, Northeastern University; and former governor of Massachusetts.

October 10

“America’s Role in the Global Environmental Policy Debate,” **Crispin Tickell**, chancellor, University of Kent at Canterbury; chairman, Climate Institute of Washington, DC, and CFIA Fellow (1974-75).

October 17

“Addressing Issues of Diversity in an Urban Environment: The Case of Boston,” **Jeanne Morrison**, director and Sara Monterosso, Civil Rights project manager, Organizational Diversity Department, Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, Boston.

October 24

“Rising to the Occasion: Public Leadership in Challenging Times,” **Jane Swift**, former governor of Massachusetts.

October 31

“Thinking about Fellows’ Papers,” **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Harvard College Professor; Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs; and director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

November 7

“Contemporary Islam and U.S. Policy,” **Thomas W. Simons, Jr.**, director, Program on Eurasia in Transition, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies; former U.S. ambassador to Pakistan.

December 5

“Preventing a Nuclear 9/11,” **Graham Allison**, Douglas Dillon Professor of Government and director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

December 12

“The Four Modes of Ethnic Incorporation: Blacks in Europe and the Americas,” **Orlando Patterson**, John Cowles Professor of Sociology, Harvard University.

2004

February 13

“China in the World Today,” **Ezra Vogel**, Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences, Emeritus, Harvard University.

February 20

“The Diplomacy of Borders,” **Alan Henrikson**, professor of diplomatic history, Fletcher School, Tufts University.

February 27

“How the World Views US Foreign Policy,” **Stephen M. Walt**, academic dean and Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

March 5

“Policing Borders: North America and the EU Compared,” **Peter Andreas**, assistant professor of political science, Brown University.

March 12

“Overview of Japanese Politics and Foreign Policy,” **Susan Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, Harvard University, and director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

March 26

“Hegemony or Survival,” **Noam Chomsky**, Institute Professor and professor of linguistics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

April 9

“Report of recently concluded trip to Iraq,” **Michael Ignatieff**, Carr Professor of Human Rights Practice and director, Carr Center of Human Rights Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

April 16

“International Human Capital Flows: Effects on Sending Countries,” **Devesh Kapur**, associate professor of government, Harvard University.

April 23

**Amram Mitzna**, member of Knesset, former chairman, Labor Party of Israel, and CFIA Fellow (1989-90).

May 7

“U.S. Military in Transition,” **Bill Carr**, acting deputy under secretary of defense for military personnel policy.

**Fellows Alumni Conference and Reunion  
America's Role in the World Today  
November 20-22, 2003**

Chair: **Kathleen Molony**

*November 20*

"The Role of International Relations Scholarship in International Affairs," **Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**, dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, and Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy; and **Michael Palliser**, vice-chairman of the board, Salzburg Seminar; former permanent under secretary of state, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; head of the Diplomatic Service, United Kingdom; CFIA Fellow (1982-83).

"Reflections on the Fellows Program," **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Harvard College Professor; Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs; and director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

*November 21*

"American National Identity," **Samuel P. Huntington**, Albert J. Weatherhead, III University Professor; chairman, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. "American Power Today," **Stephen M. Walt**, academic dean, Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government; and Cameron R. Hume, U.S. ambassador to the Republic of South Africa and CFIA Fellow (1989-90). "Emersonian Individualism and American Exceptionalism," **Lawrence Buell**, Harvard College Professor and Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature; chair, Department of English.

"America as World Citizen," **Stanley H. Hoffmann**, Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor; and J. Bryan Hehir, president, Catholic Charities USA, Weatherhead Initiative associate, and former dean, Harvard Divinity School.

*November 22*

"American Leadership in the Global Economy," **Jeffrey A. Frankel**, James W. Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Economic Growth, John F. Kennedy School of Government; and **Robert Z. Lawrence**, Albert L. Williams Professor of International Trade and Investment, Center for Business and Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

"Reflections on the Colombian Peace Process," **Andrés Pastrana**, president of Colombia, (1998-2002) and CFIA Fellow (1990-91).

**Fellows Special Seminars and Visits**

**2002**

*October 28*

Visit to the headquarters of *The Boston Globe*. Hosted by **Mary Jane Wilkinson**.

*November 25*

"Political Culture in the Middle East," **Khalid Emara**, Fellow. (Co-sponsored with the Middle East Initiative, John F. Kennedy School of Government.)

*December 12*

"The Nuclear Age: A Twenty-Minute History," **Jonathan Schell**, Shorenstein Center fellow, John F. Kennedy School of Government, and author of *The Fate of the Earth*.

**2003**

*February 13*

"Failed States in a World of Terror," **Robert Rotberg**, director, Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution, Belfer Center, John F. Kennedy School of Government and president, World Peace Foundation.

*March 6-7*

"Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution Workshop," **Herb Kelman**, director, Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and **Donna Hicks**, deputy director, Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

*March 11*

"Weapons: From Field Surgery to International Law," **Robin Coupland**, visiting scientist, Program on Humanitarian Crisis, FXB Center, Harvard School of Public Health; and advisor on armed violence and the effects of weapons, International Committee of the Red Cross.

*March 18*

Meeting with **John Brady Kiesling**, former diplomat (Athens, Greece), U.S. State Department, speaking on his reasons for resigning.

*April 10*

"Future Threats to U.S. Security," **Joel Shapiro**, senior intelligence analyst, Department of the Army.

*April 22*

“The Media At War,” **Helen Shaw**, journalist and director of radio, Radio Telefis Eireann, Dublin.

*May 7*

Meeting with **Joseph Nye**, dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, speaking on his most recent book, *The Paradox of American Power*.

*October 14*

“The Korean Nuclear Crisis: The View from Japan,” **Kenji Hiramatsu**, WCFIA Fellow. (Co-sponsored with Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.)

*November 14*

Visit to the headquarters of *The Boston Globe* and meetings with editors, reporters, and members of the editorial page.

## 2004

*February 10*

“150 Years of Japanese Diplomacy,” **Akira Iriye**, Charles Warren Professor of American History, and chair, Department of History, Harvard University.

*March 3*

“Current Events and Future Prospects in Georgia,” **Richard M. Miles**, U.S. ambassador to Georgia and Weatherhead Center Fellow.

*March 19*

Visit and meeting at the Broad Institute, with **Eric S. Lander**, Ph.D., member, Whitehead Institute; director, Whitehead Center for Genome Research; founding director of the newly created Broad Institute, and professor of biology, MIT.

*April 12*

“Prevention of Deadly Conflict in Divided Societies in Asia: The Role of Local NGOs in Building Peace, Security and Social Justice,” **Betty Scheper**, WCFIA Fellow (2000-01).

*April 21*

“21st Century Diplomacy: Understanding Transgovernmental Networks in Canada-U.S. Relations,” **John Higginbotham**, vice president, research and university relations, Canada School of Public Service and CFIA Fellow (1979-80). (Co-sponsored with the Canada Program.)

*April 29–30*

“Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution Workshop,” **Herb Kelman**, director, Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and **Donna Hicks**, deputy director, Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

## Fellows and their Research Projects

### 2002-03

**Ezra N.H. Chen**, Taiwan, diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; assistant director general, Department of Central and South American Affairs, Taipei.

“The Economic Integration of Taiwan and Mainland China and Its Implications for Cross-Strait Relations.”

**Marielena Conalis-Kontou**, Greece, policy advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; senior policy advisor, Office of Minister, Athens.

“What Will Win the Peace? E.U. and U.S. Approaches to Terrorism.”

**Patricia Cooper**, United States, management consultant and government advisor; resident, Canada Properties, Inc., Colorado.

“Gender-based Rapid Response Team into Areas of Conflict.”

**Glenn Marshall DeSoto**, United States, military officer, U.S. Army; colonel and commander, Area III, Korea.

“The Coming Cold War: Can America Withstand a European Challenge?”

**Khalid I. Emara**, Egypt, diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; deputy head, European Department, Cairo.

“World Disorder and the Crash of Civilization.”

**William J. Flanagan, Jr.**, United States, military officer, U.S. Navy; commander and commanding officer, Training Squadron Two, Naval Air Station, Whiting Field, Florida.

“Pre-emptive Policy for the Twenty-First Century.”

**K. Peter Gottwald**, Germany, diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; director, North America Division, Berlin.

**Dale L. Hayden**, United States, military officer, U.S. Air Force; colonel and deputy director of staff, Air Force Space Command, Peterson Air Force Base, Colorado.

“The International Development of Space and its Impact on U.S. National Space Policy.”

**Ove Juul Joergensen**, Denmark, diplomat and international civil servant; ambassador to Japan, Commission of the European Union, Tokyo.

**Jamal A. Khokhar**, Canada, diplomat, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade; minister-counsellor (Congressional and Legal Affairs), Canadian Embassy, Washington, DC

**Pedro Medina**, Colombia, consultant and director of Foundation; joint venture partner and general manager, McDonald’s Colombia, Bogotá.  
“Imagine.”

**Juan Esteban Orduz**, Colombia, attorney and specialist in finance; minister and deputy chief of mission, Embassy of Colombia to the U.S., Washington, D.C.

**Ta Thi Minh Ly**, Vietnam, civil servant, Ministry of Justice; director, Vietnam National Legal Aid Agency, Hanoi.  
“Expanding the Participation of Vietnamese Nongovernmental Organizations in Legal Aid.”

**Eero Pyötsiä**, Finland, military officer, Finnish Defense Forces; lieutenant-colonel and commanding officer of Grand Battalion, Helsinki.  
“NATO and the Northern Baltic Sea Region.”

**David Reddaway**, United Kingdom, diplomat, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; UK special representative for Afghanistan, London.

**Paul Schulte**, United Kingdom, civil servant, Ministry of Defence; director, Proliferation and Arms Control Secretariat, London.  
“World Order, Proliferation, and Terror.”

**Helen Shaw**, Ireland, journalist, Radio Telefis Eireann; director, Radio Telefis Eireann, Dublin.  
“The Age of McMedia: The Challenge to Information and Democracy.”

**Shuji Shomokoji**, Japan, diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; deputy director, Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-proliferation, Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo.  
“Historical Issues in Japanese Diplomacy.”

**Jean-Louis Zoël**, France, diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; ambassador to Zambia and Malawi, Lusaka.

“Globalization, Growth and Africa’s Pervasive Development Disorder.”

## 2003-04

**Eva Åkerman-Börje**, Sweden, civil servant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; director, Migration and Asylum Department, Stockholm. Co-organizer of Fellows’ discussion group on Contemporary Borders.  
“Migration and Globalization: Global Governance in the Field of International Migration.”

**Mónica Aparicio-Smith**, Colombia, economist and banker; chairman and CEO, Banco Santander Puerto Rico.  
“Colombia, South Korea and Chile: Similarities and Differences.”

**Mark J. Devlin**, United States, military officer, U.S. Army; colonel and chief, Office of Defense Cooperation, U.S. Embassy, Rome.

**Caroline Dumas**, France, diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; counselor for cultural and cooperation affairs, French Embassy, Madrid.  
“Democratization in Arab-Islamic Countries.”

**María Cristina Fernández**, Guatemala, civil servant, judge; Fifth Court on Civil and Commercial Issues for Guatemala City, Guatemala City.  
“Lynching in Guatemala: An Inheritance of Civil War and Symptom of Impunity.”

**Adrian Fortescue**, EU/United Kingdom, diplomat and international civil servant; special adviser and director general for justice and home affairs, European Commission, Brussels.  
“The Department of Homeland Security: A Partner but Not Necessarily a Model for the European Union”

**Gina M. Grosso**, United States, military officer, U.S. Air Force; colonel and military assistant, deputy under secretary of defense for military personnel policy, Washington, DC.  
“The United States: Predator or Protector?”

**Henry J. Hendrix**, United States, military officer, U.S. Navy; commander and director for strategy and management, Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel, Alexandria, Virginia.

“The United States Navy in Early 20th Century Diplomacy.”

**Kenji Hiramatsu**, Japan, diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; director, North East Asia Division, Tokyo.

“Northeast Asia Security: Toward a More Durable Security Community.”

**Gerhard Kuentzle**, Germany, diplomat, German Foreign Office; deputy budget director, Berlin.

“What Financial Management for a 21st Century Foreign Service?”

**Philippe LeCorre**, France, journalist, La Tribune; UK Bureau Chief, London.

“High Stakes in Higher Education: How the U.S. and Europe Build Links with China through Their Universities.”

**Valerie J. Lofland**, United States, military officer, U.S. Air Force; lieutenant colonel and international affairs officer at Headquarters, United States Air Forces Europe, Ramstein, Germany.

“The Demise of Diplomacy: The Decline in the Role of the State Department in Formulating United States Foreign Policy from the Post–Cold War Era through the Bush Administration.”

**Masilo Esau Mabeta**, South Africa, consultant; advisor, Government of South Africa and consultant, Department of Provincial and Local Government, Pretoria.

**Javier A. Manrique**, Venezuela, economist; financial advisor, Merrill Lynch, Florida.  
“Vectorial Leadership.”

**María de los Angeles Moreno Uriegas**, Mexico, politician; representative, Legislative Assembly of the Federal District, Mexico City.  
“Economic Globalization and Equality.”

**Pasi Patokallio**, Finland, diplomat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; ambassador to Israel and Cyprus, Tel Aviv.

“European Union Policy on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: From Payer to Player?”

**Stephen Pattison**, United Kingdom, diplomat, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; head, United Nations Department, London.

“British Foreign Policy and the Press: Iraq 2002-03.”

**Robert Rooks**, United Kingdom, civil servant, Ministry of Defence; command secretary of the Royal Air Force Personnel and Training Command, London.

“European Security: Threats and Opportunities.”

**Michael Small**, Canada, diplomat, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade; ambassador to Cuba, Havana. Co-organizer of Fellows’ discussion group on Contemporary Borders.

“It’s Mediation Time in Canada!” and “The Niagara Falls Peace Conference of 1914.”

## **HARVARD ACADEMY FOR INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES**

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The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies is dedicated to increasing our knowledge of the culture, history, and institutions of the world’s major regions and countries. It was created in response to a growing devaluation of area studies in the training and research of social scientists. The Academy’s core mission is to bridge this gap between the social sciences and area studies. To accomplish this goal, it sponsors two major programs.

The Academy Scholars Program supports exceptional scholars who are at the start of their careers and whose work combines excellence in a social science discipline (including history and law) with an in-depth grounding in a particular non-Western country or region. Those selected as Academy Scholars are given time, guidance, access to Harvard facilities, and substantial financial assistance as they work for two years conducting dissertation or post-doctoral research in their chosen fields and areas. The Senior Scholars, a distinguished group of senior Harvard faculty members, act as mentors to the Academy Scholars and help them to realize their intellectual potential. Each Academy Scholar reports on the results of his or her research at a special dinner presentation during the academic year. The Global Cultures Program builds on the area expertise of the Academy Scholars and the senior Harvard faculty associated with the Academy to promote study and understanding of the similarities, differences, and relations among the world’s principal cultural groupings. To accomplish this end, the Academy undertakes research projects, organizes seminars and conferences, offers grants to Harvard faculty, and sponsors publications dealing with these issues.

The Harvard Academy supported ten Academy Scholars in 2002-03 and seven Academy Scholars in 2003-04. Additionally, in 2002-03 the Academy organized two conferences and one workshop and initiated a new program, "Harvard Academy Junior Faculty Development Grants," to support faculty research at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Moreover, during both 2002-03 and 2003-04, the Academy sponsored the ongoing Globalization and Culture seminar series, and hosted a major research project on "Religion and Global Politics."

### **Organization**

The Academy is an autonomous entity within the framework of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Its leadership includes a chairman and a committee of Senior Scholars appointed by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Samuel P. Huntington, Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor, was the chairman of the Academy through July 2004. In July 2004 Jorge I. Domínguez, Harvard College Professor, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, was appointed chairman of the Academy by FAS Dean William Kirby.

### **Academy Senior Scholars**

The Senior Scholars, a distinguished group of senior members of Harvard's faculty, act as the Academy's oversight committee, select new Academy Scholars, and serve as mentors for the Academy Scholars.

**Robert H. Bates**, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government

**John H. Coatsworth**, Monroe Gutman Professor of Latin American Affairs; director, Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies

**Timothy J. Colton**, Morris and Anna Feldberg Professor of Government and Russian Studies; director, Davis Center for Russian Studies

**Grzegorz Ekiert**, professor of government

**Roderick MacFarquhar**, Leroy B. Williams Professor of History and Political Science; chairman, Department of Government

**Edward Roger Owen**, A.J. Meyer Professor of Middle East History

**Dwight H. Perkins**, Harold Hitchens Burbank Professor of Political Economy

**Elizabeth J. Perry**, Henry Rosovsky Professor of Government (since July, 2003)

**Susan J. Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics; director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, Weatherhead Center

### **Staff**

**James Clem**, executive officer

**Beth Baiter**, program coordinator

### **Academy Scholars**

#### **2002-03**

Scott Desposato  
John Giles  
Julian Go  
Gretchen Helmke  
Engseng Ho  
Macartan Humphreys  
Saba Mahmood  
Jason Wittenberg

#### **2002-04**

Cemil Aydin  
Benjamin Smith

#### **2003-04**

Keith Darden  
Lara Deeb  
Mary Alice Pickert Haddad  
Conor O'Dwyer  
Sherrill Stroschein

### **Harvard Academy Affiliates**

Audrey Budding  
Lawrence Harrison

### **Funding**

The Academy Scholars Program has been made possible through the generous support of **Ira Kukin**, founding benefactor of the Harvard Academy, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and Albert and Celia Weatherhead and The Weatherhead Foundation. The Harvard Academy also gratefully acknowledges the generous addition of \$2 million dollars to its endowment in 2002-03 from The Weatherhead Foundation. The activities of the Global Cultures Program have been funded by the Smith Richardson Foundation, the United States Institute of Peace, the Templeton Foundation, the Monitor Company, the

Carthage Foundation, the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and individual donors.

### **Academy Scholar Research Topics and Activities**

**Cemil Aydin** (2002-2004) devoted the first year of his Harvard Academy fellowship to the preparation of a manuscript on "The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia." The main focus of his research was on Pan-Islamic movements and ideologies. In combination with earlier research on Pan-Asian ideas and their impact on Japanese foreign and domestic policies, the project and book manuscript examine the impact of two radical anti-Western transnational ideologies, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Asianism, on international relations during the twentieth century. During the 2002-03 academic year Aydin presented the results of his research in a variety of venues, including the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, and in lectures at Stanford University, George Mason University, George Washington University and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies (Harvard University). His article on "Japanese Orientalism in the Islamic World" was published in *Princeton Papers: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies* in the fall of 2003. In addition to preparing his manuscript, Aydin has compiled and edited a collection of Ottoman texts and pamphlets on Pan-Islamic solidarity.

Aydin spent the second year of his Harvard Academy fellowship completing a book manuscript, "The Politics of Anti-Western Thought in Asia," currently under review for publication. One chapter, "The Role of Anti-Western Ideas in International History: The Cases of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Asianism," was presented at Harvard's International and Global History Seminar in November 2003. He presented three papers at other academic conferences: "Asian Identity in Japanese Foreign Policy" (Tokyo, October 2003); "Crescent versus Cross? Challenging the Exceptionality Paradigm in Explaining Muslim Critiques of the West" (MESA Annual Meeting, Alaska, November 2003); and "Occidentalism and the Legitimacy of the International Order" (Columbia University, April 2004).

Aydin contributed two articles on the relationship between the modern Islamic and Western worlds for publication at *Euro-Agenda* (Berlin, Fall 2004) and *Festschrift for Professor Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu* (Istanbul, 2004). His

review essay regarding recent literature on anti-Americanism is forthcoming in *Ethics & International Affairs* (Winter 2005). Aydin accepted a tenure-track position as assistant professor in the department of history at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte; he will take up the position in the fall of 2005.

**Keith Darden** (2003-04) spent his second year at the Harvard Academy completing his first book manuscript and conducting the field and archival research that will be the basis for a second book. The completed manuscript, entitled "Liberalism and its Rivals: Economic Ideas and International Institutional Choice among the Post-Soviet States" is currently under review with Princeton University Press. The second manuscript, for which Darden traveled to the Carpathian mountains to conduct field work in the fall of 2003, examines the origins of nationalism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. During the year at the academy, Darden completed the research for this book and presented the research at an Academy dinner. Darden has two articles currently under review, including one based on the second book project. Darden gave invited lectures at Duke University, Stanford University, Georgetown University, Columbia University, and Yale University, where he returned as an assistant professor in the department of political science in fall 2004.

**Lara Deeb** (2003-04) completed her book manuscript, entitled "An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Beirut," currently under review at Princeton University Press. In March 2004 she gave a presentation on her dissertation research at Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies in their Middle East Forum series. During a trip to Beirut in April 2004, she began conducting preliminary historical research on the trajectory of the relationship between religiosity and modernity among Islamist Shi'a in Lebanon.

Deeb's article "Living Ashura in Lebanon: Mourning Transformed to Sacrifice" was accepted for publication in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*. She also completed the final revisions for two chapters in edited volumes. In addition, she presented papers at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the American Studies Association during the fall semester, both of which she is currently revising for publication. Deeb began a position as an assistant professor in women's studies at

the University of California at Irvine in the fall of 2004.

**Scott Desposato** (2002-03) spent his year at the Harvard Academy conducting research on institutions, social structure, and political parties. His paper on the impact of federalism on national agenda formation was accepted for publication by *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. A second paper, on methods for analyzing roll-call votes, was accepted for publication by *Political Analysis*. In addition, a co-authored article on geographic patterns of representation in Colombia will be published by the *Journal of Politics*. Desposato currently has four other journal articles either being revised or under review. Finally, Desposato contributed two book chapters to edited volumes. The first explores the impact of clientelism on representation by comparing two Brazilian state assemblies. The second, co-authored, examines the interaction of redistricting and the personal vote and their joint impact on voting behavior in the United States.

Desposato gave invited lectures at Yale University, MIT, Utah State University, and participated in four professional conferences. He returned to the University of Arizona, where he is an assistant professor in the department of political science in the fall of 2003.

**Julian Go** (2002-03) completed revisions of his monograph, *Transcultured States: U.S. Colonialism and Political Culture in Puerto Rico and the Philippines*. The monograph explains transformations in elite political culture in Puerto Rico and the Philippines during American colonial occupation. Currently the monograph is under review for publication. His other book project, *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives* (co-edited with Anne Foster) was released by Duke University Press in the spring of 2003.

Go also completed the writing of several essays. His essay "America's Empire in Perspective: Continental and Overseas Expansion," which he delivered as an invited speaker at the Bicentennial Symposium of the Louisiana Purchase at the University of Texas at Austin, will appear as a chapter in a forthcoming volume, *The Louisiana Purchase and American Expansion* (edited by Bartholomew Sparrow and Sanford Levison). He made final editorial revisions on "Racism and Colonialism: the Meanings of Difference and Ruling Practices in America's Pacific Empire" for publication.

Go also authored "Cultural Power and Foreign Occupation: Meaning-Making and State-Building in Puerto Rico during American Rule" and "Cultural Transformations: Colonial Politics and Repertoire Expansion." Both are currently under review for journal publication.

Finally, Go began research on his next major project: a study of dictatorship, constitutionalism, and political culture in the Philippines (1935-1986). With Academy funding, he conducted fieldwork and archival research in Manila in the summer of 2003. In fall 2003 Go returned to his position as assistant professor of sociology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**John Giles** (2002-03) worked in Beijing on the second round of an urban labor force survey conducted in collaboration with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He also carried out preliminary fieldwork in rural villages for National Science Foundation-funded research looking at the relationship between economic growth, emerging inequality, and the evolution of institutions related to village governance. Giles returned to Beijing in December 2002 to help organize and participate in an international workshop on analysis of human capital in China, and again in March 2003 to pretest a rural village survey instrument.

During the academic year, Giles prepared two papers for conferences and invited presentations: "How Has Economic Restructuring Affected China's Urban Workers" (presented at the Conference on "The Labor of Reform: Employment, Workers' Rights, and Labor Law in China," at the University of Michigan, March 2003); and "Estimating the Returns to Human Capital in Urban China" (Beijing, December 2002, and Canberra, Australia, August 2003). These papers are currently under revision for submission to journals. In addition, he worked on requested revisions for papers submitted for publication during his 2001-02 term as an Academy Scholar. Giles returned to Michigan State University in fall 2003 as an assistant professor in the department of economics.

**Mary Alice Haddad** (2003-04) spent her year at the Harvard Academy completing her first book project on comparative voluntarism and civil society in Japan and beginning research for her second project on the varieties of democracies around the world. Haddad was a member of the Government department's dissertation-



writing seminar for graduate students in the field of comparative politics (GOV 6000), and she audited an introductory Arabic class. At the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association she presented a paper entitled "Practicing Citizenship: The Community Volunteerism Model." At the annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies she presented a paper entitled "Japan's Vibrant Civil Society." Haddad published an article, "Community Determinants of Volunteer Participation: The Case of Japan," which is forthcoming in the summer of 2004 in *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. Her book review of *The Voluntary and Non-Profit Sector in Japan* (Stephen P. Osborne, ed.) was published in the same journal in June 2004. Haddad gave invited talks at Georgetown University, University of Pittsburgh, and Wesleyan University, and presented her research during a Harvard Academy dinner. In the fall of 2004 she began a new position as an assistant professor of government at Wesleyan University.

**Gretchen Helmke** (2002-03) spent her Academy year completing research for and writing a book-length manuscript, "Courts Under Constraints: Judicial Politics in Argentina," which will be published by Cambridge University Press as part of the Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics series. As part of that project, Helmke, along with a team of research assistants from the Harvard Law School, updated the Argentine Supreme Court Decisions Dataset (1976-2001). Based on research for that project, Helmke wrote several papers, including: "Checks and Balances By Other Means" which appeared in *Comparative Politics* (January 2003); "Modeling Motivations: A Game Theoretic Analysis of the Argentine Supreme Court" (co-authored with Mitch Sanders); and, "Enduring Uncertainty: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina in the 1990s and Beyond." Her article, "The Logic of Strategic Defection: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina," (*American Political Science Review*, July 2002) is being translated and published in *Desarrollo Economico*. During the academic year, Helmke also made substantial progress on a second project on informal institutions. She and her collaborator, Steven Levitsky (WCFIA, Harvard University) co-organized the conference, "Informal Institutions in Latin America," funded by the University of Notre Dame, the Kellogg Institute, and the Coca Cola Foundation. Helmke and Levitsky's paper,

"Informal Institutions in Comparative Politics," is currently under review. In fall 2003 Helmke joined the faculty of the University of Rochester as an assistant professor in political science.

**Engseng Ho** (2002-03) completed a book manuscript entitled "The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility in an Indian Ocean Diaspora." Employing Arabic and Malay sources, the book charts the creation of one cosmopolitan, multicultural, and Creole society of Arab Muslims that connected Islamic states in Yemen, India, and Southeast Asia from the 16th to the 20th centuries. He published two articles on this subject: "Names Beyond Nations: The Making of Local Cosmopolitans," in *Etudes Rurales*, published by the Collège de France, and "Before Parochialization: Diasporic Arabs Cast in Creole Waters," in the volume *Transcending Borders: Arabs, Politics, Trade and Islam in Southeast Asia*, published by the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, the Netherlands. He began new research on European mercantile, maritime empires (Venice, Portugal, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States) to understand their interaction with the Arab diaspora in the Indian Ocean. An article from this research examines precedents to the conflict between the U.S. and bin Laden; entitled "Empire through Diasporic Eyes," it has been submitted for journal publication, and a version will be republished in *The Migrations of Threat: National Security After September 11<sup>th</sup>* by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Global Security Program. Ho presented papers at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; Edinburgh University and the Edinburgh Institute for the Advanced Study of Islam and the Middle East; Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence; SSRC Global Security Program; SSRC workshops on Inter-Asian Circulations and on the Global Production of Islamic Knowledge and Authority; the University of Chicago; Harvard Academy Globalization and Culture Seminar; and Princeton University. In fall 2003 he resumed teaching as assistant professor of anthropology and of social studies at Harvard.

**Macartan Humphreys** (2002-03) completed and defended his dissertation in fall 2002. During the 2002-03 academic year, he continued working on his Harvard Academy project—a study of civil wars and civil war settlements in West Africa—undertaking field work in Chad, Sierra Leone, and Mauritania

and commencing preparation of a book manuscript. During the academic year he also prepared two major projects on African political economy. In the first of these, funded by the Harvard Center for International Development and Columbia University's Earth Institute, Humphreys, together with colleague Jeremy Weinstein, designed and implemented a large-N survey of ex-combatants in Sierra Leone. The survey, implemented over the summer of 2003, collects data on incentives for joining and participating in rebel organizations and civil militias, the determinants of military-civilian relations, the politics of the Sierra Leonean peace negotiations, and disarmament and reintegration policies in Sierra Leone. The second project, undertaken in summer 2004 together with James Habyarimana, Daniel Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein and focusing on mechanisms that help explain the ethnicization of politics, received funding during the year from the Harry Frank Guggenheim foundation, the Russell Sage Foundation and the Harvard Academy. Both projects will lead to book-length manuscripts. Other written research published or submitted for publication include two chapters submitted to edited volumes, three chapters from his dissertation prepared and submitted for journal publication, a book review for *Perspectives on Politics*, and one French language article published in *Revue Tiers Monde*. Other research was presented at the Harvard Africa Studies Seminar Series, at MIT, at the Laboratory in Comparative Ethnic Processes (LiCEP) and at the Working Group in African Political Economy at UCLA. Humphreys has also contributed during the academic year to policy discussions at a number of events, including meetings at the International Peace Research Institute (Oslo), the Universidad Javeriana (Bogotá), The International Development Research Centre (Ottawa) and at the meetings of the Millennium Development Project Poverty Task Force (Addis Ababa).

**Saba Mahmood** (2002-03) in her second year as an Academy Scholar was successful in sending her manuscript on Islam and gender to Princeton University Press (2004). In addition, she published an article in the *New Encyclopedia of Women in Islamic Cultures* on how this topic has been approached within the discipline of anthropology (Leiden, Brill Publishers, 2003). With support from the Academy, Mahmood also organized a workshop on the topic of "Secularism and Liberal Governance in an International

Perspective" in which scholars from a variety of disciplines (philosophy, anthropology, religious studies, political theory, comparative literature) participated. The proceedings from this workshop will be published in an edited issue of the journal *Public Culture* in 2005. Finally, at the end of her stay at Harvard University, Mahmood accepted the position of assistant professor at the University of California at Berkeley in the department of anthropology. She joined the faculty at Berkeley in fall 2003 after having taught at the University of Chicago since 1999.

**Conor O'Dwyer** (2003-04) submitted two journal articles that are currently under review. A third article, co-written with Daniel Ziblatt of the Government Department and entitled "Does Decentralization Make Government More Efficient and Effective?" has been provisionally accepted by *The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*. O'Dwyer presented two papers at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and participated in their postcommunist comparative politics workshop. He was also a regular member of the Government 6000 dissertation-writing seminar for graduate students. O'Dwyer presented the paper "The Expanding Post-Communist State: A Theory and Empirical Evidence" at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association and "Does Decentralization Make Government More Efficient and Effective?" at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies conference. At the end of June he conducted field research in Warsaw, Bratislava, and Prague on the political economy of health care reform in postcommunist countries. He began a new position as assistant professor of political science at the University of Florida in the fall of 2004.

**Benjamin Smith** (2002-2004) defended his doctoral dissertation in 2002-03, entitled "Hard Times in the Land of Plenty: Oil Booms and Opposition in Late Developing States," in the department of political science at the University of Washington. He also revised and completed three forthcoming articles. The first, "Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960-1999," is forthcoming in the *American Journal of Political Science*, and the second, "Collective Action With and Without Islam: Mobilizing the Bazaar in Iran," in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, (Quintan Wiktorowicz ed. Indiana University Press). The third, tentatively titled "If I Do

These Things, They Will Throw Me Out: Economic Reform and the Fall of Suharto,” will appear in the *Journal of International Affairs* in fall 2003.

Also in 2002-03, Smith presented an early version of “The Wrong Kind of Crisis: Why Oil Booms and Busts Don’t Lead to Democratic Transition” at the 2002 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Boston, and submitted the paper for publication. He also completed initial drafts of article-length projects focused, respectively, on the use of Islam as an explanatory variable in social analysis, and on the origins of authoritarian regime types, and began the revision process for his book manuscript, based on his doctoral dissertation. With Academy support, Smith attended the University of Michigan’s ICPSR statistics course in June 2003. During the 2003-04 academic year, Smith will complete his second year at the Harvard Academy, focusing on preparing his book manuscript for publication and on beginning a second major research project on the electoral consequences of political decentralization in post-Suharto Indonesia.

Smith finished his second year as an Academy Scholar during the 2003-04 academic year. Three articles that he finished in early 2003 appeared in the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of International Affairs*, and in an edited volume on Islamic activism. He made two research trips to Indonesia, in fall 2003 and spring 2004, to conduct research for a new project focused on political decentralization and party formation in post-democratic transition Indonesia, and served as an election monitor in central Java for the April parliamentary elections. Smith also finished a book, *Hard Times in the Land of Plenty: Oil, Opposition, and Late Development*, based on his dissertation, and submitted it for review and publication. He finished and submitted for publication an article based on a second major project on authoritarian durability and breakdown entitled, “Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence Under Single-Party Rule.”

Smith presented “Life of the Party” at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, at Yale’s Comparative Politics Workshop and at a Harvard Academy dinner. He presented “If I Do These Things, They Will Throw Me Out: Economic Reform and the Collapse of Indonesia’s New Order,”

at Columbia University’s School of Public and International Affairs. In March 2004, he led two workshops at a USAID-sponsored conference on oil industry accountability and management in Dili, East Timor. In July 2004 he began a position as assistant professor of political science and Asian studies at the University of Florida.

**Sherrill Stroschein** (2003-04) prepared her book manuscript, “Contention and Coexistence: Ethnic Politics and Democratic Transition in East Central Europe,” for review. She also finished two articles for publication. The first, “What Belgium Can Teach Bosnia: The Uses of Autonomy in Divided House States,” appeared in the online peer-reviewed *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues* in December 2003. The second, a co-authored piece with Stephen Deets on Hungarians and liberal minority rights norms, is currently under review. She began initial research on a third article on extremist/moderate politics as well as on a second book manuscript, “Ethnicity and Governance in a Europe of Regions.”

As an associate at the Davis Center, Stroschein participated in a number of seminar series, including the postcommunist comparative politics workshop, and offered a lecture at that center on her own research. Stroschein also gave invited lectures at American University, Columbia University’s East Central European Center, and MIT. She presented her work at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, the International Studies Association, and the Association for the Study of Nationalities, as well as at a Harvard Academy dinner. She will complete her second year at the Academy in 2004-05 before returning to her position as an assistant professor of political science at Ohio University.

**Jason Wittenberg** (2002-03) spent his Academy year engaged in two large projects. One involved completing revisions on a book manuscript that examines the role of the churches in transmitting political identities between pre- and postcommunist Hungary. He gave talks on this project at Miami University of Ohio, University of Pennsylvania, University of Washington, and The Open University, London, and began preparing an article entitled “The Battle for Souls, 1948-1956.” Wittenberg also began research on a new project that seeks to understand the social and ethnic bases of political radicalism through in-depth

statistical analyses of electoral behavior in interwar East Europe. For this project he completed a co-authored article entitled, "Who Voted Communist? Reconsidering the Social Bases of Radicalism in Interwar Poland," that appeared in *Slavic Review* in Spring 2003. He also directed the data collection efforts of his research group, and gave talks at Duke University, UCLA, and Yale University. He spent much of July 2003 in East Europe doing on-site research before returning in fall 2003 to his position as assistant professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

### Academy Scholar Presentations

Each Academy Scholar discusses the results of his or her research at a special dinner presentation during the academic year.

#### 2002

*October 24*

"Who Votes Extremist? Reconsidering the Social Bases of Political Radicalism," **Jason Wittenberg**.

*November 21*

"Cultural Revolution Experience and Individual Life Outcomes," **John Giles**.

*December 16*

"Conflict Resolution in Sub-Saharan Africa," **Macartan Humphreys**.

#### 2003

*February 20*

"Courts Under Constraints: Judges, Generals, and Presidents in Argentina," **Gretchen Helmke**.

*March 20*

"Left Turn on Green? International NGOs, Civil Society, and Political Change," **Scott Desposato**.

*April 24*

"Hard Times in the Land of Plenty: Oil, Opposition, and Late Development," **Benjamin Smith**.

*October 23*

"Beyond Crescent vs. Cross: Historicizing Late Ottoman Critiques of the West," **Cemil Aydin**.

*December 15*

"Making a Peaceful Exit from Socialism: Democracy Construction for Mixed States," **Sherrill Stroschein**.

#### 2004

*February 19*

"The Scholastic Revolution: Mass Schooling and Enduring National Identities," **Keith Darden**.

*March 20*

"Life of the Party: Strong and Weak Single-Party Regimes in the Developing World," **Benjamin Smith**.

*April 29*

"Varieties of Democracy: A Proposed Research Agenda," **Mary Alice Haddad**.

### Global Cultures Program

The mission of the Global Cultures Program is to promote study and understanding of the similarities, differences, and relations among the world's principal cultural groupings. To accomplish this end, the Academy undertakes research projects, organizes seminars and conferences, and sponsors publications dealing with these issues. In 2002-04, the program supported ongoing research in the Academy's "Religion in Global Politics" project; sponsored a conference on approaches to the study of ethnicity; and saw the continuation of the Globalization and Culture Seminar series.

The 2002-03 academic year saw the launch of a new program, "Harvard Academy Junior Faculty Development Grants." In keeping with the core mission of the Academy, Harvard Academy Junior Faculty Development Grants are intended to offer junior faculty in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, as well as WCFLA faculty associates, opportunities to extend their knowledge of the language, culture, history, politics, and institutions of non-Western societies. Grants of up to \$10,000 per academic year are awarded to fund such scholarly activities as language training, development of contacts with local scholars and institutions, pilot/exploratory research, and data acquisition. In May 2003, the Academy announced the awarding of two Junior Faculty Development Grants. Associate Professor **Sven Beckert** (History) received funding to conduct archival research in India on that country's role in the development of a global cotton trade network. Assistant Professor **Andrew Kydd** (Government) will use his grant to study Russian historiography on the origins of the Cold War; this project is part of a larger study that tests formal models of trust, international bargaining and arms racing in international relations.

During the 2003-04 academic year, the Academy awarded five Junior Faculty Development Grants. Assistant Professor **Cindy Skach** (Government) received funding to study changing conceptions of state and nation in the European Union in response to increased migration flows. Assistant Professor **Daniel Botsman** (History) will use his grant to study the understanding of the concept of “freedom” in Meiji Japan. Associate Professor **Jason Kaufman** (Sociology) plans a comparative sociological study of musical culture in Bali and the United States. Assistant Professor **Suzanne Grant Lewis** (School of Education) will conduct research on educational reform in South African schools. Assistant Professor **Monica Toft** (Kennedy School of Government) will travel to Russia to study decision making in that country’s Chechen conflict.

In 2002-2004 the Academy’s “Religion in Global Politics” project generated a number of research products, including a forthcoming book, several research papers, and several journal articles. Project member **Jessica Stern**’s book *Terror in the Name of God* was published by HarperCollins in fall 2003. Stern also published several articles and essays: “Al Qaeda: The Protean Enemy” was published by Foreign Affairs in July 2003; “When Women are Bombers,” appeared in the *Washington Post* on December 18, 2003; “Terrorism’s New Mecca,” was published in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* on November 28, 2003; and “How America Created a Terrorist Haven,” ran in the *New York Times* on August 20, 2003. Project research assistant Assaf Moghadam’s paper “A Global Resurgence of Religion” was accepted into the Weatherhead Center’s Working Paper Series (#03-03). Two other papers were written by project research assistants: “Religion and Democratization: Explaining a Robust Empirical Relationship” by **Robert D. Woodberry**, and “Orthodoxy and Nationalism in Russia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives” by **George Soroka**. Project member **Monica Toft**’s paper, “Religion and Civil War,” was submitted for publication in fall 2003. Toft also finished drafting an article, “Religion, Civil Wars, and International Order,” which is under review for publication at the journal *International Security*. **Daniel Philpott** completed a paper on Catholicism and democracy (“The Catholic Wave”) that was commissioned by the *Journal of Democracy* for a special issue on religion and democracy. With **Timothy Samuel Shah**,

Philpott began research on a paper on religion and Europeanization (on democratization and preferences for joining the European Union in Europe) for a conference and edited volume on the subject held in March 2004. Shah also completed two articles on Protestantism and democratization. The first of these appeared in a new journal on religion and international affairs, called *The Brandywine Review of Faith and International Affairs*: “Evangelical Politics in the Third World: What’s Next for the ‘Next Christendom?’” (Vol. 1, Number 2, Fall 2003). The second is co-authored with Woodberry and entitled “Protestantism and Democracy,” appeared in the April 2004 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*. These research products were presented at the third meeting of the project’s Advisory Committee on May 14, 2004. Also, as an outgrowth of this project, a joint Faculty of Arts and Sciences-Kennedy School-Divinity School course, “Religion in Global Politics,” was team-taught in fall 2003 by project members **Samuel Huntington**, **Jessica Stern**, and **David Little**. The course had an enrollment of approximately 150 graduate and undergraduate students.

#### **Globalization and Culture Seminars**

The Globalization and Culture Seminar considers the impact of the forces of economic, cultural, and political globalization on the cultural integrity, economic viability, national autonomy, and political stability of countries across the world.

#### **2002**

*October 8*

“Believing and Belonging – Relations between Religion and Economic Growth,” **Robert Barro** and **Rachel McCleary**, Harvard University.

*November 12*

“Islam and Politics: The Future of Indonesia,” **Dr. Sjahrir**, chairman of the New Indonesia Alliance Party, and **Robert Hefner**, Boston University.

*December 3*

“Muslims & the West: Testing the ‘Clash of Civilizations’ Thesis,” **Pippa Norris**, Harvard University. (Comments from Samuel Huntington, Harvard Academy.)

#### **2003**

*February 11*

“Religion and National Identity: The Case of the United States,” **Samuel Huntington**, Harvard Academy.

March 11

"Empire Through Diasporic Eyes: The U.S., bin Laden, Indian Ocean Precedents," **Engseng Ho**, Harvard Academy Scholar.

October 7

"Current and Long-term Trends in Transatlantic Relations," **Friedbert Pflüger**, German lawmaker.

December 2

"More Democracy in the World: Good or Bad?" **Fareed Zakaria**, editor of *Newsweek International*.

## 2004

March 23

"Will Allah Bless America? The Challenge of Muslim Immigrants in the United States," **Peter Skerry**, Department of Political Science, Boston College.

April 20

"Making Change Work: Preliminary Results of the Cultural Change Project," **Lawrence Harrison**, Fletcher School, Tufts University.

### Harvard Academy Conferences

During the 2002-03 academic year, the Harvard Academy sponsored two conferences and one workshop organized by Academy Scholars. In December 2002, the Academy and the MIT Center for International Studies co-sponsored a three-day conference entitled "Constructivist Approaches to Ethnic Groups: Modeling and Incorporating Them into New Research Agendas." Organized by Academy Scholar **Kanchan Chandra**, the conference brought together a diverse team of scholars to develop constructivist approaches to the study of ethnicity. Conference participants sought to apply these approaches to create testable propositions and incorporate them into new research agendas that investigate ethnic group mobilization. The Academy also sponsored a conference on "Emergence and Epidemic: Ecosystem Change, Social Change, and Emergent Disease on the Tropical Economic Frontier" in April 2003 at the Weatherhead Center. Organized by former Academy Scholar **Rebecca Hardin** (McGill University), the conference examined shifting human/wildlife relationships in tropical forests where extractive industry and rapid social change appear to relate to increased viral disease emergence. An interdisciplinary, international group of both social and medical scientists met to seek models and methods for integrating different types of

research currently in progress across tropical forest areas in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Finally, in May 2003, Academy Scholar **Saba Mahmood** organized a workshop on the topic of "Secularism and Liberal Governance in an International Perspective" in which scholars from a variety of disciplines (philosophy, anthropology, religious studies, political theory, comparative literature) participated. The proceedings from this workshop will be published in an edited issue of the journal *Public Culture* in 2005. Programs from the two Academy conferences are listed below.

### Constructivist Approaches to Ethnic Groups: Modeling and Incorporating Them into New Research Agendas December 6-8, 2002

December 6

"Theorizing Constructivist Approaches to Identity," **Kanchan Chandra**, Political Science, MIT; and **David Laitin**, Political Science, University of Chicago. Discussants: **Arjun Appadurai**, Anthropology, Yale University; **Robert Boyd**, Anthropology, UCLA, and Michael Chwe, Political Science, UCLA.

"Operationalizing Constructivist Propositions Using Agent-Based Modeling," **David Laitin** and **Maurits Van Der Veen**. Discussants: **Lars-Erik Cederman**, Government, Harvard University; and **Ian Lustick**, Political Science, University of Pennsylvania.

December 7

"Incorporating Constructivist Propositions into Theories of Civil War," **Stathis Kalyvas**. Discussants: **Steven Van Evera**, Political Science, MIT; and **Tone Bringa**, Anthropology, Michelsen Institute, Norway.

"Incorporating Constructivist Propositions into Theories of State Disintegration," **Roger Petersen**, Political Science, MIT. Discussants: **Dominique Arel**, Political Science, Brown University; and Robert Hayden, Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

"Incorporating Constructivist Propositions into Theories of Economic Growth," **Daniel Posner**, Political Science, UCLA; and **Smita Singh**, Political Science, Hewlett Foundation. Discussants: **Janet Tai Landa**, Economics, York University; and **Asim Khwaja**, Economics, Harvard University/Kennedy School of Government.

"Incorporating Constructivist Propositions into Theories of Party Politics and Voting Behavior," **Karen Ferree**. Discussants: **Jason Wittenberg**, Political Science, Harvard Academy/University

of Wisconsin at Madison; and **Shaheen Mozaffar**, Political Science, Bridgewater State College.

*December 8*

“Incorporating Constructivist Propositions into Theories of Democracy,” **Kanchan Chandra**, Political Science, MIT; and **Macartan Humphreys**, Political Science, Harvard Academy. Discussants: **Saba Mahmood**, History of Religion, Harvard Academy/University of Chicago; and **Leonard Wantchekon**, Political Science, NYU.

“Incorporating Constructivist Propositions into Theories of Riots,” **Steven Wilkinson**. Discussants: **Suzanne Shanahan**, Sociology, Duke University; and **Edward Miguel**, Economics, University of California at Berkeley.

**Emergence and Epidemic: Ecosystem Change, Social Change, and Emergent Disease on the Tropical Economic Frontier**  
April 28-29, 2003

*April 28*

**Session I: Emergence: Cross Cutting Social and Ecological Factors**

“An Evolutionary View to the Man-Disease Interactions, and Human Survival in Rainforests,” **Alain Froment**, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, Orleans. Commentator: **Jean François Molez**, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, Orleans. “Tropical Ecosystems and Emergent Disease,” **Nathan Wolfe**, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. Commentator: **Paul Epstein**, Harvard Medical School and Harvard School of Public Health.

**Session II. Simian Immunodeficiency Virus-Human Immunodeficiency Virus**

“Possible Origins of HIV-1 in Colonial Africa,” **Jim Moore**, University of California at San Diego. Commentator: **Emmanuel Akyeampong**, History Department and Committee on African Studies, Harvard University.

“Risk to Human Health from a Plethora of Simian Immunodeficiency Viruses in Primate Bushmeat,” **Valerie Courgnaud**, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, Montpellier. Commentator: **Max Essex**, Immunology and Infectious Disease, Harvard School of Public Health.

“Methods for the Study of SIV in Wild Chimpanzees,” **Mario Santiago**, University of Alabama, Birmingham. Commentator:

**Ronald Desrosiers**, Virology, University of Massachusetts Medical School.

**Session III: Framing HIV/SIV**

Commentators: **Mark Lurie**, Brown University Medical School; Richard Wrangham, Anthropology, Harvard University.

*April 29*

**Session IV: Viral Hemorrhagic Fevers (VHFs)**

“Arthropod Borne Virus Ecology in South America,” **Nicolas Degallier** and **Jean-François Molez**, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, Brazil. Commentator: **Jim Riach**, affiliate, Florida International University. “Reflections on the Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Ebola Outbreaks: Uganda and Northern Congo (Brazzaville),” **Barry Hewlett**, Washington State University. Commentator: **Pauline Peters**, Harvard University/Kennedy School of Government.

“The Value of Quantitative Ecological Approaches for Understanding Ape Die-Offs and Ebola in Congo,” **Peter Walsh**, Princeton University. Commentator: Hans Ackerman, Harvard Medical School.

**Session V: Framing VHFs/Ebola**

**Charles Zerner**, Environmental Studies, Sarah Lawrence College; and **Bonnie Hewlett**, Nursing, Washington State University.

**Session VI: Outbreaks and Epidemics: Cross Cutting Management Challenges**

“Land use evolution, forest reduction and disease extension in Thailand,” **Vincent Herbreteau**. Commentator: **Robbie Ali**, Center for Health and the Global Environment, Harvard Medical School.

“Viral disease on the economic frontier: the case of central African logging concessions,”

**Philippe Auzel**, University of Gembloux.

Commentator: **Robert Bates**, Harvard University

“Prevention of Disease Transmission in Primate Conservation,” **Janette Wallis**, University of Oklahoma. Commentator: **William Lynn**, The Center for Humans and Nature.

## **PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION**

Chair: **Herbert C. Kelman**, Richard Clarke Cabot Research Professor of Social Ethics, Harvard University

The Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PICAR) works to advance the understanding of international and interethnic conflicts, and to develop interactive problem-solving processes that can be effective in managing or resolving such conflicts. Using a view of international conflict as an intersocietal as well as an intergovernmental process, and a corresponding view of diplomacy as a creative integration of official and unofficial efforts, PICAR members research how democratization, pluralism, and the building of civil society in multiethnic states will be enhanced if underlying sources of conflict are discussed and addressed, both in current conflict resolution efforts and in setting up systems for managing future conflicts. PICAR is supported by a grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

Program members in 2002-03 included faculty members and practitioners, all of whom are scholar-practitioners combining research and theory building with the practice of third-party facilitation. In addition, PICAR maintained active contact with a growing network of former members whose professional work has taken them to a variety of academic institutions and governmental or nongovernmental organizations in the United States and abroad.

The Middle East is the primary area of practice for many program members. Several other initiatives, however, have been developed by PICAR members, including projects in Sri Lanka, Colombia, and involving U.S.-Cuban relations. Program members were involved in a variety of continuing research projects, including: the relationship between human rights and conflict resolution; leadership and conflict resolution; the relationship between state structure and conflict in multiethnic states; justice, human rights, and reconciliation in ethnic conflicts; rethinking conflict resolution processes; the role of national identity in ethnic conflict; and the relationship between Track I and Track II peacemaking efforts.

Practice is at the core of PICAR activities. It involves the design and implementation of problem-solving workshops in which members of communities in conflict meet together for

intensive three- to four-day periods to engage in "joint thinking" about solutions to divisive problems. Such joint thinking is promoted by the careful choice of participants, by a well-developed set of ground rules, and by bringing the basic human needs of identity and security to the fore of the political discussion.

Because of tragic events in the Middle East during the past year, PICAR's dialogues with Israeli and Palestinian political influentials were difficult to realize. Spring of 2003 was devoted to organizing a new "working group" that would examine ways to bring the parties back to the negotiating table. Professor Herbert Kelman received a grant from the United States Institute of Peace to convene such a group. We had planned to hold a workshop in Cyprus in the summer of 2003, but events on the ground in Israel made it impossible. PICAR was, however, able to bring together Israeli and Palestinian journalists for the purpose of discussing ways in which the media could play a constructive role in de-escalating the tensions between the communities and assist in bringing the parties back to the negotiating table. Herbert Kelman and Donna Hicks, in collaboration with the Public Conversations Project based in Watertown, MA, organized the four-day workshop that took place in Vienna, Austria in October, 2002.

Donna Hicks and Ambassador Jose Maria Argueta conducted a workshop in April 2003 in Cartagena, Colombia for members of the Department of Defense and the military. The workshop was designed to promote relationship-building and encourage effective communication between them.

PICAR members have been invited to conduct short courses in the problem-solving approach at other universities. During the past year, William Weisberg and Donna Hicks gave a week-long seminar in conflict resolution at the University of Tübingen in Germany.

The program hosted a public seminar series on the theory and practice of international conflict resolution. In addition, a number of research seminars for scholar-practitioners in the field were held over the course of the academic year. Program members also conducted a seminar for the WCFIA Fellows Program, focusing on the theory and practice of interactive problem-solving as an unofficial approach to conflict analysis and resolution.



In September 2002 the program convened a meeting of scholars and practitioners from around the world to examine the possibility of establishing an international NGO whose mission is to offer professional facilitation services for the prevention and management of intercommunal and interethnic conflict. Following on this idea, PICAR organized a symposium at the annual meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, which was held in Boston in July, 2003. The panel focused on the challenges and opportunities of an international facilitation service to the field of conflict resolution.

PICAR formally “retired” on July 31, 2003.

PICAR’s Director was **Herbert C. Kelman**, **Donna Hicks** was the deputy director, and **Rachel Milner** was the staff assistant.

### **PROJECT ON JUSTICE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION**

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Chair: **Philip Heymann**, Harvard Law School.  
Director: **Sara Zucker**

The Project on Justice in Times of Transition brings together individuals from a broad spectrum of countries to share experiences in ending conflict, establishing peace, and building civil society. In demand-driven practical initiatives it acts as a neutral facilitator to bring together leaders and decision makers from states undergoing transition with counterparts from other countries that have experienced similar transitions. The project’s comparative approach enables individuals to: engage in dialogue across national, ethnic, religious and ideological boundaries; forge ties and build trust that can facilitate effective negotiations and political and social cooperation; share information and ideas with their counterparts in other societies; and develop relevant strategies for reconciliation and transformation.

In September 1999, the Project on Justice in Times of Transition became an inter-faculty program of Harvard University under the auspices of the Law School, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (as represented by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs). The project was formally transferred to Harvard from the Foundation for a Civil Society, a New York-based nonprofit organization that had launched the project. The project was inaugurated in 1992 with

an international conference that represented the first occasion in which key leaders and high-level decision makers from throughout postcommunist Europe joined counterparts from Argentina, Chile, Germany and Spain, to discuss their experiences in confronting past repression and building political tolerance. This initial cross-cultural, comparative approach proved successful and has remained the blueprint for all of the project’s subsequent initiatives. The project has since broadened its thematic and geographic scope to address the challenges of facing legacies of the past, fostering reconciliation, and building peace in countries emerging from civil conflict.

Since its move to Harvard, the Project on Justice in Times of Transition has been refining its strategy in order to combine the methodology it has traditionally used in programmatic initiatives with the capacity for research, teaching, and publications that the transfer to Harvard allows. The project is implementing a multi-faceted plan for programmatic initiatives and research sessions to take the experiences of practitioners from societies in transition around the world, and analyze and organize the lessons learned. The project’s integrated program comprises six components:

- **thematic research** conducted by Harvard faculty in collaboration with individuals from the project’s international network of practitioners
- development of **case studies** on the experiences of these practitioners in societies in transition
- **programmatic initiatives** focusing on subjects of concern to particular communities and countries
- **executive training sessions** at Harvard for practitioners from around the world
- **informational events** for faculty, staff, and students at Harvard
- **internships and fellowships** for Harvard students

The project has continued its work with political and community leaders in Northern Ireland through a series of integrated programs. Four parts of the multifaceted program take the form of conferences or workshops to facilitate contact and cooperation among leaders in Northern Ireland, and the fifth element involves the development and use of materials documenting the experience of Northern Ireland. In 2002-03, three sessions were held for a total of over 125 participants. As well, the

project sponsored the participation of four individuals from Northern Ireland in Kennedy School of Government executive programs on Strategic Public Sector Negotiations and for Leaders in Development, and Senior Executives in State and Local Government.

The project continued its work with the Partnership on Rule of Law and Peace Building. The program was conducted in collaboration with the United Nations Association of the USA in order to enhance the capacity of international organizations such as the United Nations to conduct more effective peace building by helping them to identify ways to engage more effectively with national actors in the field. The overall program included three regional meetings designed to facilitate discussions and the formulation of recommendations on peace-building by a group of local practitioners and international field staff. In 2002-03 regional meetings were held in Turkey, in partnership with Koc University, and in Gaborone, Botswana.

In addition to the programs described above, the project sent 22 Chayes International Public Service Fellows to 17 different countries, ranging from Afghanistan to Croatia, and from Kenya to Thailand, to work with governments and intergovernmental and nongovernmental agencies.

### **Seminars and Roundtable Sessions at Harvard University**

#### **2002**

*September 27*

“Transitional Justice and Rule of Law: Cambodia, East Timor and Haiti,” **Louis Aucoin**, program officer at the United States Institute of Peace and judicial fellow at the United States Supreme Court. Moderated by Peter Rosenblum, associate director of the Harvard Law School Human Rights Program.

*October 7*

“Victims and the Legacy of Conflict in Northern Ireland,” **Des Browne**, parliamentary under-secretary of state for Northern Ireland.

*October 21*

“Lessons Learned in the Search for Peace: a Conversation with Special Representatives to the Secretary General of the United Nations,” **Jacques Paul Klein**, special representative to the secretary general in Bosnia-Herzegovina, **Bernard Kouchner**,

former special representative to the secretary general in Kosovo; and **James LeMoynes**, special representative to the secretary general for Colombia. Moderated by **John Ruggie**, Kennedy School of Government. (Co-sponsored by the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.)

#### **2003**

*March 20*

“Taiwan: A Successful Transition,” **May-Sing Yang**, vice chair, Research and Planning Committee, Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and **Michael M. Tsai**, deputy representative, Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office. Moderated by **Kim Campbell**, visiting professor of practice, Kennedy School of Government and former prime minister of Canada. (Co-sponsored by Asia Programs, Center for Business and Government.)

*May 16*

“Current Challenges Related to Promoting and Protecting Human Rights in Northern Ireland,” **Paddy Sloan**, chief executive of the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission.

### **Conferences and Workshops**

#### **Establishing Rule of Law and Governance in Post Conflict Societies July 11-14, 2003**

Co-sponsored by the Project on Justice in Times of Transition; Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey; and the United Nations Association of the USA.

*July 11*

Welcome Remarks by **Nafis Sadik**, special adviser to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan; **Attila Askar**, president, Koç University Istanbul; **William Luers**, president, United Nations Association of the USA; and **Robert Rotberg**, director, Program on Intrastate Conflict, Conflict Prevention, and Conflict Resolution, Harvard University.

*July 12*

“Establishing Rule of Law and Governance,” **Alipio Baltazar**, program officer, Asia Foundation, Dili, East Timor; **Vojkan Dimitrijevic**, former public prosecutor, Republika Srpska, Bosnia-Herzegovina; and **Kawun Kakar**, political affairs officer, United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan. Moderated by **David Scheffer**, senior vice

president, United Nations Association of the USA .

“The Integration of International Norms and Domestic Law,” **Binnaz Toprak**, professor, Bođaziçi University, Turkey, and **Ali Wardak**, lecturer in criminology; director, Black and Asian Offenders Project, Centre for Criminology, University of Glamorgan, United Kingdom. Moderated by **Frank Vogel**, professor, Harvard Law School.

“Turkey’s Peacekeeping Role in Afghanistan,” **Aydin Evirgen**, deputy director general, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ankara, Turkey.

“Developing Sustainable Legal Institutions,” **Teki Shehu**, senior commercial law officer, United Nations Mission in Kosovo, Department of Trade and Industry, Pristina, Kosovo; **Kim Sathavy**, director, Royal School for Magistracy, Phnom Penh, Cambodia; **Mohammad Ghul Ateeqi**, deputy chair, Judicial Commission, Ministry of Justice, Afghanistan; and **Binnaz Toprak**, professor, Bođaziçi University, Turkey. Moderated by **Winrich Kühne**, director, Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze (Center for International Peace Operations), Berlin.

*July 13*

“Domestic Security,” **Jacques Paul Klein**, special representative of Secretary-General Kofi Annan to Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Bart D’Hooge**, director, Department of Police Education and Reform, OSCE Mission in Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; **Behrooz Sadry**, deputy special representative of the secretary-general for Sierra Leone, United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone; and Sultan Aziz, senior advisor, United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, Afghanistan. Moderated by Satish Nambiar, director, United Service Institution of India.

“The Role of Civil Society,” **Vjosa Dobruna**, RTK public media station board member, former head of UNMIK Department of Democratic Governance and Civil Society, Pristina, Kosovo; and **Chanthol Oung**, director, Cambodia Women’s Crisis Center, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Moderated by **Wendy Luers**, Steering Committee member, Project on Justice in Times of Transition, Harvard University.

*July 14*

Presentation and Discussion of Recommendations led by **Nafis Sadik**, special advisor to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

Closing Remarks by **Attila Askar**, president, Koç University Istanbul; **David Scheffer**, senior vice president, United Nations Association of the USA; and **Robert Rotberg**, director, Program on Intrastate Conflict, Conflict Prevention, and Conflict Resolution, Harvard University.

### **Rule of Law and the Legacy of Conflict January 16-19, 2003**

Co-sponsored by the Project on Justice in Times of Transition; the Program on Intrastate Conflict, Conflict Prevention, and Conflict Resolution of Harvard University; the University of Botswana; and the United Nations Association of the USA.

*January 16*

Welcome remarks by **Ketumile Masire**, program chair, former president of Botswana; **William Luers**, president, United Nations Association of the USA; and **Robert Rotberg**, director, Program on Intrastate Conflict, Conflict Prevention, and Conflict Resolution, Harvard University.

“Addressing War-time Crimes when Crafting Political Settlements” **José María Argueta**, former ambassador to Peru and Japan, first civilian head of the National Security Council and secretary general of the Presidential Office of National Strategic Studies, Guatemala; and **Solomon Berewa**, vice president of Sierra Leone, former minister of justice and former attorney general, Sierra Leone. Moderated by **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf**, former director, UN Development Program Regional Bureau for Africa and president of Liberia.

*January 17*

“Challenges of National Rule of Law Capacity Building,” **Quadir Amiryar**, member, Judicial Commission, Afghanistan; **Gerald Gahima**, attorney general, Rwanda; and **Thierry Nlandu**, International Human Rights Law Group, Congo. Moderated by **Winrich Kühne**, director, Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze, Germany.

“Challenges of International Mechanisms Designed to Fill the Breach” **Mohamed**

**Othman**, former chief of prosecutions, United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and East Timor; and **Sok An**, senior minister and minister in charge of the Council of Ministers, Royal Government of Cambodia. Moderated by **David Scheffer**, senior vice president, United Nations Association of the USA.

*January 18*

“The United States and Peace-Building: The Big Imponderable,” **Jeffrey Laurenti**, executive director, Policy Studies, United Nations Association of the USA. Discussion of recommendations led by **Ketumile Masire**, former president of Botswana, facilitator for the Inter-Congolese Dialogue.

*January 19*

“Planning Ahead: Options for Hard Cases,” **Rafael Marques**, freelance journalist, Angola; **Bakhtiar Amin**, founder and executive director of the International Alliance for Justice, Iraq; **François Zoka**, Group Justice and Liberation, Congo. Moderated by **Robert Rotberg**, director, Program on Intrastate Conflict, Conflict Prevention, and Conflict Resolution, Harvard University.

Final discussion and closing remarks by **Ketumile Masire**, former president of Botswana; William Luers, president, United Nations Association of the USA; **Robert Rotberg**, director, Program on Intrastate Conflict, Conflict Prevention, and Conflict Resolution, Harvard University.

### **Workshop on Strategies for Building Trust in Northern Ireland March 2-5, 2003**

Co-sponsored by the Project on Justice in Times of Transition and the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland.

*March 2*

Remarks by **Roelf Meyer**, founder, Civil Society Initiative and former minister of constitutional affairs, South Africa.

*March 3*

“Thinking about Conflict, Trust and Memory,” **Martha Minow**, Professor, Harvard Law School.

“Interactive Problem-Solving Approach for Inter-Communal Dialogue,” **Herb Kelman**, director, and **Donna Hicks**, deputy director,

Program on International Conflict Resolution and Analysis, Harvard University.

“Experiences with Building Trust in Guatemala and El Salvador,” **Jose Maria Argueta**, vice president for International Business Development, Voxiva. Discussion moderated by **Tim Phillips**, steering committee member and co-founder, Project on Justice in Times of Transition.

*March 4*

“Experiences with Building Trust in Colombia,” **Juan Esteban Orduz**, former minister and deputy chief of Mission of the Embassy of Colombia to the United States; and **Luis Fernando De Angulo**, advisor to the Board of Directors, Institute of Human Rights and International Relations, Universidad Javeriana, Colombia. Discussion moderated by **Jim Cooney**, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

“A Community Response: Boston Confronts an Upsurge of Youth Violence” (Case Study), **Philip Heymann**, James Barr Ames Professor of Law, Harvard University.

“Finding Black Parents: One Church, One Child” (Case Study), **Peter Zimmerman**, senior associate dean for executive education and program development, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

*March 5*

Facilitated discussion and small group work about addressing challenges to building trust in Northern Ireland.

Group A with **Jan Shubert**, adjunct lecturer, Kennedy School of Government;

Group B with **Jim Cooney**, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University;

Group C with **Sara Zucker**, director, Project on Justice in Times of Transition.

Presentation of recommendations of groups about how to build trust and improve communication and cooperation between political and community leaders in Northern Ireland.

**Social Action and Peace-Building  
(workshop held in Northern Ireland)  
June 17, 2003**

Co-sponsored by the Project on Justice in Times of Transition and the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland.

Welcome by **Avila Kilmurray**, director, Community Foundation for Northern Ireland.

“Challenges of Peace-Building,” by **Brandon Hamber**, truth and reconciliation analyst.  
“The Role of Social Action and Peace-Building” **Kalpna Sharma**, deputy editor, *The Hindu Newspaper*, India, and **Rafael Marques**, Open Society Initiative representative for Southern Africa in Angola.

**Approaches for Optimizing Opportunities:  
An Executive Program for Leaders from  
Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland,  
and Great Britain  
July 21-25, 2003**

*July 21*  
“Helms-Hunt Case,” **Philip Heymann**, Harvard Law School.  
“Principles of Persuasion,” **Gary Orren**, Kennedy School of Government.

*July 22*  
“Anti-Smoking Regulation Case,” **Philip Heymann**, Harvard Law School.  
“Face-Face Interpersonal Persuasion,” **Gary Orren**, Kennedy School of Government.  
“Leadership and Authority,” **Marty Linsky**, Kennedy School of Government.

*July 23*  
“Leadership—Technical and Adaptive Problems,” **Marty Linsky**, Kennedy School of Government.  
“Leadership—Staying Alive,” **Marty Linsky**, Kennedy School of Government.

*July 24*  
“Tackling Real Challenges,” **Kim Campbell**, Kennedy School of Government and former prime minister of Canada.  
“Strategies of Gender Equality in Legislative Office,” **Pippa Norris**, Kennedy School of Government.  
“Responding to Political Pressure,” **Jamil Mahuad**, fellow, Center for Public Leadership, Kennedy School of Government and former president of Ecuador.

*July 25*  
“Making Alliances Work / Planning and Deciding Together,” **Xavier de Souza Briggs**, Kennedy School of Government.

**PROJECT ON JUSTICE, WELFARE, AND ECONOMICS (JWE)**

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Established in June 2001, the Project on Justice, Welfare, and Economics seeks to foster scholarly research by faculty and graduate students on issues at the intersection of economics, the other social sciences, law and ethics. The main thrust of this initiative is to stimulate new research and teaching in this area and to support the work of younger scholars that encompasses and integrates ethical, political and economic dimensions of human development.

To meet this aim, the project awards dissertation fellowships and research grants each year to graduate students whose research topics are relevant to the work of the project. The project also hosts a variety of formal and informal events to foster a community of scholars whose research and knowledge connects the study of freedom, justice, and economics to human welfare and development.

In the first two years after its inception, JWE awarded seventeen dissertation fellowships and seven research grants to graduate students in the fields of economics, government, sociology, philosophy, law, health policy and history. Six dissertation fellowships and three research grants have been awarded to graduate students for the summer of 2004 and academic year 2004-05. The award recipients are in the fields of economics, government, law, philosophy, and sociology.

During academic year 2003-04, the Project on Justice, Welfare, and Economics sponsored a number of activities including lunch discussions, graduate student presentations, and the inauguration of the project's dinner speaker series. The luncheons provided the opportunity for the students to interact with guest speakers and discuss their current work. The project also sponsored a symposium on the relationship—current and ideal— between human rights and welfare economics. Dinner speakers included **Kotaro Suzumura**, economist; **Kenneth Arrow**, economist; **Barbara Fried**, law professor; and **John Ferejohn**, political scientist. (Professors **Benjamin Friedman** and **Richard Tuck** spoke on “Grote, Sidgwick, Jevons, and the Point of

Neo-Classical Economics” at this dinner event on April 28, 2004.) The JWE Project was also one of the sponsors for the conference on “The Theory and Practice of Equality.” This interdisciplinary conference was hosted by **Mathias Risse** of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

The faculty committee that oversees this project was co-chaired by Professors **Martha Minow** and **Thomas Scanlon** from 2001-03. Professor **Amartya Sen** joined the project as the faculty chair in January 2004. During the 2004 academic year, the faculty committee was comprised of Professors **Jorge I. Domínguez**, **Benjamin Friedman**, **Michael Kremer**, **Jane Mansbridge**, **Frank Michelman**, **Martha Minow**, **Thomas Scanlon**, **Amartya Sen**, **Dennis Thompson**, and **Richard Tuck**. Seven additional faculty members will be joining the committee in 2004-05. They include Professors **Philippe Aghion**, **Jerry Green**, **Christine Jolls**, **James Kloppenberg**, **Alvin Roth**, **Nancy Rosenblum**, and **Laurence Tribe**.

The Project on Justice, Welfare, and Economics is anchored in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, but also includes professors and students at the Kennedy School of Government, the Law School, and other schools of the University. The Provost’s Office provides general oversight for the project. The project is housed at the Weatherhead Center.

#### **Dissertation Fellowship Recipients 2002-03**

**Nava Ashraf**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Daniel Gingerich**, Ph.D. Candidate in Government  
**Xiaojiang Hu**, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology  
**Waheed Hussain**, Ph.D. Candidate in Philosophy  
**Seema Jayachandran**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Kala Mulqueeny**, S.J.D. Candidate in Law  
**Hani Sayed**, S.J.D. Candidate in Law  
**Sven Spengemann**, S.J.D. Candidate in Law

#### **2003-04**

**Yael Aridor Bar-Ilan**, S.J.D. Candidate in Law  
**David Evans**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Bryan Graham**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Daniel Ho**, J.D. and Ph.D. Candidate in Law and Government  
**Louis-Philippe Hodgson**, Ph.D. Candidate in Philosophy  
**Klemen Jaklic**, S.J.D. Candidate in Law

**Karthik Muralidharan**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Benjamin Olken**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Martin O’Neill**, Ph.D. Candidate in Philosophy

#### **Summer Research Grant Recipients 2002-03**

**Ronald Chen**, J.D. Candidate in Law  
**David Evans**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Bryan Graham**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Guanglin Liu**, Ph.D. Candidate in History

#### **2003-04**

**Andreea Balan**, Ph.D. Candidate in Economics  
**Jonathan Rotter**, J.D. Candidate in Law  
**Carrie Thiessen**, Ph.D. Candidate in Health Policy

#### **PROGRAM ON NONVIOLENT SANCTIONS AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL**

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival (PONSACS) studies situations of conflict, principally those within rather than between countries, in order to understand their nature and the capabilities of nonviolent actions in support of human rights and civil liberties. The program’s rationale is based on the simple premise that political power is rooted in and continually dependent upon cooperation and obedience, and that each can be withdrawn.

PONSACS combines the quantitative approach of the PANDA (Protocol for the Assessment of Nonviolent Direct Action) Project, an automated early warning system, with the anthropological insights provided by on-the-ground research in conflict regions. These two strands of research work to identify conflict regions before they erupt into violence and to actively promote nonviolent alternatives to armed conflict.

Program research, analysis, and direct interventions focus largely on conflicts between culturally distinct groups in situations of sharp structural asymmetry, with emphasis on disputes over land and natural resources and indigenous rights. Over the past years these interests have expanded to include issues of citizenship rights and multiethnic communities. To illustrate, in November 2002, PONSACS co-hosted an international, interdisciplinary conference, “Beyond Armed Actors: Carving a Stronger Role for Civil Society in Columbia.” This conference produced the collaborative Columbia Civil

Sector Initiative, which draws on national and international networks, as well as comparative experiences and methods from a wide variety of academic disciplines and field experiences to help strengthen Colombia civil society's capacity to contribute to longterm peace and development.

During the academic year 2002-03, the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival hosted a seminar series titled, "Seminars on Ethnicity, Culture, and Change." The series reflects the program's ongoing research and activities in specific or anticipated conflicts. The seminar provides an opportunity to publicly review and critique some of PONSACS' current activities and research initiatives. The Seminar on Ethnicity, Culture, and Change focused on the relationship between ethnicity, generally in situations where ethnic groups stand in sharp asymmetry; culture, particularly in situations where concepts of and rights to natural resources are in dispute; and change, understood as local efforts to alter asymmetry through nonviolent means. Seminar speakers came from diverse backgrounds and have included prominent anthropologists, politicians, and academics. Topics included managing humanitarian emergencies, indigenous rights and the environment in Latin America, and the role of civil society in peace processes and participatory democracy. **David Maybury-Lewis** served as chair.

In February 2004, PONSACS co-hosted the second international, interdisciplinary conference, "Moving Beyond Armed Actors: The Challenges for Civil Society in Colombia." This conference complemented the 2002 event. Thanks to the 2004 conference, the Initiative entered a new phase in June 2004, when **Theodore Macdonald**, associate director of PONSACS, **Luis Fernando de Angulo**, visiting scholar at PONSACS and **David Brown** of the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, joined with Colombian colleagues in leading two workshops in Bogotá, Colombia, the first on NGO capacity building and leadership education, and the second on local narratives as tools for reconciliation and peace-building. The first of these workshops will be adapted to the Colombian context and delivered in its re-worked form to a larger audience by Colombian university partners.

The director of PONSACS is **David Maybury-Lewis**, professor of anthropology; the

associate directors are **Douglas Bond** and **Theodore Macdonald**. **Theresa Camire** served as program coordinator through May 2004. Professor Maybury-Lewis retired from teaching in the spring of 2004 and continues as Edward C. Henderson Research Professor of Anthropology.

## Conferences and Workshops

### 2002

*November 20*

"Human Rights in a Time of Cólera: Any Role for Civil Society in Colombia?" **Ernesto Borda**, professor and director of the Institute of Human Rights and International Relations, Javeriana University, Bogotá, Colombia; and **Angelino Garzón**, member of the Colombian National Reconciliation Commission, former president of the Unitarian Confederation of Workers in Colombia.

*November 21*

"Rethinking Civil Society in Colombia: Forging Tools for Moving Beyond Conflict," **Luis Jorge Garay**, Colombian economist and writer.

*November 22*

"Beyond Armed Actors: Carving a Stronger Role for Civil Society in Colombia," **Francisco Santos**, vice president of Colombia, John Coatsworth, director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.

The second set of seminars was in association with the conference "Bridge-Builders: 21st-Century Leadership in International Development." For that conference PONSACS hosted **Antonio Jacanimijoy**, a Colombian indigenous leader, former president of the International Coordinating Group for Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin, and currently permanent member of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Affairs.

### 2003

*February 11*

"Top-down and Bottom-Up? Finding Common Ground in Approaches to International Development."

*February 12*

"Case Studies on Grassroots Leadership Skills."

*February 13*

"Social Capital and Bridge-Building." PONSACS, in turn, formally hosted and

moderated the following seminars during that conference:

*February 13*

“The Other Side of the Bridge: Working with ‘the Other.’”

*February 13*

“Contested Resources: Comparisons and Contrasts between Latin America and Africa.”

### **Moving Beyond Armed Actors: the Challenges for Civil Society in Colombia**

**February 20-21, 2004**

This conference was sponsored by the Jaime and Raquel Gilinski Endowment at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS), with additional support from the DRCLAS Cultural Agency Initiative, the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and Occidental Petroleum Corporation.

*February 20*

Opening remarks by **Thomas B. F. Cummins**, acting director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS), Harvard University.

#### **Session I: Human Rights and Security Session**

“Advancing against Violence in Colombia,”

**Antanas Mockus**, former mayor of Bogotá.

Discussants: Merilee S. Grindle, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and **Doris Sommer**, Cultural Agency Initiative, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University.

“Reconciliation, Institutional Strengthening, and Security,” **Eduardo Posada-Carbó**, Latin American Centre, Oxford University.

Discussant: **Stephen Marks**, François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights, Harvard University.

“Community-driven Reconciliation Initiatives in Colombia: the ‘Coexistence Managers’ Project,” **Eduardo Wills Herrera**, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia. Discussant: **Donna Hicks**, WCFIA, Harvard University.

#### **Session II: Rethinking Institutional Responses to Violence Session**

“Violence and Policies for Public Health,” **Luis Fernando Duque**, National School of Public Health, Medellín, Colombia. Discussant:

**Deborah Prothrow-Stith**, Harvard School of Public Health.

“Christian Churches and the Conflict in Colombia: Their Presence and Impact,” **Ana**

**María Bidegain**, Harvard Divinity School. Discussant: **Harvey Cox**, Harvard Divinity School.

“Violence and Displacement in Colombia: a Large Territory and a Weak State,” **Ernesto Borda Medina**, National Conciliation Commission, Bogotá. Discussant: **Jacqueline Bhabha**, Harvard University Committee on Human Rights Studies.

*February 21*

#### **Session I: Civil Engagement and Mobilization Against Violence Session**

“Civil Society, Security, and the State: Current Debates,” **Michael Shifter**, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, DC. Discussant: **Juan Esteban Orduz**, Colombian Coffee Grower’s Federation, New York.

“Civil Society Conflict and Peace: the Legacy of the 90s,” **Inés Useche de Brill**, former executive director, Colombian Federation of NGOs.

Discussant: **Hugh O’Doherty**, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

“Understanding Local Level Conflict Pathways in Developing Countries: Theory, Evidence and Implications from Indonesia,” **Michael Woolcock**, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University/World Bank, Washington DC. Discussant: **Theodore Macdonald**, PONSACS, Harvard University.

#### **Session II: Institutional Overviews Session**

“Reflections on Society Panel,” **Jorge Hernán Cárdenas**, Fundación Corona, Colombia; and **Maria del Rosario Guerra**, Colciencias (Colombian Institute for Science and Technology).

#### **Session III: Institutional Strengthening and Capacity Building Session**

“The University and the Peace Construction Process in Colombia,” **César Vallejo Mejía**, Universidad Autónoma de Manizales, Colombia. Discussant: **Herbert Tico Braun**, Department of History, University of Virginia.

“Public Institutions for Deliberation, Civil Society and Social Capital: Proposal for Research Topics in the Initiative for Civil Society in Colombia,” **Rodrigo Villar**, Inter-American Foundation, Washington, DC.

Discussant: **Marshall Ganz**, Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Harvard University.

“Civil Society Capacity Building: Participation, Legitimacy and Sector Development,” **L.**

**David Brown**, Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Harvard University. Discussant: **Luis Fernando de Angulo**, PONSACS, Harvard University.



## Program Associates and Affiliates

### 2002-03

**Pippa Heylings**, non-resident affiliate, Charles Darwin Foundation

**Ian MacIntosh**, non-resident affiliate, Cultural Survival, Inc.

**Bart Ryan**, non-resident affiliate, Cultural Survival, Inc.

### 2002-04

**S. James Anaya**, non-resident affiliate, professor of law, University of Arizona

**Vincenzo Bollettino**, non-resident affiliate, senior analyst, Virtual Research Associates

**Joe Bond**, non-resident affiliate, vice president, Protocol Development, Virtual Research Associates

**Luis Fernando de Angulo**, visiting scholar, advisor to the Board of Advisors, Institute of Human Rights and International Relations, Javeriana University (Bogotá, Colombia)

**David Edeli**, non-resident affiliate, Fulbright scholar, Ecuador

**Bret Gustafson**, non-resident affiliate, assistant professor, Sociocultural Anthropology, Washington University

**Churl Oh**, non-resident affiliate, vice president, Software Development Virtual Research Associates

**Peter Poole**, non-resident affiliate, co-director, Local Earth Observation (Amsterdam/Toronto)

**Jennifer Schirmer**, non-resident affiliate, director, Program in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding, International Peace Research Institute (Oslo, Norway)

**Vera Troeger**, non-resident affiliate, data analyst, Swiss Peace Foundation

**Thomas Widmer**, non-resident affiliate, Department of Political Science, University of Zurich

### 2003-04

**Takeshi Wada**, postdoctoral fellow

**Chang Wook Lee**, non-resident affiliate, associate professor, Graduate School of National Intelligence, Seoul.

## JOHN M. OLIN INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

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The John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, founded July 1, 1989 as an autonomous entity within the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, was the result of an expansion and institutionalization of the Center's program in national security studies. This expansion was made possible through the initiative and increased support of the John M. Olin Foundation. The dean of the Faculty

of Arts and Sciences, in consultation with the director of the Weatherhead Center, appoints the director of the Olin Institute.

The goal of the Olin Institute after the cold war has been to play a leading role in understanding the changes in the nature of the security challenges to the United States and to countries around the world. Institute research projects have dealt with the changing role of Congress in the formulation of U.S. foreign and defense policy; Russian and American approaches to the post-cold war world; the decline of multinational continental empires; the economic balance of power; the politics of civilizations in the post-cold war world; the changing security environment and American national interests; and the U.S. military in post-cold war American society. Activities of the Olin Institute have also included the Program in Economics and National Security and the Harvard Russian Institute of International Affairs in Moscow. Topics of current research projects include the new strategic dynamics in Asia; the investigation of the biological bases of cognition, in order to better understand individual and group decision making in international relations; American national identity and national interests; and the problem of internal and interstate wars, and ethnic violence. The Institute also sponsors several national security conferences and seminars and involves other scholars, as Olin Associates, in its activities.

During the 2002-03 academic year, the Institute hosted five pre-doctoral fellows, and it hosted four pre-doctoral fellows during the 2003-04 academic year. In both 2002-03 and 2003-04, there were four postdoctoral fellows, one Air Force National Defense Fellow, and one Navy Federal Executive Fellow. Five faculty members from the Department of Government at Harvard, one faculty member from the Department of History at Harvard, and two faculty members from the Kennedy School of Government actively participated in the work of the Institute.

The central administration of the Olin Institute in 2002-03 and 2003-04 included **Stephen Peter Rosen**, director; **Monica Duffy Toft**, assistant director; **Ann Townes**, program coordinator; and research assistants **Deborah Lee** (2002-03) and **Hamutal Bernstein** (2003-04). **Gregory Koblentz** chaired the National Security Studies Group in 2002-03; **Holger Schmidt** chaired the group in 2003-04.

The John M. Olin Foundation provides the core funding for the Institute and its activities. In 2002-04, the Bradley Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, and the Office of Net Assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense also provided support to the Institute. Additional funding was provided by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

### **Faculty Members**

During the 2002-04 academic years, five faculty members from the Department of Government at Harvard, one faculty member from the Department of History at Harvard, and two from the Kennedy School of Government were involved in the work of the Olin Institute through active and regular participation in its seminars, study groups, and research projects. The Beton Michael Kaneb Professorship of National Security and Military Affairs is an endowed chair made possible by the generosity of **John Kaneb**. The Olin Institute administers the chair and provides support to its incumbent, **Stephen Peter Rosen**, who teaches in the Department of Government, conducts his own research at the Institute, and serves as the director of the Institute. The Olin Institute also supports a joint position, the holder of which is the assistant director of the Institute and an assistant or associate professor in either the Department of Government at Harvard or the John F. Kennedy School of Government. **Monica Duffy Toft**, appointed to the position in 1999, teaches in the area of strategy and national security at the Kennedy School, conducts research at the Institute, and helps direct its activities.

### **John M. Olin Fellows in National Security**

For over twenty years the Olin Institute and its predecessor program have appointed pre- and postdoctoral Fellows in National Security. Nine national security fellows were appointed for the 2002-03 fellowship program. In addition, the Olin Institute hosted a colonel in the U.S. Air Force, and a commander in the U.S. Navy. Of the postdoctoral fellows, one was from Harvard, one from Princeton, one from Oxford, and one from Yale. Of the pre-doctoral fellows, one was from the University of Chicago, one from MIT, one from Princeton, and one from Yale. One of the postdoctoral fellows is now teaching at Georgetown. Of the remaining postdoctoral fellows, one has taken an additional postdoctoral fellowship at the Center for International Security and Cooperation, and two have returned to university appointments held prior to their

Olin fellowship year. Two of the pre-doctoral fellows have completed their dissertations. One of them is teaching in the Department of History at Harvard, and the other is working with Professor Rosen in connection with a project on long-term strategy that he is conducting for the Office of Net Assessment. The remaining three pre-doctoral fellows are continuing research as dissertation fellows, two at the Center for International Security and Cooperation, and one at the MIT Security Studies Program.

In 2003-04, eight national security fellows were appointed. Again, the Olin Institute hosted a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Air Force and a commander in the U.S. Navy. The postdoctoral fellows were from Amsterdam University, Columbia University, and Stanford University. The pre-doctoral fellows were Ph.D. candidates at Columbia University, Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Oxford University. Of the postdoctoral fellows, one is now teaching at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one is teaching at the University of Texas at Austin, another is teaching at Rupin College in Israel, and the remaining fellow returned to his university appointment at the University of California at Berkeley, held prior to taking the Olin fellowship. Two of the pre-doctoral fellows completed their dissertations. One is teaching in the Department of History at Dartmouth, and the other has taken a postdoctoral fellowship at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research. The remaining pre-doctoral fellows are continuing their research as dissertation fellows at the Miller Center for Public Affairs and Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs.

### **Conferences and Seminars**

#### **National Security Studies Group**

For over a decade the Olin Institute and its predecessor program have sponsored the National Security Studies Group, a weekly seminar for WCFFIA affiliates with an interest in strategic studies. The seminar series gives speakers the opportunity to present published and unpublished papers, as well as works-in-progress. During the 2002-03 academic year, **Gregory Koblentz** chaired the seminar group, while **Holger Schmidt** assumed these responsibilities in 2003-04.

## 2002

*September 23*

“Imperial Strategy and American Statecraft: A Speculative Essay,” **Stephen Peter Rosen**, Olin Institute.

*September 30*

“Protective Oversight of Biotechnology,” **John Steinbruner**, University of Maryland.

*October 7*

“Tsarist Russia and the Kurds of Ottoman Anatolia, 1908 to 1914: Pseudo-Nationalism, Subversion, and Humanitarian Intervention,” **Michael Reynolds**, Olin Institute.

*October 21*

“Targeting Civilians in War: Does Regime Type Matter?” **Alexander Downes**, Olin Institute.

*October 28*

“Do Positive Illusions Promote War?” **Dominic Johnson**, Olin Institute.

*November 4*

“What Does the New World Look Like?” **Robert Jervis**, Columbia University.

*November 18*

“Rebel Groups and the Use of Force,” **Jeremy Weinstein**, Brookings Institution.

*November 25*

“Pathogens as Weapons: Biological Warfare and International Security,” **Gregory Koblentz**, Olin Institute.

*December 2*

“When Wars End: Domestic Coalitions and Bargains for Peace,” **Elizabeth Stanley-Mitchell**, Olin Institute.

*December 9*

“Grand Strategy in a Changing World: The Case of the Later Roman Empire,” **Kimberly Kagan**, Olin Institute.

*December 16*

“Realism, Culture and Grand Strategy: The Case of Containment,” **Colin Dueck**, Olin Institute.

## 2003

*February 3*

“September 11 in Comparative Perspective: The Counterterrorism Campaigns of Germany and Japan,” **Peter Katzenstein**, Cornell University.

*February 10*

“Why America Shouldn’t Provide Global Stability: Economic Adaptability, Oil, and the ‘Insurance’ Analogy,” **Daryl Press**, Dartmouth College, and **Eugene Gholz**, University of Kentucky.

*February 24*

“Too Smart for its Own Good? UNSCOM and Intelligence,” **Timothy Crawford**, Princeton University.

*March 3*

“When Did the Cold War Begin and End?” **Ernest May**, Harvard University.

*March 10*

“People Pressure: Refugees as Asymmetric Weapons and Coercive Bargaining Tools,” **Kelly Greenhill**, Olin Institute.

*March 17*

“Spring of Revolution: The Wilsonian Moment and the International Origins of Anticolonial Movements, 1917-1919,” **Erez Manela**, Olin Institute.

*March 31*

“Spirals of Optimism and the Nature of War,” **Allan Stam**, Dartmouth College.

*April 7*

“When Does America Support Authoritarianism?” **John Owen**, University of Virginia.

*April 14*

“The Logic of Violence in Civil War,” **Stathis Kalyvas**, University of Chicago.

*April 28*

“Military Institutions, Strategic Assessment, and War,” **Robert Hopkins**, Olin Institute.

*May 5*

“Trans-Atlantic Collective Security in Light of the ‘War on Terrorism’ and War on Iraq,” **Risa Brooks**, Northwestern University.

*September 22*

“Peace Through Victory?” **Monica Duffy Toft**, assistant director, Olin Institute.

*September 29*

“Policing the Periphery: Border Control and Security in Central Asia, 1991-2003,” **George Gavrillis**, Olin Institute.

October 6

“Where Does the Legitimacy of the UN Security Council Come From?” **Erik Voeten**, George Washington University.

October 20

“International Relations Theory and the Case Against the ‘New Unilateralism,’” **Stephen Brooks**, Dartmouth College.

October 27

“Explaining China’s Settlement of Territorial Disputes,” **Taylor Fravel**, Olin Institute.

November 3

“Making the Homeland: France in the Fourteenth Century,” **Hein Goemans**, Duke University.

November 17

“On the Escalation of Self-Determination Movements: From Protest to Violence,” **Nicholas Sambanis**, Yale University.

November 24

“The Entrenchment of Territorial Disputes,” **Ron Hassner**, Olin Institute.

December 1

“National Mythmaking and the Problems of History in Sino-Japanese Relations,” **Yinan He**, Olin Institute.

December 8

“Changing from Green to Blue Berets: A Tale of Two Dutch Peacekeeping Units,” **Liora Sion**, Olin Institute.

December 15

“Rationalist Explanations for Peace,” **Erik Gartzke**, Columbia University.

## 2004

February 9

“Imperial Intelligence Practices: Culture Versus Requirements,” **Stephen Peter Rosen**, Olin Institute.

February 23

“Knowing When to Be An Honest Broker: Impartiality and Third-Party Support for Peace Implementation After Civil Wars,” **Holger Schmidt**, Olin Institute.

March 1

“Rhetoric and Power: The Rebirth of American Democracy Promotion,” **David Adesnik**, Olin Institute.

March 8

“What Determines the Effectiveness of African Militaries During Combat?” **Jeffrey Herbst**, Princeton University.

March 22

“American and Vietnamese Approaches to Nation-Building and Administrative Reform in South Vietnam, 1955-1963,” **Edward Miller**, Olin Institute.

April 5

“The Cuban Military in Comparative Perspective,” **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

April 12

“Nuclear Detonation: An Insight into Consequence Management Issues,” **Jeffrey Morse**, Olin Institute.

April 19

“Evaluating the Role of Radical Political Islam in Latin America and the Caribbean,” **Curtis Connell**, Olin Institute.

April 26

“Worse Than A Monolith: Sino-Soviet Rivalry and Containment During the 1960s,” **Thomas Christensen**, Princeton University.

May 3

“The Two Logics of Unipolarity,” **John Ikenberry**, Georgetown University.

## Other Meetings and Seminars

### 2003

February 27

“Future Prospects for Chechen-Russian Relations,” **Ilyas Akhmadov**, foreign minister of Chechnya.

April 9

“Fault Lines in China’s Economic Terrain,” **Charles Wolf, Jr.**, RAND Corporation.

### 2004

March 5

“Paying the Human Costs of War in Iraq,” **Peter D. Feaver**, Duke University.

April 13

“Who’s in Charge Here? Civil-Military Relations in Japan,” **Richard Samuels**, MIT.

May 7

“National Security and Campaign 2004,”

**Patrick Healy**, political correspondent for the *Boston Globe*.

### Academic Publishing Seminars

#### 2003

October 6

**Roger Haydon**, acquisitions editor, Cornell University Press.

October 7

**Chuck Myers**, acquisitions editor, Princeton University Press.

October 21

**Lew Bateman**, acquisitions editor, Cambridge University Press.

#### 2004

January 22

**Stephen Walt**, academic dean, Kennedy School of Government.

### Conference on the Study of Religion and Terrorism

November 20-22, 2002

The Weatherhead Center and the Olin Institute co-sponsored a conference on the study of religion and terrorism, a project initiated and made possible by a generous gift from former chair of the Weatherhead Center's Visiting Committee, **Sidney R. Knafel**. This conference investigated what now appears to be a new form of political action with international consequences. Prior to September 11, 2001, terrorism was far from unknown, and political conflicts with religious elements were frequently encountered. The attacks of September 11, however, made us question whether we adequately understood the role of religion and its relation to political violence. Among the questions the conference sought to answer: Does religion add a distinct and different character to political action? What does Islam say about inter-religious conflict? Does terrorism fundamentally alter the political structure of the time and place where it occurs? What are the policy implications of September 11 for the American military and U.S. foreign policy? Participants included **Frank Fukuyama**, **Ayatollah Horshidi Haeri**, Professors **Bernard Lewis**, **Eliot Cohen**, and **Martin Kramer**.

(For more information on this event, please refer to the *Conferences* section.)

### Economics and National Security Program

The Olin Institute has long recognized the importance of the study of economics in the study of national security. **Ethan B. Kapstein** ran the Economic and National Security Program at the Olin Institute for several years. Following the departure of Professor Kapstein, however, the Institute's Economic and National Security Program was suspended, for lack of the right person to direct the program. In 2000 Professor **Jonathan Kirshner** of Cornell University, a former Olin Fellow, agreed to direct this program. Professor Kirshner has done path breaking work on the role of finance and monetary power in national security and on the role of economic and financial crises as causes of war. A speaker series was the principal activity of the Economics and National Security Program during the 2002-03 academic year. The focus of the series was Globalization and National Security and, in particular, how the processes of globalization might affect the type of security threats faced by states and how they might affect the balance of power.

#### 2002

October 17

“Globalization and National Security: Much Ado about Something?” **Michael Mastanduno**, Dartmouth College.

November 14

“The Financing of Terror,” **Philip Williams**, University of Pittsburgh.

#### 2003

March 3

“Anglobalization: The Costs and Benefits of Empire Revisited,” **Niall Ferguson**, New York University.

April 3

“Paradoxes of Unipolarity,” **Stephen D. Krasner**, Stanford University.

April 24

“Globalization, Territoriality, and Conflict,” **Miles E. Kahler**, University of California at San Diego.

Professor Kirshner continued his direction of the Economics and National Security (ENS) Program. During the 2003-04 academic year, there were two workshops. The first workshop ran from November 15-17, and the second one from June 11-13. The focus of the ENS Program and the workshops was globalization

and national security. The participants in these workshops were contributors to an edited volume that linked globalization, defined as the rise of stateless forces, to national security concerns. Workshop participants wrote chapters on either regional or “process” aspects of globalization and national security, presenting initial and final drafts in November and June, respectively. Professor Kirshner is the editor of the volume. Contributors and their topics of study were as follows: **Fiona Adamson**, University College London, on “International Migration in a Globalizing World: Impacts on National Security;” **Deborah Avant**, George Washington University, on “The Privatization of Security, Adventurous Defense, and Conflict;” **Alexander Cooley**, Barnard College, on “Globalization and National Security After Empire: The Post Soviet Case;” **Rachel Epstein**, University of Denver, on “Divided Continent: Globalization and Europe’s Fragmented Security Response;” **Geoffrey Herrera**, Temple University, on “New Media for a New World? Information Technology and Threats to National Security;” **Marc Lynch**, Williams College, on “Globalization and Security in the Arab Middle East;” **Karl Mueller**, RAND Corporation, on “The Paradox of Liberal Hegemony: Globalization and U.S. National Security;” **Paul Midford**, Kwansei Gakuin University, on “Globalization and National Security: Is Japan Still an Island?;” and **Adam Segal**, Council on Foreign Relations, on “Managing Internal Problems without Outside Interference: Globalization and Chinese National Security.”

**Navy Adventure Series and Norfolk Naval Base Excursion**  
**April 23-25, 2003**

Organizer: **Kenneth Barrett**, commander, U.S. Navy

The Navy Adventure series resumed with a spring trip to Norfolk, VA, the home of the U.S. Navy’s Atlantic fleet. This two-day trip gave the Olin Fellows an opportunity to see inside the Navy by visiting command structures as well as some of the premiere platforms in the fleet. The Fellows began the trip with a brief discussion with General Warner of the U.S. Joint Forces Command. Other highlights for the Fellows included a tour and lunch aboard the guided missile destroyer USS GONZALEZ, a tour aboard the fast attack submarine USS OKLAHOMA CITY, a visit to Assault Craft

Unit Four, and a discussion with Admiral Singer at the Navy Network Warfare Command.

**Wianno Summer Study**  
**June 23-26, 2003**

The Olin Institute’s annual Wianno Conference, funded by the Office of the Secretary of Defense/Net Assessment, explored the possible ways in which observable economic, social, and political dynamics in China might bring about major political changes in China over the next five years, and pondered the consequences for international politics, in East Asia, in Asia more broadly, and globally. This year’s Wianno Conference was entitled “The Causes and Consequences of Regime Change in China.” Participants at the conference focused on: (1) the unintended consequences of incremental reforms in China; (2) alternative roles for the Communist party of China; (3) regionalization of government in China; and (4) the impact of eternal shocks on the political development of China. The findings of the conference have been presented to the director of the Office on Net Assessment, and to senior Defense Department officials.

**Future of War Seminar**

The Olin Institute, the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School, and the MIT Security Studies Program continued to co-sponsor the Future of War Seminar Series. This seminar, attended by faculty members, senior graduate students, and senior staff members from both MIT and Harvard, explores the ways in which preparation for war, as well as the causes and conduct of warfare, will change in the post-cold war era.

**2004**

*March 11*

“Changing Face of War,” **Michael Hagee**, commandant of the Marine Corps.

*April 30*

“Post-Conflict Iraq and U.S. Grand Strategy for the Middle East: The Role of Multilateral Institutions,” **Jane Holl Lute**, assistant secretary-general for Peacekeeping Operations at the United Nations.

**The Huntington Prize Ceremony**  
**March 22, 2004**

The Huntington Prize Committee announced the first recipient of the Huntington Prize for the best book published in the field of national security studies. **Eliot A. Cohen** was awarded

the prize for his book *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (New York: Free Press, 2002). This book speaks to our time by laying forth the enduring dimensions of the interactions between great leaders of democracies and their senior military officers. *Supreme Command* is an excellent example of the policy-relevant scholarship long encouraged by **Samuel P. Huntington**. Professor Cohen was awarded the prize at a ceremony in Boston, MA. The ceremony brought together his family and colleagues to celebrate his achievement.

**San Diego Port and Nellis Air Force Base  
Excursion  
April 14-17, 2004**

Organizers: **Curtis Connell**, lieutenant colonel, U.S. Air Force and **Jeffrey Morse**, commander, U.S. Navy.

The annual trip to military installations included visits to the Pacific fleet in San Diego, California, and to Nellis Air Force Base in Las Vegas, Nevada. The Navy visits began in San Diego, where the Fellows toured the cruiser the USS Lake Champlain. The Fellows received a briefing on the history of the cruiser and had the chance to tour the ship, learning about its components and speaking with sailors. The visit continued with a tour and lunch aboard the aircraft carrier the USS Stennis. Activity resumed the next day outside of Las Vegas at Nellis Air Force Base, where fighter pilots are trained in the famed Red Flag exercises. The Fellows received several briefings about combat and threat training exercises at the Air Warfare Center and toured the hangar of the Thunderbirds. Scholars from the MIT Security Studies Program accompanied the Fellows on this portion of the trip.

**National Security Fellows**

**2002-03**

Kenneth Barrett  
Alexander Downes  
Colin Dueck  
Kelly Greenhill  
Robert Hopkins  
Dominic Johnson  
Kimberly Kagan  
Gregory Koblentz  
Erez Manela  
Michael Reynolds  
Elizabeth Stanley-Mitchell

**2003-04**

A. David Adesnik  
Curtis C. Connell  
M. Taylor Fravel  
George Gavrilis  
Ron E. Hassner  
Yinan He  
Edward Miller  
Jeffrey E. Morse  
Holger Schmidt  
Liora Sion

**Olin Institute Faculty Affiliates**

**2002-04**

Lars-Erik Cederman  
Samuel Huntington  
Iain Johnston  
Andrew Kydd  
Stephen Peter Rosen  
Monica Duffy Toft  
Stephen Walt

**2003-04**

Bear Braumoeller  
Erez Manela

**Olin Institute Associates**

**2002-03**

Thomas Christensen  
Rose McDermott

**2002-04**

Robert Art  
Charles Cogan  
Eliot Cohen  
Michael Desch  
Shinju Fujihira  
Joseph Joffe  
Jonathan Kirshner  
Daryl Press  
Allan Stam  
Ward Thomas

**2003-04**

Timothy Crawford  
Jacques E. C. Hymans  
Kimberly Kagan  
Michael Reynolds  
Benjamin Valentino

## **PROJECT ON RELIGION, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND SOCIETY (PRPES)**

The Project on Religion, Political Economy, and Society is interdisciplinary, focusing on the global interplay among religion, economic performance, and political variables. It was established to encourage scholarly research on religion and the social sciences. The project explores the role of religion in the economic, political, and social development of individuals and nations. It also seeks to promote interdisciplinary intellectual exchange on religion both here at Harvard and with scholars and public policymakers across the country.

The project encourages discussion and research through various activities. It runs a seminar series that invites scholars from around the world to come and present their work. It also dedicates time to Harvard faculty who are working on religion in the social sciences.

**Rachel M. McCleary** is the project director. **Emily Neill** is coordinator of the PRPES Seminar Series.

### **PRPES Seminar**

#### **2002**

*October 3*

“Is Religion a Civic Resource?” **Robert Putnam**, The Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy, director, Saguro Seminar, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

*October 17*

“Restless Gods: The Renaissance of Religion in Canada,” **Reginald W. Bibby**, professor of sociology, The University of Lethbridge, Canada.

*October 31*

“The Future of World Fundamentalisms,” **Martin E. Marty**, Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of the History of Modern Christianity, the Divinity School and the Committee on the History of Culture, University of Chicago.

*November 14*

“Congregations and Social Services: Holistic Approaches, Prophetic Voices, and Other Myths,” **Mark Chaves**, professor of sociology and department head, University of Arizona.

*November 28*

“Education and Religion,” **Edward Glaeser**, professor of economics, Harvard University.

*December 12*

“The Role of Religion in Economic and Demographic Behavior: Evidence from the U.S. National Survey of Families and Households,” **Evelyn Lehrer**, professor and director of undergraduate studies, Department of Economics, University of Illinois at Chicago.

#### **2003**

*February 6*

“The Quantification of Religion for Cross-Sectional Analyses,” **Jonathan Fox**, lecturer, Political Science Department, Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel.

*February 20*

“Trends in Religiosity in the United States during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century,” **Laurence R. Iannaccone**, professor of economics, Santa Clara University.

*March 6*

“Religiosity and Economic Variables in a Panel of Countries,” **Robert Barro**, Robert C. Waggoner Professor of Economics, Harvard University.

*March 20*

“Explaining the Human side of Religion: A Review of Initial Efforts,” **Roger Finke**, professor of sociology, Pennsylvania State University.

*April 3*

“Machiavelli and Spinoza on the Theological-Political Problem,” **Harvey Mansfield**, William R. Kenan Jr. Professor of Government, Harvard University.

*April 17*

“The Political Origins of Religious Liberty,” **Anthony Gill**, associate professor of political science, University of Washington.

*May 1*

“Salvation and Economic Behavior,” **Rachel McCleary**, director, Project on Religion, Political Economy, and Society, Harvard University.

*September 24*

“Slow Journalism? Ethnography as a Means of Understanding Religious Social Activism,”



**James Spickard**, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Redlands University.

*October 1*

“Economics and the Reformation: The Causes and Consequences of Entry in the Market for Religious Services,” **Robert Tollison**, Department of Economics, Clemson University.

*October 8*

“Religion, Democracy, and Gender: Findings from Value Surveys in Islamic Countries,” **Mansoor Moadell**, Department of Sociology, Eastern Michigan University.

*October 22*

“My Life is My Argument’: Reconceptualizing Religion in Understanding Social Activism,” **Ziad Munson**, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Lehigh University.

*November 5*

“Underestimating the Enemy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Religious Extremism,” **Scott Appleby**, Department of History, University of Notre Dame.

*November 19*

“Peace Under Fire: Understanding Evangelical Resistance to the Peace in Post-war Guatemala,” **Jennifer Jailey Philpot**, student, University of Chicago.

*December 3*

“Economic Distress and Group Identity: Evidence from Islamic Resurgence During the Indonesian Financial Crisis,” **Daniel Chen**, student, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

## 2004

*February 4*

“Moving Toward Evidence-Based Aids Prevention,” **Edward C. Green**, Center for Population and Development Studies, Harvard University.

*February 11*

“PVOs in International Relief and Development and the State,” **Rachel M. McCleary**, Project on Religion, Political Economy, and Society, Harvard University.

*February 18*

“Religion in the Informational City: Ethnographic Investigations,” **Lowell W. Livezey**, Divinity School, Harvard University.

*February 25*

“Which Countries Have State Religions?”

**Robert J. Barro**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

*March 3*

“Cops, Ministers, and Noisy Justice,” **Christopher Winship**, Department of Sociology, Harvard University.

*March 10*

“Inequality and Voice: The Transformation of American Civil Democracy,” **Theda Skocpol**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

*March 17*

“Inner-city Children, School Vouchers, and the Consequences of Attending Religious Schools,” **Paul Peterson**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

*March 24*

“Some Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects of Protestant Church Membership in the United States,” **David Hall**, Divinity School, Harvard University.

*April 7*

“Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in Afro-Brazilian Religion,” **J. Lorand Matory**, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University.

*April 14*

“The Political Economy of Hatred,” **Edward Glaeser**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

*April 21*

“Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide,” **Pippa Norris**, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

*April 28*

“Healing at the Borderland of Medicine and Religion,” **Michael H. Cohen**, Harvard Medical School.

## STUDENT PROGRAMS

### Graduate Student Associates

The Weatherhead Center selected nineteen Graduate Students Associates (GSAs) in 2002-03 and twenty Graduate Students Associates in 2003-04. These students came from the Departments of Anthropology, Economics, Government, History, History and East Asian Languages, History of Science, Political Economy and Government, Public Policy, Sociology, and Harvard Law School's S.J.D. Program. Their dissertation topics included, among others, a comparison of immigrant political integration in the U.S. and Canada; nation building and extraterritoriality in East Asia in the nineteenth century; social experiences of violence and displacement among Kashmiri Hindu migrants in Delhi; the impact of social security reforms on social organization and participation in Latin America; an ethnographic study of the Bangladesh war of independence; a theoretical approach in explaining the variation among refugee return policies pursued by the different political elites in post war Bosnia; a comparative study of Chinese and Indian foreign policy; and the economics and politics of currency unions and country risk sharing, in particular looking at the emergence and stability of currency blocs in central and West Africa. GSAs met each week over lunch to present and discuss their dissertation research. On several Fridays, instead of a GSA presentation, Weatherhead Center faculty associates gave professionalization talks to GSAs on various topics of interest.

Funds were made available by the Weatherhead Center to Graduate Student Associates on a competitive basis for shortterm travel for dissertation research, for participation in conferences, and for other expenses directly related to a GSA's dissertation research. In 2002-04, some graduate student associates used these funds to present papers at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, the American Anthropology Association, and the Asian Studies Association. Graduate Student Associates supported the Center's Undergraduate Associates by serving as mentors to thesis-writing seniors and by attending their thesis presentations in the spring.

The Graduate Student Associate Program is directed by **Steve Levitsky**, associate professor of government. **Clare Putnam** serves as

coordinator of the program. **Naunihal Singh** (2002-03) and **David Singer** (2003-04) represented the GSAs on the Center's Executive Committee.

### GSA Seminar Series

2002-03 Chairs: **Daniel Gingerich** and **Vasiliki Neofotistos**

2003-04 Chairs: **Christian Brunelli** and **Haley Duschinski**

## 2002

*September 27*

Professionalization Lunch: "Preparing for the Job Market," **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Harvard College Professor, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

*October 11*

"The North American Naturalization Gap: An Institutional Approach to Immigrant Political Incorporation," **Irene Bloemraad**, Department of Sociology.

*October 25*

"The Changing Japanese Police: Police Reform and Failure in the 1990s," **Christian Brunelli**, Department of Government.

*November 1*

"Making Facts: A Theory of Coup Dynamics and Outcomes," **Naunihal Singh**, Department of Government.

*November 8*

Professionalization Talk: "Publishing Your Work," **Jeffrey Frieden**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace.

*November 15*

"Crossing Borders in Kashmir Valley: Remembering the Past, Imagining the Future," **Haley Duschinski**, Department of Anthropology.

*November 22*

"State Reform in New Democracies: The Costs and Benefits of Corruption Control," **Daniel Gingerich**, Department of Government. Discussant: **Naunihal Singh**, Department of Government.

*December 6*

“Chinese Politics: Issues of Peace and War with Japan, 1931-1945,” **Jinbao Qian**, History and East Asian Languages.

*December 13*

“Capital Rules: The Politics of International Regulatory Harmonization,” **David Singer**, Department of Government.

## 2003

*January 17*

“The Emperor’s New Clothes: Constituting ‘the Subject of Sovereignty’ in Meiji Japan,” **Michael Burtcher**, Department of History and East Asian Languages.

*January 24*

“The Two Koreas: How They Came To Be And How They Might Be Reunited,” **James Lee**, Department of History and East Asian Languages.

*January 31*

“Celestial Court: Marginality, Mobility, and the State of Imagination Among the Buriats of Mongolia,” **Manduhai Buyandelgeriyn**, Department of Anthropology.

*February 7*

“Resisting Violence: Hegemonic Negotiations of Ethnicity in the Republic of Macedonia” **Vasiliki Neofotistos**, Department of Anthropology.

*February 14*

“Thinking Ahead: Strategies and Choices from Now until the Job Market” (Professionalization Talk), **Susan Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics; director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, WCFIA.

*February 21*

“The Epidemiological and Health Transitions in the Keneba Study Area in Regional and Historical Perspective,” **Mary Bachman**, Department of Population and International Health.

*February 28*

“Chiang Kai-shek and His Spymaster: An Episode of Sino-Japanese Peace Talks during World War Two in Asia,” **Jinbao Qian**, Department of History and East Asian Languages.

*March 7*

“Towards an Institutional Genealogy of Extraterritoriality in East Asia,” **Pär Cassel**, Department of History.

*March 14*

“Implementing the Police State: Police Consultations and Community Policing in Interwar Japan,” **Christian Brunelli**, Department of Government.

*March 21*

“Confucianism and ‘Confucian Learning’ in South Vietnam during the Diem Years, 1954-1963,” **Ed Miller**, Department of History.

*April 4*

“The Relationship between Transnational Groups and State Power from a Historical-Cultural Perspective,” **Moria Paz**, Harvard Law School.

*April 18*

“Politics after Reform: Institutional Change and Participation in Latin America,” **Shannon Trowbridge**, Department of Government.

*April 25*

“The Informal State: Governance and Development in Rural China,” **Lily Tsai**, Department of Government.

*May 2*

“Harmonization and Difference: Islamic Banking in the Global Financial Architecture,” **Kristin Smith**, Department of Government.

*October 3*

“The Organizing State,” **Nicola Gennaioli**, Department of Economics.

*October 10*

“Regulatory Harmonization in the Global Economy,” **David Singer**, Department of Government.

*October 17*

“Political Capital, Human Capital, and Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Northern Vietnam: Evidence from the Vietnam Longitudinal Survey,” **Jee Young Kim**, Department of Sociology.

*October 24*

“Historical Revolutions in Military Affairs: Consequences for International Interactions,” **Michael Horowitz**, Department of Government.

October 31

“The Search for Nuclear Security: Explaining Strategic Choice in China, India, and Japan,” **Andy Kennedy**, Department of Government.

November 7

“Plus ça change? Adaptation in States’ Responses to Contentious Challengers,” **Daniel Aldrich**, Department of Government.

November 10

Professionalization Talk: “Publishing Your Work,” **Jeffrey Frieden**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace.

November 14

“The Informal State: Governance and Development in Rural China,” **Lily Tsai**, Department of Government.

November 21

“Jewish Transnationalism and the Positivist Nation-State System, 1880-1930,” **Moria Paz**, Harvard Law School.

December 5

“The Strange Success of Failed Reform: The American Occupation and the Birth of the Postwar Japanese Police,” **Christian Brunelli**, Department of Government.

December 12

“The Revolutionary Other: Banditry and Revolution in Germany and Russia, 1918-1923,” **John Ondrovic**, Department of History.

## 2004

February 13

“Preparing for the Job Market, Campus Visits, and Interviewing” (Professionalization Lunch), **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Harvard College Professor, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

February 20

“Currency Blocs and International Risk Sharing,” **Etienne Yehoue**, Committee on Political Economy and Government.

February 27

“Locations of Memory: History and Truth-Telling in the 1971 Bangladesh War of Independence,” **Tahmima Anam**, Department of Anthropology.

March 5

“Thinking Ahead Toward the Job Market” (Professionalization Talk), **Beth Simmons**, professor of government.

March 19

“Restoration or Revolution? Constituting the ‘Subject of Sovereignty’ in Meiji Japan,” **Michael Burtscher**, Department of History and East Asian Languages.

March 26

“Exploration of How Domestic Politics within the Industrialized Countries Shaped International Responses to Financial Crises in the 1980s and 1990s,” **Mark Copelovitch**, Department of Government.

April 9

“Inconstant Homelands: Violence, Storytelling, and Community Politics among Kashmiri Hindu Migrants in New Delhi, India,” **Haley Duschinski**, Department of Anthropology.

April 16

“Technology and Development: The Case of ICT in Africa,” **Warigia Bowman**, Department of Public Policy.

April 23

“High Crime in a Safe Society: Japan and the Problem of ‘Victimless’ Crime,” **Christian Brunelli**, Department of Government.

April 30

“A Prospect Theoretical Approach in Explaining the Variation Among Refugee (Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs) Return Policies Pursued by the Different Political Elites in Post War Bosnia,” **Fotini Christia**, Department of Public Policy.

May 7

“Inconstant Homelands: Violence, Storytelling, and Community Politics among Kashmiri Hindu Migrants in New Delhi, India” (Practice Job Talk), **Haley Duschinski**, Department of Anthropology.

May 14

“Study of the Legal History of the United States/Mexico Borderlands, with a Focus on Border Residents and Their Experiences with Legal Institutions in an International Zone,” **Allison Brownell Tirres**, Joint Degree Program in Department of History and Law School.

## Graduate Student Associates

### 2002-03

Mary Bachman  
Irene Bloemraad  
Manduhai Buyandelgeriyn  
Pär Cassel  
Daniel Gingerich  
James Lee  
Edward Miller  
Vasiliki Neofotistos  
Jinbao Qian  
Ben Read  
Kristin Smith  
Shannon Trowbridge

### 2002-04

Christian Brunelli  
Michael Burtscher  
Haley Duschinski  
Moria Paz  
David Singer  
Nuanihal Singh  
Lily Tsai

### 2003-04

Daniel Aldrich  
Tahmima Anam  
Warigia Bowman  
Fotini Christia  
Mark Copelovitch  
Nicola Gennaioli  
Michael Horowitz  
Andrew Kennedy  
Jee Young Kim  
John Ondrovčík  
Abena Osseo-Asare  
Allison Brownell Tirres  
Etienne Yehoue

### Sidney R. Knafel Dissertation Completion Fellow

The Weatherhead Center's 2002-03 Sidney R. Knafel Dissertation Completion Fellow was **Irene Bloemraad**, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology. Her dissertation is entitled "The Political Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States and Canada: Institutional Configurations, Naturalization and Political Participation." In 2003-04, the Sidney R. Knafel Dissertation Completion Fellow was **Etienne Yehoue**, a Ph.D. candidate in the Committee on Political Economy and Government. His dissertation focuses on the economics and politics of currency union and country risk sharing, in particular on the emergence and stability of currency blocs in central and West Africa. This grant is named

for Sidney R. Knafel, the chairman of the Center's Visiting Committee from 1991 to 2000.

### Predissertation Grant Recipients

The Center awarded nine predissertation grants in 2002-03 and five in 2003-04 to Harvard doctoral degree candidates who were in the early stages of dissertation research projects related to international affairs. In most cases, the grants were used during the summer for travel and other research related expenses.

### 2002-03

Mark Copelovitch  
Daniel Gingerich  
Walter Scott Gordon  
Diana Gregorio  
Seunghyan Han  
Katerina Linos  
Abena Osseo-Asare  
David Singer  
Hillel Soifer

### 2003-04

Cari Jo Clark  
Daniel Epstein  
Michael Horowitz  
Mikhail Pryadilnikov  
Allison Brownell Tirres

### Funding for Graduate Student Conferences

The Weatherhead Center offers grants for Harvard graduate student conferences and workshops. Students enrolled in a doctoral program in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences or one of the professional schools can apply on a competitive basis for financial resources for student conferences and workshops that address their interests in international affairs. In 2002-03 students in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures received a grant to support a conference entitled, "RAF's Germany: Terrorism, Politics, and Protest." The Harvard Islamic Society also received a grant for their conference entitled "Islam in America 2003." Another grant was awarded to the Ninth Annual Harvard Development Conference. The Weatherhead Center awarded grants in both 2002-03 and 2003-04 to graduate students who organized the Harvard East Asia Society Graduate Student Conference and to graduate students in the History Department for their International History Graduate Student Conference. In 2003-04 the Center awarded a grant to fund a conference on development in Africa at the Graduate School of Education

entitled, "Developing Others, Developing Ourselves."

### **Summer Travel Grants and the Undergraduate Associates Program**

Weatherhead Center Summer Travel Grants were awarded to Harvard undergraduates to support senior thesis research in international affairs. The Weatherhead Foundation, the Maurice and Sarah Samuels Family, and WCFA Visiting Committee Member, **Frank Boas**, provided funding for these grants. Funds for grants awarded in 2004 came from the Weatherhead Foundation, the Hartley R. Rogers Family, and the Maurice and Sarah Samuels Family.

In 2002-03 sixteen students, representing the departments of Anthropology, East Asian Studies, Government, History, Religion, Social Studies, and Sociology, received travel grants and were named Undergraduate Associates of the Center. In 2003-04 fifteen students received travel grants and were named Undergraduate Associates of the Center. In the spring the students presented their findings in a Weatherhead Centersponsored public seminar series, which were chaired by Graduate Student Associates of the Center who served as mentors to the undergraduates throughout the academic year.

Undergraduate Student Programs are directed by **Wendy E.F. Torrance**, assistant dean of freshmen at Harvard. **Clare Putnam** serves as coordinator of the program.

### **Summer Travel Grant Thesis Presentations**

Chaired by a graduate student associate, each two-hour workshop featured presentations by two to three undergraduates with time allowed for questions, feedback, and discussion.

#### **2003**

*February 10*

Chair: **David Singer**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government.

"Choices for Compliance: Explaining the Domestic Effects of Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights," **Bernd Beber**, Department of Government.

"Judging Policy: The U.S. Judicial Conference and the Politics of Judicial Involvement in Congressional Policymaking," **Lisa Schwartz**, Department of Government.

"The Theory of Liberal Intergovernmentalism: An Assessment," **Leonid Peisakhin**, Department of Social Studies.

*February 11*

Chair: **Lily Tsai**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government.

"Measuring Educational Returns in China," **Jenny Huang**, Department of Economics and East Asian Studies.

"How Private Valuation of Land Shapes the Resource Redistribution Systems of Tribal Societies, Concentrating on Two Case Studies — the Marshallese of the Marshall Islands and the Hmong of Laos," **Caitlin Harrington**, Department of Government.

*February 18*

Chair: **Mary Bachman**, Ph.D. candidate in Population and International Health.

"Contested Meanings, Contested Lives: Interpretations of AIDS in a Rural Kenyan Community," **Scott Lee**, Department of Religion and Anthropology.

"The Changing Role of Health Care in the Welfare State, Comparing the U.S., U.K., and Scandinavia:Trend of International Convergence on Health System Decentralization," **Dalia Rotstein**, Department of Social Studies.

"An Ordered Aesthetic: Mass Spectacle in a Buddhist Community," **Patrick Toomey**, Department of Social Studies.

*February 19*

Chair: **Naunihal Singh**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government.

"Ethiopian Counterparts to the Gacaca System in Rwanda and Their Potential for Conflict Prevention," **Alfa Tiruneh**, Department of Government.

"Sonop Wine Farm: Portrait of a Farmworker Community in South Africa," **Ceridwen Dovey**, Department of Anthropology and Visual and Environmental Studies.

*February 20*

Chair: **Shannon O'Neil Trowbridge**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Government.

"The Implications of U.S. Hegemony on Peacekeeping Operations," **Chris Angell**, Department of Social Studies.

“Lessons to be Learned: The Abolition of the Death Penalty in France,” **Sandhya Ramadas**, Department of Social Studies.

“Buscando Vacas Muertas: Social Entrepreneurship and Community Development in Southern Chile,” **Scott Rechler**, Department of Anthropology.

*February 26*

Chair: **Haley Duschinski**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology.

“Conversions in China: Cultural and Religious Adjustment in the Jesuit and Mormon Missions to China and Taiwan,” **Melissa Inouye**, Department of East Asian Studies.

“Political Party Choice in Tamil Nadu, India,” **Nithya Raman**, Department of Social Studies.

*March 10*

Chair: **Clare Putnam**, Student Programs Coordinator.

“Study of What Is Impeding Nepal’s Development and A Comparison with Other Countries,” **Lipi Chapagain**, Department of Economics.

## 2004

*February 11*

“Reconstruction of the Working Relationship Between the European Parliament and the EU’s High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy on the Basis of Policy Documents and Interviews,” **Michal Miaskiewicz**, Department of Government.

“Negotiating Identity: The Roots of Russian Public Aversion to NATO Enlargement,” **Darya Nachinkina**, Department of Government.

“The Economics of Forced Migration,” **Martin Kanz**, Department of Economics.

*February 12*

“Qigong, Heterodoxy, and Human Rights: The Different Perspectives in the Falun Gong Controversy,” **Kent Lam**, Department of History and Science/East Asian Studies.

“Study of the Agricultural Debt Moratorium in Thailand Through Examination of the Bank of Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives,” **Suchanan Tambunlertchai**, Department of Economics.

“Redress Beyond Borders: Transnational Advocacy Networks and Extraterritorial Prosecutions for Universal Crimes,” **Ari Shaw**, Department of Government.

*February 17*

“Development and Hindutva in India: Modernity, Religion and National Identity,” **Swati Mylavarapu**, Human Rights Issues in International Development.

“It Takes A Village: The Igbo Diaspora as a Source of Development in Southeastern Nigeria,” **Ryan Rippel**, Department of Social Studies.

“La Federation du Mali (1959-1960): A Study in the Limits and Lessons of an Experiment in Federalism,” **Gregory Elinson**, Department of Social Studies.

*February 18*

“Study of the Lives and Reintegration of North Korean Refugees,” **Carrol Chang**, Department of Sociology.

“The Legitimacy of Diaspora Involvement in the Politics of Closed Homeland Societies: The case study of Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto,” **Ashwini Vasanthakumar**, Department of Social Studies.

“Research on Chinese Migrant Assimilation in Khabarovsk Through Investigation of Their Organizations and Institutions,” **Joshua Stenberg**, Department of East Asian Studies.

*February 19*

“Bridging the Gap? Inequality, Civil Society and State Actors in Mexico’s Democratization,” **Anthony Arnold**, Department of Social Studies.

“The Europeanization of the German University: Discourse with the U.S.,” **Kristina Vetter**, Department of Social Studies.

“American Attitudes Towards Franco’s Spain in the Wake of World War II: Applying Anti-Soviet Priorities to an Authoritarian Anachronism,” **Antonio Pozos**, Department of History.

## Undergraduate Associates

### 2002-03

Chris Angell, *Frank Boas International Affairs Scholar*

Bernd Beber, *Frank Boas International Affairs Scholar*

Lipi Chapagain

Ceridwen Dovey

Caitlin Harrington

Jenny Huang

Scott Lee

Nicole Legnani

Leonid Peisakhin, *Frank Boas International Affairs Scholar*

Sandhya Ramadas, *Frank Boas International Affairs Scholar*  
Nithya Raman  
Scott Rechler  
Dalia Rotstein  
Lisa Schwartz, *Frank Boas International Affairs Scholar*  
Alfa Tiruneh  
Patrick Toomey

### 2003-04

Anthony Arnold, *Maurice and Sarah Samuels Family Fellow*  
Carrol Chang, *Frank Boas International Scholar*  
Gregory Elinson, *Maurice and Sarah Samuels Family Fellow*  
Kent Lam  
Martin Kanz  
Michal Miaskiewicz, *Frank Boas International Scholar*  
Swati Mylavarapu, *Frank Boas International Scholar*  
Darya Nachinkina  
Antonio Pozos, *Frank Boas International Scholar*  
Ryan Rippel  
Ari Shaw  
Joshua Stenberg, *Maurice and Sarah Samuels Family Fellow*  
Suchanan Tambunlertchai  
Kristina Vetter, *Frank Boas International Scholar*  
Ashwini Vasanthakumar, *Maurice and Sarah Samuels Family Fellow*

### Undergraduate Initiative Grants to Student Groups

During the 2002-04 academic years, the Weatherhead Center offered undergraduates at the University financial resources to organize projects on their own that address their interests relating to international affairs. Grants up to \$1,000 were awarded to Harvard student groups on a competitive basis. Awards could be used to support speaker series, study groups, special seminars with faculty, fellows, or visiting scholars, conferences with an explicit undergraduate focus, event-related publications or supplies, or any number of ideas students propose that would benefit the Harvard undergraduate community.

Grants were awarded to the Harvard AIDS Coalition for their events that aimed to raise awareness among undergraduates to the global AIDS crisis. The Center awarded a grant to the Harvard African Student's Organization to help support their new magazine publication, *The Harvard African*. The Society of Arab

Students received a grant for several events, which sought to raise awareness among undergraduates about Arab peoples and issues. A grant was awarded to the College Corps for their project to place students in volunteer jobs in developing countries. The Center gave a grant to the Harvard Fair Trade Initiative's speaker event on women and globalization. The student-run publication on Latin America, *ZALACAIN*, received a grant for their issues published during the fall of 2002. The Taiwanese Cultural Society received a grant for their panel and lecture on "Democratization and Contemporary Politics in Taiwan." A grant was awarded to the new *Harvard Focus Latin America* magazine. A group of undergraduates received a grant for a field experience trip to Kenya. The Harvard Japan Society received a grant for their East Coast Japan America League Conference. *Bhumi Magazine* received a grant to help support the most recent issue of their publication written by and for undergraduates on international development issues. The Harvard Radcliffe South Asian Association received a grant for a South Asian author symposium, and Harvard-Radcliffe Television received a grant to support their film about the role of minority languages in Ireland. A grant was awarded to the Harvard Hippocratic Society for their conference on international health. The Center gave a grant to support the Harvard in Asia Project, an exchange program with students from China.

### Undergraduate Research Workshops

The Weatherhead Center offered a series of workshops to undergraduates all focusing on various aspects of completing a thesis, including thesis topic exploration, proposal and grant writing, field research, and international travel.

In October **Donald Halstead**, writing facilitator, Weatherhead Center Fellows Program and writing instructor, Harvard School of Public Health, presented undergraduates with an overview of the thesis writing process. In early December **Jorge I. Domínguez**, director of the Weatherhead Center, gave a talk to undergraduates on selecting a thesis topic, writing a prospectus, and choosing an advisor. In February **Jim Cooney**, executive director of the Weatherhead Center, talked to undergraduates about writing a successful grant proposal and described examples of proposals and topics the Center might typically support. In May the final undergraduate research workshop featured



a panel of three graduate students who discussed field research, including interviewing techniques, quantitative research methods, archival research, and general tips on research in a foreign country. In 2002-03 the panel consisted of **Christian Brunelli**, Department of Government, **Haley Duschinski**, Department of Anthropology, and **Katerina Linos**, Department of Government. In 2003-04 **Daniel Aldrich** Department of Government, **Tahmima Anam**, Department of Anthropology, and **Warigia Bowman**, Department of Public Policy, comprised the panel.

### **Harvard International Relations Council**

The Harvard International Relations Council (IRC), formerly known as the Weatherhead Center Student Council, is the undergraduate student group on campus that serves as the principal liaison between the Weatherhead Center and Harvard undergraduates. The IRC promotes awareness and understanding of international affairs among undergraduates through a variety of programs, which include close collaborations with the Weatherhead Center and its Fellows. The leadership of the Weatherhead Center International Relations Council for the fall 2002 included **Anthony Arnold** '04 and **Ashwini Vasanthakumar** '04 as co-presidents; **Anna Joo** '04 and **Todd Schulte** '04 as special events chairs; **David Kessler** '04 and **Nathaniel Berner** '03, as regional studies chairs; and **Jackie Shull** '04, as Fellows chair. In the Spring 2003 semester, the Council leadership was comprised of **Mina Dimitrova** '05 and **Swati Mylavarapu** '05 as copresidents; **Anna Franekova** '05 and **Prital Kadakia** '06 as administrative chairs; **Neasa Coll** '05, **Corina Comendant** '03, **Kim Jiramongkolchai** '05, **Yamile Nesrala** '05, **Anne Osmun**, **Namrata Patel** '06 as event coordinators, and **Jeff Amlin** '06 and **Gabriel Loperene** '06 as Fellows chairs. The 2003-04 International Relations Council board members who oversaw IRC/Weatherhead Center events were **Mina Dimitrova** '05 and **Swati Mylavarapu** '05. The IRC's 2003-04 president was **David Kessler** '04.

The IRC members organized a number of events in the academic years 2002-03 and 2003-04 including panel discussions and seminars on international affairs, an annual international careers week, and an annual human rights week. In November of 2003, the IRC hosted a special conference, "Beyond Borders: Medicine and the Global Community," and convened a number of thinkers both within and beyond

the Weatherhead Center in April 2004 for an international relations week and conference entitled, "International Organizations: A New Role in a Complex World."

### **Panel Discussions and Seminars**

#### **2002**

*October 17*

"IRAQ: Debating U.S. Policy After September 11," **Samuel Huntington**, Albert J. Weatherhead, III University Professor; and **David Little**, T.J. Dermot Dunphy Professor of the Practice in Religion, Ethnicity and International Conflict. Moderated by **Monica Toft**, assistant professor of public policy.

*November 18*

"The Conflict in Chechnya: Current Status and Historical Perspectives," **Terry Martin**, John L. Loeb Associate Professor of Social Sciences; and **Catherine Cosgood**, MA candidate in the Harvard Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia Program; affiliate, The American Committee for Peace in Chechnya.

#### **2003**

*March 6*

"Information Session for undergraduates about the resources available at the Weatherhead Center," **Steven Bloomfield**, associate director, WCFIA and Clare Putnam, program coordinator, student programs and fellowships, WCFIA.

*April 15*

"Building Social Capital," **Pedro Medina**, WCFIA Fellow and general manager and joint venture partner of McDonald's, Colombia.

*April 22*

"The Future of Europe: The Role of the European Court of Justice in the European Construction," **Justice Melchior Wathelet**, European Court of Justice.

*April 30*

"From Plato to Fox News," **Helen Shaw**, WCFIA Fellow and director of radio, RTE, and editor of Radio News and Current Affairs for the BBC; senior reporter for *The Irish Times*.

*October 7*

"Cuba: Time Past, Time Present, Time Future," **Michael Small**, Canadian ambassador to Cuba.

**International Careers Week  
October 21-25, 2002**

*October 21*

“Careers in International Business,” **Penny Colletette**, adviser to Prime Minister Jean Chretien and vice president of George Weston Ltd.; **Pedro Medina**, general manager and joint venture partner of McDonald’s Colombia and vice president and export manager, Polipropileno del Caribe.

*October 22*

“Careers in International Journalism,” **Helen Shaw**, WCFIA Fellow and director of Radio, RTE and editor of Radio News and Current Affairs for BBC; senior reporter for *The Irish Times*; **Ann Maria Simmons**, bureau chief for the *Los Angeles Times*, Johannesburg, South Africa; **Nirupama Subramanian**, correspondent for *The Hindu*, Colombo, Sri Lanka; **John Geddes**, Ottawa editor, *MacLean’s*, Ottawa, Canada.

“Careers in Diplomacy,” **Peter Gottwald**, director of the North American Mission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany; Mission to UK; **Khalid I. Emara**, deputy-head of the European Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt; Mission to Belgium and EC; **David Reddaway**, special representative of the United Kingdom for Afghanistan, Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

*October 23*

“Third Annual International Careers Dinner,” **Kenneth D. Kaunda**, founding president of the Republic of Zambia (1964-1991); **Jeffrey Davidow**, U.S. ambassador to Mexico (1998-2002); assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs (1996-1998); former ambassador to Zambia and Venezuela; **Uwe Kitzinger**, founding president, Templeton College, Oxford; economist, Council of Europe; and James Cooney, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs  
“Careers in International Law,” **William P. Mayer**, Goodwin Procter LLP, chair of the Pro Bono Committee, Corporate Partner.  
“Careers in International Development,” **Rachel Glennerster**, lecturer in public policy; economist with the International Monetary Fund; **Lant Pritchett**, lecturer in public policy and faculty co-chair of the MPA/ID Program.

**International Careers Week  
November 10-14, 2003**

*November 10*

“International Careers in Diplomacy,” **Michael Small**, Canadian ambassador to Cuba, former director of the peacebuilding and human security division in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Ottawa; **Pasi Patokallio**, Finnish ambassador to Israel and Cyprus and deputy director-general for multilateral affairs at the Finnish foreign ministry; **Caroline Dumas**, counselor for cultural and cooperation affairs, French Embassy, Madrid.

“Careers in International Business,” **Anshul Arora** and **Sarah Ogilvie**, co-presidents of Harvard Business School International Business and Development Club.

*November 11*

“Careers in International Journalism,” **Indira Lakshmanan**, Asia bureau chief, *The Boston Globe*, Hong Kong, China; **Philippe Le Core**, United Kingdom bureau chief, *La Tribune*, Paris; **Alan Cullinson**, Moscow correspondent, the *Wall Street Journal*, Moscow, Russia.

*November 12*

“Careers in International humanitarian and NGO work,” **David Brown**, director of international programs, Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations; **Janina Matuszeski**, Ph.D. candidate in economics; Peace Corp volunteer in Mali; **Paula Johnson**, research fellow at the Global Equity Initiative, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

“Careers in International Law,” **Jorge Contreras**, senior partner, Hale and Dorr LLP.

*November 13*

“Careers in International Relations and Academia,” **Stephen Rosen**, director, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, and Beton Michael Kaneb Professor of National Security and Military Affairs.

*November 14*

“International Careers Week Reception and Keynote Address,” **Nader Mousavizadeh**, former assistant for political affairs to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan (1997-2003) and editor of the *Black Book of Bosnia*.

**Human Rights Week**  
**April 7-11, 2003**

*April 7*

“Media and Human Rights: Third Party Advocates? The Role of the Media in International Human Rights,” **Helen Shaw**, WCPIA Fellow, director of radio, Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE), the Irish National Public Service Broadcasting Organisation; and **Nolan Bowie**, senior fellow, Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy.

*April 8*

“Health and Human Rights: A Universal Right to Health Care?” **Stephen Marks**, Francois-Xavier Bagnoud Professor of Health and Human Rights, Department of Population and International Health, Harvard School of Public Health; and **Peter Berman**, Professor of Population and International Health Economics.

*April 9*

“Women and Human Rights: The Status of Women’s Right to Self-Determination,” **Jacqueline Bhabha**, executive director, University Committee on Human Rights Studies; and **Diane Rosenfeld**, Berkman Center Fellow, Harvard Law School.

*April 10*

“Conflict And Human Rights: Human Rights in Conflict—A Multi-Perspective Approach,” **David Little**, T.J. Dermot Dunphy Professor of the Practice in Religion, Ethnicity, and International Conflict; **Rogaia Abusharaf**, fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy; assistant professor of Africana and Gender Studies at Brown University; and **Michelle Greene**, executive director, Carr Center for Human Rights.

*April 11*

“Information Panel: Get Involved in Human Rights!”

**Human Rights Week**  
**March 15-18, 2004**

*March 15*

“Health & Human Rights,” **Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good**, professor of social medicine at Harvard Medical School and Faculty of Arts and Sciences; and **Cesar Abadia**, affiliate, Harvard Medical School and Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

*March 16*

“Development & Human Rights,” **David Simon**, professor of public policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government; faculty associate, Center for International Development; and author of *Development Theory*.

*March 17*

“The Law of Human Rights,” **David Kennedy**, Manley Hudson Professor of Law, Harvard Law School; and **Henry Steiner**, Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Professor of Law; founding director of the Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School; and co-author, *International Human Rights in Context: Law, Politics, Morals*.

*March 18*

“War Crime Tribunals,” **Garry Bass**, visiting fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government; and author of *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunal*.

**An International Relations and Public Health Symposium: Beyond Borders: Medicine and the Global Community**  
**November 6-8, 2003**

*November 6*

“Student Activism in Global Health,” a student discussion panel.

*November 7*

“The Challenges of Promoting International Health,” **Christopher Murray**, professor, Harvard School of Public Health, International Health Economics.

*November 8*

“Evaluating SARS: The Threat of Infectious Disease in an Interdependent World,” **Barry Bloom**, professor and dean of Harvard School of Public Health.

“Knowing the Limit: NGO and Government Interaction in Health,” **Lincoln Chen**, professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government and director, Global Equity Initiative.

“Health Care Systems in the Developing World,” **Peter Berman**, professor, Population and International Health Economics.

“HIV-AIDS: Fighting the Battle on the World Theater,” **Joia Mukherjee**, doctor and medical director, Partners in Health.

“Health In Emerging Societies: Case Study of the Current Middle East,” **Christopher Dole**, Harvard Medical School and research fellow in Social Medicine; **Iman Roushdy-Hammady**, Fox Chase Cancer Center, Population Science; and **Aslihan Sanal**, Ph.D. Candidate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

“Health and Human Rights Beyond Borders,” **Stephen Marks**, professor, Harvard School of Public Health, Health and Human Rights.

## International Relations Week

### International Organizations: A New Role in a Complex World April 15-18, 2004

April 15

#### Peace and International Security

“Religion: Is it Being Used to Wage War?” **William Graham**, dean, Harvard Divinity School; **David Little**, T.J. Dermot Dunphy Professor of the Practice in Religion, Harvard Divinity School; **Rachel McCleary**, director, Project on Religion, Political Economy, and Society, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs; **Jessica Stern**, lecturer of public policy and author of *Terror in the Name of God*; and **J. Bryan Hehir**, president, Catholic Charities USA. (Sponsored by the Harvard South Asian Association.)

“Soft Power: New Approach to International Security,” **Joseph Nye**, dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government.

“A Preview of Friday: Economics of International Relations,” a student discussion group.

April 16

#### International Trade and Economics

“Multidimensional Peace Operations: Are They Still Effective?” **Robert C. Orr**, executive director for research, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs; **Valerie Lofland**, lieutenant colonel, U.S. Air Force, and international affairs officer at Headquarters, United States Air Forces Europe; **Andrew Kydd**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

“Integrating China into the World Economic System,” **William C. Kirby**, dean, Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences; **Richard N. Cooper**, Department of Economics; and

Kathleen Molony, director, Fellows Program, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

“The World Trade Organization: Can It Still Do Its Job?” **Dani Rodrik**, Rafiq Hariri Professor of International Political Economy, John F. Kennedy School of Government; **Robert Lawrence**, Albert L. Williams Professor of International Trade and Investment; **Richard Morningstar**, former United States ambassador to the European Union; and **Mokhtar Hajji**, deputy director of international cooperation, Ministry of Industry and Energy, Republic of Tunisia.

“An Outlook for International Development,” **J. Brian Atwood**, dean, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Wisconsin, former USAID administrator. (Co-sponsored by Harvard International Development Conference 2004.)

April 17

#### Social and Humanitarian Issues

“HIV/AIDS in Africa: Prospects for Survival,” **Max Essex**, chairman, Harvard AIDS Institute, Harvard School of Public Health. (Sponsored by Harvard AIDS Institute, Harvard AIDS Coalition, Harvard Pre-Med Society, Exploring Policy in Health Care, Harvard South Asian Association.)

“Global Warming: What Comes After Kyoto?” **Jeffrey A. Frankel**, James W. Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Growth; **Henry D. Jacoby**, Joint Program on the Science and Policy of Global Change, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **David Sandalow**, former assistant secretary of state for oceans, environment & science; and **Charli Coon**, senior policy analyst, Thomas A. Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies, The Heritage Foundation.

“World Health: What Does It Mean Now?” **Barry Bloom**, dean, Harvard School of Public Health.

“International Sustainable Development: Where to Start,” **Jay Rosengard**, director of financial sector program, Center for Business and Government; **Otto Solbrig**, Bussey Professor of Biology, Harvard University Herbaria; and **Ted Macdonald**, associate director, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

“Humanitarian Intervention: When Do We Step In?” **William Nash**, senior fellow and director, Center for Preventative Action, Council on Foreign Relations; **Stephen Marks**, François-Xavier Bagnoud Professor of Health and Human Rights. (Sponsored by Harvard Friends of Amnesty International.)

“Education: A Source of Global Solutions,” **Fernando Reimers**, director, International Education Policy Program, Harvard Graduate School of Education; and **Susan Grant Lewis**, director, International Education Policy Program, Harvard Graduate School of Education. (Sponsored by the International Education Policy Program at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.)

“Latin America: Can There be a Common Policy Among Differing States?” **Jorge I. Domínguez**, Harvard College Professor, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs; **Domingo Cavallo**, Robert Kennedy Visiting Professor in Latin American Studies, Department of Economics, Harvard University; **Monica Aparicio-Smith**, chairman and CEO, Banco Santander Puerto Rico, and WCFIA Fellow.

“Blending Borders: Who Can Address Regulation?” **Jim Ziglar**, former director, United States Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization Services; **Ali Noorani**, executive director, Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition; **Bo Cooper**, former general counsel, Immigration and Naturalization Services.

“Conference Speakers Reception.” Sponsored by the Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations and Concilio Latino.

*April 18*

### **International Law and Justice**

“International Law and a Rising China,” **Jerome A. Cohen**, adjunct senior fellow, Council on Foreign Relations.

“War Crimes Tribunals and the International Criminal Court,” **Gary Bass**, assistant professor of politics and international affairs, Princeton University; **Binaifer Nowrojee**, clinical instructor, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School; and **Matt Happold**, visiting fellow, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School.

(Sponsored by the *Harvard International Law Journal*.)

Film screening and discussion of the movie, “The Gatekeeper,” **John Carlos Frey**, film director and winner, Best Director, 2003 Phoenix Film Festival.

“Islamic Law on the Use and Misuse of Violence: Jihad and Other Doctrines,” **Frank E. Vogel**, director, Islamic Legal Studies Program and custodian, Two Holy Mosques Adjunct Professor of Islamic Legal Studies, Harvard Law School; **Aron Zysow**, research associate, Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School; and **Hassan Abbas**, research fellow, Negotiation Project, Harvard Law School. (Sponsored by the Islamic Legal Studies Program at Harvard Law School, Harvard South Asian Association.)

### **PROGRAM ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS**

The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations enables outstanding scholars and practitioners to come together at Harvard to conduct independent research on topics in contemporary bilateral relations and to participate in an ongoing dialogue on those topics with other members of the Harvard University and greater Cambridge and Boston communities. The program was founded in 1980 on the belief that the United States and Japan have become so interdependent that the problems they face urgently require cooperation. The program’s intellectual mandate has been broad since its inception and has included U.S.-Japan relations; contemporary Japanese politics, economy, society, and culture in comparative perspective; common problems of advanced industrial democracies; international relations and political economy of East Asia; globalization of Japanese culture; and the rise of civil society in Asia.

Each year, the program hosts academics, government officials, business people and journalists, and awards several advanced research fellowships to scholarly applicants with outstanding research credentials. While in residence at Harvard for the academic year, U.S.-Japan Associates take part in the seminars, roundtables, and other functions of the program; attend classes and other activities in the Harvard community; present the results of their research in public panels; and prepare research reports that are published as the *Occasional Papers* of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations and distributed to policymakers

and research organizations around the world. Although most Associates are from Japan and the United States, the program has also included individuals from countries in Asia, Europe, and other world regions. During the academic year, the program invites leading commentators on issues in U.S.-Japan relations and related topics to speak at a weekly luncheon seminar series that is open to the public. The seminars, which are chaired by Professor **Susan Pharr**, the U.S.-Japan program director, are attended on average by 50 faculty members, researchers, graduate students, and undergraduates from Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, and other neighboring institutions, as well as interested members of the wider community. In 2002-03 the seminar series featured a number of prominent individuals, including: **Yoichi Funabashi**, chief diplomatic correspondent for the *The Asahi Shimbun*; **Sir Crispin Tickell**, chair of The International Council of Scientific Unions Advisory Committee on the Environment; and **Ikuo Kabashima**, professor of political science at the University of Tokyo. In 2003-04 the seminar speakers included **Kenzo Yamamoto**, general manager for the Americas at the Bank of America, **Richard Samuels**, Ford International Professor of Political Science at MIT, and **Hideo Otake**, professor of law at Kyoto University.

The program annually honors a Distinguished Visitor, who spends several days at Harvard to offer a luncheon seminar, speak at a dinner held in his or her honor, and meet with students. In 2002-03 the program honored **Gerald Curtis**, Burgess Professor of Political Science at Columbia University. Professor Curtis spoke on turmoil and change in Japanese politics. In 2003-04 the program honored **Joseph Nye**, dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government and Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University. Dean Nye offered his reflections on “soft power.”

**Susan J. Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, continues to serve as director of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. **Frank Schwartz**, the program’s associate director, was assisted by program coordinator **Shannon Rice** and staff assistant **Aya Sato-DiLorenzo**. **John Kuczvara** served as Susan Pharr’s assistant through February, 2004,

and **Mari Calder** was the research assistant to Susan Pharr for the remainder of the year.

## U.S.-Japan Seminar Series

Chair: **Susan Pharr**

### 2002

*September 19*

“Finding Fulfillment in Recession: A New Way of Looking at Japan,” **Yoshio Murakami**, advisor for international affairs, *The Asahi Shimbun*. (Co-sponsored by the Fellows Program.)

*September 24*

“Promoting the Growth of Philanthropy in Asia,” **Barnett Baron**, executive vice president, The Asia Foundation. (Co-sponsored by the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations.)

*September 27*

“New Frontiers for US-Japan Security Relations,” **Hideaki Kaneda**, Asia Center fellow and former senior research advisor, National Security, Mitsubishi Research Institute. (Co-sponsored by the Asia Center and the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.)

*October 1*

“The Making of the ‘Public Intellectual’ and US-Japan Relations,” **Makoto Iokibe**, professor of political and diplomatic history, Kobe University, and coordinate researcher, Harvard-Yenching Institute.

*October 8*

“Everyday Justice: Recovering Lost Property in Japan and the United States,” **Mark West**, assistant professor of law, University of Michigan Law School. (Co-sponsored by East Asian Legal Studies.)

*October 17*

“Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Cooperation and Conflict in the New East Asia,” **Ellis Kraus**, professor, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California at San Diego.

*October 22*

“Gender Inequality in East Asian Economies,” **Mary Brinton**, professor of sociology, Cornell University.

*October 29*

“What Drives U.S.-Japan Economic Relations? Bilateral Economic Disputes, 1966-98,” **Amy**

**Searight**, assistant professor of political science, George Washington University.

*November 5*

“Did Japan’s Electoral Reform Matter?”

**Raymond Christensen**, associate professor of politics, Brigham Young University. (Co-sponsored by the Center for Basic Research in the Social Science.)

*November 7*

**Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies**, “The Politics of Low Fertility: Global Markets, Women’s Employment, and Birth Rates in Four Industrialized Democracies,” **Frances McCall Rosenbluth**, professor of political science, Yale University. (Co-sponsored by the East Asia Legal Studies Programs and the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.)

*November 12*

**Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies**, “Is There a Global Environmental Crisis?” **Crispin Tickell**, inaugural senior visiting fellow at the Harvard University Center for the Environment; chancellor of the University of Kent at Canterbury; chairman of the Climate Institute; and chairman of the International Council of Scientific Unions Advisory Committee on the Environment. (Co-sponsored by the Harvard University Center for the Environment.)

*November 19*

“Does Security Order Exist in Asia?” **Muthiah Alagappa**, director, East-West Center Washington. (Co-sponsored by the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies.)

*December 3*

“The Current State of the Japanese Telecommunications Market: A Banker’s Perspective,” **James Crystal**, senior managing director, Bear, Stearns & Co.

*December 5*

**Distinguished Visitor Lecture**, “Turmoil and Change in Japanese Politics,” **Gerald Curtis**, professor of political science, Columbia University.

*December 10*

“Japanese Politics in the Age of Coalition Government,” **Ikuo Kabashima**, professor of political science, University of Tokyo.

*December 13*

“Police Integrity in Japan,” **David Johnson**, professor of sociology, University of Hawaii at Manoa. (Co-sponsored by the Reischauer Institute for Japanese Studies and the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.)

## 2003

*February 4*

“Comparative Bubbles: Lessons for America from Japan,” **David Weinstein**, professor of economics, Columbia University.

*February 11*

“Capitalist Politicians, Socialist Bureaucrats? Legends of Government Planning from Japan,” **J. Mark Ramseyer**, director, East Asian Legal Studies, and professor of Japanese Legal Studies, Harvard Law School. (Co-sponsored by the East Asian Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School.)

*February 19*

“Japanese Phoenix: The Long Road to Economic Revival,” **Richard Katz**, senior editor, *The Oriental Economist Report*.

*February 25*

“Striving to be Average: The Development of Japanese Welfare Policy,” **Gregory Kasza**, professor of political science and East Asian languages and cultures, Indiana University.

*March 11*

“Buying Power? Why Japanese Political Finance Reform Failed,” **Verena Blechinger**, advanced research fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

*March 18*

“Roundtable on the North Korean Nuclear Crisis,” **Jim Walsh**, executive director of the Project on Managing the Atom, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government; **Hideaki Kaneda**, former vice admiral, Maritime Self-Defense Force and special advisor, the Okazaki Institute; **Tae-Ung Baik**, visiting scholar, East Asian Legal Studies, Harvard Law School. Moderator: **Susan J. Pharr**, E.O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics and director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

*April 8*

“The Politics of International Litigation: Japan and the WTO,” **Saadia Pekkanen**, assistant professor of political science, Middlebury College.

April 15

“Reflections on Japan’s Postwar History,” **Yoichi Funabashi**, columnist and chief diplomatic correspondent, *The Asahi Shimbun*.

April 17

**Overcoming Japan’s Fiscal and Financial Crises**, “The ‘1940 System’ and the Origins of Japan’s Fiscal Crisis in the 1990s,” **Shinju Fujihira**, assistant professor of political science, Tufts University; “Stabilizing the Japanese Financial System,” **Hiroyuki Obara**, Ministry of Finance; “Retail Banking Strategy in the United States,” **Hideo Aono**, Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Corporation. Discussant: **Oliver Oldman**, Harvard Law School.

April 22

“Gender, Sex, and Moral Norms: The Japanese Response to Child Prostitution and Pornography,” **David Leheny**, assistant professor of political science, University of Wisconsin at Madison.

April 24

**Competition and Cooperation in a Global Age**, “Shareholder Capitalism in the United States: Lessons for Japan,” **Shinichi Kamiyama**, Tokyo Gas Company; “Introducing New Power Technologies and Policies to China,” **Shoji Kawamura**, Tokyo Electric Power Company. Discussant: **William Grimes**, associate professor of international relations, Boston University.

April 29

“Can Japan Recover?” **Koichi Hamada**, professor of economics, Yale University, Discussant: **Richard Cooper**, Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics, Harvard University.

May 1

**Japan’s Comprehensive Security**, “Energy Policy in the Caspian Region,” **Toru Odaka**, Japan Bank for International Cooperation; “U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East,” **Ryoichi Ikemoto**, Idemitsu Kosan Company; “Preventing Cyber-Terrorism,” **Akira Saka**, National Police Agency. Discussant: **Thomas Berger**, associate professor of international relations, Boston University.

May 6

**Japan’s Response to Global Warming**, “International Frameworks and National Policies on Global Warming,” **Hiro Inoue**, Ministry of Economy, Trade and

Industry; “U.S.-Japan Cooperation on Global Warming,” **Atsushi Suginaka**, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. Discussant: **John Weiss**, associate director, Cambridge Energy Research Associates.

May 8

**The Costs of Japan’s Political System**, “Anti-Competition in ‘Competitive’ Party Systems,” **Robert Weiner**, advanced research fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations; “Public Works Decision-Making in the United States and Japan,” **Kenichi Yamamoto**, *The Asahi Shimbun*. Discussant: **John Carey**, professor of political science, Washington University.

September 23

“Global Challenges Facing Japan,” **Motoshige Itoh**, professor of economics, University of Tokyo; and **Ezra Vogel**, Henry Ford II Research Professor of the Social Sciences, and former director, Asia Center.

September 30

“Civil Society in Global Perspective: An Overview,” **Lester Salamon**, director, Center for Civil Society Studies, Johns Hopkins University. (Co-sponsored by the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations.)

October 7

“Going Global: International Politics, International Norms, and the Japanese Environmental Movement in the 1990s,” **Kim Reimann**, assistant professor of political science, Georgia State University. (Co-sponsored by the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations.)

October 14

“The Korean Nuclear Crisis: The View from Japan,” **Kenji Hiramatsu**, Fellow, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and former director, Northeast Asia Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Co-sponsored by the WCFLA Fellows Program, the Korea Institute and the Kennedy School of Government’s Managing the Atom Project.)

October 21

“Exit, Voice, and Family Policy: Japan’s Efforts to Convince Women to Work and Have Children, Too,” **Leonard Schoppa**, associate professor of politics, University of Virginia. (Co-sponsored by the Committee on Women’s Studies.)



*October 28*  
“How Political Scandals and Nuclear Power Accidents Shape Governing in Japan,” **Michael Donnelly**, professor of political science, University of Toronto. (Co-sponsored by the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies and the Kennedy School of Government’s Managing the Atom Project.)

*November 6*  
“What Happened to Japanese Hi-Tech?” **Robert Cole**, Omron Distinguished Professor of Management of Technology, Doshisha Management School, and co-director, Management of Technology Program, Haas School of Business, University of California at Berkeley.

*November 18*  
“Mass Publics and East Asian Security: Perspectives from South Korea,” **Byung-Kook Kim**, Ralph I. Straus Visiting Professor, Kennedy School of Government, and visiting scholar, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. (Co-sponsored by the WCFIA Fellows Program and the Korea Institute.)

*November 25*  
“Post-Election Roundtable:”What’s Ahead for Japan?” **Kent Calder**, director, Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University. Commentators: **Mamoru Sorai**, associate professor of political science, Tohoku University; **Kentaro Fukumoto**, associate professor of law, Gakushuin University; and **Mineko Sasaki-Smith**, independent consultant and author. Moderator: **Susan J. Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics and director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

*December 2*  
“Japan’s Policy Trap: Dollars, Deflation, and the Crisis of Japanese Finance,” **Taggart Murphy**, professor of international political economy, Tsukuba University.

*December 9*  
“Why Can’t Japan Get Back on Track? Institutional Legacies and System Transition,” **Jennifer Amyx**, assistant professor of political science, University of Pennsylvania.

## 2004

*February 10*  
“150 Years of Japanese Diplomacy,” **Akira Iriye**, Charles Warren Professor of American History,

and chair, Department of History, Harvard University. (Co-sponsored by the Fellows Program.)

*February 17*  
**Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies**, “Domesticating AIDS: Illness, Identity, and Sexual Politics in Contemporary Japan,” **Joanne Cullinane**, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. (Co-sponsored by the Center for Population and Development Studies.)

*February 20*  
“Harvard’s Japan Encounter: From Perry to Pearl Harbor,” **Susan Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics and director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations; and **Mari Calder**, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. (Co-sponsored by the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies and the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.)

*February 24*  
“From Manners to Rules: Smoking and the Japanese State,” **Eric Feldman**, assistant professor of law, University of Pennsylvania Law School. (Co-sponsored by the Center for Population and Development Studies.)

*March 3*  
“Forced to Be Free: Democratizing Occupations in Japan, Germany, and Iraq,” **John Dower**, Elting E. Morison Professor of History, MIT; **Charles Maier**, Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies, Harvard University; **Eva Bellin**, associate professor of political science, Hunter College. Moderator: **Susan J. Pharr**, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics. (Co-sponsored by the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, and the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies.)

*March 9*  
“Has Japan Experienced a Structural Economic Shift? A Long-Wave Perspective,” **Mineko Sasaki-Smith**, independent consultant, author, and academic associate, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

*March 11*  
“Koizumi’s Structural Reforms and Political Realignment,” **Jiro Yamaguchi**, professor of law, Hokkaido University. (Co-sponsored by the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies.)

March 16

**Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies**, “Demography and the Future of Japan in Comparative Perspective,” **Richard Cooper**, Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics, Harvard University; **John Campbell**, professor of political science, University of Michigan; and **Mary Brinton**, professor of sociology, Harvard University.

March 22

“Economic Recovery in Japan: The Role of the Bank of Japan,” **Kenzo Yamamoto**, general manager for the Americas, Bank of Japan.

March 23

“Balance Sheet Recession: Japan’s Struggle with Uncharted Economics and Its Global Implications,” **Richard Koo**, chief economist, Nomura Research Institute.

April 6

**Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies**, “Three Years of Freedom of Information in Japan: Some Key Differences from the U.S. Freedom of Information Act,” **Lawrence Repeta**, professor, Omiya Law School, and director, Information Clearinghouse Japan. (Co-sponsored by East Asian Legal Studies, Harvard Law School.)

April 13

**Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies**, “Who’s in Charge Here? Civil-Military Relations in Japan,” **Richard Samuels**, Ford International Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Co-sponsored by the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies.)

April 15

**Financial Policy-Making in Japan**, “Securities Market Surveillance Systems,” **Takahito Yamada**, Ministry of Finance; “Financial Regulatory Reform in Japan,” **Ross Schaap**, advanced research fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. Discussant: **William Grimes**, associate professor of international relations, Boston University.

April 20

“The Rise and Fall of Populist Reformers in Japan: The Koizumi Reforms in Historical Perspective,” **Hideo Otake**, professor of law, Kyoto University.

April 22

**The Politics of Identity**, “Korean Identity and the Politics of Nationality in Japan,” **Erin Chung**, advanced research fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations; “The International System, Globalization, and National Identity in Japan,” **In-Sung Jang**, professor of international relations, Seoul National University; “Globalization and Anti-Americanism,” **Yasushi Watanabe**, associate professor of cultural anthropology, Keio University. Discussant: **Shinju Fujihira**, assistant professor of political science, Tufts University.

April 26

**Distinguished Visitor Lecture**, “Reflections on Soft Power,” **Joseph Nye, Jr.**, dean, Kennedy School of Government and Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government.

April 27

**Restructuring the Japanese State**, “Comparing Civil Societies: Japan vs. America,” **Kentaro Fukumoto**, associate professor of law, Gakushuin University; “Freedom of Information, Legal Mobilization, and the Taxpayer Suit Boom in Japan,” **Jonathan Marshall**, advanced research fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations; and “Public-Private Partnerships and Privatization,” **Hiroyuki Matsuda**, Development Bank of Japan. Discussant: **Mary Brinton**, Reischauer Institute Professor of Sociology, Harvard University.

May 4

**Securing Japan**, “Advanced Passenger Information Systems,” **Kiyoshi Kawai**, National Police Agency; “The Security Environment in Northeast Asia,” **Hideo Takahashi**, Japan Air Self-Defense Force; “The Political, Economic, and Security Structure of East Asia,” and **Toshikazu Okuya**, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. Discussant: **Thomas Berger**, associate professor of international relations, Boston University.

May 6

**New Trends in Japanese Management**, “Human Resource Management,” **Masao Miyata**, Tokyo Gas Company; “Corporate Loans for Large Companies,” **Takenobu Inaba**, Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Company; and “International Development Assistance Policy,” **Manabu Onuki**, Tokyo Electric Power Company. Discussant: **Robin Radin**, associate director, Program on International Financial Systems, Harvard Law School.

**Associates of the Program on U.S.-Japan  
Relations**

**2002-03**

**Hideo Aono**, Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Corporation  
**Verena Blechinger**, German Institute of Japanese Studies  
**Shinju Fujihira**, Tufts University  
**Ryoichi Ikemoto**, Idemitsu Kosan Company  
**Hiro Inoue**, Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry  
**Shinichi Kamiyama**, Tokyo Gas Company  
**Gregory Kasza**, Indiana University  
**Shoji Kawamura**, Tokyo Electric Power Company  
**Yutaka Kijima**, Development Bank of Japan  
**Hiroyuki Obara**, Ministry of Finance  
**Toru Odaka**, Japan Bank for International Corporation  
**Akira Saka**, National Police Agency  
**Atsushi Suginaka**, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries  
**Kenichi Yamamoto**, *Asahi Shimbun*  
**Yoshiko Yamashige**, Seijo University

**2003-04**

**Erin Chung**, Northwestern University  
**Kentaro Fukumoto**, Gakushuin University  
**Takenobu Inaba**, Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Corporation  
**In-Sung Jang**, Seoul National University  
**Kiyoshi Kawai**, National Police Agency  
**Jonathan Marshall**, University of California at Berkeley  
**Hiroto Matsuda**, Development Bank of Japan  
**Toshikazu Okuya**, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry  
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