



Centerpiece

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FROM THE DIRECTOR

In my remarks at the dedication and renaming of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs on April 16, 1998, I quoted from the Center's proposal to the Weatherhead Foundation, articulating the hope that the Center could be "the incubator of ideas at an early stage." The Center wished to support not only the research of professors but also that of students, "our most important long-term investment in people for the future."¹

The Center's support for graduate student research dates from the creation of its Graduate Student Associate program on July 1, 1969. The Undergraduate Associate program, supporting senior thesis summer time research, followed soon thereafter. Surely, Center support for graduate and undergraduate students is the premier example of its behavior as "the incubator of ideas at an early stage." Over the years and with increasing success the Center has supported these programs. Nonetheless, several practical limitations have constrained its capacity to do so.

The Center has become effective at supporting the production of graduate student research but has been able to award only one dissertation write-up fellowship, the Knafel fellowship. The Center has also been supporting senior thesis research for some time but has been limited in its ability to send seniors to places with highly expensive airfares (Africa, South Asia) and has not been able at all to make up for foregone summer earnings. This last limitation has always been particularly troubling because it has limited the capacity of some undergraduates to do their best work by engaging in serious research abroad.

Hartley Rogers, AB '81, MBA '85, and his wife Amy C. Falls have generously decided to help address these deficiencies. Rogers' generous gift, derived from his pledge for his 20th reunion class gift, creates the "Hartley R. Rogers Graduate Dis-



Photo Martha Stewart

Center Director Jorge I. Domínguez converses with Amram Mitzna (right), who delivered the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture on April 22, 2004. Mitzna is a Member of the Israeli Knesset and was a Labor Party candidate for Israeli Prime Minister in 2003.

sertation Fellowship Fund"—an endowment within the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in direct partnership with the Weatherhead Center. The selection committee for the Center's graduate student program will choose annually a Rogers Dissertation Fellow and simultaneously appoint this young scholar as a Weatherhead Center Graduate Student Associate who thereby will become a full member of the Center's community.

He has also created the "Hartley R. Rogers Undergraduate International Research Grant Fund," which will provide travel support to Africa, South Asia, or the poorer Southeast Asian countries for Weatherhead Center undergraduate associates engaged in research toward their senior theses. During this three-year program, the Center will endeavor to make up foregone summer earnings so that students from families with lower incomes will also be able to carry out this research

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abroad. A third, smaller “Weatherhead Center Special Response Fund” will be used as a resource to enable the Center to respond to unforeseen events of significance in international affairs.

Hartley Rogers’s wonderful contributions to the research capacities of Harvard graduate and undergraduate students will enable the Center to invest more effectively in the leaders of tomorrow.

New interiors

Assiduous readers of *Centerpiece*’s past issues—and old-timers who recall the old Coolidge Hall—would know that the Center has long suffered from inadequate physical facilities. In my second column as Center director in this publication, I announced Sidney R. Knafel’s founding gift toward what is rapidly becoming the Center for Government and International Studies (CGIS). For many years Sid served with distinction as chairman of the Visiting Committee of the Board of Overseers for the Center for International Affairs. Some years ago I wrote: “Knafel’s initiative will enable the Centers in Coolidge Hall to improve vastly the quality of common space and to foster, therefore, a much better intellectual content and range of communication.”² The building that is fast approaching completion on the site of the old Coolidge Hall will quite rightly be called the Knafel building.

Of course, the construction of two new substantial buildings, one on the old Coolidge Hall site and another across the street, and the renovation of four houses along the perimeter of the green space behind the Knafel building (these houses will also be part of the CGIS) requires additional resources. On behalf of the Center, and especially on behalf of the future users of these new facilities for decades to come, I express my gratitude to the following donors who have stepped forward to help make this dream a reality: Laurence ’88 and Carolyn Belfer have donated a 60-seat case study room; Felix Tsai has given a 150-seat lecture hall; and Bankee Kwan, Kin-chung Lam, and the Harvard Club of the Philippines have each funded three smaller seminar rooms. The lecture hall and the case-study room will be equipped with many technological resources, including a capacity for simultaneous translation. An anonymous donor will make possible a splendid café as part of the Knafel building. All of these new facilities mightily contribute to permitting and fostering the intellectual arguments and conversations that are an essential part of a community of scholars.

These gifts encourage all of us because they demonstrate that we have the support of Harvard alumni to make it possible for the Weatherhead Center and, more generally, this University to serve its mission, advance the world of knowledge, and empower the brightest minds to do their best work. They make it possible for our vision for scholarly research and community to become a reality. More importantly, they challenge us to make sure that these new splendid resources will make real the vision of a better Harvard and a better world.

Jorge I. Domínguez
Center Director



Photo Andy Ryan

The Weatherhead Center will move into the new Center for Government and International Studies (CGIS) complex in June 2005. The picture shows construction on the south building with the Graduate School of Design in the background (right.)

2. *Centerpiece* 11:1 (Winter 1997): 1-2.



The Weatherhead Center's program for Graduate Student Associates (GSAs) facilitates and supplements students' independent research toward doctoral and advanced professional degrees. Program members come from many of Harvard's academic departments and professional schools to work on projects related to the core research interests of the Center. These interests are broadly defined to include research on international, transnational, and comparative topics (both contemporary and historical) including rigorous policy analysis, as well as the study of countries and regions other than the United States. Steven Levitsky, associate professor of government, is the director of graduate student programs.

The Center's departing Graduate Student Associates and their postgraduate plans are:

Haley Duschinski received her doctoral degree in anthropology in June. Her dissertation is entitled "Inconstant Homelands: Violence, Storytelling, and Community Politics among Kashmiri Hindu Migrants in New Delhi, India." Haley has received a Rockefeller Visiting Fellowship at the Kroc Institute for International Peace at Notre Dame University for 2004-05.

Nicola Gennaioli received his Ph.D. in economics in June. His dissertation is entitled "Essays in the Economics of Institutions." Next year he will be an assistant professor at the Institute for International Economic Studies in Stockholm, Sweden.

Andrew Kennedy will continue working on his dissertation, the focus of which is a comparison of Chinese, India, and Japanese approaches to nuclear security. Next year he will carry out research on the Chinese piece of that puzzle, conducting research on Chinese nuclear security strategy in Beijing.

David Singer received his Ph.D. in government in June. His dissertation is entitled "Domestic Politics, Global Regulation: Setting Standards for the International Financial System." Beginning in September he will be an assistant professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame.

Allison Brownell Tirres received her J.D. in June and expects her Ph.D. in history in June 2006. Her dissertation is entitled "American Law Comes to the Border: Legal Consciousness on the Edge of the U.S.- Mexico Divide, 1848-1890." She received a Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowship to continue her doctoral research next year, after which she will be moving to California.

Lily Tsai will receive her Ph.D. in the fall. Her dissertation examines why village governments in China differ in the provision of public goods even when they have similar levels of revenue or extract similar levels of surplus from citizens. Beginning this September she will be an instructor and then an assistant professor of political science at MIT. In 2005-06 she will be an Academy Scholar of the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

Etienne Yehoue received his Ph.D. in political economy and government in June. His dissertation is entitled "Currency Bloc and International Risk Sharing." Next year Etienne will be working as an economist at the International Monetary Fund Institute.

The Center's support for graduate student research dates from the creation of its Graduate Student Associate program on July 1, 1969. Pictured here are graduate student associates Christian Brunelli and David Singer (left to right).



Grants & Fellowships

Student Programs

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs is pleased to announce that it has awarded 48 student grants and fellowships amounting to over \$100,000 for the 2004-05 academic year. Twenty grants will support Harvard College undergraduates, and 28 will support graduate students. In recent years the Weatherhead Center has significantly expanded its support for Harvard students, both increasing financial resources and the number of student awards available and establishing new programs and seminars for students.

Twenty Harvard College juniors have received summer travel grants to support senior thesis research on topics related to international affairs. After their return in September, undergraduate associates will be encouraged to take advantage of the resources of the Center, and during the spring 2005 semester the students will present their thesis research in Weatherhead Center seminars open to the Harvard community. The Weatherhead Center grant recipients, along with their summer research projects, are:

Shalini Ananthanarayanan

(Social Studies) will travel to Mexico to study the liberalization of abortion law in Mexico City in 2000.

Ana Bracic (Women's Studies) will travel to Croatia and Slovenia to conduct a comparative examination of women's movements in two post-Yugoslavian liberal democracies.

Peter Brown (Sociology and Romance Languages) will travel to Brazil to explore identity formation and marginalization among Brazilian immigrants.

Miranda Dugi (Government) will travel to El Salvador, as well as within the U.S., to explore the successful transformation of the guerrilla coalition in El Salvador into a political party.

Ariel Fox (History and Literature) will travel to the U.K. and France to study French India (Pondicherry) through British and French archives—the British Library and the Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer.

Lindsey Freeman, a Rogers Family Research Fellow, (Social Studies) will travel to Uganda to research women's organizations and their efforts in peacemaking and reconstruction in Uganda.

Christina Givey (Social Anthropology) will travel to Guatemala to study the impact on and perceptions of the Commission for Historical Clarification.

Jody Kelman (Social Studies) will travel to Australia to determine why countries tighten their asylum policies, using the Australian case to develop a model.

Itumeleng Makgetla, a

Rogers Family Research Fellow, (Social Studies) will travel to South Africa to research large South African banking groups' involvement in low-income housing finance and internationalizing tendencies.

Ayla Matanock (Social Studies) will travel to Peru, Mexico, and Spain to compare Sendero Luminoso, Zapatistas, and ETA to find factors that make groups more likely to use terror.

Susan Mathai (Social Studies) will travel to Cuba to study the politics and economics of immunization programs, paying particular attention to their relation to Cuban nationalism.

Peter McMurray (Slavic Studies and Classics) will travel to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to study nationalism and religious identity as captured in oral literature and folk culture.

David Mericle (Economics and History) will travel to China to study migrant workers and the impact of foreign investment in China.

Aaron Mihaly (Government) will travel to Bolivia to investigate the causes of the October 2003 coup against Bolivian president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada.

Mika Morse (Social Studies) will travel to Nicaragua to investigate the experiences of women entrepreneurs who have received micro-financing and are self-financed in order to evaluate the efficacy of micro-credit programs and their impact on the lives of women.

Sabeel Rahman, a

Rogers Family Research Fellow, (Social Studies) will travel to Bangladesh to study political protest movements among the poor and marginalized in Dhaka and examine the ways in which citizenship rights are rendered more substantive in a rapidly modernizing, elite-dominated society. Sabeel will also examine the rise of the nascent Islamic fundamentalist movement to see its relation to this process of protest.

Michael Rosenberg

(Social Studies) will travel to Mexico to investigate why NAFTA has not created lead firms in Mexico's maquila garment industry.

Manik Suri (Government) will travel to India, as well as in the United States, to conduct an interview-based study on the causal factors driving the strengthening of Indo-U.S. relations between 1998 and 2004.

Trayan Trayanov, a Rogers Family Research

Fellow, (Social Studies) will travel to the Philippines to study family-owned conglomerates and the prospects for restructuring the Philippine economy.

Sixiao Xu (Applied Math and Economics) will travel to Paris, France, to build a quantitative model of capital flow from European nations to developing countries using OECD data to test the model.

Graduate Student Associates

In 2004-05 the Weatherhead Center will be home to a multidisciplinary group of 22 doctoral candidates from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences' Departments of Anthropology, Government, History, History and East Asian Languages, History of Science, Law, Political Economy and Government (jointly administered with Kennedy School of Government), the Kennedy School's Public Policy Program, the Law School's S.J.D. program, and the Graduate School of Education's program on Administration, Planning, and Social Policy. All of the students are working on topics related to international affairs. The Center provides its Graduate Student Associates with office space, computer resources, and research grants, and they participate in a variety of seminars, including their own graduate student seminar during which they present and receive feedback on their work.

The Weatherhead Center Graduate Student Associates, along with their research projects, are listed below:

Daniel Aldrich, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, is investigating how states learn from their interaction with citizens who resist attempts to construct state supported but often controversial facilities like nuclear power plants, airports, and dams.

Tahmima Anam, a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology, is conducting an ethnographic study of the Bangladesh war of independence with an emphasis on the relationship between peasant freedom fighters and urban guerilla youth during the independence movement—a relationship that has been neglected in the historiography of the Bangladesh war.

Sonya Anderson, an Ed.D. candidate in Administration, Planning, and Social Policy at the Graduate School of Education, is conducting a quantitative study of attitudes of teachers in Benin regarding girls in the school and classroom context and their attitudes towards gender equity policy.

Ben Ansell, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, is conducting an analysis of the determinants of public investment in human capital, particularly focusing on the role of international forces.

Warigia Bowman, a Ph.D. candidate in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government, is conducting a cross-national, comparative study of the effect of inter-organizational collaboration on the development of technological infrastructure in poor and rural communities.

Michael Burtcher, a Ph.D. candidate in History and East Asian Languages, is researching idealism and ideology under the Meiji State, specifically focusing on intellectual elites and the political significance of philosophy in Meiji Japan.

Pär Cassel, a Ph.D. candidate in History, is studying nation building and extraterritoriality in East Asia in the 19th century.

Mark Copelovitch, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, is exploring how domestic politics within the industrialized countries shaped international responses to financial crises in the 1980s and 1990s.

Fotini Christia, a Ph.D. candidate in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government, is seeking a theoretical approach to explain the variation among refugee (Bosniaks Croat and Serb) return policies pursued by the different political elites in post-war Bosnia.

Magnus Feldmann, a Ph.D. candidate in Political Economy and Government, is analyzing the comparative political economy of post-socialist institutions, especially wage bargaining and industrial relations, and applications of varieties of capitalism to post-socialism.

Daniel Gingerich, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, is researching the causes of administrative reform in multiparty presidentialist systems in Latin America using a theoretical framework that combines a focus on pre-electoral coalition formation and illicit party financing.

Zongze Hu, a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology, researches the relationship between revolution and the politics of everyday life, specifically looking at changes in perceptions of the "state" in rural north China.

Orly Lobel, an S.J.D. candidate in the Law School. (See Sidney R. Knafel Fellow description on page 12.)

Manjari Miller, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, studies post-colonial ideology and foreign policy, focusing on historically contingent state interests in the cases of India and China.

Abena Osseo-Asare, a Ph.D. candidate in the History of Science, is conducting a documentation of phyto-medical research in Ghana since 1850 in the context of the popular use of herbal medicine, tracing interactions between scientists and herbalists working to understand potent medicinal plants.

Moria Paz, an S.J.D. candidate at the Law School, is studying the point of juncture between non-territorially-defined ethnic communities and international law and diasporatic networks as they provide a novel model for international collaborative systems.

Daniel Sargent, a Ph.D. candidate in History, is conducting research on the strategic reconfiguration of U.S. leadership within the Western alliance during the Nixon Administration.

Erin Simpson, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, is studying the sources and effects of military strategies in modern civil wars.

Hillel Soifer, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, is working on a dissertation that will describe and explain variation in the development of state power across countries in Latin America, focusing on the cases of Chile and Peru.

Shannon O'Neil Trowbridge, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, is studying the impact of social security reforms on social organization and participation in Latin America.

Amy Young, a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology, is conducting research on individuals and associations involved in the Moroccan women's rights movement and their national and local negotiation of international discourses of feminism, human rights, and political Islam.

Katharine Young, an S.J.D. candidate at the Law School, is conducting a comparative study of the "internationalization" of modern constitutionalism—by courts and activists—and its implications for constitutional theory, positive rights, institutional legitimacy and justice.

The European Union and the Middle East Conflict

From Payer to Player?

by Pasi Patokallio

The European Union (EU) is serious about resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but there is a gap between its ambition and its performance. Its political and economic investment in the peace process over the years has been both broad and deep. Despite this, the perception in the region, in the wider international community, and within the EU itself is that the EU does not play a political role that is in any way commensurate with its investment. The EU is a payer, but not a player in the Middle East.

The EU has never been significantly influential in mediating the peace between Israel and the Palestinians, despite the best efforts of its representatives to carve out such a role. Its membership in the “Quartet,” the informal diplomatic mechanism through which the EU, the U.S., the UN and Russia consult each other on Israeli-Palestinian issues, is a significant first step, but is as yet of uncertain impact and duration. The United States is and remains the pre-eminent mediator, acceptable to both sides. As a rule, Israel does not consider the EU to be an acceptable mediator, which it views as favoring the Palestinians. Israel’s grudging support of the Quartet’s roadmap does not change that. Furthermore, the U.S. has more or less sidelined the Quartet with its recent support for the Sharon disengagement plan: a unilateral Israeli initiative that can hardly be reconciled with the letter let alone the spirit of the roadmap.

The EU’s capacity to mediate is hampered by a number of other factors: the multiplicity of actors who speak on its behalf; the difficulty in carrying out a sustained mediation effort in conditions of overlapping authority and changing personalities; and the virtual impossibility of doing so in secret given that anyone mediating on behalf of the EU has a mandate from (and must report back to) an institution or institutions rep-

resenting all member states. The creation of the permanent posts of president of the European Council and EU foreign minister—if the constitutional treaty is approved—will contribute to greater continuity and higher visibility for EU foreign policy. It will not reduce the multiplicity of EU actors, however.

As the largest aid donor, the EU does have influence with the Palestinians, and it has managed to influence their behavior with regard to economic management and reform. It is far more difficult to gauge the extent of its political influence, although the EU special envoy to the Middle East peace process could undoubtedly claim numerous instances when the EU has made a difference.

Israel’s trade dependence on the EU, which is the single biggest source of imports and second biggest destination of exports for Israel, has never been viewed as a potential means of political leverage for the EU, despite intermittent Israeli fears. The only instance of the latter so far concerns the EU’s denial of duty-free status to imports from Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. But even this decision was the result of the European Commission enforcing a legal obligation, and not of EU foreign ministers deliberately using the EU’s economic clout for political purposes. Politics were involved, but only to the extent that, with the *intifada* and growing EU unhappiness with Israeli policies, the political reasons for not upsetting Israel began to matter less than the need for the EU to enforce its own rules.

On the whole, therefore, it can be said that the EU has not been a particularly effective participant in the diplomatic efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, does such an indictment take into account the unique nature of the EU as an international actor?



Pasi Patokallio is a Weatherhead Center Fellow. His most recent diplomatic assignment was as Finnish Ambassador to Israel. Here he writes in an entirely personal capacity.

Despite its proclaimed common foreign and security policy, the EU does not have a foreign policy in the traditional, nation-state sense. It has declarations. They are often denigrated as vague expressions of the lowest common denominator or somewhat desperate reminders of the continued, sorry existence of the EU's unfulfilled foreign policy ambitions. As one Israeli observer acidly put it, "I declare, therefore I exist." However, such an attitude seriously underestimates the normative impact of EU declarations over time, on both the EU and the wider world.

EU declarations have brought about a gradual convergence of member state views and policies on the Middle East conflict, and have influenced the setting of the agenda for the international community as a whole. The EU quite literally helped put the Palestinians on the map; a succession of mutually reinforcing EU declarations since 1980 helped transform nameless refugees without political representation into a Palestinian people with their own internationally recognized representative (PLO), and the right to national self-determination in their own, viable and sovereign state. Unlike UN Security Council resolutions, EU declarations are not dependent on approval by Israel's ally, the U.S.; unlike UN General Assembly resolutions, EU declarations enjoy international legitimacy, because the EU is generally perceived to be a genuine, disinterested third party. It has the moral, economic, and political weight in the world that numerical majorities at the UN simply lack.

To be credible, EU policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must continue to apply the same values and principles it upholds in its foreign policy in general. Normative diplomacy is an EU strength. EU policy must be swayed neither by Israeli pressure to be "more balanced," nor by Palestinian appeals to cultural relativism, be it tolerance for corruption or kangaroo courts. Treating this conflict as a special case subject to different rules or moral evaluations from any other conflict would also lay the EU open to charges of employing a double standard.

The EU should continue to play its full role within the Quartet and any other multilateral efforts of that kind, but without illusions. Israeli opposition remains the key obstacle to any significant political role for the EU in the peace process. That is not likely to change, because Israel has very good reasons for reserving the role of mediator for the United States, its ally, regardless of who is in power in Israel. Thus, any amount of "balance" in EU policy would not earn the EU a real role in peacemaking, while such an opportunistic tilt would assuredly compromise EU credibility in the Middle East and beyond.

While remaining more of a payer than a player in Middle East peacemaking may be a source of frustration for the EU, once there is a final peace agreement the EU's role will inevitably become more important. The EU is big, close, and it has unique powers of attraction for the Middle East. It should therefore make full use of the wide range of instruments it already has at its disposal, such as bilateral association agreements and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, to develop its natural role as the pre-eminent nonregional partner to the post-conflict Middle East. ♦



French President Jacques Chirac, second left, gestures as he talks with Germany's Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, left and Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis, center, while Greece's Foreign minister George Papandreu, right, and France's counterpart Dominique de Villepin are watching upon arrival at the Porto Carras Resort in Porto Carras, Greece, Thursday, June 19, 2003. European leaders arrived at the heavily guarded coastal resort to start a three-day summit in which they debated illegal immigration, the Middle East, EU - U.S. relations and a contentious draft of a European Union constitution. (AP Photo/Laurent Rebours)

This panel, sponsored on March 3 by Harvard's Program on U.S.-Japan Relations and co-sponsored by the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, and the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, provided a 100-person audience with both a greater appreciation for the lessons of history, and the caution that must be exercised when applying these lessons to the current situation in Iraq.

by Frank J. Schwartz

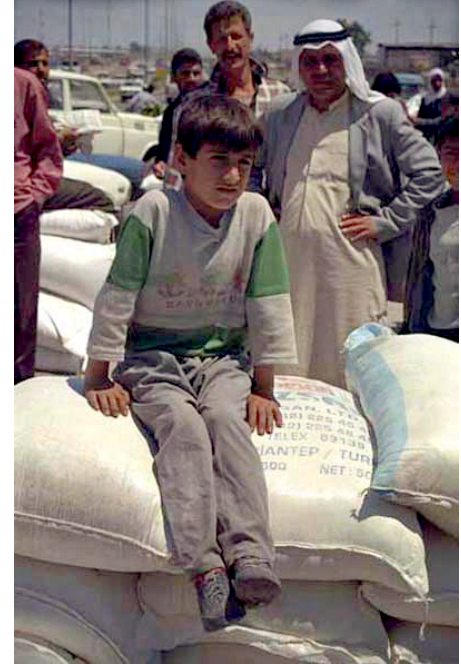
FORCED TO BE FREE:

Democratizing Occupations in Japan, Germany, and Iraq

The occupation of Iraq raises profound questions

about the nature of change in nation-states. The word "nation-building" is widely used today, both by supporters of U.S. policy in Iraq and its critics. But is it possible to build nations from above? To consider the question, Susan Pharr, Professor of Government and director of Harvard's Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, organized and moderated a panel that looked at the twentieth century's two great experiments with planned social and political change: the occupations of Japan and Germany. MIT Professor John Dower, author of the Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, was invited to speak about Japan, and Harvard historian Charles Maier to talk about Germany. To bring the discussion into the context of developments in the Middle East, Eva Bellin, professor of political science at Hunter College, was asked to offer her analysis of the current occupation in Iraq.

Dower began the discussion with a description of the extraordinary hardships experienced by Japanese during World War II: of a population of 70-plus million, three million people died, millions became homeless, and between five and six million were repatriated from abroad. Most large Japanese cities had been heavily bombed, and about a quarter of the national wealth had been destroyed. The black market was the real economy, and hyperinflation raged. Nevertheless, eight or nine months after the end of World War II, there had been no incidents of violence, Japanese and Americans had already worked out a viable working relationship, general elections had been held, and the constitution was being discussed. What accounts for the stunning contrast



A boy sits atop bags of wheat flour in Mosul.
(Photo UN/DPI)

between what is going on in Iraq today and events at a comparable time during the occupation of Japan?

Dower offered ten reasons why the occupation of Japan succeeded to the extent that it did. The first and most crucial reason was that in the eyes of almost everyone, including most Japanese, the occupation was legitimate. The emperor and the government of Japan had endorsed a formal, unconditional surrender. Second, in contrast to Iraq, when the Americans occupied Japan its government (from the emperor through the central bureaucracy down to local governments) was completely intact. Third, although not politically homogeneous, Japan lacked the fault lines of every sort—religious, ethnic, tribal, regional—that exist in Iraq. Fourth, Japan enjoyed not only internal but also external security. There were neither foreign threats, nor danger of infiltration. Fifth, unlike an artificial construct like Iraq, Japan had traditions of civil society and democracy that went back decades.

Sixth, the war-weariness of Japanese was so profound that they completely repudiated the prewar system and were committed to starting over. Although the United States cracked open the existing order, the occupation was successful because Japanese at all levels of society seized this opportunity. Seventh, unlike the case in Iraq, serious planning for the occupation of Japan had gone on for years. Goals were persuasive and clearly articulated by a leader, General Douglas MacArthur, who had charisma and authority. Eighth and ninth, again unlike Iraq, the occupation of Japan enjoyed breathing space from both global politics, which focused on the Soviet threat to Europe, and from domestic politics in the United States, where the occupation was not initially a subject of debate. Finally, there was no appearance, let alone reality, of war profiteering in the occupation. The military that occupied Japan was not the outsourced military that exists today, foreigners did not participate in the rebuilding of Japan, and there was no effort to privatize Japanese businesses.

Maier first cautioned against using historical wisdom to assess contemporary situations because judgments often depend on the context in which they are made. With regard to Germany and Japan, there is the advantage of hindsight. Regarding Iraq, although there is a journalistic rush to judge the present as if it were definitive, the situation there is still developing and is thus highly provisional. Moreover, history offers myriad factors for consideration, Maier observed. A retrospective search might explain a certain historical outcome, but it leaves out all the reasons that did *not* conduce to that outcome. Finally, a largely unforeseen event like the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 demonstrates that we must allow for the possibility of surprise and discontinuity. Nonetheless, Maier offered some similarities between the occupations of Germany and Japan that set them apart from Iraq.

As in Japan, the United States was very well prepared for the occupation of Germany, which was widely accepted as legitimate, and lasted far longer than is likely to be the case in Iraq. In a partial parallel to Japan, the structure of the emerging cold war meant that in a divided Germany—which was a crucial distinction—the western parts had no place to go except to the American coalition. The United States poured vast resources into Western Europe. The Marshall Plan amounted to one to two percent of America's gross national product (GNP), and this infusion of money into Germany continued for over four years. Today, the U.S. spends about 0.3 percent of its GNP on

the civilian component of the restoration of Iraq. There was no armed resistance in Germany, and no assassination attempts were made against Americans or people who might have been branded as collaborators. There were no centers of terrorism in neighboring states that could be sucked into a power vacuum in Germany. The Soviet Union and the United States both had an interest in pacifying surrounding areas. Postwar Germany inherited a liberal democratic tradition, which is the most important factor to bear in mind, according to Maier. It possessed parties that had been organizing political life since 1871, many liberal theorists, experience with the rule of law, and vibrant press debate. The United States did not “build a nation” in Germany; it helped Germany get back on a path that its best elements had long espoused and that it had in fact followed for a while.

As for the task of reconstruction, although Iraq is hardly a poor and backward country, it is less developed than Germany was at the time. Although the war damage in Germany was significant, it could be repaired fairly quickly, and Germany returned to its prewar status as one of the major industrial powers of the world. The American military in western Germany also opposed “carpet-bagging.” There was an ethos that Germany was not to be exploited by the United States; a sense of the public weal motivated both Americans and Germans alike. Maier contended that the primary political task in Iraq today is to build a consociational democracy in which longstanding divisions are bridged by effective power-sharing. That was not an issue in Germany, where the large religious communities had learned to coexist already, and the geographical division of the country ameliorated ideological cleavages.

Bellin then laid out eight areas in which these countries' starting points were dissimilar in ways that favored democratic outcomes in Germany and Japan, but disfavor them in Iraq. First, vibrant democracy is strongly correlated with economic development. Germany and Japan were highly industrialized countries, and although World War II devastated much of their physical capital, they



Photo Shannon Rice

Panelists John Dower, Susan Pharr, Charles Maier and Eva Bellin (left to right) shared observations on planned social and political changes in postwar Japan and Germany, as well as Iraq.

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Democratization requires leaders of national stature who can endorse and midwife the process. . . Iraq suffers from a shortage of such leaders.

❖

Forced to be Free...

retained the social and human capital (the skilled workers, managers, and social networks) that are essential to economic development. Iraq has never achieved a comparable level of development. Second, it is very difficult to sustain democracy in a country that is deeply riven by ethnic conflict. In Japan and Germany, there was a consensus about national identity and a degree of social solidarity. That is obviously not true in Iraq, which is divided among Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds.

Third, democracy cannot flourish in a context of chaos. Both Germany and Japan emerged from World War II with effective state institutions available for mobilization by the occupation forces. In contrast, Iraq is sorely lacking in effective, meritocratically organized, rule-bound state institutions. Fourth, the countries that have enjoyed the most success in democratic transitions have had some prior experience of democracy to call upon. Prior to World War II, Japan and Germany enjoyed meaningful experiences with democracy; the same cannot be said of Iraq. A fifth major dissimilarity resides in the psychological states of the occupied nations. In the immediate postwar period, the sense of utter defeat and desperation that pervaded Japan and Germany created a psychological crisis, a critical juncture that broke down old conventions and opened people up to new ideas and new approaches. Iraqis never experienced that same shock of utter defeat and crisis.

Sixth, democratization requires leaders of national stature who can endorse and midwife the process. In Japan, the emperor's association with the democratic project persuaded many conservative Japanese to go along with it, and in Germany, too, there were leaders with national stature (e.g., Adenauer and Schumacher) who embraced the democratic project. Iraq suffers from a shortage of such leaders. A seventh major dissimilarity is in the different levels of commitment on the part of the occupiers to seeing the project through. In Japan and Germany, the United States was in it for the long haul. The Bush administration is intent on handing over sovereignty to Iraq by June 30, after only fourteen months of occupation. Finally, occupation forces enjoyed a relatively free hand in imposing policies on Japan and Germany. Such dictatorial control is absolutely unimaginable today, in part because technological change has created multiple sources of information that make it easy to circumvent the occupier's control.

Bellin did, however, point to several historical lessons that suggest a basis for optimism about democratic outcomes in Iraq. First, presumed anti-democratic cultural sensibilities did not pose an insurmountable barrier in Germany and Japan,

so they should not be regarded as any more determining in the case of Iraq. Second, the imposition of a new political system need not spell its failure. After World War II, the occupation forces were able to corral local interests in support of reforms in order to persuade key leaders to identify with and endorse these reforms. In Iraq, too, political institutions do not have to be of indigenous origin to be acceptable. Third, economic take-off and prosperity do not have to be immediate to ensure public endorsement of political change. In comparison with Japan and Germany, Iraq is *ahead* of schedule: many sectors of its economy have already reached prewar levels, and there is sufficient momentum, which gives hope that things will look better in the future. Finally, previously non-democratic figures can play an important role in successful democratic transitions. No one would have expected the emperor to be the champion of democracy in Japan, but his endorsement helped ensure its success. Bellin concluded that we should not overlook the utility of such figures in Iraq as well. ♦

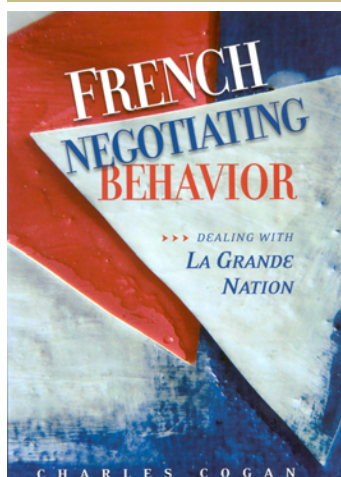
Frank J. Schwartz is the associate director of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. His research interests include domestic Japanese politics, U.S.-Japan relations, interest-group politics, and modern social theory.

*The Japan Nonprofit Organization Research Association (JANPORA) awarded its 2004 Yujiro Hayashi Prize "for outstanding research on the Japanese nonprofit/NGO/voluntary sector" to Frank Schwartz and Susan Pharr for their edited volume *The State of Civil Society* in Japan.*

The Department of Government at Harvard University approved the promotion of Weatherhead Center faculty associate **Andrew Kydd** to the rank of associate professor.

Center Director and Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs **Jorge I. Domínguez** has been appointed by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, William Kirby, to serve as the chairman of the Harvard Academy of International and Area Studies until the end of his term as Weatherhead Center director on June 30, 2006. Domínguez succeeds University Professor Samuel Huntington, who has served as Academy Chairman since 1996.

Former Fellow (2002-03) and visiting scholar (2003) **Ginandjar Kartasasmita** won a senatorial seat on an April 2004 election in Indonesia. He received the highest votes in the province of West Java.

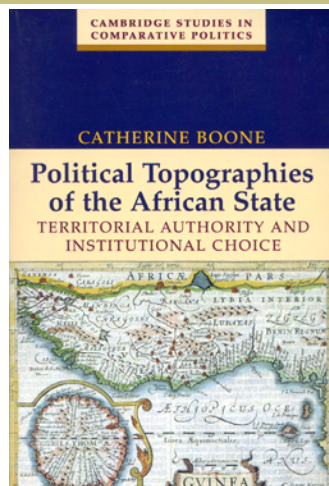


French Negotiating Behavior: Dealing with “la Grande Nation”

by Charles Cogan

Even before it led opposition to the recent war on Iraq, France was considered the most difficult of the United States’ major European allies. But, whether they like it or not, the two nations are going to have to deal with one another for a long time to come. Cogan offers practical suggestions for making negotiations more cooperative and productive—although he also emphasizes the long-term damage inflicted by the crisis over Iraq. Drawing on candid interviews with many of today’s leading players on the French, American, British, and German sides, this engaging volume will inform and stimulate both seasoned practitioners and academics as well as students of France and the negotiating process.

Charles Cogan is a senior research associate at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government and an affiliate of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

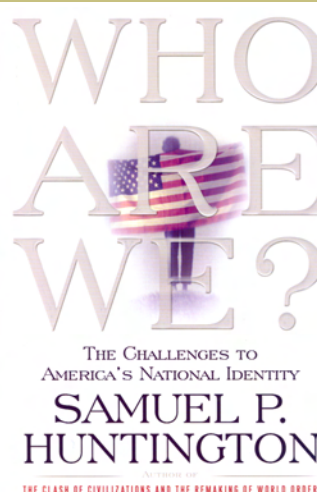


Political Topographies of the African State

by Catherine Boone

Political Topographies shows that central rulers’ power, ambitions, and strategies of control vary across subregions of the national space, even in countries reputed to be highly centralized. Boone argues that this unevenness reflects a state-building logic that is shaped by differences in the political economy of the regions; that is, by relations of property, production, and authority that determine the political clout and economic needs of regional-level elites. Center-provincial bargaining, rather than the unilateral choices of the center, is what drives the politics of national integration and determines how institutions distribute power. Boone’s innovative analysis speaks to scholars and policy makers who want to understand geographic unevenness in the centralization and decentralization of power, in the nature of citizenship and representation, and in patterns of core-periphery integration and breakdown in many of the world’s multiethnic or regionally divided states.

Catherine Boone is associate professor of political science at the University of Texas at Austin, and was a Harvard Academy Scholar (1990-92).



Who Are We? The Challenges to America’s National Identity

by Samuel P. Huntington

In his seminal work *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Samuel Huntington argued provocatively and presciently that with the end of the cold war, “civilizations” were replacing ideologies as the new fault lines in international politics. Now Huntington turns his attention to domestic cultural rifts as he examines the impact other civilizations and their values are having on America, which was founded by British settlers who brought with them a distinct culture including the English language, Protestant values, individualism, religious commitment, and respect for law. The waves of immigrants that later came to the U.S. gradually accepted these values and assimilated into America’s Anglo-Protestant culture. More recently, however, national identity has been eroded by the problems of assimilating massive numbers of primarily Hispanic immigrants, bilingualism, multiculturalism, the devaluation of citizenship, and the “denationalization” of American elites.

Samuel P. Huntington is Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor at Harvard University and chairman of the Harvard Academy of International and Area Studies.

NEW BOOKS

This section presents recent publications by Weatherhead Center affiliates.

PLEASE NOTE THAT IN THE WINTER 2004 CENTERPIECE (18:1) THE INFORMATION FOR CATHERINE BOONE’S BOOK WAS MISLABELED. THE CORRECT INFORMATION IS LISTED HERE. WE APOLOGIZE FOR THE OVERSIGHT.

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Sidney R. Knafel Fellow

*The Weatherhead Center's 2004-05 Sidney R. Knafel Fellow will be **Orly Lobel**, a Harvard University doctoral candidate in law. Lobel's dissertation explores the potential of regulatory innovation in the new political economy, and argues that the legal process is at a critical juncture between the traditional state-centered regulatory model and a new de-centered governance model. The grant is named for Sidney R. Knafel, the chairman of the Center's Visiting Committee from 1991 to 2000.*

Predissertation Grant Recipients

The Weatherhead Center awarded five predissertation grants to Harvard doctoral degree candidates who are in the early to middle stages of dissertation research projects related to international affairs. In most cases the grants will be used during the summer for travel and other research-related expenses.

Fotini Christia, a Ph.D. candidate in Public Policy, will develop a multi-methodological approach to understanding ethnic group alliance formation in times of civil war. She examines the cases of Bosnia, Afghanistan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Pengyu He, a Ph.D. candidate in Sociology, will develop an historical approach to the intellectual property rights of law and economic development.

John Ondrovčík, a Ph.D. candidate in History, will conduct further research for his dissertation, "The Revolutionary Other: Banditry, State Building, and Mobilization in Germany and the Soviet Union, 1918-1923."

Daniel Sargent, a Ph.D. candidate in History, will examine the strategic reconfiguration of U.S. leadership within the Western alliance during the Nixon administration.

Erin Simpson, a Ph.D. candidate in Government, will examine the sources and effects of military strategies in modern civil wars.



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