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Newsletter of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University • Volume 15 • Number 1 • Winter 2001

FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

In writing this column for the first time, I wish to give our readers a sense of the array of Weatherhead Center activities that demonstrate the breadth of our work around the Harvard University community. The Weatherhead family gift in 1998 has been, not surprisingly, an enormous impetus for new initiatives. One of the most satisfying parts of my job as executive director since 1998 has been to encourage and to observe the growth of these new directions.

The Weatherhead Center's most visible scholarly project, the **Weatherhead Initiative**, represents a major effort to support large-scale, pioneering, and innovative research across the faculties at Harvard at an unprecedented level of financial assistance. A major goal of the Weatherhead gift is each year to select a project of great merit that can gain up to \$250,000 of support. Last year, the first Initiative grant was awarded for research on military conflict as a public health problem. Professors Gary King and Christopher Murray lead that project.

A joint effort of the Center, the Harvard Law School, and the John F. Kennedy School of Gov-

ernment is the **Project on Justice in Times of Transition**. It was established to "engage leaders to foster reconciliation, effective governance, and economic progress in countries emerging from conflict or repression." It has recently received nearly \$1 million to intensify its work in Northern Ireland over the next three years. Recent collaborators who have come to Harvard as part of the project include the South African Constitutional Court justice (and former CFIA Fellow) Richard Goldstone, and José Ramos-Horta, the co-winner of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize, for his work towards a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor.

The Center continues to be actively involved with the work of the **European Union Center at Harvard** in cooperation with the Center for European Studies, the Harvard Business School, the Law School, and the Kennedy School, especially by organizing a dynamic seminar series on "Visions for European Governance." Visitors to Harvard this spring as part of the seminar series include: António Vitorino, EU commissioner in charge of justice and home affairs; Gerard Mortier, director of the Salzburg Festival; Patrick Cox, chairman of the Group of the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform parties, and member of the European Par-

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Images courtesy of Pei Cobb Freed & Partners.



The Center for Government and International Studies (CGIS) will be the future home of the Weatherhead Center and will also house Harvard's Department of Government and centers for international study. The project began with a \$2.1 million gift to the University from Sidney R. Knafel ('52), a member of the Center's Visiting Committee from 1991-2000.

PONSACS

A Weatherhead Center research unit
with a long history and a renewed mission

Doug Bond

Doug Bond is an associate director of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Hawaii and is leading the PANDA Project—the development of a systematic framework to assess the strategic utility and dynamics of nonviolent direct action.

In 1988, as part of a project that later came to be known as PANDA (an acronym representing the Protocol for the Assessment of Nonviolent Action), I began to lead an effort to systematically assess the incidence of nonviolent struggle throughout the world. The purpose of this project was to determine under what conditions contemporary nonviolent struggle anywhere in the world had been successful in effecting social, political, or economic change, or in resisting tyranny. To the extent that nonviolent struggle was found, evidence was also sought to determine whether this form of “people power” was spreading.

PANDA research has continued now for more than twelve years at the Weatherhead Center, sponsored by the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions through 1994, and currently by its successor, the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival, or PONSACS. Professor David Maybury-Lewis directs the program, and professors Michael Herzfeld, Gary King, and Lisa Martin constitute its faculty consultative committee. Financial support for the program’s research is currently provided by the Center of Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance, and Tripler Army Medical Center, Hawaii.

Several lessons became clear to our research team as we began to assess global news reports of nonviolent struggle. First, nonviolent direct action, no less than violent direct action, was reported in abundance, even by mainstream news media. Second, nonviolent direct action, like its violent counterpart, was variable in its outcomes, with the strategic performance of protagonists, as opposed to structural asymmetry, playing a pivotal role. And third, the tradition of human or hand coding of voluminous electronic news reports posed technical as well as conceptual research challenges.

It is especially significant that the PANDA project’s systematic analyses of nonviolent struggle started well before the largely nonviolent revolutions that spread throughout Eastern Europe beginning in 1989. Indeed, the PANDA project built upon the early, pioneering work of Dr. Gene Sharp, a Center Associate from the late 1960s through the

early 1990s. For some thirty years Dr. Sharp has argued against viewing nonviolent struggle simply as a means of last resort used only by oppressed groups with little left to lose. Recent history certainly supports his longstanding proposition that nonviolent direct action can be wielded with considerable success. Especially since 1989, many have followed Sharp’s admonition to seek better understandings and further the development of the strategic use of nonviolent action to meet the challenges of tyranny, oppression, and genocide in this post-cold war world.

Over the years PANDA project members have developed new conceptual tools to advance our research. A decade ago we developed the PANDA protocol with its data lens sensitive to the contentious and coercive, but not yet violent struggle, in an effort to generate early warnings on likely escalation into violence. About three years ago project members joined with scholars at Ohio State University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and a commercial software development company, Virtual Research Associates, to develop a conceptual framework for Integrated Data for Events Analysis, or IDEA. The IDEA framework has largely superseded the PANDA protocol, though the core premises about contentiousness and coerciveness from the PANDA effort remain central. Also, the IDEA framework was designed explicitly to support the automated coding of text, such as electronic global news reports.

The automated, real-time parsing of large volumes of event reports makes it possible to “see the forest through the trees.” While each record in the event data matrix constitutes an individual event report, the overall contour of a conflict or struggle, as embodied in the accumulation of numerous event reports over many years, is too often lost without the capability to systematically identify, track, and manipulate this information. The event data matrices produced through automated coding offer a comprehensive set of events data in real-time, yet cast in their unique historical contexts. Still, the contours of the proverbial forest reveal little about individual trees; and indeed, the event

matrices generated by the automated coding procedure are considered *input* for the analyst rather than output. By displaying these event matrices in tables, graphs, and maps, the analyst can quickly apprehend the totality of events in an ongoing situation. As inflections become apparent, as peaks and troughs appear, the analyst can simply “drill” down from the trace on the graph or map to review the reports that generated the anomalous data point in question. The system is thus designed to illuminate trends in real-time and to help analysts gain an “understanding at a glance” of conflict-escalation processes.

In addition to developing better tools for events-data visualization, statistical analyses are being conducted on these data at Harvard and elsewhere. The Program on Human Security—an interdisciplinary research initiative supported by the U.S. National Science Foundation, the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences at Harvard University, in collaboration with the Global Programme on Evidence for Health Policy at the World Health Organization—is working with PONSACS to develop better measures, data-collection efforts, risk assessment, prevention, and amelioration studies.

About three years ago, and given its decade of experience with automated extraction of information from large volumes of news feed, UNICEF asked PONSACS to help sort through its security-incident reports to establish baselines and thresholds in an effort to ensure the security of its personnel and operations. UNICEF sought this information to provide better guidance in the face of increasing threats to its representatives in field offices, as the 1990s have seen a tremendous rise in the incidence of attacks on humanitarian aid workers.

The PONSACS team, in conjunction with Virtual Research Associates, who developed the software, responded to the UNICEF request by designing and incorporating a new Web-based field reporting module into the automated events data parsing, analysis, and visualization software used with the IDEA/PANDA protocol. Since November 2000, the system has been deployed in Colombia and Haiti, where it is undergoing field tests to determine its utility in a field-office environment. In February, the PONSACS team conducted the first formal evaluation of the entire system, at which time the actual users were brought in to solicit their views on the utility and usability of this approach.

Given this capability for automated monitoring of an ongoing situation from both global news

feeds and field situation reports alike, custom data sets now can be generated at will. These custom data sets are dynamic in that they can be modified again and again on demand, with any number of variations in the coding rules or term definitions, and across a wide range of substantive domains. These data sets are specifically tailored to each user’s focus of concern and can readily incorporate revisions as needed. Since the IDEA protocol is one hundred percent transparent and consistently applied (and will remain in the public domain), any analyst can revise it and then conduct further tests on the same input to quickly determine the effects of any adjustments.

Building upon this capacity for real-time, interactive refinement of dynamic-event data sets, anthropologists and area specialists at PONSACS further assess the results. Analysts working on the PANDA project work closely with these area experts in the program and elsewhere. At the program, area expertise is currently focused on Latin America. The ongoing research of PONSACS includes the development of strategies for transforming situations of asymmetric power relations between indigenous peoples and multi-national corporate actors. With this kind of sophisticated approach to identifying, tracking, and analyzing the threats posed by violence, the PONSACS PANDA project is well positioned to meet humanitarian aid worker-security challenges of the post-cold war era.



Weatherhead Center Fellow Werner Daum converses with a Harvard undergraduate who stopped by to meet faculty and affiliates at the Center’s undergraduate open house last fall.



Gus Freedman.

Weatherhead Center Fellows: Who's Where

Desmond Bowen (1997-98) directs the private office of NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson. **Sir Andrew Burns** (1982-83) is British high commissioner to Canada. **Nicola Clase** (1999-00) is chief foreign policy advisor to the head of the Swedish Conservative Party. **Charles Crawford** (1998-99) is the British ambassador to Yugoslavia. **Brig. Gen. Duane Deal** (1994-95) is commander of the U.S. Air Force Recruiting Service. **Zéphirin Diabré** (1997-98) is associate administrator of the United Nations Development Programme. **Shin Ebihara** (2000-01) is director-general of the Treaties Bureau of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. **Stewart Eldon** (1993-94) is deputy permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations. **Juan Enriquez Cabot** (1996-97) has written *El Reto de México: Tecnología y Fronteras en el Siglo XXI, Una Propuesta Radical*, published by Planeta. **Fabio Fabbri** (1982-83) is minister plenipotentiary and deputy permanent representative of Italy to the European Union. **Jorge Gallardo** (1998-99) has recently been named finance minister of Ecuador. **Ali Khalif Galaid** (1982-83) was named prime minister of Somalia in October 2000. **Lt. Gen. Paul Hester** (1992-93) is commander of both U.S. Forces Japan and the 5th Air Force. Two books by **John Horgan** (1987-88) have been released over the past year: *Noel Browne: Passionate Outsider*, published in Dublin by Gill and Macmillan, and *Irish Media: A Critical History from 1922 to the Present*, published in London by Routledge. **Jaakko Laajava** (1985-86) is the Finnish ambassador to the United States. **K. Sarwar Lateef** (1974-75) is senior advisor in the World Bank office in Jakarta. **Marc Lortie** (1997-98) is personal representative of the prime minister of Canada to the Summit of the Americas 2001, and **Patricia Lortie** (1997-98) is director general of the International Organizations Bureau at Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. **Milinda Moragoda** (1994-95) was elected as a member of the Sri Lankan parliament in October 2000. **Captain Juan Carlos Muñoz-Delgado** (1993-94) has recently served as captain of the Spanish tall ship Juan Sebastián de Elcano. **Michel Petite** (1997-98) is *chef de cabinet* of European Commissioner Romano Prodi. **Mario Pini** (1993-94) is the Italian ambassador to Bangladesh. **Alok Prasad** (1995-96) is the minister and deputy chief of mission in the Indian Embassy to the United States. **Luis Fernando Ramírez** (1996-97) is the Colombian minister of defense. **Marta Lucía Ramírez** (1996-97) is the Colombian minister of trade. **Martin Schneller** (1993-94) is the German ambassador to Jordan. Former president **Nicéphore Soglo** has been a candidate for the presidency of Benin during the country's March 2001 elections. **A.N. Tiwari** (1993-94) is secretary to the Indian vice-president. **Geir Westgaard** (1997-98) is vice president for country analysis and social responsibility for Statoil. **Col. Stephen Wolborsky** (1999-00) is the commander, 2nd operations group, at Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana. **Shotaro Yachi** (1987-88) was recently named deputy vice-minister for foreign policy in the Foreign Policy Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

We note, with sadness, the death of **Lt. Gen. Robert L. Schweitzer** of the United States Army on September 16, 2000. General Schweitzer was a Fellow in 1972-73.

From the Executive Director...

liament; Mario Monti, EU commissioner in charge of competition policy; and David O'Sullivan, secretary general of the European Commission. In addition, under the auspices of the Straus Professorship, which is co-sponsored by the Center and the Kennedy School, over the next year Professor Christian Tuschhoff will be teaching courses on the European Union.

The Center continues to cooperate closely with the **David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies**. As a result of one recent collaboration, the new president of Mexico, Vicente Fox, is expected to deliver the Manshel Lecture under the auspices of the Weatherhead Center in the coming months.

The Weatherhead Center is one of the three principal sponsors for the **Harvard Law School Student Forum on U.S. Foreign Policy**, which has the active support of Provost Harvey Fineberg. The Center ran the interactive Web

site for this conference, and the Center's Olin Institute for Strategic Studies has organized major panels for the meetings. The Center continues to work closely with faculty at the Divinity School's **Center for Public Values** on questions relating to religion and conflict.

The Center's **Graduate Student Associates Program** has always been an integral part of the Weatherhead Center community. Over the past two years we have diversified the areas of graduate students' disciplinary focus by bringing in students from previously under-represented fields such as anthropology and history to complement the traditional areas of political economy and government. This effort—and others like it—not only reflect the mandate of the Weatherhead Foundation but also follow the direction that the President and Provost of Harvard have brought to the University for the last five years.

Before closing, I wish to mention two noteworthy developments for our faculty. First, we have just appointed our 100th Faculty Associate to the Weatherhead Center. She is Jendayi Frazer from the Kennedy School of Government, and she is an expert on Africa, especially on issues of security and civil war. We are delighted to have our 100th Associate, but that leads me to the second note. Jendayi Frazer and Richard Falkenrath, also a junior faculty member associated with the Weatherhead Center, have taken leaves of absence to join the Bush Administration, both to work with the National Security Council. We wish them well, and we look forward to their eventual return to Harvard.

Jim Cooney, Executive Director

The OZONE and Ownership Project

Rasmus Rasmusson

During the fall, I served as team leader to seven research assistants for the purpose of providing recommendations on how the efforts of developing countries can be strengthened in their phasing out of ozone-damaging substances (ODS). Sponsors of the project include the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), and the World Bank.

The study's primary targets of analysis are the so-called "Article 5 countries" of the Montreal



Protocol that are eligible for assistance from the Multilateral Fund. This fund was established for the purposes of providing financial and technical cooperation, including the transfer of technologies, to the Article 5 countries to enable their compliance with the control measures of the Protocol.

The team designed and distributed a questionnaire to assess the progress not only of 118 National Ozone Units (NOUs) in the developing world but also another 27 to countries in economic transition. (We are carrying out a separate study on the policies and attitudes of two major European Union partners as well.) The researchers have analyzed the countries' responses in terms of "ownership" and "success" in the phasing-out process. The team pursued six in-depth country studies involving, among others, India and Brazil. A companion study is assessing practical attempts at integrating ozone and climate concerns.

The team is making special efforts to understand the opportunities and constraints relating to implementing an environmental convention at the developing-country level. I presented the team's preliminary findings to the 32nd meeting of the Executive Committee of the Multilateral Fund of the Montreal Protocol in Burkina Faso, and at the Bank's Washington headquarters in December.

The research project terminated at the end of February 2001. Attempting to combine sound research standards with the need for expedient advice in a process of restructuring the policies and operations of decision-makers in the implementation of the Montreal Protocol, the team hopes to contribute to the successful completion of the phase-out of ozone-damaging substances.

"A Country-Driven Approach to ODS Phase-out in Article 5 Countries" tentatively lays out nine fundamental principles to help guide the Executive Committee, the Fund Secretariat, the UN implementing agencies, and particularly the Article 5 countries and their National Ozone Units, namely:

1. NOUs must be free to choose the best approaches and implementation for their situation;
2. Choice and flexibility in funding assistance would increase NOU effectiveness;
3. Domestic networking is a condition for correct assessment and efficient implementation. It needs adequate NOU resources;
4. Regional network meetings are useful for exchange of information and experiences;
5. Non-investment funding should be increased;
6. Country program drafting should coincide with institutional strengthening efforts;
7. Country and UN implementing agency responses to the Montreal and Kyoto Protocols should be integrated because of their interconnectedness;
8. Inflexible allocation of shares between UN implementing agencies reduces funding effectiveness;
9. Reward structures should be improved to attract and retain talented and committed NOU staff.

Further recommendations, conclusions, and observations will emerge from continued analysis of the data. For more information on the team's research and findings, please contact <rasmus.rasmusson@foreign.ministry.se>.

Ambassador Rasmus Rasmusson of the Swedish Foreign Ministry was a research associate of the Weatherhead Center in fall 2000.

SCUSA

West Point's Student Conference on United States Affairs



In 1996-1997, Colonel Russell D. Howard was a Fellow of the Center for International Affairs. During his program, he became preoccupied with an absence of contact—and a lack of mutual understanding—between students of Harvard College and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. As a result, he made a special point that year to involve Harvard undergraduates in SCUSA, the Military Academy's annual Student Conference on United States Affairs. After leaving Harvard, and in the midst of carrying out doctoral studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Col. Howard became deputy head and then head of the Social Sciences Department of the U.S. Military Academy. He also became director of SCUSA.

With Colonel Howard's leadership, the Harvard-SCUSA connection has continued and thrived. In November, the Weatherhead Center and the Harvard College Dean's Office sponsored a fifth group of Harvard College students to attend the 52nd student conference. The conference was entitled "U.S. Leadership into the New Century: Defining the Puzzle." This theme sparked lively roundtable discussions over three days among 200 students from inside and outside the United States about American foreign policy issues in the disciplines of international relations, economics, political science, and related social science fields.

The five students attending under Harvard sponsorship found the experience worthwhile in myriad ways. Here, they share some of their experiences in the roundtables as well as their impressions of life at the U.S. Military Academy.

Sarah Wood, a senior social studies concentrator who participated in the roundtable on Sub-Saharan Africa:

"SCUSA was a fantastic experience, mostly because of the roundtable format and immersion into the process of policymaking... The benefit of the experience was in working closely with a group of people to produce a specific product (a 1,000-word policy memo and a five-minute summary presentation) in a short amount of time. The pressure and need to collaborate and work via consen-

sus were the most challenging components and definitely simulated real policymaking.

"My interaction with cadets dispelled many of the misconceptions I held about the type of people who are attracted to serve in our armed forces and the type of training they receive at West Point. Whereas I approached West Point thinking that cadets would be very conformist or conservative about the role that the military should play in international affairs, I met cadets who were from diverse backgrounds and a range of political positions, which was exciting. Since my academic interests have converged mainly around development rather than security issues, it was good to learn more about how our armed services are structured and how the men and women who will be executing policy on the ground in peacekeeping operations, humanitarian interventions, and combat, feel. It was also good for me to speak to so many students who felt differently about what U.S. foreign policy priorities should be; it forced me to both rethink and defend my views."

Jovana Vujovic is a junior government concentrator from Serbia. She participated in the Eastern and Central European roundtable:

"Intellectually, the conference was very stimulating. My group was probably the most international of all groups. Almost half of our fifteen delegates were foreigners. Also, a third of our delegates were comprised of West Point cadets. It was wonderful, for I got to hear opinions of citizens of countries such as the Netherlands, Austria, Great Britain, Romania, Croatia, and Canada, as well as opinions of men and women who will assume leadership positions within the Army upon graduating from West Point.

"One of the most important aspects of the conference for me personally was the fact that there were two Croatian delegates in my discussion group. One of them is at West Point on a student exchange and is going to assume a relatively high position within the Croatian military upon her graduation. The other is studying at a small college in New York and is going to work at the Croatian Parliament in Zagreb after she graduates this June. The two of them, on one side, and I on the other, were all wary of our interaction at first. We all feared that 'the other side' was going to have extremist, nationalist views about the Yugoslav civil war. But once we all realized that such suspicions were completely unfounded, we managed to become good friends. While having conversations with these women, I realized that our views regarding the past, as well as our goals for the future of our respective countries, were indeed quite similar. Needless to say, this



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gives me great hope for the future relations of our two countries.

“During the roundtable discussions, I felt that my presence was significant in the sense that I was the only representative from Serbia, the country that was most frequently mentioned as the main source of trouble in the region. So, I was to represent the interests and views of my country, but because those views were so radically moderate and even liberal compared to the views espoused by the regime the West is so used to dealing with—the Milosevic regime—I think that many delegates felt encouraged and reassured by realizing first hand that there are voices from Serbia who preach multiculturalism and tolerance.

“The experience rekindled my desire to go to Belgrade this summer and work for the government. It provided me with optimism for the future of the Balkan region. And it allowed me to make life-long friendships.”

Erica Westenberg, a junior government concentrator, was on the Democratization roundtable:

“It is difficult to arrive at West Point without at least a few preconceived notions. Although I tried to keep a very open mind about the Academy, I found that I had several misconceptions about what military life was like for the cadets. I was pleasantly surprised at the amount of emphasis placed on the academic as well as the military aspects of the cadets’ training. In general, I was very impressed with the intellectual curiosity and education of the cadets with whom I worked. Of course there were also many aspects of West Point life that fit and exceeded the stereotypical notions of a military academy. It was amazing to see firsthand this level of discipline, physical exertion, and ceremony. I gained a renewed respect for the academic and physical endeavors that the cadets undertake during their college years.

“The issue that my roundtable focused on was democratization. I was most surprised by the large number of people who held strong cultural-relativism ideologies. My guess was that most students, myself included, were appropriately attuned to the importance of cultural distinctions and norms in the development process. However, many students had what I consider to be extreme views on cultural relativism. A large contingent on the roundtable did not support U.S. foreign policy that promoted democracy. It was a very positive experience to dialogue with students who held these more extreme views. Not only did our discussion help me to better understand the thinking behind why we should not promote democratization, but it also helped me to solidify my own views

on the importance of why we *should* promote democratic values.

“Each group has to culminate the conference by writing a policy paper. You can imagine how difficult this became for our group, with some people saying we should help countries to democratize and others flatly rejecting this idea. I learned a great deal about how ideas are melded, tempers are placated, and consensus is built.”

Albert Hyunbae Cho, a junior social studies concentrator, participated on the Global Economics and Trade roundtable:

“Our roundtable was full of interesting people, and we talked about everything from relations with the IMF to the UN Global Compact to the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) of the World Trade Organization.

“Being at West Point was a great experience. Coming from a fairly anti-military community, I had some pretty negative preconceptions about what West Point would be like. At first I was terrified to be there, but I quickly grew comfortable, particularly after talking to a lot of the cadets... I am really happy that I got a chance to have my assumptions about the military challenged and to get a more sophisticated understanding of the military’s role in modern life.”

Hilary Levey, a junior sociology concentrator, participated on the Domestic Sources of Influence on Foreign Policy roundtable.

“The conference did an excellent job of simulating a real diplomatic experience. I really felt fortunate to be given an “inside” view of cadet life; this is something that most civilians, including parents of cadets, never get to witness. It was a privilege to get to know those who are serving our country and to come to a deeper understanding of what it means to be in the military.”



The Center named its 100th faculty associate in December 2000. Jendayi E. Frazer is an assistant professor of public policy at the Kennedy School of Government. She specializes in international security and political development in Africa.



Richard A. Chase





Graduate Student Program News

The graduate student associates (GSAs) of the Weatherhead Center are a group of nineteen Harvard doctoral candidates completing advanced degrees in international affairs. The Center provides a supportive and stimulating environment in which these promising graduate students can interact with one another, as well as with faculty and affiliates of the Center, as they complete their dissertations.

From time to time, GSAs also become involved in or initiate projects that are independent from their dissertations but are nevertheless closely related to their research.

Bret Gustafson, Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology

As I finish my dissertation on ethnic mobilization, bilingual education, and international development aid in Bolivia, I have begun collaborating on a multi-country project with the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival (PONSACS) at the Weatherhead Center. Coordinated by Program Director David Maybury-Lewis and Associate Director Ted Macdonald, this PONSACS project is facilitating and studying inter-sectoral communication between indigenous organizations, government agencies, and state and multinational oil industries. These individuals and organizations are all (often in oppositional positions) engaged in oil and gas development projects in the Upper Amazon basin of South America. Recent political flare-ups around oil and gas politics and practices, the potential spread of related violence, and the centrality of hydrocarbons and indigenous issues in the transnational arena makes this a fascinating and unique area of research and active involvement for anthropology.

This eighteen-month project of focus group, collaborative research, teaching, and inter-sectoral dialogue events in five different countries constitutes a unique kind of communicative space while preparing participants for dialogue and debate in the oil sector. This takes us between settings as diverse as Colombia and Venezuela, where state dependencies on oil merge with increasingly mili-

tarized politics, to Bolivia and Ecuador, where oil and gas spark local conflicts, regime stability is tenuous, and strong indigenous movements demand democratization. Peru's recent upheavals provide another set of changing political conditions with both uncertainty and possibility, accompanying national fatigue with authoritarianism. As research, our work requires compiling, comparing, and discussing data about oil development, political culture, and resource conflicts in national and international arenas. In ethnographic terms, we want to understand intersections between political conditions and diverse cultural idioms in which communicative openings do and do not flourish. As engaged practice—neither applied intervention nor theory as policy prescription—our work uses anthropological perspectives to facilitate a space for talk between actors often dramatically opposed in terms of cultural viewpoints, material interests, idioms of knowledge, and access to power.

The Weatherhead Center has provided excellent resources, support, and the inter-disciplinary intellectual atmosphere required for this unique kind of engaged research—moving anthropology into new kinds of field-sites and cultural settings emergent between international, national, and local regimes, institutions, and stakeholders.

Gabriel Aguilera, Ph.D. candidate in Government

Policymakers and economists agree that banking reforms rank among the most important institutional reforms needed in emerging markets in today's world of mobile capital. My dissertation attempts to explain how political and economic factors shape divergent patterns of prudential banking regulation implementation that we see in Latin America in the aftermath of financial crises that buffeted the region during the 1990s. Last spring my colleague James Fowler and I agreed to bring together Department of Government graduate students working on economic policy reform in Latin America. Our aim was to identify and invite colleagues, from Harvard and elsewhere, to present their work in progress and receive feedback from

Harvard's Department of Government faculty. Harvard's David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies generously agreed to fund our proposal for a conference entitled "The Political Economy of Reform in Latin America."

James and I were motivated to propose the conference by the fact that there has been little rigorous political science research that seeks to help explain patterns of economic policy reform in contemporary Latin America. This is surprising because observers agree that politics looms large for our understanding of the policy outcomes that we see. The November conference brought together eight graduate students from Harvard, Yale, Northwestern University, Duke, and Columbia, who presented papers on reform topics including, among others, banking, privatization, and sub-national debt. We received constructive feedback from Government and Weatherhead Center faculty, who graciously agreed to comment on our ongoing research. The conference also enabled us to meet and share work with future colleagues working on similar research agendas.

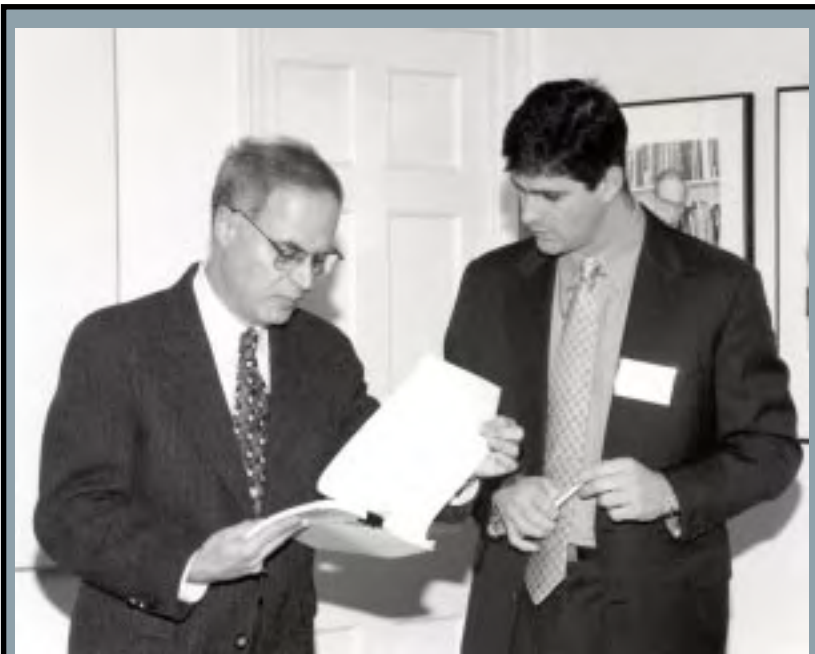
In sum, the conference was very productive, and James and I agree that we are extremely fortunate to have funding opportunities for research-related projects such as our conference, as well as for field research.

Durgham Mara'ee, S.J.D. candidate, Law School

During the past year I have worked as legal and policy consultant to the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace negotiations, including the talks at the Camp David Summit in July 2000. I worked closely with senior Palestinian negotiators and officials. I advised the Palestinian delegation to the final status negotiations on legal and policy issues related to a variety of subjects, including Palestinian refugees, the status of Jerusalem, economic relations, Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and bilateral Israeli-Palestinian relations.

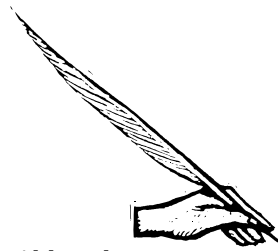
In my capacity as legal and policy advisor, I drafted position papers, treaty language, negotiation briefs, and talking points for the delegation. I also participated in the face-to-face negotiations in Camp David, Washington, D.C., Cairo, Tel-Aviv, and Ramallah.

In addition to the aforementioned rounds of negotiations, I took part in the Israeli-Palestinian Ad-hoc Economic Committee's talks on purchase tax, restructuring of Palestinian debt to Israeli companies, and combating car theft. I also participated in the discussions of the Egyptian-Jordanian-Israeli-Palestinian Quadripartite Committee dealing with the status of persons displaced from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a result of the 1967 war.



Jorge I. Domínguez, Center Director and Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, and Chappell Lawson, assistant professor of political science at MIT, confer during a break at the December 2000 conference, "Mexico's National Election."

Martha Stewart



Faculty Profile

Although it requires more than good luck to become a professor of government at Harvard University, Andrew Moravcsik reflects on his accomplishment by referring to Lester Thurow's theory of professional success: "In most professions you need to meet a threshold of ability and training, often a high one, to be part of a sort of lottery. After that, however, I believe that much depends on coincidental connections, encountering topics that turn out to be fruitful, working hard...and being the right person for the right department at the right time."

A faculty associate of the Weatherhead Center, as well as the Center for European Studies (CES) and the Kennedy School's Carr Center for Human Rights, Moravcsik is a specialist in international organization with interests in European Union politics, human rights policy, history, and political economy. A glance around his CES office reveals the range of Moravcsik's interests: journals and books on Latin America, international relations theory, and European integration line the floor-to-ceiling shelves—all within reach of the 6-foot-6-inch professor. Despite these many scholarly interests, it isn't difficult to determine what also matters deeply to Moravcsik. Nestled in the heart of his shelves are photos of his sons—Edward, 4, and Alexander, 2—and several photos of his wife and Harvard colleague, Anne-Marie Slaughter, hang at eye level. A CD-player, often emitting opera, rests near the computer.

Moravcsik attributes the development of his academic interests and some of his hobbies, at least in part, to his family background. His mother is of "Basque/Dutch/German/English/Scottish" origin. Growing up in Eugene, Oregon, in the late 1960s and early 1970s—where his father was a professor of physics at the university—Moravcsik recalls there was "an entire counter-culture, and my mom would hear about secret Grateful Dead concerts out by Ken Kesey's farm and out we would go." Still, "the dominant cultural influence in my life was my father, who was a Hungarian immigrant from Budapest." Moravcsik's father, adhering to many European traditions, introduced the family to intellectual life, art, and opera, often driving hundreds of miles to experience the cultural offerings of Portland or Seattle: "My father

spent much of his youth in the balcony of the Budapest opera." Music played a significant role for his parents, who met at Cornell University where they both sang in the chorus. "My father was 6 feet 7½ inches," and he would stand in front of my mom and sway back and forth as he sang, so she had to learn to sway in the opposite direction."

Moravcsik's intellectual journey began at Stanford University where he began, like his father, studying physics. As he made his way through the required physics classes, he enrolled in a team-taught Modern European History sequence. So, inspired by the course sequence, Moravcsik promptly switched his major to history, and on a junior semester in Berlin deepened a passion for Europe. After graduation in 1980—following his empirical, inductive instincts—he went to work for a law firm in San Francisco and "hated it." "Through a complete fluke," however, he went to work teaching English in South Korea and within months of his arrival was working for the deputy prime minister of Korea writing speeches and editing an economic bulletin. From there Moravcsik returned to Germany, this time on a Fulbright scholarship.

In 1982 he enrolled in the master's program at the School for Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C., where he was editor-in-chief of the foreign policy journal *SAIS Review* and also worked as a trade negotiator for the U.S. Department of Commerce, traveling back and forth to Brussels. In time, Washington failed to hold his interest because the culture "didn't give you the chance to reflect. The trick in Washington is to stay ten minutes ahead of your times. I got bored." Seeking a more reflective atmosphere, Moravcsik made his way to Harvard in 1984 to pursue a Ph.D. in political science.

At Harvard, Moravcsik discovered for a second time how an academic focus can shift. At the outset he spent considerable time at MIT and the Kennedy School of Government and proposed a dissertation topic on high-technology cooperation in Europe. While conducting research in London and Paris in 1989, through another "total fluke," he won a three-week grant from the European Community Visitors Program. At the time, Moravcsik had only a vague interest in European integration and admits that he was most attracted by the generous accompanying stipend. After touring EU institutions and visiting three member-states, he grew fascinated by the subject of European integration. "It was so much more interesting than my dissertation topic that I immediately sat down and wrote an article, which was published in *International Organization*."

Andrew Moravcsik



Upon returning to the U.S. in 1999, Moravcsik realized that he really was more interested in European integration than his original topic. He set to work on establishing himself as an EU specialist: he went on the job market and accepted a junior faculty position at Harvard, but there was still the unfinished business of his dissertation. Moravcsik negotiated a year to finish the thesis and consulted with his dissertation advisor, Bob Keohane, to whom he announced, "I want to sit and write a dissertation in a year on the EU." Keohane urged him to complete his proposed topic, but Moravcsik was unconvinced and in just a year wrote his dissertation on "National Preference Formation and Interstate Bargaining in the European Community, 1957-1988," which earned the William Sumner Dissertation Prize and eventually became the "bold and ambitious in scope" tenure-making book, *The Choice for Europe*.²

During the furious writing of his "new" dissertation, Moravcsik's grandmother called his attention to a coincidence in their family's history. In 1930, his great-uncle and namesake, Andreas Fleissig, had published a book in German called *Plan-Europa*. The premise of the book was remarkably similar to Moravcsik's own: European integration is not about high ideals and great political entrepreneurs or geopolitical challenges but rather about "hardcore functional economic interests." Moravcsik sees this mostly as a coincidence but perhaps also a consequence of his European heritage: "It's not surprising that someone in my family would be interested in the subject."

A self-professed "relative newcomer" to human rights policy, Moravcsik is now conducting research primarily on the emergence, evolution and enforcement of international human rights norms. Among the many origins of his interest in the topic, one important one was a call he received from the Inter-American Dialogue, a think-tank that works closely with the Organization of American States. At the suggestion of Professor Jorge Domínguez, the Dialogue wanted him to write about what the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights could learn from the European Convention on Human Rights. "At the time I knew nothing about human rights, nothing about the European Convention on Human Rights, and *had never heard of* the American Convention on Human Rights, but it was a perfect social scientific comparison that intrigued me intellectually." Now, however, he is applying some theories drawn from American politics and international relations to the formation of a series of international human rights regimes.

As the director of the Center for European Union Studies—a consortium of the CES, Weatherhead Center, Kennedy School, the Business School and the Law School—Moravcsik has entered the realm of administration. The Center is designed to coordinate EU activities through interfaculty projects, and Moravcsik credits the University's central administration for encouraging this inter-disciplinary approach. "Harvard is one of those places where the combination of theoretical interests and regional and historical expertise is appreciated as much as it should be."

His teaching portfolio at Harvard includes introductory undergraduate courses, specialized graduate courses, and thesis workshops. "I like that mix," he says. "One helps keep me broad, and the other keeps me focused on research and the profession." It is often undergraduate teaching, he says, that "gets me back in touch with the larger, substantive questions." Moravcsik particularly enjoys team-teaching the Core course "International Conflict and Cooperation in the Modern World" (Historical Studies A-12) with Stephen Rosen or Stanley Hoffmann.

Moravcsik and Slaughter, as professionals, spouses, and parents, appreciate the flexibility of the academic calendar. While they consider themselves very fortunate to have two jobs at a top university, they acknowledge the challenges of any two-career-with-children marriage. Now that they have children, he says, "I just don't see how two professional people remain productive at the top of demanding fields while raising kids." Still, the family is able to spend every June in Italy, south of Florence, where the EU has a university. One of their favorite outlets is opera, and every summer they attend festivals in Europe and the U.S.—most often the Glimmerglass Festival in Cooperstown, New York, where a convergence of baseball and opera proves to be a cultural exploration all its own. Moravcsik speaks German and French, reads Spanish, and can "fake" Italian. "Most of my Italian comes from the opera," he jokes, "so 'Watch out for the Grand Inquisitor!' and 'Before him all Rome trembles!' are among my more fluent and useful phrases." Keeping in tune with his intellectual journey, Moravcsik comments that, "perhaps someday I'd like to write about the history of opera." Almost certainly he will.

~ Amanda Pearson

1 "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community" *International Organization* (Winter 1991).

2 *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, and London: Routledge, 1998).

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