



Centerpiece

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Newsletter of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University • Volume 18 • Number 1 • Winter 2004

FROM THE DIRECTOR

In the fall of 2003, the Weatherhead Foundation Board authorized a new \$3 million endowment grant pledge to enable Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs to support the research of its faculty associates more effectively. The Foundation's splendid generosity during the past seven years has transformed this Center's capacity to support research on key issues and problems in the world.

The initial Weatherhead endowment grant was established in 1997 to create a significant basis of support for the Center's activities. That grant funded large-scale, interdisciplinary Weatherhead Initiative programs, faculty research semesters, and a wide menu of annual conferences and recurring seminars. It also provided a wide array of support for graduate and undergraduate student research and substantial backing for the Center's Fellows Program and the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. In fall 2002, a second substantial endowment gift provided further funding for the Harvard Academy and the Center's graduate and undergraduate student research programs. The founding pledge has been fulfilled. Funds continue to arrive ahead of the schedule for the endowment gift for student programs and the Academy. Why, then, this new grant?

As previously reported,¹ during 2002-2003 the Center created five task forces to re-examine its programs comprehensively. As a result, the Center's executive committee adopted some new policies and modified others. The executive committee authorized faculty associates to apply for either a research semester leave—as has been possible for several years—or \$80,000 to support a significant research endeavor. In addition, professors may apply for either a conference or \$20,000 to support a more modest-scale research endeavor.

Professors Ed Diener, Lisa Berkman, and Sir Michael Marmot (left to right) exchange views during the November 2003 "Workshop on Well-Being and Social Capital" chaired by Professor Robert Putnam and John Helliwell.



Photo: Martha Stewart

Concern soon arose, however, especially among junior faculty, that there would be fewer funds available to support research semester leaves. Others worried that the collegial life of the Center—conferences and seminars—might weaken. In each case, the reason for the concern was that the new programs competed for money against the old; the amount of funding available had remained unchanged. Moreover, the worldwide recession that greeted the start of the current decade at long last had an impact on the Center. In fiscal year 2003-2004, the Center's income from the Weatherhead endowment dropped for the first time ever. Some sources of support for student programs fell as well. In addition, the University's central administration and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) made various decisions that significantly increased the FAS tax on all Centers and the payments to be made for personnel fringe benefits. Fortunately, the original executive committee decision that had authorized new programs also delayed the start of the new faculty associate research support program until FY 2004-2005 and limited eligibility for the \$80,000 research grants to those who were willing to forego applying for research-semester support for seven years. More

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1. "From the Director," Centerpiece 17:3 (Fall 2003): 1-2.

From the Director ...

over, anticipating that there might be times of budgetary austerity, over the past several years the Weatherhead Center had built up a modest reserve fund that we have been using during the current academic year. In budgeting for 2003-2004, we have drawn on these Center reserves, and specifically used them to level-fund student research programs.

We are confident, however, about the Weatherhead Center's financial future. We have managed the Center's budget prudently. The existence of the Center's reserve is one illustration of such medium-range budget planning. We also expect income from our core Weatherhead endowment to increase again, and the income from the second endowment gift should soon start to flow to enable the Center to launch the new student research programs that the Weatherhead Foundation's generosity has made possible. We hope to restore and expand other sources of endowment and current-use support for Center operations, especially student programs, though in this regard we can only promise effort, not yet results.

The missing piece in this management of the Center's resources, however, remained insufficient faculty associate research support. We want to facilitate access to the new forms of support while sustaining our previous conference and research semester commitments, allowing us to support the generation of knowledge at a faster pace. We want to decrease the barrier to eligibility for our larger grants, and not have to ask professors to be in touch with us only once every seven years. We also want to enhance the Center's capacity to disseminate the results of its research.

The Weatherhead Foundation's marvelous new endowment grant will allow the Weatherhead Center to support faculty associate research under the original as well as the new and wider menu of grant options that the Center's executive committee has authorized. The income from the new endowment grant will go just for faculty research, but will otherwise remain unallocated. The Center Director will decide each year how to allocate the income from this new fund to support faculty research (including the possible appointment of distinguished visiting scholars) and research dissemination. Because of the new, more generous FAS policy for leaves for senior professors, however, no part of the income from the new grant will support research semester leaves beyond what the original Weatherhead endowment grant funded. Thus, the new income will be focused on research projects—precisely the new endeavors that the Center's executive committee authorized in 2002-2003. These research projects often connect professors with graduate students, as well as some undergraduates. Grants for the original and newly authorized channels for faculty support will be awarded based on the Center's continuing peer-review procedures.

In this way, the Weatherhead Foundation has remained faithful to its vision of support for research at the Center on international and comparative world issues. Its munificence will enable the Center to fine-tune and augment its support for professors, graduate students, and undergraduates who engage in research, produce new knowledge, and continue to build a sustainable, collegial intellectual community.

Jorge I. Domínguez
Center Director



Peter Gourevitch, Margarita Estevez-Abe and Robert Lawrence (left to right) discuss one of the presentations at the October 2003 conference "The Politics of Globalization: How Citizens, Firms, and Workers Respond to International Market Forces." The conference was chaired by Professors Estevez-Abe and Michael Hiscox.



Fellows' Lives Lived

The Fellows Program is the principal forum for the interaction of practitioners with the faculty of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

Feng Jianwu, a Fellow in 1999-2000, died on June 4, 2002, at the age of 49. He displayed extraordinary courage and optimism during the last two years of his life, through which he fought a debilitating cancer. A career diplomat, Feng Jianwu worked for many years with the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its Department of Western European Affairs. He was also accredited to Algeria and Switzerland. Working with Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 1996 he promoted cooperation between the OECD countries and China in the field of the environment. From February 1997 to August 2000 he resided in the United States. During that time he helped the Natural Resources Defense Council with two programs to improve energy efficiency in China and received an award for his outstanding work. He then collaborated with Jeffrey Logan, Aaron Frank, and Indu John on a paper entitled "Climate Action in the United States and China" (1999) under the auspices of the Battelle Memorial Institute's Advanced International Studies Unit and the Environmental Change and Security Project of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

For years, both Chinese and American nongovernmental organizations benefited from his advice to overcome bureaucratic and political barriers to environmental initiatives. As a Fellow at the Weatherhead Center he was appreciated for his affable nature, his intelligence, and his great willingness to learn. His wife, Song Li, of the Global Environment Facility in Washington, D.C., recalls how friends and colleagues have remembered him since his death, as a person "full of fraternity, knowledge—his nickname was 'Encyclopedia'—sharp thinking, eloquence, generosity, and integrity." "He so much enjoyed his time at Harvard," Song Li said, "and he described in great detail... his interactions at the university. Given his efficiency and effectiveness, I believe that his achievements—in terms of daily work, publications, and the assistance that he provided to so many—were what ordinary people would have performed over a period of 70 years. He had a highly concentrated but very fruitful life." He is also survived by their son, Shazhou.

Harvard Academy

Who's Where

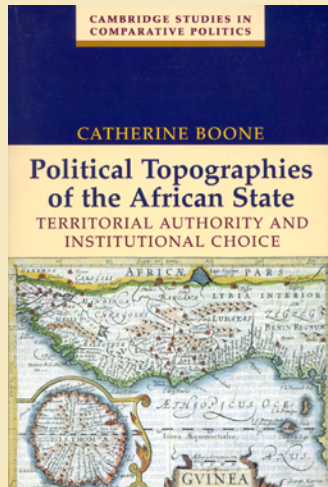
Founded in 1986, the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies is dedicated to increasing our knowledge of the world's major cultures and of the relations among them.

NEW BOOKS

The following page presents recent publications by Harvard Academy Scholars.

Peter Andreas (1998-2000) is assistant professor of political science and international studies at Brown University; **Brian Axel** (2000-2002) is assistant professor of anthropology at Swarthmore College; **Kanchan Chandra** (1999-2002) is assistant professor of political science at MIT; **Kiren Chaudhry** (1988-1990) is associate professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley; **Jacques Delisle** (1986-1988) is professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania Law School; **Ed Gibson** (1990-1992) is associate professor of political science at Northwestern University; **John Giles** (2001-2003) is assistant professor of economics at Michigan State University; **Rebecca Hardin** (2001-2002) is assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; **Macartan Humphreys** (2002-2003) is assistant professor of political science at Columbia University; **Paul Hutchcroft** (1991-1993) is associate professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin at Madison; **Ayesha Jalal** (1988-1990) is professor of history at Tufts University; **Simon Johnson** (1989-1991) is the Ronald A. Kurtz Associate Professor at the Sloan School of Management, MIT; **Oleg Kharkhordin** (1996-1999) is dean of the Department of Political Science and Sociology at the European University at St. Petersburg (Russia); **Jeremy King** (1993-1996) is assistant professor of history at Mount Holyoke College; **Tahiri Lee** (1989-1991) is associate professor of law and associate dean of academic affairs at the College of Law at Florida State University; **Saba Mahmood** (1999-2003) is assistant professor of anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley; **Michael Montesano** (1996-1998) is assistant professor of Southeast Asian studies at the National University of Singapore; **Maria Victoria Murillo** (1996-1998) is associate professor of political science at Columbia University; **Gregory Noble** (1986-1988) is a professor of public administration at the University of Tokyo; **Dan Posner** (1996-1998) is assistant professor of political science at UCLA; **William Sax** (1987-1989) is professor of anthropology at the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg (Germany); **Alan Taylor** (1991-1993) is professor of economics at the University of California at Davis; **Kellee Tsai** (1997-1999) is assistant professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University; **Veljko Vujacic** (1994-1997) is associate professor of sociology at Oberlin College; **Steven Wilkinson** (1996-1998) is assistant professor of political science at Duke University.

for International and Area Studies

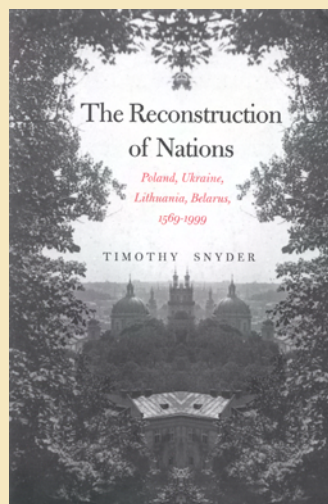


Political Topographies of the African State

by Catherine Boone

Immigration's impact on the economy and on society is shaped not only by characteristics of the immigrants themselves, but also by basic features of the society that those immigrants have joined. This book contains eighteen chapters by leading scholars from the United States, Canada, and Europe, who explore this theme theoretically and empirically. An introductory essay by the editor suggests four major dimensions of society which emerge as significant in this new research thrust: pre-existing ethnic or race relations within the host population; differences in labor markets and related institutions; the impact of government policies and programs, including immigration policy; and the changing nature of international boundaries, part of the process of globalization. The book had its origins in a conference sponsored by the Canada Program at the Weatherhead Center.

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

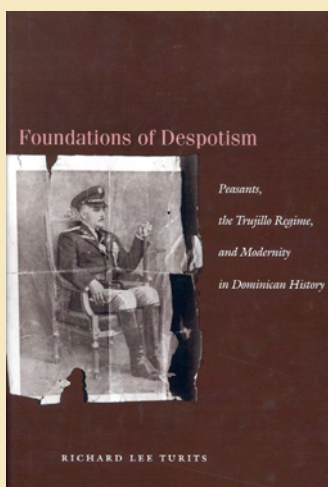


The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus, 1569-1999

by Timothy Snyder

Moving from the sixteenth century to the present, and using a wide array of multi-lingual sources, *The Reconstruction of Nations* shows how multiple versions of national identity evolved and competed with each other in what are now Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. Snyder contends that the triumph of modern ethnic nationalism in this part of Eastern Europe is very recent. Federalism and communal toleration were considered viable national ideas from the 16th through 20th centuries—only the atrocities of the Second World War buried such traditional alternatives. Snyder's original explanations for these atrocities include the first scholarly account of the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic cleansings of the 1940s. Snyder concludes with an analysis of the peaceful resolution of national tensions in the region since 1989. Winner of the American Historical Association's George Louis Beer Prize for the best publication in European international history since 1895.

Tim Snyder (Academy Scholar 1998-2000) is assistant professor of history at Yale University.



Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History

by Richard Turits

This book explores the history of the Dominican Republic as it evolved from the first European colony in the Americas into a modern nation under the rule of Rafael Trujillo. Turits reveals how the seemingly unilateral imposition of power by Trujillo in fact depended on the regime's mediation of profound social and economic transformations, especially through agrarian policies that assisted the nation's large independent peasantry. Most of the existing literature casts the Trujillo dictatorship as the paradigm of despotic rule through coercion and terror alone. This book elucidates instead the hidden foundations of the regime, portraying everyday life and economy in the Dominican countryside and the exchanges between state and society under Trujillo. Winner of the American Historical Association's John Edwin Fagg Prize for the best publication in Latin American history.

Richard Turits, (Academy Scholar 1996-1997 and 1999-2000) is associate professor of history, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

Lisa Martin is the Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs in Harvard's Department of Government and editor-in-chief of *International Organization* (IO).



Can you tell us something about *IO* as an institution?

IO has for years been the top-ranked scholarly journal of international relations, measured by citations and other indicators of influence in the field. It is an unusual journal in that it is not connected to a professional association (for example, the *APSR* is published by the American Political Science Association, and *ISQ* by the International Studies Association). In addition, the editorship moves every five years (in contrast to journals such as *International Security* or *World Politics*, which have been at the same institution for decades). These features mean that *IO* can focus solely on its intellectual mission and that a fresh editorial eye is always being brought to the material submitted to *IO* for publication. I think that these features, along with *IO*'s very active editorial board, have allowed it to publish cutting-edge, high-quality work more consistently than other IR journals.

What is its intellectual mission?

IO's mission is to publish the best scholarly research on international relations. We have focused traditionally on international political economy, and while we maintain some specialization there, today we publish on the entire field of IR. Articles in *IO* must be theoretically informed. If they are empirical, as the vast majority are, they must hold to the highest standards of empirical research. Our mission is quite single-minded: to publish and promote innovative and rigorous research on international politics.

Who reads it, and who else would you like to read it?

Our readership is largely academic; it consists primarily of professors and graduate students. Most of our readers are in North American and Western Europe. Our main goal for expanding the audience is to reach out to other parts of the globe, such as Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and

Africa. We have less interest in expanding our audience to include policymakers, although of course we hope that they occasionally find an article in *IO* useful and interesting.

How did your education lead to concentrating your work on international organizations?

My undergraduate degree was in biology, but I also did some coursework in political science, history, and economics. After graduation I worked in a biology lab at Scripps Clinic in San Diego for a year, which convinced me that life in a lab was not for me. I applied to graduate school in political science, was admitted by Harvard, and fortuitously arrived here about the same time as Bob Keohane. He was at that time just publishing his major works on international institutions, which struck me as unusually rigorous, innovative, and interesting.

Which scholars have influenced you most?

The obvious answer is Bob Keohane, who chaired my dissertation committee. I also learned a great deal from the methodologists that I worked with while at graduate school at Harvard: Henry Brady, Gary King, and Jim Alt. In a broader sense, my engagement with the more "scientific" aspects of social science was driven by my undergraduate experiences at Caltech. I took a course with Rod Kiewiet there, and while I did not follow his footsteps to study American politics, his introduction to modern political science was invaluable.

Have you had formative professional experiences outside of the academy?

I guess my year at Scripps Clinic that convinced me not to be a biologist must count! Also, some early consulting experiences convinced me that an emphasis on working in the private or government sector would not be as congenial for me as focusing on an academic career.

What are you trying to bring to *IO* with your editorial leadership?

My goals are to maintain and reinvigorate *IO*'s tradition of excellence. I am open-minded about which theoretical and methodological approaches are used, but I insist that all our publications meet the highest social-scientific standards of rigor. I hope to continue publishing articles that span the field of IR, and that draw on different methodological traditions. To reach a more global audience, our goal includes publishing more articles from authors outside North America. I am perhaps more open to publishing "pure theory" articles than some of my predecessors have been.

How has the study of international organizations changed over the last generation?

Keohane's 1984 publication, *After Hegemony*, marked a real turning point. The study of international organizations (IOs) was previously quite descriptive in nature, or was focused on counting relatively uninteresting quantities, such as votes in the UN General Assembly. In the last generation, we have seen the development of models and theories of institutions that are appropriate for the international setting in that they take into account the fact that any international agreements that matter must be self-enforcing. Since Keohane's seminal work, we have seen extensive theoretical and empirical developments. Theoretically, we have seen the development of more precise models that, first, explain both the conditions under which IOs can make a difference and how, and, second, that attempt to explain features of IOs themselves (such as membership patterns and enforcement provisions). Empirically, the study of IOs has expanded from its initial emphasis on political economy to encompass security issues, social issues, and environmental issues. Ironically, if you looked at the state of empirical work on IOs today, you might argue that one of the areas most neglected by political scientists is international economic institutions, although work on those is picking up.

Where do you see the field going in the future?

The field has happily moved beyond the paradigm wars to which it was condemned in the 1980s and much of the 1990s (neorealism vs. neoliberal institutionalism vs. liberalism vs. constructivism vs. postmodernism...). We are now largely in the mode of "normal science," in which we concentrate on developing particular models and sub-

jecting them to rigorous empirical examination. Some people are anxious to move beyond the development of separate models (for example, those who see IOs as the result of deliberate calculations by states versus those who see them as driven by internal bureaucratic dynamics) toward integration and creation of synthetic models. Personally, I am skeptical that we can integrate the major models very well at this point. The models often rest on incompatible assumptions, and they often are not yet fully developed on their own terms. I think that more time working with individual models is necessary before we can start to integrate them in a coherent manner.

What is your opinion about the ways in which the Bush administration is determining the role that the United States is playing in international organizations?

I just published a chapter in an edited volume on multilateral organizations after the Iraq war that addresses this.* In it I conclude that U.S. policy toward multilateral organizations today is one of opportunistic or ad hoc multilateralism. I argue that principles of multilateralism (implying *self-binding*) have been rejected by the Bush administration. Instead, multilateral organizations are treated as tools of convenience, to be used when they promise immediate payoffs and minimal restrictions on freedom of action, but in general to be kept marginal and treated with deep distrust. A policy of opportunistic multilateralism will gut multilateral organizations and therefore prove costly for the United States. Such a policy misunderstands the logic of multilateralism, which requires the powerful to bind themselves. In order for multilateral organizations to live up to their potential, the United States will have to rebuild a reputation for respecting the limitations of multilateralism. We see little sign of an appreciation of this today, but there is some chance that a growing awareness of the very high long-term costs of unilateralism will lead to a renewed appreciation of the benefits of multilateralism.

Might your academic career take another intellectual path in the future?

I anticipate just the usual shifts of interest that any academic career illustrates. I continue to be interested in institutional dynamics, on both the domestic and international levels. I am returning to some of my original interests in international political economy with a project on the international financial institutions, and one on trade in services (particularly tourism). After my term as

* "Multilateral Organizations after the U.S.-Iraq War," prepared for *Impact and Consequences of the U.S.-Iraq War* (World Scientific Publishing, 2003).

"America's Role in the World Today"

Fellows' Alumni Conference and Reunion

by Kathleen Molony

Fellows Leonardo Vivas (2000-01) and Sebastian Wood (2000-01) flank the director of the Fellows Program, Kathleen Molony, at the alumni conference and reunion of November 20-22, 2003.



(Photo: Martha Stewart)

Nearly 100 alumni of the Fellows Program,

spanning several generations of Fellows and representing approximately thirty countries, returned to Harvard University in late November to participate in a conference and reunion. It was among the largest gatherings of alumni since the program's founding in 1958. Over the course of three days, Fellows convened in familiar venues on the Harvard campus and at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences where they considered "America's Role in the World Today." In addition to the academic component of the program, Fellows also spent time catching up with classmates, renewing ties with faculty, connecting with those from other classes with whom they shared a sense of affiliation, and forming new relationships. Several social events included a reception at the Inn at Harvard, a welcome dinner at Loeb House, and a dinner, with entertainment by the Harvard Din and Tonics, an a cappella group. Many friends of the Fellows Program—including former program directors Les Brown and Steven Bloomfield, Center co-founder and former director Robert Bowie, other Center directors Samuel P. Huntington, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., and Jorge I. Domínguez, Center executive directors Anne Emerson and Jim Cooney, and senior faculty—participated in the gathering.

The academic sessions brought focus on the United States. Initially and understandably some alumni greeted this theme with skepticism. In their view, the choice of topic was confirmation of Americans' exaggerated sense of importance in

the world. What was it about the United States, in the view of one alumnus, that could occupy so many people over several days? Wasn't the decision to focus on the United States itself a statement that the rest of the world and its problems don't really matter to Americans? As it turned out, the conference proceeded as it did with the express purpose of compelling a *critical assessment* by practitioners and academics of America's role at a particularly complex moment in international affairs.

As John F. Kennedy School of Government dean Joe Nye pointed out—and as Michael Palliser (Fellow 1982) demonstrated in the opening session—by bringing practitioners and academics together, the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs plays a fundamental role in influencing those who engage extensively in the foreign policy debate. And while there are several mechanisms through which the academy facilitates dialogue between practitioners and scholars, more must always be done to ensure that both nonacademic professionals with broad practical experience and those engaged full time in research and analysis of international affairs reap the full benefits of this interaction. Both Nye and Palliser praised the interdisciplinary approach of the Center and emphasized its important mission in bringing theory and practice together.

Center director Jorge I. Domínguez, in remarks at the welcome dinner, expressed his admiration for the Fellows and emphasized the

important role they have played in the life of the Center. As an example of the ways in which practitioners teach members of the academy, he referred to a recent Center roundtable discussion, in which military Fellows shared their insights on military lessons learned in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Program alumni joined faculty in plenary sessions and discussion groups for the conference's second and third days at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Professor Samuel Huntington laid the groundwork for a consideration of America's role in the world today with an examination of its national identity. Who the American people are and how they view themselves are important elements in the making and conduct of U.S. foreign policy. The United States is a country that is defined not only by its ethnic and racial composition but also by its many religious faiths. Huntington claimed that the United States is currently undergoing a religious revival of sorts, which must be taken into account among other variables in assessing its foreign policy. Huntington also noted that immigration, particularly immigration from Mexico, is having a profound impact on the United States and that this impact will be felt increasingly in the future.

Subsequent plenary sessions examined several other themes: the scale of U.S. power today, America as world citizen, and American leadership in the global economy. Professor Stephen M. Walt, academic dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, noted that the United States is currently in a position that is almost unprecedented in the modern world. By all measures, its power is formidable: its economy dwarfs those of almost all other countries; it spends more on its military than the rest of the world combined; and it is a leader in the mass media, too. (As an example, the majority of the world's top grossing films is American.) Furthermore, this position of primacy is one that American leaders have deliberately sought since the 1940s. However, while primacy reaps certain benefits (e.g. in the areas of national security, trade and investment, and global stability), pitfalls abound as well. Its power means that actions taken by the United States can hurt others—whether it intends to inflict the hurt or not—with potentially serious consequences both for the world and for America's image abroad.

Cameron Hume (Fellow 1989-90) acknowledged that it is difficult to exert leadership when there are so many priorities, and when other countries are preoccupied with concerns that are different from those of the United States. As a diplomat he has observed that much of the world expects and wants the United States to use its power and

influence. But how the United States uses its power and influence determines how others view this country, and whether or not they are willing to work with the United States to achieve a more stable and a safer world. Hume called the Bush administration's 2002 National Security Strategy a "trenchant and coherent" document that states clearly the administration's "assertion of a limited doctrine of self-defense." He said further that the administration's priority is to do whatever it takes to protect the nation against terrorism.

But America's response to threats of terrorism have raised real questions about its adherence to "good citizenship," suggested J. Bryan Hehir, president and CEO of Catholic Charities for the Archdiocese of Boston and Parker G. Montgomery Professor of the Practice of Religion and Public Life at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. He agreed that the National Security Strategy expanded the capacity of the United States to take action, and he also saw the erosion of restraint not only as a departure from the policies of the past (when the United States worked in partnership with other countries) but as a dangerous new direction. He claimed that in considering aspects of "global citizenship" it is important to distinguish between good citizens and bad citizens, as did Professor Stanley Hoffmann. Hoffmann suggested that America's recent conduct has very badly fallen short and, furthermore, that few people

Continued page 10

Current Fellows Philippe Le Corre, María de los Angeles Moreno, and Gerhard Kuentzle (left to right) were among the nearly 100 Fellows past and present to attend their 2003 conference.



Former Colombian president Andrés Pastrana (Fellow 1990-91) provided a way of thinking about the evolution of American foreign policy and defining terrorism. Pastrana contended that an approach to combating terrorism must recognize that international terrorism has many faces.



or institutions have done much to question that conduct. Harvard can, and should, play a role in educating students and others about the Middle East, a part of the world about which Americans know very little, Hoffmann added. He went on to say that lack of interest and knowledge about the rest of the world, both within and outside the government, has serious consequences.

Indeed, Professor Jeffrey Frankel argued that American leadership in the global economy is compromised, to a certain extent, by a constant search for votes. Frankel believes that President Bush squandered a leadership opportunity in the immediate aftermath of September 11, when it would have been easy for him to demonstrate to the rest of the world that the United States takes its global responsibilities seriously, explaining to Americans why they should make sacrifices at such a time. Instead, the United States has continued to oppose multilateral treaties, implement unwise tax cuts, act as a protectionist, and significantly increase public spending. In response to this opinion, Professor Robert Lawrence volunteered what he called a “more nuanced assessment” of American leadership in the global economy. Votes do matter, he said, but it is the results of congressional elections to which one must pay particular attention since negotiating authority lies with the U.S. Congress, and the president, constitutionally, is no more than an “agent.” What concerned Lawrence, in particular, is the American tendency in recent years toward increased partisanship in the making of trade policy. But if the United States has made some mistakes in recent months (the administration’s record on trade was better at its start) it is also important to recognize that it is not alone. Europe also bears some responsibility.

Keynote speakers at the two luncheons provided privileged points of view to the assembled Fellows. Professor of American literature Lawrence Buell, in his remarks on “Emersonian Individualism and American Exceptionalism,” suggested that Ralph Waldo Emerson can be used as a reference point by practitioners of international affairs for thinking about both the positive and negative effects of exceptionalism, as Emerson not only thought profoundly about America’s unique role

in the world but also was a voracious borrower and adapter of ideas from around the world. Former Colombian president Andrés Pastrana (Fellow 1990-91) provided a way of thinking about the evolution of American foreign policy and defining terrorism. Pastrana contended that an approach to combating terrorism must recognize that international terrorism has many faces. In the case of Colombia, he stated, where civil society has been a victim of terrorists on the left and the right for many years, it is important that other countries, particularly the United States, work together to solve the pernicious drug problem. He claimed that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, altered irrevocably and necessarily the approach to terrorism on the part of the international community.

Fellows were given the opportunity to challenge the speakers, both in the plenary sessions themselves and in discussion groups that augmented and complemented the larger meetings. A few Fellows felt that the discussions did not provide enough “balance,” that there should have been more presentations by those *in support of* U.S. policy. The discussion groups, which covered a broad array of related topics, were intended to provide an opportunity for dissent and for different voices to be heard – and, indeed, Fellows spoke eloquently and forcefully in these sessions, challenging discussion leaders and expressing alternative viewpoints. In the end many participants felt that the conference allowed consideration of some very important issues and dimensions in the debate over America’s role in the world today. ◆

From February 17 to 20, 2004, the Weatherhead Center proudly hosted its first Short-Term Distinguished Visiting Scholar, Professor **Kenneth Schultz** of the University of California at Los Angeles. At UCLA Professor Schultz studies the impact of domestic politics and institutions on international relations, and he teaches courses on international relations, the politics of foreign policy, and game theory. During his stay at Harvard, Professor Schultz gave a public talk entitled "Could Humphrey Have Gone to China? Measuring the Electoral Costs and Benefits of Making Peace" and met individually with faculty, graduate students and Fellows of the Weatherhead Center's Olin Institute for Strategic Studies.

Of NOTE



Former Weatherhead Center Fellow, **Ingrid Lehmann** (1993-94) is a Fellow this spring in the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. Ms. Lehmann is the former director of the United Nations Information Service in Vienna and has recently been teaching in the Department of Communication at the University of Salzburg, Austria. In her 25-year career with the United Nations, Lehmann also served as director of the U.N.'s Information Offices in Washington, D.C. and Athens. She also worked in the U.N.'s Department for Disarmament Affairs and in its peacekeeping missions in Cyprus and Namibia. While at Harvard she is comparing U.S. and German media reporting on the U.N. weapons inspectors in Iraq in 2002-03.

The **Project on Justice, Welfare and Economics** (JWE) is hosting various events during the spring semester that include meetings in which JWE fellows will present their work and receive commentary from the JWE Faculty Committee and current and former fellows. The project is also hosting dinner discussions to engage interested members of the Harvard and Boston-area academic community in the work of the project.

ASK...Lisa Martin

IO editor is over (another three years), I look forward to some time to reflect on directions in my own research.

How has motherhood affected your work?

I was lucky. I was tenured early enough that I was able to postpone motherhood until after tenure. Undertaking motherhood at the same time in their careers that scholars are under great pressure to publish rapidly is extremely difficult. On the other hand, I would encourage women not to put off motherhood for too long—the biological clock is real, in spite of all the technology at our disposal. We need to continue pressuring universities for generous and even-handed policies toward maternity that do not force young women to make outrageously difficult choices between their careers and motherhood. Motherhood has affected my work in that it inevitably has slowed down the rate at which I can produce original research—but who knows, maybe that's just a sign of age!



In the midst of your teaching, your research, your editorial responsibilities at *IO*, and being the mother of three-year-old Sophia, is it true that you also train dogs?

Well, yes. I compete with my Shetland Sheepdog, Bobby, in a sport called agility. Basically it's running your dog through an obstacle course. I started doing agility on a whim, and have become completely addicted (my weekends in spring and fall are pretty much devoted to competition...). I'm planning to get another puppy to begin training this spring, and hope that I won't make all the same mistakes I made with Bobby! Bobby and I now compete at the master's level, but I hope to take my next dog even further.

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