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1998-99

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

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

The Center is structured to encourage the highest practical level of personal and intellectual interaction among a diverse community of scholars and practitioners. It is distinctive in its recognition that knowledge is a product not only of individual academic research, but also of vigorous, sustained intellectual dialogue among scholars and nonacademic experts. To stimulate this dialogue, the Center sponsors a wide array of seminars, research programs, workshops, and conferences. These activities encourage interaction among resident affiliates and involve a wide variety of scholars, government and military officials, corporate executives, and other practitioners from around the world.

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

The Center is headed by a faculty director who is assisted by an executive director. Guidance on matters of substance and policy is provided by an executive committee, primarily composed of senior Harvard faculty involved in Center-sponsored programs. Professor Jorge I. Domínguez, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, continued as director of the Center. James A. Cooney came to the Center as executive director in November 1998.

The Center's offices are located in Coolidge Hall, on the Harvard University campus in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

PEOPLE

The most important resource at the Center is the diverse group of people affiliated with it. In addition to the small permanent staff, some two hundred faculty members, visiting scholars, practitioners, and students are normally associated with the Center, representing approximately thirty-five nationalities.

Faculty

Senior and junior members of the Harvard faculty form the intellectual core of the Center. In addition to its twelve resident faculty members, the Center has a broad network of faculty from many disciplines and schools within Harvard who regularly contribute to the development and administration of research programs and activities. The Center is also the locus of four endowed professorships in international affairs, international economics,national security and military affairs, and Canadian studies. The Center's faculty associates, numbering seventy-three in 1999, may apply for Center research funds and fellowships.

Fellows

Each year, the Center's Fellows Program invites approximately twenty senior diplomats, military officers, journalists, politicians,and other nonacademic professionals active in the field of international affairs to spend a year at the Center in advanced study, research,and writing. This group, which is typically drawn from some fifteen countries, constitutes an important and direct link with the contemporary realities of global politics and provides the Center with the unique perspectives of nonacademic practitioners.

Visiting Scholars

The Center provides research affiliations for academics on leave from institutions ouside of Harvard, enabling them to pursue their research interests with the benefits of interaction with other Center members and access to the extensive library system and other resources of Harvard University.

Postdoctoral Fellows

The Center provides research affiliations for recent doctoral degree recipients pursuing research in areas relevant to Weatherhead Center programs. For the 1998-99 year, postdoctoral fellowships went to scholars for conducting research on strategic and national security studies, international and area studies, transnational security, a comparison of Japanese electronic industries, and U.S.-Japanese trade policy.

Associates

Center associates include individuals from outside Harvard who are active in Weatherhead Center research programs and seminars.

Graduate Students

The Center annually supports selected doctoral candidates writing research dissertations by offering them office space, computer support, modest funding for travel, and access to the Center's programs and activities. Harvard students participate through the graduate student associates from the Departments of Sociology, Government, History, Economics, and Anthropology, as well as the Committee on Political Economy and Government and the Law School.Students from other institutions also recieved Weatherhead Center-sponsored research fellowships for work in strategic and national security studies, international and area studies,and transnational security. In addition, the Center recieved grants from the

Mellon and MacArthur Foundations to support the work of several doctoral candidates.

Undergraduate Students

The Center supports the activities of the Weatherhead Center Student Council, which works to bridge the Center and the Harvard undergraduate community. The Center offers travel grants to undergraduates doing research for their senior honors theses. In 1998-99, five undergraduates recieved this support, and two were honorary associates.

Staff

The Weatherhead Center staff includes thirty-four individuals. A core administrative staff oversees financial matters,publications, conference organization, personnel, and other administrative issues. In addition, professional and support staff manage the administrative affairs of each Weatherhead Center program.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Weatherhead Center research is conducted through a wide range of activities. In addition to the eight programs at the Center, numerous topical and regional seminar series and working groups meet throughout the year. The Center also sponsors and co-sponsors many conferences, most of which take place at Harvard. The Center's Annual Talloires Conference takes place at the Tufts Conference Center in Talloires, France. The Center also awards faculty research grants for travel and activities in connection with individual projects. An overview of the 1998-99 research activities follows.

Research Programs and Seminar Series

The Center's current research programs fall into three broad categories — international relations; regional studies; and prospects for domestic peace, democracy, and markets. In addition, research is conducted within the Fellows Program and the various student programs

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Ethics and International Relations. A seminar on ethics and international relations meets regularly to discuss philosophical issues in international affairs.

Global Communication and International Relations. Co-sponsored by the Program on Information Resources Policy, this seminar explores the impact of communication and information technology on global security and economic, political,and cultural relations.

Globalization and Culture. Participants in the Globalization and Culture Seminar are an interdisciplinary group of faculty, research associates, and graduate students. Seminars address issues related to the apparent emergence of global cultures.

International Conflict Analysis and Resolution. The Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PICAR) is committed to advancing the understanding of international and intergroup conflicts, and to developing interactive, problem-solving processes for managing or resolving such conflicts.

International Environmental Affairs. This is an interdisciplinary joint research seminar with the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

National Security and Strategic Studies. Much of the work on national security at the Center is conducted under the auspices of the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, which was created as an entity within the Center in July 1989 with funds from the John M. Olin Foundation and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. This program conducts basic research on crucial topics of security

and strategy with a view to illuminating the security problems facing the United States and its allies. Regular seminars are held on national security and strategy and arms control; smaller seminar series are held on economics and national security, the Middle East,and civil-military relations.

Transnational Security. Created in 1995, the MacArthur Transnational Security Project is jointly run by the Weatherhead Center and the Center for International Studies at MIT and focuses on the theme of personal and group security and transnational society. It consists of a Harvard-MIT interdisciplinary joint seminar; Working Group I on "Exit Problems": Secession and Migration, Human Rights and Refugees; Working Group II on International Economic Security; and two predoctoral fellowships.

U.S. Foreign Policy. Although not organized into a formal research program, each year many scholars at the Center examine issues concerning U.S. foreign policy and its implications. The Center hosts a U.S. foreign policy seminar, and the Global Communications and International Relations Seminar, co-sponsored by the Program on Information Resources Policy, which often touches on issues concerning communication technologies in foreign policy.

REGIONAL STUDIES

International and Area Studies. The Center administers the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. The Academy provides significant fellowship support to a small group of exceptional young scholars who are able to combine disciplinary excellence in the social sciences with a strong regional focus of application.

U.S.-Japan. The primary purpose of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations is to bring Japanese and U.S. researchers together to work on critical issues in relations between these two countries. In the 1990s, much research and discussion has focused on Japan's expanding international role in the fields of development, environmental protection, energy, and security.

The Center also sponsors seminar series on several regions and countries: Africa, Asia food security, Canada and U.S.-Canada relations, the Middle East, and South Asia.

PROSPECTS FOR DOMESTIC PEACE, DEMOCRACY, AND MARKETS

Communist and Postcommunist Countries. The Center sponsored two seminars on this topic. A faculty seminar examined how communist and postcommunist countries have responded to a set of similar challenges to their political legitimacy. The seminar on Post-Communist Economic Transformations provided an overview of the main issues of postsocialist transition: political transformation, stabilization, liberalization, transfer of property rights, institutional changes, reform of the welfare state and social security.

Comparative Issues of Reforming the Welfare State. This seminar sought to bring a comparative and interdisciplinary approach to the study of reforms and reform options for welfare state institutions throughout the world.

International Conflict Analysis and Resolution. The Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution works to advance the understanding of international and interethnic conflicts and to develop problem-solving processes.

Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival. The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival studies situations of conflict in order to better understand their nature and the capabilities of nonviolent actions in support of human rights and civil liberties.

Performance of Democracies. The Research Workshop on the Performance of Democracies focuses on both the challenges and problems of existing democracies and the transition to democracy.

Political Development. In the area of comparative politics, the Center co-sponsors with MIT the Joint Seminar on Political Development (JOSPOD), which has been meeting regularly since 1963.

Political Economy. Three groups worked in the area of political economy during the 1998-99 academic year: an informal faculty discussion group on political economy; the Research Group on the Political Economy of European Integration; and the Research Workshop on Positive Political Economy.

Conferences

Fifteen conferences were sponsored or co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center during the 1998-99 academic year.

"Border Controls, Economic Integration, and State Power" *(see Harvard Academy section).*

"Citizenship Claims: Social Movements and Globalization" *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"Cultural Values and Human Progress" *(see Harvard Academy section).*

"Explaining African Economic Growth Performance" *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"The Foreign Policies of the Major Powers in the 20th and 21st Centuries" *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"Graduate Student Associate Conference: Globalization and Democratization" *(see the Student Programs section).*

"Graduate Students Conference for Harvard/Stockholm/Oxford Students" *(see the Student Programs section).*

"Inter-American Conference" *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"International Economic and Financial Management in the 21st Century," the Weatherhead Center's annual conference in Talloires, France *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"The Kosovo Conflict and Its Implications for the Post-Communist World, " a Harvard Academy Special Seminar *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"NOMOS 1999: Resuming Economic Growth in Latin America" *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"Political Economy of European Integration Meeting" *(see Political Economy section).*

"South Asia's Nuclear Dilemma" *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"What Difference Does Nation Make? Canadian/American Cultures of Sexuality and Consumption," co-sponsored by the Committee on Degrees in Women's Studies *(see the Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).*

"Conference on Strategy and National Security," the John M. Olin Institute's fourteenth annual Wianno conference *(see the Strategic Studies section).*

Travel and Research Grants

Eleven faculty members received Weatherhead Center travel or research grants for:

Research assistance for *Democratic Transitions in Africa* — Robert Bates.

Research assistance for two projects on "jurisdiction shopping" and dispute resolution in Canada-U.S. trade — Marc Busch.

Research for *Trade Warriors: States, Firms and Strategic Trade Policy in High Technology Competition* — Marc Busch.

Research for book project on integrating China into the world economy — Richard Cooper.

Research trip to India and research assistant — Devesh Kapur.

Research assistance for project entitled "State Banks and Growth" — Rafael La Porta.

Indexing and research support for project on international human rights regimes — Andrew Moravcsik.

Research assistance for two books: one on civic disengagement domestically, and the second on its international manifestation — Robert Putnam.

Research assistance for project entitled "The Historical Evolution of Terrorist Movements"—Louise Richardson.

Research assistance for project entitled "Inequality in the World Economy" — Dani Rodrik.

Research support for "Privatizing the Privatized," and "Common Fundamentals in the Tequila and Asian Crises" — Aaron Tornell.

Research assistance for project entitled "Foreign Aid in Latin America: A Comparison of Japanese, European and American Initiatives and Practices" — Kay Warren.

LIBRARY

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Library supports the Center's current research needs, primarily through the library's journal collection, but also as an entrance to the vast Harvard library system. The Weatherhead Center librarian works to direct patrons to the most appropriate collections at any of the more than ninety libraries at Harvard,as well as to libraries not a part of Harvard.

Records for the Weatherhead Center library's 6,000 volumes and 80-plus journals are available on HOLLIS (Harvard's online public catalog). HOLLIS contains records for most of Harvard's libraries, providing access to millions of titles. Access to the database is available via the many HOLLIS terminals located throughout the library system, or from any home or office computerlinked to Harvard's High Speed Data Network or the Internet.

The Weatherhead Center Library facilitates access to the Internet for the Center's research community. The Center has its own homepage (http://data.fas.harvard.edu/cfia) on the World Wide Web. This site includes links to programs within the Weatherhead Center and other Centers in Coolidge Hall, as well as links to resources throughout Harvard, the United States, and the world that are of interest to the international relations research community. In addition, the site makes available the Center's weekly calendar and abstracts of Weatherhead Center working papers.Lastly, the library Web page offers tips on searching, library policy information, and schedule and hours, as well as electronic book renewal for Weatherhead Center Library books.

The Weatherhead Center Library is located in the basement of Coolidge Hall along with the libraries of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, the Documentation Center for Contemporary Japan,and the Davis Center for Russian Research.

FINANCES

Contributors

The Center wishes to acknowledge the support of all contributors. In addition to those listed below, there are several donors who wish to remain anonymous.

Akiyama Aiseikan

Amoco Foundation

BankBoston

Fondation Bogette

Robert Bosch Stiftung

Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation

Carthage Foundation

Catisa

CRB Foundation

Dillon Fund

Forbes Inc.

Ford Foundation

Foundation for Middle East Peace

Government of Norway

Harvard-Radcliffe International Relations Council

Hauser Foundation, Inc.

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Inter-American Dialogue

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Fritz Thyssen Stiftung

United States Information Agency

United States Institute of Peace

Virtual Research Associates, Inc.

Weatherhead Foundation

Richard D. Wittrup

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

INCOME		
Endowment	$	1,611,809
Research Programs' Gifts, Fees, and Grants		2,390,557
Workshops, Corporate Associates, Seminars		115,990
Government Grants and Contracts		53,223
Other Fees		7,000
Interest and Transfer for Reserves		26,927
Total Income	**$**	**4,205,506**
EXPENSES		
Fellows Program		$324,877
Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival		168,376
Program on U.S.-Japan Relations		254,951
Olin Institute		816,920
Program on International Conflict, Analysis,and Resolution		221,705
Canada Program		75,545
MacArthur Transnational Security Program		128,547
Thyssen and Bosch Fellowships		47,387
Academy Scholars Program and Conferences		374,600
Student Programs		124,077
Library		72,831
Publications		105,639
Visiting Scholars/Associates		5,505
Information Technology		129,959
Administration		
Personnel		401,534
Space, Maintenance, Infrastructure		51,877
Center Functions, Travel, Consultants, Phones, Supplies, Misc.		125,167
Sponsored Research Programs		164,888
Support for Faculty Research, Conferences, Workshops & Seminars		572,447
Total Expenses	**$**	**4,166,833**
BALANCE	**$**	**38,673**

AFRICA

The Weatherhead Center fosters research on Africa through its co-sponsorship with the Harvard Institute for International Development of the Weatherhead Center/HIID Enhanced Joint Seminar on Africa. The seminar brings scholars of Africa to Harvard to present papers on contemporary developments in the region's economic and political affairs. Meeting biweekly, the seminar attracts faculty, students,and others interested in Africa from Harvard and the larger Boston area.

Weatherhead Center/HIID Enhanced Joint Seminar on Africa

Chairs: Robert Bates (fall), Malcolm McPherson, and Daniel Posner (spring).

October 8
"Post-Independence Politics in Africa: A New Departure or Re-Enactment of Previous Errors?" **Gretchen Bauer**, Department of Politics, University of Delaware.

October 22
"Leadership and Economic Development in Africa," **Clive Gray**, Harvard Institute for International Development.

November 12
"Revenge of the 'Old Africans': U.S. Policy, Human Rights, and the Newest Congo Crisis," **Peter Rosenblum**, Project Director, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School.

December 10
"Africa and the Donors: Whither the Partnership 40 Years into Independence?" **Jerry Wolgin**, Director, Office of Sustainable Development, Bureau for Africa, USAID.

February 18
"The Effects of Policy Reform on Investment, Trade, and Economic Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa," **J. Dirck Stryker**, President, Associates for International Resources and Development.

March 4
"Constraints on Sustained Development in Africa," **Arthur Goldsmith**, Visiting Scholar, HIID.

March 18
"Deconstructing Market Liberalization: Agricultural Commercialization in Malawi," **Pauline Peters**, Development Advisor, HIID; Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University.

March 25
"Causes and Consequences of Civil War," **Paul Collier**, Director, Development Research Group, World Bank.

April 22
"Democratization and the African Military," **Bill Foltz**, H.J. Heinz Professor, African Studies and Political Science, Yale University.

April 29
"Instability and Violence in Africa," **Robert Bates**, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government, Harvard University; Faculty Fellow in the Harvard Institute for International Development.

ASIA

Asia Food Security Seminar

In 1998-99, Weatherhead Center Associate **Rob Paarlberg** and Visiting Scholar **Raymond Hopkins** co-chaired a series of seminars on food security issues in Asia.

This seminar was administered through the Asia Center, and supported by the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. It was designed in part as a prelude to an Asia Center conference on Natural Disasters and Food Security in Asia held April 30-May 1, 1999. Regular attendance at this seminar included scholars from the Asia Center, the Weatherhead Center, the Kennedy School of Government, other Harvard institutes, and from a number of other centers and universities in the Boston area.

Co-Chairs: **Rob Paarlberg** and **Raymond Hopkins**

October 28

"Financial Stress and Food Security in East and Southeast Asia," **Robert L. Thompson**, Sector Strategy and Policy Specialist, The World Bank.

November 10

"International Food Security Policies of the United States Government," **John Lewis**, Office of Agriculture and Food Security, U.S. Agency for International Development; and **Cheryl Christensen**, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

December 16

"The Famine in North Korea," **Andrew Natsios**, U.S. Institute for Peace.

February 10

"Food Security Policies in the People's Republic of China," **John Holden**, President, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.

March 24

"Agribiotechnology and Food Security in the Developing World," **Robert Horsch**, President, Sustainable Development Sector, Monsanto.

April 30-May 1

"Natural Disasters and Food Security in Asia," Asia Center conference co-chaired by **Rob Paarlberg** and **Raymond Hopkins**.

CANADA AND U.S.-CANADA RELATIONS

Harvard Canada Seminar

The Harvard Canada Seminar examines Canadian domestic and international economic, political,and constitutional issues. Presentations were made by scholars,public figures, and experts in various fields. The seminar attracted Canadians and Americans, including faculty, visiting scholars, students and people from the wider community. The Canada Seminar provides Harvard faculty and students with a window on Canadian scholarly and public life. It facilitates the understanding of America's closest ally and largest trading partner. It also provides rich opportunities for scholars engaged in comparative studies, because Canada and the United States must respond to very similar sets of economic and social challenges yet with quite distinct institutional frameworks and historical legacies, and because Canada's experience of deep linguistic and regional divisions and fundamental constitutional conflict has important parallels with many other societies around the world.

The seminar was chaired in the fall by **Brian Mandell**, Kennedy School of Government,and in the spring by **Richard Simeon**, Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies and Professor of Government, Harvard University, January-December 1998,and Professor of Political Science and Law, University of Toronto.

September 21

"Courting Secession: an Analysis of the Supreme Court of Canada's Decision on the Quebec Reference," a panel with **Peter Hogg**,

Osgoode Hall Law School, York University; **Andrée Lajoie**, Professor of Law, Université de Montréal; **Yves-Marie Morissette**, Professor of Law, McGill University; and **Anne-Marie Slaughter**, Professor, Harvard Law School.

October 5

"The Promise of International Criminal Justice: Between the Ad Hoc Tribunals and the International Criminal Court," **Louise Arbour**, Prosecutor, International War Crimes Tribunal, The Hague. Co-sponsored with the Harvard Law School Graduate Program.

October 6

"Globalony or Global Opportunity? The Canadian Provinces in a New International Context," **Hon.Gary Filmon**, Premier, Manitoba.

October 19

"Redefining Social Democracy in North America," **Alexa McDonough**, Leader, New Democratic Party (NDP).

October 26

"Euthanasia by Confusion," **Margaret Somerville**, Professor of Law, Medicine and Philosophy, McGill University.

November 23

"Northern Ireland: the Road to the Good Friday Agreement," **General John de Chastelain**, Member, International Commission on Decommissioning for Northern Ireland and former Ambassador to the United States.

November 30

Québec Provincial Election Returns televised live by satellite. Co-sponsored by the Kennedy School Canadian Caucus and the Government of Québec.

November 30

"Voice, Loyalty and Exit: NGOs, Humanitarian Assistance, and Complex Emergencies," **Janice Stein**, Harrowston Professor of Conflict Resolution, University of Toronto. Co-sponsored with the Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

December 15

"Canada's Self-Determination Challenge: First Nations and Québec," a panel with **Phil Fontaine**, National Chief, Assembly of First Nations; **Claire L'Heureux-Dubé**, Justice, Supreme Court of Canada; **Richard Simeon**, Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies. Co-sponsored by the Harvard Law School Human Rights Program and the Harvard University Native American Program.

March 1

"Treaty Making in British Columbia, Canada," **Wendy John**, Associate Regional Director General, Indian and Northern Affairs, BC Region, Canada. Co-sponsored with the Harvard University Native American Program.

March 15

"Judges, Politicians and Rights: The Public Interest and Political Accountability," **Rosalie Silberman Abella**, Justice, Ontario Court of Appeal.

April 9

"Artist on Fire: The Work of Joyce Wieland, An Evening of Film and Discussion about this Feminist Filmmaker," **Kay Armatage**. Director, Graduate Collaborative Program in Women's Studies, University of Toronto; Senior International Programmer, Toronto International Film Festival.

April 12

"Kyoto, Energy Markets and New Power from Labrador," **Hon. Brian Tobin**, Premier, Newfoundland.

May 3

"Coalition-Building for a Better Endangered Species Act," **Elizabeth May,** Executive Director, Sierra Club of Canada.

May 17

"It's Not Just Entertainment: Culture in the 21st Century," **Sheila Copps**, Minister of Canadian Heritage and former Deputy Prime Minister.

Convergence or Divergence? Path Dependency and Innovation in U.S. and Canadian Social Policies

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and The Study Group on Policy Reform in Advanced Industrial Societies, Center for European Studies

December 3-4, 1999

Co-chairs: **Paul Pierson**, Professor of Government, Center for European Studies; and **Richard Simeon**, Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies, WCFIA.

Both the U.S. and Canada have experimented with fundamental change in a variety of social policies in recent years. This workshop brought together Canadian and American scholars and practicioners to discuss issues such as: What are the major trends at work in these two countries? Are social policy trends converging or diverging? What drives change? And what implications do changes have for the central values of the welfare state? Panels examined social security and public pensions, public welfare,and health care policy.

December 3

Opening workshop dinner and discussion.

December 4

Session I: Theoretical and Methodological Overview

Paul Pierson, Harvard University
Carolyn Tuohy, University of Toronto
Discussant: **Keith Banting**, Queen's University

Session II: Welfare

Canada: **Michael Mendelson**, Caledon Institute
U.S.: **David Ellwood**, Harvard University
Discussant: **Sylvia Bashkevin**, University of Toronto

Session III: Social Security/Pensions

Canada: **John Myles**, Statistics Canada
U.S.: **Stephen Teles**, Boston University
Discussant: Kent Weaver, Brookings University

Session IV: Health

Canada: **Antonia Maioni**, McGill University
U.S.: **Jacob Hacker**, Brookings Institution
Discussant: **Ted Marmor**, Yale University

Session V: Explaining and Evaluating Trends in the Liberal Welfare States

Sylvia Bashkevin, University of Toronto
Discussants: **Paul Pierson** and **Richard Simeon**

What Difference Does Nation Make? Canadian/American Cultures of Sexuality and Consumption

The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and The Committee on Degrees in Women's Studies, Harvard University

April 15-16

Chair: **Professor Joy Parr**, Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies, Harvard University; and Farley Professor of History, Simon Fraser University.

April 15

Session I: History Of Sexuality and/as National History (part 1)

Steven Maynard, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, Queen's University, Kingston,Ontario, "The Maple Leaf (Gardens) Forever: Sex, Canadian Historians, and National History."

Dian Million, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Comparative Ethnic Studies, University of California, Berkeley, "Telling Secrets: Sex, Power and Narratives in the Social Construction of Indian Residential School Histories,1895-1995."

Roundtable discussion: **Michael Bronski**, Independent Scholar; and **Mary Russo**, Professor of Literature and Critical Theory, Hampshire College.

April 16

Session II: Distinctive Cultures of Consumption?

Cynthia Wright, Assistant Professor, Institute for Women's Studies and Gender Studies, University of Toronto, "In and Out of Department Stores: Some Cross-Border Reflections on Race, Nation and Retailing."

Alexandra Palmer, Nora E. Vaughan Fashion Costume Curator, Textiles and Costume Section, Royal Ontario Museum, "Couture, Culture and Consumption in Postwar Toronto."

Suzanne Morton, Associate Professor, Department of History, McGill University, Montreal (1999 on leave, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia), "At Odds: Gambling, Thrift and Consumption in Canada 1919-1969."

Roundtable discussion: **Juliet Schor**, Senior Lecturer in Women's Studies, Harvard University; **Lawrence Glickman**, History Department, University of South Carolina, (1999 on leave at Harvard); **Regina Blaszczyk**, American Studies, Boston University.

Session III: History Of Sexuality and/as National History (part 2)

David Churchill, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, University of Chicago, "Foreign Bodies in the Polity: American Expatriates and the History of the Lesbian and Gay Movement in Toronto, 1965-1977."

Becki Ross, Associate Professor, Sociology/Women's Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, "Loin Cloths, Feathers, and Floor Shows: Queering Striptease in Vancouver's Postwar Cabaret Scene."

Roundtable discussion: **Carolyn Dean**, Associate Professor, History Department, Brown University; and **Robyn Ochs**, Independent Academic and Editor, *Bisexual Resource Guide 2000.*

Closing Plenary

Facilitated by **Joy Parr** and **Beth Hastie**

COMMUNIST AND POSTCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Communist and Postcommunist Countries Seminar

From the 1970s to the 1990s,the countries of the world that had communist political systems faced certain similar challenges and responded to them in remarkably different ways. In the 1980s, all communist party leaderships confronted challenges to the political legitimacy of their rule; by the beginning of the 1990s, communist regimes

survived only in Cuba and East Asia. In the 1990s,nearly all communist and postcommunist countries confront crises of identity. In much of formerly communist Europe and the former Soviet Union,this takes the form of ethnic conflict, which has at times led to warfare, but such issues also arise where formerly separate territories amalgamated: the Germanies, Hong Kong and China. The communist and postcommunist worlds, in turn, pose stunning challenges in the redesign of the international system. China is an emerging superpower and Russia is groping for a new international role.

Harvard University has a stellar cast of faculty who work on nearly all communist and post-communist countries as well as on virtually all the issues just noted. These faculty are associated with various departments and several research centers and institutes. Though many knew each other casually, they rarely had the opportunity to exchange views on scholarly matters of common concern. Thus, an all-faculty seminar on communist and postcommunist countries met four times on Tuesday afternoons during 1998-99 under the Weatherhead Center's sponsorship. Each session was deliberately comparative, seeking to engage these scholars in thinking about themes that cut across various countries. In this fashion, the seminar harnessed the scholarly depth of the study of specific areas through comparative analysis.

November 17

"Distorting Mirrors: The Persistence of Division in Post-Cold War Korea and China," **William Kirby** and **Carter Eckert**.

April 19

"Language and Statehood in China and Ukraine," **James Watson** and **Roman Szporluk.**

Communist and Postcommunist Economic Transformation Seminar

János Kornai, Allie S. Freed Professor of Economics and WCFIA affiliate, offered a seminar in the Fall 1998 semester entitled Communist and Postcommunist Economic Transformation. The seminar has been offered three times in the past four years, and it has primarily been attended by graduate students and advanced undergraduates of government, sociology, Russian and Chinese studies.

The seminar provided an overview of the main issues of postsocialist transition: political transformation, stabilization,liberalization, transfer of property rights, institutional changes, reform of the welfare state and social security.

Emphasis was placed on the positive analysis and appraisal of the experiences of the past few years. This was complemented by a survey of the main controversies and discussion of the main trends of thinking amongst policy-makers and academia alike. Although the themes of most lectures were firmly rooted in economics, political dimensions of economic issues were also probed.

Chair: **János Kornai**

September 24

"Introduction," **János Kornai**

October 1

"What Determines the Path of Transition – Initial Conditions, or Reforms?" **Alan Gelb**, Chief Economist and Sector Director, Africa Region, The World Bank.

October 8

"Fiscal Developments Since the Transition Started," **Vito Tanzi**, Director, International Monetary Fund.

October 15
"Enterprise Reform in Transition," **Cheryl Gray**, Lead Economist, Public Sector Management, The World Bank.

October 20
"Democracy and Reform in Eastern Europe," **Grzegorz Ekiert**, Center for European Studies, Harvard University.

October 29
"Geography and Economic Transition," **Jeffrey Sachs**, Director, Harvard Institute for International Development.

November 5
"Main Issues in Reforming Social Protection Systems," **Michal Rutkowski**, Sector Leader, Social Protection, Europe and Central Asia Region, The World Bank.

November 12
"Government in Transition," **Andrei Shleifer**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

November 19
"Reforming the State," **János Kornai**.

December 3
"The Reform of the Health Sector," **János Kornai**.

December 10
"China's 'Step by Step' Economic Transition," **Dwight Perkins**, Department of Economics, Harvard University.

December 17
General Discussion

DIRECTOR'S SEMINAR

Jorge I.Domínguez, the director of the Weatherhead Center, led these monthly sessions on subjects of current importance in international affairs.A tradition of the Center, these informal roundtable discussions are initiated by Fellows of the Center, who use their professional experience as points of departure to contribute their thoughts on the issues at hand. The seminars are of benefit to all members of the Center and to other interested individuals from the university community.

October 8
"Multilateralism and its Discontents: Maintaining Cohesion in a Divisive World," **Michael Alvis** and **Francisco Tudela**, Fellows.

November 12
"Pressures at Home, Pressures Abroad: How Domestic Politics Influences Foreign Policy," **Friedrich Gröning, John Pitt-Brooke**, and **Panayotis Tsakonas**, Fellows.

December 10
"Making Friends, Influencing People: How Much Does Personality Matter in International Negotiations?" **Charles Crawford** and **Federico Molina Soto**, Fellows.

February 11
"Burdens of Hegemony: U.S. Foreign Policy as Seen From Abroad," **Michael Bell**, **Friedrich Gröning**, and **Jayant Prasad**, Fellows.

March 12
"Financial Crisis in Asia: What Have We Learned?" **Yasunori Sone**, U.S.-Japan Associate, **Jorge Gallardo Zavala** and **Pham Binh Man**, Fellows.

April 22
"The Crisis in Kosovo: Is This the New World Order?" **Michael Alvis** and **Charles Crawford**, Fellows.

ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Ethics and International Relations Seminar

Since its inception seven years ago, the Seminar on Ethics and International Relations has provided a forum for scholars to explore a broad range of ethical issues with relevance to international relations. The seminar entertains two types of lectures. Some speakers address international ethics from a philosophical perspective, applying moral and political theory to problems such as humanitarian intervention,self-determination, and human rights. Other speakers take a more scientific approach, asking whether ethical ideas and norms affect the behavior of states and nonstate actors. The seminars were well attended and generated an ongoing dialogue among international relations scholars from the Weatherhead Center, the Government Department, and the Philosophy Department, and among the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the Kennedy School of Government, the Divinity School,and other universities in the Boston area.

Seminar on Ethics and International Relations

October 14
"Cosmopolitanism in Question." Professor **Pratap Mehta**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

November 4
"War and the Social Contract." Professor **Elaine Scarry**, Department of English and American Literature, Harvard University.

November 17
"Government Networks and Trans-governmental Ethics." Professor **Anne-Marie Slaughter**, Harvard Law School.

December 2
"My Brother's Keeper: International Rights and Obligations in 'Problem States.'" Professor **Seyom Brown**, Department of Political Science, Brandeis University.

December 9
"Thinking About International Governance." Professor **Stanley Hoffmann**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

February 16
"On the Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Liberal States and Domestic Political Uncertainty." Professor **Andrew Moravcsik**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

March 3
"Cruel and Unusual Punishment in the Roman Empire and Dynastic China." Professor **Barrington Moore**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

March 12
"Adaptive Preferences and Women's Options." **Martha Nussbaum**, Professor of Law and Ethics, University of Chicago.

March 24
"Second Thoughts on International Justice." Professor **Charles Beitz**, Bowdoin College.

April 16
"Distributive Justice and International Trade." Professor **Ethan Kapstein**, University of Minnesota.

April 28
"The Strategic Behavior of Tyrants: A Neo-Classical Perspective." Professor **Stephen Rosen**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

FELLOWS PROGRAM

The 1998-99 Fellows contributed in many ways to life both within and beyond the Weatherhead Center and the wider Harvard community. Ten diplomats, four civil servants, three military officers,and two journalists comprised the 41st class of Fellows and offered the practitioner's voice and perspective to the Center's international affairs dialogue and debate. The issues chosen by the Fellows for further research and analysis included legal cooperation between China and the West, media and democracy in Africa, prospects for India-U.S. relations, adjustment policy and globalization, regionalism and UN multilateral action at the end of the twentieth century, and global climate warming and human life.

While on campus, the Fellows were engaged in the life of the University in various and productive ways: speaking at seminars, providing guest lectures in courses of instruction, serving as informal thesis and dissertation advisers, and carrying out their own research. They also interacted informally with faculty, students, and other extra-academic practitioners. Fellows were engaged in the work of such Harvard institutions as the Asia Center, the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies,the Davis Center for Russian Research, the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, the Institute of Politics of the John F. Kennedy School of Government,and the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies.

Venturing beyond the gates of Harvard, the Fellows also added to the academic discourse at other area institutions,including Bentley College, Boston University, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, the Goethe Society of New England, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of Massachusetts at Boston. Thunderbird, the American Graduate School of International Management, hosted one of the Fellows on its campus in Arizona for a seminar presentation in its Global Issues Forum. Both the New Hampshire and Rhode Island Councils of World Affairs brought Fellows to Manchester, New Hampshire and Providence, Rhode Island, respectively, to address their membership as well as interested persons within those communities. Other Fellows provided educational opportunities to young students at the Cambridge Rindge and Latin School and through the Global Classrooms Project of Boston's World Affairs Council.

The year's program also included a visit to the headquarters of the *Boston Globe* for a discussion with editors and writers on issues relating, inter alia, to the current state and future of print journalism. In April, the group had a first-hand look — hard hats and safety goggles required — at Boston's "Big Dig," the largest and most expensive public works project currently underway in the U.S., which is working to depress the major highway artery that runs through the city.

The Canadian government once again generously provided the Fellows with a study tour of various and distinctive cities,including Ottawa, Montréal, Québec City, Toronto, and St. John's, Newfoundland. The trip took place in August and featured a series of briefings on issues ranging from Canadian federalism to economic development in relatively impoverished areas.

With administrative assistance from the U.S. Information Agency, the Fellows embarked on a second study trip in May, which focused on the U.S. The initial destination was Mississippi,

where the Fellows visited Tougaloo College, a historically black college and haven for Civil Rights activists in the 1960s; the Piney Woods Country Life School, a historically black boarding school that brings urban youth into a rural environment; and various cities within the Mississippi Delta region to explore with their political leadership issues of economic growth and development. The Fellows then moved on to Houston where they met with Mayor Lee Brown,had discussions with professors of sociology and political science at Rice University, enjoyed an overview of the city from the perspective of an architectural historian, and attended services at the Holman Street Baptist Church. In San Diego, their third and final destination, the Fellows traveled the U.S.-Mexico border at the San Ysidro border crossing, toured the Pacific base of the U.S. Navy, and met with researchers at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography.

As in years past, we were happy to welcome former Fellows back to Coolidge Hall to brief the current class on the issues that they are currently handling in their present professional roles. The returning Fellows included **Geert-Hinrich Ahrens** (1983-84),German ambassador to Colombia; **Ulrich Brandenburg** (1991-92),head of the Partnership and Cooperation Section in the Political Affairs Division at NATO Headquarters; **Richard Miles** (1987-88), chargé d'affaires in the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade; and **Peter Yoshiyasu Sato** (1974-75), former Japanese ambassador to the People's Republic of China.

Numerous events during the year, both on and off campus, provided the Fellows with opportunities to meet such distinguished leaders as **Kofi Annan**, secretary general of the United Nations; **Donald Campbell**, Canadian deputy minister of foreign affairs and international trade; **Eric Clarke**, the secretary of state of Mississippi; **Michael S.Dukakis**, former governor of Massachusetts and former democratic candidate for the U.S. presidency; **Raymond Flynn**, former U.S. ambassador to the Vatican and former mayor of Boston; **Mayor Jean-Paul L'Allier** of Québec City; **Vice Admiral Dennis McGinn**, commander of the 3rd Fleet, U.S. Navy; **Martine Reicherts,** spokesperson for the European Commission; **Björn von Sydow**, Swedish minister of defense; **Jean-Claude Trichet**, governor of the Banque de France and member of the Governing Council of the European Central Bank; and **Akashi Yasushi**, president of the Hiroshima Peace Institute and former under-secretary-general of the UN.

Friday Lunch Seminars, 1998-99

Chair: **Steven B. Bloomfield**

September 25

"Russia: Why It Matters and What Is To Be Done," **Graham Allison**, Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government; and Douglas Dillon Professor of Government.

October 2

"Current Issues Facing the Democratic Party in the United States," **Michael Dukakis**, former Governor of Massachusetts; former Presidential candidate (1988) of the Democratic Party; Professor of Political Science, Northeastern University, Boston; and Visiting Professor at the School of Public Policy and Social Research, UCLA.

October 9

"The Phenomenon of Multiculturalism in American Society," **Nathan Glazer**, Professor Emeritus of Education and Social Structure, Harvard Graduate School of Education; and author of *We Are All Multiculturalists Now.*

October 16

"Case Study in Research Methodology: Congress and the Federal Reserve," **Lawrence Broz**, Associate Professor of Government, Harvard University; and author of *International Origins of the Federal Reserve System.*

October 23

"Problems of National Identity (with reference to the United States)," **Samuel Huntington**, Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor; Director, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies; Chairman, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies; and author of *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.*

October 30

"Contemporary Russia," **Richard Pipes**, Frank B. Baird, Jr. Professor of History Emeritus, Harvard University.

November 6

"Post-Election Reflections," **Mickey Edwards**, Lecturer in Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government; former Republican Congressman from Oklahoma; and former National Chairman of the American Conservative Union and the Conservative Political Action Conference.

November 13

"Racial and National Identity in America," **Jim Sleeper**, Fellow, Shorenstein Center for Press, Politics, and Public Policy; former political columnist for the *Daily News* (New York); and author of *The Closest of Strangers*, and *Liberal Racism*.

November 20

"The Carter-Nunn-Powell Mission to Haiti, September 1994: Ten Lessons for Resolving Conflicts," **Robert Pastor**, Ralph L. Straus Visiting Professor, Kennedy School of Government and the Weatherhead Center; and Goodrich C. White Professor of Political Science, Emory University, Atlanta.

December 11

"The State of Public Education in America," **John Silber**, Chancellor, Boston University; Chairman, Massachusetts Board of Education; and author of *Straight Shooting: What's Wrong with America and How to Fix It.*

February 5

"Japan-China Relations," **Peter Yoshiyasu Sato** (CFIA Fellow 1974-75), Former Ambassador of Japan to the People's Republic of China (co-sponsored with the Asia Center).

February 12

"Manliness,"**Harvey Mansfield**, William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Government, Harvard University; and author of *Taming the Prince: The Ambivalence of Modern Executive Power; No Liberty for License: The Forgotten Logic of the First Amendment;* and *Machiavelli's Virtue.*

February 19

"The Culture and Politics of Contemporary Turkey," **Nicole Pope**, Turkish correspondent for *Le Monde*

and *Middle East International;* and co-author of *Turkey Unveiled: A History of Modern Turkey.*

March 19

"The Question of Faith and Faith-based Communities in American Life," J**ames Wallis**, Fellow, Center for the Study of Values in Public Life, Harvard Divinity School; Editor-in-Chief of *Sojourners;* and author of *The Soul of Politics,* and *Who Speaks for God? An Alternative to the Religious Right — A New Politics of Compassion, Community and Civility.*

March 26

"Revolution Beneath the Radar," **Pam Solo**, Founder and President, Institute for Civil Society; and author of *From Protest to Policy: Beyond the Freeze to Common Security.*

April 23

"Arab Intellectuals and Saddam Hussein: A discussion of the book *Cruelty and Silence,*" **Kanan Makiya**, Associate, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University; and author of *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World;* and *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq.*

April 30

"What Role for Labor Standards in the Global Economy?" **Richard Freeman**, Ascherman Professor of Economics, Harvard University; Director, Labor Studies Program, National Bureau of Economic Research; and Director, Program for Discontinuous Economics, London School of Economics.

May 7

"Humanitarian Intervention," **Noam Chomsky**, Institute Professor and Professor of Linguistics,MIT; author of *Profit Over People: Neoliberalism & Global Order;* and *Powers and Prospects: Reflections on Human Nature and the Social Order;* and editor of *The Cold War & the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years.*

Fellows' Special Seminars, 1998-99

September 1

"Reflections on the Race for the 8th District Congressional Seat," **Raymond L. Flynn**, Former U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican (1993-1998); Former Mayor of Boston (1984-1993); Democratic candidate, 8th Congressional District of Massachusetts.

September 11

"Canada's International Trade Policy," **Sergio Marchi**, Canadian Minister for International Trade (co-sponsored with the Canada Seminar).

September 15

"Japan's Growing (Shrinking?) Role on the World Stage," **Akashi Yasushi**, President of the Hiroshima Peace Institute; former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations; Observer at last set of Cambodian elections; UN point man in Bosnia (co-sponsored with the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations).

November 19

"Democracy and Security: The Case of Europe," **Björn Von Sydow**, Swedish Minister of Defense.

December 3

Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution Workshop, **Donna Hicks**, Deputy Director, PICAR, and **Herbert Kelman**, Director, PICAR.

February 10

"What's Been Happening to American Community Life and How Do We Begin to Fix It?" **Robert Putnam**, Stanfield Professor of International Peace (KSG); Director, The Saguaro Seminar: Civic Engagement in America (KSG); and author of *Bowling Alone: Civic Disengagement in America and What to do About It.*

March 16

"Ethnic Integration in America: How Far Have We Come?" **Orlando Patterson**, John Cowles Professor of Sociology, Harvard University; and author of *Rituals of Blood: Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries*, and *The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America's 'Racial' Crisis.*

May 4

"South Korea's 'Sunshine Policy' and the Future of the Korean Peninsula," **Han Sung-Joo**, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea (co-sponsored with the Asia Center).

Special Seminar Series: Visions for European Governance, 1998-99

A seminar series created and organized by **Renée Haferkamp**, Fellow 1993-94, to explore current issues of concern for the future of the European Union.

Co-Chairs: **Steven Bloomfield**, **Renée Haferkamp**, and **George Ross**

Co-Sponsors: Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, the Jean Monnet Program of Harvard Law School,and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

October 1

"Enlargement: Will the European Union Die of Indigestion?" **Etienne Davignon**, Chairman, Société Générale de Belgique, and former Vice President of the European Commission.

October 7

"Economic and Monetary Union as Seen by the Banque de France," **Jean-Claude Trichet**, Governor of the Banque de France, and Member of the Governing Council of the European Central Bank.

November 20

"A Stronger and Wider European Union: How to Square the Circle?" **Carlo Trojan**, Secretary General of the European Commission.

December 16

"The EU-US Summit: Myths and Realities," **Martine Reicherts**, Spokesperson for the European Commission.

March 2

"A Social Model for the New Millennium—European or American?" **Pádraig Flynn**, Commissioner for Employment, Industrial Relations, and Social Affairs; and **Robert Reich**, Former U.S. Secretary of Labor, and Maurice B. Hexter Professor of Social and Economic Policy, Brandeis University.

April 28

"Europe's New Telephone Number: A More Common Foreign and Security Policy?" **Hugo Paeman** (Speaker), Head of Delegation of the European Commission to the United States, Washington, D.C.; and **Stanley Hoffmann** (Discussant), Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor, Harvard University. [Note: This event marked the official inauguration of Harvard's European Union Center.]

May 4

"Does the European Union have a Constitution? Does It Need One?"
Jean-Claude Piris, Director-General of the Legal Service of the Council of Ministers of the European Union.

Fellows and their Research Papers, 1998-99

Michael Alvis (United States)
"The Lingering Myths of US Peace Operations in the Late 20th Century"

Michael Bell (Canada)
"The Temptation of Mecca: King Hussein and the Gulf Crisis"

Michael Boorstein (United States)
"Virtual Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Implications for the Department of State"

Rune Castberg (Norway)
"The Post-Soviet Caspian Region: A Great Game?"

Stéphane Chmelewsky (France)
"The Search for National Identity in Today's Russia"

Charles Crawford (United Kingdom)
"The Limits of Diplomacy"

Marc Felman (United States)
"Ten Propositions Regarding Coalition Warfare"

Jorge Gallardo Zavala (Ecuador)
"Financial Crises in the 90s"

Mansour Gharavi (Islamic Republic of Iran)
"The Revolution and Political Shi'ism in Iran"

Friedrich Gröning (Germany)
"Turkey's Relationship with the European Union and Germany: Finding a Road Map for Turkey's Integration into Europe"

Mark Kosnik (United States)
"An Analysis of the United States Use of Military Force Against Terrorism"

Federico Molina Soto (Colombia)
"Fighting Money Laundering in an Era of Electronic Transfers"

Jimmy Ocitti (Uganda)
"Media and Democracy in Africa"

Pham Binh Man (Socialist Republic of Vietnam)
"ASEAN's Economic Integration: Opportunities and Challenges for Vietnam"

John Pitt-Brooke (United Kingdom)
"The Hour of Europe: A Study of the Theory and Practice of European Defence with Particular Reference to the European Management of the Wars in Yugoslavia 1991-94"

Pirkko Pöntinen (Finland)
"Legal Cooperation between China and the West"

Jayant Prasad (India)
"Prospects for India-U.S. Relations: The Past as Prologue or Epilogue?"

Peter Smith (United Kingdom)
"Adjustment Policy and Globalisation"

Panayotis Tsakonas (Greece)
"Confronting the Effects of the Security Dilemma: The Greek-Turkish Arms Race"

Francisco Tudela (Peru)
"Regionalism and UN Multilateral Action at the End of the XXth Century"

Kunio Umeda (Japan)
"Global Climate Warming and Human Life"

GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Seminar on Global Communications and International Relations

Co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Program on Information Resources Policy, this seminar explored the impact of global communications on international relations. It focused particularly on the impact of communications and information technologies on the struggles for power, peace, development, and democracy in the four arenas of global security, and economic, political,and cultural relations.
Chair: **George Hayes**

November 2

"Information Revolution: Is China on the Eve or on the Way?" **"Frank" Xing Fan**, International Communications Studies Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

December 7

"International Telecommunications Policy: Prospects for the Future," **Richard C."Dick" Beaird**, Deputy U.S. Coordinator for International Communications and Information Policy, U.S. Department of State.

December 14

"France Telecom and European Communications," **François Vulliod**, Vice President, Corporate Planning, France Telecom.

January 25

"Efforts of the Department of State to Modernize its Global Networking Infrastructure," **Michael Boorstein**, U.S. Department of State Fellow, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

February 22

"New Joint Doctrine on Information Operations: A Critical Comment," **Brigadier General Walter Jajko**, USAF, (Ret), Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, Office of the Secretary of Defense; Defense Fellow and Professor of National Security Studies, Institute of World Politics.

INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES

Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies

Founded in 1986, the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies provides significant fellowship support to a small group of young scholars who combine excellence in a social science discipline with a strong regional focus of application. The Academy's premise is that society needs individuals who combine thorough disciplinary and area specializations. Those selected as Academy Scholars work for two years conducting either dissertation or postdoctoral research in their chosen fields and regions. They are provided with time, guidance, financial assistance, and access to Harvard's facilities to help them achieve their academic potential. During the course of the fellowship, each Academy Scholar presents his or her work to colleagues, Senior Scholars, and other interested faculty, and participates in the Academy's monthly seminar series on globalization and culture. The deadline for applications to the Harvard Academy is October 15,1999.

Building on its area expertise,the Academy also sponsors a variety of activities to promote understanding of the similarities,differences, and interactions among societies of different cultures and civilizations. In this connection,it has sponsored three major conferences during

the past two years and a faculty seminar on globalization and culture, which will continue during 1999-2000.

The Senior Scholars, a distinguished group of senior members of Harvard's faculty, act as the Academy's oversight committee,select new Academy Scholars, and serve as mentors of the Academy Scholars. The Academy's Senior Scholars in 1998-1999 were **Robert H. Bates**, **John Coatsworth**, **Timothy J. Colton**, **Grzegorz Ekiert**, **Samuel P. Huntington**, **Roderick MacFarquhar**, **Edward Roger Owen**, and **Susan Pharr**.

Initially endowed by a gift from **Dr. Ira Kukin**, the Academy has also received supporting grants from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation,the Pew Charitable Trusts, and the Andrew Mellon Foundation. **Samuel P. Huntington** was chairman of the Academy in 1998-1999, and **Chester D. Haskell** was executive secretary.

For more information contact **Beth Hastie**, program coordinator. Telephone: 617-495-3671; fax:617-495-8292; e-mail: <bhastie@cfia.harvard.edu>.

Senior Academy Scholars

Robert H.Bates, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government; and Faculty Fellow in the Harvard Institute for International Development

John Coatsworth, Monroe Gutman Professor of Latin American Affairs; and Director, Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies

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

Grzegorz Ekiert, Professor of Government

Samuel P. Huntington, Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor; and Director, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, WCFIA

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

Edward Roger Owen, A.J. Meyer Professor of Middle East History; and Director, Center for Middle Eastern Studies

Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics; and Director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, WCFIA (on leave)

1998-99 Academy Scholars

Peter Andreas
Audrey Helfant Budding
Oleg Kharkhordin
Robert Pekkanen
Timothy Snyder
Kellee S. Tsai
Richard Turits

1998-99 Academy Scholar Research Topics and Activities

Peter Andreas began the 1998-99 academic year by finishing his dissertation, entitled "Sovereigns and Smugglers: Enforcing the U.S.-Mexico Border in the Age of Economic Integration." He has turned the dissertation into a book manuscript, which is under review at a university press. Peter's co-edited volume, *The Illicit Global Economy and State Power,* was published in February. He also published an article in *Political Science Quarterly* on "The Escalation of Immigration Control in the Post-NAFTA Era," and reviewed a number of books in the same journal. Peter gave presentations on his research at Harvard,MIT, Brown, the University of Pittsburgh, Tufts,and Georgetown. He collaborated with **Tim Snyder** in organizing a conference (sponsored by the Harvard Academy and the Weatherhead Center) on "Border Control, State Power, and Economic Integration: Perspectives from Europe and North America," June 4-6 at Harvard. He will spend his summer working on the final revisions for his book manuscript, as well as writing two papers for the annual conference of the American Political Science

Association. He was offered and accepted a tenure track position as an assistant professor of political science at Reed College in Portland Oregon, which he has deferred starting until the fall of 2000.

Audrey Helfant Budding: Before beginning her maternity leave, Audrey Helfant Budding worked mainly on revisions to the manuscript of her 1998 dissertation, "Serb Intellectuals and the National Question,1961-1991." She is currently completing an article exploring the Serbian rejection of "Yugoslavism" and, more broadly, tensions between national and communist-promoted multinational identities.

Oleg Kharkhordin: In the fall Oleg made final corrections with UC Press for the publication of his book, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices*, which appeared in April 1999. He spent the fall semester at the European University at St. Petersburg, developing the International MA in Russian Studies there, and taught a class for international students, Political Theory and Russian Studies. In the spring he returned to Cambridge and worked on the Russian edition of his book. Oleg also started a new research project on the concept of the state and wrote a plenary paper for the SSRC-MacArthur Conference entitled "Aesthetic States: Margins of Security Studies" held at SUNY Stony Brook in September 1999. During the spring 1999 semester he presented his work at UC Berkeley, Georgetown, European University Viadrina (Germany), and in a series of research seminars at Harvard. Oleg has been appointed Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science and Sociology at the European University at St. Petersburg, where he will return by the fall of 1999.

Robert Pekkanen: In August, Robert returned from field research in Japan and began writing up his dissertation, "Civil Society in Japan." Robert made several presentations of preliminary results, including one to the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting.

Timothy Snyder continued to conduct research and began writing his book *Peace in the Northeast: The Problem of Nationalism, the Challenge of History, and the Success of Poland's Eastern Policy.* In November he interviewed Jerzy Giedroyc, one of the most influential figures of postwar Poland, and in May he interviewed President Aleksander Kwasniewski, one of those Giedroyc influenced. The book will combine a theoretical argument about national identity and state policy, a historiographical treatment of past conflicts, and a contemporary account of Poland's relations with Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine,and Russia. In December Snyder received the Halecki Prize for outstanding work in East European History for his first book, *Nationalism, Marxism, and Modern Central Europe: A Biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1872-1905).* He published scholarly articles in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* and *Polin*, and prepared articles for *Revue des Etudes Slaves* and the *Journal of Cold War Studies*. He also wrote essays for the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), *Transitions* (Prague), *Prospect* (London), *Przeglad Spoleczny* (Warsaw), and *Unia-Polska* (Warsaw). He delivered lectures at the Davis Center for Russian Studies and the Ukrainian Research Institite at Harvard, as well as at Georgetown University (Washington), the School for Slavonic and East European Studies (London),and the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw). With **Peter Andreas**, he also co-organized a conference on "Border Controls, State Power, and Economic Integration," held under the auspices of the Academy and the WCFIA at Harvard in June.

Kellee S. Tsai: In addition to working on her dissertation throughout the year, Kellee Tsai presented her research in a number of venues. In September, she presented a

paper entitled "The Logic of Local Financial Institutional Innovation in China and Beyond"at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association; in October she served as a discussant for the "Issues in Chinese Local Government" panel at the New England Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference held at Tufts University; in November she presented her research to the Harvard Academy; in March, she presented a paper entitled,"Financing Private Enterprises in China:A Political Economic View from Below"at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies; and she also gave a talk via the Fairbank Center's East Asian Colloquia series entitled,"Private Entrepreneurs and Informal Finance in China." In addition, she enrolled in the weekly Performance of Democracies Workshop run by **Robert Putnam**, **Grzegorz Ekiert**, **Steve Vogel**, and **Jorge Domínguez**, which gave her the opportunity to present her own work and serve as a discussant for others. Kellee also continued to participate in the China Business Project Breakfast organized by **Ezra Vogel.** In early May Kellee successfully defended and deposited her dissertation, "Banking Behind the State: Private Entrepreneurs and the Political Economy of Informal Finance in China,1978-1998," and received her Ph.D. in Political Science at Columbia University. In addition, *The China Quarterly* accepted her article "Banquet Banking: Gender and Rotating Savings and Credit Associations in China" for publication. Before commencing employment at Emory University as an Assistant Professor of Political Science, Kellee will return to Hong Kong and China to follow up on her original research sites and lay the groundwork for her next project.

Richard Turits spent the year writing a book manuscript tentatively titled *Foundations of Despotism: The Paradoxes of Power, Consent, and Modernity in the Dominican Countryside under the Trujillo Regime.* He presented this manuscript to scholars at the University of Michigan under the auspices of the New Series in Politics, History and Culture of Cornell University Press. He also completed the entry on "Dominican-Haitian Relations" published in *Encarta Africana,* an encyclopedia of Africa and the African diaspora edited by Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates. In addition, he presented a paper entitled "The Agonies of State Formation: Peasants, Nation, and Terror in Dominican History"at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, and then expanded this paper into an article manuscript of the same title. He is also in the process of preparing several other articles stemming from his dissertation research and from related work on race, nation,and violence in Dominican history. While at the Harvard Academy, he served as co-chair for Harvard University's Latin America Tuesday Seminar. In September, he will return to his position as assistant professor in the Department of History at Princeton University.

Globalization and Culture Seminar

Chairs: Samuel Huntington, Weatherhead Center, and Peter Berger, Boston University.

In the past several years there has been much talk about and some evidence of the emergence of what might be called global or universal cultures. First is the "Davos culture," ideas concerning market capitalism,liberal democracy, private property, the rule of law, and economic development widely shared by government ministers and bureaucrats, corporation executives, academics, and officials of international agencies in countries throughout the world. This is the culture

of much of the world's elite. Second, there is globalized popular culture "carried" by the media, advertising, imitative consumer habits—from rock music to jeans to fast food. This is not just a matter of behavior: many of these items involve values and beliefs. Third, there appears also to be emerging what might be termed a global "humanitarian culture," supporting human rights and equality for women, opposing ethnic cleansing and racial discrimination, and promoting the responsibility of governments and international agencies to mitigate human suffering anywhere on the planet. This culture is disseminated through academic and intellectual networks, foundations, NGOs, some international agencies, and the media. How do these three Western-generated emerging global cultures interact with non-Western indigenous cultures?

The Globalization and Culture Seminar sought to address these and related issues with participants including faculty, research associates, and graduate students from Harvard and the larger Boston-Cambridge area. Participants came from a variety of disciplines,including history, sociology, political science, economics,anthropology, law, and social psychology; people specializing in the world's major cultural areas as well as people who work on the transmission, dissemination, and assimilation of ideas, technology, and customs. The seminar met five times for discussions over dinner at the Faculty Club.

October 6

"The Asian Values Debate: Are We All Becoming the Same?" **Nathan Glazer**, Professor of Education and Sociology Emeritus, Harvard University.

November 3

"Is Latin America Undergoing a Cultural Transformation?" **Jorge Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, Harvard University; Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Discussant: **Claudio Veliz,** University Professor, Boston University.

December 1

"Resisting Americanization: The Experiences of Canada, France,and China," **Stanley Hoffmann**, Director, Center for European Studies, Harvard University; **Leo Ou-Fan Lee**, Professor of Chinese Literature, Harvard University; **Richard Simeon**, Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies, Harvard University.

February 9

"Structural Globalization and Cultural Fragmentation: Their Contemporary Interaction," **Bassam Tibi**, Augusta Professor of International Relations and Director, University of Göttingen; and Robert Bosch Fellow, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

April 6

"Globalization and Religion," **James Kurth**, Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College.

Special Event

September 17, 1999

"The Politics of Globalization," University Lecture, **Hon. Kofi Annan**, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Special Seminars

February 9, 1999

"From Plato to Nato: The Idea of the West and Its Opponents," **Dr. David Gress**, Director, Center for Studies on America and the West, Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia.

April 7, 1999

"The Kosovo Conflict and Its Implications for the Postcommunist World," **Veljko Vujacic**, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Oberlin College; Former Academy Scholar, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. Co-sponsored with the Davis Center for Russian Studies.

Cultural Values and Human Progress: A Symposium

April 23-25, 1999
American Academy of Arts and Sciences
136 Irving Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies sponsored a symposium on cultural values and human progress that took place at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on April 23-25, 1999. The goal of the symposium, which was organized by Mr. Larry Harrison and chaired by Professor Samuel Huntington, was to advance understanding of how cultural values and attitudes influence the political, economic, and social dimensions of human progress, with particular emphasis on poor countries, but also with respect to underachieving minorities in the United States.

The symposium brought together twenty-four social scientists, journalists, and practitioners, many of whom have focused on cultural factors in their work. Some have expressed skepticism about culture's impact on progress; others have even questioned the notion of "progress." Thus, a consensus was neither expected nor reached. Nevertheless, t he panel presentations stimulated intense discussion in which an audience of about seventy-five people—scholars, journalists, development practitioners, foundation and research institution representatives—played an active role.

The Harvard Academy is elaborating a proposal for theoretical and applied research aimed at integrating value and attitude change into development planning and programming. The symposium proceedings will be published by Basic Books in 2000.

April 23

Introduction: **Samuel Huntington**, Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor, Harvard University.

Panel 1: Culture and Political Development

Moderator: **Jorge Domínguez**, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, Harvard University; Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

Ronald Inglehart, Professor of Political Science and Program Director, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan: "Culture and Democracy."

Francis Fukuyama, Omer L.and Nancy Hirst Professor of Public Policy, Institute of Public Policy, George Mason University: "Social Capital."

Seymour Martin Lipset, Hazel Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University: "Culture and Corruption."

Panel 2: Culture and Economic Development, Part I

Moderator: **Christopher DeMuth**, President, American Enterprise Institute.

David Landes, Coolidge Professor of History and Professor of Economics, Emeritus, Harvard University: "Culture Makes All the Difference."

Michael Porter, C. Roland Christensen Professor of Business Administration, Harvard University: "Culture and Competitiveness."

Jeffrey Sachs, Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade, Harvard University; Director, Harvard Institute for International Development; Director, Center for International Development: "Culture as One of Several Factors that Influence Outcomes."

Panel 3: Culture and Economic Development, Part II

Moderator: **Harriet Babbitt**, Deputy Administrator, USAID.

Mariano Grondona, Professor of Government,Law Faculty, National University of Buenos Aires:"Progress-Prone and Progress-Resistant Cultures."

Carlos Alberto Montaner, Author, *Manual del Perfecto Idiota Latinoamericano; Fabricantes de Miseria* (both co-authored with Plinio Apuleyo Mendoza and Álvaro Vargas Llosa); and *No Perdamos También el Siglo Veintiuno*: "Culture and the Behavior of Key Groups."

Daniel Etounga-Manguelle, President and Founder of the Societé Africaine d'Etude, d'Exploitation et de Gestion (SADEG): "The African Case."

Panel 4: Cultures That Work; Cultures That Don't

Moderator: **Howard Gardner**, Professor of Education, Harvard University Graduate School of Education.

Robert Edgerton, Professor of Anthropology, Departments of Anthropology and Psychiatry and Biobehavioral Sciences, University of California, Los Angeles: "Sick Societies."

Richard Shweder, Professor of Human Development, University of Chicago: "Is Culture a Waste of Time?"

Thomas Weisner, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles: "Cultural Transmission in Childhood."

Presentation by **His Excellency Dr. Emil Constantinescu**, President of Romania.

April 24

Panel 5:The Asian Crisis

Moderator: **Roderick MacFarquhar**, Leroy B. Williams Professor of History and Political Science, Harvard University.

Dwight Perkins, Harold Hitchings Burbank Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University

Lucian Pye, Ford Professor of Political Science Emeritus, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Tu Weiming, Professor of Chinese History and Philosophy, Harvard University; Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute

Panel 6: Culture and Gender

Moderator: **Phyllis Pomerantz**, The World Bank.

Barbara Crossette, United Nations Bureau Chief, *New York Times*: "Cultural Conflicts with Human Rights."

Mala Htun, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science, Harvard University: "Culture and Gender—Latin America."

Rubie Watson, William and Muriel Howells Director, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University: "Culture and Gender—China."

Panel 7: Culture and American Minorities

Moderator: **Governor Richard Lamm**, University of Denver.

Orlando Patterson, John Cowles Professor of Sociology, Harvard University: "Culture, Slavery, and Black Underachievement."

Stephan Thernstrom, Winthrop Professor of History, Harvard University: "Population Trends in the U.S."

Nathan Glazer, Professor of Education and Sociology Emeritus, Harvard University: "Promoting the Melting Pot."

Panel 8: Promoting Progressive Cultural Change

Moderator: **Robert Klitgaard**, Dean, RAND Graduate School.

Lawrence Harrison, Author of *Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind; Who Prospers?* and T*he Pan-American Dream:* Overview.

Stace Lindsay, Founder of Monitor Company's Country Competitiveness practice in Latin America:"Mental Models and Prosperity."

Michael Fairbanks, Leader of the Monitor Company's Country Competitiveness practice; Visiting Scholar, Hoover Institution, Stanford University: "Changing the Mind of a Nation."

April 25
Discussion
Closing: **Samuel Huntington**

The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies notes with gratitude the sources of financial support that have made this symposium possible: Monitor Company, The Carthage Foundation, The John Templeton Foundation, The Sidney A. Swensrud Foundation, Max Thelen.

Border Control, State Power, and Economic Integration: Perspectives from Europe and North America

June 4-6, 1999
Weatherhead Center for International Affairs
1737 Cambridge St.
Cambridge MA

The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs co-sponsored a conference on border controls, state power, and economic integration. The goal of the conference, which was chaired and organized by Academy Scholars **Peter Andreas** and **Tim Snyder**, was to explore the relationship between regional integration and the control of frontiers in Europe and North America. Conference participants examined the proposition that even as the military and economic functions of state borders may be in decline,their policing function has been reasserted, especially in the area controlling the cross-border movement of people. The conference crossed both professional and geographic borders, bringing together sociologists,historians, geographers, political scientists, and policy-makers from both sides of the Atlantic. The papers presented by the participants will be revised for inclusion in a volume edited by the conference organizers.

June 4
Welcoming remarks

Jorge Domínguez, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, Harvard University, and Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs; **Timothy Snyder**, Postdoctoral Fellow, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

June 5
Welcome and introduction

Samuel P. Huntington, Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor, and **Peter Andreas**, Postdoctoral Fellow, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

Panel I: Historical and Comparative Perspectives

John Torpey, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of California, Irvine: "States and the Regulation of Migration in the Twentieth Century North Atlantic World."

Malcolm Anderson, Professor Emeritus, University of Edinburgh: "The Transformation of Border Controls: A European Precedent?"

Peter Andreas, Postdoctoral Fellow, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies: "Fortress West: U.S. and European Border Controls."

Virginie Guiraudon, Visiting Scholar, Center for International Studies, Princeton University; and **Gallya Lahav**, Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Wesleyan University:"Shopping for Migration Control Allies and Venues."
Discussant: Jorge Domínguez

Panel II: U.S. Border Controls

Christopher Mitchell, Professor, Department of Politics, New York University: "U.S. Border Control: The Case of Miami."

Maria Elena Alcaraz, Counsellor for Migration Affairs,Embassy of Mexico, Washington, D.C.: "The United States Border Controls:A Mexican Perspective."

Joseph Nevins, Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles: "Transnational Integration and the Making and Breaking of the California-Mexico Boundary."

David Spener, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Trinity University, San Antonio:"Reconstructing *La Frontera*."
Discussant: John Coatsworth

PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION

The Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution

The Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PICAR) works to advance the understanding of international and interethnic conflicts, and to develop interactive, problem-solving processes that can be effective in managing or resolving such conflicts. Using a view of international conflict as an intersocietal as well as an intergovernmental process, and a corresponding view of diplomacy as a creative integration of official and unofficial efforts, PICAR members research how democratization, pluralism, and the building of civil society in multiethnic states will be enhanced if underlying sources of conflict are discussed and addressed, both in current conflict resolution efforts and in setting up systems for managing conflicts in the future. PICAR is supported by a grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

Program members in 1998-99 included faculty members and doctoral students,all of whom are scholar-practitioners combining research and theory building with the practice of third-party facilitation. In addition, PICAR maintained active contact with a growing network of former members whose professional work has taken them to a variety of academic institutions and governmental or non-governmental organizations in the United States and abroad.

The primary area of practice for many program members has been the Middle East. However, several other initiatives have been developed by PICAR members, which include projects in Sri Lanka,the Balkans, Cyprus, Northern Ireland,and Worcester, Massachusetts. Program members were involved in a variety of continuing research

projects, falling into three main categories: (1) evaluation of the effectiveness of conflict resolution interventions in protracted conflicts and comparative study of different conflict resolution models; (2) the role of different theoretical variables—such as collective identity, power asymmetry, leadership, religion, resource distribution, the teaching of history, decision-making structures,issue framing, perspective taking, developmental capacities, and forgiveness—in the generation, perpetuation, and resolution of conflict; and (3) the interface between conflict resolution efforts and human rights activities, as well as the more traditional governmental activities of peacekeeping and peacemaking.

Practice is at the core of PICAR activities. It involves the design and implementation of problem-solving workshops in which members of communities in conflict meet together for an intensive three-to-four day period to engage in "joint thinking" about solutions to the problems that divide them. Such joint thinking is promoted by the careful choice of participants, by a well-developed set of ground rules, and by bringing the basic human needs of identity and security into the foreground of the political discussion.

PICAR workshops of 1998-99 included the Middle East project, co-chaired by PICAR Director Herbert Kelman and Professor Nadim Rouhana, which was a joint Israeli-Palestinian working group composed of influential members of both communities, who met three times in 1998-99: in London in April; in Southampton,England in July; and Istanbul, Turkey in November. Discussions were geared toward the production of joint concept papers on the future relationship envisaged for the two communities and the implications of this vision for resolving the difficult political issues (such as Palestinian refugees, Israeli settlements, and the nature of the future relationship between the two political entities) that have been left to the final-status negotiations. This program continues to provide a model for the combination of scholarship with practice, of intervention methodology with policy analysis, and of the skills of the conflict generalist with the insights of the regional specialist. The Israeli-Palestinian working group was supported by grants from the Ford and the CRB Foundations.

Supported by a grant from the United States Institute of Peace, PICAR's Sri Lanka project, co-directed by program members Donna Hicks and William Weisberg, has entered into its third year. The project aims to bring together members of the Sinhalese and Tamil communities to discuss ways to initiate a negotiated end to the conflict.

The Program hosted a seminar series on the theory and practice of international conflict resolution. In addition,a number of research seminars for scholar-practitioners in the field were held over the course of the academic year. Program members also conducted a one and one-half day seminar for the CFIA Fellows Program, focusing on the theory and practice of interactive problem-solving as an unofficial approach to conflict analysis and resolution. Finally, PICAR members were involved in teaching, curriculum development, and training activities, both locally and internationally. Donna Hicks and two other PICAR colleagues conducted a simulation workshop in Cartagena, Colombia. The seminar introduced PICAR's Interactive Problem-Solving approach to conflict resolution to a variety of politically influential journalists and politicians in Colombia. Donna Hicks and her colleague WilliamWeisberg also taught a week-long course on conflict resolution for

the International Institute for Political and Economic Studies in Athens, Greece.

PICAR's Director is Professor **Herbert C. Kelman**, **Donna Hicks** is the Deputy Director, and **Ursula Leitzmann** is the Staff Assistant.

Seminar on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution 1998-99

Co-Chairs: **Nadim Rouhana** and **Donna Hicks**

September 14

"Victims and Perpetrators: The Work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," **Nomfundo Walaza**, Director, Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture, Capetown, South Africa.

October 5

"The Transition from War to Peace: Complexity of Decision Making in the Israeli-Egyptian Case," **Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov**, Director, Davis Institute; Professor at the Department of International Relations, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

October 26

"Obstacles to Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina," **Charles Crawford**, Diplomat, Ambassador, British Embassy, Sarajevo.

November 16

"Condition(s) of Peace," **Emanuel Adler**, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

November 30

"Voice, Loyalty, and Exit: NGOs, Humanitarian Assistance, and Complex Emergencies," **Janice Stein**, Harrowston Professor of Conflict Resolution, University of Toronto.

February 1

"Preventive Action: A Real Thing or a Pipedream?" **Raimo Väyrynen,** Professor of Government and International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

February 22

"The Irrelevancy of Conflict Resolution," **Padraig O'Malley**, Senior Fellow in the McCormick Institute of Public Affairs, University of Massachusetts,and Editor of *The New England Journal of Public Policy.*

March 8

"Planning for Intervention," **Antonia Handler Chayes**, Director and Senior Advisor of Conflict Management Group, Adjunct Lecturer at the Kennedy School of Government, former Undersecretary of the United States Air Force.

March 29

"The Better-Formed Conflict Story: Toward a Prescriptive Narrative Model," **Sara Cobb**, Executive Director, Program on Negotiation, Harvard Law School.

April 19

"Legacies of Truth and Memory: Mothers of the Disappeared and the Changing Politics of Argentina, Chile and Guatemala," **Jennifer Schirmer**, Lecturer in Social Studies and Associate at PONSACS (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival), Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

1998-99 PICAR Members

Herbert C. Kelman, Director, PICAR,and Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics, Harvard University

Donna Hicks, Ph.D., Deputy Director, PICAR

Eilleen Babbitt, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Rebecca Edelson

Laura Keane, Consensus Building Institute (CBI)

Susan Korper

Rhoda Margesson, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Winifred O'Toole, Ed.D., University of Massachusetts, Boston

Nadim Rouhana, University of Massachusetts, Boston

Jeff Seul, J.D., Lecturer, Harvard Law School

Margaret Smith, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Pamela Steiner, Ed. D.

Rebecca Wolfe, Department of Psychology, Harvard University

INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

International Environmental Affairs Seminar

Together with Tufts University (Fletcher School International Environment and Resources Policy Program and Tufts Institute of the Environment) and MIT's Center for Environmental Initiatives, the Weatherhead Center sponsored a monthly dinner seminar series. The seminars were designed to promote interaction among faculty and advanced graduate students working in fields related to international and comparative environmental policies, politics, and institutions across the three campuses. MIT participated in planning some of the events. The seminars were by invitation, including a core group of participants along with those with specific interests in the topics of the seminar.

Chair: **Elizabeth R.DeSombre**

November 24

"Corporate Responses to Climate Change"

Gil Bamford, Vice President of Government, Industry Relations, Toyota

Henry Jacoby, MIT Sloan School of Management

Willaim Moomaw, Tufts Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

Richard Schmalensee, MIT Sloan School of Management

December 14

"Genetically Engineered Crops: Consequences for Sustainable Agriculture, Poverty Alleviation, and International Trade"

Sheldon Krimsky, Professor of Urban and Environmental Policy, Tufts University

Robert Paarlberg, Professor of Political Science, Wellesley College, and Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate

Calestous Juma, Joint Fellow at Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and the Center for International Development, Harvard University; and former Secretary of the Convention on Biological Diversity

Richard Shears, Monsanto

March 9

"International Trade and Environment: Regimes in Conflict?"

Joel Trachtman, Professor of International Law and Academic Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

Elizabeth DeSombre, Assistant Professor of Government and Environmental Studies, Colby College,and Weatherhead Center Visiting Scholar

Lawrence Susskind, Professor, MIT, and Director, Consensus Building Institute

Luis Carranza Garcia, Head of Environmental Affairs, CEMEX

April 20

"China and Climate Change"

Elizabeth Economy, Deputy Director, Asia Studies, and Fellow for China, Council on Foreign Relations

Song Li, Program Officer, Global Environmental Facility (GEF), and Professional Association for China's Environment (PACE)

Kenneth A. Oye, Director, MIT Center for International Studies

Peter Rogers, Gordon McKay Professor of Environmental Engineering, Harvard University

Abram Chayes, Harvard University Law School

JAPAN AND U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS

The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations

The Program on U.S.–Japan Relations enables outstanding scholars and practitioners to come together at Harvard to conduct independent research on topics in contemporary bilateral relations and to participate in an ongoing dialogue on those topics with other members of the Harvard University and greater Cambridge and Boston communities. The program was founded in 1980 on the belief that the United States and Japan have become so interdependent that the problems they face urgently require cooperation. The program's intellectual mandate has been broad since its inception and has included a full range of issues in bilateral relations, domestic problems that bear on Japan's international behavior, and Japan's relations with the rest of the world. In the 1990s, much research and discussion has focused on Japan's expanding international role in the fields of development, energy, environmental protection, and security.

Each year, the program hosts academics, government officials, business people,and journalists. Several advanced research fellowships are awarded to scholarly applicants with outstanding research credentials. While in residence at Harvard for the academic year, associates take part in the seminars, roundtables,and other functions of the program; attend classes and other activities in the Harvard community; present the results of their research in public panels; and prepare research reports that are published as the *Occasional Papers of the Program on U.S.–Japan Relations* and distributed to policy-makers and organizations around the world. Although most associates are from Japan and the United States, the program has also included individuals from a variety of East Asian and European countries.

During the academic year, the program invites leading commentators on issues in U.S.-Japan relations and related topics to speak at a weekly luncheon seminar series that is open to the public. The seminars are typically attended by thirty to sixty faculty members, researchers, graduate students,and undergraduates from Harvard University, MIT, the Fletcher School, and other neighboring institutions, as well as interested members of the wider community. In 1998-99, the seminar series featured a number of prominent individuals, including: **Yasushi Akashi**, former under-secretary-general of the United Nations; **Chan Heng Chee**, ambassador of the Republic of Singapore; **Joseph S. Nye,Jr.**, dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government; and **Yukio Matsuyama**, honorary chair of the Editorial Board of the *Asahi Shinbun*.

The program annually honors a Distinguished Visitor, who spends several days at Harvard to offer a luncheon seminar, speak at a dinner

held in his or her honor, and meet with students. In 1998-99,the program honored **Takie Sugiyama Lebra**, professor emeritus of anthropology at the University of Hawaii. Professor Lebra spoke on women's career strategies in Japan and differences between the Japanese and Western worldviews.

Susan J. Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, was on leave during the 1998-99 academic year but continues to serve as director of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. **Steven Vogel**, assistant professor in the Department of Government, was acting director in Professor Pharr's absence. **Frank Schwartz**, the program's associate director, was ably assisted by Program Coordinator **Jana Van der Veer**, and Staff Assistants **Fateh Khalsa** and **Ken Marden.**

U.S.-Japan Seminar Series

Chair: Steven Vogel

September 15

"Japan's Growing (Shrinking?) Role on the World Stage," **Yasushi Akashi**, President, Hiroshima Peace Institute, and former Under-Secretary-General, United Nations (co-sponsored by the Fellows Program).

September 22

"The Malaise of Incrementalism: Why Hasn't Japan Been Able to Overcome its Financial Crisis?" **Mineko Sasaki-Smith**, former chief economist and director, Credit Suisse First Boston (Japan).

September 29

"Deregulation and Financial Reform: How Will They Affect Japanese Companies?" **Hiroya Ichikawa**, Professor of Economics, Sophia University.

October 1

Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies: "Japanese Elections in the 1990s: Society, Culture, and Political Judgment," **Bradley Richardson,** Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University.

October 8

"The Asian Crisis: An Asian View," **Shinji Asanuma,** Professor of Economics, Hitotsubashi University.

October 13

"Japan's Economic Policies and Financial Strategy: A U.S. Perspective," **Joseph E. Gagnon**, Director, Office of Industrial Nations and Global Analyses, Department of the Treasury.

October 15

"Cartels of the Mind: Japan's Intellectual Closed Shop," **Ivan Hall**, Historian, Former Professor, Faculty of Law, Gukushuin University of Tokyo.

October 20

"Northeast Asian Security: Is KEDO the Key?" **Desaix Anderson**, Executive Director, Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) (co-sponsored by the Asia Center).

October 26

"How to Grasp Today's Politics in Japan," **Akikazu Hashimoto**, Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies.

October 27

Distinguished Visitor Lecture: "Making a Career in the World of Men: Women's Strategies in Japan," **Takie Sugiyama Lebra**, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, University of Hawaii, (co-sponsored by the Edwin O. Reischauer Institute for Japanese Studies).

October 30

"Japan's Banking Reform: Will It Be in Time?" **Yoko Sazanami**, Former Chair, Financial Crisis Management Committee and Professor Emeritus, Keio University.

November 5

"Markets and People Power versus Mandarins and Party Bosses: Strains

Within the Japanese System," **Jacob Schlesinger,** Staff Reporter, *The Wall Street Journal*, and author of *Shadow Shoguns: The Rise and Fall of Japan's Postwar Political Machine.*

November 10
"What is the Nature of the 'Japan Crisis'? Can the Japanese Polity Resolve It? A View from the Perspective of Institutional Complementarities," **Masahiko Aoki**, Takahashi Professor of Japanese Studies and Professor of Economics,Stanford University; and Director General, Research Institute, MITI.

November 17
"Peace and Security in the Asia Pacific: Looking Toward the 21st Century," **AkikoYamanaka**, Diet House of Representatives, (co-sponsored by the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies).

November 24
"The Politics of Decentralization Reform in Japan in the 1990s," **Michio Muramatsu**, Professor of Political Science, Kyoto University.

December 3
"Facing the Next Century: Issues in Southeast Asia," **Chan Heng Chee**, Ambassador of the Republic of Singapore.

December 8
Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies: "Expansion or Retrenchment? Welfare Politics in the 1990s," **Margarita Estévez-Abe**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota.

February 9
"The Rise of Chinese Power and East Asian Security," **Joseph S. Nye,Jr.,** Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government; **Ezra F. Vogel**, Director, Asia Center, discussant.

February 11
"Divided Government in Japan: How Do Recent Political Developments Advance Political Studies?" **Masaru Kohno,** Associate Professor, School of International Politics, Economics, and Business, Aoyama Gakuin University.

February 16
"Restoring Japan's Economic Growth," **Adam Posen**, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics.

February 23
Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies: "Trust and Social Intelligence in the United States and Japan," **Toshio Yamagishi**, Professor, Faculty of Letters, Hokkaido University.

March 2
"Inter-Institutional Governance: Can Japan Construct a Reliable Financial System?" **Yasunori Sone**, Professor, Graduate School of Media and Governance, Keio University.

March 4
"The Two Faces of the Asian Crisis," **Linda Weiss**, Associate Professor in Comparative Politics, University of Sydney.

March 9
Special Series on Common Problems of the Trilateral Democracies: "The Evolution of Employment Systems in the United States and Japan,1900-1960: Comparative Historical and Institutional Analysis," **Chiaki Moriguchi**, Assistant Professor, Harvard Business School.

March 16
"Things We Know That Ain't So: A Reconsideration of American Failure

and Japanese Success in Consumer Electronics," **Jeff Bernstein**, Advanced Research Fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

March 25

"The Multilateralization of U.S.-Japan Trade Conflicts," **Amy Searight**, Advanced Research Fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

April 6

Asia-Pacific Security Reconsidered

Panel:

"Next Steps: American Policy Toward China," **Tomoyoshi Isogawa**, *Asahi Shimbun*.

"Security in the Asia-Pacific Region: The Emerging Role of the ASEAN Regional Forum," **Kazuhiko Matsui,** Diet House of Councillors.

"The Threat of Attack on Information Systems," **Makoto Kawano**, National Police Agency.

Discussant: **Evan Feigenbaum**, Lecturer, Kennedy School of Government.

April 15

"Whither Japan? Evaluating the Obuchi Administration," **Yukio Matsuyama**, Honorary Chair, Editorial Board, *Asahi Shimbun*.

April 20

Japan's Emerging Information Society

Panel:

"Developing an Information-Intensive Society," **Masashi Kumagae**, Japan Development Bank.

"Is the Standardization of Corporate Data a Necessary Goal? Remaining Problems in the Information Age," **Masao Kawachi**, Tokyo Electric Power Company.

"Structural Reform in the Telecommunications Industry," **Shin'ichi Watanabe**, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

Discussant: **Anthony Oettinger**, Professor, Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences, Harvard University.

April 27

The Evolving Roles of Bureaucracy and Business in Japan

Panel:

"Recent Administrative Reforms and Their Impact on MITI Policy," **Kimihide Namura**, Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

"The Direction of Deregulation of Japan's Energy Industry," **Shinya Nishigata**, Tokyo Gas Company.

"The Social Responsibility of Corporations in the United States and Japan," **Masatoshi Taguchi**, Idemitsu Kosan Company.

Discussant: **Steven Vogel,** Assistant Professor, Department of Government.

April 29

"Update from Tokyo: Failing Policies and Fading Parties," **Tetsundo Iwakuni,** Representative, Diet House of Representatives.

May 4

Contemporary Japanese Fiscal Policy

Panel:

"A Comparative Analysis of U.S. and Japanese Monetary Policies in the 1990s," **Kazuhiko Inaba**, Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Corporation.

"Internationalization of the Yen," **Junya Onishi,** Ministry of Finance.

Discussant: **Phil Wellons**, Deputy Director, Program on International Financial Systems, Harvard Law School.

May 6

"The China-United States-Japan Triangle in the 21st Century," **Shen Guofang**, Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the UN.

Associates of The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations

Jeffrey Bernstein, Harvard University
Margarita Estévez-Abe, University of Minnesota
Kazuhiko Inaba, Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Company
Tomoyoshi Isogawa, *Asahi Shinbun*
Masao Kawachi, Tokyo Electric Power Company
Makoto Kawano, National Police Agency
Masashi Kumagae, Japan Development Bank
Kazuhiko Matsui, Research Committee on International Affairs, Diet House of Councillors
Kimihide Namura, Ministry of International Trade and Industry
Shinya Nishigata, Tokyo Gas Company
Junya Onishi, Ministry of Finance
Mineko Sasaki-Smith, Credit Suisse First Boston (Japan)
Amy Searight, Stanford University
Yasunori Sone, Keio University
Masatoshi Taguchi, Idemitsu Kosan Company
Shin'ichi Watanabe, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications

Occasional Paper Series

Jeffrey Bernstein
"Engine of Growth or Symbol of Success? Exporting and Productivity in Japanese Industry"

Margarita Estévez-Abe
"Multiple Logics of Welfare Politics: Social Policy Legislation in Japan in the 1990s"

Kazuhiko Inaba
"Comparative Analysis of U.S. and Japanese Monetary Policy"

Tomoyoshi Isogawa
"Next Steps: American Policy Toward China"

Masao Kawachi
"Is Standardization of Corporate Data a Final Goal? Remaining Problems in the Information Age from the Corporate Finance Perspective"

Makoto Kawano
"The Targets of U.S. Japanese Intelligence After the Cold War"

Masashi Kumagae
"A Comparative Study of Informatization in the United States and Japan"

Kazuhiko Matsui
"Security in the Asia-Pacific: The Emerging Role of the ASEAN Regional Forum"

Kimihide Namura
"Hashimoto's Administrative Reforms in Japan and Their Impact on MITI Policy"

Shinya Nishigata
"Cost Reduction in Transmission and Distribution:A Key Issue for Liberalization of the Power Market"

Junya Onishi
"Should the Current Arguments on the Internationalization of the Yen Be Reconsidered?"

Mineko Sasaki-Smith
"Japan's Financial Malaise: Review and Critique of the Literature on Causes and Cures"

Amy Searight
"Compliance from Within: MITI's Transition and Japan's Changing GATT Behavior"

Yasunori Sone
"Party Coalitions and Voters' Nonpartisanship"

Masatoshi Taguchi
"The Social Responsibility of Corporations"

Shin'ichi Watanabe
"Competitive Local Telecommunications Markets and Universal Service Support"

MIDDLE EAST

Middle East Seminar

The Center's Middle East Seminar is co-sponsored by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies and has been chaired for over twenty years by **Herbert C. Kelman**, Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics. Since 1996, the seminar has been co-chaired by **Professor Lenore G. Martin** and **Dr. Sara Roy**, along with **Professor Kelman**. Of the thirteen sessions in 1998-99,several dealt with the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, including the role of the U.S., the EU, and the World Bank. Others dealt with the internal politics and/or foreign affairs of Egypt, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, and the West Bank and Gaza.

These activities were funded by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

The related research activities of **Professor Kelman**, in collaboration with **Professor Nadim Rouhana**, **Dr. Donna Hicks**, and others are described in the section on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

Co-Chairs: **Herbert C. Kelman**, **Lenore G. Martin**, and **Sara Roy**

September 24
"The Mystery of Iran's Elections," **Houchang Chehabi**, Professor of International Relations and History, Boston University.

October 8
"Five Years After Oslo: What is Next?" **Nasir Aruri**, Emeritus Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth.

October 22
"The Turkish-Israeli Alliance and Its Regional Implications," **Alon Liel**, Chargé d'Affaires of Israel to Turkey, 1981-1983.

November 5
"Egypt's Current Challenges," **Michael Bell**, Former Ambassador of Canada to Egypt, Israel, and Jordan; Weatherhead Center Fellow.

November 19
"Buying Peace? Donors in the Oslo and Dayton Accords," **Rick Hooper** and **Mark Taylor**, World Bank.

December 3
"The Wye Agreement and the Peace Process: Where To?" **Michael Bell**, Former Ambassador of Canada to Egypt, Israel, and Jordan, and Weatherhead Center Fellow; **Souad Dajani**, Visiting Professor, Tufts University; **Yitzhak Levanon**, Consul General of Israel; **Ariel Merari**, Director, Political Violence Research Unit and Associate Professor of Psychology, Tel Aviv University, and Senior Fellow, the International Security Program, Kennedy School of Government; **Hassan Abdul Rahman**, Chief PLO & PNA Representative in Washington, D.C. (co-sponsored by the Fellows Program).

February 11
"Routinization of Politics in Postwar Lebanon: The Case of Hizballah," **Augustus Richard Norton**, Professor of International Relations and Anthropology, Boston University.

February 18
"Turkey: The Challenge of Democracy," **Nicole Pope**, Author, *Turkey Unveiled*, and Correspondent, *Le Monde*.

March 11

"Jordan after Hussein," **Lamis Andoni**, Middle East Journalist and Policy Analyst.

March 25

"The E.U. and the Peace Process," **Peter Ford**, British Ambassador-Designate to Bahrain; Head, Near East and North Africa Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London.

April 8

"Prospects for Advancing the Peace Process in 1999: The Administration's View," **Jacob Walles**, Director of the Office of Israel and Arab-Israeli Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

April 15

"Society and Politics in Israel," **Lily Galili**, Columnist for *Ha'aretz* and Nieman Fellow, Harvard University.

April 29

"Human Rights in the West Bank and Gaza," **Shawqi Issa**, Executive Director of The Law Society (The Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment), and Fellow at Harvard Law School's Human Rights Program.

NONVIOLENT SANCTIONS AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL

Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival (PONSACS)

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival (PONSACS) studies situations of conflict in order to better understand their nature and the capabilities of nonviolent actions in support of human rights and civil liberties. The program's rationale is based on the simple premise about the nature of political power—that it is rooted in and continually dependent upon cooperation and obedience, and that each can be withdrawn.

PONSACS combines a quantitative approach through the PANDA (Protocol for the Assessment of Nonviolent Direct Action) protocol, an automated early warning system, with on-the-ground research of conflict regions provided by anthropological insights. These two strands of research work to identify conflict regions before they erupt into violence and to actively promote nonviolent alternatives to armed conflict.

Program research specializes on conflicts between culturally distinct groups in situations of sharp structurally asymmetry with emphasis on disputes over land and natural resources and indigenous rights. Program affiliates are currently involved in research on Colombia, Ecuador, the Galapagos Islands, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, as well as social movements in Africa and Asia.

PONSACS also hosts the Oil in Fragile Environments Dialogues, bringing together oil companies, indigenous organizations, and environmental NGOs to discuss the social and environmental impact of oil exploration in Latin America. The dialogues are facilitated by **Ted Macdonald.** PONSACS hosted three dialogues during the 1998-99 year.

The PANDA project,headed by **Doug Bond**, is designed to illuminate the rich domain of conflict interactions where physical and coercive force is not employed, even as accommodative exchanges are ruled out. Such nonviolent direct action is no less intense than violent direct action; and, like violence, nonviolent direct action does not offer any promise of success in the service of its diverse causes. We suggest,however, that by monitoring and examining interaction events with a "data lens" that is sensitive to nonviolent direct action (such as the PANDA protocol), we can track and compare the

evolution of conflict manifest in both violent and nonviolent behaviors. Ultimately, we seek to empirically assess the potential and limits of nonviolent direct action as a functional substitute for the use of physical force or violence in conflict interactions.

Seminar on Ethnicity, Culture, and Change

Chair: David Maybury-Lewis

During the academic year 1998-1999, the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival hosted a seminar series titled, "Seminars on Ethnicity, Conflict, and Change." The series reflects the program's ongoing research and other activities into specific or anticipated conflicts. The seminar provides an opportunity to publicly review and critique some of PONSACS's current activities and research initiatives.

The seminar's primary focus rests on the concerns,needs, expectations, goals,and methods of the structurally weaker actors involved in conflict. Other topics included ethnicity in Europe, NGOs and humanitarian emergencies, and environmental management.

February 3

"The New Ethnicity in Europe," **Fredrik Barth**, Professor of Anthropology, Boston University and University of Oslo.

February 17

"Appropriating the Indigenous: The Guatemalan Military and the Maya," **Jennifer Schirmer,** Lecturer on Social Studies, Harvard University and Weatherhead Center Associate, PONSACS.

March 24

"Entering the Political Arena through the Front Door: Indians, Pluriculturalism and Pachacutik in Ecuador," **Jorge Gallardo Zavala**, Former Finance Minister and Former President and CEO of Banco Continental, Guayaqil, Ecuador; WCFIA Fellow (co-sponsored by the Fellows Program).

April 7

"Power, Fear and Ethnicity in Bosnia-Hercegovina," **Tone Bringa**, Permanent Lecturer, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, Norway; and author, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way.*

April 14

"Sustainable Regional Resource Management:A Study of Conflict Resolution in an Area of Transnational Development," **David Barkin**, Professor of Economics, Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, Mexico City.

April 15

"Future Challenges of Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Information Technologies and Lessons Learned," **Frederick Burkle**, Center for Excellence, University of Hawaii.

PONSACS Affiliates

S. James Anaya, Program Affiliate
Douglas Bond, Associate Director
Joseph Bond, Center Associate
Gernot Brodnig, Center Associate
Lucia Clark, Graduate Student Affiliate
David Edeli, Undergraduate Affiliate
Bret Gustafson, Graduate Student Affiliate
Douglas Imig, Program Affiliate
Theodore Macdonald, Associate Director
David Maybury-Lewis, Director
Ian McIntosh, Program Affiliate
Churl Oh, Research Affiliate
Jennifer Schirmer, Center Associate
Kurt Schock, Visiting Scholar
Jayson Silva, Research Affiliate

PERFORMANCE OF DEMOCRACIES

Research Workshop on the Performance of Democracies

The Performance of Democracy Workshop, now in its sixth year, is a year-long research workshop for Harvard doctoral students in the social sciences (although students from other area schools also participate if space permits). Papers presented in the workshop deal with issues dealing with the challenges of democracy and democratization. The workshop was led this year by **Robert Putnam**, **Grzegorz Ekiert**, and **Steven Vogel**.

Supported initially by a grant from the Mellon Foundation, the seminar was developed under the leadership of Robert Putnam when he was director of the Center. It is overseen by an Executive Committee consisting of **Jorge Domínguez**, **Grzegorz Ekiert**, **Samuel Huntington**, **Susan Pharr**, **Robert Putnam**, **Michael Sandel**, and **Theda Skocpol**.

The workshop provides a venue for graduate students in comparative and American politics to present draft dissertation prospectuses and chapters, while other workshop participants serve as discussants. Faculty leading the workshop also present research-in-progress,allowing graduate students to engage with research that is not yet "ready for prime time." Occasionally, other scholars are invited to present their research. Over the last two years, such presenters have included **Torben Iversen**, **Sid Verba**, **Robert Bates**, **Thomas Ertman**, and **Ronald Inglehart**.

September 23

"Can International Institutions Use Membership Conditionality to Change State Behavior? The Case of Euro-Atlantic Integration and Ethnic Politics," **Judith Kelley**
Discussant: **Kristin Smith**

"Ethnic Nationalism in Russia," **Dmitry Gorenburg**
Discussant: **Suzanne Ogden**

October 7

"The Politics of Gender, the Law and the Church in Democratizing Latin America," **Mala Htun**
Discussant: **Rafael de la Dehesa**

"Free Politics and Free Markets in Latin America," **Jorge Domínguez**
Discussant: **David Deese**

October 14

"Gray Areas: Financing the Private Sector in China," **Kellee Tsai**
Discussant: **Istvan Majoros**

"The Patterns of Postcommunist Transition: Democracy and Market Economy in Eastern Europe," **Grzegorz Ekiert**
Discussant: **Cecilia Chessa**

October 21

"Institutional Design and the Role of History," **Alan Jacobs**
Discussant: **Richard Simeon**

"Bowling Alone: Civic Disengagement in America," **Robert D. Putnam**
Discussant: **David Campbell**

October 28

"Why Coups Fail," **Naunihal Singh**
Discussant: **Jeremy Weinstein**

"Strategic Voting in Hungary," **Endre Tvinnereim**
Discussant: **Christian Brunelli**

November 4

"Religion and Volunteering in America," **David Campbell**
Discussant: **Naunihal Singh**

"Mixed Electoral Systems," **Regina Smyth**
Discussant: **Endre Tvinnereim**

November 18

"Resisting Globalization? The Political and Institutional Sources of Foreign Direct Investment Policy Reforms in Latin America Since 1982," **Gabriel Aguilera**
Discussant: **Judith Kelley**

"Islamic Capitalism," **Kristin Smith**
Discussant: **Dmitry Gorenburg**

December 2

"Queering Democracy in Latin America," **Rafael de la Dehesa**
Discussant: **Mala Htun**

"Domestic Factors, International Politics and the Evolution of International-Issue NGOs: The Japan Case," **Kim Reimann**
Discussant: **Kellee Tsai**

December 9

"Abandoning the Polity: Political Parties and Social Capital in American Politics," **Jeremy Weinstein**
Discussant: **Alan Jacobs**

"Politics and Economic Reform," **David Deese**
Discussant: **Gabriel Aguilera**

December 16

"The State and Policing," **Christian Brunelli**
Discussant: **Benjamin Read**

"Corporatism and Civil Society," **Cecilia Chessa**
Discussant: **Lily Tsai**

February 3

"From the Pews to the Polls and Beyond: Churches and Political Mobilization," **David Campbell**
Discussant: **Judith Kelley**

"The Crisis of German and Japanese Capitalism: Stalled on The Road to The Liberal Market Model?" **Steven Vogel**
Discussant: **Naunihal Singh**

February 10

Roundtable discussion of strategies for writing grant proposals and performing field research, led by Professors **Jorge Domínguez**, **Robert Putnam**, **Grzegorz Ekiert**, and **Steven Vogel**

February 17

"The World's Clepsydra and a Framework for Understanding its Regional Implications," **Christopher Kukk**
Discussant: **Christian Brunelli**

February 24

"The Bonds of Community and the Nerves of the State: Chinese Neighborhood Organizations," **Benjamin Read**
Discussant: **Gabriel Aguilera**

"The Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment in Latin America," **Gabriel Aguilera**
Discussant: **Christopher Kukk**

March 3

"Welfare State Expansion: Globalization or Deindustrialization?" **Torben Iversen**
Discussants: **Endre Tvinnereim** and **David Deese**

March 10

"Militaries, Modernization,and Gender in the Southern Cone," **Mala Htun**
Discussant: **Benjamin Read**

March 17

"Dynamics of Social Capital," **Robert D. Putnam**
Discussant: **Christian Brunelli**

March 24

"Toward a Scientific Theory of Gay Liberation," **Rafael de la Dehesa**
Discussant: **Kim Reimann**

"International Influence on Party Maturation in Southern and Eastern Europe," **Istvan Majoros**
Discussant: **Alan Jacobs**

April 7

"Building Networks from the Outside In: International Movements, Japanese NGOs and the Kyoto Climate Change Conference," **Kim Reimann**
Discussant: **Rafael de la Dehesa**

"Institutions and Minority Rights in Europe," **Judith Kelley**
Discussant: **Istvan Majoros**

April 14

"Islamizing the Economy: Sayyid Abul 'Ala Mawdudi and Contemporary Islamic Economic Practice," **Kristin Smith**
Discussant: **Christopher Kukk**

"Representation through Reciprocity: Local Governance in Rural China," **Lily Tsai**
Discussant: **Kim Pharr**

April 21

"The Sources of Centralization and Decentralization in Federal States," **Endre Tvinnereim**
Discussant: **Kristin Smith**

April 28

"Investing Power: Explaining Time Horizons in Constitutional Design," **Alan Jacobs**
Discussant: **Mala Htun**

"Spaces and Places, Norms and Networks: Native and Homeplace Associations," **Christian Brunelli**
Discussant: **David Campbell**

May 5

"Beyond the High-Low Trust Dichotomy: Understanding the Government-Citizen Relationship in Contemporary China," **Hexing Shi**
Discussant: **Benjamin Read**

"Strengths and Limitations of Track Two Diplomacy in Northeast Asia: Between Theory and Practice," **Kim Beng Phar**
Discussant: **David Deese**

List of Participants

Faculty:

Robert D. Putnam, Stanford Professor of International Peace, Department of Government
Grzegorz Ekiert, Professor of Goverment
Steven Vogel, Associate Professor, Department of Government

Graduate Students and Other Participating Faculty:

Gabriel Aguilera, Department of Government
Christian Brunelli, Department of Government
David Campbell, Department of Government
Cecilia Chessa, James Conant Bryant Fellow, Center for European Studies
Rafael de la Dehesa, Department of Government
David Deese, Boston College and the Weatherhead Center
Dmitry Gorenburg, Department of Government
Mala Htun, Department of Government
Alan Jacobs, Department of Government
Judith Kelley, Kennedy School of Government
Christopher Kukk, Belfer Fellow and Boston College
Istvan Majoros, Department of Government
Suzanne Ogden, Fairbank Center and Northeastern University
Kim Beng Phar, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Kim Reimann, Department of Government
Ben Read, Department of Government
Hexing Shi, Weatherhead Center and Peking University
Richard Simeon, Department of Government and University of Toronto
Naunihal Singh, Department of Government
Kristin Smith, Department of Government

Regina Smyth, Department of Government and Pennsylvania State University
Yasunori Sone, Weatherhead Center and Keio University
Kellee Tsai, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies and Columbia University
Lily Tsai, Department of Government
Endre Tvinnereim, Department of Government
Jeremy Weinstein, Department of Government

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Harvard/MIT Joint Seminar on Political Development

For the thirty-fifth consecutive year, Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology have co-sponsored the Joint Seminar on Political Development (JOSPOD). Alternating between Harvard and MIT, the seminar series met six Wednesday evenings throughout the academic year to bring together scholars and practitioners of political development,mainly from the Boston area. In 1998-99 scholars discussed and debated the theme, "The State Under Siege: At Home and From Abroad." Each meeting began with a presentation by an invited speaker or panel of speakers on a topic related to the general theme of the year. An hour-long discussion followed each presentation. The seminar was co-chaired by Professors **Jorge I.Domínguez** (Harvard) and **Myron Weiner** (MIT). **Kathleen O'Neill** served as executive secretary.

Chairs: **Jorge I.Domínguez** (Weatherhead Center) and **Myron Weiner** (MIT)

October 7 (Harvard)
"Conflict in Africa," **Robert Bates**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

November 18 (MIT)
"International Financial Institutions: Besiegers or Beseechers?" **Devesh Kapur**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

December 9 (Harvard)
"The Asian Crisis in Indonesia." Panel arranged by **John Harris,** Department of Economics, Boston University.

February 10 (MIT)
"Terrorism as a Transnational Actor," **Louise Richardson**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

March 17 (Harvard)
"The End of Transition in China," **Ed Steinfeld**, Sloan School of Management, MIT.

April 14 (MIT)
"Civil Society and the Islamic State in Iran," **Houchang Chehabi**, Department of International Relations, Boston University.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Faculty Discussion Group on Political Economy

This group, begun by Professor **Jeffry Frieden** in 1995, continued to meet weekly throughout the year, drawing faculty from Harvard's government and economics departments, the Harvard Law School, the Kennedy School of Government, and from other Boston area academic institutions. Each week the group discussed a previously distributed paper to help foster an atmosphere of scholarly interchange on a wide range of subjects related to political economy.

Research Group on the Political Economy of European Integration (PEEI)

The Research Group on the Political Economy of European Integration is a joint activity of the Weatherhead Center and the Center for

German and European Studies (CGES) of the University of California. Two meetings were held this year, one on November 6, 1998 in Cambridge and the other on March 5, 1999 in Berkeley. Additional meetings are planned for 1999-2000.

Organizers: **Jeffry Frieden, Andrew Rose,** and **Barry Eichengreen**

November 6
Cambridge, Massachusetts

"Eastern Enlargement: Challenges and Prospects," **Richard Baldwin**, Economics, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva.

"Self-Enforcing Federalism: Solving the Two Fundamental Dilemmas," **Rui de Figueiredo,** Haas School of Business,UC Berkeley; and **Barry Weingast,** Political Science,Stanford University.

"Decision Rules in the European Central Bank and Monetary Stability," (co-authored with **Hans Dewachter** and **Dirk Veestraeten**), **Paul de Grauwe**, Economics, University of Leuven.

"Global Capital, Democracy, and the Welfare State: Why Political Institutions are So Significant in Shaping the Domestic Response to Internationalization," **Duane Swank**, Political Science, Marquette University.

Roundtable Discussion: "What to Expect 1999-2002?"

Participants: **Peter Hall**, Government, Harvard University; **Peter Kenen**, Economics, Princeton University; **Jean Pisani-Ferry**, French Treasury.

March 5
Sponsored by the Center for German and European Studies, University of California, Berkeley, and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

"Divided Opinion, Common Currency: The Political Economy of Public Support for EMU," **Matthew Gabel**, University of Kentucky.

"Comparative Politics and Public Finance," **Gerard Roland**, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (joint work with **T. Persson** and **G. Tabellini**).

"Mobile Capital, Domestic Institutions, and Electorally-Induced Monetary and Fiscal Policy," **William Clark**, Princeton University (joint work with Mark Hallerberg).

"Fiscal Requirements for an Independent Central Bank," **Matthew Canzoneri**, Georgetown University.

PEEI Participants, 1998-1999

Alberto Alesina, Economics and Government, Harvard
Richard Baldwin, Economics,GSIS (Geneva)
Alessandra Casella, Economics, Columbia
Matthew Canzoneri, Economics,Georgetown
William Clark, Political Science,Georgia Tech
Paul de Grauwe, Economics, University of Leuven
Jorge Domínguez, Government, Harvard
Barry Eichengreen, Economics and Political Science,UC Berkeley
Rui de Figueiredo, School of Business,UC Berkeley
Michele Fratianni, Business Economics, Indiana
Jeffry Frieden, Government, Harvard
Matthew Gabel, Political Science, Michigan
Geoffrey Garrett, Political Science, Yale
Miriam Golden, Political Science,UCLA
Peter Hall, Government, Harvard
Michael Hutchison, Economics, UC Santa Cruz
Torben Iversen, Government, Harvard
Olivier Jeanne, Economics,UC Berkeley (and CERAS, Paris)
Miles Kahler, School of International Relations,UC San Diego
Peter Kenen, Economics, Princeton
Kenneth Kletzer, Economics, UC Santa Cruz
Luisa Lambertini, Economics,UCLA
Peter Lange, Political Science, Duke
Jonah Levy, Political Science, UC Berkeley

Lisa Martin, Government, Harvard
Helen Milner, Political Science, Columbia
Andrew Moravcsik, Government, Harvard
Roberto Perotti, Economics, Columbia
Jean Pisani-Ferry, French Treasury
Dani Rodrik, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard
Ronald Rogowski, Political Science,UCLA
Andrew Rose, School of Business, UC Berkeley
Beth Simmons, Political Science, UC Berkeley
George Tsebelis, Political Science,UCLA
Lloyd Ulman, Economics,UC Berkeley
Michael Wallerstein, Political Science, Northwestern
Carl Walsh, Economics, UC Santa Cruz
Holger Wolf, Economics, Georgetown

Research Workshop on Positive Political Economy

The Research Workshop on Positive Political Economy is a year-long graduate seminar aimed at encouraging cross-disciplinary research and excellence in graduate training. Political economy is a research tradition that explores how political and economic outcomes reflect choices constrained by institutions,as well as the way in which specific institutions affect change more generally.

The workshop emphasizes the development of dissertation proposals and offers a constructive venue within which graduate students can present their research to an audience of committed and informed peers. It is open to graduate students from a variety of disciplines (e.g., government, economics, the Program in Political Economy and Government).

Faculty members participating in 1998-99 were **James Alt**, **Robert Bates**, **William Bianco**, **Lawrence Broz**, **Marc Busch**, and **Jonathan Nagler**.

The workshop held both internal and external (public) seminars and meetings. At the internal meetings, approximately ten a semester, graduate students and faculty presented their work to each other. At the external meetings, three or four a semester, we invited leading scholars in political economy to Harvard to present their work to the workshop and to others that attended the public seminars. Funding from the Weatherhead Center supported travel, lodging, and other expenses associated with these public seminars

September 23
Junko Kato, University of Tokyo, "The Funding Basis of the Welfare State: Theory and Comparative Empirical Analysis"
Discussant: **James Alt**

October 7
Jeffrey Milyo, Tufts University, "Income Inequality and Health Status in the United States: Evidence from the Current Population Survey"
Discussant: **Ellen Meara**

October 14
Thomas Willett, Claremont Graduate School, "The Political Economy of International Discipline"
Discussant: **Lucy Goodhart**

October 21
James Honaker, Harvard University, "For Those Who Like This Sort of Thing, This is the Sort of Thing They Like"
Discussant: **Micah Altman**

William T. Bianco, Penn State University, Visiting Professor Harvard University, "The Rational Actor Meets the Motivated Tactician: Presentation and Impression Formation in Political Campaigns"
Discussant: **Jeffrey Milyo**

October 28
James Alt, Harvard University, "A Dynamic Model of State Budget Outcomes Under Divided Partisan Government"
Discussant: **Suzanna DeBoef**

November 4
Alastair Smith, Yale University, "An Institutional Explanation of Politics: Policy Performance, the Tenure of Leaders and Endogenous Institutional Change"
Discussant: **Gregory Wawro**

November 11
Alison Alter, Harvard University, "Multiple Referral and the German Bundesrat"

Michael McDonald, University of California, San Diego and the Harvard-MIT Data Center, "Redistricting, Dealignment, and the Political Homogenization of Congressional Districts"
Discussant: **Jonathan Nagler**

November 18
Lawrence Broz, Harvard University, "International Capital Mobility and Monetary Politics in the U.S. Congress, 1960-1997."
Discussant: **Ken Scheve**

Jonathan Nagler, University of California, Riverside; Visiting Professor Harvard University, "Economic and Issue Voting in Several Countries"
Discussant: **Alejandro Poiré**

December 2
John Vincent Nye, Washington University in St. Louis, "War, Wine,and Taxes: The Political Economy of Anglo-French Trade"
Discussant: **Marc Busch**

December 9
Alejandro Poiré, Harvard University, "He's Making a List, He's Checking it Twice... A Model of Party Discipline and Nomination Procedures"
Discussant: **James Honaker**

Eric S.Dickson, Harvard University, "Non-Markovian Dynamics in Evolutionary Games"
Discussant: **Edward Schwartz**

December 16

Andrei Shleifer, Harvard University, "The Quality of Government"
Discussant: **John de Figueiredo**

February 10
James M. Snyder, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "Candidate Positioning in Congressional Elections"
Discussant: **Gregory Wawro**

February 17
William T. Bianco, Penn State University, Visiting Professor Harvard University, "Party Campaign Committees and the Distribution of Tally Program Funds: Recycling Contributions or Winning Elections?"
Discussant: **Gregory Wawro**

February 24
Suzanna DeBoef, Penn State University; and **Jonathan Nagler**, UC Riverside, Visiting Professor Harvard University, "Economic Voting: Enlightened Self-Interest, Economic Reference Groups, and the Blue-Collar Paradox"
Discussant: **Jasjeet Sekhon**

James Honaker, Harvard University, "A Downsian Model of Long Standing Legislative Majorities."
Discussant: **Michael McDonald**

March 3
Reza Baqir, University of California at Berkeley and MIT, "Districts,Spillovers, and Government Overspending"
Discussant: **James Alt**

Jan Teorell, University of Uppsala, Sweden, "Measuring Political Equality: Some Methodological Problems in the Study of Groups and Political Participation"
Discussant: **Lucy Goodhart**

March 10
Alison Alter, Harvard University, "Multiple Referral and the German Bundesrat (second installment)"
Discussant: **James Honaker**

Jennifer Willette, University of California at Riverside,"Economic Perceptions and Information in a Heterogeneous Electorate"
Discussant: **Jonathan Nagler**

March 17
Gregory Wawro, Columbia University, "A Dynamic Panel Analysis of Campaign Contributions in Elections for the U.S. House of Representatives."
Discussant: **William Bianco**

March 24
Wendy Hansen, University of New Mexico, "Modes of Political Activity: Domestic and Foreign Corporations in National Politics."
Discussant: **Marc Busch**

April 7

Kenneth Scheve, Harvard University, "Labor-Market Competition and Immigration Opinion in France and the United States."
Discussant: **Alejandro Poiré**

Lucy Goodhart, Harvard University, "Political Institutions and Monetary Policy."
Discussant: **Reza Baqir**

April 14

Mathew D. McCubbins, University of California, San Diego, "Government Response to Initiatives and Mandates."
Discussant: **William Bianco**

April 21

Michael Wallerstein, Northwestern University, "Inequality and Redistribution."
Discussant: **Kenneth Scheve**

April 28
Marc Busch, Harvard University, "Overlapping Institutions and Global Commerce: Forum Shopping for Dispute Settlement in Canada-U.S. Trade."
Discussant: **Edward Schwartz**

Rory MacFarquhar, Harvard University, "Vertical Tax Competition in Russia."
Discussant: **Sasha Pivovarsky**

May 5

Andrew Sobel, Washington University in St. Louis, "Can You Finance a Philippine Brothel with Russian Rubles? State Institutions, Risk, and Lending in Global Capital Markets."
Discussant: **Lawrence Broz**

REFORMING THE WELFARE STATE

Seminar on Comparative Issues of Reforming the Welfare State

Under pressure from aging populations, changing family structures and rising unemployment and inequality, the reform of welfare state institutions is on the agenda throughout the world. This seminar sought to bring a comparative and interdisciplinary approach to the study of reforms and reform options. To this end, the organizers sought to assemble an interdisciplinary group of faculty and students for weekly paper presentations and discussions. The presenters were asked to speak for about an hour, leaving ample time for a roundtable discussion.

The seminar, which had also met during the spring semester of 1998,was well attended and generated an ongoing dialogue between the regular participants. The discussions also benefited from the occasional attendance of experts on particular aspects of the welfare state. The seminar concentrated this time on three topics that have been receiving a great deal of attention in recent years: pension reform, health system reform,and poverty alleviation. Although economists made up the largest group at most sessions,the breadth of discussions was greatly enhanced by the noneconomist perspectives that were brought to the table,including the presentations of sociologists **Christopher Jencks** and **Lee Rainwater**, political scientist **Joan Nelson**, and the philosopher **Norman Daniels**. The participation of Weatherhead Center affiliates enriched the discussions by giving the meetings a truly international focus.

Co-chairs: **János Kornai** and **John McHale**

September 16

"A Global Perspective on Social Security Reform," **Estelle James**, Policy Research Department, The World Bank (Lead author of the World Bank study, "Averting the Old Age Crisis")

September 23
"Risk Adjustment and Other Problems in Managing Medicare," **Joseph Newhouse**, John F. Kennedy School of Government

September 30
"Reform of the Health Care System in China," **Karen Eggleston**, John F. Kennedy School of Government

October 7
"How Should We Evaluate the War on Poverty?" **Christopher Jencks**, John F. Kennedy School of Government

October 14
"Reforming Transfers versus Services: The Politics of Health and Pension System Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America," **Joan Nelson**, Overseas Development Council

October 21
"What (if any) Advice Should the U.S. Government Offer Developing and Transition Economies About Pension Reform?" **Clive Gray**, Harvard Institute for International Development

October 28
"Social Security Reform," **Peter Diamond**, Department of Economics,MIT

November 4
"A Farewell to Welfare: The Next Challenges," **David Ellwood**, John F. Kennedy School of Government

November18
"Managed Care and the U.S. Medical Care System," **David Cutler**, Department of Economics, Harvard University

December 2
"Child Poverty and Income Packaging in Europe and North America," **Lee Rainwater**, Department of Sociology, Harvard University.

December 9
"Setting Limits to Health Care: Principles, Process, and Legitimacy," **Norman Daniels**, Department of Philosophy, Tufts University

December 16
"The Risk and Consequences of Social Security Benefit Reductions: An International Comparison," **John McHale**, Department of Economics, Harvard University

SOUTH ASIA

South Asia Seminar

Established in 1989, the South Asia Seminar completed its tenth year in 1998-99. Since its inception, the seminar has had an inter-disciplinary orientation and has focused principally on three sets of issues: ethnic and religious conflicts, economic reform, and South Asian security. Scholars from the United States, the United Kingdom, and South Asia, along with leading journalists,have presented their work at the seminar. In addition, dignitaries have also addressed the seminar periodically. Since 1993-94, graduate students completing dissertation research on South Asia have also presented their work at the South Asia Seminar.

The South Asia Seminar was funded by the Asia Center, the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and the Center for the Study of World Religions.

Chairs: **Devesh Kapur** and **Pratap Mehta**

September 26
"Caste: A Systemic Change?" **M.N. Srinivas,** Professor Emeritus, Delhi School of Economics and Sociology.

October 17
"The Crisis of Governance in Pakistan," **Tariq Banuri,** Research Advisor, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad; and

Chair, IUCN's Commission on Environment, Economic and Social Policy.

October 16
"Architecture and Social Change in India," **Charles Correa**, Architect, planner, activist and theoretician.

October 23
"The Sangha and State in Sri Lanka,"**Leslie Gunawardana**, Periiyar University.

October 27
"Regional and Global Integration: A Bangladesh Perspective," **Moudud Ahmed**, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court, and former Prime Minister and Vice President of Bangladesh.

October 30
"Trade Reform in South Asia and SAARC," **Arvind Panagariya**, Professor of Economics, University of Maryland.

November 13
"Reversing the Gaze: The Amar Singh Diary as Ethnography of Imperial India," **Susanne H. Rudolph**, William Benton Distinguished Service Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; **Lloyd Rudolph**, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago.

November 20
"The Sacred and the Secular: Cleaning the Ganges," **Veer Bhadra Mishra**, Professor of Civil Engineering, Banaras Hindu University and *Mahant* (head priest) of the Sankat Mochan Temple, Varanasi.

February 25
"The Portuguese Empire and Sixteenth Century 'Globalization,'" **Sanjay Subrahmanyam**, Directeur d'Etudes, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris).

March 5
"Economic Development in an Indian Village. Palanpur: 1957-1993," **Peter Lanjouw**, Free University, Amsterdam,and the World Bank.

March 12
"The Hindutva Movement and the Lower Castes in India Today," **Christophe Jaffrelot**, Research Fellow at CERI (Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales) and Editor in Chief of *Critique Internationale*.

March 19
"Democratization and Political Parties in Nepal," **Dr. Karl Heinz Krämer**, Department of Political Science of South Asia, South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany.

April 9
"A Different Modernity: Colonialism, Nationalism and the Idea of India," **Gyan Prakash**, Associate Professor of History, Princeton University.

April 16
"The Essence of Democracy: The Conduct of Elections in India," **Dr. M.S.Gill**, Chief Election Commissioner, Government of India.

STRATEGIC STUDIES

JOHN M. OLIN INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

The John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, founded July 1, 1989 as an autonomous entity within the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, was the result of an expansion and institutionalization of the Center's program in national security studies made possible by the initiative and expanded support of the John M. Olin Foundation. The director of the Olin Institute is appointed by the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in consultation with the director of the Center.

In its first ten years, 1989-1999, the Institute sponsored research by eighteen professors and visiting scholars and over one hundred John M. Olin Pre-and Postdoctoral Fellows in National Security. Completed Institute research projects have dealt with: the changing role of Congress in the formulation of U.S.

foreign and defense policy; Russian and American approaches to the post-Cold War world; the decline of multinational continental empires; the economic balance of power; the politics of civilizations in the post-Cold War world; the changing security environment and American national interests; and the U.S. military in post-Cold War American society. Activities of the Institute have also included the Program in Economics and National Security and the Harvard Russian Institute of International Affairs in Moscow. Topics of current research projects include East Asian security; the future of war; American national identity and national interests; nonrational aspects of deterrence; and the impact of youth bulges on interstate war. The Institute also sponsors several national security conferences and seminars and involves other scholars in its activities as Olin Associates.

During the 1998-1999 academic year, the Institute hosted five predoctoral fellows, five postdoctoral fellows, one Bradley Fellow, one Air Force National Defense Fellow, and one Navy Federal Executive Fellow. Six faculty members and one visiting scholar also actively participated in the work of the Institute. In 1998-1999, eight books and thirty articles were published by authors associated with the Institute.

The central administration of the Institute in 1998-1999 included **Samuel P. Huntington**, director; **Stephen P. Rosen**, associate director; **Inga Peterson**, program coordinator; **Jonathan Mercer**, chair, National Security Studies Group; **Carol Edwards**, assistant to the director; and **R.Scott Zimmerman** and **John Stephenson**, research assistants. In 1999-2000, **Monica Duffy Toft** will begin her appointment as assistant director of the Olin Institute and assistant professor of Public Policy at the Kennedy School. **Aaron Lobel** will replace **Jonathan Mercer** as chair of the National Security Studies Group.

The John M. Olin Foundation provides the core funding for the Institute and its activities. In 1998-1999, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation and the Smith Richardson Foundation, Inc. supported Professor Huntington's work on American national identity and national interest. The Smith Richardson Foundation also supported the Project on Demography and National Security and the fourteenth annual Conference on Strategy and National Security, as well as other activities. The Bradley Foundation also provided support for the Conference on Strategy and National Security. Steve Forbes provided funding for the Forbes Seminars on post-Cold War U.S. national interests. The Office of the Secretary of Defense provided funding for the research project on East Asian Security. The Northrop Corporation provided funding for research travel and meetings. Other nongovernmental sources also contributed to the support of Institute activities.

Faculty Members

During the 1998-1999 academic year, six faculty members from the Department of Government at Harvard were involved in the work of the Institute through active and regular participation in its seminars, study groups, and research projects.

The Olin Institute administers two Harvard faculty positions. The Beton Michael Kaneb Professorship of National Security and Military Affairs is an endowed chair made possible by the generosity of **Mr. John Kaneb**. The Olin Institute administers the chair and provides support to its incumbent, **Stephen Peter Rosen**, who teaches in the Government Department, conducts his own research at the Institute, and serves as the associate director of the Institute.

The Institute supports a joint position, the holder of which is the assistant director of the Institute and an assistant or associate professor

in either the Harvard Department of Government or the John F. Kennedy School of Government. **Monica Duffy Toft**, appointed to the position in 1999, teaches in the area of strategy and national security at the Kennedy School, conducts research at the Institute,and helps in the direction of its activities.

John M. Olin Fellows in National Security

For eighteen years the Olin Institute and its predecessor program have appointed pre- and postdoctoral Fellows in National Security. Over ninety applications were received for the 1998-99 fellowships. Ten national security fellows, one Navy Federal Executive Fellow, one Air Force Fellow, and one Bradley Fellow were appointed. The dissertation fellows were Ph.D. candidates at Harvard,MIT, Stanford,and Columbia University. Two postdoctoral fellows were from the University of Chicago, there was one from Hebrew University in Jerusalem, one from Yale, and one from Stanford University. Two fellows were on leave from positions at the College of the Holy Cross and the University of Washington. In addition, the Olin Institute hosted a colonel in the U.S. Air Force and a commander in the U.S. Navy. The Institute also hosted a Bradley Fellow who is a graduate student at Harvard. One of the 1998-99 Olin post-docs has accepted an additional post-doctoral fellowship at Yale. Two of the post-docs will remain at Harvard — one at the Olin Institute and one at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. **Monica Duffy Toft**, one of the post-docs,has accepted a joint position as the assistant director of the Olin Institute and as an assistant professor of public policy at the Kennedy School of Government.One dissertation fellow has accepted a position with RAND. The other dissertation fellows will continue their research at Columbia, MIT, and Harvard.

Research Project on East Asian Security: 1993-2010

This project, directed by **Stephen Peter Rosen**, concluded its initial phase in April 1997, and the work completed by **Professors Thomas Christensen** of MIT University, **Aaron Friedberg** of Princeton University, **Arthur Waldron** of the University of Pennsylvania, and **Iain Johnston** of Harvard,was presented to the sponsor, the Office of Net Assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, at a conference at the Naval War College in April 1997. The report focused on quantitative analysis of the use of force by the Peoples Republic of China,long-term aspects of Chinese strategic perspectives, and the interaction between the PRC, Japan, and Taiwan.

At the request of the sponsor, the project was extended to include an historical examination of the long-term strategic competitions among East Asian powers. This phase of the project supported work by **Aaron Friedberg**, which was completed and submitted to the sponsor in the spring of 1999.

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

National Security Studies Group

For over a decade the Institute and its predecessor program have sponsored the National Security Studies Group, a weekly seminar for WCFIA affiliates with an interest in strategic studies. The Seminar Series gives speakers the opportunity to present published and unpublished papers, as well as works in progress. During the 1998-99 academic year, the seminar group was chaired by **Jonathan Mercer.** The schedule for the year was as follows:

September 28

"Transiting a Uni-Multipolar World,"
Samuel Huntington, Olin Institute

October 5
"Janus Places: The Double Value of Territory in National Conflict Bargaining," **Monica Duffy Toft**, Olin Institute

October 19
"Nuclear Weapons and Missile Defense for Nuclear Forces and Missile Defense Policy," **John Harvey**, Office of the Secretary of Defense

October 26
"Good Judgment in World Politics: Cognitive Styles and Cognitive Biases," **Philip Tetlock**, Ohio State University

November 2
"Israel's Nuclear Command and Control: An Historical Evaluation," **Jordan Seng**, Olin Institute

November 9
"Norms and Security: The Case of International Assassination," **Ward Thomas**, Olin Institute and College of the Holy Cross

November 16
"How to Win a War? Strategy, Domestic Politics,and Political Economy in France and Britain Before and During World War II," **Talbot Imlay**, Olin Institute

November 23
"China, Japan, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," **Thomas Christensen**, MIT

November 30
"The Internal Politics of Peace Agreements," **Barbara Walter,** Olin Institute and the University of California, San Diego

December 7
"Pivotal Deterrence and the Spiral Model," **Timothy Crawford**, Olin Institute

December 14
"Do Professional Militaries Cause War?" **Stephen van Evra**, MIT

February 1
"Tales from the Diplomatic Wire: Technical and Cost Issues Before 1919," **David Nickles**, Olin Institute

February 8
"Institutional Effects on State Behavior: Typology and Hypotheses," **Lisa Martin**, Olin Institute and Harvard University; **Liliana Botcheva,** Harvard University

February 22
"Testing the Assumption of Universal Rationality in International Relations," **Allan Stam,** Yale University

March 1
"Decisions without Calculations," **Stephen Rosen,** Olin Institute

March 8
"The Coalition Paradox: The Politics of Military Cooperation," **Nora Bensahel,** Olin Institute

March 15
"Is Strategy an Illusion?" **Richard Betts,** Columbia University

March 22
"Contending Sino-American Conceptions of Hegemony," **Anthony Loh,** Olin Institute

April 5
"Steering by Our Wake: U.S. Military Strategy since the End of the Cold War," **Timothy Doorey,** Olin Institute and U.S. Navy

April 12
"Imagined (Security) Communities," **Emanuel Adler,** Hebrew University of Jerusalem

April 19
"Labyrinths of Conflict: War in the 1990s," **David Holloway,** Stanford University

April 26
"Military Retaliation Against State Sponsors of Terrorism: Lessons of the Israeli Case," **Ariel Merari,** Belfer Center

for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University; and Tel Aviv University

May 3

"Through Irish Eyes: Peacekeeping Effects in Northern Ireland," **Jeffrey O. Leary,** Olin Institute and U.S. Air Force

May 10

"The Politics of Transitional Anarchy: Yugoslavia 1941-1945 and 1991-1995," **Richard Wilcox,** Olin Institute

Other Meetings and Seminars

October 21

"India's Nuclear Tests: Rationale and Strategic Implications," **K. Subrahmanyam** and **C. Uday Bhaskar,** Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis, New Delhi

November 24

"Mastering Violence as an Operational Strategy: A New Approach," **Jean-Jacques Patry** and **Loup Francart,** Training and Doctrine Command, French Army.

February 2

"Israeli-Turkish Relations," **Efraim Inbar,** Professor of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University, and Director, Begin-Sadat Center

April 7

"The Banality of I.R. Studies," **James Kurth,** Swarthmore College

Unofficial Olin Policy Studies Group (OOPS), 1998-1999

October 28

"Is International Relations a Worthy Pursuit?" Readings: **James Kurth,** "Inside the Cave: The Banality of I.R. Studies," *The National Interest*, Fall 1998, Issue 53

December 7

"Women and War." Readings: **Francis Fukuyama**, "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1998, Volume 77, Number 5

February 9

"The Fate of the U.S. Military with the End of the Cold War." Readings: **William Greider,** *Fortress America,* (New York: Public Affairs,1998)

April 6

"U.S. Leadership Home and Abroad." Readings: **Aaron Freidberg,** "Are Americans Becoming Isolationist?" *Commentary*, November 1998

Adam Garfinkle, "Franz Josef Clinton," *The National Interest*, Spring 1999

Samuel Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1999

Garry Wills, "Bully of the Free World," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1999

Forbes Seminar Series

As the result of a generous gift from **Mr. Steve Forbes**, the Institute was able to hold seminars on three issues affecting post-Cold War U.S. national interests. The Forbes Seminar Series will continue in 1999-2000 with three seminars on other topics crucial to American foreign relations.

November 9

"Regional Dynamics and American National Interests"

Michael Desch, Olin Institute and Professor at the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce at the University of Kentucky, Chair.
Stephen Rosen, Olin Institute and Professor of Harvard University Government Department.
Dr. Carol Saivetz, Davis Center for Russian Research at Harvard.
Kenneth Pollack, Professor of the National Defense University.

Ambassador Charles Crawford, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Fellows Program.

December 2

"American National Identity and National Interest"
Samuel P. Huntington, Director of the Olin Institute and Harvard University Professor.

Joseph S. Nye,Jr., Dean of the John F. Kennedy Schoold of Government.

February 16

"Revolution in Military Affairs"
Vice Admiral Arthur Cebrowski, President of the Naval War College.

Norfolk, Virginia Excursion

May 4-7, 1999

Timothy Doorey, Commander in the United States Navy, Organizer

The excursion to Norfolk, Virginia introduced the Fellows to NATO, joint and individual service issues,capabilities, and future challenges. Highlights included a tour of the aircraft carrier *USS George Washington* (CVN-73), briefings and equipment demonstrations by Navy Special Warfare Group 2 (SEALs), and a flight demonstration by the Air Force's F-15C fighter.

Strategy and National Security Conference

June 20-25, 1999

Celebrating more than a decade of tradition, the Olin Institute held its Fourteenth Annual Conference on Strategy and National Security at the Wianno Club on Cape Cod. This year's conference on economic, demographic, technology diffusion trends, and the dynamics of regional and domestic politics of East Asia brought together twenty-five experts on national security from academia,the private sector, and government, many of them former Olin Fellows, to discuss ongoing research and critical policy issues concerning challenges to U.S. national security.

Presentation I - *Demographics*
Nicholas Eberstadt, American Enterprise Institute
Monica Duffy Toft, Olin Institute, Harvard University
Richard Tucker, Olin Institute, Harvard University
Stephen Rosen, Olin Institute, Harvard University

Presentation II - *Technology Diffusion Trends*
David Roessner, School of Public Policy, Georgia Institute of Technology

Presentation III - *Asian Regional Dynamics*
William Odom, The Hudson Institute
Arthur Waldron, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania
Mark Staples, Chief of Naval Operations Staff, U.S. Navy

Presentation IV - *Social Trends*
Francis Fukuyama, Institute of Public Policy, George Mason University
David Popenoe, Department of Sociology, Rutgers University

Presentation V - *Economics*
Charles Wolf, RAND Corporation

Olin Institute Program Members

Samuel P. Huntington, Director
Stephen P. Rosen, Associate Director
Inga Peterson, Program Coordinator
Carol Edwards, Staff Assistant

National Security Fellows

Nora Bensahel
Timothy Crawford
Timothy Doorey
Talbot Imlay
Anthony Alexander Loh
Jonathan Mercer
David Nickles
Jeffrey O. Leary

Jordan Seng
Ward Thomas
Monica Duffy Toft
Richard Wilcox

Olin Institute Faculty Affiliates

Marc Busch
Samuel Huntington
Alastair Iain
Louise Richardson
Stephen Rosen
Celeste Wallander

Olin Institute Visiting Scholars

Jean-Luc di Paola-Galloni

Olin Instutitue Associates

Robert Art
Thomas Christensen
Charles Cogan
Eliot Cohen
Michael Desch
Andrew Erdmann
Elizabeth Kier
Seung-Young Kim
Daryl Press
Russell Seitz
Richard Tucker
Barbara Walter

STUDENT PROGRAMS

Graduate Student Associate Program

In 1998-99,the Center selected twenty-four graduate students from the Departments of Anthropology, Economics,Government, History, Sociology, the Committee on Political Economy and Government, and Harvard Law School to be graduate student associates. Their dissertation topics included the effect of international institutions on domestic policies; environmental policies; the political economy of development in East Asia and in transitional economies; democratization and political change; Latin American politics and comparative government; liberal internationalism in Great Britain and the United States before the First World War; and conflict and cooperation between private interests and state power in health care policy in Japan. These students met at least once monthly over lunch to present and discuss their dissertation research topics. In addition, three "professionalization" talks by Harvard faculty were arranged specifically for graduate student associates. In early October, **James Alt**, professor of government at Harvard, gave a presentation entitled "How to Get Ready for the Job Market." In late October, **Robert Bates**, professor of government at Harvard, gave a talk on interviewing techniques and other lessons for field work. In April, **Jeffry Frieden**, professor of government at Harvard University, spoke to GSAs about making the transition from graduate student to junior faculty. Funds were made available by the Weatherhead Center to graduate student associates on a competitive basis for short-term travel for dissertation research and participation in conference presentations. In 1998-99, graduate student associates were supported by Weatherhead Center funds to present papers at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, the Middle East Studies Association,and the Asian Studies Association. Graduate student associates supported the Center's undergraduate associates by serving as mentors to thesis-writing seniors and by attending their thesis presentations in the spring.

GSA Luncheon Series

Chairs: **Irene Bloemraad** and **Carolyn Evans**

September 21

"Being Chinese Means Buying Chinese: Consumption and Nation-Building in Modern China," **Karl Gerth,** Department of History

October 5
"National Borders and National Networks," **Carolyn Evans**, Department of Economics

October 16
"Decentralization in Latin America," **Kathleen O'Neill**, Committee on Political Economy and Government

October 30
"Investment Environment in China: Beyond Economics and Culture," **Fu Jun**, Department of Government

November 13
"Democracy, Dictatorship and Gender Rights in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile," **Mala Htun**, Department of Government

November 20
"Why Ethnic Parties Succeed and Why They Matter," **Kanchan Chandra**, Department of Government

December 7
"Why Democratization Reduces the Likelihood of Interstate War, yet May Be Associated With Conflict," **Kristian Gleditsch,** Department of Political Science, University of Colorado

January 22
"Does Russia Need a Currency Board?" **Vladimir Kliouev,** Committee on Political Economy and Government

February 1
"It's the Economy Comrade! Economic Conditions and Election Results in Russia," **Joshua Tucker,** Department of Government

February 12
"The Political Economy of National Regulations in an Interdependent World: European Integration and Environmental Politics in East European States," **Liliana Botcheva-Andonova**, Department of Government

February 26
"Electoral Politics and Economic Integration," **Ken Scheve**, Department of Government

March 5
"Big Families in a Small World: How Female Entrepreneurs Use International Kin Networks to Shape Vietnam's National Costume," **Ann Marie Leshkowich**, Department of Anthropology

March 19
"Portuguese Immigrants and Citizenship in North America: Why Are Naturalization Levels Higher in Canada as Compared to the United States?" **Irene Bloemraad**, Department of Sociology

May 7
"Ethnic Bargains," **Kanchan Chandra**, Department of Government

Globalization and Democratization

Graduate Student Associate Conference
May 26, 1999

The Weatherhead Center hosted a graduate student associate conference, which provided an opportunity for the presenters, eight Harvard Ph.D. candidates in residence at the Center as Graduate Student Associates, to share their work with an audience that included students, faculty, and Fellows of the Weatherhead Center and other schools and departments at Harvard. The conference brought to light recent research on the interaction between domestic governance and international relations. The presentations were organized into two sessions, "Topics in the Political Economy of Developing Countries" and "Democratic Politics."

Panel I:"Internationalism and Nationalism in the Imperial Age"

Discussant: **Akira Iriye**, Charles Warren Professor of American History, Harvard

Hugh McNeal, Ph.D. candidate in History, "Globalization in the Emergence of Hobson's New Liberal Internationalism: 1900-1910"

Karl Gerth, Ph.D. candidate in History, "Visualizing the Nation through Commodities in Chinese 'National Product' Exhibitions"

Guoqi Xu, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, "The First World War and China's Quest for a New World Order"

Panel II:"Labor Mobility, Capital Mobility, and Globalization After the Cold War"

Discussant: **Jeffry Frieden,** Professor of Government, Harvard

Irene Bloemraad, Ph.D. candidate in Sociology, "The Political Incorporation of Migrants in Canada and the U.S.: The Case of Immigrant Naturalization"

Oxana Shevel, Ph.D. candidate in Government,"Domestic Mechanisms of External Influence: The Effect of International Organizations on Citizenship Policies in Ukraine"

Vladimir Kliouev, Ph.D. candidate in Political Economy and Government,"Exchange Rate Regimes in Transitional Economies"

Panel III:"Institutional Change in New Democracies"

Discussant: **Stephen Hanson**, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Washington, Visiting Scholar at Center for European Studies

Joshua Tucker, Ph.D. candidate in Government, "A Bridge to Economic Voting in the 21st Century."

Mala Htun, Ph.D. candidate in Government, "Democratic Consolidation, Institutional Change, and Gender Equality in Latin America"

Closing Discussion

UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT PROGRAMS

Travel Grants

Weatherhead Center Summer Travel Grants are awarded to Harvard undergraduates to support senior thesis research in international affairs. In 1998-99, summer travel grants were funded by the Weatherhead Center, Center associate **Julian M. Sobin**, and the Harvard International Relations Council.

Seven students, representing the Departments of Economics, Government, and Social Studies, received travel grants and were named undergraduate associates of the Center. Their research topics included research on the roles of the institutions created by NAFTA in mitigating the environmental impact of free trade along the U.S.-Mexican border; a study of the effectiveness of the NGO response to child labor in Bangalore, India; and an examination of the interactions of Japanese domestic demands, foreign demands, and the Ministry of Health and Welfare's policy goals affecting U.S.-Japan negotiations regarding the deregulation of the Japanese Pharmaceutical industry.

In the spring the students presented their findings in a Weatherhead Center-sponsored public seminar series. These seminars were chaired by graduate student associates of the Center who served as mentors to the undergraduates throughout the academic year.

Summer Travel Grant Recipient Presentations

February 22

"Civilians on the Warfront: French Village Life on World War One's Western Front," **Celia Whitaker** (History and Romance Languages)

"The British Labour Party and the Trade Unions: A Reassessment of the Benefits of the Relationship during the 1980s," **Audrey Lee** (Government)

March 1

"The Failure of U.S.Efforts to Acquire Cuba and Northern Mexico, 1853-1855," **Halbert Jones** (History)

"NAFTA's Institutional Promises: The Possibilities for US-Mexican Cooperation through the Border Environment Cooperation Commission and the North American Development Bank," **Erica Simmons** (Social Studies)

March 8

"The Ministry of Health and Welfare's Medicine: Reforming Japan's Pharmaceutical Pricing System," **Jessica Wolf** (East Asian Studies)

Student Council

An organization of Harvard undergraduates, the Weatherhead Center Student Council serves as the liaison between the Weatherhead Center community and the undergraduate student body. Its goal is to provide a variety of meaningful opportunities for undergraduates to learn about international affairs by working closely with Center affiliates. The Weatherhead Center Open House for undergraduates on October 6 was co-sponsored by the Student Council and served to expose undergraduates to the affiliates and activities of the Center. The Student Council is divided into three committees—Fellows, Regional Studies, and Special Events—all of which aim to increase student exposure to current topics in international affairs.

The Fellows Committee works with the Weatherhead Center Fellows in sponsoring a biweekly series of dinner talks in the undergraduate houses. Limited to a small number of students,the talks draw on the personal experiences of the Fellows and allow students to discuss important and topical issues in international affairs closely with individuals who often have a first-hand knowledge of current events.

The Regional Studies Committee, a new branch of the Student Council, organizes panels that focus on a particular region of the world and are meant for a broad audience. This committee is also the outreach arm of the Student Council to other student groups and frequently co-sponsors events with groups ranging from HASA (Harvard African Students Association) to the Harvard Vietnamese Association.

The Special Events Committee organizes and manages large events. During 1998-99 it was especially active, organizing a multi-day conference on the May 4 Oslo Accords Final Status in conjunction with Harvard Hillel and the Society of Arab Students. This occasion provided a forum of expression for a variety of views and opinions surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In addition, the committee also organized the annual "Careers in International Affairs" dinner during which Fellows and other international affairs practitioners spoke of the privileges and pitfalls of an international career path.

The 1998-99 Weatherhead Student Council, with over 200 undergraduate members, was led by a board consisting of: **Aadil Ginwala** '00 and **Melissa Inouye** '01, co-presidents; **Abigail Zoba** '00, treasurer; **Sam Sternin** '01, secretary; **Matthew Rojansky** '02, Fellows Committee chair; **Francisca Geyer** '01 and **Erica Westenberg** '02, Regional Studies Committee co-chairs; **Steven Kruczek** '01 and **Jungmin Lee** '01, Special Events Committee co-chairs;and **Gautam Mukunda** '01, webmaster.

Regional Studies Panels

November 12

"The New African Renaissance," **Jimmy Ocitti**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and Ugandan journalist; and **Robert Bates**, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government, Harvard University

March 3

"Economic Integration in South and Southeast Asia," **Jayant Prasad**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former Indian Ambassador to Algeria; **Pham Bin Man**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and Deputy Director, Press and Information Department, Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Professors **David Dapice** and **Jonathan Haughton**, Harvard Institute of International Development, Harvard University

April 15

"Media Coverage in Conflict: How Much Do We Really Know About Kosovo?" **Susan Reed**, Nieman Fellow and Emmy Award-winning journalist; **Gary Bass**, Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University; and **Colonel Michael Alvis**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former military assistant to the Pentagon

April 29

"Perspectives on U.S. Immigration: The Latino Experience," **Marcelo Suarez-Orozco**, Professor of Education, Harvard University

Fellows Dinner Series

October 15

"The Limits and Challenges of Peacekeeping," **Colonel Michael Alvis**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former military assistant to the Pentagon

October 29

"The Emerging Latin American Economies," **Jorge Gallardo Zavala**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former President and CEO of Banco Continental Guayaquil

November 5

"Terrorism: The Experience of Being Held Hostage in an Embassy," **Francisco Tudela**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former Foreign Minister of Peru

November 19

"Politics of the Middle East: What Do the Wye Accords Mean?" **Michael Bell**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former Canadian Ambassador to Egypt

February 17

"European Integration: What Is the Meaning of the Euro and the EU?" **Peter Martin Smith**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former Head of Unit for Industrial Competitiveness, Directorate-General for Industry of the European Commission

March 18

"Diplomacy Is Hell," **Charles Crawford**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former British Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

April 22

"Turkish Guest Workers in Germany," **Friedrich Gröning**, Weatherhead Center Fellow and former Head of Division, Southern Europe and Mediterranean Affairs (Political Affairs), German Foreign Office, Bonn

Graduate Student Associates

Irene Bloemraad
Liliana Botcheva-Andonova
Kanchan Chandra
Andrew Erdmann
Carolyn Evans
Jun Fu
Karl Gerth
Kristian Gleditsch
Lawrence Hamlet
Mala Htun
Barbara Keys
Vladimir Kliouev
Ann Marie Leshkowich
Durgham Mara'ee
Hugh McNeal
Kathleen O'Neill
Sanjay Reddy
Kenneth Scheve
Oxana Shevel

Smita Singh
Paul Talcott
Michael Tomz
Joshua Tucker
Guoqi Xu

Undergraduate Associates

Halbert Jones
Karen Kim
Audrey Lee
Navin Narayan
Erica Simmons
Celia Whitaker
Jessica Wolf

TRANSNATIONAL SECURITY

The MacArthur Transnational Security Project

The MacArthur Transnational Security Project, funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, is a joint program of the Weatherhead Center and the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The focus of the program has been on the theme of "personal and group security and transnational society," which connotes that either the source of the perceived or actual threat is abroad, or that the solution to the threats would involve transnational networks or organizations. The MacArthur Project has provided funding for a Harvard-MIT interdisciplinary seminar as well as for two working groups,each focusing on specific transnational security issues. Two predoctoral fellowships were awarded to graduate students. Funds for "mentorships" were made available to core faculty members of the program, enabling them to work closely with a graduate student in exchange for research support.

Working Group I "Exit Problems": Secession and Migration, Human Rights and Refugees

Working Group I of the MacArthur Project consisted of faculty members and graduate students from Harvard and MIT, as well as other Boston area institutions, whose work related to secession and self-determination in particular or, more generally, to issues of intergroup conflict, refugees, human rights, and identity. The seminars thus brought together a number of scholars who otherwise might not have a chance to work together because they reside at different institutions. During its fourth year, Group I's sessions studied threats to international security posed by the danger of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; in particular how such threats are to be assessed and how the U.S. and the international community can respond to such threats. Proliferation problems of different nature and originating in various regions of the world were discussed.

Core Faculty

Harvard University

William Fisher
J. Bryan Hehir
Stanley Hoffmann
Michael Jones-Correa
Louise Richardson
Anne-Marie Slaughter

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Kenneth Oye
Barry Posen
Judith Tendler
Stephen Van Evera
Myron Weiner

Group I Seminar Meetings

October 5

John Deutsch, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "A 'State of the Question' Assessment of the Proliferation Threat on Nuclear Issues and Weapons of Mass Destruction"

November 23

Stephen Cohen, Brookings Institution,

"Nuclear Weapons and International Conflict in South Asia"

December 7

Steven Miller, Harvard University, "The Russian Collapse and Russian Nuclear Weapons: Recipe for Global Proliferation"

February 15

Robert Gallucci, Dean of the Foreign Service School at Georgetown University, "Nonproliferation Issues: The North Korean Nuclear Program"

April 12

Ash Carter, Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government, "Grand Terrorism: National Security Meets Domestic Security"

May 11

Richard Falkenrath, John F. Kennedy School of Government, "Assessing the Threat of WMD Terrorism"

Working Group II International Economic Security

This year the MacArthur Seminar Working Group II focused on how liberalization of trade and financial relations between nations has impacted economic and political performance in both the developing and developed world. Two broad themes were discussed during the six meetings. The first theme addressed under what conditions and policies economic integration is consistent with the objective of development in LDCs. The second explored the impact of economic integration on the distribution of national resources in both the developed and developing world.

The six seminars were well attended by both faculty and graduate students from various departments and schools at Harvard and MIT, including the Harvard Departments of Government and Economics, the Kennedy School of Government,the Harvard Business School, the Harvard Law School, the MIT Department of Political Science, and the MIT Sloan School of Management,as well as departments from other area universities. Each meeting began with a catered luncheon, followed by a presentation of the material and a question-and-answer session.

Core Faculty

Harvard University

Jeffry Frieden
Devesh Kapur
Lisa Martin
Dani Rodrik
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Raymond Vernon
Shang-jin Wei

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Suzanne Berger
Kenneth Oye
Judith Tendler

Group II Seminar Meetings

October 19

Dani Rodrik, Kennedy School of Government,"Making Openness Work: The New Global Economy and Developing Countries"

December 8

Martin Feldstein, Harvard University and NBER, "Self-Protection for Emerging Market Countries"

February 8

James K.Galbraith, LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas,"Earnings Inequality in the Global Economy"

March 15

Richard Freeman, Harvard University and NBER, "The Role of International Standards in Transnational Well-Being"

April 12

Robert Wade, Brown University, "Lessons from the Asian Crisis"

May 17

Sylvia Maxfield, Visiting Scholar, Harvard Institute for International Development, Harvard University, "The Political Consequences of Financial Internationalization in Latin America"

1998-99 MacArthur Transnational Security Project Fellows

Oxana Shevel, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Government, Harvard University. *Project:* The Variations in the Influence of International Organizations on Refugee and Migration Policies in Four Postcommunist Countries, the Czech Republic, Poland, Russia, and the Ukraine, by Looking at the Mechanisms of Domestic-International Interaction.

Carsten Giersch, Thyssen Postdoctoral Fellow, Ph.D. Political Science, University of Bonn, 1997. *Project:* The Role of International Institutions in Ethnic Conflicts in Yugoslavia; European Security.

Kenneth Scheve, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Government, Harvard University. *Project:* Citizen Politics in a Global Economy: International Trade and Public Opinion in Industrial Democracies;Elections and Voting Behavior in Advanced Industrial Democracies.

MacArthur Mentorships

Lisa Martin, professor of government, Harvard University, was granted a mentorship to work with **Larry Hamlet,** Ph.D. candidate in government, on a project gathering data on the effects of international institutions on international and domestic politics. **Henry Steiner**, professor of law, Harvard Law School, was granted a mentorship to work with S.J.D. candidate **Durgham Mara'ee.**

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

U.S. Foreign Policy Seminar

The U.S. Foreign Policy Seminar has traditionally invited guests—practitioners as well as scholars—to present their thinking on current topics of importance in U.S. foreign policy. In 1998-99, this approach was enhanced in several respects. The seminar was co-directed in the fall of 1998 by **Professors Robert Paarlberg,** Weatherhead Center Associate, and **Robert Pastor**, the Ralph Straus Visiting Professor at the Kennedy School of Government (and also a WCFIA Associate). A part of the fall semester seminar schedule was designed to permit the systematic presentation and critique of newly drafted papers for a book on the foreign policies of major powers edited by **Robert Pastor.** Also linked to the seminar was a Weatherhead Center conference on "The Foreign Policies of Major Powers," October 2-4, at which other papers for this new book were presented. In the spring semester, **Robert Paarlberg** chaired the seminar and turned to a number of topics of contemporary policy interest, including relations with "Problem States," the possible persistence of a "Vietnam Syndrome," U.S.-European Union relations, U.S.drug control policies in Latin America, and the use of air power in Kosovo.

Co-Chairs: **Robert Paarlberg** and **Robert Pastor**

October 13

"At Home Abroad: Identity and Power in U.S. Foreign Policy in the 21st Century," **Henry R. Nau**, Elliot School of International Affairs,George Washington University

October 27

"China's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century," **Michel Oksenberg**, Asia Pacific Research Center, Stanford University. Discussant: **Steven Vogel**, Harvard Government Department

November 4

"U.S.-Latin American Relations During the Cold War and its Aftermath," **Jorge Domínguez,** Director, Weatherhead Center, Harvard University

November 18

"The Geography of the Peace: East Asia and the 21st Century," **Robert Ross**, Boston College

December 2

"The Foreign Policy of the United States Congress," **Doug Bereuter**, Member of Congress from Nebraska

December 9

"The Foreign Policies of Major Powers: Overview," **Robert Pastor**, Kennedy School of Government and Weatherhead Center

February 9

"U.S. Intervention Policy Revisited: The Issue of Problem States," **Seyom Brown**, Brandeis University

February 23

"Liberals and U.S. Foreign Policy: A Continuing Vietnam Syndrome?" **Kai Bird**, author. *Discussant:* **Karl Kaysen**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

March 9

"The European Union: Economic or Political Animal?" **Stanley Hoffmann**, Harvard University

April 20

"Drug Control Policy and U.S.-Latin American Relations," **Ethan Nadelmann**, Director, Lindesmith Center

May 4

"The Kosovo War: A Test for Air Power," **Robert Pape**, Dartmouth College