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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 practitioners from around the world.

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

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

The Weatherhead Center also supports the research of graduate students from various schools of the University. The Center houses and helps finance the work of dozens of graduate students every year. The Center awards many grants to undergraduates to conduct field research for their senior theses in various countries.

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. An executive committee, primarily composed of senior Harvard faculty involved in Center-sponsored programs, provides guidance on matters of substance and policy. Professor Jorge I. Domínguez, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, continued as director of the Center. James A. Cooney continued as executive director.

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, 237 faculty members, visiting scholars, practitioners, and students were associated with the Center for the 1999-2000 academic year, representing approximately 35 nationalities.

Faculty

Senior and junior members of the Harvard faculty form the intellectual core of the Center. In addition to its fifteen 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 endowed professorships in international affairs, international economics, national security and military affairs, and Canadian studies. The Center’s faculty associates, numbering 99 for 1999-2000, 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 outside of Harvard, enabling them to pursue their research interests with the benefits of interaction with other Center members and to have 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 1999-2000 academic year, postdoctoral fellowships went to scholars conducting research on strategic and national security studies, international and area studies, transnational security, a comparison of U.S. and Japanese electronics industries, and U.S.-Japan trade policy.

Associates

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

Graduate Students

The Center annually supports selected doctoral candidates writing research dissertations by providing them with office space, computer support, modest funding for travel, and access to the Center’s programs and activities. Harvard students participate through the Graduate Student Associate Program. In 1999-2000, the Center supported graduate student associates from the Departments of Sociology, Government, History, Economics, Public Policy, and Anthropology, as well as the Committee on Political Economy and Government. Students from other institutions also received Weatherhead Center-sponsored research fellowships for work in strategic and national security studies, international and area studies, and transnational security. In addition, the Center received 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 also offers travel grants to undergraduates doing research for their senior honors theses. In 1999-2000, fifteen undergraduates received this support.

Staff
The Weatherhead Center staff includes 35 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 six 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 1999-2000 research activities follows.

Research Activities, Programs, and Seminar Series
The Center’s current research programs fall into four broad categories—international relations, regional studies, prospects for domestic peace and democracy, and political economy. 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 Communications and International Relations. Co-sponsored by the Program on Information Resources Policy at Harvard University, 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 Environmental Affairs. This is an interdisciplinary joint research seminar with the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government.
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, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, and Steve Forbes. 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. Working Group I (Violence, Religion, and Reconciliation) meets monthly and sponsors two predoctoral fellows.

**U.S. Foreign Policy.** The Center hosts a U.S. foreign policy seminar that has been meeting continuously since 1974. 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. In addition, the Global Communications and International Relations Seminar (mentioned above) often touches on issues concerning communication technologies in foreign policy.

**REGIONAL STUDIES**

**Europe.** The Weatherhead Center has placed increasing emphasis on European activities, ranging from undergraduate study groups, to conferences, to the ongoing European Union seminar series. The Center is an active participant in Harvard’s European Union Center, and it works closely with the Kennedy School of Government, the Law School, and the Center for European Studies to coordinate Europe-related events.

**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, Canada and U.S.-Canada relations, the Middle East, and South Asia.

**PROSPECTS FOR DOMESTIC PEACE AND DEMOCRACY**

**Communist and Postcommunist Countries.** This faculty seminar examines how communist and postcommunist countries have responded to a set of similar challenges to their political legitimacy.

**Ethnicity and Nationalism.** The faculty working group is a university-wide, cross-disciplinary effort that brings together anthropologists, historians, political scientists, sociologists, social psychologists and scholars of law and religion. It is also interregional, including specialists on Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Africa, as well as the Americas. The issue areas covered in the seminar have included explorations of ethnic and national identities, forms of citizenship and membership, and international migration and globalization.

**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 Democracy.** The Research Workshop on the Performance of Democracy focuses on both the challenges and problems
of existing democracies and the transition to democracy. Several faculty members work directly with Harvard graduate students, and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences provides funding.

**Project on Justice in Times of Transition.** The Project is an interfaculty program of Harvard University under the auspices of the Law School, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (as represented by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs). The Seminar examines the specific challenges and issues in post-conflict countries implementing recent peace agreements.

**POLITICAL ECONOMY**

Five groups worked in the area of political economy during the 1999-2000 academic year: an informal faculty discussion group on political economy; the MacArthur Working Group on International Economic Security; the Research Group on the Political Economy of International Finance; the Research Workshop on Positive Political Economy; and the Seminar on International Economics.

**Faculty Discussion Group on Political Economy.** This group convenes weekly to discuss a previously distributed paper on a wide range of subjects related to political economy. Faculty from the Department of Government, Economics, the Harvard Law School, the Kennedy School of Government, and from other Boston area academic institutions attend the discussions.

**Research Group on the Political Economy of International Finance.** The Research Group on the Political Economy of International Finance (PEIF) is a joint activity of the Weatherhead Center and the Center for German and European Studies (CGES) of the University of California.

**Research Workshop on Positive Political Economy.** This year-long graduate seminar encourages 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.

**Seminar on International Economics.** The seminar on International Economics covers a broad spectrum of very recent theoretical and empirical research on international trade, capital markets, and monetary arrangements. Examples of recent topics include the benefits of a common currency, new open-economy macroeconomics, the political economy of trade and income distribution, political budget cycles in open-economy economies, financial crises, and direct foreign investment in China.

**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. Working Group II (International Economic Security) meets monthly and sponsors two predoctoral fellows.

**Conferences**

Twelve conferences were sponsored or co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center during the 1999-2000 academic year.

“Allied Force or Forced Allies? Alliance Politics in Canada and Europe from the End of the Cold War to Kosovo” (see Canada Seminar section).

“Fellows’ Alumni Conference and Reunion” (see Fellows Program section).
“Conference on Global Perspectives on Civil Society in Japan” (see U.S.-Japan Relations section).

“Institutional Design, Dispute Settlement, and International Trade” (see Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).

“Korea: Its International and Comparative Contexts” (see Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).

“Labor Protest and Other Collective Strategies of Worker Resistance in the Age of Neo-Liberalism” (see Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).

“Making Big Choices: Individual Opinion Formation and Societal Choices” (see Canada Seminar section).

“PICAR: Adventures in Track II Diplomacy” (see Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).

“Political Economy of International Finance (PEIF) Meeting” (see Political Economy section).

“PONSACS: Indigenous/Tribal Sovereignty and Plural Ethnic States” (see Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).

“Talloires—European Security: Where is the Threat?” (see Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).

“Relations between Indigenous Peoples and States in Contemporary Latin America” (see Special Conferences, Lectures, and Seminars section).

Travel and Research Grants

Fourteen faculty members received Weatherhead Center travel or individual research grants for:

An author workshop for a manuscript entitled Problems of Decentralized Cooperation in Contemporary Policymaking.
- Pepper Culpepper

A research survey on “Attitudes towards International Relations in Beijing.”
- Iain Johnston

Research on “Soviet Use of Military Force in International Crises.”
- Celeste Wallander

Book indexing and graduate student support.
- Grzegorz Ekiert

- Lisa Martin

- Florencio Lopez de Silanes

Publication of a presentation on “Policy Consequences of Officials’ Misconduct in Office.”
- Susan Pharr

Editing assistance for a Trilateral Democracies Project publication.
- Robert Putnam

A seminar series on international economics.
- Kenneth Rogoff

A preliminary conference as a planning session for a conference and an edited volume on Interwar Strategic Planning.
- Monica Toft and the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies

Research for a book manuscript entitled The Other African Americans.
- J. Lorand Matory

Weatherhead Initiative Planning Grant for initial session on “Ethnic and Religious Conflict: Paths to Peace.”
- David Little
A dinner series held in conjunction with a seminar series on “Reform of the Welfare State.”

-Janos Kornai

Author workshop for a manuscript entitled Politics in Time: Exploring the Temporal Dimensions of Political Processes.

-Paul Pierson

Faculty Research Leaves

Marc Busch, faculty associate and associate professor of government and of social studies, received a one-semester Faculty Research Fellowship for the academic year 1999-2000 with which he completed a book draft on the study of dispute resolution in international trade. This book sheds light on the “forum-shopping” trend, which is all but ignored in international institutions literature. Forum-shopping is the practice of picking the “right” court before which to plead a case; the motivation being that differences in code or in jury pools, for example, may give plaintiffs an edge in one jurisdiction over another. At the international level there are many options for dispute resolution institutions.

Paul Pierson, faculty associate and professor of government, received a one-semester Faculty Research Fellowship for the academic year 1999-2000 with which he completed a manuscript on issues at the intersection of history and the social sciences and concerns central to scholars in the fields of international relations and comparative politics. The manuscript is entitled Politics in Time: Path Dependence, Sequences and Time Horizons in Political Life, and it demonstrates the significance of a range of temporal processes in politics and improves the ways in which social scientists investigate them.

William Fisher, faculty associate and associate professor of anthropology, received a one-semester Faculty Research Fellowship for the academic year 1999-2000 with which he completed research on transnational advocacy alliances lobbying the multilateral development banks and international dam-building consortia on behalf of people adversely affected by the building of high dams. Focusing on the campaign against high dams is a way of understanding both the potential and the limitations to some of the new and expanding lines of communication and political influence that have evolved over the past decade. This focus also examines the importance of the campaign against high dams in a changing world order and considers their effects on local lives. The results of this research were published in an article on transnational advocacy networks and their role in the formation and work of the World Commission on Dams.

Lisa Martin, faculty associate and professor of government, received a one-semester Faculty Research Fellowship for the academic year 1999-2000 with which she conducted empirical research on the effects of international institutions on state behavior. This project will extend and redirect research on international institutions, developing a more concrete sense of the mechanisms by which they influence state behavior, a procedure for measuring their effects, and a new framework for understanding their overall impact on patterns of institutional politics. The conceptual shift is from empirical studies that have concentrated on the impact of international institutions on cooperation among states to considering what conditions lead to convergence or divergence of state behavior.
WEATHERHEAD INITIATIVE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

During the 1999-2000 academic year, the Weatherhead Center launched the Weatherhead Initiative in International Affairs, one of the most exciting and creative programs resulting from the Weatherhead family’s generous gift in 1998. The first recipients are Professors Gary King from the Government Department and Chris Murray from the School of Public Health for their proposal, “Military Conflict as a Public Health Problem.” The project links the fields of public health, international relations, and statistical methodology as it examines the benefits of treating military conflict as a public health problem. The Weatherhead Initiative Selection Committee, chaired by former Harvard President Derek Bok, described the proposal as “a large and venturesome project that seeks to redefine academic fields and is genuinely interdisciplinary.”

LIBRARY

The Library at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs 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 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), which 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 computer linked 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’s homepage (http://data.fas.harvard.edu/cfia) 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 Web 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
Foundation for Better Corporate Citizenship
Frank Boas
Fondation Bogette
Robert Bosch Foundation
BP Amoco
Bradley Foundation
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<td>Carthage Foundation</td>
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<td>Dillon Fund</td>
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<td>Center of Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance</td>
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<td>Luise Druke</td>
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<td>Robert S. Drysdale</td>
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<td>Carl Duisberg Society</td>
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<td>Myron and Stefanie Erkiletian</td>
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<td>Richard S. and Linda N. Friedman</td>
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<td>Diego Hidalgo</td>
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<td>Graham F. Kear</td>
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<td>Ira Kukin</td>
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## FINANCIAL SUMMARY

### INCOME

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### BALANCE

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RESEARCH AND SEMINAR PROGRAMS

AFRICA

The Weatherhead Center fosters research on Africa through its co-sponsorship with the Harvard Institute for International Development of the WCFIA/HIID 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 monthly, the seminar attracts faculty, students, and others interested in Africa from Harvard and the larger Boston area.

WCFIA/HIID Joint Seminar on Africa

Chairs: Robert Bates (fall), Malcolm McPherson (spring)

October 14

“Impact of Improved Water-Supply Systems on Small Enterprises: Evidence from Uganda,” Jeffrey Vincent, lecturer on economics and public policy, Harvard University; program director, Harvard Institute for International Development.

November 18


February 17


March 2

“Human Rights, Oil, and West Africa: An Emphasis on Chad,” Peter Rosenblum, lecturer on law; project director, the Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School.

March 23

“Political Business Cycles, Democratization, and Economic Reform: The Case of Africa,” Steve Block, consultant to the World Bank and USAID; associate professor of international economics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.

April 18

“South Africa Today: The End of the Rainbow?” Irina Filatova, professor of history at the University of Durban-Westville, South Africa; former professor of African history, Moscow State University; and R.W. Johnson, director of the Helen Suzman Foundation, Johannesburg, South Africa; emeritus Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

ASIA

Asia Food Security Seminar

In 1999-2000, the Weatherhead Center and Harvard Asia Center co-hosted three seminars on topics related to food security in Asia. This seminar was chaired by Weatherhead Associate Rob Paarlberg and funded by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

October 19

“Do Multinational Companies Help Fix Food Problems in Asia?” Carl E. Pray, professor of agricultural economics, Rutgers University.

December 9

May 4


CANADA AND U.S.-CANADA RELATIONS

In 1999-2000 the Mackenzie King Visiting Associate Professor of Canadian Studies was Pierre Martin, who also held an appointment as Visiting Associate Professor in the Government Department. Pierre Martin is Associate Professor of Political Science at the Université de Montréal. In the fall term, the Canada Seminar explored the theme of constitutional renewal in Canada, while various issues were addressed during the spring term. In addition to the seminar, the Mackenzie King Chair sponsored a conference on NATO alliance politics in the fall term and a conference on opinion formation and major political choices in the spring term.

Canada Seminar

The Harvard Canada Seminar examines Canadian economic, social, cultural and political issues, both in their domestic and international dimensions. Presentations are made by public figures, scholars, artists, and by experts in various fields. The Canada Seminar provides the Harvard faculty and students, as well as the broader community, with a window on Canadian scholarly and public life. It seeks to enhance the understanding of the closest ally and largest trading partner of the United States, and to provide a forum for a lively exchange of ideas on a wide range of issues.

October 4

“Constitutional Renewal and Canadian Federalism: Myths and Reality,” Daniel Turp, Bloc Québécois opposition critic for Intergovernmental Affairs, Canadian House of Commons.

October 13

“Federalism: A Question of Leadership,” Hon. Jean Charest, leader of the official opposition in the Québec National Assembly and leader of the Québec Liberal Party.

October 25

“Designed to Fail: The Institutional Politics of Constitutional Renewal in Canada,” Christopher Manfredi, professor of political science, McGill University. (Co-sponsored by the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences.)

November 8


February 7

“Globalization and Cultural Diversity: What Does Québec Want?” Louise Beaudoin, minister of International Relations and minister responsible for the implementation of the Charter of the French Language, Québec. (Co-sponsored by the Globalization and Culture Seminar, Weatherhead Center.)

February 28

“Did the ‘Best’ Party Win? Party Positions and the Vote in the 1997 Canadian Election,” André Blais, professor of
March 6
“The Future of Hockey,” Ken Dryden, president, Toronto Maple Leafs Hockey Club; member of the Hockey Hall of Fame.

September 30-October 1, 1999
Allied Force or Forced Allies? Alliance Politics in Canada and Europe from the End of the Cold War to Kosovo
Sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Research Group in International Security (REGIS), Université de Montréal and McGill University; and the European Union Center, Harvard University.

Chairs: Pierre Martin, Mackenzie King Visiting Associate Professor of Canadian Studies, Harvard University; associate professor of political science, Université de Montréal; and Mark Brawley, professor of political science; director, Research Group in International Security, McGill University.

This conference brought together academic specialists and policymakers to reflect on the significance of the Kosovo crisis from the point of view of alliance politics in NATO. The crisis over Kosovo brings to the fore important issues for Canadian and European foreign policies. What range of autonomy does U.S. leadership leave for allied countries? What may be the lessons of the crisis over Kosovo from the point of view of “alliance followers”? What are the lessons to be drawn from the crisis about the articulation of the various components of the so-called architecture of European security? Participants discussed these questions from the often neglected perspective of alliance followers.

September 30
Welcome and Introductory Remarks by Pierre Martin, Harvard University; and Jorge I. Domínguez, director, Weatherhead Center

Introductory Session: Lessons from the Kosovo Crisis
Chair: Pierre Martin, Harvard University
Speaker: The Honourable Art Eggleton, minister of National Defence, Canada, “Canadian Lessons from the Kosovo Crisis.”
Discussants: David Haglund, Queen's University; and Stanley Hoffmann, Harvard University

Session I: The U.S. and its Allies in the Midst of Crisis
Chair: James A. Cooney, executive director, Weatherhead Center
Speaker: Charles Kupchan, Georgetown University; director of European Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, “U.S. Foreign Policy Towards the Alliance.”
Speaker: David Haglund, Queen's University, “Allied Force or Forced Allies? The Allies' Perspective.”
Discussant: Daniel Bon, director general of Policy Planning, Department of National Defence, Canada

October 1
Session II: Alliance Politics, Security Institutions and the Nature of New Threats to Euro-Atlantic Security
Chair: Lawrence Broz, Harvard University
Speaker: Stephen Walt, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, “NATO's Future (In Theory).”
Speaker: S. Neil MacFarlane, Oxford University, “Challenges to Euro-Atlantic Security.”
Speaker: Alan Henrikson, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, “The

Discussant: Jonathan Day, Weatherhead Center Fellow; former director of Defence Policy, Ministry of Defence, United Kingdom

Session III: Case Studies in Alliance Politics I
Chair: Mark Brawley, McGill University
Speaker: Anne Deighton, Oxford University, “The European Union and Kosovo: Towards the Glass Ceiling?”
Speaker: Alexander MacLeod, Université du Québec à Montréal, “Redefining European Security: France and the Kosovo Crisis.”
Speaker: Peter Rudolf, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen and Berlin, “Germany and the Kosovo Conflict.”
Discussants: George Ross, Brandeis University; director of the European Union Center, Center for European Studies, Harvard University (France and EU); and David Haglund, Queen’s University (Germany)

Session IV: Case Studies in Alliance Politics II
Chair: Marc Busch, Harvard University
Speaker: Louise Richardson, Harvard University, “United Kingdom.”
Speaker: Kim Richard Nossal, McMaster University; and Stéphane Roussel, Université de Montréal, “Canada.”
Speaker: Milada Vachudova, Harvard University; Fellow, EU Center of New York, Columbia University, “The Atlantic Alliance and The Kosovo Crisis: The Impact of Enlargement and the Behavior of New Allies.”
Speaker: Maurizio Cremasco, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, “Italy and the Management of International Crises” (Maurizio Cremasco was not present; a summary of the paper was read).
Discussants: Daniel Turp, Canadian House of Commons; Université de Montréal; and Neil MacFarlane, Oxford University

General Discussion and Closing Remarks by Pierre Martin, Harvard University; and Mark Brawley, McGill University
May 25-26, 2000

Making Big Choices: Individual Opinion Formation and Societal Choices
Sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University.

Chairs: Pierre Martin, Mackenzie King Visiting Associate Professor of Canadian Studies, Harvard University; associate professor of political science, Université de Montréal; and Richard Nadeau, professor of political science, Université de Montréal

This conference was about how ordinary people make extraordinary political choices that have the potential to transform a society in a fundamental way. The cases that exemplify this kind of decision include: the choice faced by the citizens of Québec to vote, or take an explicit stand, for or against sovereignty; citizen support for European integration and monetary unification; voting in the referendum on devolution in Scotland; support for independence in Scotland and Catalonia; the May 1998 referendum on the Good Friday peace accord in Ireland; the referendum on independence in East Timor; the decision by Canadians to support or oppose free trade with the United States in 1988. This list is not exhaustive and could broadly include any choice that is real, fundamental, and salient. Unlike routine electoral choices in which voters have to choose among candidates who campaign on a range of issues for temporary office, “big political choices” are very salient, broadly encompassing and practically irreversible. As such, they often involve a stark distinction
between the relative security and predictability of the status quo and the uncertainties of major change, as well as deep conflicts of values or identities, and major disagreements as to the consequences of alternative futures.

May 25

Introduction
Chair: Jeffry Frieden, Harvard University
Word of Welcome by James Cooney, executive director, Weatherhead Center

“When Ordinary People Make Extraordinary Choices,” Pierre Martin, Harvard University; and Richard Nadeau, University of Montréal.

Panel One: Models of Individual Opinion Formation and Choice
Speaker: Dennis Chong, Northwestern University, “A Model of Incentives, Dispositions, and Choice.”
Speaker: Donald Green, Yale University, “Habits and Dispositions in Choices Big and Small.”
Speaker: Arthur Lupia, Stanford University and University of California, San Diego, “What We Should Know: The Case for Voter Competence.”
Discussants: James Alt, Harvard University; and Richard Zeckhauser, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Panel Two: Elite-Mass Interactions and Big Political Choices
Chair: Lisa Martin, Harvard University
Speakers: Orit Kedar and Kenneth Shepsle, Harvard University, “The Heresthetic of Big Choices.”
Discussant: Stephen Ansolabehere, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

May 26

Panel Three: Economic and Cultural Approaches to Political Choice
Chair: Yoshiko Herrera, Harvard University
Speakers: Christopher Anderson and Yuliya Tverdova, State University of New York, Binghamton, “Choosing the West: Opinion Formation in Eastern Europe on Joining the European Union.”
Speaker: Laurence McFalls, University of Montréal, “Revolution, Referenda, and the Ambiguity of Fundamental Political Choice: A Comparison of German Unification and Québec Separatism.”
Discussant: Hudson Meadwell, McGill University

Panel Four: Big Choices on Economic Integration and Political Union
Chair: Marc Busch, Harvard University
Discussant: Elisabeth Gidengil, McGill University; Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Panel Five: Devolution and Independence
Discussant: Hudson Meadwell, McGill University

Discussion: Where Do We Go From Here?
Community and Postcommunist Countries

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 every communist and postcommunist country confronted crises of identity as well as political economy. The communist and postcommunist worlds, in turn, pose challenges for the redesign of the international system. China is growing as a major power, and Russia is groping for a new international role.

Harvard University has a stellar cast of faculty who work on nearly every communist and postcommunist country as well as on virtually all the issues just noted. These professors 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 was founded in 1997-98, and it has continued ever since under the Weatherhead Center's sponsorship. Each session is 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.

The seminar is co-chaired by Professors Timothy Colton, Jorge Domínguez, and Elizabeth Perry. It met three times during 1999-2000.

October 5
“Elite Politics in Cuba and China in the late 1960s and in the late 1980s and early 1990s,” Roderick MacFarquhar and Jorge Domínguez.

November 17
“The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations and Their International Funders in China and Russia,” Anthony Saich and Valerie Sperling.

March 1
“The Political Economy of Regional and Provincial Variation in China and Russia,” Yasheng Huang and Yoshiko Herrera.

Comparative Politics

Comparative Politics Seminar
Harvard University hosts a great many professors with interests in comparative politics. Some study specific countries or issues, others focus on key themes such as political economy, and several emphasize work on formal models of politics. For the most part, these scholars have interacted little with other. Thus, the principal purpose of the Comparative Politics seminar was to facilitate discussions among professors whose approach to the study of the subject differs. To advance this objective, we emphasized the prior distribution and reading of papers; there were few, if any, oral remarks at the meetings themselves. The purpose of the meetings was discussion, commentary, criticism, and suggestions. The subject matter was quite open. Professors Devesh Kapur and Jorge Domínguez chaired the seminar during 1999-2000.

November 16


**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 Center tradition, 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.

**November 17**


**December 6**

“How Domestic Politics Influences Foreign Policy,” Regina Brown, Guillermo Marín, and Andreas Papaconstantinou, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

**February 10**


**March 9**

“Supranationalism Today: Is State Sovereignty a Vanishing Asset?” Luz Lajous, Peter Sutherland, and Herbert Ungerer, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

**April 10**

“Up the Learning Curve or Down a Slippery Slope? U.S. Foreign Policy in the Clinton Administration,” Alan Goulty, Sumio Kusaka, and Pramathesh Rath, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

**ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

At the Weatherhead Center, the Seminar on Ethics and International Affairs continued under the faculty leadership of Professors Stanley Hoffmann and J. Bryan Hehir. Kira Foerster, a graduate student in the Department of Government, and David Bosco, a student at Harvard Law School, co-directed the seminar series. This seminar brings together students and faculty from a variety of fields—from within and outside Harvard, from academia and the policy world—for stimulating and informative discussions. Presentations in 1999-2000 included:

**October 20**


**November 17**


**November 30**

“Rogue States And Sovereignty,” Ambassador Richard Butler, diplomat in residence, Council on Foreign Relations; former head of UNSCOM.

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December 15
"Paradoxes in Humanitarian Intervention,"
Martha Finnemore, George Washington
University.

February 18
"Power, Justice, and War Crimes Tribunals,"
Gary Bass, Princeton University.

March 14
"Ethics and International Boundaries,"
Andrew Hurrell, Oxford University.

April 6
"Intervention and Civilization: Some
Unhappy Lessons of the Kosovo War,"
David Luban, Georgetown University Law
Center and Department of Philosophy.

May 10
"The Means Dilemma of the
Humanitarian Impulse," Sarah Sewall,
project director, Carr Center for Human
Rights Policy, Kennedy School of
Government.

November 10
"Bi-Lingual Be-Longings: A Scandal, A
Joke, a Promise," Doris Sommer, professor
of romance languages, Harvard University.

December 14
"Sequoyah's Syllabary and the Cherokee
Nation," Jill Lapore, Visiting Fellow,
Bunting Institute.

February 22
"Indonesia: Reflections on a Trip to a
Troubled Land," Clifford Geertz, Institute
for Advanced Studies, School of Social
Sciences.

March 14
"Trust and Worth: The Politics of People
Building," Rogers Smith, Yale University.

April 22
"Nativism and Its Negation: The Dialectics
of Immigration Politics," Ari Zolberg, The
New School.

EUROPE
The Weatherhead Center has placed increasing
emphasis on European activities, ranging from
undergraduate study groups, to conferences, to
the ongoing European Union seminar series.
The Center is an active participant in
Harvard’s European Union Center, and it
works closely with the Kennedy School of
Government, the Law School, and the Center
for European Studies to coordinate Europe-
related events.

Vision of European Governance Seminar
A seminar series created and organized by
Renée Haferkamp, CFIA Fellow 1993-94, to
explore current issues of concern for the future
of the European Union.
Chairs: Steven B. 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.

September 23
“Security and Stability in Europe: How Will the Europeans Get Their Act Together?” Gunnar Riberholdt, ambassador of the Danish delegation to NATO, former Danish permanent representative to the EU, and Danish member of the IGC for Maastricht.

October 28
“Enlargement and Institutional Reform: Two Existential Challenges to the EU,” Manfred R. Scheich, permanent representative of Austria to the European Union.

November 17

March 23
“Can the New NATO live with the New Europe?” Jonathan Faull, head of Press and Communication Service, and deputy spokesman for the European Commission; and Jamie Shea, spokesman of NATO, and deputy director of Information and Press, NATO Headquarters.

April 27
“Financial Integration after the Euro,” Frederik Bolkestein, Dutch member of the European Commission in charge of the Internal Market, Taxation and Customs Union.

May 2

With the support of Frank Boas, the Center also organizes the annual Spaak Lecture on EU questions. Foreign Minister George Papandreou of Greece was the guest speaker in 1999. Secretary General of NATO The Right Honorable Lord George Robertson also spoke at the Center.

FELLOWS PROGRAM
The class of 1999-2000 Fellows was one of the largest groups of Fellows at the Weatherhead Center in recent times. Composed of thirteen diplomats, four business and government officials, three military officers, two civil servants, and one journalist, the 23 Fellows contributed to the ongoing intellectual work of the Center and the University and, as practitioners, engaged the academic community over various issues of policymaking and implementation. The wide professional and geographic diversity of the class fostered a similarly broad approach to the research interests of the class. Areas explored by the Fellows included the effectiveness of Western diplomacy in the Middle East and, more specifically, alternatives to the use of force, the efficacy of sanctions, and other techniques for influencing governments perceived as hostile; suggestions for structural reform within the Mexican presidency to enhance communication.
with the Mexican legislative branch; the effect of technology on U.S. foreign policy and military strategy since World War II; the politics and practice of international trade and investment, as well as the political economy of Southeast Asia; European defense and transatlantic relations; and telecommunications and Internet markets in the context of EU regulations and anti-trust laws.

As active participants on campus, the Fellows engaged the Harvard community in various and productive ways: speaking at seminars, providing guest lectures in courses of instruction, serving as informal thesis and dissertation advisers, and conducting their own research. In addition, they both benefited from and contributed to informal interactions with faculty, students, and other extra-academic practitioners and involved themselves 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.

Various conferences throughout the year attracted the Fellows as speakers and participants. Among them were the Women Waging Peace Conference sponsored by the Women and Public Policy Program at the Kennedy School of Government; the Internet and Society 2000 Conference, Harvard's third biennial conference on the Internet and society; a week-long workshop on Civil-Military Cooperation during Complex Crises, sponsored by the Conflict Management Group and the John F. Kennedy School of Government; and the Great Decisions Institute 2000, sponsored by the New Hampshire Council on World Affairs.

One of the newest activities for the Fellows this year were study groups organized by the Student Council of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs during the fall and spring semester. These four-session encounters provided a highly participatory forum for undergraduates to discuss issues of international affairs with Fellows and other guest speakers. Jon Day and Alan Goulty led the initial fall groups on European defense and the Middle East, respectively, while Nicola Clase (international security) and Klaus Rupprecht (East Asia) continued this effort through the spring semester. Under their guidance, many other Fellows had the chance to share their expertise and opinions on these matters as well.

Another opportunity for interaction with students came by way of the Undergraduate Research Assistant initiative, now in its second year. The program enables Harvard College students to help the Fellows with their particular research needs by alerting them to intellectual opportunities in the Harvard environment, finding appropriate source materials held by the Harvard College Library, analyzing and summarizing research materials, assisting Fellows with their orientation to and interaction with various electronic resources, compiling bibliographies, and helping to edit and proofread written work. Association with the Fellows provides the undergraduates with the unique educational benefit of developing partnerships with highly accomplished international affairs practitioners, and, whenever possible, the program works hard to match the academic goals and interests of each student with those of each Fellow. Of course, the Fellows gain a great deal from these interactions as well, and they appreciate the chance to become acquainted with these students in a meaningful and fruitful way. For 1999-2000, the program hired eleven students as undergraduate research assistants and it will
The Fellows also accepted numerous invitations to address audiences at other area institutions, including Bentley College, Brandeis University, Boston College, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The organizers of the New Hampshire Council of World Affairs hosted a number of Fellows in a year-long seminar series they run for their membership, as did their sister institution in Rhode Island. Moreover, with 2000 being a U.S. presidential election year, the New Hampshire Council once again led the full corps of Fellows on a tour of the Manchester-based New Hampshire primary headquarters of some of the presidential hopefuls, with a view toward introducing to them the reality of "retail politics" for which the New Hampshire primary is most well known.

The Boston Globe headquarters, the MIT Media Lab, and the U.S. Military Academy (USMA) in West Point, New York, were some of the other off-campus destinations for the group this year. The Globe provided the Fellows with a tour of its extensive facilities in Boston, as well as a chance to meet with some of the paper's editors and discuss issues concerning the current state and future of print journalism. At MIT's famed Media Lab, physicist Neil Gershenfeld, head of the Physics and Media Group, director of the Things That Think research consortium, and author of When Things Start To Think, introduced the Fellows to his fascinating work on artificial intelligence and quantum computing. A two-day trip to West Point gave the group a first-hand look at the operations of a military academy and the opportunity to observe a different academic setting than the one with which they had grown most familiar with this year. Interactions with faculty members, academy administrators, and cadets offered insight into the philosophy, values, and ethos underpinning this institution.

This year’s study tours covered a broad swath of the Americas, including the annual Canadian study tour in August, a five-day trip to Cartagena, Colombia in January, and a ten-day trip in May through three cities in the southern and western U.S. The most salient issues that arose from these visits were the nature of Canadian federalism and Canada's particular voice in international affairs; the Colombian peace process, the country's efforts to curb drug production and distribution, as well as the Colombian government's intense interactions with the U.S. foreign affairs establishment; and current U.S. political, economic, and social reality in the contexts of race relations, immigration, urban development, and high-tech corporate growth.

While the Fellows Program typically enjoys visits from former Fellows throughout the year, in November of 1999, on the occasion of a Fellows alumni conference and reunion, the program was pleased to welcome back many friends to Harvard to renew these important connections and engage in vigorous debate over various issues of international concern. More than 70 former Fellows, representing classes dating back to 1961-62, attended the two and a half day event held primarily at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge. Setting the intellectual tone for the conference were many of Harvard's most esteemed faculty members, including Jorge Domínguez, Jeffrey Frankel, J. Bryan Hehir, Stanley Hoffmann, Samuel Huntington, Joseph Nye, Roger Porter, Robert Putnam, Celeste Wallander, and Steven Walt. The cultural highlight of the days' events was the a cappella performance of the Harvard-Radcliffe Collegium Musicum at the Fogg Art Museum.

Numerous seminars throughout the year...
exposed the Fellows to a range of intriguing individuals including André Adam, permanent representative of Belgium to the United Nations; Frederik Bolkestein, Dutch member of the European Commission in charge of the Internal Market, Taxation and Customs Union; Noam Chomsky, Institute Professor and professor of linguistics at MIT; former Fellow Stewart Eldon, deputy permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations; Jonathan Faull, deputy spokesman for the European Commission; Harvard professor emeritus David Landes; U.S. Congressman James McGovern; Gunnar Riberholdt, ambassador of the Danish delegation to NATO; Manfred Scheich, permanent representative of Austria to the European Union; Jamie Shea, spokesman of NATO; Alan Simpson, former director, Institute of Politics, Kennedy School of Government, and former U.S. Senator from Wyoming 1978-94; Jim Sleeper, political columnist for the Daily News (New York); and Benjamin Zander, founder and conductor of the Boston Philharmonic Orchestra. In conjunction with the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, the Fellows Program was pleased to welcome the Right Honorable Lord George Robertson, secretary general of NATO, to address a gathering of Fellows and faculty members in April, and the program also welcomed back former Fellow and Foreign Minister George Papandreou of Greece, as the Paul-Henri Spaak Lecturer of 1999.

Friday Lunch Seminars
Chair: Steven B. Bloomfield

October 1
“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 8
“The Republican Party and the Campaign for President,” Mickey Edwards, lecturer in public policy, Kennedy School of Government; former Republican Congressman from Oklahoma; former national chairman of the American Conservative Union and the Conservative Political Action Conference.

October 15
“The Future of Affirmative Action,” Nathan Glazer, professor emeritus of education and social structure, Harvard Graduate School of Education; author of We are All Multiculturalists Now.

October 22

November 5

November 12
“Writing the Research Paper,” Donald Halstead, Fellows Program Consulting Editor.
December 3

December 10

February 11

February 18

February 25

March 3

March 10

March 17
“Taking Culture Seriously: Afro-American Illustrations,” Orlando Patterson, John Cowles Professor of Sociology, Harvard University; 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.

March 24

April 21
“U.S. Foreign Policy and Colombia,” 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; editor of The Cold War and the University: Toward an Intellectual
History of the Postwar Years.

April 28
“North vs. South: Europe and the Americas,” David S. Landes, Coolidge
Professor of History and professor of economics; author of The Wealth and
Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor, and The Unbound
Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe
from 1750 to the Present.

May 5
International Affairs; former Indian ambassador to Colombia.

May 12
“What Role for Labor Standards in the Global Economy?” Richard Freeman,
Ascherman Chair of Economics, Harvard University; director, Labor Studies Program,
National Bureau of Economic Research; director, Program for Discontinuous
Economics, London School of Economics.

Fellows’ Special Seminars and Visits
October 18
Visit to the headquarters of The Boston Globe. Hosted by H.D.S. Greenway, editor,
Boston Globe Editorial Page.

January 16
Visit to the New Hampshire Presidential Primary Campaign Headquarters. Led by

January 26-28
“Korean Futures Project: International Conflict Simulation.” Sponsored by Naval
War College.

February 3-4
Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution Workshop.
Leader: Donna Hicks, deputy director, PICAR, and Herbert Kelman, director,
PICAR.

April 5
“Russia and NATO,” Right Honorable Lord George Robertson, secretary general
of NATO. (Co-sponsored with the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies.)

April 6
“When Things Start to Think,” Neil Gershenfeld, head of the Physics and Media
Group, MIT Media Lab; director of the Things That Think research consortium;
author of When Things Start To Think, and The Nature of Mathematical Modeling.

April 11
“The Art of the Possible,” Rosamund Zander, counselor, and co-author of The
Art of Possibility.

April 13-14
Visit to U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York. Led by Colonel Tim Hoffman,
1999-2000 Fellow, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

April 27
(D-MA, Third District) and Jorge Dominguez, director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. (Co-
sponsored with the U.S. Foreign Policy Seminar.)
November 18–20, 1999

Fellows’ Alumni Conference and Reunion

“International Affairs at the Crossroads of History: Lessons of this Century for the Well-Being of the Next”

Harvard University and The American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Chair: Steven B. Bloomfield

November 18

Harvard Faculty Club

Session I: The Role of International-Relations Scholarship in International Affairs

Speakers: Jorge I. Domínguez, director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs; and Joseph S. Nye, dean, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Business meeting: The Weatherhead endowment, The Knafel building, and the Fellows

Speakers: Steven B. Bloomfield, director, Weatherhead Center Fellows Program; Jim Cooney, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and Jorge I. Domínguez, director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs

November 19

American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Session II: The “American Century” and Its Aftermath

Plenary Panel

“Evolutions in American Government and America’s Role in the World”

Samuel Huntington, director, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University; and Roger Porter, director, Center for Business and Government, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Discussion Sessions

“American Foreign Policy”

November 20

American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Session IV: The Future of Multilateralism and Ethics in International Relations

Plenary Panel

J. Bryan Hehir, chairman of the Executive Committee, Harvard Divinity School; and

Moderator: Monteagle Stearns, CFIA Fellow, 1972-73

“American Government and the American Presidency”

Moderator: Roger Porter, IBM Professor of Business and Government, Harvard University

“Technology, Trade, and the Global Projection of American Society and Culture”

Moderator: Jim Cooney, executive director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs

“What’s Happened to Civic Engagement in America, and How Can We Fix It?”

Speaker: Robert Putnam, Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy of the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Session III: Challenges to International Security

Plenary Panel

Celeste Wallander, associate professor of government, Harvard University; and Stephen Walt, Evron and Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Discussion Sessions

“Europe and Russia”

Moderator: Celeste Wallander, associate professor of government, Harvard University

“East Asia, South Asia, and the World”

Moderator: Kamalesh Sharma, permanent representative of India to the UN

“The Middle East”

Moderator: Herbert Kelman, Cabot Research Professor of Social Ethics, Harvard University

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Stanley H. Hoffmann, Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor, Harvard University

“The Future of the UN as an Institution”
Moderator: Alan Henrikson, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

“Regionalism vs. Globalism”
Moderator: Leslie Manley, CFIA Fellow, 1994-95

“Human Rights and International Legal Norms”
Moderator: Maurice Copithorne, CFIA Fellow, 1974-75

Session V: The Global Economy

Plenary

“What Can We Learn From the Recent Economic Performance of the U.S.?”
Jeffrey Frankel, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Closing Remarks

January 20–22, 2000

Prospects for Colombia’s Future

Cartagena, Colombia

Sponsored by the Presidency of the Government of Colombia

Introduction and Welcome by Andrés Pastrana, president of the Republic of Colombia, and CFIA Fellow 1990-91

“A Historian’s Vision”
Gustavo Bell, vice president of the Republic of Colombia

“A Journalist’s Vision”
Rafael Pardo, former Colombian minister of defense, and CFIA Fellow 1994-95

“An Entrepreneur’s Vision”
Andrés Obregón, president, Bavaria Group

“An Academic’s Vision”
Carlos Angulo Galvis, rector, Universidad de los Andes

“An Entrepreneur’s Vision”
Jacky Goldstein, president, Sanford Group

January 21

Tour of “La Mina,” Colombia’s largest open coal-mining site.

Presentations by Mr. M. Tressler, vice president for Operations, Intercon, and Mr. N. Amaya, president, CARBOCOL, S.A.

Tour of the industrial port of Puerto Bolivar

January 22

“Colombia’s International Vision”
Luis Alberto Moreno, Colombian ambassador to the United States

“Visions of Colombia’s Foreign Trade”
Marta Lucía Ramírez, Colombian minister of foreign trade, and CFIA Fellow 1996-97

“Vision of Colombia’s Economy”
Mauricio Cárdenas, director of the National Planning Department

“Vision of Colombia’s Peace Process”
Víctor G. Ricardo, high commissioner for Peace Affairs

“Plan Colombia”
Jaime Ruiz, high counselor for Government Affairs

Fellows and their Research Papers

The following list comprises the 1999-2000 Fellows, their countries of origin, the positions they held prior to their fellowship year, and the titles of their research papers.

Regina Brown (United States); managing director, CAMAC Holdings, Inc., Washington, D.C.

“Clinton and Africa: U.S. Policies in Transition”

Nicola Clase (Sweden); first secretary, Department for European Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm

“U.S. Logic of Ambiguity toward European Security and Defence”

Gonzalo Córdoba (Colombia); editor-in-chief, Cromos magazine, Santafé de Bogotá
“The Historical Correspondence of a 19th Century General: Plus Ça Change…”

Jon Day (United Kingdom); director of Defence Policy, Ministry of Defence, London

Daine Eisold (United States); chief of staff, Navy International Programs Office, Arlington, VA

“NATO Enlargement—Poland’s Response: Are We Getting What We Bargained For?”

Feng Jianwu (China); consultant, National Resources Defense Council, Washington, D.C.

“China’s Relationship with the U.S. and the EU in the 21st Century”

Mansour Gharavi (Iran); senior expert, Office of American and European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran

“An Introduction to Liberalism and Individualism”

Alan Goulty (United Kingdom); ambassador to Sudan, British Embassy, Khartoum

“Who Is Looking? The Sudanese Tragedy and the Way Forward”

Tim Hoffman (United States); director, Staff Group, Chief of Staff of the Army, Washington, D.C.

“The International Ecosystem: Adapting on the Edge of Chaos”

Sumio Kusaka (Japan); executive secretary to the Chief Cabinet Secretary (Ministry of State), Office of the Prime Minister, Tokyo

“Security Problems in Northeast Asia: Prospect for a More Stable and Lasting Peace”

Luz Lajous Vargas (Mexico); founder and managing director, Russell Reynolds Associates, Inc., Mexico City

“Presidente y Congreso Propuesta para un Mejor Entendimiento”

Bertrand Lavezzari (France); head of Defense Cooperation Division, Department of Military and Defense Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris

“Euro-Defense—A French Insight into Its Implications on Transatlantic Relations: Is the EU Challenging America, NATO, or Just Itself?”

Frederic Maerkle (United States); consul general, U.S. Consulate General, Osaka

“Preparing for the Unexpected: How Trade Can Support the Perry’s Report Path toward U.S. Peace with North Korea”

Guillermo Marín Gorbea (Spain); deputy director, Office of Human Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Madrid

“The Future of Diplomacy”

Garnik Nanagoulian (Armenia); minister of Industry and Trade, Yerevan

“Security Dilemmas in Post-Cold War Transcaucasia”

Andreas Papaconstantinou (Greece); program manager and country coordinator, Defense Planning and Operations, NATO Headquarters, Brussels

“Battles after the War: Understanding Peace-Building in Kosovo”

Pramathesh Rath (India); ambassador, Indian Embassy, Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia

“China and Kosovo: Worries about a New World Order”

Klaus Rupprecht (Germany); director, East Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bonn

“European and American Approaches toward China as an Emerging Power”

Peter Sutherland (Canada); director-general, Trade, Planning, and Operations Bureau, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa

“Is Free Trade Fair: Has It Gone Too Far?”

Herbert Ungerer (Germany); head of unit for Telecommunications, Postal Service, and the Information Society, per
Accelerating technological advances in telecommunications and their worldwide dissemination are profoundly changing the nature of international relations. On the one hand, they are facilitating the transfers of science, technology, and information from the centers to the peripheries of power. On the other, they are imposing a new cultural hegemony through the soft power of global news, entertainment, and advertising. Globalizing the local and localizing the global are twin forces blurring traditional national boundaries. Information and communications resources available to nonstate actors have undermined the conduct of foreign relations through traditional diplomatic channels. The emergence of a global civil society in the form of thousands of nongovernmental organizations, alongside more than 200 state actors, as well as intergovernmental organizations and transnational corporations, has added to the complexity of the world system. The availability of technologies such as video recorders, faxes, personal computers, internets, electronic mail, and direct broadcast satellites is having a profound effect on the world—changing economic infrastructure, competitiveness, trade relations, as well as internal and external politics of states. Equally important is the impact on those nations where the technologies are lagging or completely lacking. The crises in the Persian Gulf, Bosnia, and Kosovo provide a glimpse of what future wars may look like. The emergence of an international politics of cultural identity organized around religious, ethnic, or racial fetishism suggests what future issues may be.


December 2


December 9

“European Telecommunications:
INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES

Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies

Founded in 1986, the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies has two major programs. First, it 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, 2000.

Second, building on its area expertise, the Academy also sponsors a variety of activities to promote understanding of the similarities, differences, and interactions among 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 2000-2001. Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress, edited by Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington, and the product of an Academy conference in April 1999, was published in May 2000.

Initially endowed by a gift from Dr. Ira Kukin, the Academy has also received major supporting grants from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Andrew Mellon Foundation, the Weatherhead Foundation, the John Templeton Foundation, and the Monitor Company. Samuel P. Huntington was chairman of the Academy in 1999-2000, and Chester D. Haskell was executive secretary.

Academy Senior Scholars

The Senior Scholars, a distinguished group of senior members of Harvard’s faculty, act as the Academy’s oversight committee, select new Academy Scholars, and serve as mentors of the Academy Scholars.
Robert H. Bates, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government
John Coatsworth, Monroe Gutman Professor of Latin American Affairs; director, Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies
Timothy J. Colton, Morris and Anna Feldberg Professor of Government and Russian Studies; director, Davis Center for Russian Studies
Grzegorz Ekiert, professor of government
Samuel P. Huntington, Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor
Roderick MacFarquhar, Leroy B. Williams Professor of History and Political Science; chairman, Department of Government
Edward Roger Owen, A. J. Meyer Professor of Middle East History; director, Center for Middle Eastern Studies
Dwight Perkins, Harold Hitchings Burbank Professor of Political Economy
Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics; director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, WCFIA

Research Affiliate
Lawrence Harrison

Academy Scholars
Peter Andreas
Christopher Boyer
Kanchan Chandra
Anna Grzymala-Busse
Saba Mahmood
Smita Singh
Timothy Snyder
Nader Sohrabi
Jason Wittenberg

Academy Scholar Research Topics and Activities
Peter Andreas: In 1999-2000 Peter Andreas completed the revisions and production work on his book manuscript, Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide, which will be published by Cornell University Press in August 2000. With Tim Snyder, he has also finished putting together an edited volume, The Wall Around the West: State Borders and Immigration Controls in North America and Europe, which will be published by Rowman & Littlefield in October 2000. During the academic year, Andreas also presented papers at the American Political Science Association, the International Studies Association, and the Latin American Studies Association. In addition, he was invited to participate in workshops and seminars at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the University of Minnesota, Oxford University, and Harvard University. This fall he will be an assistant professor of political science at Reed College in Portland, Oregon.

Christopher Boyer: Christopher Boyer has spent most of 1999-2000 preparing a manuscript and various articles for publication. In the fall, he revised and submitted three articles on Mexican peasant and labor movements, all of which have been accepted for publication. They will be published in The American Historical Review, Estudios Michoacanos, and an edited volume on Mexican environmental history to be brought out by Duke University Press. Since December he has been revising his dissertation for publication. The revised manuscript, entitled The Fields of Revolution: Citizenship, Class, and Agrarismo in Michoacán, Mexico, 1920-1935, will be sent to a major university press for review in early June. Chris also gave a total of four scholarly presentations this year. He presented papers on post-revolutionary Mexican peasant movements to the American Historical Association, The Latin American Studies Association, and the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. He also gave a lecture on the environmental history of Mexican forests at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
This summer he will travel to Mexico for research, and next year he intends to spend the bulk of his time beginning a major new research project on Mexican forests.

**Kanchan Chandra:** During the year 1999-2000, Kanchan Chandra completed her dissertation entitled “Why Ethnic Parties Succeed,” and has begun revising it for a book manuscript. She published two articles, one, "The Transformation of Ethnic Politics in India," in the Journal of Asian Studies; and another, "Post-Congress Politics in Uttar Pradesh: The Ethnification of the Party System and its Consequences," in an edited volume published by Sage. A third article, "Elite Incorporation in Multi-Ethnic Societies," has been accepted for publication in Asian Survey. She also presented papers or reviews at the following venues: The American Political Science Association in Atlanta; India and the Developing World, a conference in honor of Myron Weiner at the University of Notre Dame; the Faculty Colloquium at Dartmouth College; the SPURS program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Experiments in Empowered Deliberative Democracy, a conference at the University of Wisconsin-Madison; at the first meeting of the Laboratory on Comparative Ethnic Processes at Duke University (in absentia); and Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life, a review symposium at the University of Texas at Austin. She also spoke at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs roundtable on 1999 Indian Elections. She is currently preparing for a field trip to Sri Lanka as part of her postdoctoral research on ethnic politics and democratic stability.

**Anna Grzymala-Busse:** During the academic year 1999-2000, Anna Grzymala-Busse revised her dissertation into a book manuscript, currently under review for publication. She wrote two articles—one on the role of communist legacies, the other on the regeneration of communist parties—which were presented at the Center for European Studies Conference in October 1999 at Harvard, and at the Europeanists’ Conference in April 2000 in Chicago, respectively. Anna finished additional research for the book manuscript and began preliminary research for her next project with a short trip to Poland and Germany. In addition, she is currently writing an article tracing the development of political party systems in East Central Europe, to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, in Washington D.C.

**Saba Mahmood:** Saba Mahmood joined the Academy Scholars Program in April 2000. She is currently working on a book entitled Pious Transgressions: Embodied Disciplines of the Islamic Revival (forthcoming Princeton University Press). Her work focuses on issues of modernity, religious revival, gender, the body, and Islam in the Middle East and South Asia.

**Smita Singh:** Smita Singh is writing her dissertation on the politics of macroeconomic policymaking in Indonesia and Nigeria. In addition, she has also finished a co-authored article on institutional change and economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa. Works in progress include articles on: violence and the protection of property rights (co-authored with Robert Bates and Avner Greif), electoral changes in sub-Saharan Africa, and electoral competition and political business cycles in sub-Saharan Africa.

**Timothy Snyder:** Timothy Snyder, along with Peter Andreas, completed the editing of a volume on state power and border controls in Europe and North America, The Wall Around the West, which will appear in October 2000 from Rowman & Littlefield. He also published professional articles in the journals Polin, the Journal of Cold War Studies, and Revue des Etudes Slaves. He presented papers in Warsaw, Poland; Chisinau, Moldova; and at Colombia University, Stanford University, the University...
of California at Berkeley, Georgetown University, the University of Virginia, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and at five Harvard fora (both Russian history seminars, the Communist and Postcommunist Countries Seminar, the Globalization and Culture Seminar, and the Harvard Academy).

**Nader Sohrabi:** Nader Sohrabi wrote an article, "Waves and Repertoires from Global to Local: What the Young Turks Knew About Other Revolutions and Why it Mattered," that was accepted for publication in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. He also worked on revising his book, *Constitutionalism, Revolution, and State: the Ottoman Empire and Iran, 1906-1909*. This included, for the most part, analysis and writing on Ottoman and Persian archival documents that he had gathered during a previous Academy-sponsored research trip. In addition, he worked on the 1909-1910 Ottoman parliamentary debates at Widener Library, and continued to study Russian by taking Russian language classes at Harvard and meeting with a language tutor. Nader also presented papers at two conferences and three universities. While in residence, in August 1999 his article "Revolution and State Culture: The Circle of Justice and Constitutionalism in 1906 Iran," was published in *State/Culture: New Approaches to State in Social Sciences* (edited by George Steinmetz, Cornell University Press). This article was partially the result of his first year of residence at the Harvard Academy.

**Jason Wittenberg:** Jason Wittenberg went on the job market and accepted a position at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He worked on a book manuscript, *Did Communism Matter: Explaining Political Continuity and Discontinuity*, and began preparing an article, "Do Pre-Communist Legacies Matter?" Jason also began data analysis for a new article about popular support for communist parties during the interwar period in Eastern Europe. Jason also did approximately one month of fieldwork in Hungary, during which he gave two lectures on the paradox of social upheaval and political continuity.

**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, corporate 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—from rock music to jeans to fast food—"carried" by the media, advertising, and imitative consumer habits. This is not just a matter of behavior: many of these items involve values and beliefs. Third, there also 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 those people who work on the transmission, dissemination, and assimilation of ideas, technology, and customs. The seminar met six times for discussions over dinner at the Faculty Club. The topics discussed at seminar meetings in 1999-2000 included:

October 5
“Is There a Universal Progress Culture?” Lawrence Harrison, research affiliate, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

November 2
“Conservative Evangelicalism: One of the Global Cultural Options?” Professor David Martin, emeritus professor of sociology, London School of Economics.

December 9

February 1
“The Interaction Between Global and Local Cultures,” Peter Berger, director, Institute for the Study of Economic Culture, Boston University.

March 7
“Autonomy as a Solution to All the World’s Problems!” Hurst Hannum, professor of international law, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.

April 4

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION

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 1999-2000 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 nongovernmental 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, including projects in Sri Lanka, the Balkans, Cyprus,
Northern Ireland, Colombia, and U.S.-Cuban relations.

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 1999-2000 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. They met in Ramallah, West Bank in July 1999 to resume discussion of the joint concept papers on the future relationship envisaged for the two communities and the issue of Israeli settlements. The group published two papers in 1999: “General Principles for the Final Israeli-Palestinian Agreement,” and “The Palestinian Refugee Problem and the Right of Return.” A third paper, “The Future Israeli-Palestinian Relations,” was published in January 2000. This project 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 Hewlett Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.

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 its fourth year. In December 1999, Donna Hicks, William Weisberg, and Rhoda Margesson convened a meeting in the Maldives with influential members of the two political parties from the Sinhalese community. The goal was to try to foster consensus between the two parties on how to resolve the seventeen-year war with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

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 a half day seminar for the WCFIA Fellows Program, focusing on the theory and practice of interactive problem-solving as an unofficial approach to conflict analysis and resolution. PICAR members were also involved in teaching, curriculum development and training activities, both locally and internationally. Finally, Donna Hicks and her colleague William Weisberg taught a week-long course on conflict resolution for the International Institute for Political and Economic Studies in Athens, Greece.

PICAR’s Director is Herbert C. Kelman, Donna Hicks is the deputy director, and Ursula Leitzmann is the staff assistant.
Seminar on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Chairs: Nadim Rouhana and Donna Hicks

September 24

“Adventures in Track II Diplomacy,” a day-long symposium on the occasion of Herbert C. Kelman’s retirement, 9:00 a.m.–6:30 p.m. Harvard Faculty Club.

October 4


October 25


November 22

“Psychocultural Dramas: Culture and Identity Dynamics in Ethnic Conflict,” Marc Howard Ross, William F. Kenan, Jr. Professor, Department of Political Science, Bryn Mawr College.

December 6

“A Journey from the Laboratory to the Field: Insights on Resolving Differences through Negotiations,” Daniel Druckman, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR), George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia.

February 24


March 20

“Addressing Dehumanization in Struggles for Coexistence,” Martha Minow, professor of law, Harvard Law School; member, Independent Commission on Kosovo.

April 17

“History, Teaching, and Conflict Resolution: The Case of Northern Ireland,” Margaret Smith, assistant professor of peace and conflict resolution, American University, Washington, D.C.

May 1


PICAR Members

Herbert C. Kelman, director, PICAR; Richard Clarke Cabot Research Professor of Social Ethics, Harvard University

Donna Hicks, Ph.D., deputy director, PICAR

Camilo Azcarate, Massachusetts Office of Dispute Resolution, Boston

Eileen Babbitt, professor of conflict resolution, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Susan Korper

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

Nadim Rouhana, professor of psychology, University of Massachusetts, Boston
Jeff Seul, J.D., lecturer, Harvard Law School
Pamela Steiner, Ed. D.
Rebecca Wolfe, Department of Psychology, Harvard University

INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS

International Environmental Affairs Seminar
Together with the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, the Weatherhead Center sponsored a periodic dinner seminar series, designed to promote interaction among faculty and advanced graduate students working in fields related to international and comparative environmental policies, politics, and institutions. The seminars were by invitation, including a core group of participants along with those with specific interests in the topics of the seminar. Speakers included Jane Lubchenco, chair of the National Science Board’s report on environmental research for the 21st century, Robert Corell, former chair of the international governmental consortium for funding multilateral environmental science endeavors, and others.

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 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, and awards several advanced research fellowships 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 policymakers and research 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 30 to 60 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 1999-2000, the seminar series featured a number of prominent individuals, including: Ronald Dore, a senior research fellow at the London School of Economics; Chalmers Johnson, professor emeritus at the University of California; Jeffrey Sachs, director of Harvard’s Center for International Development; and Shunji Yanai, Japanese Ambassador to the United States.
The program annually honors a Distinguished Visitor, who spends several days at Harvard to offer a luncheon seminar, speaks at a dinner held in his or her honor, and meets with students. In 1999-2000, the program honored Ryutaro Hashimoto, former prime minister of Japan (1996-98) and a representative in the Diet. Prime Minister Hashimoto spoke on the course taken by Japanese politics and policy in the 1990s.

Susan J. Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, continues to serve as director of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations. Frank Schwartz, the program's associate director, was ably assisted by program coordinator Jana Van der Veer and staff assistant Ken Marden.

U.S.-Japan Seminar Series
Chair: Susan Pharr

September 21

September 28
“The Japanese Economy and Corporate Reform: What Path to Sustainable Prosperity?” William Lazonick, visiting scholar, The European Institute of Business Administration (INSEAD); University Professor, University of Massachusetts at Lowell.

October 5

October 12

October 19
“What Happened to Foreign Policy? The Missing Issue in American Politics,” William Schneider, senior political analyst, CNN.

October 26

November 4

November 9

November 18
“U.S.-Japan Relations and APEC,” Ellis Krauss, professor of Japanese politics, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IRPS), University of California at San Diego.

November 30
“Internationalization of the Yen: Prospects for Japan's Power in Asia,” William Grimes, visiting professor, Department of Government, Harvard University; assistant professor, Department of International Relations, Boston University.

December 7
“Japan's New Information Disclosure Law: A Sign of Change?” Patricia MacAlachlan,
assistant professor of Asian studies; adjunct professor of government, University of Texas at Austin.

December 16

February 8

February 10

February 17

February 24
**Civil Society in Japan in Comparative Perspective**
Panel:


“Building Global Civil Society from the Outside In? Japanese International Development NGOs, the State, and International Norms,” **Kim Reimann**, doctoral fellow, Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Harvard University.

Discussant: **Andrew Gordon**, professor, Department of History; director, Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, Harvard University.

February 29

March 9

March 16

March 23
“The Legitimacy of International Norms: The U.S.-Japan Confrontation at the UN over Fishing,” **Isao Miyokai**, research fellow, Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo; academic associate, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations (co-sponsored by the Seminar on Ethics and International Affairs).
April 6
“Nationalism and the Debate over Constitutional Revision in Japan,” Yukio Matsuyama, honorary chair, Editorial Board, Asahi Shinbun.

April 11

April 13
“The Security Implications of Japan’s Foreign Direct Investment in East Asia,” Patricia Nelson, advanced research fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

April 18
Japan’s Evolving Foreign Economic Policy Panel:
“Choosing an Exchange-Rate Regime for Asia,” Yasuhiro Maki, Ministry of Finance, Japan.

Discussant: William Grimes, visiting professor of government, Harvard University; assistant professor of international relations, Boston University.

April 20
Reviving and Reforming the Japanese Economy Panel:
“Industrial Clusters and Regional Competitiveness in the United States and Japan,” Kazumasa Higashi, Yomiuri Shinbun.

May 2
“Managing the Internet,” Hidekazu Tanaka, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Japan.
“Managing the Internet,” Tohru Asano, Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Japan.

Discussant: Henry Laurence, assistant professor of government and Asian studies, Bowdoin College.

April 25
Managing the New Economy Panel:
“What Can Japanese Banks Learn from American Financial Institutions?” Osamu Hoshi, Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Company.
“Managing the Internet,” Hidekazu Tanaka, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Japan.

Discussant: Margarita Estevez-Abe, assistant professor of political science, University of Minnesota.

April 27
“Losing Faith in Government: Japan and America Compared,” Russell Dalton, professor of political science; director, Research Program on Democratization, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California at Irvine.

May 2
May 4

Defending Japanese Security
Panel:


Discussant: Sheila Smith, assistant professor of international relations, Boston University.

January 12-15, 2000

Global Perspectives on Civil Society in Japan
Co-sponsored by the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations and the East-West Center
East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii

January 12
Welcome by Susan Pharr, Harvard University

January 13

Session One
Moderator: Susan Pharr, Harvard University


Discussants: Helmut Anheier, London School of Economics; Susan Pharr, Harvard University

“Civil Society in Japan,” Robert Pekkanen, Harvard University.

Discussants: Patricia Steinhoff, University of Hawaii at Manoa; Toshi Yamagishi, Hokkaido University

Session Two
Moderator: Yasunori Sone, Keio University


Discussant: Margarita Estévez-Abe, University of Minnesota

“Japan's Civil Society Organizations in Comparative Perspective,” Yutaka Tsujinaka, Tsukuba University.

Discussant: Hagen Koo, University of Hawaii at Manoa

January 14

Session Three
Moderator: Muthiah Alagappa, East-West Center

“Voluntary Civil Associations as Administrative Partners: Parallel Cases of Gyokai Dantai and Shimin Dantai,” Margarita Estévez-Abe, University of Minnesota.

Discussant: Andrew Gordon, Harvard University


Discussant: Patricia Maclachlan, University of Texas at Austin

Session Four
Moderator: Andrew Gordon, Harvard University


Discussant: Sheldon Garon, Princeton University

“A Tale of Two Systems: Prosecuting Corruption in Japan and Italy,” David Johnson, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Discussant: Susan Pharr, Harvard University

January 15

Session Five
Moderator: Yutaka Tsujinaka, Tsukuba University
“The Effects of Electoral Reform,” Nobuhiro Hiwatari, University of Tokyo.
Discussant: Robert Bullock, Cornell University
“The Struggle for an Independent Consumer Society: Consumer Activism and the State’s Response in Postwar Japan,” Patricia MacLachlan, University of Texas at Austin.
Discussant: Yasunori Sone, Keio University

Session Six
Moderator: Helmut Anheier, London School of Economics
“Trust and Social Intelligence in Japan,” Toshio Yamagishi, Hokkaido University.
Discussant: Patricia Steinhoff, University of Hawaii at Manoa
“Building Global Civil Society from the Outside In? Japanese International Development NGOs, the State, and International Norms,” Kim Reimann, Harvard University.
Discussants: Yutaka Tsujinaka, Tsukuba University; Muthiah Alagappa, East-West Center.

Associates of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations
Junichi Araki, Air Self-Defense Force
Koki Hayakawa, Tokyo Gas Company
Kazumasa Higashi, Yomiuri Shinbun
Osamu Hoshi, Mitsubishi Trust and Banking Corporation
Nobuo Ino, Development Bank of Japan
Takashi Kageyama, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries
Kuninori Kuroishi, Japan Bank for International Cooperation
Yasuhiro Maki, Ministry of Finance
Isao Miyaoka, University of Tokyo
Patricia Nelson, University of Warwick

Hirofumi Nishimura, Tokyo Electric Power Company
Tatsuya Oishi, Idemitsu Kosan Company
Seiichiro Otsuka, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Paul Talcott, Harvard University
Hidekazu Tanaka, Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications
Tomoyoshi Yahagi, Ministry of International Trade and Industry

Occasional Paper Series
Junichi Araki
“Japan’s Security Strategy and the Relevance and Difficulties of New Roles for the Japan Self-Defense Force”

Koki Hayakawa

Kazumasa Higashi
“High-Tech Clusters in the United States and Japan”

Osamu Hoshi
“The Malaise of Japanese Banks: What They Must Do To Revive”

Nobuo Ino
“Management Methods for Sustainable Development in Regional Governments”

Takashi Kageyama
“U.S. vs. Japanese Styles of Negotiation: A Case Study of the 1997 Negotiations on Global Climate Change”

Kuninori Kuroishi
“Japan’s ODA”

Yasuhiro Maki
“Toward a More Desirable System of Foreign Exchange Management in Asia: Possible Roles for Japan and the United States”
Isao Miyaoka
“Global Environmental Politics and Japan”

Patricia Nelson
“The Security Implications of Japan’s Foreign Direct Investment in East Asia”

Hirofumi Nishimura
“Japan’s Energy Supply Security”

Tatsuya Oishi
“Human Resource Management in an Age of Individualism”

Seiichiro Otsuka
“The Evolution of Japan’s Politico-Security Role in the Asia-Pacific Region: An Insider’s View”

Paul Talcott
“Healthcare Reform in Japan and Implications for U.S.-Japan Trade Issues”

Hidekazu Tanaka
“The Management of Internet Domain Names”

Tomoyoshi Yahagi
“A Comparative Study of Patent Policy in the United States and Japan”

MIDDLE EAST

Middle East Seminar
The Center’s Middle East Seminar is co-sponsored by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. The seminar has been chaired since 1978 by Herbert Kelman; since 1996 it has been chaired by Lenore G. Martin and Sara Roy, jointly with Professor Kelman.

In the fall of 1999, seminar sessions focused on a variety of political and sociocultural issues in Iraq, Turkey, Egypt, Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and Syria. Starting with the December 9 session and throughout the spring term of 2000, the seminar was devoted to a special series of eight presentations on “The Middle East Peace Process and Its Vicissitudes.” The series culminated in a day-long symposium on the same topic, held on May 4, 2000, which included six speakers and two discussants. The special series and the symposium celebrated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the seminar and the 22 years of Professor Kelman’s leadership of it. The papers presented in this series, including the symposium, will be published as a unit.

The seminar was funded by the Weatherhead Center and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Additional funds for the May 4 symposium were gratefully received from Linda and Richard Friedman of New Orleans.

September 30
“The Experience of the Iraqi Opposition since the Gulf War,” Kanan Makiya, writer on Iraqi Affairs; author of The Republic of Fear; adjunct professor at Brandeis University.

October 14
“Post Earthquake Politics in Turkey,” Cengiz Candar, columnist, Sabah; senior fellow, United States Institute of Peace.

October 28

November 18
“The Politics of Donor Aid in the West Bank and Gaza: A Re-Evaluation,” Chinmaya R. Gharekhan, under-secretary-general, United Nations; special coordinator in the Occupied Territories; representative of the Secretary-General to the Multilateral Talks on the Middle East Peace Process.
December 2

December 9
“Conflict Resolution and the Middle East Peace Process,” Tahseen Basheer, former Ambassador of Egypt to Canada; former spokesman for President Anwar Al-Sadat.

February 17
“Inter-Civilizational Dialogue as a Variety of Interactive Conflict Resolution: The Case of Islam and the Middle East,” Bassam Tibi, Georgia Augusta Professor of International Relations, University of Göttingen; Busch Fellow, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

March 2
“Missed Opportunities for Peace?” Moshe Ma’oz, professor of Middle Eastern studies; former director of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

March 16
“Israeli Intelligence and the Peace Process,” Shlomo Gazit, former head of Israeli Military Intelligence; former president of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

March 23

April 6
“Hamas and the Transformation of Political Islam in Palestine,” Sara Roy, associate at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies; co-chair, WCFIA/CMES Middle East Seminar.

April 13
“A Preliminary Approach to a Framework for Security for Israel and a Palestinian State,” Lenore Martin, professor and chair of political science, Emmanuel College; co-chair, WCFIA/CMES Middle East Seminar.

April 27

May 4
The Middle East Peace Process and Its Vicissitudes
Presentations:


“Binationalism in Israel and Historic Palestine: Dilemmas of Political Realities and National Consciousness,” Nadim Rouhana, associate professor in the Graduate Program in Dispute Resolution at the University of Massachusetts-Boston; associate at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.


“Dialogue and Its Relationship to the Peace Process,” Naomi Chazan, deputy speaker of the Knesset (Meretz); professor of political science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

“Requirements for a Historic Compromise,” Herbert C. Kelman, Cabot Research Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard University.

Discussants: Everett Mendelsohn, professor of the history of science and chair of the department, Harvard University; Landrum Bolling, senior advisor, Conflict Management Group

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, principally those within rather than between countries, in order to understand their nature and the capabilities of nonviolent actions in support of human rights and civil liberties. The program’s rationale is based on the simple premise that political power is rooted in and continually dependent upon cooperation and obedience, and that each can be withdrawn.

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

Program research, analysis, and direct interventions focus largely on conflicts between culturally distinct groups in situations of sharp structural asymmetry with emphasis on disputes over land and natural resources and indigenous rights. Program affiliates are currently involved in research on Colombia, Ecuador, the Galapagos Islands, Guatemala, the Upper Amazon, 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 two dialogues during the 1999-2000 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.
During the academic year 1999-2000, the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival hosted a seminar series titled, “Seminars on Ethnicity, Culture, and Change.” The series reflects the program’s ongoing research and other activities into specific or anticipated conflicts. The seminar provides an opportunity to publicly review and critique some of PONSACS’ current activities and research initiatives.

The seminar focuses on the relationship between ethnicity, specifically in situations where ethnic groups stand in sharp asymmetry; conflict, particularly where natural resources are in dispute; and change, understood as local efforts to alter asymmetry through nonviolent means. Speakers come from diverse backgrounds and have included prominent anthropologists, politicians, physicians, and academics. Topics have included ethnic identity and conflict in Europe, managing humanitarian emergencies, and indigenous rights and the environment in Latin America.

Throughout the year, several talks were held in collaboration with the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard Law School, the Department of Anthropology, Cultural Survival, Inc., and OXFAM-America.

November 4


February 16


February 23


April 20

“Mining in Peru: Grassroots Strategies of Andean Indigenous Communities,” Miguel Palacín Quispe, president of the National Federation of Communities Affected by Mining; and José de Echave, economist and deputy director for Program for Cooperación, a Peruvian Environmental NGO.
May 18

**Indigenous Tribal Sovereignty and Pluri-Ethnic States**
Presented jointly by PON-SACS, the Department of Anthropology, Harvard Law School, and Cultural Survival, Inc.

“Subsistence and Sovereignty in Alaska,” **Professor Rosita Worl,** Sealaska Heritage Foundation, Juneau, Alaska.

“Indigenous Peoples and International Law,” **Professor S. James Anaya,** James Rodgers College of Law, University of Arizona.

PERFORMANCE OF DEMOCRACY

**Research Workshop on the Performance of Democracy**

The Performance of Democracy Workshop, now in its seventh 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 covering the challenges of democracy and democratization. The workshop was led this year by **Robert Putnam, Susan Pharr, Theda Skocpol,** and **Eva Bellin.**

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 Dominguez, 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 past few years, such presenters have included **Torben Iversen,** **Sid Verba, Robert Bates, Thomas Ertman,** and **Ronald Inglehart.**

September 29

**One Way to Approach Proposal Writing**

“SSRC Proposal: Courting Liberty,” **Eva Bellin.**
Discussant: **Mala Htun**

October 6

“A Macro-Institutional Approach to Immigrant Political Incorporation,” **Irene Bloemraad.**
Discussants: **Eva Bellin** and **Harumi Furuya**

October 13

“A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States,” **Theda Skocpol.**
Discussants: **Irene Bloemraad** and **Cristina Rojas**

October 20

“Bowling Alone” (Chapter Title: “Thinking about Social Change in America”), **Robert Putnam.**
Discussants: **Mathias Dufour** and **Lily Tsai**

October 27

“Are Citizens Cynical or Lax? Corruption Tolerance and One-Party Dominance,” **Susan Pharr.**
Discussants: **Victor Shih** and **Ted Miguel**

November 3

“Rewriting the Rules: Left Party Strategies of Constitutional Reform,” **Alan Jacobs.**
Discussant: **Rieko Kage**

“Is Sector Irrelevant in Cross-Sector Organizations? The Case of Developmental Venture Capital,” **Julia Rubin.**
Discussant: **Robert Putnam**
November 10
“Gender Rights in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile,” Mala Htun.
Discussants: Alan Jacobs and Julia Rubin

November 17
Discussant: Quinn Mecham
Discussant: Ethan Scheiner

December 1
Discussant: Mala Htun
Discussant: Paula Fredericks

December 8
“Participatory Institutions and Local Governance,” Lily Tsai.
Discussant: Lobsang Sangay
Discussant: Judith Kelley

December 15
“The Regulation of Prostitution: Isomorphic Responses to Venereal Disease in the Military in 19th Century Britain and Netherlands,” Paula Frederick.
Discussant: Susan Pharr
Discussant: Theda Skocpol

February 2
Discussant: Paula Fredericks

February 9
Discussant: Alan Jacobs

February 16
Discussant: Susan Pharr

February 23
“Patriotic Partnerships: Voluntarism and the U.S. States from the Civil to Global War,” Theda Skocpol.
Discussant: Christian Brunelli

March 1
“Citizenship and Immigration,” Irene Bloemraad.
Discussant: Bonnie Meguid

March 8
Discussant: Theda Skocpol

March 15
“Citizens and Government in Rural China,” Lily Tsai.
Discussant: Ted Miguel
March 22
Discussant: Lobsang Sangay

April 5
“Private Associations, Public Functions: Environmental Associations in Japan, the U.S. and France,” Rieko Kage.
Discussant: Ethan Scheiner
Discussant: Dongxiao Liu

April 12
Discussant: Victor Shih
Discussant: Rieko Kage

April 19
Professionalization: Q&A Presentation by Faculty
Discussant: Lily Tsai

April 26
Discussant: Eva Bellin
“Government in Exile and Democracy,” Lobsang Sangay.
Discussant: Susan Pharr

May 3
Discussant: Quinn Mecham

List of Participants
Faculty
Robert Putnam, Stanford Professor of International Peace, Department of Government
Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, Department of Government
Theda Skocpol, Professor of Government and Sociology
Eva Bellin, Associate Professor, Department of Government

Graduate Students and Other Participating Faculty
Irene Bloemraad, Department of Sociology
Christian Brunelli, Department of Government
Mathias Dufour, Special Student
Paula Fredericks, Department of Sociology
Harumi Furuya, Department of Government
Mala Htun, Department of Government
Alan Jacobs, Department of Government
Rieko Kage, Department of Government
Judith Kelley, Kennedy School of Government
Dongxiao Liu, Department of Sociology
Quinn Mecham, Department of Government, Stanford University
Bonnie Meguid, Department of Government
Ted Miguel, Department of Economics
Christina Rojas, Visiting Scholar, DRCLAS
Julia Rubin, Organizational Behavior, Harvard Business School
Lobsang Sangay, Law School
Ethan Scheiner, Department of Government, Duke University
Victor Shih, Department of Government
Lily Tsai, Department of Government
POLITICAL ECONOMY

Faculty Discussion Group on Political Economy

This group, begun by Jeffry Frieden in 1995, continued to meet weekly throughout the year, drawing faculty from Harvard’s Departments of Government and Economics, 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 International Finance (PEIF)

The Research Group on the Political Economy of International Finance (PEIF) is a joint activity of the Weatherhead Center and the Center for German and European Studies (CGES) of the University of California. One meeting was held this year on February 25, 1999 in Cambridge. Additional meetings are planned for 2000-01.

Organizers: Jeffry Frieden, Andrew Rose, and Barry Eichengreen

February 25, 1999
Cambridge, Massachusetts


“The Role of the BIS in Reconciling Global Markets and National Regulations,” Michele Fratianni, Indiana University; John Pattison, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.

“Bending But Not Breaking: Flexibility in International Financial and Monetary Agreements,” Barbara Koremenos, University of California at Los Angeles.

PEIF Participants

Paul Bergen, Economics, University of California at Davis
Lawrence Broz, Government, Harvard University
Michele Chang, Political Science, Colgate University
Benjamin Cohen, University of California at Santa Barbara
Michael Dooley, Economics, University of California at Santa Clara
Barry Eichengreen, Economics, University of California at Berkeley
Michelle Fratianni, Business Economics and Public Policy, University of Indiana
Jeffry Frieden, Government, Harvard University
John Freeman, Political Science, University of Minnesota
Giulio Gallarotti, Government, Wesleyan University
Geoffrey Garrett, Political Science, Yale University
Richard Grossman, Economics, Wesleyan University
Mark Hallerberg, Political Science, University of Pittsburgh
Olivier Jeanne, International Monetary Fund Research Department
Miles Kahler, Economics, University of California at San Diego
Devesh Kapur, Government, Harvard University
Ken Kletzer, Economics, University of California at Santa Cruz
Barbara Koremenos, Political Science, University of California at Los Angeles
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 1999-2000 were James Alt, Robert Bates, Yoshiko Herrera, Sylvia Maxfield, Ed Schwartz, and Kenneth Shepsle.

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, one or two 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 29
Discussant: Jeff Milyo
October 6
Brainstorming Session
"Legislators' Personal Policy Preferences and Partisan Legislative Organization," Robert Van Houweling.

October 13
"Ambiguity in Election Games," Enriqueta Aragones.
Discussant: Eric Dickson

October 20
Practice Job Talk

October 27

Practice Job Talk

"Political Institutions and Monetary Policy," Lucy Goodhart.

Brainstorming Session


Brainstorming Session


Brainstorming Session


"Coordination, Moderation and Institutional Balancing in American House Elections at Midterm," Jas Sekhon.

"Bad Politicians," Francesco Casselli.

Brainstorming Session


"Why Do Resource-Dependent Countries Have Authoritarian Governments?" Leonard Wantchekon.


Discussant: Sylvia Maxfield.

Discussant: Scott Ashworth.

Discussant: Lucy Goodhart.

Discussant: Dhammika Dharmapala

Discussant: Karen Ferree

Discussant: Orit Kedar

Discussant: Ken Scheve

ANNUAL REPORT 1999/2000
Discussant: Jeremy Weinstein

April 5
Discussant: David Skilling

"Race and Turnout in South Africa," Karen Ferree. 
Discussant: Barry Burden

April 12
Discussant: David Lassen

April 19
Brainstorming Session
"Legislative Bargaining and 'Incremental' Budgeting," Dhammika Dharmapala.
"The Economics of Secession," Yoshiko Herrera.

April 26
Discussant: James Alt

Discussant: Yoshiko Herrera

May 3
Brainstorming Session

SEMINAR ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS
The Seminar on International Economics covers a broad spectrum of very recent theoretical and empirical research on international trade, capital markets, and monetary arrangements. Examples of recent topics include the benefits of a common currency, new open-economy macroeconomics, the political economy of trade and income distribution, political budget cycles in open-economy economies, financial crises, and direct foreign investment in China. The seminar is chaired by Professors Richard N. Cooper, Ehanan Helpman, Dani Rodrik, Kenneth Rogoff, and Marc Melitz.

February 2

February 16
"Identification through Heteroskedasticity: Measuring 'Contagion' Effects between Argentinean and Mexican Sovereign Bonds," Roberto Rigobon, MIT.

February 23
"Optimal Monetary Policy and Exchange Rate Volatility in a Small Open Economy," Tommaso Monacelli, Boston College.

March 8
"How Did the United States Become a Net Exporter of Manufactured Goods?" Douglas Irwin, Dartmouth College.

March 15
"Political Business Cycles in Developed and Developing Countries," Min Shi, Harvard University.
April 5

April 12
“Exchange Rate Dynamics, Learning and Misperceptions,” Pierre-Olivier Gourinchas, Princeton University.

April 19
“Exchange Rate Choices,” Richard Cooper, Harvard University.

April 26

PROJECT ON JUSTICE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION
Chair: Professor Philip Heymann, Harvard Law School
Program coordinator: Sara Zucker

The Project on Justice in Times of Transition brings together individuals from a broad spectrum of countries to share experiences in ending conflict, establishing peace, and building civil society. In demand-driven, practical initiatives it acts as a neutral facilitator to bring leaders and decision-makers from states undergoing transition together with their counterparts from other countries that have experienced similar transitions. The Project’s comparative approach enables individuals to: engage in dialogue across national, ethnic, religious and ideological boundaries; forge ties and build trust that can facilitate effective negotiations and political and social cooperation; share information and ideas with their counterparts in other societies; and develop their own relevant strategies for reconciliation and transformation.

In September 1999, the Project on Justice in Times of Transition became an interfaculty program of Harvard University under the auspices of the Law School, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (as represented by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs). The Project was formally transferred to Harvard from the Foundation for a Civil Society, a New York-based nonprofit organization that launched the Project. The Project was inaugurated in 1992 with an international conference in Salzburg, Austria, which represented the first occasion in which key leaders and high-level decision-makers from throughout postcommunist Europe came together with their counterparts from Argentina, Chile, Germany and Spain to discuss their experiences in confronting past repression and building political tolerance. This initial cross-cultural, comparative approach proved successful and has remained the blueprint for all the Project’s subsequent initiatives. Since 1992, the Project has broadened its thematic and geographic scope to address the challenges of facing legacies of the past, fostering reconciliation, and building peace in countries emerging from civil conflict. While each country has its own particular complications that are unique to its respective history, the Project has seen time and time again that it is useful to present examples of other countries that have encountered similar challenges and, in some cases, identified solutions or strategies to address these challenges.

In December 1999 the Project developed and implemented “The Challenge of Strengthening the Peace,” a conference in Guatemala. This program brought together over 400 Guatemalans representing a broad cross-section of society with twenty prominent world leaders to engage in serious analysis of the challenges facing Guatemala three years after the signing of the peace accord. As a follow-on to the December 1999 conference in Guatemala, the Project held a “Round Table Discussion on...”
Reform of Intelligence and Security Services in Guatemala" at Harvard Law School from March 31 to April 2, 2000. The Project developed this workshop at the request of the new Guatemalan government and brought together four Guatemalan ministers with individuals with relevant expertise from other countries for an open exchange of relevant information and consideration of possible ways to reorganize Guatemala's intelligence and security apparatus.

In December 1999, the Project and the Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust organized "Community and Governance in a Time of Transition" for 250 political and community leaders. This conference in Northern Ireland provided the first forum for representatives of both groups to meet in an effort to bridge the gap and develop a common agenda for action. Discussions were augmented by the participation of six individuals from other countries who shared their experiences with comparable challenges.

On June 25 and 26 in Gaza, the Project held "Fortifying the Foundations of a Nation: Strengthening Governance in the Palestinian National Authority," a conference that brought together distinguished leaders from around the world to share their experiences with over 300 Palestinian government officials, civil servants, and community actors, representing a broad cross-section of leaders from Palestinian society.

Seminars and Roundtable Sessions at Harvard University

January 18


February 22

"Recent Developments in Northern Ireland," David Trimble, Nobel laureate and first minister of Northern Ireland.

April 26

“Celebrating Six Years of Democracy in South Africa,” Sheila Sisulu, South African Ambassador to the United States, and Albie Sachs, justice of the South African Constitutional Court. (Co-sponsored by the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy and South Africa Partners.)

Conferences

November 30–December

The Challenge of Strengthening the Peace
Guatemala City, Guatemala

November 30

Introduction and Welcome by Philip Heymann, Harvard Law School

Opening address by Guatemalan President Alvaro Arzú

December 1

First Panel: Transforming an Intractable Conflict into a Durable Peace

Moderator: James LeMoyne, chief political advisor, United Nations Development Programme, Latin America.

Presentations made by Roelf Meyer, member of Parliament, former chief negotiator for the De Klerk government, former minister of Constitutional Development, South Africa; Hasan Abdel Rahman, Palestinian National Authority chief representative in the United States; Ana Guadalupe Martinez, former vice president, National Assembly of El Salvador, former FMLN leader.

Guatemalan respondents: Raquel Zelaya, secretary of the peace of the president of the Republic of Guatemala; and Hector Mauricio Lopez Bonilla, columnist.
Second Panel: Memory, Acknowledgement and Overcoming Divisions
Moderator: Linn Hammergren, World Bank.
Presentations made by Luis Moreno Ocampo, former public prosecutor and district attorney of Buenos Aires, Argentina; Paul Arthur, professor of politics, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland.
Guatemalan respondents: General Edgar Leonel Godoy Samayoa and Fermina Lopez.

Third Panel: The Role of Civil Society in Countries in Transition
Moderator: Wendy Luers, president, Foundation for a Civil Society.
Presentations made by Shulamit Aloni, former member of Parliament and government minister, founder of the Civil Rights and Peace Movement in Israel; Konstanty Gebert, former dissident and editor-in-chief of Midrasz magazine, Poland; Silvia Rueda de Uranga, president, Conciencia Association, Argentina.
Guatemalan respondents: Rigoberto Quemé, mayor of Quetzaltenango, Guatemala; and Gustavo Porras, private secretary to the President of Guatemala.

December 2
Special Presentation: Developing a Vision for the Future: Leadership and Overcoming Obstacles
Lech Walesa, Nobel laureate and former president of Poland.

Fourth Panel: Creating the Institutions Necessary for Political and Economic Stability
Moderator: Susan Kaufman Purcell, vice president, Americas Society.
Presentations made by John Biehl, former chief of staff for the government of Chile; former ambassador to the United States; Jan Krysztof Bielecki, former prime minister of Poland.
Respondents: Lars Franklin, resident coordinator for the United Nations; and Colonel Mario Antonio Ardon Aguilar of Guatemala.

Fifth Panel: Bridging the Gap Between Communities
Moderator: Beatriz Manz, University of California, Berkeley.
Presentations made by Robert Conway, chair, Peace and Reconstruction Foundation, South Africa; and Branka Kaselj, director, Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights, Croatia.
Guatemalan respondents: Carlos Chocoj, Rigoberta Menchú Tum Foundation; and Renzo Rosal, secretary general of Rafael Landivar University.

Sixth Panel: Guatemala in the Global Context
Moderator: James LeMoyne, chief political advisor, United Nations Development Programme, Latin America.
Presentations made by Eduardo Stein, foreign minister of Guatemala; José Roberto Lopez, World Bank; and Robert Hutchings, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University.

December 9-10
Community and Governance in a Time of Transition
Co-sponsored by the Project on Justice in Times of Transition and the Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust
Northern Ireland

December 9
Welcome by Sammy Douglas, chair, Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust
Introduction by Dermot Nesbit, member of Northern Ireland Assembly
Roundtable Discussion Groups: What are the main issues currently facing Northern Ireland society and the constituencies within it? What are the fears and challenges that are related to these issues? What are the hopes and aspirations that people hold?

Introduction to afternoon session by Wendy Luers, Foundation for a Civil Society

Roundtable Discussion Groups: What mechanisms can be developed to facilitate communities, social partners and politicians to work on a cooperative basis? What issues can be prioritized for collaborative work?

Report-back to Plenary Session from Discussion Group Rapporteurs: Paul Arthur, University of Ulster; Avila Kilmurray, Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust.

Plenary Discussion Concluding Comments by Chair
December 10

Introduction
Chair: Paul Arthur, University of Ulster
“Managing Change and Building Peace: A European Perspective,” Jim Dougal, European Commission Office.


Northern Ireland respondents: Chris Gibson, Confederation of British Industry; Inez McCormack, Irish Congress of Trade Unions; Seamus McAleavey, Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action.

Plenary Discussion and Comments
Introduction by Dr. Maurice Hayes, member of the Irish Senate
“Acknowledging Differences, Overcoming Divisions,” Kim Campbell, former prime minister of Canada.

Plenary Questions and Discussion
Conference Conclusion by Hugh Frazer, conference rapporteur
March 31–April 2

Roundtable Discussion on Reform of Intelligence and Security Services in Guatemala
Harvard Law School
Chair: Philip Heymann, James Barr Ames Professor of Law, Harvard University

Participants:
Sandy Africa, general manager of the South African Intelligence Academy, South Africa; César Balguerias, analyst of political and strategic affairs for Latin America, Higher Center of Defense Information, Spain; Oldrich Cerny, executive director of Forum 2000 Foundation; former director general of Czech Foreign Intelligence Service; former national security advisor to President Havel, Czech Republic; Vaughn Collins, detective chief superintendent, Canada; Michael DeFeo, director of Office of Professional Responsibility, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States; Edgar Gutierrez, minister of Strategic Analysis, Guatemala; Manuel de Jesus Flores Hernandez, vice minister of Governance, Guatemala; Ricardo Marroquin,
minister of Administrative and Security Affairs for the President, Guatemala; Kate Martin, director of the Center for National Security Studies, United States; Ernest May, Charles Warren Professor of History, Harvard University; Siyabulela Mlombile, general manager of support services at the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee, South Africa; Morris Panner, deputy chief of the narcotics section of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, United States; Elizabeth Rindskopf Parker, former general counsel of the Central Intelligence Agency, United States; Alfredo Rabbé, vice minister of National Defense, Guatemala; Dario Richarte, vice minister of Intelligence, Argentina; Anna Maria Salazar, deputy assistant secretary of defense for Drug Enforcement Policy and Support, United States.

June 25-26, 2000

Fortifying the Foundations of a Nation:
Strengthening Governance in the Palestinian National Authority
Gaza, Palestinian National Authority
June 25

Introduction and Welcome
Nabeel Sha'ath, minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Palestinian National Authority
Mohammad Nashashibi, minister of Finance, Palestinian National Authority

Palestinian respondents: Nabeel Sha'ath, minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Palestinian National Authority; and Mustafa Barghouthi, director, Health Policy Development Institute.

Second Panel: Managing Expectations and Building Support for Institutions of Governance
Moderator: Sara Zucker, director, Project on Justice in Times of Transition, Harvard University.
Presentations made by Jamil Mahuad, Fellow, Institute of Politics, Harvard University, and former president of Ecuador; Monica McWilliams, member of National Assembly, Northern Ireland, and founder of Northern Ireland Women's Coalition; Roelf Meyer, Civil Society Initiative, and former minister of Constitutional Development, South Africa.

Palestinian respondent: Mohammed El-Samhouri, general secretary, Higher National Committee for Institutional Development, Palestinian National Authority.

Third Panel: Constructing Mechanisms for Economic Development and Sustainability
Presentations made by John Biehl, senior executive, International IDEA; former chief of staff for Government of Chile; Jerzy Osiatynski, member of Polish Parliament; former minister of Finance and minister of Economic Planning, Poland; Ivan Pilip, member of Parliament, Czech Republic.
Palestinian respondents: Mohammed Nashashibi, minister of Finance, Palestinian National Authority; and Fouad Besieiso, governor, Palestinian Monetary Authority.

June 26

Fourth Panel: Building and Maintaining Rule of Law
Moderator: Philip Heymann, Harvard Law School
Presentations made by David Ervine, member of National Assembly, Northern Ireland; Samuel del Villar Kretchmar, district attorney of Mexico City, Mexico; Albie Sachs, justice of the South African Constitutional Court.
Palestinian respondents: Raji Sourani, director, Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, Palestinian National Authority; and Camille Mansour, director, Institute of Law, Bir Zeit University.

Fifth Panel: Managing a Pluralistic Civil Society
Moderator: Wendy Luers, president, Foundation for a Civil Society.
Presentations by Konstanty Gebert, editor-in-chief, Midrasz magazine, Poland; Rigoberto Quemé Chay, mayor of Quetzaltenango, Guatemala; Branka Kaselj, director, Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights, Croatia.
Palestinian respondent: Saud Aburamadan, freelance journalist.

Sixth Panel: Developing the Basic Infrastructure of a Nation: People and Resources
Moderator: Paul Arthur, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland.
Presentations made by John Biehl, senior executive, International IDEA; former chief of staff for the Government of Chile; Mehmed Halilovic, Office of the Ombudsperson, Bosnia-Herzegovina; Ana Guadalupe Martinez, president, Institute for a New El Salvador (INELSA); former FMLN leader; former vice president of the National Assembly, El Salvador.

Palestinian respondents: Eyad El Sarraj, chairman, Gaza Community Mental Health Programme; Zahira Kamal, general director, Gender Planning and Development Directorate, Palestinian National Authority.

Closing Remarks

SOUTH ASIA

South Asia Seminar
Chairs: Devesh Kapur and Pratap Mehta
Established in 1989, the South Asia Seminar completed its eleventh year in 1999-2000. Since its inception, the seminar has had an interdisciplinary 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, Europe, 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 Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Asia Center.

September 24

September 29
“India in Asia: Perspectives and Prospects,” The Honorable Jaswant Singh, minister of External Affairs, India.

October 15
“From Rigveda to Asoka: A Brief History of Dharma,” Patrick Olivelle, professor of religion; director of the Asian Studies Center, University of Texas, Austin.

October 29
“Carrots, Sticks and Ethnic Conflict: Development Institutions in South Asia,” Ronald Herring, director of the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies; John S. Knight Professor of International Relations and Professor of Government, Cornell University.

November 1

November 5
Roundtable Discussion on Indian Elections
Devesh Kapur, assistant professor of government; Pratap Mehta, associate professor of government and of social studies; Kanchan Chandra, Harvard Academy Scholar, Weatherhead Center.

December 3
“Economic Reforms in India’s Maturing Economy,” Vijay Kelkar, executive director, IMF; former finance secretary, Government of India; Narendra Jadhav, advisor, IMF; former director, Reserve Bank of India.
Discussant: Jeffrey Sachs, Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade; director, Center for International Development, Harvard University.

December 10
“Decentralized Conflict: Contending Property Rights in Mumbai,” Bish Sanyal, department chair and professor of urban planning, MIT.

March 3

April 21
“The Partition of India Revisited,” Mushirul Hasan, visiting professor at the University of Virginia; professor of history; director of the Third World Academy, Jamia Millia University, New Delhi.

April 28

May 3

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 dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in consultation with the director of the Center appoints the director of the Olin Institute.

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. The goal of the Olin Institute, after the cold war, has been to play a leading role in understanding the changes in the nature of the security challenges to the United States and to countries around the world. 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 Olin Institute have also included the Program in Economics and National Security and the Harvard Russian Institute of International Affairs in Moscow. Topics of current research projects include the new strategic dynamics in Asia; the investigation of the biological bases of cognition, in order to better understand individual and group decision-making in international relations; American national identity and national interests; and the problem of internal and interstate wars, and ethnic violence. The Institute also sponsors several national security conferences and seminars and involves other scholars in its activities as Olin Associates.

During the 1999-2000 academic year, the Institute hosted two predoctoral fellows, six postdoctoral fellows, one Bradley Fellow, one Air Force National Defense Fellow, and one Navy Federal Executive Fellow. Five faculty members also actively participated in the work of the Institute. In 1999-2000, two books and thirty-eight articles were accepted for publication by authors associated with the Institute.

The central administration of the Olin Institute in 1999-2000 included Samuel P. Huntington, director until he stepped down in January 2000; Stephen Peter Rosen, associate director, and then director; Monica Duffy Toft, assistant director; Ann Townes, program coordinator; and John Stephenson, research assistant. In 1999-2000, Aaron Lobel chaired the National Security Studies Group.

The John M. Olin Foundation provides the core funding for the Institute and its activities. In 1999-2000, 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 American National Security after the Cold War, and the Bradley Foundation continued to fund the Bradley Fellowship program. The Office of the Secretary of Defense provided funding for a research program investigating issues related to military and strategic planning during interwar periods, and for a conference to study the internal changes in China that will affect national security. Steve Forbes provided funding for the Forbes seminars on post-cold war U.S. national interests. The Northrop Corporation provided funding for research travel and meetings.

**Faculty Members**

During the 1999-2000 academic year, three faculty members from the Department of Government at Harvard and two from the Kennedy School of Government were involved in the work of the Olin Institute through active and regular participation in its seminars, study
groups, and research projects.

The Beton Michael Kaneb Professorship of National Security and Military Affairs is an endowed chair made possible by the generosity of 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 director of the Institute.

The Olin 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 direct its activities.

John M. Olin Fellows in National Security

For nineteen years the Olin Institute and its predecessor program have appointed pre- and postdoctoral Fellows in National Security. Eight national security fellows and one Bradley Fellow were appointed for the 1999-2000 fellowship program. In addition, the Olin Institute hosted a colonel in the U.S. Air Force and a commander in the U.S. Navy. Of the postdoctoral fellows, one was from Princeton, one from Yale, one from Oxford University, one from Duke, and two were on leave from teaching positions at Cornell University. Two of the dissertation fellows were from Columbia University, and one was from Harvard University. Following their year at Olin, three of the postdoctoral fellows have accepted teaching positions: one at George Mason University, one at Tufts University, and one at Laval University, Québec City, Canada. The two Cornell faculty members are returning to teach at their home institutions, the Bradley Fellow has accepted a fellowship for an additional predoctoral year at the Brookings Institution, and the two dissertation fellows will continue their research at Columbia.

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

National Security Studies Group

For over a decade the Olin Institute and its predecessor program have sponsored the National Security Studies Group, a weekly seminar for 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 1999-2000 academic year, Aaron Lobel chaired the seminar group. The schedule for the year was as follows:

September 27

October 4
“The NATO-Serbia War: Did the Serbs Have a Strategy and How Well Did it Work?” Barry Posen, MIT.

October 18
“How David Beats Goliath: Strategic Interaction andUnexpected Conflict Outcomes,” Ivan Toft, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University.

October 25

November 1
November 8

November 15

November 22

November 29

December 6

February 7
“When Do Arms Races Make War Unnecessarily Likely?” Charles Glaser, University of Chicago.

February 14

February 28

March 6

March 13

March 20

April 3

April 10
“Is Sino-U.S. Conflict Inevitable?” Aaron Friedberg, Princeton University.

April 17

April 24

May 1

May 8

May 15
Other Meetings and Seminars

November 15
“The Security Environment in Asia: What Next?” Ashton Carter; Kennedy School of Government, Victor Cha; Georgetown University, Tom Christensen; MIT, and Sumio Kusaka, Office of the Prime Minister, Japan.

February 17
“The Internet as a Research Tool for Strategic Studies,” William M. Arkin, independent political analyst.

March 14
“Transforming America’s Armed Forces,” Admiral Harold W. Gehman, Jr., United States Navy, Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic; and Commander in Chief, United States Joint Forces Command.

May 2

Forbes Seminar Series
As the result of a generous gift from Mr. Steve Forbes, the Institute was able to hold seminars on two issues affecting post-cold war U.S. national interests.

October 25
“What are the Legitimate Uses of American Military Force Abroad?” Anthony Lewis, The New York Times; Barry Posen, professor of political science, MIT.

February 14
“Globalization: Good or Bad for the United States?” Thomas Friedman, author of The Lexus and the Olive Tree and columnist for The New York Times; Ethan B. Kapstein, Harold Stassen Professor of International Peace, University of Minnesota.

Norfolk, Virginia Excursion
April 24-28, 2000
Organizer: A. Howard Hein, Commander, United States Navy
The excursion to Norfolk, Virginia introduced the Olin 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 (Navy “SEALS”), and a demonstration by the Air Force’s F-15C fighter.

China Forum
May 10-12, 2000
With the support of the United States Department of Defense, the Olin Institute sponsored the first of a series of meetings with the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The purpose of the forum was to investigate ways in which the development of the economic infrastructure of China, in the areas of transportation, communication, education, energy, and other major functions, could increase the rate of economic growth in China, sustain the development of a middle class in China, increase Chinese national power, and change the way in which China interacted with rest of the world. The vice president of the Party School attended, as did American and Chinese business executives. The forum was successful, and the Party School and the Olin Institute are working to establish an ongoing relationship in which Olin Institute fellows and Party School scholars exchange visits. Stephen Rosen, director of the Olin Institute, will visit the Party School in Beijing in November 2000 to begin
planning for a conference to be held to explore American and Chinese strategic thinking. This relationship will build on the earlier work done by the Olin Institute in Asian security issues and will institutionalize the study of Chinese strategic behavior at the Olin Institute.

**Conference on Interwar Strategic and Military Planning**
February 25, 2000 and June 2-3, 2000

With the support of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the United States Department of Defense, the Olin Institute, under the direction of Monica Toft, is leading a research program investigating issues related to military and strategic planning during interwar periods. Two conferences were held in the spring of 2000. These conferences brought together historians and political scientists who drafted essays on past interwar periods, stretching from 1815 until today. The objective of this research program is to derive lessons from historical cases as a way to understand the constraints and opportunities presented today. The program will culminate in 2000 with the publication of an edited volume entitled *The Fog of Peace: Military and Strategic Planning under Uncertainty.*

**Olin Institute Program Members**

**Samuel P. Huntington,** Director  
(untiul January 2000)

**Stephen Peter Rosen,** Associate Director  
(untiul January 2000); Director

**Monica Duffy Toft,** Assistant Director

**Ann Townes,** Program Coordinator

**John Stephenson,** Research Assistant

**National Security Fellows**

Robert Angevine
Shinju Fujihira
A. Howard Hein

Talbot Imlay
Jonathan Kirshner
Ronald Krebs
Aaron Lobel
Rose McDermott
Michael Rampino
Zachary Shore
Leslie Vinjamuri

**Olin Institute Faculty Affiliates**

Samuel Huntington
A. Iain Johnston
Monica Duffy Toft
Stephen Peter Rosen
Stephen Walt

**Olin Institute Associates**

Robert Art
Thomas Christensen
Charles Cogan
Eliot Cohen
Michael Desch
Andrew Erdmann
Daryl Press
Richard Wilcox

**STUDENT PROGRAMS**

**GRADUATE STUDENT ASSOCIATES**

In 1999-2000, the Center selected 21 graduate students from the Departments of Anthropology, Economics, Government, Public Policy, History, Sociology, and Middle Eastern studies to be graduate student associates (GSAs). Their dissertation topics included, among others, a comparative analysis of immigrant political incorporation in Canada and the United States; international environmental politics; the cultural and political mobilization of indigenous people in Bolivia;
nuclear proliferation and international security around the world; the role of European institutions in minority policies in candidate countries; sport diplomacy in the 1930s in Germany, the United States, and the Soviet Union; and political and fiscal decentralization of government in Latin America and the nature of Latin American political parties. GSAs met at least once monthly over lunch to present and discuss their dissertation research topics.

In addition, “professionalization” talks by two Harvard professors of government were arranged specifically for graduate student associates: in late November, Gary King gave a talk on publishing the dissertation as a book or articles; in May, Jeffry Frieden spoke to GSAs about making the transition from graduate student to junior faculty. The GSA Program also hosted its first GSA Alumni Presentation on November 12, which featured former GSA (1995-98), Christina Sevilla, current director for Intergovernmental Affairs, United States Trade Representative, speaking on “Bringing the WTO Ministerial and Agenda to America: An Insider’s View.”

Funds were made available by the Weatherhead Center to graduate student associates on a competitive basis for short-term travel for dissertation research and for participation in conference presentations. In 1999-2000, 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 also supported the Center’s undergraduate associates by serving as mentors to thesis-writing seniors and by attending their thesis presentations in the spring.

The Graduate Student Associate Program is directed by Marc Busch, associate professor of government and of social studies. Staff assistant, Clare Putnam, serves as coordinator of the program.

GSA Luncheon Series

Chairs: Karl Gerth and Lucia Volk

October 8

October 22

November 5
“A Sensitive Text: Lebanon’s History in the Remaking,” Lucia Volk, Department of Anthropology.

November 12
“Order in the Streets, Control over the Future: State Campaigns to Eliminate Petty Traders in Socialist and Post-Socialist Vietnam,” Ann Marie Leshkowich, Department of Anthropology.

December 3

December 17

January 21
“Mechanisms of International Influences in Transition Countries: Refugee and
Citizenship Policies in Postcommunist Countries and the Role of International Organizations, Oxana Shevel, Department of Government.

February 23


April 3

“International Commitments and Air Pollution Reform in the Czech Republic,” Liliana Botcheva-Andonova, Department of Government.

April 14


April 28


UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT PROGRAMS

Travel Grants

Weatherhead Center Summer Travel Grants are awarded to Harvard undergraduates to support senior thesis research in international affairs. Fifteen students, representing the Departments of Applied Math, Economics, Government, History, Social Studies, and East Asian studies, received travel grants and were named undergraduate associates of the Center. Their research topics included archival research on Soviet participants in the Spanish Civil War; a study of ideological renovation in the Socialist and Communist Parties of Brazil and Chile during the period of military rule; the policies to legalize immigrants in European countries, focusing on Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal; the reasons underlying the position of the European Community with regard to Turkish membership; the various incentives of and information asymmetries between Indonesian banks and foreign lenders to Indonesia; and the political movements to change reproductive rights legislation in Argentina during Menem's presidency.

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. Undergraduate Student Programs were directed by Peggy Levitt, assistant professor of sociology at Wellesley College. Clare Putnam serves as coordinator of the program.

Summer Travel Grant Recipient Presentations

February 14


“An Examination of the Policies to Legalize Immigrants in European Countries, Focusing on Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal,” Katerina Linos (Government).

“Bound to the Periphery? An Analysis of the Reasons Impeding Turkish Membership within a Framework of European Union Enlargement,” Zeynep Postalcioglu (Social Studies).

February 16

“Revolution from Within: The Renovation of Brazilian and Chilean Lefts,” Jerry Nunes (Government).

“Cuba in Transition: An Ethnography of Change in a Cuban Market,” Emma Phillips (Social Anthropology).

February 22

“Birdcage Managers: Corporate Governance in Chinese State Firms” Jeffrey Lau (Social Studies).


February 24

“The Quitman Expedition: Cuban Annexation and International Class Partnership in the 1850s” Robert Ortiz (History).


February 28


“Resistance and the Post-Colonial State: The Case of White Zimbabwean Farmers,” Michael Passaportis (Social Studies).


Undergraduate Initiatives Grants to Student Groups

For the first time, in 1999-2000 the Weatherhead Center offered undergraduates at the University financial resources to organize programs on their own that address their interests relating to international affairs. Grants up to $1,000 were awarded to Harvard student groups on a competitive basis. Awards could be used to support speaker series; study groups; special seminars with faculty, fellows or visiting scholars; conferences with an explicit undergraduate focus; event-related publications or supplies; or any number of ideas proposed by students that will benefit the Harvard undergraduate community.

The Center gave a grant of $330 to the Woodbridge Society to sponsor a talk on December 8 by Dr. Shashi Tharoor, author and executive assistant to the General Secretary of the United Nations.

The Center gave a grant of $750 to the group Harvard Students against Sweatshops for an April 21 series of debates on international labor standards, led by Harvard faculty Richard Freeman, Archon Fung, Devesh Kapur, J. Russell Muirhead, and Jeffrey Sachs.

The Center awarded a grant of $750 to two Harvard student groups, Exploring Policy in Health Care and the Harvard Project for International Health and Development, for a panel titled “The Response of Political Institutions to Questions of International Health,” which the two groups jointly ran on April 28. Panel speakers were Marsha Coleman-Adebayo, director, International African AIDS Network and former executive secretary for the Gore/Mbeki Binational Commission; Myron Essex, chairman, Harvard AIDS Institute, and chairman, Department of Immunology and Infectious Diseases, HSPH; Jim Y. Kim, co-founder, Partners in Health, and editor, Dying for...
Growth: Global Inequality and the Health of the Poor; Geeta Singh, researcher, Harvard Institute for International Development; Harold Varmus, former director, National Institute of Health and winner of the Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1989; and moderator Arthur Kleinman, chairman, Department of Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School.

Undergraduate Research Workshop

During the academic year, the Weatherhead Center offers workshops led by Center faculty associates to Harvard College juniors who are planning to conduct senior thesis research in international affairs. On December 6, Jorge I. Domínguez, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs and director of the Weatherhead Center, spoke to undergraduates about selecting a research topic and a thesis advisor, writing a successful proposal, and some of the challenges of field research. Approximately 60 to 70 undergraduates participated in the well-attended workshop.

Student Council

The Weatherhead Center Student Council, an organization of Harvard undergraduates, serves as a 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 aiming to increase student exposure to current topics in international affairs.

The Fellows Committee worked 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 drew on the personal experiences of the Fellows and allowed students to discuss important and topical issues in international affairs closely with individuals who often have a first-hand knowledge of current events. During 1999-2000, Fellows dinners focused on topics ranging from the future of the military to issues in the Korean peninsula.

The Regional Studies Committee organized panels that focused on a particular region of the world and were meant for a broad audience. This subcommittee is also the outreach arm of the Student Council and frequently co-sponsors events with student groups ranging from Harvard African Students Association (HASA) to the Harvard Vietnamese Association. During 1999-2000, the committee held several panels. In the fall, panel topics included China-Taiwan relations and the United Nations Security Council. In the spring, panels explored the future of the state and the role of religion in international relations.

In 1999-2000 the Special Events Committee focused on beginning a series of study groups. The Committee hosted two study groups each semester, with topics on East Asia, European security, European politics, and Middle Eastern peace. Each four-week group was chaired by one Fellow, with guest speakers joining each week to present their particular area of specialization.

The 1999-2000 Weatherhead Student Council, with over 300 undergraduate members on its electronic mailing list, was led by a board consisting of Steve Kruczek '01 and Erica Westenberg '02, co-presidents; Shuko Ogawa '03, treasurer; Leonid Peisakhin '03, Fellows Committee chair; Celeste Fine '02, Regional Studies Committee co-chair; Matt Rojansky '02, Special Events Committee co-chair; and Gautam Mukunda '01, webmaster.
Graduate Student Associates
Irene Bloemraad
Liliana Botcheva-Andonova
Christina Davis
Andrew Erdmann
Bret Gustafson
Karl Gerth
Lawrence Hamlet
Tracey Heatherington
Jacques Hymans
Judith Kelley
Barbara Keys
Vladimir Kliouev
Ann Marie Leshkowich
Hugh McNeal
Kathleen O’Neill
Kenneth Scheve
Oxana Shevel
Naunihal Singh
Michael Tomz
Joshua Tucker
Lucia Volk

Undergraduate Associates
Nisha Agarwal
Daniel Hopkins
Nathaniel Lalone
Jeffrey Lau
Katerina Linos
Micah Myers
Jerry Nunes
Chinwe Onyeagoro
Robert Ortiz
Michael Passaportis
Emma Phillips
Zeynep Postalcioglu
Jasmin Sethi
Vanessa Schlueter
Marjolein Wijnen

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
Violence, Religion, and Reconciliation

Working Group I of the MacArthur project explored the relationship between religion and war, as well as the challenge of achieving social reconciliation after great bloodshed. The group, which met six times, consisted of faculty and graduate students from Harvard, MIT, and other universities in the Boston area. Participants discussed the religious and ethnic roots of conflict in the Middle East, Africa, South Asia, and the former Yugoslavia, and
they evaluated proposals to foster peace in these and other troubled areas.

Core Faculty
Harvard University
William Fisher
J. Bryan Hehir
Stanley Hoffmann
Michael Jones-Correa
Louise Richardson
Anne-Marie Slaughter
Henry Steiner

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Kenneth Oye
Barry Posen
Judith Tendler
Stephen Van Evera
Myron Weiner

Group I Seminar Meetings
October 18

November 22

December 10

March 6

April 10
“Communal Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India,” Ashutosh Varshney, University of Notre Dame.

May 22

Working Group II
International Economic Security
This year the MacArthur Seminar Working Group II discussed various aspects of globalization. The seminar attracted a large number of faculty and students from Harvard University and MIT, as well as the general public. The speakers represented a wide range of disciplines. While the effects of globalization received substantial attention, the focus of the seminar was on the responses by governments and various groups in developed and developing nation. Conflicting pressures on international organizations and the extent to which international institutions undermine national sovereignty were also considered.

Core Faculty
Harvard University
Jeffrey Frankel
Devesh Kapur
Dani Rodrik

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Peter Evans
William Keller
Kenneth Oye

Group II Seminar Meetings
October 11
November 29

December 20

March 13

April 10
“Meeting the International Competition: Conflict and Cooperation in Export Financing,” Peter Evans and Kenneth Oye, Center for International Studies, MIT.

May 11
“Globalization, the WTO, the IMF, and the Syndrome of Undifferentiated Criticism,” Jeffrey Frankel, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

U.S. Foreign Policy Seminar
In 1999-2000 Weatherhead Center Associate Rob Paarlberg again chaired the U.S. Foreign Policy Seminar, which has been meeting continuously since 1974. Featured among this year’s seminar guests were several authors of prominent books recently published on U.S. foreign policy, a member of Congress, two currently serving senior U.S. officials, and both the dean of Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government and the director of the Weatherhead Center.

September 28
“Redefining the U.S. National Interest,” Joseph S. Nye, dean, Kennedy School of Government.

October 20

October 25

November 2

November 9
“Explaining U.S. Foreign Policy,” James P. Rubin, United States Assistant Secretary of State.

February 8

March 21
“How the Great Powers Shape the World,” Robert Pastor, Emory University; and Stanley Hoffmann, Harvard University.

April 27
May 2
*Enid B. Schoettle*, consultant, National Intelligence Council.

May 4
“Normal Trade with China: Implications for Food Security in Asia and for Agriculture in the United States,” *August Schumacher, Jr.*, United States Under-Secretary of Agriculture.
THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER SPONSORS OR CO-SPONSORS additional conferences, lectures, and seminars, ranging from narrowly focused academic meetings designed for specialists to broad, open discussions of contemporary issues for government officials, representatives of the private sector, and other practitioners. In each case, these events are designed to disseminate information and ideas and to stimulate informed discussions. Events took place at Harvard University, unless otherwise noted.

September 24, 1999
PICAR: Adventures in Track II Diplomacy
Chair: Donna Hicks
Panel I
Speakers: Roger D. Fisher, Howard Raiffa, and Lawrence E. Susskind, “The Role of the Scholar-Practitioner in Conflict Resolution.”

Panel II

Panel III
Remarks by Herbert C. Kelman; General Discussion

September 30 and October 1, 1999
Allied Force or Forced Allies? Alliance Politics in Canada and Europe from the End of the Cold War to Kosovo
(For details on this event, please refer to the Canada and U.S.-Canada section.)

October 15, 1999
Institutional Design, Dispute Settlement, and International Trade
Chair: Marc Busch
Welcome and Introduction by Marc Busch

Panel I
Speaker: Eric Reinhardt, Emory University, “Adjudication without Enforcement in GATT Disputes.”
Speakers: James Smith, George Washington University, and Geoffrey Garrett, Yale University, “The Politics of WTO Dispute Settlement.”
Discussant: Judith Goldstein, Stanford University

Panel II
Speaker: Marc Busch, Harvard University, “Democracy, Consultation, and the Paneling of Disputes Under GATT.”
Speaker: B. Peter Rosendorff, Georgetown University, “Stability and Rigidity: The Dispute Settlement Procedure of the WTO.”
Discussant: Kenneth Abbot, Northwestern University

Panel III
Speaker: Robert Howse, University of Michigan, “Choosing Between WTO and NAFTA: A Legal Perspective on Forum Shopping by NAFTA Parties.”
Speaker: Caglar Ozden, Emory University, “Implementation of Trade Agreements Under Asymmetric Information and Welfare Gains from a Multilateral Regime.”
Discussant: Lisa Martin, Harvard University
Roundtable and Discussion
Alan Alexandroff, LECG and University of Toronto
Petros C. Mavroidis, Columbia University and Neuchâtel University
Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, University of Geneva
Amelia Porges, Office of the United States Trade Representative
Moderator: Joel Trachtman, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University
November 4, 1999

The Seventeenth Paul-Henri Spaak Lecture

Established in 1981 to honor one of the great statesmen of postwar Europe, the Paul-Henri Spaak Lecture Series has brought to the Center seventeen eminent Europeans from ten countries—all of them active in public affairs—to shed light on various concerns of significance to Europe and to the Atlantic alliance. The Spaak Lectureship has been made possible by the foresight and generosity of Frank Boas and the Frank Boas Foundation.

Paul-Henri Spaak (1899-1972), was the first chairman of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and secretary-general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He also chaired the team that drafted the Treaty of Rome in 1957, which eventually led to the creation of the European Economic Community in 1958.

On November 4, 1999, the Honorable George Papandreou, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, delivered the seventeenth annual Paul-Henri Spaak Lecture, entitled “Europe and the Balkans: The Role of Greece.” A 1992-93 Fellow of the Center for International Affairs, Mr. Papandreou has served the Hellenic Republic as Alternate Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Education and Religious Affairs, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1996, he was elected Member of the Executive Office and the Political Bureau of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and Member of Parliament for the First District of Athens, two positions he still holds.

Following his lecture to an overflow audience in the Boylston Hall auditorium, Minister Papandreou was the guest of honor at a cocktail reception and dinner at the Adolphus Busch Hall in the Center for European Studies.

November 13, 1999

Labor Protest and Other Collective Strategies of Worker Resistance in the Age of Neo-Liberalism

Chair: Elizabeth Perry
Session I: General Perspectives
Speaker: Sidney Tarrow, Cornell University, “The View from Western Europe.”
Speaker: Marsha Pripstein-Posusney, Bryant College, “The Moral Economy of Labor Protest in Egypt.”
Speaker: Douglas Kammen, University of Canterbury, “Industrial Strife in Indonesia.”
Discussant: Andrew Gordon, Harvard University
General Discussion
Session II: Labor Unrest in the Pacific Rim
Speaker: Hagen Koo, University of Hawaii, “Labor Unrest in Korea.”
Speaker: Ching Kwan Lee, Harvard University, “Labor Unrest in China.”
Speaker: Susan Eckstein, Boston University, “Labor Unrest in Latin America.”
Discussant: Mark Selden, SUNY-Binghamton
General Discussion
November 18-20, 1999
Fellows’ Alumni Conference and Reunion
(For details on this event, please refer to the Fellows Program section.)

January 12-15, 2000
Conference on Global Perspectives on Civil Society in Japan
Co-sponsored by the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations and the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii.
East-West Center, Honolulu
(For more details on this event, please refer to the Japan and U.S.-Japan Relations section.)

February 25, 1999
Research Group on the Political Economy of International Finance (PEIF)
(For details on this event, please refer to the Political Economy section.)

March 3-4, 2000
Korea: Its International and Comparative Contexts
Chairs: Jorge I. Domínguez, Jin-Young Suh, and Byung-Kook Kim

Session I: The Financial Crisis in East Asia: Causes
Speakers: Hyuk-Bae Im, Korea University, and Byung-Kook Kim, Korea University
“Crony Capitalism” in Korea, Thailand, and Taiwan: Myth and Reality.


Speaker: Richard Cooper, Harvard University, “China into the World Economic System.”

Session II: The Financial Crisis in East Asia: Muddling Through
Speakers: Jung-Ho Kim, Korea University, and Sea-Jin Chang, Korea University, “The Chaebol Reforms.”


Speaker: Devesh Kapur, Harvard University, “Handmaiden, Scapegoat or Bungler: The IMF, South Korea and the Asian Crisis.”

March 4
Session III: The Challenge of Nuclear Proliferation

Speaker: Myung-Rim Park, Korea University, “Democracy, Nationalism, and Peace in the Korean Peninsula; North and South in Comparison during the Post-Cold War Era.”

Speakers: Jacques Hymans, Harvard University, Henning Riecke, Harvard University, and Seung-Young Kim, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, “To Go or Not To Go: South and North Korea’s Nuclear Decisions in Comparative Context.”

March 24-25, 2000
Relations between Indigenous Peoples and States in Contemporary Latin America
Chair: David Maybury-Lewis

March 24
Greetings and Opening Remarks
Peru
Speaker: Bartholomew Dean, University of Kansas
Speaker: **Paul Gelles**, University of California at Riverside

**Bolivia**
Speaker: **Bret Gustafson**, Harvard University

**Ecuador**
Speaker: **Ted Macdonald**, Harvard University

**Colombia**
Speaker: **Maria Clemencia Ramirez de Jara**, Harvard University

March 25

**Mexico**
Speaker: **Jerome Levi**, Carleton College

**Guatemala**
Speaker: **Jennifer Schirmer**, Harvard University

**Panama**
Speaker: **James Howe**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**Paraguay**
Speaker: **Richard Reed**, Trinity University

**Brazil**
Speaker: **David Maybury-Lewis**, Harvard University/Cultural Survival

Concluding Discussion

April 5, 2000

**Fellows Program Special Event**

(For details on this event, please refer to the Middle East section.)

**PONSACS: Indigenous/Tribal Sovereignty and Plural Ethnic States**

Co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center’s Middle East Seminar and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University. Additional funds for the all-day symposium were gratefully received from Linda and Richard Friedman of New Orleans.

**May 18-20, 2000**

Chair: **David Maybury-Lewis**, Ted Macdonald, and Ian McIntosh

**Public Lecture**


**May 19**

Conference Overview by **David Maybury-Lewis**

**Paper Presentations: Global Perspectives**

Speaker: **Kristyna Bishop**, First Nations Development Institute, “This Land Knows Me—First Nations Worldwide and Indigenous Land Rights.”

Speaker: **Darren Godwell**, Indigenous Community Foundation, “Native Land Title is Not Sovereignty.”


**May 20**

**Paper Presentations: Latin America and the Philippines**


Speaker: **Ampam Karakras**, Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador, “Sovereignty and Crisis of the State in Ecuador.”

**May 20**

**Paper Presentations: Africa, India and the United States**
Speaker: Lima Imchen, North-Eastern Hill University, India, “Sovereignty and Protest in Nagaland.”

Speaker: Joel Metamei Olol-Dapash, Maaasai Environmental Resource Coalition, “Autonomy and Sovereignty in Kenya and Tanzania.”

Speaker: Rosita Worl, Sealaska Heritage Foundation, “Rethinking Sovereignty in Alaska.”

Open Discussion
Moderator: David Maybury-Lewis
May 25-26, 2000

Making Big Choices: Individual Opinion Formation and Societal Choices
Sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences, Harvard University
(For details on this event please refer to the Canada and U.S.-Canada Relations section.)
June 16-18, 2000

European Security: Where is the Threat?
Sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Bogette Foundation
Tufts University European Center
Talloires, France
Chairs: Karl Kaiser and Samuel Huntington
June 16
Welcome and Introductory Remarks by Jorge I. Domínguez and Karl Kaiser

Chair: Jorge I. Domínguez
Speaker: Stanley Hoffmann, Harvard University
Speaker: Karl Kaiser, German Council on Foreign Affairs
Speaker: Barry Buzan, University of Westminster

Discussion Groups and Report to Plenary
Reception and Dinner at L’Abbaye
Introduction: Karl Kaiser
Dinner Speaker: François Heisbourg, Geneva Centre for Security Policy
June 17

Session II: Adapting Military Establishments and Policies in Europe and the Former Soviet Bloc
Chair: Steve Rosen
Speaker: Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Institute des Hautes Etudes de Defense Nationale
Speaker: Stephen Larrabee, Rand Corporation
Speaker: Helga Haftendorn, Freie Universitaet Berlin

Plenary Discussion
Session III: Challenge to Sovereignty: the Effect of Kosovo, the Balkans and Russia
Chair: Samuel Huntington
Speaker: Josef Joffe, Die Zeit
Speaker: John Roper, House of Lords
Speaker: Dominique Moisi, Institute Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI)

Discussion Groups and Report to Plenary
Introduction: Jorge I. Domínguez
Dinner Speaker: Samuel Huntington
June 18

Session IV: European-U.S. Relations
Chair: Karl Kaiser
Speaker: Joseph Nye, Harvard University
Speaker: Marco Cesa, University of Bologna
Speaker: Frédéric Bozo, Institute Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI)
Speaker: Andrezej Karkoszka, George C. Marshall Center

Plenary Discussion
Closing Remarks by Jorge I. Domínguez and Karl Kaiser
PUBLICATIONS

THE CENTER MAKES AVAILABLE THE RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS done by its affiliates available to interested scholars, practitioners, and policymakers. The Center’s main publishing vehicle is the Working Papers Series, which publishes approximately ten papers a year. Papers are selected for publication based on their relevance to contemporary issues in international affairs and on scholarly qualities such as originality of research, rigor of analysis, and significance of conclusions. Working Papers can be ordered from the Center’s library and are accessible through Columbia International Affairs Online, a subscription service for libraries and other institutions. The Center also publishes a newsletter, Centerpiece, as well as the Annual Report. Many of the programs and seminars within the Center also publish their own paper series and reports.

WORKING PAPERS

00-04 Carsten Giersch, “Multilateral Conflict Regulation (MCR): The Case of Kosovo”
00-03 Wi Saeng Kim, “Does FDI Increase Firm Value in Emerging Markets?”
00-02 Devesh Kapur, “Processes of Change in International Organizations”
00-01 Grzgorz Ekiert and Jan Kubik, “Civil Society From Abroad: The Role of Foreign Assistance in the Democratization of Poland”
99-12 Herbert C. Kelman (ed.), “The Future Israeli-Palestinian Relationship”
99-10 Anthony A. Loh, “A Stripped-Down Conception of Hegemony”
99-09 Richard N. Cooper, “Should Capital Controls Be Banished?”
99-08 Jun Fu, “Explaining FDI in China’s Transitional Economy”

WORKS BY CENTER AFFILIATES

Principal publications for the 1999-2000 academic year.


Belin, Eva. “Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late Developing Countries” World Politics 52 (January 2000): 175-205.


---. "The @#$%& Missile Crisis (Or, What Was 'Cuban' About U.S. Decisions During the Cuban Missile Crisis?)." Diplomatic History 24, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 305-315.


La Porta, Rafael, Simeon Djankov, Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes and Andrei Shleifer, “The Regulation of Entry.” Mimeo (June 2000).


McDermott, Rose and Jonathan Cowden. Review of In the Stream of History, by Warren Christopher. Political Psychology (September 1999).


McDermott, Rose and Jonathan Cowden. “Short-Term Forces and Partisanship.” Political Behavior (December 2000).


Sachs, Jeffrey, and Felipe Larrain. "Why Dollarization is More Straightjacket than Salvation." Foreign Policy, no. 116 (Fall 1999).


1999-2000 Visiting Committee
The Visiting Committee met April 6-7 to review the activities of the Center.

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The International Advisory Committee consists of distinguished practitioners of international affairs drawn from the worlds of business, government, and the universities. The Center calls on these individuals for advice and support on broad Center initiatives, particularly for research contacts and conferences relating to their regions.

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