



## **Annual Report**

**WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**HARVARD UNIVERSITY**

**1999•2000**

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**1999-2000**

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 under-graduates 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

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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 WCFA 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

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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**

Indexing and proofreading for forthcoming book, *Democratic Commitments:*

*Legislatures and International Cooperation*.

#### –**Lisa Martin**

Research on “The Politics of Bad Government Around the World.”

#### –**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**

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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**

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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**

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### **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*

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*Government of Norway*

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*United States Dept. of Defense*  
*United States Institute of Peace*  
*Virtual Research Associates, Inc.*  
*Weatherhead Foundation*

## FINANCIAL SUMMARY

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### INCOME

Endowments	\$1,739,282
Research Programs Gifts, Fees, and Grants	\$2,187,753
Workshops, Corporate Associates, Seminars	\$ 86,658
Government Grants and Contracts	\$ 134,216
Other Fees and Support from FAS	\$ 15,167
Interest and Transfers from Reserves	\$ 0
<b>Total Income</b>	<b>\$ <u>4,163,076</u></b>

### EXPENSES

Fellows Program	\$ 246,785
Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival	\$ 263,780
Program on U.S.-Japan Relations	\$ 269,471
Olin Institute	\$ 753,597
Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution	\$ 137,389
Canada Program	\$ 67,125
MacArthur Transnational Security Program	\$ 98,175
Thyssen, Bosch, and Mellon Fellowships	\$ 57,654
Academy Scholars Program and Conferences	\$ 497,616
Student Programs	\$ 140,071
Library	\$ 64,610
Publications	\$ 119,236
Visiting Scholars/Associates	\$ 2,932
Information Technology	\$ 180,746
Administration	
Personnel	\$ 463,765
Space, Maintenance, Infrastructure	\$ 71,585
Center Functions, Travel, Consultants, Phones, Supplies, Misc.	\$ 93,791
Sponsored Research Programs	\$ 176,532
Support for Faculty Research, Conferences, Workshops & Seminars	\$ 386,737
<b>Total Expenses</b>	<b>\$ <u>4,091,597</u></b>
<b>BALANCE</b>	<b>\$ 71,479</b>



**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," **Jeffry Vincent**, lecturer on economics and public policy, Harvard University; program director, Harvard Institute for International Development.

*November 18*

"The Impact of Institutions on Growth in Africa," **Karen Ferree** and **Smita Singh**, Ph.D. Candidates, Department of Government, Harvard University.

*February 17*

"The Big 4—Malaria, Pneumonia, Diarrhea, and HIV/AIDS: The ARCH Project's Research Program in Africa," **Jonathan Simon**, director of the Health, Education and Social Development Group, Harvard Institute for International Development.

*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*

"NGOs as Innovators in Asian and African Food Security," **Norman Uphoff**, professor of government; director of Cornell International Institute for Food and Agricultural Development.

*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.

## **CANADA AND U.S. -CANADA RELATIONS**

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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*

“Achieving the Impossible: A Multinational Canada,” **Kenneth McRoberts**, professor of political science and principal of Glendon College, York University, Toronto; president-elect of the Canadian Political Science Association.

*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



political science, Université de Montréal; principal investigator, 1997 Canadian Election Study. (Co-sponsored by the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences.)

#### 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



Legal and Institutional Framework of Euro-Atlantic Security.”

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: **Jeffrey 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: **Jennifer Jerit**, **James Kuklinski**, and **Paul Quirk**, University of Illinois, "When Political Rhetoric Meets Human Nature."

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

Speaker: **Richard Johnston**, University of Pennsylvania and University of British Columbia, "Ordinary Politics and Extraordinary Choices: Evidence from Canada, 1988 and 1992."

Speaker: **David Sanders**, Essex, "British Public Opinion and the Single European Currency: A Study of Reluctant Europeans."

Discussant: **Elisabeth Gidengil**, McGill University; Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

### Panel Five: *Devolution and Independence*

Speaker: **David McCrone**, University of Edinburgh, "Delivering Home Rule: The 1997 Devolution Referendum in Scotland."

Speakers: **Pierre Martin** and **Richard Nadeau**, "Choosing a Nation: The 1995 Referendum on Sovereignty in Québec."

Discussant: **Hudson Meadwell**, McGill University

**Discussion:** *Where Do We Go From Here?*

## COMMUNIST AND POSTCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

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### Communist and Postcommunist Countries Seminar

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

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### 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*

“Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage,” **Peter Hall**.



January 19

"Ethnicity, Capital Formation, and Conflict," **Robert Bates**.

March 9

"A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States," **Theda Skocpol**.

## DIRECTOR'S SEMINAR

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**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

"Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans and the Caucasus: Lessons for the Future," **Michael Libal**, German ambassador to Kazakhstan, and CFIA Fellow 1995-96.

Discussants: **Garnik Nanagoulian**, former minister of Industry and Trade, Republic of Armenia, and Weatherhead Center Fellow 1999-2000; and **Luise Drüke**, former head of UN High Commission for Refugees in Portugal and Kazakhstan, and CFIA Fellow 1987-88.

December 6

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

February 10

"No Way Out? Colombia's Current Crises," **Jon Day**, **Garnik Nanagoulian**, and **Steve Wolborsky**, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

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 Gouly**, **Sumio Kusaka**, and **Pramathesh Rath**, Weatherhead Center Fellows.

## ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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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

"War Crimes Tribunals: Successes and Failures," **Theodor Meron**, New York University Law School.

November 17

"Critical Perspectives on the New Version of Rawls' Law of Peoples: A Dialogue," **Stanley Hoffmann** and **Nancy Kokaz**, Harvard University.

November 30

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

*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.

## **Ethnicity and Nationalism**

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### **ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM SEMINAR**

Chaired by **Michael Jones-Correa**, **Mary Steedly** and **Mary Waters**, the faculty Working Group on Ethnicity and Nationalism 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. The Ethnicity and Nationalism Seminar met five times in 1999-2000.

*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**

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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**

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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*

“Does ‘Europe’ Exist in the UN?” **André Adam**, permanent representative of Belgium to the United Nations, and **Stewart Eldon**, deputy permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations.

*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*

“The Moment of Truth for Integration: Rethinking the EU on the Eve of Enlargement,” **Richard Corbett**, member, European Parliament, and member, European Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Affairs.

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 Gouly** 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



expand this initiative in the near future.

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 *á capella* 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

“Contemporary Russia,” **Richard Pipes**, Frank B. Baird, Jr. Professor of History Emeritus, Harvard University; and author of *Property and Freedom*, *Survival Is Not Enough: Soviet Realities and America's Future*, and *U.S. Soviet Relations in the Era of Detente: A Tragedy of Errors*.

#### November 5

“The American National Identity: Is It Changing?” **Samuel Huntington**, Albert J. Weatherhead III University Professor; director, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies; chairman, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies; and author of *The Clash of Civilizations*.

#### November 12

“Writing the Research Paper,” **Donald Halstead**, Fellows Program Consulting Editor.



December 3

“The State of China,” **Lucian Pye**, professor of political science emeritus, MIT; and author of *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions and Authority*, *Chinese Negotiating Style*, and *The Spirit of Chinese Politics*.

December 10

“Religion, Nationalism, and Peace,” **David Little**, T.J. Dermot Dunphy Professor of the Practice of Religion, Ethnicity, and International Conflict, Harvard Divinity School; former senior scholar in Religion, Ethics, and Human Rights, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C.; and author of *Ukraine: The Legacy of Intolerance*, and *Sri Lanka: The Invention of Enmity*.

February 11

“Campaign 2000: The Trail Ahead,” **Alan Simpson**, director, Institute of Politics, Kennedy School of Government; former U.S. Senator (Republican) representing Wyoming 1978-94; author of *Right in the Old Gazoo: A Lifetime of Scrapping With the Press*.

February 18

“The Myth of GATT: Law and Politics after Seattle,” **Marc Busch**, associate professor of government and social studies, Harvard University, and author of *Trade Warriors: States, Firms, and Strategic-Trade Policy in High-Technology Competition*.

February 25

“The Art of the Possible,” **Benjamin Zander**, founder/conductor, Boston Philharmonic Orchestra; conductor, New England Conservatory’s Youth Philharmonic Orchestra; regular guest conductor, Philharmonia Orchestra (London).

March 3

“Adventures in National Identity: What Kind of Expectations Can We Have on Americans Today?” **Jim Sleeper**, Fellow, Shorenstein Center for Press, Politics, and Public Policy; former political columnist for the *Daily News* (New York); author of *The Closest of Strangers*, and *Liberal Racism*.

March 10

“The American Constitution and Its Legacy,” **Bernard Bailyn**, James Duncan Phillips Professor of Early American History; director, International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World; author of *Faces of Revolution: Personalities and Themes in the Struggle for American Independence*, and *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*.

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

“Ruling the Net: Lessons from the Radio Industry,” **Debora Spar**, associate professor of business, government & the international economy, Harvard Business School; author of *Attracting High Technology Investment: Intel's Costa Rican Plant*, and *The Cooperative Edge: The Internal Politics of International Cartels*.

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*

“China and Kosovo,” **Pramathesh Rath**, 1999-2000 Fellow, Weatherhead Center for 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 the New Hampshire Council on World Affairs, Manchester, New Hampshire.

*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*

“The United States and Cuba: U.S. Policy Alternatives,” **Congressman James McGovern** (D-MA, Third District) and **Jorge Domínguez**, 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”

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: **Kamlesh Sharma**, permanent representative of India to the UN

“The Middle East”

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

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

**Stanley H. Hoffmann**, Paul and Catherine Buitendieker 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, Intercor, and **Mr. N. Amaya**, president, CARBOCOL, S.A.

Tour of the industrial port of Puerto Bolívar

*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”

**Victor 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 Gouly** (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 Transcaucasus”

**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, directorate-

general for Competition, European Commission, Brussels

“Access Issues under EU Regulations and Antitrust Law—The Case of Telecommunications and Internet Markets”

**Alvaro Villegas** (Colombia); president, Colombian Coffee Federation, Inc., New York

“The Expansion of the Coffee Business in North America, 2000-2005”

**Vu Dang Dzong** (Vietnam); deputy director, Department of Asia II (Southeast Asia, South Asian, and South Pacific Affairs) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hanoi

“A New Balance of Power in Asia-Pacific and Implications for ASEAN’s Posture”

**Stephen Wolborsky** (United States); Commander, 37th Bomber Squadron, Ellsworth Air Force Base, South Dakota

“Swords into Stiletos: The Battle between Transformers and Hedgers for the Soul of the Department of Defense”

## GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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### Seminar on Global Communications and International Relations

Co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Program on Information Resources Policy at Harvard University, this seminar series explores the impact of global communications on international relations. It focuses particularly on the impact of communications and information technologies on the struggles for power, peace, development, and democracy in four arenas: global security, economic, political, and cultural relations.

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 affect 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.

Chairs: **Yesha Sivan**, and **Lt. Col. Michael Cartney**, USAF, National Defense Fellow, both of the Program on Information Resources Policy, Harvard University

#### *December 2*

“The International Telecommunications Union and Regulatory Balancing in the Era of Privatization,” **Herbert Marks, Esq.**, Squire, Sanders & Dempsey, Washington, D.C.

#### *December 9*

“European Telecommunications:



Perspectives for a European Cyberspace,” **Herbert Ungerer**, Weatherhead Fellow, advisor to the European Commission, Brussels.

*February 28*

“International Telecommunications Policy: Prospects for the Future,” **Richard C. Beard**, deputy U.S. coordinator for International Communications and Information Policy, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

*March 13*

“Regional Information Strategies in China: Shanghai Infoport and Its Emulators,” **Kathleen Hartford**, professor of political science, University of Massachusetts, Boston, Massachusetts.

*April 24*

“Telecommunications in Israel in the Era of Peace,” **Bosmat Chelouche**, advisor, chief counselor, General Counsel, Bezeq—The Israeli Telecommunication Corp. Ltd.

*May 8*

“The Internationalization of Internet Portals,” **John M. Hotchkiss**, vice president of Engineering, Lycos, Inc., Waltham, Massachusetts.

## INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES

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### 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 Columbia 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*

"The Wall Around the West: Border Controls in the Era of Globalization," **Peter Andreas** and **Timothy Snyder**, postdoctoral scholars of the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

*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*

"Catholicism and Globalization: Issues of Theory, Structure, and Policy," **J. Bryan Hehir**, chairman of the Executive

Committee of the Harvard Divinity School; Professor of the Practice of Religion and Society, Harvard University.

## INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION

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### 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

“Dealing with National Identity and Power Relationships in the Process of Inter-Group Dialogue: The Case of Palestinian-Israeli Groups,” **Ariella Friedman**, professor of social psychology, Department of Psychology and Social Work, Tel-Aviv University, Israel.

### October 25

“Religion, Nationalism, and Human Rights,” **David Little**, T.J. Dermot Dunphy Professor of the Practice in Religion, Ethnicity and International Conflict, Harvard Divinity School.

### 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 7

“Peace in Sudan: Two Approaches,” **Alan Gouly**, ambassador to Sudan (1995-1999), Weatherhead Center Fellow; and **Craig Harris**.

### February 24

“Human Rights and Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Kosovo,” **Jennifer Leaning**, professor of international health, Harvard School of Public Health; assistant professor of medicine, Harvard Medical School.

### 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

“How South Africa Made Its Peace: The Role of Reconciliation and Healing in South Africa’s Transition to Democracy,” **Susan Collin Marks**, executive vice president, Search for Common Ground, Washington, D.C.

### 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

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### 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

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### 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

"The Asian Crisis: What Did We Learn?"

**Jeffrey Sachs**, director, Center for International Development, Kennedy School of Government.

#### 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

"The End of Japanese Capitalism?" **Ronald Dore**, senior research fellow, Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics (co-sponsored by the Edwin O. Reischauer Institute for Japanese Studies).

#### October 12

*Distinguished Visitor Lecture:* "U.S.-Japan Relations in the World Today," **Ryutaro Hashimoto**, former prime minister

(1996-98), and representative, Japanese House of Representatives (co-sponsored by the Edwin O. Reischauer Institute for Japanese Studies).

#### October 19

"What Happened to Foreign Policy? The Missing Issue in American Politics," **William Schneider**, senior political analyst, CNN.

#### October 26

"The Essence of the Toyota Production System: Five Rules-in-Use for Managing Complex Organizations," **Steven Spear**, assistant professor, Harvard Business School.

#### November 4

"A Transnational Industrial Policy? Public Financing of Japanese Foreign Direct Investment," **Mireya Solis**, assistant professor, Department of Politics, Brandeis University.

#### November 9

"Grey Power? Age and Party Choice in Japan, 1983-98," **Paul Talcott**, advanced research fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

#### 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 Maclachlan**,



assistant professor of Asian studies;  
adjunct professor of government,  
University of Texas at Austin.

*December 16*

“Security Trends in Northeast Asia: Is War Obsolete?” **Michael Green**, Olin Senior Fellow for Asian Security; Council on Foreign Relations; acting director, Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

*February 8*

“U.S.-Japan Relations: Looking Toward the Next Millennium,” **Shunji Yanai**, Japanese Ambassador to the United States.

*February 10*

“The Future of the Japanese Manufacturing System,” **Takahiro Fujimoto**, associate professor of economics, University of Tokyo.

*February 17*

“In Search of an Alternative World Order: The Role of International Nongovernmental Organizations,” **Akira Iriye**, professor of history, Harvard University (co-sponsored by the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Kennedy School of Government).

*February 24*

**Civil Society in Japan in Comparative Perspective**

Panel:

“Uncommon Blooms? Civil Society in Japan and the Asia-Pacific,” **Susan Pharr**, director, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, Harvard University.

“Civil Society in Japan,” **Robert Pekkanen**, Academy Scholar, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

“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*

“Trade Associations, Self-Regulation, and the Antimonopoly Law in Japan,” **Ulrike Schaeede**, visiting associate professor, Harvard Business School; associate professor, School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California at San Diego (co-sponsored by East Asian Legal Studies, Harvard Law School).

*March 9*

“Japan and the World Bank in Vietnam,” **Naoko Ishii**, program coordinator for Vietnam, World Bank.

*March 16*

“Grassroots Activism: Japan and America Compared,” **Richard Forrest**, coordinator, U.S.-Japan Common Agenda Public-Private Partnership Initiative; former Eastern Asia representative, National Wildlife Federation (co-sponsored by the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Kennedy School of Government).

*March 23*

“The Legitimacy of International Norms: The U.S.-Japan Confrontation at the UN over Fishing,” **Isao Miyaoka**, 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*

“Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire,” **Chalmers Johnson**, president, Japan Policy Research Institute; professor emeritus, University of California (co-sponsored by the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies).

*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:

“Reforming Japan’s Official Development Assistance,” **Kuninori Kuroishi**, Japan Bank for International Cooperation.

“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*.

“Managing the Sustainable Development of Japan’s Regions,” **Nobuo Ino**, Development Bank of Japan.

“The Future of the Japanese and American Labor Markets,” **Koki Hayakawa**, Tokyo Gas Company.

“Human Resource Management in an Age of Independent Individuals,” **Tatsuya Oishi**, Idemitsu Kosan Company.

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

*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.

“Intellectual Property Rights Policy in Japan and the United States,” **Tomoyoshi Yahagi**, Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Japan.

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

*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*

“Macroeconomic and Structural Perspectives on the Japanese Crisis,” **David Weinstein**, professor of economics, Columbia University.

May 4

## Defending Japanese Security

Panel:

“The Evolution of Japan’s Politico-Security Role in the Asia-Pacific,” **Seiichiro Otsuka**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.

“Japan’s Future Security Strategy and the Role of the Self-Defense Forces,” **Junichi Araki**, Air Self-Defense Force, Japan.

“Japan’s Energy Supply Security,” **Hirofumi Nishimura**, Tokyo Electric Company, Japan.

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  
“What Is Civil Society?” **Frank Schwartz**, 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; Toshio Yamagishi, Hokkaido University

### Session Two

Moderator: **Yasunori Sone**, Keio University  
“From Meiji to Heisei: The State and Civil Society in Japan,” **Sheldon Garon**, Princeton 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

“Redefining the Conservative Coalition: Agriculture and Small Business in 1990s Japan,” **Robert Bullock**, Cornell University.

Discussant: **Patricia Maclachlan**, University of Texas at Austin

### Session Four

Moderator: **Andrew Gordon**, Harvard University

“The Decline of Associational Functions of Labor Unions in Postwar Japan,” **Akira Suzuki**, Hosei 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**

“The Future Employment System: Comparing the Japanese and U.S. Labor Markets”

**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**

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**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 Çandar**, columnist, *Sabah*; senior fellow, United States Institute of Peace.

*October 28*

“Courting Liberty: High Courts and Religious Extremism in Egypt and Israel,” **Eva Bellin**, associate professor of government, Harvard University.

*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*

“Looking at You, Looking at Us: A Note on Islam, Secularism and the West,” **Sadik Al-Azm**, professor of philosophy, University of Damascus.

*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*

“The Multi-Level Peace Process in the Middle East,” **Harold Saunders**, director of international affairs, Kettering Foundation; former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

*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*

“U.S. Policy on Jerusalem,” **Walid Khalidi**, historian, professor, and founder, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, Beirut, Paris.

*May 4*

### **The Middle East Peace Process and Its Vicissitudes**

Presentations:

“The Impact of an Israeli-Palestinian Peace Agreement on the Palestinians in Jordan,” **Adnan Abu Odeh**, former Ambassador of Jordan to the United Nations.

“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.

“The Middle East Peace Process: Red Lines and Security Arrangements,” **Ze'ev Schiff**, defense correspondent for *Ha'aretz* daily newspaper.

“Peace of the Brave? Personal Reflections on What Went Wrong,” **Suad Amiry**, director of Riwaq Centre; Palestinian negotiator to the Washington Peace Talks, 1992-93.

“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

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### 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.



## PONSACS Affiliates

**S. James Anaya**, Program Affiliate

**Douglas Bond**, Associate Director

**Joseph Bond**, Program Affiliate

**Lucia Clark**, Program Graduate Student Affiliate

**David Edeli**, Program Student Affiliate

**Amanda Flohr**, Program Coordinator

**Bret Gustafson**, Weatherhead Center Graduate Student Associate

**Pippa Heylings**, Program Affiliate

**Llewellyn D. Howell**, Weatherhead Center Associate

**Theodore Macdonald**, Associate Director

**Ian MacIntosh**, Program Affiliate

**David Maybury-Lewis**, Director

**Churl Oh**, Program Affiliate

**Peter Poole**, Program Affiliate

**Jennifer Schirmer**, Weatherhead Center Associate

**Kurt Schock**, Weatherhead Center Associate

## Seminar on Ethnicity, Culture, and Change

Chair: **David Maybury-Lewis**

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*

"Human Rights and the Peace Process in Colombia: An Indigenous View," **Senator Francisco Rojas Birry**, Embera-Katio Indian; representative of Colombia's indigenous people in the Colombian National Senate.

### *February 16*

"What is Political Risk? The Integration of Political and Economic Development," **Llewellyn D. Howell**, Ponsacs associate 1999-2000; professor, Thunderbird-The American Graduate School of International Management.

### *February 23*

"Race, Culture, and Malaysian Foreign Policy," **Llewellyn D. Howell**, Ponsacs associate 1999-2000; professor, Thunderbird-The American Graduate School of International Management.

### *April 20*

"Mining in Peru: Grassroots Strategies of Andean Indigenous Communities," **Miguel Palacin Quispe**, president of the National Federation of Communities Effected 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 PONSACS, 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 Domínguez, Grzegorz Ekiert, Samuel Huntington, Susan Pharr, Robert Putnam, Michael Sandel, and Theda Skocpol**.

The workshop provides a venue for graduate students in comparative and American politics to present draft dissertation prospectuses and chapters, while other workshop participants serve as discussants. Faculty leading the workshop also present research in progress, allowing graduate students to engage with research that is “not yet ready for prime time.”

Occasionally, other scholars are invited to present their research. Over the 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*

“Ethnic Diversity and School Funding in Kenya,” **Ted Miguel**.

Discussant: **Quinn Mecham**

“Why Does China Subsidize State-Owned Enterprises?” **Victor Shih**.

Discussant: **Ethan Scheiner**

*December 1*

“Representation, Violence, and the Uneven Development of Capitalism,” **Cristina Rojas**.

Discussant: **Mala Htun**

“New Politics in Advanced Industrialized Societies: A Review Article,” **Rieko Kage**.

Discussant: **Paula Fredericks**

*December 8*

“Participatory Institutions and Local Governance,” **Lily Tsai**.

Discussant: **Lobsang Sangay**

“Explaining Immigration Policymaking in France and Germany, 1971 to Present: A Cultural-Institutionalist Approach,”

**Harumi Furuya**.

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**

“Does Political Liberty Affect Development? Assessing the Performance of the New African Democracies,” **Quinn Mecham**.

Discussant: **Theda Skocpol**

*February 2*

“Incentives can Move Mountains: When and How Can International Institutions Influence State Behavior? The Case of European Integration and Policies on Ethnic Minorities in Latvia and Estonia,” **Judith Kelley**.

Discussant: **Paula Frederick**

*February 9*

“Tibetans and the Politics of Democracy and Exile Government,” **Lobsang Sangay**.

Discussant: **Alan Jacobs**

*February 16*

“Democracy Without Competition: Opposition Failure in Post-LDP Split Japan,” **Ethan Scheiner**.

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*

“Social Embeddedness, Political Autonomy, and the Explanation of Police Performance: A Historical and Comparative Perspective,” **Christian Brunelli**.

Discussant: **Theda Skocpol**

*March 15*

“Citizens and Government in Rural China,” **Lily Tsai**.

Discussant: **Ted Miguel**

*March 22*

“International Women’s Movement and National Gender Politics,” **Dongxiao Liu**.  
Discussant: **Lobsang Sangay**

*April 5*

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

“The Politics of Lending,” **Victor Shih**.  
Discussant: **Dongxiao Liu**

*April 12*

“Certified Capital Companies: The Latest Wave in State-Assisted Venture Capital Companies,” **Julia Rubin**.  
Discussant: **Victor Shih**

“Understanding Policy Failure: The Overlooked Role of Ethnic Credibility in Party Strategies,” **Bonnie Meguid**.  
Discussant: **Rieko Kage**

*April 19*

**Professionalization: Q&A Presentation by Faculty**

“Why is Participation Lower in Diverse Communities? Evidence from Kenya,”  
**Ted Miguel**.  
Discussant: **Lily Tsai**

*April 26*

“Origins of Islamic Political Mobilization,”  
**Quinn Mecham**.  
Discussant: **Eva Bellin**

“Government in Exile and Democracy,”  
**Lobsang Sangay**.  
Discussant: **Susan Pharr**

*May 3*

“Governing for the Long Term: Democratic Politics and Policy Investment,” **Alan Jacobs**.  
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

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### 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

"International Bailouts, Domestic Institutions and Moral Hazard," **Olivier Jeanne**, IMF Research Department; **Jeromin Zettelmeyer**, IMF Research Department.

"The Political Economy of Capital Account Liberalization Around the World," **Geoffrey Garrett**, Yale University.

"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

**David Leblang**, Political Science, University of Northern Texas

**Lisa Martin**, Government, Harvard University

**Helen Milner**, Political Science, Columbia University

**Maury Obstfeld**, Economics, University of California at Berkeley

**John Parttison**, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce

**Richard Portes**, Haas School of Business, University of California at Berkeley

**Dennis Quinn**, Business, Georgetown University

**Andrew Rose**, Haas School of Business, University of California at Berkeley

**Beth Simmons**, Political Science, University of California at Berkeley

**Thomas Willett**, Economics, Claremont McKenna College

**Jeromin Zettelmeyer**, International Monetary Fund Research Department

### **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*

"Comparing Tax Expenditures and Direct Subsidies: the Role of Legislative Committee Structure," **Dhammika Dharmapala**.

Discussant: **Jeff Milyo**

*October 6*

### **Brainstorming Session**

"Proposed Research on Fiscal Policy Decision Making," **David Skilling**.

"Legislators' Personal Policy Preferences and Partisan Legislative Organization," **Robert Van Houweling**.

*October 13*

"Ambiguity in Election Games,"

**Enriqueta Aragonés**.

Discussant: **Eric Dickson**

*October 20*

### **Practice Job Talk**

"Casting Votes in the Global Economy: Public Opinion and Voting Behavior in Open Economies," **Kenneth Scheve**.

*October 27*

"Political Institutions and Economic Growth in Africa, 1970-1995,"



" **Karen Ferree and Smita Singh.**

Discussant: **Sylvia Maxfield**

*November 3*

**Practice Job Talk**

"Sovereign Debt and International Cooperation: Reputational Reasons for Lending and Repayment," **Michael Tomz.**

*November 10*

**Practice Job Talk**

"Political Institutions and Monetary Policy," **Lucy Goodhart.**

*November 17*

**Brainstorming Session**

"The Evolution of Cooperation and the Topology of Social Interaction," **Eric Dickson.** "

"Preference Reversal: Choice Set Effects and the Arrowian Paradox," **Orit Kedar.**

*December 1*

"Why Invest in Your Neighbor? Social Contract on Educational Investment," **Panu Poutvaara.**

Discussant: **Edward Schwartz**

"A Model of Institutional Change in the Electricity Industry," **Carlos Rufin.**

Discussant: **Robert Bates**

*December 8*

**Brainstorming Session**

"The Politics of the Soft Budget Constraint," **Rory MacFarquhar.**

"The Economics of Conflict," **Jeremy Weinstein.**

*December 15*

**Brainstorming Session**

"Reluctant Liberalization: Negotiations on Japanese and European Agriculture Trade Policy," **Christina Davis.**

"Issues, Economics, and Minor Parties: Evidence for Strategic Behavior from the 19th Century," **Shigeo Hirano.**

*February 2*

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

*February 9*

"Bad Politicians," **Francesco Casselli.**  
Discussant: **Scott Ashworth**

*February 16*

"Party Platforms with Endogenous Party Membership," **Panu Poutvaara.**  
Discussant: **Lucy Goodhart**

*February 23*

"Double Jeopardy and Lesser Included Offenses: Complements, Substitutes, or Neither?" **Edward Schwartz.**  
Discussant: **Dhammika Dharmapala**

*March 1*

**Brainstorming Session**

"Legislative Behavior in Latin America," **Sylvia Maxfield.**

"The Political Economy of Infrastructure Investments in Nigeria," **Melvin Ayogu.**

*March 8*

"Why Do Resource-Dependent Countries Have Authoritarian Governments?" **Leonard Wantchekon.**  
Discussant: **Karen Ferree**

*March 15*

"Campaign Rhetoric," **Enriqueta Aragonés.**  
Discussant: **Orit Kedar**

*March 22*

"The Debt of Nations," **David Skilling** and **Richard Zeckhauser.**  
Discussant: **Ken Scheve**

"Organizing Violence," **Avner Greif, Robert Bates, and Smita Singh.**

Discussant: **Jeremy Weinstein**

*April 5*

"Specifying and Testing Models of Congressional-Executive Relations," **Pat Brandt.**

Discussant: **David Skilling**

"Race and Turnout in South Africa," **Karen Ferree.**

Discussant: **Barry Burden**

*April 12*

"Bargaining in Legislatures with Overlapping Generations of Politicians," **Ken Shepsle, Eric Dickson, and Rob van Houweling.**

Discussant: **David Lassen**

*April 19*

#### **Brainstorming Session**

"Legislative Bargaining and 'Incremental' Budgeting," **Dharmika Dharmapala.**

"The Economics of Secession," **Yoshiko Herrera.**

*April 26*

"Political Accountability and the Size of Government," **David Dreyer Lassen.**

Discussant: **James Alt**

"Taking the Stock Market Seriously: Political Business Cycles and the Stock Market," **Lucy Goodhart.**

Discussant: **Yoshiko Herrera**

*May 3*

#### **Brainstorming Session**

"Forum Shopping: U.S. Interests and the Choice of Negotiation Strategy," **Christina Davis.**

"Measuring the Economic Impact of Civil War," **Jeremy Weinstein (with Kosuke Imai).**

## **SEMINAR ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS**

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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*

"The Impact of International Trade on Industry, Productivity, Dynamics and Welfare When Producers Are Heterogeneous," **Marc Melitz**, University of Michigan.

*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*

“Optimal Monetary Policy in a Currency Area,” **Pierpaolo Benigno**, Princeton University.

*April 12*

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

*April 19*

“Exchange Rate Choices,” **Richard Cooper**, Harvard University.

*April 26*

“The Role of Factor Inputs in Technological Progress,” **Florence Jaumotte**, Harvard.

## PROJECT ON JUSTICE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION

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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*

“The Pinochet Case and its Implications for International Justice,” **José Zalaquett**, professor of human rights, University of Chile, Santiago.

*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 LeMoynes**, 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 Krzysztof 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

“Risks and Opportunities: Managing the Transition of Peace-Building,” **Roelf Meyer**, member of South African Parliament.

**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

“Bridging the Gap Between Community and Political Leaders,” **Naomi Chazan**, deputy speaker of the Israeli Parliament.

**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.

“The Challenge of Embedding Peace,” **Brandon Hamber**, project coordinator, Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, South Africa.

“Developing Strategies for Social Change,” **Marek Kapusta**, project coordinator, Rock Volieb Export, Slovakia.

“Developing a Strategy for Economic Development and Restructuring,”

**Saul Suster**, co-owner of Omnisport, El Salvador.

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 Balguerías**, 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

**Philip Heymann**, Harvard Law School

#### **First Panel: *Creating and Strengthening Institutions of Governance***

Moderator: **Peter Zimmerman**, associate dean, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Presentations made by **Maria Eugenia Brizuela de Avila**, foreign minister of El Salvador; **Jan Krzysztof Bielecki**,

representative for Poland, Bulgaria and Albania, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and former prime minister of Poland; **David Trimble**, Nobel laureate and first minister of Northern Ireland.

Palestinian respondents: **Nabeel Sha'ath**, minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Palestinian National Authority; and **Mustafa Barghouti**, 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-Samhuri**, general secretary, Higher National Committee for Institutional Development, Palestinian National Authority.

#### **Third Panel: *Constructing Mechanisms for Economic Development and Sustainability***

Moderator: **Tim Phillips**, co-founder, Project on Justice in Times of Transition.

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 Beseiso**, 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**

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## 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*

“Performance and Capability Building in Indian Manufacturing After Liberalization,” **Pankaj Chandra**, chair, Operations & Technology Group, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.



*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*

“Liberalization of Capital Markets in India,” **D.R. Mehta**, chairman, Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI).

*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, Research 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*

“Group Size and Collective Action: Third Party Monitoring in Common Pool Resources,” **Arun Agrawal**, assistant professor of political science, Yale University.

*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*

“Literacy in the Eye of the Conversion Storm,” **Gauri Viswanathan**, professor of English and comparative literature, Columbia University.

*May 3*

“The Politics of Institutional and Policy Reform in India,” **Arun Shourie**, minister of state for Planning, Program Implementation, Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances, Government of India.

## **STRATEGIC STUDIES**

### **JOHN M. OLIN INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

The John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, founded July 1, 1989 as an autonomous entity within the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, was the result of an expansion and institutionalization of the Center’s program in national security studies made possible by the initiative and expanded

support of the John M. Olin Foundation. The 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*

“Stability and Justice for All: The Dilemma of Intervention in Civil Wars,” **Monica Duffy Toft**, Kennedy School of Government and Olin Institute.

#### *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 and Unexpected Conflict Outcomes,” **Ivan Toft**, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University.

#### *October 25*

“Explaining the Gap: Assessing Alternative Theories of the Divergence of Civilian and Military Cultures,” **Michael Desch**, University of Kentucky.

#### *November 1*

“The Myth of Airpower in the Persian Gulf War,” **Daryl Press**, Dartmouth University.



*November 8*

“Information Flow and the Limits of Power: Hitler and Foreign Policy Decision-Making, 1933-39,” **Zachary Shore**, Olin Institute.

*November 15*

“Kosovo: A New American Way of War?” **Eliot Cohen**, School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

*November 22*

“Tocqueville’s Paradox: Total War, Democratic Institutions and Tax Smoothing,” **Shinju Fujihira**, Olin Institute.

*November 29*

“Workin’ on the Railroad: Army Engineers and the Military Approach to Technology, 1827-1838,” **Robert Angevine**, Olin Institute.

*December 6*

“The Paris Connection: Britain, France and the Making of the Anglo-French Alliance, 1938-39,” **Talbot Imlay**, Olin Institute.

*February 7*

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

*February 14*

“Money, Distribution and Power: How Financial Interests Shape Grand Strategy,” **Jonathan Kirshner**, Olin Institute.

*February 28*

“Status Competition and the Stability of the Pax Americana,” **William Wohlforth**, Georgetown University.

*March 6*

“Stress, Distress and War Termination,” **Stephen Peter Rosen**, Olin Institute.

*March 13*

“Space Commerce and American Security,” **Col. Michael Rampino**, Olin Institute.

*March 20*

“Trading Order for Justice? The Politics of International War Crime Tribunals,” **Leslie Vinjamuri**, Olin Institute.

*April 3*

“A School for the Nation? Military Institutions and the Boundaries of Nationality,” **Ronald Krebs**, Olin Institute.

*April 10*

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

*April 17*

“The Transformation of the Navy,” **Commander Howie Hein**, Olin Institute.

*April 24*

“A New Approach to War Termination: Domestic Coalitions in the Endings of Wars,” **Elizabeth Stanley**, Harvard University.

*May 1*

“Sick and Tired: JFK and the Vienna Conference,” **Rose McDermott**, Olin Institute.

*May 8*

“U.S.-Mexican International Security Relations,” **Jorge Domínguez**, Harvard University.

*May 15*

“CIA Estimates of the Soviet Nuclear Threat: The Team B Experiment and the Window of Vulnerability,” **Aaron Lobel**, Olin Institute.



## 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*

“Civilian Hawks and Military Doves: The Civil-Military Gap and the American Use of Force, 1816-1992,” **Peter Feaver** and **Richard Kohn**, Duke University.

## 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  
(until January 2000)

**Stephen Peter Rosen**, Associate Director  
(until 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**

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#### **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 inter-national 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 decentral-ization 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*

"Interest Rate Differentials and Capital Flows in Emerging Markets," **Vladimir Kliouev**, Committee on Political Economy and Government.

*October 22*

"Elsa Aireyu, Indigenous Guarani Woman, Runs for Town Council: A Micro-Ethnography of Decentralization and Multi-Ethnic Politics in Bolivia," **Bret Gustafson**, Department of Anthropology.

*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 Leshkovich**, Department of Anthropology.

*December 3*

"International Negotiations and the Domestic Politics of Agriculture Liberalization," **Christina Davis**, Department of Government.

*December 17*

"If Globalization Equals Americanization, Why Doesn't the World Play American Sports?" **Barbara Keys**, Department of History.

*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*

“A Proposed Approach for Measuring National Identity,” **Jacques Hymans**, Department of Government.

*April 3*

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

*April 14*

“States, International Secretariats and the Politics of Institutional Design,” **Larry Hamlet**, Department of Government.

*April 28*

“The Transitional Trinity: Elections, Economics, and Institutions,” **Joshua Tucker**, Department of Government.

## 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 Investigation of British Conservatism in Light of European Integration and Its Effect on the ‘Tory Revival,’” **Nathaniel Lalone** (Government).

“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).



“Democracy and Sexual Rights: Changing Legislation and Women's Movements in Argentina,” **Vanessa Schlueter** (Government).

*February 22*

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

“The Indonesian Banking Crisis,” **Jasmin Sethi** (Applied Math and Economics).

“Taxing the Charitable: Philanthropy in Japan,” **Chinwe Linda Onyeagoro** (East Asian studies and Economics).

*February 24*

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

“The Soviet Eclipse: Ideology and the Evolution of the USSR's Domination in Spain, 1936-37,” **Daniel Hopkins** (Social Studies).

“Postwar Perspectives and Unrealized Goals: U.S.-Cuban Relations, 1944-1952,” **Micah Myers** (History).

*February 28*

“Five Fingers to a Fist: Mobilization and ‘Empowerment’ in a Low-Income Bombay Community,” **Nisha Agarwal** (Social Studies).

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

“Are Europeans Good Citizens? How Well Do Citizens of European Countries Live Up to Expectations of EU-Established ‘Ideal’ European Citizenship?” **Marjolein Wijnen** (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 Rojanksy '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 Leshkovich  
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

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### 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*

“The Role of Religion in Justifying and Restraining War: The Just War and Jihad Doctrines,” **James Turner Johnson**, Rutgers University.

*November 22*

“Violence as a Sacred Duty: Patterns of Religious Extremism,” **Scott Appleby**, University of Notre Dame.

*December 10*

“Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence,” **Martha Minow**, Harvard Law School.

*March 6*

“The Kosovo Conflict: Serbia's Political-Military Strategy,” **Barry Posen**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

*April 10*

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

*May 22*

“Religion, Ethnicity, and Peace in Sri Lanka,” **David Little**, Harvard Divinity School.

### **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*

“Globalization, Tax Competition, and the Fiscal Crisis of the Welfare State,” **Reuven Avi-Yonah**, Harvard Law School.



November 29

"Sovereign Debt and International Cooperation: Reputational Reasons for Lending and Repayment," **Michael Tomz**, Department of Government, Harvard University.

December 20

"WTO's Efforts to Manage National Sanitary and Phytosanitary Policies," **David Victor**, Council on Foreign Relations.

March 13

"The Standardization of Law and Its Impact on Developing Economies," **Katharina Pistor**, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

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

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### 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

"Kosovo Crossing: American Ideals Meet Reality in the Balkan Battlefields," **David Fromkin**, professor of history, Boston University.

October 25

"Pax Democratica: A U.S. Foreign Policy Strategy for the 21st Century," **James R. Huntley**, former president, Atlantic Council.

November 2

"Burden Sharing with Allies: Lessons from Kosovo and Iraq," **Kenneth I. Juster**, senior partner, Arnold and Porter.

November 9

"Explaining U.S. Foreign Policy," **James P. Rubin**, United States Assistant Secretary of State.

February 8

"Iran: The Last Great Revolution," **Robin Wright**, *Los Angeles Times*.

March 21

"How the Great Powers Shape the World," **Robert Pastor**, Emory University; and **Stanley Hoffmann**, Harvard University.

April 27

"The United States and Cuba: U.S. Policy Alternatives," **Rep. Jim McGovern**, member of Congress; and **Jorge I. Domínguez**, director, Weatherhead Center.

*May 2*

"Alternative Global Futures: 2000-2015,"  
**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.

## SPECIAL CONFERENCES, LECTURES, AND SEMINARS

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**

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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**

Speakers: **Steven P. Cohen**, **Ronald J. Fisher**, and **Christopher R. Mitchell**, "The Evolution of Interactive Conflict Resolution."

#### **Panel III**

Speakers: **Cynthia J. Chataway**, **Tamra Pearson d'Estree**, and **Nadim N. Rouhana**, "The Future of Interactive Problem Solving."

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**

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(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**

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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

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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

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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

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(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

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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**

March 3

#### Session I: *The Financial Crisis in East Asia: Causes*

Speakers: **Hyuk-Baek Im**, Korea University, and **Byung-Kook Kim**, Korea University  
“‘Crony Capitalism’ in Korea, Thailand, and Taiwan: Myth and Reality.”

Speaker: **Philip Wellons**, Harvard Law School,  
“The Role of Law and Legal Institutions in Economic Development: Comparative East Asian Cases.”

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: **Kyung-Hoon Leem**, Seoul National University, “The Politics of Economic Reform under Kim Dae Jung Presidency.”

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: **Young-Sun Ha**, Seoul National University “The Cycles of North Korean Nuclear/Missile Crisis: ‘Kangsong Taeguk (A Strong and Prosperous State)’ vs. Perry Report.”

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

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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**

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(Co-sponsored with the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies)

“Russia and NATO,” **Right Honorable Lord George Robertson**, Secretary General of NATO.

*May 4, 2000*

**The Middle East Peace Process and Its Vicissitudes**

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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.

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

*May 18-20, 2000*

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

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

*May 18*

**Public Lecture**

Speaker: **Rosita Worl**, Sealaska Heritage Foundation, “Subsistence and Sovereignty in Alaska.”

Speaker: **S. James Anaya**, James Rodgers College of Law, University of Arizona, “Indigenous Peoples and International Law: New Responses to Old Situations.”

*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.”

Speaker: **S. James Anaya**, James Rodgers College of Law, University of Arizona, “Indigenous Peoples’ Rights and International Complaint Procedures.”

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

Speaker: **Joji Carino**, Philippine Indigenous Peoples Links, “Sovereignty and the Environmental Crisis in the Philippines.”

Speaker: **Ampam Karákras**, 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 Meitamei Olol-Dapash**, Maasai 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

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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?

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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**

**Session I: Viewing Security Issues in a New Context: the Importance of 'Societal Security'**

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: **Andrzej 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 **Grzegorz 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"
- 99-11 **Robert H. Bates**, "Ethnicity, Capital Formation, and Conflict"
- 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"

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