People commonly ask me whether I have a “vision” for the future of the Weatherhead Center. This question always makes me smile, and I usually start by saying, “To maintain and to enhance this Center’s position as the world’s premier research institution on international affairs.” Of course, who could argue with that goal? What most people mean when they ask me “the vision question” is, What do I think are the central issues with which the WCFIA should be concerned?

Answering this question takes a good deal more thought. International affairs in the 2000s are radically different than in the 1950s, the decade of this Center’s founding. When the Center for International Affairs

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From the Director ...

From the Director

New Books

“Walls of Martyrdom”: Tehran’s Propaganda Murals By Fotini Christia

In Memorium

Festschriftkonference: Canada Program

Undergraduate Associates Program 2006-07

Of Note

Conference: Mexico 2006 Elections

was founded in 1958, David Atkinson's forthcoming history reveals that some people thought there was no need for such a center. After all, what more was there to study other than what the Russian Research Center was already covering?

Fifty years have changed our world drastically. The “war against terror” has replaced the cold war as the primary security concern of the United States. WMD proliferation has replaced earlier concerns about bilateral nuclear balance. Civil wars are both more enduring and often more destructive to civilian populations than the interstate wars of the past fifty years. Moreover, the humanitarian disasters often left in their wake are among the world’s modern tragedies. Globalization has led to a tremendous increase in the intensity and nature of contacts among nations. This has led to greater economic opportunities, but also to more vulnerabilities than ever before. With 1.2 billion (that is 20 percent) of the world population now living on less than $1/day, and another 1.8 billion (30 percent) living on less than $2/day, political and economic development issues seem more urgent than ever before. In my opinion, there seems to be a new sense of moral interdependence that transcends nation-state boundaries. Human rights, international public health concerns, and basic issues of equity across and within nations all demand attention from scholars of international affairs these days.

The research we are pursuing and conversations we are having here at the Weatherhead Center reflect the changing global agenda. This spring, interested affiliates gathered for dinner to discuss “Religion in International Affairs”—a topic it would have been hard to imagine taking center stage only a decade ago. Graduate students we support are pursuing research topics that range from how ethnically diverse communities provide public goods, to how media, globalization, and traditional Buddhist ideology are influencing changing ideas about feminine duty and moral responsibility in contemporary Thailand. With Weatherhead Center support, our faculty affiliates are pursuing research as diverse as Professor of Economics Sendhil Mullainathan’s study of how farmers in Bali, Indonesia, decide to experiment with new technologies, and the study of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants in Colombia by Kimberly Theidon, an assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology. The Weatherhead Initiative, the “grand prize” that supports collaborative faculty research with up to a quarter of a million dollars, was awarded this year to an innovative project led by Michèle Lamont, Robert I. Goldman Professor of European Studies and Professor of Sociology and of African and African American Studies, to study how individuals and stigmatized groups cope with systemic racism in Brazil, Israel, and Canada.

Some of the most intriguing research topics the Center has funded have been those of our Undergraduate Associates (see page 10 of this newsletter for a complete listing of Undergraduate Associates). Generously supported by a Rogers Family Research Grant, Claire Provost combined field research in Tanzania with satellite imagery to understand the effects of refugees on land-use and environmental outcomes. Kaya Williams spent the summer of 2006 in Peru interviewing female prisoners from the Shining Path movement in an effort to understand attitudes of (and toward) women involved in violent resistance. Wei Kevin Gan, concentrating in Biomedical Sciences and also funded by a Rogers Family Research Grant, researched the establishment of a pilot HIV treatment center near Durbin, South Africa. These projects are illustrative of a thriving research program among our undergraduate affiliates to understand the impact of global and transnational influences at the local level.

The world is a much more complicated and interconnected place than the one that occupied the Center’s great minds of the past. Today, no one could reasonably assume that we understand “international affairs” if all that we understand is the strategic relationships among the major powers. Today, international affairs must include an understanding of how international and transnational forces are changing life as experienced in a variety of local contexts worldwide. As we begin to contemplate our second fifty years, the rich diversity of our research community—from our undergraduates to our most senior professors—is the most valuable resource this Center has to offer.

Beth A. Simmons, Center Director

Cover: Members of the Center for International Affairs, 1959 to 1960. On November 15, 2007, the Center will begin a year-long commemoration of its first fifty years with a Warren and Anita Manshel Lecture to be delivered by The Most Reverend Dr. Desmond Tutu.

1The book, In Theory and In Practice: Harvard’s Center for International Affairs, will explore the various institutional and intellectual impulses, both internal and external, that facilitated the foundation of the Center for International Affairs in 1958. The book will also trace the development of the Center’s research agenda and concomitant involvement in American foreign policy formulation from 1958 to 1983. David Atkinson uses primary source material from the Harvard University archives and personal interviews with the Center’s founding director and first associates.
Chaos and Violence: What Globalization, Failed States, and Terrorism Mean for U.S. Foreign Policy
by Stanley Hoffmann

Renowned for his compassionate and balanced thinking on international affairs, Hoffmann reflects here on the proper place of the United States in the world. From the September 11th attacks to the war on terrorism and the invasion of Iraq, Hoffman studies the global events confronted—and shaped—by United States foreign policy makers.

A true global citizen, Hoffmann offers an analysis that is uniquely informed by his place as a public intellectual with one foot in Europe, the other in America. In this brilliant collection of essays, many previously unpublished, he considers the ethics of intervention, the morality of human rights, how to repair our relationship with Europe, and the pitfalls of American unilateralism.


Stanley Hoffmann is a member of the Executive Committee and a faculty associate of the Weatherhead Center. He is the Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor at Harvard.

Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America
edited by Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky

This volume analyzes the function of informal institutions in Latin America and how they support or weaken democratic governance. Drawing from a wide range of examples—including the Mexican dedazo, clientelism in Brazil, legislative “ghost coalitions” in Ecuador, and elite power-sharing in Chile—the contributors examine how informal rules shape the performance of state and democratic institutions, offering fresh and timely insights into contemporary problems of governability, “unrule of law,” and the absence of effective representation, participation, and accountability in Latin America. The editors present this analysis within a fourfold conceptual framework:

- Complementary institutions, which fill gaps in formal rules or enhance their efficacy;
- Accommodative informal institutions, which blunt the effects of dysfunctional formal institutions;
- Competing informal institutions, which directly subvert the formal rules; and
- Substitutive informal institutions, which replace ineffective formal institutions.

(The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.)

Gretchen Helmke, Harvard Academy Scholar, 2002–03, 2004–05, is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Rochester. Steven Levitsky, faculty associate of the Weatherhead Center, is a John L. Loeb Associate Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University.

The Construction of Democracy: Lessons from Practice and Research
by Jorge I. Domínguez and Anthony Jones

How should democracies balance the hopes and constraints of their societies with the architecture of their constitutions and institutions to secure freedom, promote citizenship, and foster prosperity? In The Construction of Democracy, leading scholars from seven different countries—and key decision makers from eight—come together to analyze the dimensions of democratic design and draw not only practical but feasible recommendations. Here citizens, politicians, and government officials offer valuable insight into the craft of politics with real examples of success and failures from some of the leading policy makers of our time—including the president of Portugal, former presidents of Brazil and Colombia, and a former prime minister of India. In a rare instance where the expertise of practical-minded scholars is melded with the experience of thoughtful policy makers, this volume offers much-needed insight to others seeking sensible and effective solutions.

(The Johns Hopkins University Press, May 2007.)

Jorge I. Domínguez is a member of the Executive Committee and a faculty associate of the Weatherhead Center. He is Antonio Madero Professor of Mexican and Latin American Politics and Economics, Department of Government, and Vice Provost for International Affairs, Harvard University.
“Walls of Martyrdom”: Tehran’s Propaganda Murals
By Fotini Christia

Largely closed to U.S. visitors for almost three decades, Tehran is the cryptic capital of an increasingly powerful and defiant Iran. Vast and densely populated, this Middle Eastern megalopolis makes for a rich urban topography, its mystique amplified by a shroud of chronic smog. Though landscape stimulants competing for the visitor’s attention abound, none are more gripping than the city’s propaganda murals. As dominant fixtures of Tehran’s visual space, these state-sponsored murals are painted by artists close to the regime. Cast across the city’s prominent avenues, on both private and public buildings, the murals are of a distinctive artistic style. Their sheer number and size, along with their powerful iconography and aesthetics, set me on a quest to systematically document them. My exhibit “Walls of Martyrdom”: Tehran’s Propaganda Murals—a selection of over 130 images of Tehran’s murals taken over the summer of 2006 during my affiliation with the University of Tehran—draws from the findings of this documentary exercise.

The Islamic Republic introduced murals on an extensive and organized scale as part of an orchestrated propaganda campaign aimed at asserting the Islamic character of the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The use of murals as a means of state propaganda continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The “Imposed War”—i.e., the Iran-Iraq war—was the dominant theme in a second wave of murals, which extolled the war’s fallen as a way of recognizing the Iranian people’s massive sacrifice on the battlefield. Midway through the Iran-Iraq war, the Artistic and Cultural Bureau of the Qom Seminary’s Office of Propaganda published a collection of exemplary Iran-Iraq war murals along with a set of detailed guidelines for aspiring muralists. These guidelines clearly underscored the role and importance of murals as a propaganda medium:

Under all circumstances the effectiveness of the revolutionary mural must be kept clearly in mind. Vague, indirect and superfluous paintings should be avoided at all costs. What is
significant is to consider what a passer-by (sic) can take away in his memory and mind. The artist must study religious texts as seriously as he examines the techniques of other artists. Murals with a theme or a scene are preferable to portraits with no specific message. Revolution-ary posters should not be merely copied. Every artist must let go of his unique imagination and create something unique. The location of the murals must be selected carefully so that pass-ersby can clearly see the complete picture. But the ultimate objective should be brevity of mes-sage, deliberate and emphatic brush strokes, clear cut shapes and brilliant colors. Every mu-ral should be framed by solid colors, selected from one of the dominant colors of the picture."

Indeed, in an effort to guarantee the maximum possible resonance with the public, muralists have traditionally employed strong visual cues of the Shi’ah faith. The iconography and symbols revolve around holy sites such as Mecca, the Dome of the Rock, or Imam Hussein’s shrine in Karbala. Though primary colors dominate the muralists’ palettes, the Islamic green is overwhelmingly the color of choice. Cal-ligraphy, geometric shapes, and curvilinear designs suggestive of Islamic art are also part of the muralists’ artistic repertoire. These are in turn fused with highly specific symbols such as the hand, whose five fingers standing for Mohammad, Ali, Fatemeh, Hassan, and Hussein represent the prophet’s family. Bloodstained hands evoke the martyrdom of Imam Hussein in Karbala and the mutilation of Abbas, Hussein’s half brother, while red flowers such as the tulip or the rose symbolize love and sacrifice. They depict the blood of martyrs, and they promise reward of heavenly bliss. Slogans, whether Koranic verses or sayings of Ayatollah Khomeini, are also a prominent fixture of murals, inscribed mostly in Farsi but also in Arabic and on occasion even in English.

Though less numerous than those depicting the revolution and the Iran-Iraq war, the most themati-cally persistent murals have featured anti–United States and anti-Israeli images. Appearing in the ear-ly days after the 1979 Iranian Revolution and gain-ing traction during the U.S. hostage crisis, they have persisted unabated to this day. The complicated pol-itics of the region—such as the U.S. backing of Sad-dam during the Iran-Iraq war, the protracted Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as the U.S. invasion of Iraq—have provided the regime with consistent and topical themes and inspirations for new murals.

Though Iran’s propaganda culture has been a sub-ject of academic inquiry, mural images per se have not been systematically presented to a U.S. audience. At a time when Iran makes daily headlines and a U.S. attack is certainly possible if not imminent, this exhibit aims to give an insider’s view of the Islamic Republic’s psyche. The exhibit’s primary objective is to document and present images that are part of Tehranians’ daily urban experience and of which people in the United States are largely oblivious. But the exhibit also aspires to debate and deconstruct the murals’ narratives. After encountering the images, it is important to step back and consider the extent to which they express revolutionary fervor and reli-gious fundamentalism or merely the regime’s anxieties and insecurities. These murals underscore the complexities of the relationship between Iran and Iraq that tend to be oversimplified in the context of the current Iraq war. Examining the extent to which they resonate with the Iranian public could lead to an understanding of whether isolationism or dialogue with the West is the best way to render the murals’ narratives unsustainable, if not inconsequential.

These themes will be raised and debated in two academic panels that will accompany the exhibit. The first panel will host Iran experts from across the disciplines to discuss the use of murals in the Islamic Republic of Iran, interpret the murals’ iconography and symbols, and present their views on the mu-rals’ appeal and resonance with the Iranian public. The second panel will be of a regional-comparative nature and will involve academics who study Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon. They will in turn discuss the use of propaganda murals by regimes and political movements in the broader region, commenting on the similarities and differences with murals in Iran. Both panels will conclude with a discussion of the contemporary political relevance of Iranian mural art, commenting on the extent to which mural nar-ratives are playing into U.S. fears, and whether those fears can be abated if the United States were to en-gage in dialogue with Iran.

Curated by Ghazal Abbasy-Asbagh, an Iranian ar-chitect, the exhibit will employ mixed visual media such as a fifty-foot-long cityscape design, depicting a number of murals in their urban context as a way to recreate the feeling of walking down a Teh-ran avenue; a digital map of Tehran with pictures of several of the murals superimposed on their real location to give a sense of their sheer number and geographic spread throughout the city; installations simulating martyrs’ shrines; and a number of mega-banners suspended around the walls of the CGIS South sunken courtyard.

Mural in front of the former U.S. Embassy in Tehran, a.k.a. U.S. Den of Spies. It features a hand draped in the U.S. flag coming out of a satellite dish holding a burning match. It is meant to symbolize U.S. attempts to use satellite media to communicate messages intending to burn the flowers of the revolution.

A Tehran mural commemorating a fallen soldier in the Iran-Iraq war. On the soldier’s headband reads: “O, the shining moon of the tribe of Hashimi!” referring to Hussain, the 3rd Shiite Imam. On the soldier’s rifle, a portrait of Imam Khomeini. In the background, a field of tulips, symbolizing the martyr’s blood and sacrifice, and the shrine of Karbala, symbolizing the martyrdom of Imam Hussein.
A Tehran mural entitled “Martyr” depicts the 12th Shiite Imam Mahdi holding the body of a lifeless martyr. Commissioned in 2003 on Ashura, the day commemorating Imam Hussein’s martyrdom, it reads: “Martyrdom is our inheritance from the prophet and his lineage.”

Iran’s supreme leaders Ayatollah Seyed Ali Khamenei (left) and Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeini (right).

Mural at the entrance of the former U.S. Embassy in Tehran, a.k.a U.S. Den of Spies.
FELLOWS’ LIVES LIVED: ARTHUR GREEN

Arthur Green, a Fellow at the Center in 1982–83, died on November 16, 2006, at the age of 78. Surviving him are his wife, Rosemary, and two adult sons. His friend, J. Brian Garrett, a Fellow in 1977–78, remembers him fondly as “a remarkable public servant.”

In an obituary in the Irish Times, Mr. Green was lauded as a long-time civil servant in Northern Ireland. He served in the government’s Department of Finance and Court Service and as under secretary in the Northern Ireland Department of Education. Beyond his life of professional service, Mr. Green retained deep interests in politics and in literature. The Times called him “never a unionist with a capital U,” and yet “he saw himself as more British than Irish, and more Atlanticist than European. In the 1990s he joined the Conservative Party and was for a time active in that organization in south Down. He was a founder member of the independent study group, the Cadogans, where his contributions on cultural identity, education and related matters were particularly valued.” In his retirement, Mr. Green spent six winters both generously and vigorously in Poland, teaching English to college students.

The Irish Times observed further, “Soft-spoken and unfailingly courteous, Arthur Green was a very civil and civilised public servant, never a bureaucrat, a bookman and a man of letters, not of red tape.” The Center is honored to have called him a friend and a member of our scholarly community.

MARY THEODOSIA BOWIE: 1913–2007

Theodosia Bowie, wife of the first director of the Center for International Affairs, Robert R. Bowie, died in her sleep at the age of 94 at the Blakehurst retirement community. Theodosia Chapman was born and raised in Chestertown and earned her bachelor’s degree in English from Washington College in 1933.

In the late 1930s, she became librarian of the patients’ library and director of visiting clergy services at Johns Hopkins Hospital until she moved with her husband to Massachusetts in 1944. Mrs. Bowie, who lived in Cambridge until 1980, was a member of the Mothers’ Thursday Club, which researched and wrote articles on historical and personal topics. She was also member of the board of visitors and governors at Washington College from 1984 to 1987. In 2002, she and her husband endowed the Theodosia Chapman Bowie Scholarship Fund at the college.

Mrs. Bowie accompanied Robert R. Bowie throughout his career in the U.S. State Department, at Harvard, and at the Central Intelligence Agency.

Mary Theodosia Bowie is survived by her husband, by two sons, Robert R. Bowie, Jr., and William Chapman Bowie, as well a granddaughter, Alice Bowie, and two grandsons, Robert Bowie, III, and Peter Bowie. The Center mourns the loss of an essential founding participant in our insitution.
Last November, a gathering of fourteen former William Lyon Mackenzie King Chairs convened in honor of Paul Weiler, former Mackenzie King Chair, founder of the Canada Seminar series, and Friendly Professor of Law at Harvard Law School.

The Festschriftkonferenz, designed on the theme of *Recreating Canada*, acknowledged Weiler’s significant contributions to Harvard and Canada and was organized under the rubric of the WCFIA Canada Program. This highly interdisciplinary endeavor called for distinguished former chairs to present papers that will be published in a volume to be edited by Randall Morck, the 2005 Mackenzie King Chair and professor of economics at the University of Alberta.

The presentations all related to Weiler’s scholarly or civic contributions, such as his drafting of the *Notwithstanding Clause* in the Canadian Constitution. Considered a public service to Canada, the clause helped launch the process of changing Canada from a hesitant ex-British colony into a dynamic and enlightened state. During Weiler’s term as Mackenzie King Chair in the late 1970s, he wrote a paper championing his clause, which called for a transfer of some legislative power to the courts. Weiler invited Allan Blakeney, a senior official in the Canadian government and a leading opponent of constitutional change, to speak at the Canada Seminar; Blakeney read Weiler’s paper and was persuaded that the clause offered a real solution to the impasse. With Blakeney’s support, the clause was incorporated, and the path to the signing of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was cleared. In the 25 years since the signing of that instrument, this charter has brought significant constitutional rights and freedoms to all Canadians, with the clause having to be used only rarely.

A native of Thunder Bay, Ontario, Paul Weiler has enjoyed a long, distinguished, and prolific career. Beyond serving as a Mackenzie King Chair, founding the Canada Seminar as an element of the Chair, and fashioning the *Notwithstanding Clause* of the Canadian Constitution, he has published seminal books in his fields, including *Reconcilable Differences* and *Governing the Workplace* on labor law reform, and *Leveling the Playing Field: How the Law Can Make Sports Better for Fans* on sports. He chaired the Labor Board in British Columbia; taught labor law and torts at Harvard Law School beginning in 1978; and, in the late 1980s, taught sports and entertainment law.

Professor Weiler is quick to note, too, that he counts among his many friends and colleagues, the late president of the Boston Celtics, Red Auerbach; he was a classmate of former Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin, at the University of Toronto; and he skied at Whistler Mountain with the late former Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, whom he had earlier persuaded to adopt the *Notwithstanding Clause* as the compromise to bring the Charter to Canada.
The Weatherhead Center awards summer international travel grants to Harvard College undergraduates embarking upon thesis research on international affairs. These 2006 grant recipients are the Center’s 2006–07 Undergraduate Associates, and they presented their research findings at seminars organized by the Center in February. The following is a list of the Center’s 2006–07 undergraduates, their concentrations, and their thesis topics.


**Megan Camm**, Degree Program in History and Literature, *Rogers Family Research Fellow*. “The Politicization of Narratives about the Xhosa Cattle-Killing.”

**Leanne Gaffney**, Degree Program in Social Studies. “‘Civil Society’ and the Storyteller: A Story of Peace in Northern Ireland.”


**Wei Kevin Gan**, Department of Biomedical Sciences, *Rogers Family Research Fellow*. “Using Community Health Workers to Establish a ‘Living’ Health Database in KwaZulu-Natal.”


**Joshua Gottlieb**, Department of Economics. “Do Political Beliefs Affect Household Financial Choices?”

**Vaibhav Gujral**, Department of Economics. “Impact of Education Spending on Student Outcomes: Examining India’s Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan Program.”

**Norman Ho**, Department of History. “‘Japanese’ Crime?: Universal and Particular Explanations for Rape Atrocities in the Nanjing Massacre.”


**William Marra**, Department of Government, *Samuels Family Research Fellow*. Investigates the major British press’ unanimous decision not to reprint controversial Danish cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad last February, especially as related to the integration of the British Muslim minority and the phenomenon of homegrown terror.


**Xin Wei Ngiam**, Degree Program in Social Studies. An examination of individual responsibilities for structural injustice by research on the shack dwellers’ movement in Durban, South Africa.


Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé
by J. Lorand Matory

Black Atlantic Religion illuminates the mutual transformation of African and African-American cultures, highlighting the example of the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé religion. This book contests both the recent conviction that transnationalism is new and the long-held supposition that African culture endures in the Americas only among the poorest and most isolated of black populations. In fact, African culture in the Americas has most flourished among the urban and the prosperous, who, through travel, commerce, and literacy, were well exposed to other cultures. Their embrace of African religion is less a “survival,” or inert residue of the African past, than a strategic choice in their circum-Atlantic, multicultural world.

Vividly combining history and ethnography, Matory spotlights a so-called “folk” religion defined not by its closure or internal homogeneity but by the diversity of its connections to classes and places often far away. This book sets a new standard for the study of transnationalism in its subaltern and often ancient manifestations.
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Jorge I. Domínguez, Antonio Madero Professor of Mexican and Latin American Politics and Economics, Harvard University, and Chappell Lawson, Associate Professor of Political Science, MIT, chaired the “Mexico’s 2006 Elections” conference on November 30–December 2, 2006