



**Weatherhead Center**  
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

# CENTERPIECE

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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Cover: Field team  
phlebotomist walking  
from house to house  
among banana trees in the  
Dominican Republic.

Credit: Salomé Garnier

This page top to bottom:

Center Director

Melani Cammett

Credit: Alexandria Mauck

Bruce Jackan, former  
executive officer of  
The Harvard Academy  
for International and  
Area Studies, is gifted a  
watercolor of the Academy  
offices at 1727 Cambridge  
Street painted by Student  
Programs Coordinator  
Clare Putnam.

Credit: Kaori Urayama

Image of watercolor  
painting by Clare Putnam.



## Message from the Director

As my first semester as director of the Weatherhead Center winds down, I want to thank our community for its tenacious commitment to our shared goals during the pandemic. Research marches on, while we continue to don our masks at the office and learn how to optimize our hybrid events. We have many conferences scheduled for the

spring 2022 semester that were postponed from the previous year, and everyone is excited to reengage in person on academic matters. As we ramp up our return-to-campus energy, allow me to share with you my highest-priority goals for the Weatherhead Center.

First, I hope to improve the visibility of the WCFA by offering more to engage scholars and practitioners, all of whom focus on important international issues. We started the fall term with "US Foreign Policy in the Shadow of 9/11: A Twenty-Year Retrospective," an enlightening Weatherhead Forum panel that brought together voices from Harvard faculty, visiting scholars, and practitioners. Subsequent special events, including "After the Airlift: The Future of US Foreign Policy in the Middle East" and "Empathy and Xenophobia: Migrant and Refugee Experiences" showcased Weatherhead Faculty Associates, journalists, and NGO leaders on the ground around the world. We are now planning high-profile activities focused on matters like global power dynamics, conflict resolution, and Sino-American relations. Please share your ideas for engaging events with me so we can work together to address large, real-world questions.

Second, I hope to reinvigorate the Weatherhead Research Cluster program that began under Michèle Lamont's leadership as we emerge from the pandemic. A recent multidisciplinary external review of our clusters encouraged us to build on this successful activity. We have just announced a call for new research cluster proposals, and the application deadline is February 28, 2022, for clusters that will launch on July 1. We encourage new clusters focused on—but not limited to—important and pressing transnational issues such as public health, climate, migration, Anthropocene matters, global capitalism, and populism and democracy. New interdisciplinary perspectives on global issues are especially welcome.

Third, I plan to strengthen ties with scholars from the Global South. I hope to welcome more researchers to the Weatherhead Center from developing countries with an eye toward building an intentional worldwide network. Post-doctoral fellows and mid-career academics who work on globally important issues will be encouraged to apply to the Weatherhead Scholars Program to work with Harvard faculty for up to a year in residence. Practitioners will still be welcomed into this mix, and I hope that rigorous research on real-world problems will continue to flourish.

Finally, I look forward to building the Weatherhead Advisory Board to include more leaders from international NGOs, research institutes, business, and academia. We need such perspectives to keep our research goals relevant. The Weatherhead Center has been characterized as a very big "tent," but we require regular examination of our priorities to stay on the cutting edge of international affairs research. I am excited to work with you on these and other innovative projects.

**Melani Cammett**

*Weatherhead Center Director*



## Fredrik Logevall Awarded Elizabeth Longford Prize

Faculty Associate **Fredrik Logevall**, Laurence D. Belfer Professor of International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School and professor of History at Harvard University, is the winner of the 2021 Elizabeth Longford Prize for Historical Biography for his book, *JFK: Coming of Age in the American Century, 1917–1956* (Viking, 2020). Logevall garnered praise by the award selection judges for his first volume on John F. Kennedy for presenting a “compelling portrait of a political phenomenon in the making.” The award is presented annually to a historical biography that combines scholarship and narrative drive.

## Pippa Norris Receives APSA Lifetime Achievement Award

Faculty Associate **Pippa Norris**, Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Harvard Kennedy School and Laureate Research Fellow and Professor of Government and International Relations at University of Sydney, has received the 2021 Murray Edelman Lifetime Distinguished Career Award from the Political Communication Research Section of the American Political Science Association/International Communication Association. The award, given every two years, is named after pioneering political scientist Murray Edelman, a longtime professor at the University of Wisconsin.

## APSA Best Article Award Goes to Stephen Chaudoin

Faculty Associate **Stephen Chaudoin**, assistant professor of government at Harvard University, is a corecipient of the American Political Science Association (APSA) International Collaboration Section's 2020 Best Article Award. Chaudoin received the award with coauthor Terry Chapman for the paper, “Public Reactions to International Legal Institutions: The International Criminal Court in a Developing Democracy.” The International Collaboration Section works to promote and disseminate research and encourage the interchange of ideas about international collaboration.

## R. Nicholas Burns Nominated Ambassador to the People's Republic of China

Faculty Associate **R. Nicholas Burns**, Roy and Barbara Goodman Family Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relations at Harvard Kennedy School, was nominated by President Biden to serve as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China. The United States has sent diplomatic representatives to China since the mid-1800s. The nomination of Burns, a seasoned diplomat as well as professor, marks a shift in a role usually filled by politicians.

## Alejandro de la Fuente Wins John Phillip Reid Book Award

Faculty Associate **Alejandro de la Fuente**, Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin-American History and Economics and professor of African and African American Studies at Harvard University, is the corecipient of the 2021 John Phillip Reid Book Award for his book with Ariela J. Gross, *Becoming Free, Becoming Black: Race, Freedom, and Law in Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana* (Cambridge University Press, 2020). The award is given to the best monograph by a mid-career or senior scholar, published in English in Anglo-American legal history.

## Three Faculty Associates Receive Walter Channing Cabot Fellowship

Every year, Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences awards the Walter Channing Cabot Fellowship to select faculty members in recognition of their achievements and scholarly eminence in the fields of literature, history, and art. The 2021 winners include three Faculty Associates: **Rosie Bsheer**, assistant professor of history; **Durba Mitra**, assistant professor in the Committee on Degrees in Studies of Women, Gender, and Sexuality, and Carol K. Pforzheimer Assistant Professor at the Radcliffe Institute; and **Michael Sandel**, Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Professor of Government.

## Ya-Wen Lei Wins ASA Best Paper Award

Faculty Associate **Ya-Wen Lei**, associate professor of sociology at Harvard University, is the winner of the 2021 Paper Award for her work in *American Sociological Review*, “Delivering Solidarity: Platform Architecture and Collective Contention in China's Platform Economy.” This award, offered by the American Sociological Association, recognizes an outstanding published paper or book chapter on a topic relevant to the section on Communication, Information Technologies, and Media Sociology (CITAMS).

## Hardeep Dhillon Wins Two Teaching Awards from Harvard

Former Graduate Student Associate **Hardeep Dhillon**, postdoctoral fellow in law and inequality at the American Bar Foundation and National Science Foundation, has received two teaching awards. She is a corecipient of the 2021 Faculty of the Year Award from the Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations. She was also awarded the 2021 Derek C. Bok Award for Excellence in Graduate Student Teaching of Undergraduates. Dhillon's research interests include histories of law, mobility, empire, racial capitalism, and settler colonialism.

## Greg Afinogenov Wins Several Awards for New Book

Former Graduate Student Associate **Greg Afinogenov**, assistant professor of history at Georgetown University, has received several awards for his new book, *Spies and Scholars: Chinese Secrets and Imperial Russia's Quest for World Power* (Harvard University Press, 2020). He is the corecipient of the 2021 Lincoln Book Prize, awarded annually for an author's first published monograph or scholarly synthesis that is of exceptional merit and lasting significance for the understanding of Russia's past. He is also the corecipient of the Thomas J. Wilson Memorial Prize, and his book made it to the *Financial Times* list of the best books of 2020 in history.

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WWW



Participants of “Approaches to Global History,” a course affiliated with the WIGH Global History Seminar, meet under the WCFIA tent on Kirkland Street on September 27, 2021.  
Credit: Jessica Barnard

Over the last two years, WIGH has focused on maintaining and even building our strong community both at Harvard and around the world. We are part of an international network of global history programs designed to make global history a collaborative endeavor. Pivoting to Zoom seminars meant more opportunities for casual interaction with our partners in Brazil, Senegal, the Netherlands, China, and India (as opposed to previous in-person meetings at conferences involving complicated and expensive travel). In 2020, the Global History Network collaboratively launched a new seminar series, *Global History, Globally*, where faculty and graduate students presented and commented on papers. Despite major time differences, we had enthusiastic audiences gather to discuss topics from the current crisis in the global labor movement to the global history of animals.

Rebuilding our Harvard community is perhaps more challenging. After a fully remote year, we are thrilled to

have four fellows on campus in 2021–2022. Jaewoong Jeon (University of Chicago) brings his background in anthropology and economics to the history of capitalism in Korea and Taiwan; Lori De Lucia (UCLA) focuses on the slave trade networks connecting Italy and West Africa in the early modern period; Yang Yang (East China Normal University, China) researches slave labor and the unequal trade between British cotton goods and American raw cotton; and Alexander Geelen (International Institute of Social History, the Netherlands) studies the regulation of mobility in eighteenth-century Dutch colonies.

Our first fall seminar meetings took place outdoors under the tent at 61 Kirkland Street, where discussions of global history texts competed with passing trucks, mosquitoes, and a toddler day care group that regularly had their afternoon playtime nearby. The thrill of being together quickly outweighed all inconvenience, however, and we are looking forward to a year of strengthening old relationships and building new ones.

### CANADA PROGRAM

The Canada Program had a busy start to 2021, with several webinar series in the spring. One series focused on a wide variety of topics such as racial justice, Canada's oil industry, citizenship revocation, asylum and resettlement processes, and nature-society interactions in the Anthropocene. Another series—*Animals, Capital, and the Law*—was a four-part exploration of animal rights. Finally, the *Ecology of Economic Thought* series convened more than thirty scholars who were tasked with discussing economics and environmental issues over the course of two months.

This fall, Vincent Chiao, associate professor of law at the University of Toronto, joins us as the 2021–2022 William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies. Professor Chiao chaired the recent Weatherhead Forum on “The Legacy of Residential Schools in Canada and the United States,” which delved into the atrocities committed against Indigenous populations in both countries. Professor Chiao's own research focuses on criminal law and procedure, philosophy of punishment, and political philosophy. He is teaching courses this year through the Department of Philosophy and Harvard Law School.

Marlene Gaynair joins us as one of our two 2021–2022 William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellows. Her recent dissertation explored Jamaican diasporas in Canada and the United States, and her accompanying digital project, *Islands in the North*, is a historical and visual archive of Black Toronto—a digital map that challenges the “Great White North” narrative.

Katie Mazer returns as a 2021–2022 William Lyon Mackenzie King Postdoctoral Fellow. Professor Mazer's work centers around natural resources, poverty, nationalism, and settler colonialism. This spring she will teach the undergraduate course, “The Politics of Land, Resources, and Colonialism in North America” through the Department of Government.

Finally, Francine McKenzie returns to the Canada Program this year as a visiting scholar. Professor McKenzie is an international historian at the University of Western Ontario whose work on diplomatic history is guided by her interest in how people, groups, and governments cooperate.

## WWW

For more information about our Research Groups visit:  
[wcfia.harvard.edu/research-groups](http://wcfia.harvard.edu/research-groups)



## IN MEMORIAM

### John Ruggie, 1944–2021



**John Ruggie**, Berthold Beitz Research Professor in Human Rights and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School, passed away on September 16, 2021, at age 76. Ruggie was a Faculty Associate emeritus since 2002.

One of his greatest contributions as a thought leader in human rights and social innovation was the development of the UN's *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights*—crafted during his time as the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative—which has subsequently influenced many governments, businesses, and international organizations. To learn more about John Ruggie and his contributions to both the academic and policy worlds, read the moving tribute by his friend and colleague Stephen Walt, "A Realist Tribute to an Extraordinary Idealist" in *Foreign Policy*.

### Dov Ronen, 1933–2021



**Dov Ronen**, political scientist and Holocaust survivor, passed away on July 30, 2021. After completing his PhD in 1969, Ronen was affiliated with several universities, including Purdue and Tufts, along with Harvard. In addition to his

memoir, *What on Earth Am I Doing Here?* about surviving the Holocaust, he published several academic books, including the well-received *The Quest for Self-Determination*. He has extensive history with the Weatherhead Center over the years (back when it was the Center for International Affairs) as a Research Fellow, Associate, and Director of the Africa Research Program. He also held appointments in the Department of Psychiatry as a lecturer (2001–2015) and teaching associate (2015–2021). To learn more about Dov Ronen's life and his love of international travel, read his obituary published in the *Boston Globe*.

### Theodore C. "Ted" Bestor, 1951–2021



**Theodore C. Bestor**, Reischauer Institute Professor of Social Anthropology at Harvard University, passed away on July 1, 2021, at age 69. Bestor—widely known for his scholarship on Japanese urban life, markets, and food culture—

was a Faculty Associate since 2007, and joined the Harvard Anthropology faculty in 2001. He served as chair of the Department of Anthropology from 2007 to 2012, president of the Association for Asian Studies in 2012–2013, and director of the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies from 2012 to 2018. From 2011, Bestor led Harvard's efforts to support and study the northeastern Japanese coastal communities impacted by the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear disaster. He took students to the Tohoku region over several years to help with relief and recovery in small fishing villages. To learn more about Ted Bestor's life and time at Harvard, read the In Memoriam article at Harvard's Department of Anthropology.

### James H. Sidanius, 1945–2021



**James Sidanius**, John Lindsley Professor of Psychology in Memory of William James and professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University, passed away on June 29, 2021, at age 75.

Sidanius became a Faculty Associate in 2017, after joining the Harvard faculty in 2006. Much of his work focused on how inequality and oppression are built on hierarchies such as age, gender, race, ethnic group, class, and more. Sidanius pioneered the idea of social dominance orientation—the extent to which a person will support or fight against hierarchy in a social system. Read "The Evolution of Bigotry" in the *Harvard Gazette* to learn more about his life and contributions.



Ted Bestor and WCFA Executive Director Ted Gilman in Kessennuma, Japan, during the summer of 2012. Credit: Courtesy of Theodore J. Gilman

Every spring, a select group of Harvard College students receive travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis field research on topics related to international affairs. We selected eleven exceptional undergraduates whose research we will support financially as well as in other ways, from helping revise research methods to planning projects that don't require travel. The Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research community by connecting with graduate students, faculty, postdocs, and visiting scholars. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences last summer:



## Roshni Chakraborty

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. *Gender-based violence; migration and displacement; conflict; natural disasters; social networks; citizenship and statelessness; modern South and Southeast Asia.*

Amidst the roar of ambulances during India's second wave of the pandemic this summer, I sat down with a blank Word document and an intense desire to contribute toward the innumerable crises my country was facing. Prime Minister Modi's decision to shut down the country overnight caused a mass exodus of millions of migrant laborers from urban industrial centers to their rural homes. As images of migrants trekking hundreds of miles on foot in the sweltering heat occupied every TV screen, I couldn't help but wonder where the children were. Not the children of these laborers, but the children who were migrant laborers themselves.



India is home to over 10.1 million child laborers. Reports by ChildLine, Bachpan Bachao Andolan, and other nongovernmental organizations have found a dramatic increase in these numbers over the last two years because of the economic shock induced by COVID-19. Schools have been closed for over a year and the delay or cancellation of examinations has made indigent families question the necessity of continuing with education.

In my senior thesis, I seek to deepen our understanding of the structural pressures that cause child labor migration. In particular, I question why Indian laws conflate child labor migration and child trafficking, arguing that the increasing tendency to use the two terms interchangeably serves the more insidious purpose of portraying these complex issues as a simple question of unchecked criminal activity, where the coercion is by individuals and not structures, rather than as a consequence of India's socioeconomic pressures.

My investigation began in North 24 Parganas, a district in my home state of West Bengal that is notorious for high rates of trafficking. Over the course of my work, I saw how families were compelled by poverty to seek out work for their children. They often mobilized caste and kinship networks to arrange work in urban centers, particularly as domestic help. Aunts, cousins, neighbors, and friends were often the ones finding jobs and facilitating the children's migration. Other times, families hire the services of *dalals* (brokers or middlemen) in their caste networks.

Instead of a concerted effort to challenge the drivers of child labor—such as grinding poverty and caste oppression—the Indian state has pursued a policy of criminalization of those who facilitate and assist in child labor migration as “traffickers.” While the law might classify these individuals as “traffickers,” the norms of trust and reciprocity that govern the interactions between the facilitator, the child, and the family often lead to the creation of genuine relationships of care, thus transcending traditional conceptions of an exploiter/exploited relationship.

Doing research during the pandemic was dif-



ficult. Hours of Zoom calls, followed by hours of parsing through my notes, all in the middle of a public health crisis of unimaginable proportions in India, tested me in more ways than one. But I was invigorated by the stories of resilience, compassion, and solidarity that I heard from the families I spoke with.

I hope to reframe child labor migration and trafficking as complex and socially embedded phenomena and to challenge the law's unequivocal condemnation of those who are forced to be complicit in it. It is only once we move away from such punitive regimes that we can begin to make space for structural solutions that return to these children their right to a childhood.

Above: Roshni Chakraborty (right) and a colleague at ActionAid (left) at work during the pandemic. Left: The aftermath of Cyclone Amphan in May 2020. The economic shocks caused by natural disasters and climate change are among the biggest drivers of child labor in West Bengal. Credit this page: Roshni Chakraborty



## Ruth Jaensubhakij

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Harvard College. *Southeast Asia; race and ethnicity; migration and refugee studies; human rights; nongovernmental organizations and aid work; and transitional justice.*

During this past summer, I felt as though I was constantly toeing the line between the pandemic and a tentative return to normalcy. I spent my Mondays and Tuesdays outside in the Boston Commons, playing sports and doing arts and crafts with young people through PBHA's Summer Urban Program. On Wednesdays and Thursdays, I was on Zoom, observing virtual classrooms and meeting one-on-one with high school-aged junior counselors. My friends and I went out to weekly dinners in Boston, trying different patios and rooftop bars—but on other nights of the week, I stayed in, calling into my virtual book club and catching up with my parents in Singapore. It seemed as though everything was hybrid, stuck in the in-between.

The same was true of my thesis. My project is an ethnographic study of the partnerships between American churches and anti-human-trafficking organizations in Thailand. I look at the theological motivations behind churches' desire to engage with this work, how these religious beliefs then shape—and are shaped by—



the interactions in these partnerships, and how ultimately Thai anti-trafficking discourses are used by American churches to inform other moral debates, including those on pornography, modesty, and consent. My focal point is neither the churches nor the anti-trafficking work, but rather on what takes place in the space between them.

I had originally planned to spend eight weeks in Thailand, interviewing and volunteering with anti-trafficking organizations in Chiang Mai, Bangkok, and Pattaya, but it quickly became clear that a lack of access to vaccines and rise in COVID-19 cases across Thailand would make that nearly impossible. Instead, I had to conduct my research virtually, reaching out to churches across the country and organizations across Thailand for Zoom interviews and observations. I ended up interviewing over thirty-five individuals—founders, employees, and volunteers of different anti-human-trafficking organizations, as well with leaders and members of several churches—across a broad range of time zones and continents.

Before the end of the summer, I had the chance to conduct fieldwork in person. In mid-July, I was invited to spend five days at the Community of Faith Church in Marion, Illinois, which despite its rural location and homogeneous community, has maintained a long-term partnership with an anti-trafficking organization in Thailand called the Tamar Center. I flew in a nine-seater plane—affectionately called the “crop duster” by church congregants—to get to Marion, where I was involved in many of the church's weekly activities, such as delivering food to local homeless populations, partaking

in Sunday services, and meeting people at the pastor's son's coffee shop. I met dozens of community members who had different relationships and perspectives on the work in Thailand. Perhaps most importantly, I was a guest host on twelve podcast episodes that the church was recording about anti-trafficking work both at home and in Thailand.

The relationships that I formed were invaluable and forced me to think more deeply about my own positionality in my research. As a half-Thai and a Christian, I was often allowed unique access and insight into the spaces I entered. I could feel my interview subjects loosen up when they began to understand why I was doing this project—those in Thailand would use Thai idioms and cultural idiosyncrasies to describe their experiences, while church members would reference Bible stories and use specific language that they felt I could also understand. Much like how my research ended up being hybrid between virtual and in person, I felt myself fluidly shift between researcher and participant over the course of the summer. Although it was different from what I initially imagined, I am immensely grateful for these experiences and the depth they will add to my project.

**Above:** The makeshift podcast studio in the Community of Faith Church, where Ruth Jaensubhakij recorded twelve episodes of “On the Dock with Pastor Troy” in three days.

**Left:** The nine-seater Cape Air plane flown from Nashville, TN to Marion, IL. The airline staff referred to this as the “big plane.”

*Credit this page: Ruth Jaensubhakij*



## Photos: Fall 2021 Events



## WHETHER AT THE CENTER OR AROUND THE GLOBE...

WCFIA events connect our community of scholars to the broader world. This semester, the Center continued holding most events online via Zoom—but we dipped a proverbial toe into a few in-person events for the first time in a long while. Excitement about more in-person gatherings is palpable, and we are eager to incorporate more when feasible.



### Right:

Harvard students Michael Zhu, Abby LaBreck, and Undergraduate Associate Brandon Chen attend the Student Conference at the United States Military Academy at West Point (SCUSA) during the first week of November 2021.  
*Credit: Courtesy of Brandon Chen*

Harvard student Jonathan Zhang poses at the “Waffles at Weatherhead” event on October 6, 2021. The event connected Harvard undergraduates with the Weatherhead Scholars Program cohort. *Credit: Clare Putnam*







Page 8 (left to right in rows):

Staff and affiliates of the Center begin the 2021–2022 academic year with our online orientation held on August 30–31, 2021.

During orientation, affiliates of the Center were welcomed with an academic panel titled “Conflict and Identity Politics.” Speakers on the panel were Diane Davis, Ryan Enos, and Mashail Malik. Center Director Melani Cammett chaired the event.

Harvard student Naomi Davy speaks at a special event with the SCOTIA Group titled “Climate Dialogues: Solidarity, Youth Engagement, and Intergenerational Equity” on September 21, 2021.



A special event titled “After the Airlift: The Future of US Foreign Policy in the Middle East” was held on October 21, 2021 and featured speakers Joshua Kertzer, Natalie Colbert, Clarissa Ward, Mina Al-Oraibi, Nabih Bulos (not pictured). The event was chaired by Center Director Melani Cammett.

A special event commemorating the Greek War of Independence was held on November 12, 2021. Left to right: Arnaud Mentré, João Pedro de Vasconcelos Fins do Lago, Consul General of Portugal in Boston, Melani Cammett, Panagiotis Roilos, Ambassador Gianna Angelopoulos-Daskalaki, Hans Charles, and Stratos Efthymiou. Credit: Courtesy of the Greece 2021 Committee.



This page (left, top to bottom):

Oya Dursun-Özkanca, Fredrik Logevall, Binalakshmi Nepram, Stephen M. Walt, and Center Director Melani Cammett speak at the Weatherhead Forum titled “US Foreign Policy in the Shadow of 9/11: A Twenty-Year Retrospective” on September 8, 2021.

Marino Auffant speaks at the Weatherhead Forum titled “Globalizing Oil, Unleashing Capital: An International History of the 1970s Energy Crisis” on October 6, 2021.



Rula Amin, Jacqueline Bhabha, Center Director Melani Cammett, and Sarah Dryden-Peterson present their research and experiences at the Weatherhead Forum titled “Empathy and Xenophobia: Migrant and Refugee Experiences” on November 3, 2021.

Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond shares her research at the Weatherhead Forum titled “The Legacy of Residential Schools in Canada and the United States” on November 17, 2021.

Richard Yarrow, Katherine Irajpanah, and Kevin Troy present their research at the Weatherhead Forum titled “New Frontiers in Security Studies” on December 1, 2021. The event was chaired by Alastair Iain Johnston and Stephen Peter Rosen.



All images this section, unless noted otherwise, were taken by Lauren McLaughlin

**Right:** On October 8, 2021, the Center held our fifth annual International Comedy Night with Ronny Chieng, held at the Smith Center during Harvard’s Worldwide Week. Ronny met the members of the Harvard College Stand-Up Comic Society after the event.





### Salomé Garnier

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Department of Government, Harvard College. *Global health; international development; social determinants of health; health policy; global health inequities; vaccine hesitancy; Latin America and the Caribbean; and Africa.*

When I started working at the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (HHI) in October 2020, I had no idea that, less than a year later, I would be on a plane to the Dominican Republic to do research for my thesis. I did not know that working with the HHI would inspire my thesis topic, or that it would give me access to amazing opportunities to conduct research abroad at a time when international travel was still rare and very complicated.

The HHI launched a national household survey in June 2021, which I had helped prepare for during the prior eight months. The survey was part of a broader project that focused on defining the pathogens, transmission characteristics, risk factors, and geographic hot spots of acute

febrile infections in the Dominican Republic. It was conducted in collaboration with the Dominican Ministry of Health (MOH) and included the collection of blood samples from each respondent for serological analyses.

When I went to the Dominican Republic this August, my job was to support and observe the data collection process for the survey. I was also going for personal reasons: a few months earlier, when the HHI team was finalizing the survey questions for the study, I had offered to spearhead the addition of questions relating to vaccine hesitancy to the survey—a topic that was especially relevant during the COVID-19 pandemic, and that would later become my thesis topic.

After the survey had launched in country, hundreds of participants were enrolled each week. My job within the HHI consisted mostly, at the time, of monitoring the incoming data each day, to ensure that it was correctly inputted by the field teams, and to troubleshoot and resolve any data-related discrepancies on a regular basis. To that end, I spent the first few days of my trip unglamorously foraging through piles of consent forms and field checklists in the Dirección General de Epidemiología offices in Santo Domingo, to help ensure that the project—and my thesis—would be working with accurate and complete data.

The second week, I joined our field teams in the city of Santiago and accompanied them to a different rural location in the Espaillat region each day. I observed the teams as they went from house to house, introducing themselves



and the project to each household, and, when successful, sitting down with household members to administer the questionnaire and collect their blood samples.

Walking with our field teams from house to house, I learned a lot about their experiences. They told me about distrustful communities that refused to participate because, in the past, fraudsters had posed as surveyors from the Ministry of Health and stolen their belongings. Similarly, they regularly faced individuals who refused to participate out of the belief that the survey teams were planning to vaccinate them against COVID-19 against their will. I experienced both situations first-hand during my visit.

Overall, it was fascinating to get a better sense of the context in which this survey was operating—including the reasons why people accepted or refused to participate and how this could be relevant to my own research about trust and vaccine hesitancy.

Finally, it was amazing to hear about people's lives and experiences beyond a few quantitative survey answers and to learn more about how COVID-19 has affected people's lives. For the most part, Dominicans were extremely kind; they always welcomed us into their homes, sometimes offering me little reminders of my visit—such as a giant avocado or a cute bracelet—as the accompanying “gringa” of the group.

I came back from this trip with a better understanding of the Dominican context and culture, along with stories from the field that I can incorporate into the qualitative aspect of my thesis. I am grateful that I was able to make the most of a summer during which travel was less than certain.



**Above:** Salomé Garnier posing with a survey team after enrolling inhabitants of Villa Trina. *Credit: Courtesy of Salomé Garnier*

**Left:** Field teams surveying participants and collecting blood samples near Moca, Dominican Republic. *Credit: Salomé Garnier*





## Kendrick N. Foster

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. Department of History, Harvard College. *Diplomatic history; Latin American-US relations; intra-Latin American relations; relationship between economics, environmentalism, and diplomacy; and Texas history.*

In July 2021, Texas Republicans proposed a bill modifying the state's social studies curriculum—notable more for its strikethroughs than its substance. Senate Bill 3 would remove pretty much every requirement for public schools to teach women's history or ethnic studies—including a requirement to teach about white supremacy and a requirement to teach Native American history. Under this bill, Texas schoolchildren could go through their entire primary and secondary educations without learning a single fact about the Native Americans that once populated and controlled Texas.

The proposed bill (which ultimately failed) struck a chord with me, especially as I had just spent three weeks at the state archives in Austin—right across from the state capitol building—looking at documents in support of my thesis project, which attempts to write Native Americans *in* to Texas history, not write them *out* like the bill proposed.



More specifically, my thesis focuses on diplomacy during the Republic of Texas, from 1836 to 1845. I contend that Texas took its relationship with Native American tribes as seriously, if not more seriously, than its relationship with state actors, and consequently engaged in serious diplomatic maneuvering with Native tribes. For example, Texas expended significant effort trying to broker peace with the Comanches so that they would not have to fight a two-front war against a serious Native enemy and against Mexico.

When Texas did not get its way with Native tribes, it often turned to the United States for help—making Native American policy a significant part of state diplomacy and undermining its claims for independence resting on the idea that Texan settlers alone could stop Native attacks given that “Mexicans, owing to their natural dread of Indians, could not be induced to venture into the wilderness of Texas,” as Texan independence promoter William Wharton wrote.

To conduct my research, I spent three weeks in Austin at the Texas State Library and Archives, where I sat in a windowless reading room for six hours a day poring through documents written in nineteenth-century longhand, which was difficult to decipher at best and inscrutable at worst. But I found the archivists incredibly helpful (with one conversation about relevant collections enduring thirty minutes past the archives' official closing time). And every morning when I stepped through the wrought-iron double doors at the entrance emblazoned with

the Texas seal through a massive, open rotunda to the reading room, I did feel some state pride, even if the legislators across the street passed a new piece of legislation that I disagreed with seemingly every day I was there.

As I continued my research online through June and July while working at a nine-to-five remote internship, I discovered that I would need to travel to Berkeley, California, to look at some Mexican military documents that UC Berkeley had copied during the 1950s. (I had originally intended to travel to Mexico, but had to cancel after a surge in COVID cases there.) I was looking to confirm whether Texan claims that Mexico had encouraged Native tribes to rebel had any merit, and I found exactly what I was looking for—documents detailing Mexico's pursuit of arrangements with Native tribes to reclaim Texas.

I felt similar emotions in Berkeley: despite huffing and puffing up the hill to the Bancroft Library to wrangle with a microfilm machine in a windowless room, I felt energized afterward, ready to delve into the next day's archival documents and solve this historical mystery.

**Above:** A quote from the Texas Declaration of Independence dominates the Texas State Library's front left facade.

**Left:** A mural on the facade of the Marriott in downtown Oakland, California invites viewers to visit. Credit this page: Kendrick Foster



Harry Oppenheimer, Graduate Student Affiliate; Weatherhead Center Dissertation Fellow; Affiliate, Weatherhead Research Cluster on International Security. PhD Candidate, Department of Government, Harvard University. *Technology and international relations; political psychology; norm diffusion; and applied statistics.*

Talks between Russian President Vladimir Putin and US President Joseph Biden in Geneva on 16 June 2021. Credit: kremlin.ru. Wikimedia, Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

After the US-Russia summit in Geneva, Switzerland back in June 2021, Russian President Vladimir Putin held a news conference where he made several apparently questionable claims. In one of these, he asserted that Russia was not a significant source of cyberattacks around the world:

"From American sources, it follows that most of the cyberattacks in the world are carried out from the cyberrealm of the United States. Second place is Canada. Then two Latin American countries. Afterward comes Great Britain. Russia is not on the list of countries from where—from the cyberspace of which—most of the various cyberattacks are carried out."

Most members of the media were quick to dismiss Putin's claim as propaganda. After all, Russian hackers had shut down parts of Ukraine's power grid, targeted US political campaigns, and caused over ten billion dollars of damage through the malware attacks known as NotPetya.

Cybersecurity forensic data on where threats originate show a different story: the Russian president was right. It is not news among the technical community that the United States hosts the most malicious software, or malware. But missing from that fact is an important nuance: even when cyberattacks are hosted in the US, digital threats cross national boundaries frequently—and combating them necessitates transnational cooperation. While other countries may be behind threats in the first place, attacks are hosted within and between the world's most connected countries. While this may sound like a

technicality, it has significant implications for how we think about cybersecurity policy and international cooperation in the digital age.

Furthermore, internet security presents a puzzle for modern democratic societies, and my research presents a tradeoff. On the one hand, increasing interdependence through internet diffusion has brought millions of people out of poverty and helped achieve a new global society. While we want to maintain this system, an implication of interdependence is shared security challenges and demand for new regulation. However, regulating cybersecurity and managing digital interdependence may limit the free flow of information at the core of democratic societies.

### The Nature of Cyberattacks

Contrary to popular belief, many scholars note that cyberattacks between nation-states are rare. That said, cyberattacks themselves certainly are not rare. Digital threats are estimated to cost the global economy six trillion dollars per year, and they affected 180 million internet users last year. Governments and private companies spend over 200 billion dollars a year to mitigate them. And although cybersecurity threats don't just occur between one government and another, they do present transnational policy challenges that require coordination and cooperation.

As countries exchange more data between them, they begin to face shared threats—hackers who use computers in multiple countries to launch and control attacks. To effectively target systems in the US or Europe, attackers need access to hosts in the US or Europe. Some malicious hosts might be run by agents from foreign governments who will use them to carry out espionage or target military systems. However, these are the exception, not the rule.

How do these attacks work? Think of malicious program hosts as safe houses for a criminal network. When a criminal decides to commit a crime, they may use a series of hosts to deliver their attack, moving from one to another until they are as close as possible to their target. They may have hosts in multiple cities or countries to avoid the authorities, and the more hosts they have, the less it matters whether they lose one. They might steal something in one place and then pass it through their safe houses until they feel ready to possess it in the open. They will change up the way that they move between hosts over time so they minimize behavior patterns that might alert investigating authorities.

The nature of cyberattacks has evolved over the years. It used to be the case that attacks would exist as a one-time event, with malware delivered through an executable file, for example, that a user would unknowingly down-



load and infect their computer. Attacks have since grown more sophisticated, and now may include “command and control” tactics—where the malware establishes communication between the user and the attacker, allowing the attacker to make ongoing changes to the user’s computer.

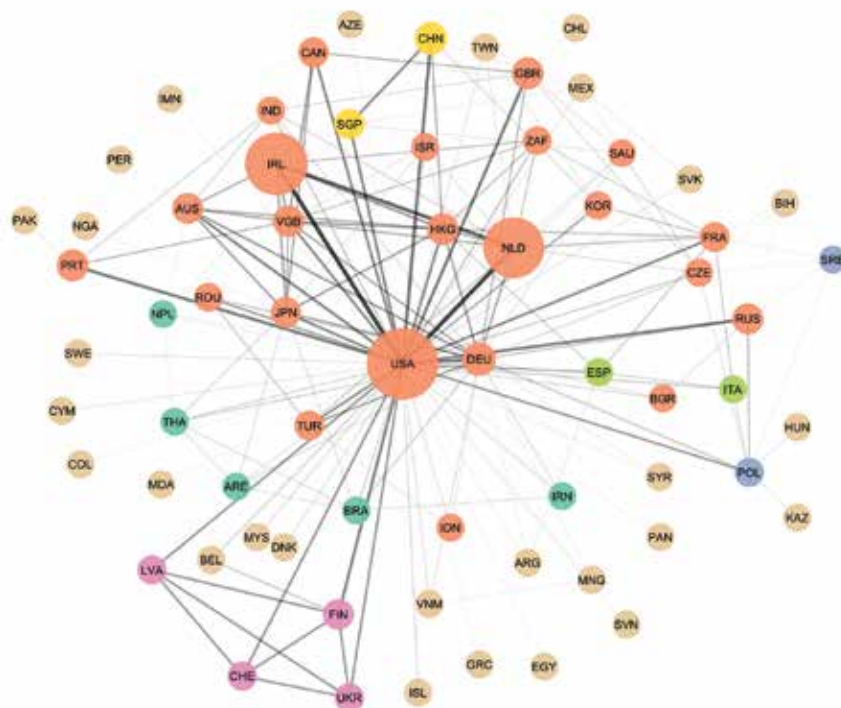
### How Cyberforensic Data Can Shed Light

Cyberforensic data can be used not only to understand where digital threats originate, but also how they link countries. The largest accessible source of cyberforensic data is Georgia Tech’s dataset on malware hosting—essentially a look at how digital threats target users leveraging the architecture of the internet. Overall, the dataset contains 65,083,243 unique suspicious programs, and the IP addresses of 733,214 unique command and control hosts. Cybersecurity professionals use these data to understand how malware programs try to evade detection, target networks, and find victims. Political scientists can use these data to understand the geography of digital threats.

In this dataset on malware hosting, 21 percent of all the threats the researchers examined use hosts in more than one country. This means that one hacker is leveraging computers in multiple countries to deliver threats. Of those 13,601,662 threats, 93.3 percent of them used at least one host in the United States, 5.7 percent of them used at least one host in Russia, and none of them ever used North Korea’s internet space to facilitate attacks. This means that while Russian hackers could be a great threat, US computers are most often how all hackers deliver their threats.

There are several ways that we can use these data to understand how and when states cooperate. Networks are all around states, whether networks of activists, supply chains, financial flows, or alliances. While we think that the internet represents a new and important network we know very little about how it interacts with international cooperation. In part of my research, I ask how states get to the center of the digital threat network. Is it that they lack effective regulation, they have many enemies, or that their citizens have poor computer skills and poor cyber “hygiene”? Instead, using data on the internet’s technical structure I can show that countries at the geographic center of the internet are the most exposed to risk, independent of their ability to unilaterally respond or adjust. As in many historical issue areas in international relations, like banking or maritime trade, the actors that benefit from globalization and are highly interdependent are also the most exposed to the negative parts of the system. These states should have the greatest incentives to contribute to global cybersecurity goods like capacity assistance, developing new standards, and targeting criminal networks. At the bilateral level, we can also ask whether countries that share significant threats work together on combating digital threats, and if not, what this tells us about the barriers to international cooperation.

## 2020 MALWARE HOSTING NETWORK



Credit: Harry Oppenheimer.  
Raw Data: “GT Malware Passive DNS Data Daily Feed”, Georgia Tech Information Security Center  
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### The Solution? Interdependence

Digital threats do not just divide countries—they may also unite them. Hackers in countries such as Russia, Iran, or North Korea may be controlling hosts in the US IP space, and as mentioned above, this may sound like a technicality, but there are many opportunities to disrupt these networks in the absence of any agreement with Russia.

Cybersecurity is a process of securing digital data as it is stored and transferred across systems, and there are real ways that states can work together to increase digital security. If users in two countries experience many crimes that use both their infrastructures, they both benefit when one of them targets criminals or shares information about the threats they face.

The US has spent significant political capital trying to build cooperation with countries with whom they have few shared interests. For instance, the US carried out a series of bilateral dialogues with China and Russia in 2013. These dialogues were supposed to create confidence-building measures and opportunities for the sides to express their views on norms and standards in cyberspace. However, these conversations have been difficult to sustain—while the dialogue with China was institutionalized into a working group, China pulled out of the dialogue in 2014 after US authorities indicted People’s Liberation Army officers for a series of cyberattacks. When a bilateral cybersecurity working group was

This figure represents the network of malware program hosts for 2020. The line thickness between countries represent average monthly number of malware programs that used both countries. The size of the circle represents the total number of connections a country has with other countries. In this graph, the weakest line is IMN-USA (Isle of Man-USA) with only one malware program using both countries; and the strongest is IRL-USA (Ireland-USA) with 52,393. The colors represent clusters of countries that feature significant cohosting. For instance, Ukraine, Latvia, Finland, and Switzerland (in purple) are a cluster that hosts significant threats. Countries colored in beige belong to no particular cluster. Credit: Harry Oppenheimer

**COOPERATION IN CYBERSPACE IS NOT WITHOUT RISKS, OF COURSE—SHARING INFORMATION ABOUT THREATS MIGHT HELP ANOTHER COUNTRY PATCH A BUG THAT YOU COULD HAVE EXPLOITED YOURSELF.**

**— HARRY OPPENHEIMER**

proposed between the US and Russia, one official anonymously quoted cybersecurity cooperation between the sides as “a pipe dream.”

Instead, countries could maximize impact by coordinating with those with which they have many shared interests—the countries that regulate the IP space where digital threats are hosted, and with which they are most digitally interdependent. Technical cooperation has an important and long history within international relations, and robust international mechanisms exist to facilitate technical cooperation within the European Union. The 2020 network in the graphic above shows what this looks like. Hosts in the United States and Ireland were featured together in an average of over 52,000 malicious programs per month, and between the US and the Netherlands in an average of over 48,000 malicious programs. These countries also exchange a significant amount of nonmalicious data between them—their shared level of threat is a consequence of their interdependence.

Russia's internet space is not within the US core for threats, although Russian hackers may be controlling some of the hosts in the Netherlands. Coordination between experts in the Netherlands and the United States may be the only option to increase security. Cooperation can target the command and control networks to take a chunk out of that six trillion-dollar toll that cyberattacks cause every year. This may not end the election hacking or power grid attacks that have been the focus of high-level international engagement so far. However,

cooperation can work to deny access to the hosts that enable most digital threats—and improve cybersecurity on a day-to-day basis.

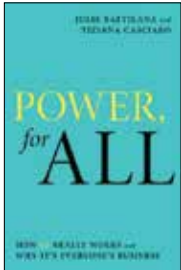
Cybersecurity research programs can pivot to focus on how states work together to support the stability of the entire internet, the system that we interact with every day. There is good news—states like Australia have invested significantly in the capacity of their digital neighbors in the South Pacific; and countries at the center of the internet like the Netherlands have made significant investments in global cybersecurity goods such as information-sharing networks and capacity-building programs in the developing world. Cooperation in cyberspace is not without risks, of course—sharing information about threats might help another country patch a bug that you could have exploited yourself. A country that you help build up capacity at one moment might be your adversary at the next.

However, digital decoupling is not an option—the internet is here to stay and states have to learn how to manage the consequences. Cybersecurity threats in one state are a function of threats in another. The internet is a global system without a global government. This creates demand for cooperation, institutions, and new regulation—but regulating information is anathema to many democratic societies. Hopefully reframing cybersecurity around the risks and benefits of interdependence can encourage states to think about the absolute gains in cybersecurity. If they elevate and reframe cybersecurity cooperation, they may find many willing partners.

*Credit: Pete Linforth, Pixabay*







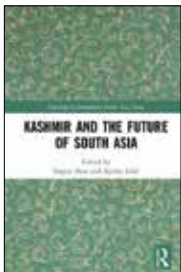
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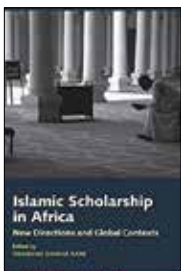
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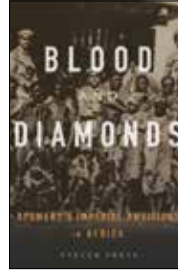
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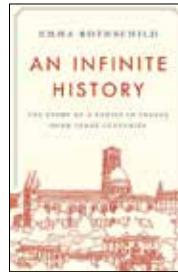
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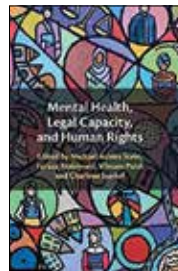
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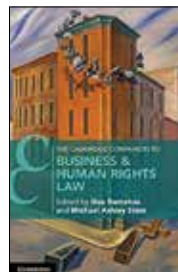
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Email correspondence regarding *Centerpiece* or other matters may be directed to:

Theodore J. Gilman,  
Executive Director  
tgilman@wcfia.harvard.edu

Kristin Caulfield,  
Manager of Communications  
kcaulfield@wcfia.harvard.edu

Lauren McLaughlin,  
Communications Coordinator  
laurenmclaughlin@wcfia.harvard.edu

Michelle Nicholasen,  
Editor and Content Producer  
michelle\_nicholasen@wcfia.harvard.edu

wcfia.harvard.edu  
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1737 Cambridge Street  
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**Roshni Chakraborty** '22 (Social Studies, Global Health & Health Policy) is studying the drivers of child labor in India and reframes child labor migration as consequences of socioeconomic inequalities.

**Michael Cheng** '22 (History, Mathematics) is conducting research in the United Kingdom on Thomas Hobbes's theories of international relations.

**Corbin Duncan** '24 (Government, History) is conducting research in the United Kingdom to interview political and policy making elites about considerations of public opinion when setting aid policy.

**George Kent** '23 (Social Studies, Slavic Literatures & Cultures) is studying the political and social mobilization of the Crimean Tatar community and Russia's illegal annexation of the Crimea in Ukraine.

**Sama Kubba** '24 (Government) is conducting research within the United States to study how content curation can influence the Iraqi public to support repatriation.

The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2021–2022 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its eleventh year, this grant initiative is made possible by the generosity of the Honorable Kenneth I. Juster, member of the Center's Advisory Committee (as of January 2022), and former United States Ambassador to India. Ambassador Juster has devoted much of his education, professional activities, public service, and nonprofit endeavors to international affairs and is deeply engaged in promoting international understanding and advancing international relations. The Center's Juster grants support undergraduates whose projects may be related to thesis research but may have broader experiential components as well. The newly named Juster Fellows are:

**Juan Molina** '22 (Government) is studying the effects of media coverage and foreign policy instruments on Vietnamese public opinion on the United States.

**Waseem Nabulsi** '22 (Anthropology, History) is traveling to Palestine to study the international identity of Samaritans, who have Palestinian, Israeli, and Jordanian citizenship.

**Sung Kwang Oh** '23 (Government, Computer Science) is conducting research on what drives military, diplomatic, and economic cooperation between Japan and South Korea in the modern era.

**Daniella Saforo** '22 (Government) is investigating the impact of COVID-19 on equity and inclusion in Ghana's rural and urban secondary educational institutions.

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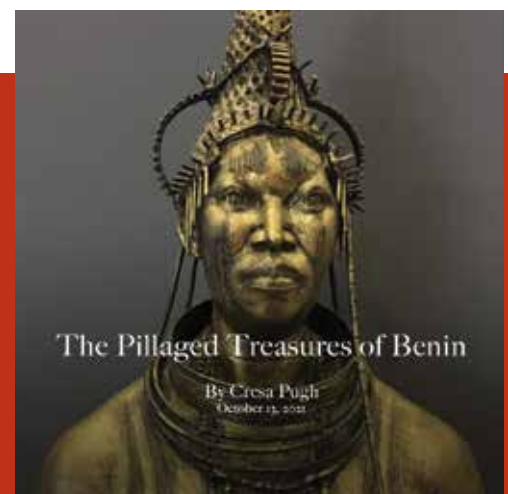
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