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Message from the Director
In Conversation with Melani Cammett, Ali Asani, and Payam Mohseni
China in a Changed World

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When the semester launched in January, none of us at the Weatherhead Center imagined the harrowing ride we would take, together and in isolation. Those who study global pandemics—in real time and in the past—have been busier than they could have imagined. Many of our colleagues and students who study related topics are also sharing data and analyses in productive ways. Scholars of government transparency, resilience, nationalism, urban planning, and migration are quickly bringing their research findings to bear on the ongoing coronavirus pandemic. Similarly, regional and area specialists in our ranks are called on to advise leaders in their areas of the world. The Weatherhead Center community has responded to COVID-19 in so many ways that we created a collection of our affiliates’ virus research and analyses in a searchable table on our Epicenter website.

This collective mobilization comes at a high personal price: social atomization makes life—including work—difficult. Whether we live alone or in a crowded home, making time for ourselves, eating well, exercising, and sleeping have been difficult. Many of us have dealt with illness, at home and from a distance. We cannot always be with the people who need us, and being with those in our immediate vicinity can be exhausting. Juggling work and home life, not to mention the stresses of adjusting to the “new normal,” puts large demands on our time and mental energy, to put it mildly. Still, we learned to use Zoom software on our computers, tablets, and mobile phones. We moved our classes, workshops, seminars, and meetings online, where the presence of familiar faces connected us across the gulf of social distancing. Meeting people virtually was stressful at first, but the common interest in research, teaching, and learning helped us overcome our anxiety. Writing articles, reviews, op-ed pieces, and other prose seemed impossible, but we made slow progress and shared our work. This issue of Centerpiece is the first ever produced entirely via remote collaboration. Most of the content, graphic design, and layout were all done without face-to-face contact. We hope it reflects our commitment to sharing life at the Center to our community near and far.

Typically, the Weatherhead Center funds many different research activities every year, and our faculty and student grant competitions ran as usual this term. We sent out dozens of award letters, but each includes a section about flexibility that will require further consultation if research plans cannot be executed. And what of the community members who were in “residence” at the WCFIA this term? How has their productivity been affected by physical distancing and the fact most have had to return to their homes? We are doing our best to keep everyone moving forward, but it is difficult not to see at least part of 2020 as a collective gap year.

Despite these challenges, I am acutely cognizant that these strains are minimal compared to those experienced by frontline health care workers and those working in “essential” businesses; the millions who have lost their jobs or whose businesses are closed and face precarious futures; and people who are especially vulnerable to the virus and its socio-economic aftermath. At the same time, taking a step back while our society and economy come to a virtual standstill, it is humbling to see the sacrifices that so many have made for the greater good, and to see in stark relief the value of—and need for—social solidarity in our communities. Here at the WCFIA, I have seen community and solidarity in action while virtually attending Center meetings and events, and I am awed by the resilience of the staff and other affiliates.

As my year as acting director of the Weatherhead Center draws to a close, thank you for joining me in this warm and robust community. I wish we had more chances to mingle in the halls and share lunch at the Weatherhead Forum in the last part of this academic year. We certainly will not take such experiences for granted in the future! I look forward to reconvening physically in the fall, when Michèle Lamont returns as WCFIA director.

Melani Cammett
Weatherhead Center Acting Director

Get the latest COVID-19 research by Center affiliates: epicenter.wcfia.harvard.edu/covid19-content
Alberto Alesina Wins Hayek Book Prize

Faculty Associate Alberto Alesina, Nathaniel Ropes Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University, is the coreipient of the Hayek Book Prize for his book, *Austerity: When It Works and When It Doesn’t* (Princeton University Press, 2020). The generous book prize, given annually by the Manhattan Institute, honors a book published within the past two years that best reflects Friedrich Hayek’s vision of economic and individual liberty. Hayek, a political philosopher and Nobel laureate, was a key figure in the twentieth-century revival of classical liberalism.

Sadly, Alberto Alesina passed away suddenly on May 23, 2020. The Weatherhead Center offers condolences to Professor Alesina’s family, friends, and colleagues during this time.

Naima Green-Riley Named Black American National Security & Foreign Policy Next Generation Leader

Graduate Student Associate Naima Green-Riley, PhD candidate in the Department of Government at Harvard University, was named a 2020 Black American National Security & Foreign Policy Next Generation Leader by the Diversity and National Security Network. Twenty rising thought leaders were named this year, based on excellence and leadership; current work in national security or foreign policy; and their contributions to their issues of expertise through thought leadership.

Melissa Dell Wins John Bates Clark Medal

Faculty Associate Melissa Dell, professor of economics at Harvard University, is the recipient of the 2020 John Bates Clark Medal. The prestigious Clark Medal is awarded every spring by the American Economic Association to an American economist under the age of forty who is judged to have made the most significant contribution to economic thought and knowledge. According to the AEA press release, “through her pioneering careful and creative data collection and empirical work, Melissa Dell has advanced our understanding of the role state and other institutions play in the daily lives of and economic outcomes of ordinary people.”

Laura Adler Wins Rose Laub Coser Dissertation Proposal Award

Former Graduate Research Fellow in the Canada Program, Laura Adler is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at Harvard University. She is the 2020 recipient of the Rose Laub Coser Award for her dissertation, “What’s a Job Candidate Worth? Pay-Setting and Gender Inequality after the ‘Salary History Ban.’” The award is given annually by the Eastern Sociological Society to a graduate student for an outstanding doctoral dissertation proposal in the area of the family or gender and society.

Nathan Nunn Wins Jan Söderberg Family Prize in Economics and Management

Faculty Associate Nathan Nunn, Frederic E. Abbe Professor of Economics at Harvard University, is the 2020 recipient of the Jan Söderberg Family Prize in Economics and Management for pioneering knowledge of Africa’s development. The chair of the prize committee, Fredrik Andersson, said that Nunn’s “creative use of data from the past and present made him a perfect laureate for our prize, since it is awarded to work that has renewed the research field.”

Julianna Kardish Wins Gordon Parks Foundation Essay Prize

Kenneth I. Juster Fellow Julianna Kardish, class of 2020 in the Department of Anthropology and Department of Visual and Environmental Studies at Harvard College, is one of the 2019–2020 recipients of the Gordon Parks Foundation Essay Prize at Harvard. The award gives three grants to Harvard undergraduate, graduate students, and alumni per academic year for essays that explore the relationship between visual art and justice as it pertains to racial equity. Kardish’s thesis is titled “A Counter-Cartography of Cape Town: Tracing the Grounded Realities of Homeless Women in Crises.”

Peter Der Manuelian’s Giza Project Wins the Gold Award for Best Educational App

Faculty Associate Peter Der Manuelian, Barbara Bell Professor of Egyptology at Harvard University, won the Gold Award for best educational app at the “Reimagine Education” event in London for his project Digital Giza: Visualizing the Pyramids with a Harvard “Educational Telepresence” Case Study. The Digital Giza project, Harvard’s first experiment in ‘educational telepresence,’ allows students anywhere in the world to use a VR device to stand together with an instructor virtually, and in real time, at the famous pyramids at Giza, Egypt.

Heidi Tworek Wins Ralph Gomory Prize

Visiting Fellow at the Center for History and Economics Heidi Tworek, assistant professor of history at the University of British Columbia, is the 2020 recipient of the Ralph Gomory Prize for her book, *News from Germany: The Competition to Control World Communications, 1900–1945* (Harvard University Press, 2019). The award “recognizes historical work on the effects of business enterprises on the economic conditions of the countries in which they operate.” Tworek’s book also made the shortlist for the 2020 European Studies Book Award (by the Council for European Studies) as well as the 2020 Pinsky Givon Family Prize for Non-Fiction, in the Western Canada Jewish Book Awards.

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PRESENTING RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY WEATHERHEAD CENTER AFFILIATES

The Hidden Face of Rights: Toward a Politics of Responsibilities
By Kathryn Sikkink
Yale University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Kathryn Sikkink is the Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School and the Carol K. Pforzheimer Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University.

Making It Count: Statistics and Statecraft in the Early People’s Republic of China
By Arunabh Ghosh
Princeton University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Arunabh Ghosh is an assistant professor of history at Harvard University.

Indian Sex Life: Sexuality and the Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought
By Durba Mitra
Princeton University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Durba Mitra is an assistant professor of women, gender, and sexuality and the Carol K. Pforzheimer Assistant Professor at Harvard University.

Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump
By Joseph S. Nye, Jr.
Oxford University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate (emeritus) Joseph Nye is a Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor, Emeritus, at Harvard Kennedy School.

Theodor Herzl: The Charismatic Leader
By Derek Penslar
Yale University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Derek Penslar is the William Lee Frost Professor of Modern Jewish History at Harvard University.

Cartographic Humanism: The Making of Early Modern Europe
By Katharina N. Piechocki
University of Chicago Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Katharina N. Piechocki is an associate professor of comparative literature at Harvard University.

Edited by Seppo Poutanen, Anne Kovalainen, and Petri Rouvinen
CRC Press | Former Weatherhead Center Visiting Scholar with the SCANCOR-Weatherhead Partnership, Seppo Poutanen is a senior research fellow at the Turku School of Economics, University of Turku. Former Weatherhead Center Visiting Scholar with the SCANCOR-Weatherhead Partnership, Anne Kovalainen is a professor in the Department of Management and Entrepreneurship, University of Turku.

Educating Students to Improve the World
By Fernando M. Reimers
Springer | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Fernando M. Reimers is the Ford Foundation Professor of International Education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

The Caste of Merit: Engineering Education in India
By Ajantha Subramanian
Harvard University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and Harvard Academy Senior Scholar Ajantha Subramanian is a professor of anthropology and chair of the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University.

When States Take Rights Back: Citizenship Revocation and Its Discontents (1st Edition)
Edited by Émilien Fargues, Elke Winter, Matthew J Gibney
CRC Press | Elke Winter is the William Lyon Mackenzie King Visiting Professor of Canadian Studies in the Canada Program at the Weatherhead Center. She is also a professor of sociology at the University of Ottawa.

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Shareholder Cities: Land Transformations Along Urban Corridors in India
By Sai Balakrishnan
University of Pennsylvania Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Sai Balakrishnan is an assistant professor of urban planning at the Harvard Graduate School of Design.

Audacious Education Purposes: How Governments Transform the Goals of Education Systems
Edited by Fernando M. Reimers
Springer | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Fernando M. Reimers is the Ford Foundation Professor of International Education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

The Arab Winter: A Tragedy
By Noah Feldman
Princeton University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Noah Feldman is the Bemis Professor of International Law at Harvard Law School.

Tacky’s Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War
By Vincent Brown
Harvard University Press | Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Vincent Brown is the Charles Warren Professor of American History and professor of African and African American studies at Harvard University.

OF NOTE (Continued)

Orlando Patterson and S.V. Subramanian Win PROSE Awards
The PROSE Awards, given out annually by the Association of American Publishers, recognize the best in professional and scholarly publishing by bringing attention to distinguished books, journals, and electronic content. Faculty Associate Orlando Patterson, John Cowles Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, is the 2020 recipient of the Category Award for Media and Cultural Studies for his book, The Confounding Island: Jamaica and the Postcolonial Predicament (Harvard University Press). Faculty Associate S.V. Subramanian, Professor of Population Health and Geography at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, is the 2020 corecipient of the Category Awards for Best New Journal in Social Sciences for SSM – Population Health (Elsevier).

Ingrid T. Monson and Tomiko Brown-Nagin Elected into American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Faculty Associates Ingrid T. Monson, Quincy Jones Professor of African-American Music at Harvard University, and Tomiko Brown-Nagin, Dean at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, professor of history at Harvard University, and Daniel P.S. Paul Professor of Constitutional Law at Harvard Law School, are some of the newest members elected into the American Academy of Arts & Sciences. Every year since 1780, the Academy recognizes exceptionally accomplished individuals across a wide range of professions and disciplines. Monson and Brown-Nagin join 274 other artists, scholars, scientists, and leaders in the public, nonprofit, and private sectors.

Ieva Jusionyte and Durba Mitra Win Star Family Prize
The Star Family Prize for Excellence in Advising at Harvard University was established by James A. Star ’83 to recognize and reward individuals who contribute to the College through their exemplary intellectual and personal guidance of undergraduate students. Every year, twelve advisers—in the categories of first-year, sophomore, concentration, and faculty advisers—across Harvard’s schools are awarded the prize. This year, Faculty Associates Ieva Jusionyte, assistant professor of anthropology and of social studies at Harvard University, and Durba Mitra, assistant professor of women, gender, and sexuality at Harvard University and the Carol K. Pforzheimer Assistant Professor at the Radcliffe Institute, are two of three recipients to win the prize for faculty advising.

A full list of noteworthy news can be found on the online version of this issue of Centerpiece.
CENTERPIECE: When you directed the Iran Project at the Kennedy School of Government (from 2014–2019), you looked at Iranian foreign policy, domestic politics, nuclear negotiations. How is this project different?

PAYAM MOHSENI: One goal of this project is to produce more balanced and scholarly understandings of pluralism within Islam and to challenge misperceptions of the religion—in particular the Shi’ism tradition. This in part requires that we stop conflating Shi’ism and Iran to some extent in order to focus on the broader diversity of the Shi’a world, which is extremely rich and varied across the globe.

While the Iran Project was primarily focused on policy (without ignoring society and history of course), here at the Weatherhead Center we focus on four primary domains of study: history and identity; sectarianism and sectarian de-escalation; geopolitics; and the global Shi’a diaspora. This interdisciplinary approach allows us to work with scholars from across various fields, world regions, and time periods to give a more comprehensive and nuanced view of the historical and contemporary manifestations of Shi’a Islam and transnational Shi’a communities, including research on peaceful coexistence among religious and sectarian communities.

CENTERPIECE: Can you describe the basic differences between Shi’ism and Sunnism, for those who may not know?

PAYAM MOHSENI: The main difference between Sunnism and Shi’ism centers on the issue of leadership in Islam that began with the succession to the Prophet Muhammad, who died in 632 AD. Both the worldly and cosmological role of leadership for the Shi’a extends from the Prophet to the successive line of Imams—or rightly guided leaders who are members of the Family of the Prophet (Ahl al-Bayt)—and reflects the Shi’a belief in Imamate, or leadership, in addition to Prophethood. The Imams were not only the worldly historical leaders of the faithful but the esoteric and cosmological guides that lead people to God in sacred dimensions beyond just exclusively historical time.

Nevertheless, what is quite surprising about Shi’ism and Sunnism is how very similar they actually are in the
majority of their beliefs and practices today. Most Shi’as and Sunnis believe in the same line of prophets, holy texts, and share most theological positions and religious rituals with one another. From the outside and from the news media, it may seem that Sunnis and Shi’as are fundamentally antagonistic with one another. But in reality, this is of course not true. Like all global religions, there has always been diversity within Islam and the existence of different interpretations. As sectarian identities gradually formed and took shape in Islamic history, there have of course been times when intercommunal relations have been fraught—but significant periods have been peaceful as well. When it comes to Muslims who practice law, those ritual laws between Sunnis and Shi’as (praying, fasting, the Hajj pilgrimage, almsgiving) are probably about 90–95 percent similar with only minor differences based on diverse readings of scriptural texts and legal reasonings.

CENTERPIECE: Why do most of us know far less about Shi’ism than Sunnism?

PAYAM MOHSENİ: There has been much less of a programmatic focus on Shi’ism in academia because Sunnism is the majority sect in Islam (with some 80 percent of Muslims identifying with Sunnism). While this is in part understandable, updating our curricula and knowledge is long overdue—especially given the growing revival of Shi’a Islam and communities across the world.

Problematically, many of the early Western scholars of Islam either projected their own understandings of Christianity onto dynamics in Islam or unquestioningly adopted religious polemics they encountered in the Islamic (mainly Sunni) texts they were reading. This in part resulted in much of the early scholarship of Islamic studies to understand Shi’ism as a later extremist heterodox movement in Islam and was often treated as simply too marginal or out of the mainstream to be taken seriously. This is, of course, not true; Shi’as were there from the very beginning and their ideas and institutions developed over time. Shi’ism has deeply influenced not only thought and civilization within Islam but also had a global impact on other world regions and religions. It is necessary to explore this often glossed-over history, especially given how important Shi’a-majority states like Iran and Iraq are in world politics today.

ALİ ASANI: I was very interested in the Shi’ism project since historically the American academy has been almost exclusively centered on Sunni Islam. There’s been little attempt to represent diverse interpretations and theologies beyond Sunni perspectives. It would be similar to teaching a tradition like Christianity and omitting Catholicism. This bias has serious consequences for the teaching of Islam, as well as the training of PhD students in Islamic studies—many of whom will graduate with little or no exposure to Shi’ism. This is one more unfortunate instance of the academy being complicit in perpetuating exclusion. It’s very difficult to break down such prejudice—even in the academy. Many PhD students won’t take courses on Shi’ism because they assume that they do not represent “real” or “true” Islam.

CENTERPIECE: One of the criticisms you have about contemporary commentary is that it treats the Sunni-Shi’a divide as if it has always existed, and as a driver of conflict in the Middle East. Can you explain the fallacy here?

PAYAM MOHSENİ: Another prominent misunderstanding—which we seek to address in this project—is the Sunni-Shi’a divide. This “divide” is by no means eternal nor does it need to be divisive; pluralism is embedded in Islam, so it’s largely a question of how one deals with diverse interpretations of a religious tradition. There are periods of peace, easy (or not-so-easy) coexistence, tensions, friendships, periods of conflict, and unity between Muslims of all stripes. It’s therefore very problematic to define sectarianism within Islam in a purely antagonistic light.

So in hotspots across the Middle East, it’s not a doctrinal conflict between Muslims purely driving the tension—despite how the media may bring in the conflict—but rather geopolitical and state dynamics, along with social discrimination and marginalization of different communities. In the media, if you’re reading about the conflict in Yemen, it immediately becomes Iran and Shi’ism versus Saudi Arabia and Sunnism. Whereas, for the most part, the roots of the conflict have nothing to do with these sectarian identities.

MELANI CAMMETI: This is a prominent topic in the classes I teach. There’s a chapter in a book called The Shi’ite Movement in Iraq by Faleh A. Jabar, where he documents that in the nineteenth century, nobody was really aware that they were Shi’a or Sunni—that tribal identity, not religious identity, was the most politically salient category. There was extensive intermarriage across Sunni and Shi’a because it was not a politically salient category. And I could tell you uncountable anecdotes to that effect in the contemporary Middle East, even in Lebanon, pre–Second Gulf War or pre–2005. There were a number of points at which the Sunni-Shi’a cleavage became politicized in the contemporary moment. To people who don’t have historical perspective, that makes it look as if we’ve always been in this moment of Shi’a–Sunni tension.

CENTERPIECE: What is the impact of this dichotomous thinking on US foreign policy?

ALİ ASANI: I’ll give you an example. A fellow from the National Security Agency, who was on a sabbatical here, audited my introductory course on Islam. At the end of the semester, he invited me to lunch during
WHETHER AT THE CENTER OR AROUND THE GLOBE...

WCFIA events connect our community of scholars to the broader world. This spring semester started off like most, with our Undergraduate Thesis Conference, Weatherhead Forum, and other in-person events. As the COVID-19 pandemic took hold, some events were canceled or postponed, but we moved many online via Zoom and turned to social media to share our research and accomplishments. While this proved challenging in some ways, it also widened our circle of event participants to include friends and colleagues from afar.
Constance Bourguignon speaks about her research on French “languagender” resistance during the Undergraduate Thesis Conference held on February 7, 2020. Credit: Michelle Nicholasen

Steven Levitsky (right) and Congressman Jamie Raskin at the Constitutional Hardball Conference on December 13–14, 2019. Credit: Michelle Nicholasen

Kaysha Corinealdi presents “Afro-Latin American Studies and the Afro-Latin American Research Institute” at the Weatherhead Forum on March 11, 2020. Credit: Lauren McLaughlin

Seo-Hyun Park presents “War and the State in the Making of Modern East Asia” at the Weatherhead Forum on February 12, 2020. Credit: Lauren McLaughlin


Samantha Payne presents “The Defeat of Radical Reconstruction in Rural Cuba, 1898–1912” on March 23, 2020 for Global History’s first Zoom seminar. Credit: Kristin Caulfield

Nina Gheihman defends her dissertation and celebrates via Zoom, Spotify, and social media. Credit: Kristin Caulfield

Alex Shams presents “Quarantine, 5 Weeks In: Understanding Iran’s Experience with the Coronavirus” at the Weatherhead Forum on April 8, 2020. Credit: Lauren McLaughlin
Several WCFIA graduate students, along with GSA Program Director Erez Manela, reflect on some of the long-term repercussions for China—and the rest of the world—in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.

For decades, the Graduate Student Associate (GSA) Program has sat, literally and figuratively, at the heart of the Weatherhead Center. Established in the late 1960s, the program now comprises some twenty-five doctoral students from nearly a dozen different departments and programs across Harvard. Students appointed as Weatherhead GSAs get office space, research funding, and membership in a diverse community of like-minded scholars. While they work across different disciplines and deploy an array of research methodologies, they all share an interest in the core research areas of the Weatherhead Center and an open-minded approach to scholarly inquiry and exchange.

If the GSA program sits at the heart of the Center, at the heart of the program itself is the long-running Friday lunch seminar. Every Friday we would gather in the Bowie-Vernon Room, the Center’s main seminar space, to catch up, share great food, and hear and discuss the work of one of the GSAs. Presentations have ranged from testing out potential dissertation topics to mock job talks and everything in between. Over the years, many GSAs have testified to how profoundly the program influenced their lives, helping to shape their intellectual trajectories and launching lifelong friendships.

For a program with such emphasis on community, the recent campus lockdown presented a special challenge. Since mid-March, students have been unable to use their offices, and the Friday lunches have moved online. And while important things were lost in this transition—not least the freestyle socializing that began each gathering and the famous, Clare Putnam-curated lunch buffets—the intellectual exchanges have remained as fascinating and robust as ever.

Of course, the insights that GSAs produce go far beyond these gatherings, and many have been contributing to the wide-ranging public conversation about the current crisis. The following short selections, focused on the question of the pandemic’s impact on China through an international lens, is yet more evidence that our GSAs remain as brilliant and as engaged as ever.
How Will COVID–19 Affect US-China Competition for International Influence?
By Naima Green-Riley

In recent years, the US-China relationship has moved in the direction of conflict and competition—marked by an economic trade war, friction over 5G and networking technology, and a larger intellectual debate over whether China’s rise will trigger US-China military conflict as predicted by the Thucydides trap. Policy analysts have increasingly focused on the geopolitical competition between the two countries, and both have often demonstrated success by the extent to which each country can cultivate a positive international image abroad. Such emphasis begs the question of how the COVID–19 pandemic will affect each country’s ability to promote a positive image in the world—as well as the implications for the wider US-China great power competition.

In the early weeks of the pandemic’s spread, onlookers in a number of countries with significant rates of anti-China sentiment were happy to label it the “Chinese virus” or the “Wuhan virus.” This terminology was perhaps most famously used by American President Donald Trump, but it trended in countries around the world, including India and South Korea, at the same time as the phrase “Made in China virus” became popular in the EU.

But as China started to overcome its domestic struggles with the virus, it began to put great effort into branding itself as a benevolent partner in the fight against the pandemic. For example, Chinese shipments of masks and other equipment were labeled with poetic verses in the languages of the countries to which they were sent. American foreign policy experts have written about the potential of China’s assistance to struggling countries during the pandemic to boost it into a position of global leadership, or even to rearrange the global order in China’s favor.

While warm gestures toward other countries may buy China some international standing, what happens within China’s borders will continue to have an impact upon its image as well. In early April, reports of mistreatment of African migrants, who were blamed for spreading COVID–19 in the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou, made international headlines—provoking the ire of onlookers in Africa and beyond. These reports came out just as China had begun to build momentum with its global branding campaign. Images of Africans being roughhoused on Guangzhou’s streets or refused service at a local McDonald’s certainly did not help in the country’s quest to improve its image abroad.

The jury on China’s overall performance is still out. But given major gaffes made by President Trump in his handling of the crisis at home (such as his recent suggestion that disinfectants might be injected into the body) and international moves that make the US seem to be less of a team player (such as suspending funds to the World Health Organization), the US image may not offer much to contend with.

Ultimately, the geopolitical competition for hearts and minds between the US and China may end up being won not by the most perfect leader, but rather by the least worst option.

Naima Green–Riley is a PhD candidate in the Department of Government at Harvard University.

Sovereign Debt, Sino-Africa Relations, and COVID–19
By Kibrom Teweldebirhan

China is Africa’s largest debt holder, and how it decides to exercise its contractual right in the context of COVID–19 will affect its relationship with the continent—and the trajectory of African economies in the postpandemic period. Africa is going through the thick of COVID–19 and the exact human toll of the pandemic has yet to emerge. So far, the pandemic and the resulting slowdown of economic activity have brought into focus high levels of sovereign debt and the fragility of African economies.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) has issued a report indicating that Africa’s economic growth will slow down anywhere between 1.8–2.6 percent, and the economic decline will push around twenty million people into extreme poverty. The UNECA estimates that the continent needs $100 billion to address the immediate consequences of the pandemic—while at the same time fulfilling their financial obligation towards creditors—and few countries will be in a position to offer assistance.

China, as part of the G20, has expressed its willingness to grant some form of debt relief. Debt relief will provide short-term stability during the pandemic, but its longer-term economic and political effects will have a more complicated impact.

Debt, as in previous economic and political moments, will restructure the national economies and power relations between China and African countries. In a new economy, governments have to balance economic growth, austerity, and debt repayment. The reopening of China’s economy (and an economic stimulus that the Chinese government may adopt) will provide a lifeline to several African countries—especially to raw material-exporting countries, as China will need those for industrial consumption and strategic stockpiling. Economic activity within China alone will hardly avoid the political consequence of debt and its economic impact.

However, China has not yet committed to debt relief, and for some African economies, time is of the essence. Sovereign creditors will not make final decisions until Beijing makes up its mind. As much as deciding the future of Africa’s debt, the extent and terms of debt relief will be a subject of debate—within and outside China.
Full debt relief, as some have suggested, may face pushback from critical voices in China, who have been arguing that Chinese companies and financial institutions have not been prudent with their capital investment in Africa before COVID-19.

On the other hand, if China’s debt relief is less generous than its G20 peers are, for example, it will have geopolitical implications in a continent where China has put much political capital in the last two decades. Within Africa, populist and nationalist sentiment may rise in the postpandemic period. Electoral politics and public discourse will revolve around economic slowdown, socioeconomic inequality, debt, the process and terms of debt renegotiation, and the profound disconnect between the formal commodity export-oriented economy and poorly funded social sector—health and social protection in particular—that the pandemic has highlighted. China may find itself at the center of postpandemic political contestation in the same way the global financial institutions have remained in the aftermath of the 1970s oil price shock and the debt crisis that followed in the 1980s.

Kibrom Teweldebirhan is a SJD candidate at Harvard Law School.

Chinese Nationalism and the COVID-19 Pandemic
By Ruodi Duan

The number of Chinese citizens who live in the United States totals nearly 2.5 million. Like their fellow Asian Americans, they shoulder worries about the alarming rise of anti-Asian racism and violence in recent weeks—in New York, in Texas, everywhere. They also carry with them their own unique fears and concerns. Some of them risk involuntarily becoming undocumented. Countless workers on H-1B visas have now been laid off, just as Beijing moved to dramatically limit the number of incoming flights to the country with no exception for its own citizens. As college campuses in the US have shuttered, many Chinese international students find themselves in New York, in Texas, everywhere. They also carry with them their own unique fears and concerns. Some of them risk involuntarily becoming undocumented. Countless workers on H-1B visas have now been laid off, just as Beijing moved to dramatically limit the number of incoming flights to the country with no exception for its own citizens. As college campuses in the US have shuttered, many Chinese international students find themselves with nowhere to go. The few fortunate enough to have secured a plane ticket home are responsible for their own quarantine costs.

Surprisingly, they have also received little sympathy from a significant plurality of Chinese netizens. Quite the contrary: on Chinese social media, they are often the target of ridicule and hate for turning their backs on their own home country in the first place. China’s official decision to tally “imported” cases of COVID-19 as separate from “domestic” ones facilitates the perception among many Chinese citizens that this “second wave” of the pandemic is strictly a problem brought back from overseas.

Debate over the origins of this pandemic has further divided the domestic and international Chinese community. Some believe that American soldiers who attended the World Military Games in Wuhan in October 2019 had brought the virus with them, while minority voices more critical of the ruling regime, especially overseas, wonder if scientists accidentally leaked it from a Wuhan virology lab.

WeChat, the popular messaging platform, has facilitated the efforts of Chinese communities throughout the United States to negotiate the shipments of masks, medical gowns, and other protective supplies from China to the West. But at the same time, WeChat and the blogging site Weibo, also serve as veritable forums for conspiracy theories and passionate nationalist rebuttals to any perceived criticism of Beijing’s handling of the pandemic. In some corners, Chinese author Fang Fang’s diaries, the intimate—and censored—window into the unfolding crisis in Wuhan are condemned as a betrayal of the motherland and a display of ingratitude for the ruling party’s commitment to its citizens. Friends are lost in arguments over this. For some, a Chinese person’s views on Fang Fang has emerged as a litmus test.

This fierce resurgence of nationalism, from the young and the old, comes just as China struggles to contain its own outbreaks of racism and xenophobia. African residents of Guangzhou have been evicted from their homes, forcibly tested for the virus, and banned from entering their local McDonald’s in light of widespread suspicions that they are carriers of COVID-19. The Chinese government selectively condemns the outbreak of anti-Asian racism and xenophobia in the United States while it also enables the eruption of a comparable crisis within its borders. This politics of exclusion and scapegoating is not a phenomenon limited to any one country, but has begun to assume a virulence within China that may be unique.

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Washington, Beijing, and the WHO: The Lessons of History
By Erez Manela

In recent weeks, the World Health Organization (WHO), in normal times a rather staid international body, has swept into the headlines. First, with Washington’s announcement that it would suspend its funding to the WHO, which it blamed for botching the coronavirus response, and then with Beijing’s decision to offer the WHO supplemental funds to make up some of the shortfall. The Gates Foundation, already a major funder of the WHO, also announced additional funding while warning of the folly of abandoning an organization tasked with coordinating global health in the midst of a pandemic.

When the WHO was established after World War II, the public health visionaries who founded it imagined that it would owe its allegiance not to any state but to humanity itself. Soon, however, it became clear that the WHO, like the rest of the United Nations system, would be con-
trolled by its member states, the two most powerful of which, the United States and the Soviet Union, were engaged in a protracted cold war. Nevertheless, in the succeeding decades the WHO served as a conduit for some of the greatest global health achievements of the twentieth century, most notably the global Smallpox Eradication Program (SEP), which the WHO declared a success in 1980.

The SEP could not have been launched without the support of the two superpowers: Washington provided much of the funding and Moscow donated most of the vaccine. Crucially, this US–Soviet collaboration at the WHO happened not despite but because of the Cold War conflict in which they were engaged. Committed to winning the “hearts and minds” of the world’s developing nations, neither power wanted the other to claim the credit for this historic achievement. They could, however, live with the ostensibly neutral, Geneva–based WHO—of which both were members—taking that credit.

After the Cold War ended, Washington cared less about winning “hearts and minds” and largely lost interest in international organizations. It ceded the field of global health to private actors, such as the Gates Foundation, and to an increasingly powerful and ambitious Beijing. China became especially interested in the WHO after the public relations debacle it suffered in the wake of its ham-handed response to the SARS epidemic of 2003. By 2006, with Washington’s indifference, China managed to install its candidate, Margaret Chan, as WHO director general, and in 2017 she was succeeded by another Beijing ally, the current WHO chief Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus.

Now, as the COVID–19 pandemic strains an already tense US–China relationship, China’s long-cultivated influence at the WHO has gained wide attention. The two sides trade bellicose rhetoric even as scientists in both countries collaborate on a vaccine. A truly effective global response to the pandemic, however, requires the science and the politics to work in tandem. If we want to achieve such a response to this pandemic, as well as to other pressing global health challenges, the United States must fully reengage with the WHO and work to restore it to the role it once served: facilitating collaboration for the greater good among two otherwise competing superpowers.

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IN CONVERSATION WITH... (Continued)

which we discussed the course. He remarked, “For all these years I’ve been in the NSA, we’ve had many different experts talk to us about issues related to Islam–Muslim societies in the Middle East and so on—but none of them gave us a real sense of how diverse the tradition really is. That’s one thing I’ve learned from your course.” He surprised me when he added, “I have learned from your course that Islam is more than just a political ideology. It’s a faith tradition.” It was an important recognition on his part that in many political, social, and media spaces, Islam has come to be identified purely as a political ideology. For example, former National Security Advisor Mike Flynn has remarked that Islam is just a political ideology hiding behind the skirts of religion. Such a perspective has had very serious consequences for policy issues related to Islam and Muslims.

CENTERPIECE: Besides academics, is there anyone else noticing the problems associated with this sectarianized way of thinking?

ALI ASANI: One thing to consider is: Whose voices are being heard? Who is voicing their resistance to sectarianism? In my opinion, in large part it is the artists broadly defined—the poets, filmmakers, musicians, the visual artists—who are expressing resistance to sectarianization through their art. Shi’a youth are also becoming more vocal. In the US, Shi’a youth are organizing camps, conferences, and workshops so they can share their stories and perspectives.

We are witnessing a great deal more confidence among the younger Shi’a to explain who they are, their interpretation of Islam, and what they stand for. For example, a young Shi’a woman from Pakistan who studied with me as an undergraduate in Harvard College, recently wrote an op-ed for a Pakistani newspaper, Dawn, in which she discussed her experience of being Shi’a in Pakistan. This is a Sunni majority country in which the Shi’a minority is targeted by militants. Mosques have been burned, and Shi’a have been persecuted and threatened to the point where some are actually claiming asylum in Europe and the US. The column my student wrote provides you with a young person’s insight on what it means to be Shi’a in this polarized environment. That a major Pakistani newspaper would publish the piece in order to prompt public awareness and discussion on an important topic is an indication of just how crucial this debate has become.

CENTERPIECE: How can you begin to reverse these enduring attitudes about sectarianism being the root of conflict in the Middle East?

MELANI CAMMETT: I started to get interested in the question of desectarianization, and that’s another component of this project. If you’re teaching the history of this in modern politics, I can tell you about the story of the spike in sectarian tensions in Lebanon, in Iraq, in Syria, and the sectarianization of the Syrian war, which did not start out as such. Frankly, we think we know a lot as social scientists about how these kinds of tensions come up and ratchet up. But we know less about how they come down. To me, that’s an important dimension, because they are going to come down, and they arguably never spiked to the degree that we think they did in the West.

CENTERPIECE: Are you actively seeking scholars for the project?

PAYAM MOHSEN: We are certainly looking for scholars who are working on issues of Shi’ism or sectarianism broadly speaking. Shi’ism is extremely diverse and includes Twelver Shi’as with majorities in places like Iran, Iraq, and Bahrain; Ismailis in Central and South Asia, mainly; Zaydis, mainly in Yemen; Alevi in Turkey; and Alawis in Syria. All of these groups also have vibrant diaspora communities in the West.

These are all extremely rich areas of research with diverse regional, cultural, and political manifestations. One of our main goals is to be inclusive of the diversity of communities within Shi’ism itself. There are many projects which can also be undertaken, including an effort to map Shi’a experiences and communities in the United States. All of these examples are exciting; it’s all very new and very understudied and fascinating. We are excited to continue this research in a vibrant center such as Weatherhead at Harvard, and to contribute to this constantly growing and important domain of research.
NEW UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATES

The following students have been appointed Undergraduate Student Associates for the 2020–2021 academic year and have received grants to support research and travel in connection with their senior thesis projects on international affairs. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, many students will begin their thesis research this summer and delay their travel for the time being.

Miriam Alphonsus (History), The Un-Making of a People: Repatriation of Ceylonese Up-Country Tamils to India.

Clara Bates (Social Studies; Russian Studies), Roots of the Soviet Indictment of US Racism.

Regan Brady (Economics; European History, Politics, and Societies), How Will Welfare States Respond to COVID-19? A Case Study of the United Kingdom and Denmark.

Kyra Colbert (Government), Challenging the Civic Nation in the Settler-Colonial Context.

Frances Hisgen (History; Comparative Literature), How Chinese educational institutions and American women’s colleges enabled Chinese women to migrate to the United States under the Chinese Exclusion Act.

Chihiro Ishikawa (Sociology; East Asian Studies), Mobilizing Social Movements in East Asia: A Comparison of Feminist NGOs in Japan and Korea.

Johannes Lang (Government; Economics), Choosing Compromise over Conflict: Ennahda and the Success of Tunisian Democracy.

Andrew Mammel (History), The Columbia River Treaty and The Libby Dam: Transnational and Tribal Perspectives.

Reshini Premaratne (Social Studies; Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations), The Revolution in Lebanon: Is It a Turning Point for a Post-Sectarian Society?

Heide Rogers (Government; Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations), The role and effectiveness of the Lebanese diaspora community in aiding the social uprisings in Lebanon since the twenty-first century.

Francesco Rolando (Social Studies; Molecular and Cellular Biology), Healthcare as a Border: Migrants’ Access to and Exclusion from Healthcare Services in Turin, Italy.

Madeline Shue (Social Studies; Energy and Environment), How have medical surveillance and racialized disease rhetoric impacted immigration policy and the surveillance of immigrants crossing over US borders?

Ajay Singh (Social Studies), Multiculturalism, Blackness, and South Asian Radicalism in Twentieth-Century Britain.


Kenneth Taylor Whitsell (Government; European History, Politics, and Societies), What explains cross-temporal variation in domestic prosecutions of international crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Alice Zhang (Social Studies; Computer Science), Normative and Ethnographic Support for Freedom of Expression in Greater China.

Jingyao (Lux) Zhao (Mathematics; History), The Foundational Crisis: The Formalization of Mathematical Systems in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

Yuke Zheng (Computer Science), Tourism in the Age of COVID-19: How Can Tourism-Dependent Cities Adapt to the Shutdown of the Global Tourism Industry?

2020 THOMAS TEMPLE HOOPES PRIZE WINNERS

The Weatherhead Center congratulates the following Undergraduate Associates who were awarded 2020 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prizes on the basis of their outstanding scholarly work.

Constance Marie-Sophie Bourguignon, “No Way to Speak of Myself”: Lived and Literary Resistance to Gender in French.

Angie Cui, Diplomas for Diplomacy: Foreign Students in China and the Soft Power Question.

Matthew Keating, “From Lesvos to Leipzig: Comparative Legal Frameworks and Obstacles for LGBTQ Asylum Seekers in the European Union.”

Adele Woodmansee, “It is Pure Criollo Maize”: Subsistence Agriculture and Ideas of Locality and Contamination in San Miguel del Valle, Oaxaca.”
THE WEATHERHEAD INITIATIVE ON AFRO-LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

The Weatherhead Initiative on Afro-Latin American Studies was launched in 2016 to support research in the new academic field of Afro-Latin American studies. This field centers on the study of people of African ancestry in Latin America and on the larger societies of which those people form a part. The field has developed in tandem with a variety of racially defined social, cultural, and political movements that, taking advantage of democratization processes since the 1980s, have transformed how Latin Americans think about their region, culture, and history.

We implemented this research agenda through the Afro-Latin American Research Institute (ALARI) at the Hutchins Center for African & African American Research, working with a variety of actors—scholars, activists, artists, government officials, policy makers—involved in racial justice initiatives and in the production of knowledge about Afrodescendants. Our research agenda is based on providing an outlet for our community members to discuss ideas that shape the development of this new field.

Since inception, we have hosted twenty-five speakers in the ALARI Seminar Series; supported twenty-eight research projects by graduate students; and sponsored dozens of special events and workshops. One of our notable events this year was the Sacred Groves/Secret Parks symposium, cohosted with the Harvard Graduate School of Design. This well-attended symposium held panel discussions and an art exhibition centered around Brazilian and West African landscapes of devotion to orishas, or deities.

In addition, since 2016 we have hosted four meetings of the Mark Claster Mamolen Dissertation Workshop, an annual event that brings to Harvard the best graduate students writing doctoral dissertations on Afro-Latin American studies anywhere in the world. The classes of 2016–2019 (fifty-seven students in all) were selected from a pool of 775 applicants from twenty-one countries. Students can apply in English, Spanish, or Portuguese.

Some of our other accomplishments over the past few years include forming a continental network of government officials who work on racial equity issues, RIAFRO, in cooperation with the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Development Bank; launching an online certificate program on Afro-Latin American studies; and most recently, hosting the first ALARI Continental Conference on Afro-Latin American Studies, which brought over 200 scholars, artists, and activists to Harvard from all over the world. Please continue to follow our progress at the ALARI website (alari.fas.harvard.edu)!

PROGRAM ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS

The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations opened its fortieth anniversary celebration this year with a reception in Tokyo held on January 17, 2020. Over 100 alumni and distinguished guests attended the event, including program founder and former President of the International Court of Justice Hisashi Owada and the current Japanese Foreign Minister Toshimitsu Motegi (HKI ’83).

The reception also marked the program’s leadership transition. Christina Davis, professor of government and Susan S. and Kenneth Wallach Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, is the new director. Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, concluded her tenure as director for over three decades of distinguished service, and now serves as senior advisor. Ezra Vogel, Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences, Emeritus, continues in his role as honorary director.

In early spring, we welcomed Japanese Ambassador to the US, Shinsuke Sugiyama, who spoke on US-Japan security arrangements, and Professor Roger Goodman from the University of Oxford as the 2019–2020 Distinguished Visitor. During his stay, Professor Goodman presented a public seminar on demographic pressures’ impact on Japan’s family-run universities, and a dinner address on social science approaches to understanding Japan’s youth population.

After the coronavirus outbreak, we continued our weekly seminar series via Zoom—and successfully transitioned to the digital world. On April 14, we co-sponsored a seminar on “National Responses to the Coronavirus in East Asia and Italy” with the Takemi Program in International Health at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. Over sixty people joined the April 21 webinar led by Professor Takatoshi Ito from Columbia University on “Economic Consequences of the COVID-19 for Japan and the World.” Despite a smooth transition online, we miss interacting with our program’s community in person, and look forward to the day we can see everyone again.
NEW FACULTY ASSOCIATES

The following Harvard faculty accepted invitations to be WCFIA Faculty Associates during the 2019–2020 academic year:

Eram Alam, Assistant Professor, Department of the History of Science, Harvard University. The history of science and medicine in the twentieth century, with an emphasis on transnational movements and migrations.

Rosie Bsheer, Assistant Professor of History, Department of History, Harvard University. Arab intellectual and social movements; petro-capitalism and state formation; and the production of historical knowledge and commemorative spaces.

Nicholas Harkness, Professor, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University. Language, music, and semiotics; urban anthropology; anthropology of religion; and South Korea.

Alisha Holland, Associate Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University. The political determinants and consequences of infrastructure projects in Latin America; migration; crime control; and subnational governance.

David Howell, Professor of Japanese History, Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University. The social history of Japan in the Tokugawa (1603–1868) and Meiji (1868–1912) periods.

Zoe Marks, Lecturer in Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. The intersections of conflict and political violence; race, gender, and inequality; peace building; and African politics.

Malavika Reddy, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University. The law and its shadows; the temporal, spatial, and ethical claims made through legal discourse; the anthropology of borders and migration; theories of materiality and form; translation; and the relationship of norms and practice.

EPICENTER: AT THE HEART OF RESEARCH AND IDEAS
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Epicenter is an online source that provides original commentary and analysis on issues that transcend borders. Our goal is to share the research done by Center affiliates—in academic communities and beyond—with a curious public. We extend the reach of our affiliates’ work through feature articles on our blog, multidisciplinary conversations on our podcast, and interactive maps and resources in our multimedia section. Some of our recent content include:

India’s Migrant Crisis: Trapped in a COVID Spatial Rift
Two Q&As with Dr. Almaliki: The International Response to COVID-19 & A Closer Look at COVID-19
Episode 2: Brexited! (with Jeffry Frieden and Christina Davis)
Armed Groups Are Watching You: Life in the Borderlands | Who Is a Citizen in Contemporary India?
Episode 1: Inequality in the US and Europe (with Michele Lamont, Peter A. Hall, and Paul Pierson)
Mapping Violence and Civil Resistance: An Interactive Guide to Protest Campaigns around the World
Walking the Precipice: Reforming Ukraine through International Pressure
Bikinis, Blondes, and Burkas: Gender and Islam in the German Far Right