



# CENTERPIECE

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY



## Message from the Executive Director

To explain what we do from day to day, people in jobs like mine search for metaphors from realms of work that are comparatively much more hands-on. That's because we've realized that our friends and families, who don't often see us on the job, might understand us better by our offering them a concept that's far more visible or concrete. Secretly, we also harbor a desire to show that we, in fact, just may be making some kind of palpable contribution to the world, that what we do has heft. I suppose that a lot of us, in describing our jobs, call up images like "nurses" or "chefs" or "carpenters"—those of us, that is, who aren't already nurses or chefs or carpenters—to provide color to our lives and to dignify our work.

For years I've tried to measure myself against the excellent standard of a Fellow in 2002–2003, Pedro Medina, who had been CEO of McDonald's in Colombia before coming to the Center. He once told me that, back home, he was a little incredulous to be asked why, when eating in his restaurants, he always picked up errant French fries from the floor. Pedro simply felt that he was the most suitable person in the entire corporation to do such a thing (indeed, the very opposite of the least appropriate). Before that, but with redoubled commitment from that moment on, I've tried to be an equally good custodian. But I'm not a business entrepreneur.

Then there are members of our faculty like James Robinson, whose insatiable appetite for knowledge (and the experiences in the world that lead him toward it) makes him positively gleeful: gleeful running down the corridor, gleeful lecturing in the classroom, gleeful, well, in this e-mail message he sent me just a few weeks ago: "I'm in Lagos giving talks at the moment (which is fantastic fun)

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and going to the Philippines May 18." But I'm not a kid in a candy store (with scholarly purpose 24,901 miles wide and unfathomably deep).

Nor am I like Tom Murphy (the Center's beloved mayor-for-life) or Jeff Frieden (our interpretive wilderness guide) or Michelle Eureka (croupier? casting director? crossing guard?).

My chosen metaphor is air traffic controller. Here I am at the Center, generously perched at a strategic height, with a privileged view of almost everything that's going on, in constant communication with constant travelers fueled and ready for engagement somewhere in the world... or getting ready to land. Complexities and risks abound, and every flight path needs to be respected, but the rhythms of dispersal and regrouping are a lovely sort of dance that, when viewed from between ground and air, make sense (and need assiduous regulation) among the curiosities and ambitions and desires of an especially purposeful and capable (and cherished) gathering of human beings.

Around a year and a half ago, I had a chance to test my metaphor. It was upon the sad occasion of the death of the Center's founding director, Robert Bowie, in November 2013. I'd been in touch with Bob's son, Bob, Jr., about transportation out to the Eastern Shore of Maryland where his dad was to be laid to rest in the churchyard of St. Luke's Chapel in Wye Mills. Bob, Jr., told me that if I could get down to Baltimore Washington International (BWI) he'd have his friend, Neil Ruther, pick me up and take me in his plane out to Easton Airport.

I reached Baltimore by air from Boston in the morning of a cold early-December day, Neil came by the private-plane terminal as planned, and there I soon was, by his side, strapped in and headphones on, ready to take the short leap over the frigid Chesapeake.

There was zero drama. The weather was clear, the plane in perfect condition, and Neil, the pilot, full of reassuring words and heartfelt stories about the Bowie family, but at the same time he was in constantly vigilant communication with air traffic controllers, and they with him, within BWI's responsibility and then within Easton's. These were people seriously at work, absolutely focused on the trust that years of professionalism and propulsion had put in their hands. Aloft, I came to feel that a metaphor is a metaphor and the work of an air traffic controller—and, indeed, of a pilot—is life-or-death earnest, and something I'd never take for granted. And I told Neil so.

Twenty-two years of labor in one place is a very long time, no matter how privileged or potent the perch. And I confess that there's something about being fixed in one place, watching and, ultimately, being centrally responsible for a lot of movement, that might just make a person think about getting in the cockpit oneself, after so long in the tower.

That is, all at once, when the wind changes direction, it may well be time to decide to go.

To have lived in the midst of the world of ideas, and to have been in various positions to encourage their growth, is nothing short of a privilege. If to learn and to grow and to nurture is the optimal human condition, then what better job could there be than mine? The horizons have been so vast, the duties so noble.

It's impossible for me to begin to reckon with the thousands of friendships that life at the Center has enabled me to ignite and to hold, with undergraduates, graduate students, visiting scholars, countless affiliates of all manner of purpose and nomenclature, Fellows, faculty, and my colleagues of the Center staff and in the University at large. Together, we've taken care of each other, we've cooked up new schemes, sometimes ingeniously, and we've built many strong, sturdy things.

Back in August 1993, when Bob Putnam hired me and when Anne Emerson walked me into my office and when the most freshly arrived Fellow, Renée Haferkamp, wondered, almost visibly, what on earth *that* wind had just blown in, I couldn't have begun to imagine the opportunities that I'd enjoy and the consequences of finding my true vocation, for which I'll forever be grateful.

**Steven B. Bloomfield**

*Executive Director*

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Cover: Executive Director Steven B. Bloomfield honored at an event celebrating twenty-two years of service at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Photo credit: Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard University

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Nominated as Finalist for 2015 Pulitzer Prize in History; Wins Bancroft Prize

**Sven Beckert's** book, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), was nominated as a finalist for the 2015 Pulitzer Prize in History. The committee called it "a work of staggering scholarship arguing that slavery was crucial to the dynamism of the industrial revolution!"

Beckert's book was also awarded a 2015 Bancroft Prize. The Bancroft Prizes are awarded annually by the trustees of Columbia University. Winners are judged in terms of the scope, significance, depth of research, and richness of interpretation they present in the areas of American history and diplomacy.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Elected as Member of the National Academy of Sciences

**Robert H. Bates** was elected as a member of the National Academy of Sciences in recognition of his "distinguished and continuing achievements in original research." Membership in the National Academy of Sciences is a widely accepted mark of excellence in science and is considered one of the highest honors that a scientist can receive.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Wins Book Award

**Jocelyn Viterna's** book, *Women in War: The Micro-Processes of Mobilization in El Salvador* (Oxford University Press, 2013), is the winner of the Mirra Komarovsky Book Award for 2015. Viterna received the award at the Eastern Sociological Society Meeting in February 2015. *Women in War* is also the recipient of the Distinguished Book Award from the Sex and Gender Section of the American Sociological Association, the Political Sociology Book Award, and an honorable mention for the Distinguished Book Award for the section on the Sociology of Development.

### Four WCFA Affiliates Named Inaugural 2015 Andrew Carnegie Fellows

Faculty Associates **David Bloom** (Clarence James Gamble Professor of Economics and Demography, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health) and **Laurence Ralph** (Assistant Professor of African and African American Studies and Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University); former Graduate Student Associate and Harvard Academy Scholar **Fotini Christia** (Associate Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology); and former Graduate Student Associate **Mala Htun** (Associate Professor of Political Science, University of New Mexico) were named 2015 Andrew Carnegie Fellows by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Thirty-two Andrew Carnegie Fellows were named as the inaugural class of a major annual fellowship program that will provide support for scholars in the social sciences and humanities. The Fellows are an exceptional group of established and emerging scholars, journalists, and authors whose work distills knowledge, enriches our culture, and equips leaders in the realms of science, law, business, public policy, and the arts. They will receive awards of up to \$200,000 each, which will enable them to take sabbaticals in order to devote time to their research and writing.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives Economics Professorship

**Pol Antràs** has recently been named the recipient of an endowed chair, the Robert G. Ory Family Professorship of Economics in the Harvard University Department of Economics. The Ory Family Professorship of Economics recognizes an outstanding scholar in economics whose research is related to enterprise creation.

Antràs is a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), where he served as director of the International Trade and Organization (ITO) Working Group. He is also a research affiliate at the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) and a member of CE-Sifo's Research Network. Antràs's teaching and research fields are international economics, macroeconomics, and applied theory.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Awarded Residential Fellowship

**Mary D. Lewis** has been awarded a Frederick Burkhardt Residential Fellowship for Recently Tenured Scholars from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS). The fellowship will be taken up in residence at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study for the 2015–2016 academic year. Providing fellowships for scholars in the humanities and related social sciences has been one of the signal activities of ACLS for nearly ninety years.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives Dissertation Award

**Joshua D. Kertzer** received the CGS/ProQuest Distinguished Dissertation Award from the Council of Graduate Schools for the best dissertation in the social sciences in the past two years. Kertzer earned his PhD in political science from Ohio State University and is an assistant professor of government at Harvard University. His research specializes in the intersection of international security, foreign policy, political psychology, and quantitative and experimental methods.

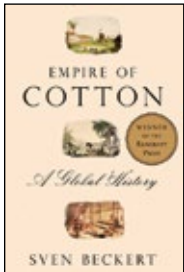
### Undergraduate Associate Awarded Scholarship

**Daniel Barcia '15** received a Gates Cambridge Scholarship. Barcia is the founder and former editor in chief of the *Harvard College Human Rights Review*, which serves as a forum for discussing human rights violations. Next year he will pursue an MPhil in International Relations and Politics at University of Cambridge.

Gates Cambridge Scholarships are awarded to outstanding applicants from countries outside the United Kingdom to pursue a full-time postgraduate degree in any subject available at the University of Cambridge. The program aims to build a global network of future leaders committed to improving the lives of others.

### Empire of Cotton: A Global History

By Sven Beckert



*Empire of Cotton* is the epic story of the rise and fall of the empire of cotton, its centrality to the world economy, and its making and remaking of global capitalism.

Cotton is so ubiquitous as to be almost invisible, yet understanding its history is key to understanding the origins of modern capitalism. Sven Beckert's rich, fascinating book tells the story of how, in a remarkably brief period, European entrepreneurs and powerful statesmen recast the world's most significant manufacturing industry, combining imperial expansion and slave labor with new machines and wage workers to change the world. Here is the story of how, beginning well before the advent of machine production in the 1780s, these men captured ancient trades and skills in Asia and combined them with the expropriation of lands in the Americas and the enslavement of African workers to crucially reshape the disparate realms of cotton that had existed for millennia, and how industrial capitalism gave birth to an empire, and how this force transformed the world.

The empire of cotton was, from the beginning, a fulcrum of constant global struggle between slaves and planters, merchants and statesmen, workers and factory owners. Beckert makes clear how these forces ushered in the world of modern capitalism, including the vast wealth and disturbing inequalities that exist today. The result is a book as unsettling as it is enlightening.

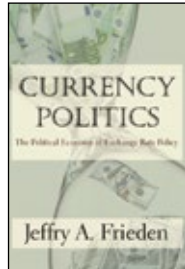
(Alfred A. Knopf, 2014)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Sven Beckert is the Laird Bell Professor of American History, Harvard University, and co-chair of the Weatherhead Initiative on Global History.

### Currency Politics: The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Policy

by Jeffrey A. Frieden



The exchange rate is the most important price in any economy, since it affects all other prices. Exchange rates are set, either directly or indirectly, by government policy. Exchange rates are also central to the global economy, for they profoundly influence all international economic activity. Despite the critical role of exchange rate policy, there are few definitive explanations of why governments choose their currency policies. Filled with in-depth cases and examples, *Currency Politics* presents a comprehensive analysis of the politics surrounding exchange rates.

Identifying the motivations for currency policy preferences on the part of industries seeking to influence politicians, Jeffrey Frieden shows how each industry's characteristics—including its exposure to currency risk and the price effects of exchange rate movements—determine those preferences. Frieden evaluates the accuracy of his theoretical arguments in a variety of historical and geographical settings: he looks at the politics of the gold standard, particularly in the United States, and he examines the political economy of European monetary integration. He also analyzes the politics of Latin American currency policy over the past forty years, and focuses on the daunting currency crises that have frequently debilitated Latin American nations, including Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil.

With an ambitious mix of narrative and statistical investigation, *Currency Politics* clarifies the political and economic determinants of exchange rate policies.

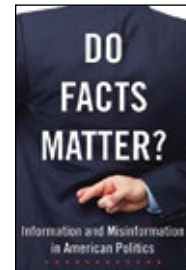
(Princeton University Press, 2014)

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Acting Center Director and Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jeffrey A. Frieden is the Stanfield Professor of International Peace, Department of Government, Harvard University.

### Do Facts Matter? Information and Misinformation in American Politics

by Jennifer Hochschild and  
Katherine Levine Einstein



A democracy falters when most of its citizens are uninformed or misinformed, when misinformation affects political decisions and actions, or when political actors foment misinformation. In *Do Facts Matter?* Jennifer L. Hochschild and Katherine Levine Einstein start with

Thomas Jefferson's ideal citizen, who knows and uses correct information to make policy or political choices. What, then, the authors ask, are the consequences if citizens are informed but do not act on their knowledge? More serious, what if they do act, but on incorrect information?

Analyzing the use, nonuse, and misuse of facts in various cases—such as the call to impeach Bill Clinton, the response to global warming, Clarence Thomas's appointment to the Supreme Court, the case for invading Iraq, beliefs about Barack Obama's birthplace and religion, and the Affordable Care Act—Hochschild and Einstein argue persuasively that errors of commission (that is, acting on falsehoods) are even more troublesome than errors of omission.

*Do Facts Matter?* looks beyond individual citizens to the role that political elites play in informing, misinforming, and encouraging or discouraging the use of accurate or mistaken information or beliefs. Hochschild and Einstein show that if a well-informed electorate remains a crucial component of a successful democracy, the deliberate concealment of political facts poses its greatest threat.

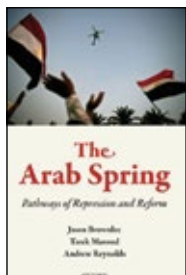
(University of Oklahoma Press, 2015)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jennifer Hochschild is the Henry LaBarre Jayne Professor of Government, professor of African and African American studies, and Harvard College professor. Katherine Levine Einstein is an associate professor, Department of Political Science, Boston University.

## The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform

by Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds



Several years after the Arab Spring began, democracy remains elusive in the Middle East. The Arab Spring that resides in the popular imagination is one in which a wave of mass mobilization swept the broader Middle East, toppled dictators, and cleared the way for democracy. The reality is that few Arab countries have experienced anything of the sort. While Tunisia made progress toward some type of constitutionally entrenched participatory rule, the other countries that overthrew their rulers—Egypt, Yemen, and Libya—remain mired in authoritarianism and instability. Elsewhere in the Arab world, uprisings were suppressed, subsided, or never materialized.

Why did regime change take place in only four countries and why has democratic change proved so elusive in the countries that made attempts? This book attempts to answer those questions. First, by accounting for the full range of variance: from the absence or failure of uprisings in such places as Algeria and Saudi Arabia at one end to Tunisia's rocky but hopeful transition at the other. Second, by examining the deep historical and structural variables that determined the balance of power between incumbents and challengers.

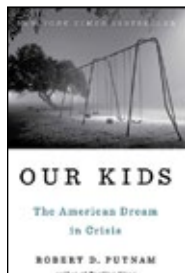
Brownlee, Masoud, and Reynolds find that the success of domestic uprisings depended on the absence of a hereditary executive and a dearth of oil rents. Structural factors also cast a shadow over the transition process. Even when opposition forces toppled dictators, prior levels of socioeconomic development and state strength shaped whether nascent democracy, resurgent authoritarianism, or unbridled civil war would follow.

(Oxford University Press, 2015)

Jason Brownlee is an associate professor of government and Middle Eastern studies, University of Texas, Austin. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Tarek Masoud is an associate professor of public policy, Harvard Kennedy School. Andrew Reynolds is an associate professor of political science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

## Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis

by Robert D. Putnam



*Our Kids* is a groundbreaking examination of the growing inequality gap. It's the American dream: get a good education, work hard, buy a house, and achieve prosperity and success. This is the America we believe in—a nation of opportunity, constrained only by ability and effort. But during the last twenty-five years we have seen a disturbing "opportunity gap" emerge. Americans have always believed in equality of opportunity, the idea that all kids, regardless of their family background, should have a decent chance to improve their lot in life. Now, this central tenet of the American dream seems no longer true or at the least, much less true than it was.

Robert Putnam offers a personal but authoritative look at this new American crisis. Putnam begins with his high school class of 1959 in Port Clinton, Ohio. By and large the vast majority of those students—"our kids"—went on to lives better than those of their parents. But their children and grandchildren have had harder lives amid diminishing prospects. Putnam tells the tale of lessening opportunity through poignant life stories of rich and poor kids from cities and suburbs across the country.

*Our Kids* is a rare combination of individual testimony and rigorous evidence. Putnam provides a disturbing account of the American dream that should initiate a deep examination of the future of our country.

(Simon & Schuster, 2015)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Robert D. Putnam is the Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School.

## The Cultural Matrix: Understanding Black Youth

Edited by Orlando Patterson



*The Cultural Matrix* seeks to unravel a uniquely American paradox: the socioeconomic crisis, segregation, and social isolation of disadvantaged black youth, on the one hand, and their extraordinary integration and prominence

in popular culture on the other. Despite having school dropout rates of over 40 percent, chronic unemployment, endemic violence, and one-third spending time in prison, black youth are among the most vibrant creators of popular culture in the world. They also espouse several deeply held American values. To understand this conundrum, the authors bring culture back to the forefront, while avoiding the theoretical errors of earlier culture-of-poverty approaches and the causal timidity and special pleading of more recent ones.

This interdisciplinary work draws on all the social sciences, as well as social philosophy and ethnomusicology, in a concerted effort to explain how culture, interacting with structural and environmental forces, influences the performance and control of violence, aesthetic productions, educational and work outcomes, familial, gender, and sexual relations, and the complex moral life of black youth.

(Harvard University Press, 2015)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Orlando Patterson is the John Cowles Professor of Sociology, Harvard University.

## Contentious Elections: From Ballots to Barricades

Edited by Pippa Norris, Richard W. Frank, and Ferran Martínez i Coma



From Afghanistan to Zimbabwe the world has witnessed a rising tide of contentious elections ending in heated partisan debates, court challenges, street protests, and legitimacy challenges. In some cases, disputes have been

settled peacefully through legal appeals and electoral reforms. In the worst cases, however, disputes have triggered bloodshed or government downfalls and military coups. Contentious elections are characterized by major challenges, with different degrees of severity, to the legitimacy of electoral actors, procedures, or outcomes.

Despite growing concern, until recently little research has studied this phenomenon. The theory unfolded in this volume suggests that problems of electoral malpractice erode confidence in electoral authorities, spur peaceful protests demonstrating against the outcome, and, in the most severe cases, lead to outbreaks of conflict and violence. Understanding this process is both of vital concern to domestic reformers and the international community, and it is part of a growing new research agenda.

The book provides insights invaluable for studies in democracy and democratization, comparative politics, comparative elections, peace and conflict studies, comparative sociology, international development, comparative public opinion, political behavior, political institutions, and public policy.

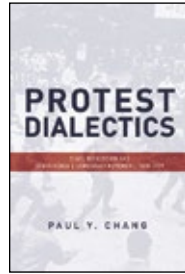
(Routledge, 2014)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Pippa Norris is the Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, Harvard Kennedy School, and Laureate Research Fellow and professor of government and international relations, University of Sydney. Richard W. Frank is a lecturer in the School of Politics and International Relations, Australian National University. Ferran Martínez i Coma is a research associate in the Electoral Integrity Project, University of Sydney.

## Protest Dialectics: State Repression and South Korea's Democracy Movement, 1970–1979

by Paul Y. Chang



1970s South Korea is characterized by many as the “dark age for democracy.” Most scholarship on South Korea's democracy movement and civil society has focused on the “student revolution” in 1960 and the large protest cycles in the 1980s that were followed by Korea's transition to democracy in 1987. But in his groundbreaking work of political and social history of 1970s South Korea, Paul Chang highlights the importance of understanding the emergence and evolution of the democracy movement in this often-ignored decade.

*Protest Dialectics* journeys back to 1970s South Korea and provides readers with an in-depth understanding of the numerous events in the 1970s that laid the groundwork for the 1980s democracy movement and the formation of civil society today.

(Stanford University Press, 2015)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Paul Y. Chang is assistant professor of sociology, Harvard University.

## Crisis and Promise in the Caribbean: Politics and Convergence

by Winston Dookeran

The Caribbean is a complex, enigmatic region characterised by great disparities in size, population, geography, history, language, religion, race, and politics. This is a region in which harmony and discord work in tandem, trying to link economic logic with political logic. This book is a useful tool for specialists and students of regionalism, for those involved with nation-building, and those interested in the development processes of small states and economies. At the same time, this book offers a comprehensive historical record highlighting hindrances to development in this region. This study raises two important issues: the political imperative of convergence, and the need for appropriate correcting mechanisms that align the needs of the local with the regional. It is a volume that underlines the need for a change in strategy and makes proposals as to how to go about making those changes.

(Ashgate, 2015)

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Former Weatherhead Center Fellow (1993–1994) Winston Dookeran is Minister of Foreign Affairs, Trinidad and Tobago, West Indies.



Read the latest research by faculty and other affiliates of the Center by visiting: [wcfia.harvard.edu/publications](http://wcfia.harvard.edu/publications)

## NEW FACULTY ASSOCIATES

The following Harvard faculty accepted invitations to be WCFLA Faculty Associates during the 2014–2015 academic year:

**Julie Battilana**, Associate Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School. *Hybrid organizations that diverge from typical corporations and not-for-profits by combining aspects of both at their core.*

**Silvia Benedito**, Assistant Professor of Landscape Architecture, Harvard Graduate School of Design. *The role of atmosphere, weather, and sensation in the design disciplines of landscape architecture and urbanism.*

**Lisa Berkman**, Thomas D. Cabot Professor of Public Policy and of Epidemiology; Director, Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. *The role of social conditions and social and economic policies in shaping patterns of population health and aging.*

**Theresa S. Betancourt**, Associate Professor of Child Health and Human Rights, Department of Global Health and Population, Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. *Developmental/psychosocial consequences of adversity on children/families; resilience; humanitarian and refugee studies; and cross-cultural mental health research.*

**Matthew Blackwell**, Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University. *Political methodology; historical political economy; American politics; and historical persistence of beliefs.*

**Tomiko Brown-Nagin**, Daniel P.S. Paul Professor of Constitutional Law, Harvard Law School; Professor of History and Co-Director, Program in Law and History, Department of History, Harvard University. *Constitutional law; constitutional and social history; civil rights movements in the Atlantic world; immigration and social mobility; comparative education law and policy.*

**Michael Callen**, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. *Identifying ways to address accountability and service delivery failures in the public sector in developing countries with experiments and primary data collection.*

**Melani Cammett**, Professor of Government, Department of Government, Harvard University. *Comparative politics; political economy of development; religion and ethnicity; governance and welfare by public, private, and non-state actors; and Middle East politics.*

**Candelaria Garay**, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. *Latin American politics; social policy; political parties; social movements; and subnational variation in policy implementation.*

**Lorgia García-Peña**, Assistant Professor, Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, Harvard University. *Contemporary US Latino/a literature and cultures; Caribbean literature and cultures; performance studies; race and ethnicity; transnational feminism; migration; human rights; and Dominican and Dominican diaspora studies.*

**Susan Greenhalgh**, John King and Wilma Cannon Fairbank Professor of Chinese Society; Professor of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University. *Social studies of science, technology, and medicine; anthropology of the state, governance, and public policy; critical weight studies; politics of reproduction, population, and life itself; gender studies; modernity and globalization; socialism and post-socialism; People's Republic of China; Taiwan; and selected interests in US society.*

**Matteo Maggiori**, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Harvard University. *Finance and international macroeconomics.*

**Rahul Mehrotra**, Professor of Urban Design and Planning, Harvard Graduate School of Design. *Ephemeral urbanism: studying and constructing taxonomy of patterns of temporary occupation of space across the globe.*

**George Paul Meiu**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology and African and African American Studies, Departments of Anthropology and of African and African American Studies, Harvard University. *Race; ethnicity; sexuality and sexual citizenship; kinship; gender; economic anthropology; historical anthropology; East Africa; and Kenya.*

**Samuel Moyn**, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School; Professor of History, Department of History, Harvard University. *The relationship between the history of human rights and the evolution of global political economy since 1945.*

**Katharina Piechocki**, Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature, Department of Comparative Literature, Harvard University. *Cartography, literature, and translation studies; and investigating the borders of early modern Europe and the contact zones between European/non-European.*

**Laurence Ralph**, Assistant Professor of Anthropology and African and African American Studies, Departments of Anthropology and of African and African American Studies, Harvard University. *The impact of police violence in the US and abroad as it relates to global governance.*

**Maya Sen**, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. *Law; political economy; political methodology; race and ethnic politics; and judicial politics.*

**Michael Walton**, Lecturer in Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. *India; rural education; inequality; the political economy of cities; corporate behavior; and the politics of state-society and state-business interactions.*

**Elizabeth M. Wolkovich**, Assistant Professor, Department of Organismic and Evolutionary Biology, Harvard University. *Predicting plant responses to climate change, with a focus on how both wild and crop species will shift across Europe and North America in the future.*

**Jonathan Zittrain**, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School and Harvard Kennedy School; Professor of Computer Science, Harvard School of Engineering and Applied Sciences. *Digital property and content; cryptography; electronic privacy; the roles of intermediaries within Internet architecture; human computing; and technology in education.*

### WWW

For a full list of WCFLA Faculty Associates visit [wcfla.harvard.edu/people/affiliates/faculty\\_associates](http://wcfla.harvard.edu/people/affiliates/faculty_associates)

# Events



## Harvard Research Symposium on the Nexus of Food, Agriculture, Environment, Health, and Society February 27, 2015

The Harvard Research Symposium on the Nexus of Food, Agriculture, Environment, Health, and Society (Food+ Symposium) featured twenty-two Harvard faculty members from eight schools and a dozen departments giving seven-minute “speed presentations” on their current Food+ research.

The goals of the Food+ Research Symposium were to provide attendees with a sense of the excitement and breadth of the Food+ research underway at Harvard and to foster cross-fertilization of ideas among researchers.

Presenters included: Robert Bates, David E. Bell, Joyce E. Chaplin, George Church, Shawn Cole, Ann Forsyth, Jacob E. Gersen, Susan Greenhalgh, Ray Goldberg, Michele (Missy) Holbrook, Peter Huybers, Sheila Jasanoff, Michael Kremer, Emily M. Broad Leib, David S. Ludwig, Samuel S. Myers, P.K. Newby, Robert Paarlberg, Daniel Schrag, Elsie Sunderland, Gunnar Trumbull, Walter C. Willett, Elizabeth M. Wolkovich

For more information visit:  
[foodbetter.squarespace.com/research](http://foodbetter.squarespace.com/research).  
 You can also follow the conversation at #HarvardFoodPlus

### WWW

Couldn't make it to the event?  
 Watch on our Vimeo channel and listen on our NEW SoundCloud channel:  
[vimeo.com/channels/wcfia](http://vimeo.com/channels/wcfia)  
[soundcloud.com/wcfia](http://soundcloud.com/wcfia)

Top Left: The University's Geology Museum Lecture Hall was full for the Harvard Food + Symposium. Top right: Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate William Clark, Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science, Public Policy and Human Development, opens the symposium. *Photo credit: Megan Margulies*

## Weatherhead Initiative on Global History Conference March 5–7, 2015

The 2015 Weatherhead Initiative on Global History conference, “A History of Penal Regimes in Global Perspective 1800–2014” explored the diversity of regimes of punishment, and especially the prison as an institution within them, the paths along which they changed, and the connections between these changes in different parts of the world.

**Below:** Conference participants gather on the steps of the CGIS South Building. **Bottom photo (left to right):** Padraic Kenney, professor of history, Indiana University; Steven Soper, lecturer in history, University of Georgia; and Julia Rodriguez, associate professor of history, University of New Hampshire present their research for the panel, “Prisons and Bonds of Resistance.” *Photo credit: Megan Margulies.*





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## Harvard Academy Celebration April 29, 2015

Members and friends of the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies recognized the departing Graduate Fellows, second-year Academy Scholars, and Senior Scholars with special certificates at the Eliot House.



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**Top (clockwise):** The Harvard Academy Scholars and Graduate Fellows gather with Harvard Academy Chairman Jorge I. Domínguez (center) to celebrate the year; Senior Scholar Elisabeth Köll, Graduate Fellow Kathryn A. Schwartz, Program Coordinator Kathleen Hoover, Graduate Fellows Jennifer Pan and Laura Trucco, and Academy Scholar Yukiko Koga; Executive Officer Bruce V. Jackan and Senior Scholar Elisabeth Köll; Harvard Academy Chairman Jorge I. Domínguez and Academy Scholar Naor Ben-Yehoyada. *Photo credits: Bruce Jackan and Yukiko Koga*



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## Final WCPIA Graduate Student Associates (GSA) Lunch of 2014–2015 May 1, 2015

GSA and staff gathered to celebrate at the last GSA lunch of 2014–2015. WCPIA held weekly lunches during the academic year, in which each GSA has the opportunity to present and receive feedback on their research.

**Above:** Executive Director Steven B. Bloomfield and Student Programs Coordinator Clare Putnam.

**Right:** The 2014–2015 class of Graduate Student Associates and student programs staff.

*Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield*



## Celebrating Center Executive Director Steven B. Bloomfield's Twenty-two Years at the WCFIA May 5, 2015

Faculty, students, staff, and other affiliates of the Center gathered to recognize and celebrate Steven B. Bloomfield and his twenty-two years of service at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. The event included introductions by Front Office Manager Thomas Murphy; Acting Director Jeffrey A. Frieden; Director of Finance Patrick McVay; former Graduate Student Associate and Director of Undergraduate Student Programs Naor Ben-Yehoyada; International Relations Council President Katherine Ebright; and Steve's daughter Emma Bloomfield.

**Top Left (clockwise):** The Din and Tonics; Acting Center Director Jeffrey A. Frieden; Faculty Associate (emeritus) Herbert C. Kelman, *photo credit: Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard University*; (left to right) Financial Administrator Charles Smith and former staff member Beth Baiter; (left to right) Director of the Fellows Program Kathleen Molony, Executive Director of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations Shinju Fujihira, and Administrative Officer Michelle Eureka, *Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield*



**Right:** Steven and Emma Bloomfield.  
*Photo credit: Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard University*



## Undergraduate Thesis Conference February 5–6, 2015

The Weatherhead Center Undergraduate Thesis Conference featured a series of panels chaired by Faculty Associates and Graduate Student Associates. Clustered by regional or disciplinary themes, each student's presentation was followed by questions, commentary, and feedback for the enhancement of their thesis work in its final stages.



**Top (right to left):** Anja Nilsson (Social Studies) presents “Switzerland’s Banking Secrecy and How It Survived an International Financial System Dominated by the Anglophone Tradition” in a session entitled “Globalization and Its Discontents”; Kyle Jaros, China Public Policy Postdoctoral Fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School Ash Center and former Graduate Student Associate chairs the session; Amy Sparrow (Social Studies and East Asian Studies) presented “Food Safety Development in China: The Pressure of Globalization, Scandal, and Activism on Legal Reform”; and Ralph “Tre” Hunt (African and African American Studies and East Asian Studies) presented “Alternate Explanations for Zimbabwe’s Decision to Implement a ‘Look East’ Policy in 2003.”

**Below (left to right):** Marco Basile, JD/PhD candidate at Harvard Law School and Graduate Student Associate, chairs a session entitled, “America Latina: Institutions across a Long Hemisphere”; Hannah Mullen (Government) presented, “How Institutions Shape Initiatives to Reform Military Justice Systems: United States, United Kingdom, and Canada.”

Right: Debbie Onuoha (History and Literature and Anthropology) presents, “Murky Waters on a Gold(en) Coast: Progress and Pollution along the Korle Lagoon in Accra, Ghana.”

Photo credit: Megan Margulies

### WWW

The full agenda and thesis abstracts from this and past Undergraduate Thesis Conferences can be found at: [conferences.wcfia.harvard.edu/undergraduate\\_thesis/](http://conferences.wcfia.harvard.edu/undergraduate_thesis/)

## In Conversation with...

## Panagiotis Roilos

Interview by Kristin Caulfield &amp; Megan Margulies

Panagiotis Roilos is a Faculty Associate of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, the George Seferis Professor of Modern Greek Studies, and professor of comparative literature in the Departments of the Classics and of Comparative Literature, Harvard University.  
Photo credit: Megan Margulies



From a very young age, as early as elementary school, Panagiotis Roilos decided that he would study cultural history and literature. He never vacillated from this intellectual trajectory, and Roilos considers himself extremely lucky to have been able to pursue his early childhood dreams. He received his bachelor of arts (Ptychion) in classics, Byzantine, and modern Greek literature at the University of Athens and then earned his PhD from Harvard University. Now the George Seferis Professor of Modern Greek Studies and professor of comparative literature, Roilos is continuing his research by focusing on cultural politics, cognitive and historical anthropology, postclassical Greek literature and culture, comparative poetics, reception studies, and critical theory. His current projects include *Abducting Athena: The Nazis and the Greeks* and *Byzantine Imaginaries: A Cognitive Anthropology of Medieval Greek "Phantasia."*

The Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and founder and chair of the Cultural Politics: Interdisciplinary Perspectives and Graduate-Student Papers on Cultural Politics seminars talked with Kristin Caulfield and Megan Margulies about his current research, his relationship with the Center, and the importance of integrating the humanities with international relations.

**KC:** Tell us about your current projects focusing on cultural politics.

**PR:** There are two projects that I'm working on right now that are most relevant to the field of cultural politics. The first focuses on the Middle Ages, especially the Greek Middle Ages. I explore the cultural and political appropriation of ancient Greek literature and culture in the Byzantine era, with an emphasis on rhetoric and cultural hermeneutics. In this project I have developed a methodological approach to premodern cultures that I call "cognitive historical an-

thropology." In other words, I am interested in the ways in which deep conceptual patterns and filters function in premodern societies—in particular cultural and historical contexts. Even apparently familiar or easily definable concepts such as "reality" and "real," "imagination," "fictional," "truthful," et cetera, were invested with different connotations in premodern societies. Despite its apparent truism, this fact and the need for systematic reconstructions of the particular cultural values of such categories in past societies are often neglected in scholarship.

The second project focuses on the Nazis' appropriation of classical antiquity—how the Nazis manipulated the ancient Greek past in order to articulate their own cultural propaganda. I think this project will shed some new light on the ways antiquity's cultural capital was reinvented, and of course, manipulated at a very critical moment of European history. This is an important case that illustrates the very complex, multilayered, and even detrimental ways in which the past—especially distorted aspects of the past—can inform the present.

**KC:** In 2004, I worked on a book about the Olympic Games for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston that was for their exhibition Games for the Gods. The photographer Leni Riefenstahl was featured in the book.

**PR:** Yes, she was a German actress, photographer, and filmmaker who did propaganda films for the Nazi government. She visited several archeological sites in Greece and was assisted by a Greek photographer, Elli Seraidari, known as Nelly's. Riefenstahl's work is a telling example of how the Nazi aestheticization of Greek antiquity—and especially of what they, under the influence of German neoclassicists and idealists, among others, considered to be ideal Greek beauty—was reenacted in extremely unsettling and distorted ways, to say the least, in order to forward their propaganda.

**MM:** Your research generally focuses on using past cultural patterns to put other historical events into context. How do current events tie into your research?

**PR:** Current political, social, and cultural developments have a great impact on how I think about history. I have published articles on current cultural developments, especially in the field of cultural politics, literature, and postmodernism. There are parallels between historical and current events. Unfortunately right now these parallels lead me to be quite pessimistic—similar things in history being repeated again and again in the present. But in general I think my ethical and moral mission as a scholar and thinker is to try my very best—in the context

in which I move—to contribute to the elimination of these more negative similarities between the past and the present. I try to follow current developments in politics, for example the financial crisis in Europe and other issues of global importance.

**KC:** I enjoyed reading the *Phantasia* article. Can you elaborate on this new project?

**PR:** One idea that I am currently developing is what I call "neo-medieval metacapitalism." The current emphasis on virtual reality, resulting from an inflated valorization of technology at the expense of the study of the human condition, focuses on distancing individuals from their surroundings, from their world, and from nature itself, while also developing a sense of an *essentially* non-transcendental reality which, paradoxically, transcends individual perceptual abilities and purviews—hence its quasi-metaphysical character. This promotion of a quasi-metaphysical or transcendental virtual and humanly constructed reality, or iconolatry that transcends the limits of what, until recently, was generally understood to be the human condition, is of great interest to me. This idea may sound too theoretical, but it will be supported by very specific examples. Why neo-medieval? Whereas in the Middle Ages the icon functioned as a kind of vehicle for communication with the metaphysical other (God, saints, et cetera), now it's the icon that paradoxically functions as the transcendental "other" (i.e., an "entity" that defies the immediately perceptible limits of individual human experience) from which the subject is considerably separated. New myths are emerging in our society, which means that despite the Enlightenment and other historical movements, there are some very deep mythological structures of perceiving and constructing new realities.

**KC:** Your work is firmly planted in the humanities. How do you respond to criticism that the humanities aren't a practical field of study?

**PR:** In my research and publications, I try to construct intellectual and scholarly bridges between the social sciences (mainly anthropology and history) and the humanities. You're absolutely right, the humanities has been going through a difficult phase for a number of years—a kind of crisis. But of course, I entirely disagree with the perception that studying the humanities is impractical. The humanities is one of those few fields that, among other things, teaches ways of original *critical* thinking. This skill is extremely important so that each one of us is able to receive, perceive, and evaluate a number of political and cultural messages from a critical perspective and point of view. The humanities, along

*Continued on page 18*

# Soviet Planning Praxis: From Tractors to Territory

by Christina E. Crawford

Christina E. Crawford is a Graduate Student Associate and a PhD candidate in architecture and urban planning at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. Her research interests include: history and theory of urban planning and architecture; design in transitional periods; and Soviet avant-garde practices.

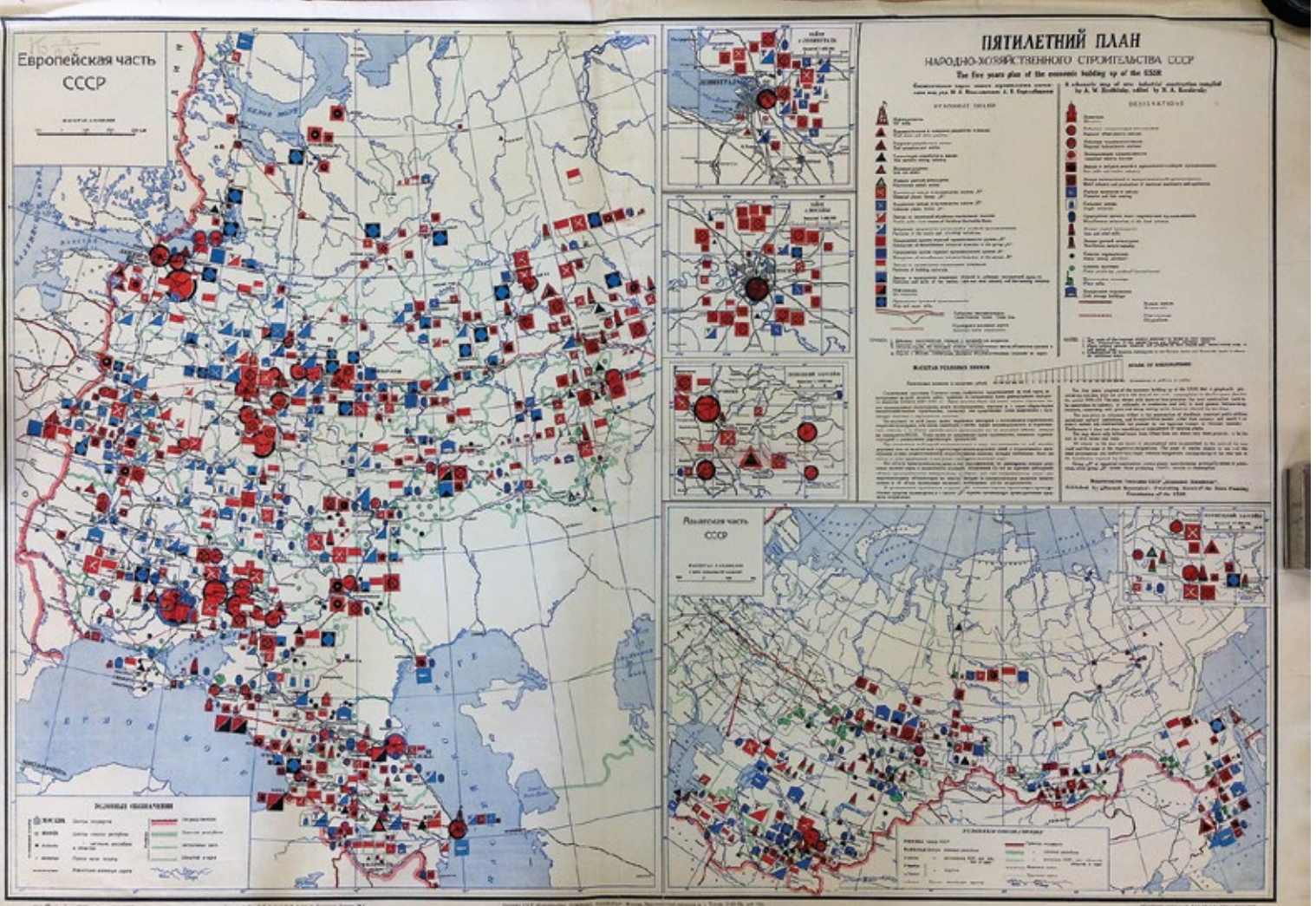
Land socialization was one of the first legal acts instituted by the Bolshevik government in 1917, and it was a measure that initiated a feverish period of theorization and construction of new spatial models. If capitalist urbanism was dense, centralized, and exploitative, Soviet physical and economic planners asked, how might socialist space be organized differently to engender fair economic and social relations? While actualized socialist cities of the early Soviet period—known in their time as social-industrial settlements—have been criticized by architectural historians for their failure to instantiate revolutionary forms, my research establishes the import of these sites as vital nodes in a network of living laboratories for urban experimentation. I argue that early Soviet planners were motivated not by form but by process—and specifically *praxis*, that is, the critical engagement with existing conditions in order to affect systemic change. The settlements designed by these practitioners must be investigated as mutable research sites that actively and iteratively produced knowledge about possible trajectories for socialist urbanism. From these experiments emerged a codified set of practices that drove planning work in the

USSR and far-flung sites under the Soviet sphere of influence through the twentieth century.

To reveal the development of early Soviet planning praxis broadly and comparatively, my research spans from land socialization to the conclusion of Stalin's First Five-Year Plan for national industrialization (1917–1932). The socialist settlements I investigate in depth are located in three Soviet republics: Baku, Azerbaijan; Magnitogorsk, Russia; and Kharkiv, Ukraine.<sup>1</sup> For the purposes here, I will follow the design and construction of a tractor factory settlement in Kharkiv from 1929 to 1931, to demonstrate that deep analysis of a material artifact—the method of the architectural historian—can uncover salient political, economic, and cultural themes. Specifically, this factory settlement reveals how the American model of industrial standardization enabled and empowered the Soviets to enact distinctly socialist urban patterns.

Physical planning took on a critical role in the USSR during the fulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan, 1928–1932. To achieve “Socialism in One Country,” foodstuffs and technology had to be generated within Soviet borders, an effort that required intelligent utilization of the

Figure 1: The Five-Year Plan of Economic Development of the USSR, 1930. Map credit: Russian State Library Map Collection



vast territories, natural resources, and population of the USSR. Avant-garde spatial theory and hard-nosed economic strategy converged on a polynuclear settlement pattern that would simultaneously reduce crowding in pre-revolutionary cities, diffuse economic development among many sites, and control the immense territories now under Soviet power.

The ambitious timetable set by the state's economic planners for the Plan did not allow for a period of internal architectural research and development. Pragmatism, forced by the schedule, led the Supreme Soviet of the National Economy (VSNKh) to Detroit architect Albert Kahn, the designer for Henry Ford. In May 1929, the Soviet government signed a contract with Kahn's firm to design and oversee construction for a single tractor factory in Stalingrad, one that would produce 40,000 tractors annually. The reference map of the Plan sent to Kahn's office featured a descriptive key filled with industrial "types"—electric stations, steel combines, tractor factories—that were scattered across the Eurasian continent in an immense multinodal constellation. Many of the locations earmarked for heavy industry were undeveloped sites of mineral wealth far removed from existing transportation infrastructure. "Pop up" industrial complexes, the purview of American expertise, jibed with the Soviet aspirations to rapidly develop far-flung production sites. [Figure 1]

Progress toward the First Five-Year Plan's formidable capital construction goals was, nonetheless, repeatedly thwarted by a lack of both timely drawing sets and building materials as well as skilled foremen to oversee and workers to build the complexes. On December 26, 1929, two concurrent decisions pushed the Soviet construction industry toward a model of national standardization. The Council of People's Commissars (SNK) issued a decree "On measures to cure the ills of building affairs," which commanded immediate rationalization of professional practices.<sup>2</sup> The same day, the SNK signed a draft for an expanded contract with Albert Kahn, Inc. to direct the design and supervise construction for all industrial projects in the USSR for a period of two years. [Figure 2] In his previous contract with the Soviet government for the design of the Stalingrad factory, Kahn retained rights to the architect's instruments of service—drawings, specifications, and the intellectual property contained in the design—as is common practice in the United States. Under the new agreement, Kahn's firm would provide the client, the VSNKh, "standard factory layouts, detailed drawings, specifications, and other technical documentation 'typical for architects working in America,'" all of which would become the lawful property of the VSNKh at the end of the term.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of this proviso, and the timing of the agreement, cannot be understated. When Kahn signed the expanded agreement, just two months had passed

since Black Tuesday, which called into question the future of Kahn's work in the United States. The Stalingrad Tractor Factory was also nearing completion.<sup>4</sup> Although the Stalingrad factory was designed under the restrictive American-style contract, once the client-favoring agreement was put in place Kahn's blueprints seem to have fallen under the new legal regime. Just nineteen days after the contract was inked, construction began on a new tractor factory outside Kharkiv, the capital of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic.

The Kharkiv Tractor Factory, constructed upon designs formulated by Kahn's Detroit office for the Stalingrad one, provides a view into early stages of architectural standardization in the USSR. Kharkiv was not a carbon copy of Stalingrad in terms of either material or labor, and these differences signal the reformulation of American industrial practices to meet the capacities of a still-developing socialist context. At play here is the concept of *circulation des saviors*, which insists that expertise—in this case architectural—is expanded and transformed through the looping interaction of specialists in varied political, economic, and cultural contexts.<sup>5</sup> American techniques were utilized for ends not anticipated by their creators, demonstrating, perhaps, the flexibility and receptivity of the techniques to serve various masters.

As the construction at Kharkiv unfolded, significant material changes were made between the original factory at Stalingrad and its nascent twin. Leon Swajian, the construction foreman from Kahn's office for both tractor factory sites noted: "Kharkov [sic] was supposed to follow the designs made for Stalingrad, but this proved

*Continued on page 19*

Figure 2: Consultants to the Soviet Government, 1930. Image credit: Detroit Free Press, held by Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan



## STUDENT PROGRAMS: UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATES 2015–2016

The following students have been appointed Undergraduate Student Associates for the 2015–2016 academic year and have received grants to support travel in connection with their senior thesis research on international affairs.

**Neil Alacha** (Social Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *The construction of “human rights” in Jordan by interactions between local and international actors.*

**Hanna Amanuel** (Anthropology), Rogers Family Research Fellow. *Female genital cutting and women’s rights’ agendas in Eritrea.*

**Amalia Bersin** (Social Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *The securitization of HIV/AIDS and the implications for East Africa.*

**Colette Bishogo** (African and African American Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Post-conflict resolution in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo.*

**Matthew Disler** (Social Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Government and social movements in contemporary Brazil.*

**Kirin Gupta** (Joint in Social Studies and Women, Gender, and Sexuality), Simmons Family Research Fellow. *A comparative case study of the violent formation of gendered subjectivities in Guatemala and Ecuador through the lens of street art.*

**Alice Han** (History), Transatlantic Relations Undergraduate Fellow. *How Charles De Gaulle and the French opened China for the United States.*

**Elsa Kania** (Government), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Legal aid in China as an indicator of the prospects for reform.*

**Andrew Ma** (Economics), Julian Sobin Fellow. *Modelling and quantification of the effect of displaced households on host communities in Iraq.*

**Bianca Mulaney** (Economics), Frank Boas Fellow. *Assessment of the economic impact of antimicrobial resistance in agriculture.*

**Iyeyinka Omigbodun** (Special concentration in Anthropology and African Studies), Rogers Family Research Fellow. *An anthropology of “Good Governance” policy in Nigeria.*

**Andrea Ortiz** (Social Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Class and prospective migrants’ perceptions on migration to the United States from Latin America.*

**Aman Rizvi** (Social Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *The impact of democratization on national identity.*

**David Song** (Social Studies), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Transborder social movement networks and the spread of comfort women memorials in the United States.*

**Megan Taing** (Joint in English and Folklore and Mythology), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Storytelling, memory, and genocide in the Cambodian diaspora in the United States and France.*

**Samuel Wallace-Perdomo** (Government), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Comparative research on the Dominican and Costa Rican electoral management bodies.*

**Jessie Wyatt** (Joint in Social Studies and Religion), Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Fellow. *Muslim community motivations in establishing a counter-narrative to violent extremism.*

## 2015 THOMAS TEMPLE HOOPES PRIZE WINNERS

The Weatherhead Center congratulates the following Undergraduate Associates who were awarded 2015 Thomas Temple Hoopes Prizes on the basis of their outstanding scholarly work or research.

**Daniel Barcia**, “Restless Liberty: The Fall of Florida’s Ma-roon Haven and the Largest Slave Rebellion in US History, 1835–1838”

**Hannah Mullen**, “Shifting Scales of Justice: Military Justice Reform in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States”

**Debbie Nnenna Ama Onuoha**, “Murky Waters on a Gold(en) Coast: Discourses of Pollution along the Korle Lagoon, Accra, Ghana”



The Weatherhead Center's Program on U.S.-Japan Relations celebrates its thirty-fifth year as a leading program that brings together faculty, students, and visitors at Harvard to advance social science research on Japan's global role. During the 2014-2015 academic year, the program's weekly seminars featured **Alexis Dudden** (University of Connecticut; 2006), **Takeo Hoshi** (Stanford University), **Takatoshi Ito** (Columbia University), **John Mearsheimer** (University of Chicago), **Joseph S. Nye, Jr.** (Harvard Kennedy School), **Wei-hsin Yu** (University of Maryland), and many others. In April 2015, the program hosted its twenty-eighth Distinguished Visitor on campus, and honored **Ellis Krauss**, professor in the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at University of California, San Diego.

Former Associates of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations have had distinguished careers in international organizations, government, business, media, and academia. They include **Ban Ki-Moon** (1985), Secretary General of the United Nations; **Hisashi Owada** (1981), Judge at the International Court of Justice; **Fred Hiatt** (1987), Editorial Page Editor of the *Washington Post*; **Naoyuki Shinohara** (1986), Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund; **Naoko Ishii** (1985), Chairperson of Global Environmental Facility in the World Bank Group; **Mariko Bando** (2007), Chancellor and President of Showa Women's University; **Katsuya Okada** (1986), President of the Democratic Party of Japan; **Tsuyoshi Okamoto** (1987), Chairman of the Board of Tokyo Gas Company, Ltd.; **Kojiro Shiraishi** (1990), President and Senior Executive Editor of *Yomiuri Shimbun*; **Tateshi Higuchi** (2001), Japanese Ambassador to Myanmar; **Heizo Takenaka** (1981), former cabinet member and Professor of Economics at Keio University; **Junko Kato** (1997), Professor at the Graduate School for Law and Politics, University of Tokyo; and **Koichi Hamada** (2011), Tuntex Professor of Economics, Emeritus, at Yale University and Special Advisor to Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

The program's former Postdoctoral Fellows now hold senior faculty positions in universities in the United States and around the world. They include **Daniel Aldrich** (2007), Professor of Political Science, Purdue University; **Verena Blechinger-Talcott** (2003), Professor of Japanese Politics and Political Economy, Berlin Free University; **Jennifer Chan** (2005), Associate Professor of Education, University of British Columbia; **Erin Chung** (2004), Charles E. Miller Associate Professor of East Asian Politics, Johns Hopkins University; **Ian Condry** (2007), Professor of Japanese Cultural Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **Christina Davis** (2002), Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Princeton University; **Margarita Estévez-Abe** (2001), Associate Professor of Political Science, Syracuse University; **William Grimes** (1996), Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Boston University; **David Johnson** (1997), Pro-

fessor of Sociology, University of Hawaii, Manoa; **Hans Martin Krämer** (2007), Professor of Japanese Studies, Heidelberg University; **Henry Laurence** (1997), Associate Professor of Government and Asian Studies, Bowdoin College; **David Leheny** (2002), Henry Wendt III '55 Professor of East Asian Studies, Princeton University; **Patricia Maclachlan** (1996), Associate Professor of Government and Asian Studies, University of Texas, Austin; **Mark Manger** (2008), Associate Professor in the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto; **Kim Reimann** (2002), Associate Professor of Political Science, Georgia State University; **Ethan Scheiner** (2002), Professor of Political Science, University of California, Davis; **Ming Wan** (1994), Professor of Public and International Affairs, George Mason University; and **Michael Witt** (2001), Professor of Asian Business and Comparative Management, INSEAD. In addition, **Mireya Solis** (2001) serves as Senior Fellow and Philip Knight Chair in Japan Studies at the Brookings Institution, and **Frank Schwartz** (1991) serves as President of Showa Boston Institute.

**Top:** Former Weatherhead Center Director, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., speaking on his recent book, *Is the American Century Over?*.

**Photo credit:** Jennie Kim  
**Bottom (right to left):** Susan Pharr, speaking at a symposium on "Advancing the Status of Women in a Globalizing Japan: A 70-Year Retrospective," together with Mariko Bando (Showa Women's University), Sumiko Iwao (Keio University and Tokyo City University), and Margarita Estévez-Abe (Syracuse University).  
**Photo credit:** Lisa Cohen



*Continued from page 13*

with the social sciences, provide the most effective perceptual and conceptual tools and strategies for critical thinking—the humanities is not an abstracted approach to life but just the opposite. At the same time, one should be alerted to any kind of unsubstantiated, uncritical, “romantic” idealization and manipulation of “humanistic” values. Cultural history (distant or more recent) can teach us a lot in that respect.

**KC: Tell us how and why the humanities should play an important role in the Center’s mission and in international relations in general.**

**PR:** I am interested in how politics affects the production, dissemination, transmission, and consumption of cultural products and vice versa, especially today in an era of marked globalization. In other words, my approach to the whole issue is that cultural products (art, literature, music, et cetera) and politics are not separate fields of human creation—they are closely interconnected.

About seven years ago, I began a collaboration with Beth Simmons and Steve Bloomfield to establish the Cultural Politics Seminar. My main goal was to bring together the humanities and the social sciences in order to address some of the miscommunications between these two fields. The seminar is highly interdisciplinary and cross-cultural. We have hosted seminars on legal theory, political science, anthropology, history, medieval studies, critical theory, philosophy, and art—so many different areas. All of these seminar topics stress the interconnections between cultural production and politics as well as the actual or potential interaction of the various methodologies used by different disciplines.

I think the dialogue that takes place in the Cultural Politics Seminar is important, and it is extremely evident, and encouraging, in the papers that the graduate students deliver in the seminar. Students are eager to present research to the broadest possible audience rather than just their peers in a specific department. This kind of interdisciplinary study is at the heart of the seminar, at the heart of the Center, and of course my own research interests.

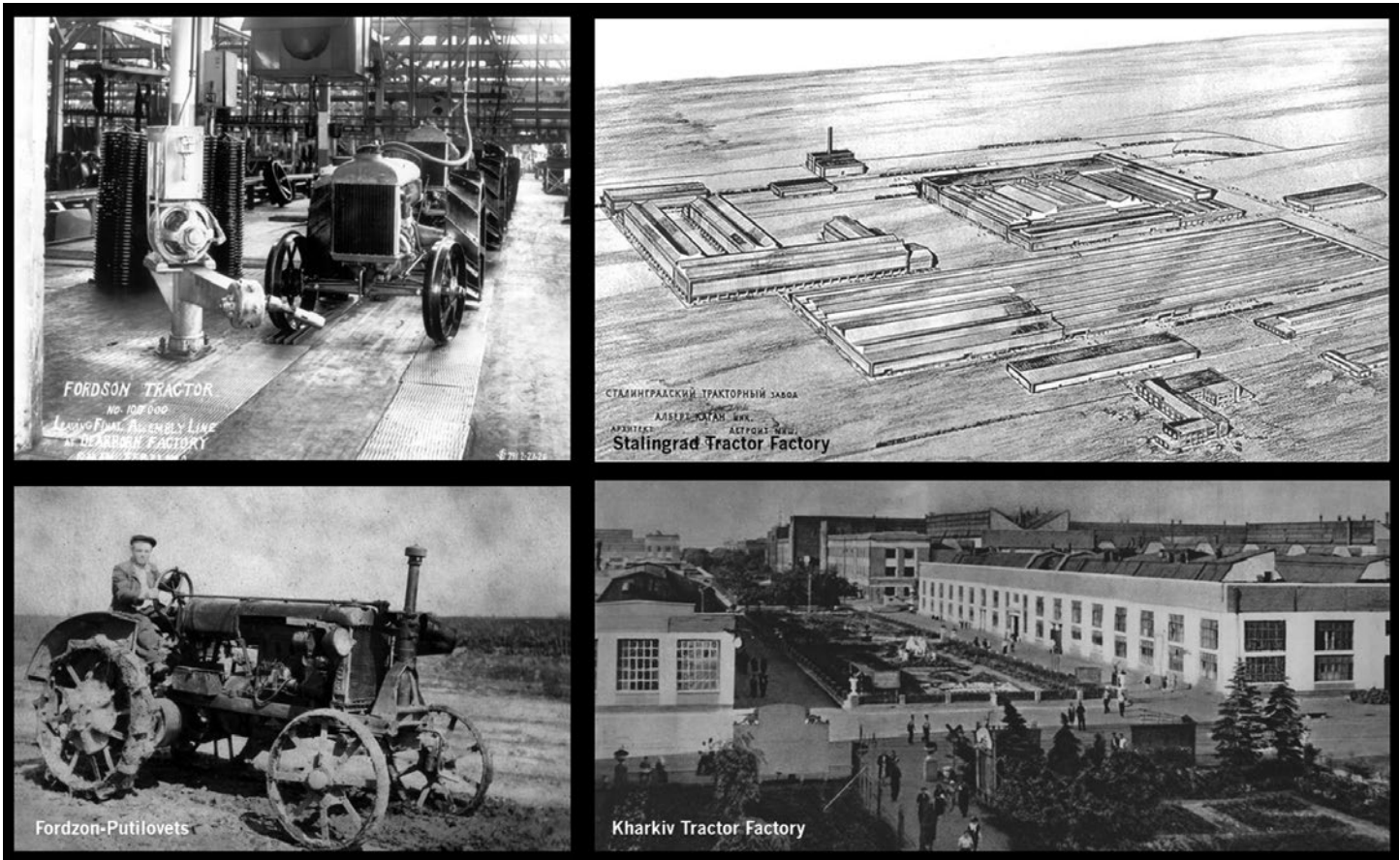
To the best of my knowledge, these are the only two seminars at the Center that function as intellectual and scholarly bridges between the humanities and the social sciences. I must say that the Center has been extremely hospitable and very supportive, and I look forward to my collaboration with Michèle Lamont as the new Center Director.

**KC: Has your research transformed as a result of your relationship with the Center?**

**PR:** My research has developed along with my methodologies. I began focusing on cross-disciplinary methodological approaches to my own research field before I joined the Center, but my interactions here have helped immensely in further developing these methodologies. Dialogue with a number of colleagues here at the Center and the graduate students has taught me a lot. My interactions have exposed me to a number of intellectual debates with which I was not familiar before I became an affiliate. This is another major advantage that the Center offers to those who are not political scientists. For example, the State of the Field events and the different seminars are extremely intellectually informative and stimulating for all of us. The Center is exceedingly open to new initiatives, and it allows them to be open-ended. This is one of the most beautiful and encouraging things about the Center, and I am very glad to be part of this community.

**MM: Tell us something about yourself that people outside of academia wouldn’t generally know.**

**PR:** I used to write poetry and in fact I published a collection of poetry in my sophomore year at the University. I still write some poetry, in Greek, of course. I like the cinema quite a lot, especially older cinema. One of my distant relatives, my grandfather’s uncle, was a famous Greek painter. His name was Georgios Roilos and he was one of the early mentors of Giorgio de Chirico. But unfortunately, I cannot paint.



impossible. Imports of the steel had to be economized, so the Kharkov plant was built largely of reinforced concrete.<sup>6</sup> A Soviet history fills in the details. The economics and timeline of the Kharkiv factory did not permit imports of all fabricated steel products from the United States, as had been the case in Stalingrad, nor was importation sustainable over the long term. And the nascent Soviet steel industry was incapable of providing identical sections to those designed for Stalingrad, or even the required amount of reinforcing bars for a fully concrete version. As a consequence, the Kharkiv Tractor Factory was effectively redesigned as a hybrid complex with three structural systems: steel, steel on top of concrete foundations, and reinforced concrete.<sup>7</sup>

The long-term implications of the tractor factory standardization experiment become clearer at the Union scale. Kharkiv was a model project for the *priviazka* system of typological replication that continued well after Kahn's staff left the USSR in 1932. *Priviazka*, directly translated, is a tightening, or binding; in the Soviet architectural context it came to mean modification of a standardized design to meet specific site conditions. This Soviet version of standardized architectural production assumed that strategic adjustments of the original model would be necessary, changes that would permit the final product and its model to bear a family resemblance even if the material and labor conditions under which they were created differed drastically. As technology historian Yves Cohen writes in his study comparing the American and Soviet versions of Ford tractors, "Compared side by side, a *Fordson* and *Fordzon-Putilovets*

resembled each other like brothers...I do not at all mean to say that standardized products have to be identical. On the contrary: it is this very paradox of mass production that Henry Ford was the first to solve; to be identical at the level of the complete product, its constituent parts need to not be identical."<sup>8</sup> Cohen notes that what is important to control in this imperfect replication process is *tolerance*, the reasonable dimensional distance between the original and its copy, such that the two act satisfactorily alike. [Figure 3]

Can Cohen's notion of tolerance be applied to Stalingrad and Kharkiv? The complexes differ greatly in material composition, methods of construction, and finally, even outward appearance. But a close comparison of each factory's architectural DNA—the plan—reveals the projects to be typologically related. How does one assess tolerance in such a case, and at what point is tolerance exceeded to make the second iteration so different that it can no longer be considered a replica? Perhaps we can pose the question to our protagonist. Would Albert Kahn, well versed in Ford's philosophy of mass production, have considered Kharkiv his own project, despite the copious design changes? In fact, he did. In a 1939 American monograph entitled *Industrial Architecture of Albert Kahn, Inc.*, a double-page spread illustrates a map of the world peppered with cities in which Kahn architecture resides.<sup>9</sup> Kahn projects are found on all six habitable continents, with the US and the USSR sharing the highest density of building. Stalingrad and Kharkiv are both indicated as Kahn sites. In total, Kahn office records confirm that 531 factories based upon their drawings and

Figure 3 (clockwise from top left): Fordson Tractor, Ford Factory, Dearborn, MI. Image credit: Henry Ford Foundation

Stalingrad Tractor Plant, Albert Kahn, Inc. Image credit: Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

Kharkov Tractor Factory (KhTZ). Image credit: Golovko, G.V. *Narysy Istorii Arkhitektury Ukrainskoi Rsr*, 1962

Fordzon-Putilovets Tractor, Putilov Factory, Leningrad USSR. Image credit: [www.novate.ru](http://www.novate.ru)

E-mail correspondence regarding *Centerpiece* or other matters may be directed to:

Steven Bloomfield  
Executive Director  
sbloomfield@wcfia.harvard.edu

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

Megan Margulies  
Communications Coordinator  
mmargulies@wcfia.harvard.edu

1737 Cambridge Street  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
617.495.4420  
www.wcfia.harvard.edu  
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specifications were completed in the USSR by the time their two-year consultancy was over, and more than 4,000 Soviet technicians were trained by Kahn management in Detroit, Moscow, and in the satellite construction offices.<sup>10</sup> The number of unconfirmed facilities based on plans or details developed by Kahn's office, *priviazka* copies of brotherly resemblance, will probably never be known, but is likely to be in the thousands.

Soviet economic planners' desire to quickly replicate industrial concerns and residential quarters across vast territories met success through the interscalar standardization of architectural details, standard building types, and pre-designed settlement modules. Finally, the diffuse socialist settlement diagram justified by citations of Marx and Engels and promoted by socialist urban theoreticians was instantiated by an immense and attenuated act of American-styled, but Soviet-modified, architectural replication across the Eurasian continent.

## Notes

1. Although the name of the city is *Kharkov* in Russian (a spelling that was used sporadically in archival documents), and *Khar'kov* as transliterated with the Library of Congress standard, I have used here the current, Ukrainian spelling of *Kharkiv* throughout.
2. The decree was summarized in *Pravda*, December 29, 1929, in an article entitled "The Reorganization and Improvement of Construction." A list of all of the issues addressed in the decree included the need for mechanization of construction work, standardization, industrialization of building materials, skilled work cadres, professional exchanges with other industrialized nations, use of foreign technical expertise, the organization of manufacturing in construction work, establishment of construction firms and branches, management and planning of the construction industry, and decreasing the cost of construction. This directive is also discussed in Catherine Ann Chichester Cooke, *The Town of Socialism* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1974): 166–67.
3. Sonia Melnikova-Raich, "The Soviet Problem with Two 'Unknowns': How an American Architect and a Soviet Negotiator Jump-Started the Industrialization of Russia, Part I: Albert Kahn," *IA: The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 36, no. 2 (2010): 62.
4. "\$1,9000,000 Building by the Soviet in 1930: Albert Kahn, Inc., Get Contract as Consulting Architects in Five-Year Program," *New York Times*, January 11, 1930.
5. An excellent discussion of both *circulation des saviors* and *histoire croisée* can be found in Yves Cohen, "Circulatory Localities: The Example of Stalinism in the 1930s," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 11, no. 1, Winter (2010).
6. Antony C. Sutton, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development 1930 to 1945*, 3 vols., vol. 2, Hoover Institution Publications (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, 1971).
7. All remaining walls, and wall infill, were constructed of red brick produced at the new brick factory three kilometers from the tractor factory. I. N. Baltuzevich, *Opyt I Uroki Stroitel'stva Khtz* (Moskva-Leningrad: Gosstroizdat, 1932): 10–11.
8. Yves Cohen, "The Soviet Fordson. Between the Politics of Stalin and the Philosophy of Ford, 1924–1932," in *Ford, 1903–2003, the European History*, ed. Hubert Bonin et al. (Paris: Plage, 2003): 553.
9. George Nelson, *Industrial Architecture of Albert Kahn, Inc.* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, Inc., 1939): 22–23.
10. Anatole Senkevich, Jr., "Albert Kahn's Great Soviet Adventure," *Dimensions* 10 (1996): 48.

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