



CENTERPIECE

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From the Director

One of the best things about working in a research center at Harvard University is having the opportunity to improve how it operates. With a highly efficient staff, challenging intellectual community, and some of the most creative and productive Faculty Associates to be found anywhere, the WCFA is well positioned to try new ideas when they surface. Intellectual and operational innovations abound, and I would like to share a few of these with you.

One of the Weatherhead Center's primary areas of innovation has been in its sponsorship of faculty research. What do faculty want and need? Time. In order to address this problem, the Center has inaugurated the Synergy Semester—open exclusively to our junior Faculty Associates—which supports one semester leave to be followed by a semester in which a new course related to that research is offered to Harvard College students. It is a win-win outcome: additional leave for Faculty Associates, and a new course for undergraduates.

The Weatherhead Center's research incubation funds are another innovative concept in faculty funding. These funds are specifically designed to support "start-ups"—new research projects whose goal is to eventually find significant outside funding to support the research in the long term. Principal investigators can use incubation funds to arrange meetings in order to develop their projects, consult with grant-writing specialists, and strategize with the Harvard University Office of Sponsored Research. This is one of the few purposes for which the Weatherhead Center will provide a salary supplement;

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Cover: On October 16, 2008, Fellows Alexis Rwabizambaga, Justin Chinyanta, and Adamu Musa presented their thoughts on "Africa's Future—Political and Economic Challenges" at this academic year's first WCFIA Fellows' Roundtable on World Affairs. Photo credit: Sofia Jarrin-Thomas

research incubation funds are a great way to leverage Center funds, encourage faculty to take risks, and educate graduate students who hopefully will be involved in national grant-writing competitions.

Sabbatical opportunities for Faculty Associates are important, but the Weatherhead Center wants to bring together scholars and not just encourage them to "go away." The Weatherhead Center Executive Committee is beginning to discuss plans to have an annual competition among faculty teams for funds to support research clusters that would include visiting scholars, postdoctoral fellows, as well as graduate and undergraduate students who are interested in a broad but well-defined research theme of particular importance. A rich array of seminars and conferences will exit on a three-year cycle, with a new "cluster" in residence each year.

Innovations in Center permanent programs are also taking place, such as the programmatic refocus on transatlantic relations. The Weatherhead Center has been working with the Harvard Kennedy School and the Center for European Studies to inaugurate a new "Program on Transatlantic Relations," generously sponsored by Pierre Keller (Fellow 1979–1980) and directed by Karl Kaiser. Through this program, European-American relations are significantly restored among the Center's intellectual offerings.

The Canada Program has been especially dynamic recently, as the William Lyon Mackenzie King endowment continues to support year- or semester-long visits of particularly prominent scholars of Canada. As of 2007, it also supports Canada Research Fellows, who are graduate students studying Canadian issues in a broader context, from the Holy Land to Mumbai, from Manila to Québec, involving concepts such as aboriginal apartheid, transnational and national migration, Evangelical political socialization, and prisoner and refugee law. The Center is now in the process of searching for its first William Lyon Mackenzie King Fellow, likely a fairly recent doctoral recipient who will add further depth to course offerings and research relating to Canada. Helen Clayton, administrator of the Canada Program, has been crucial in moving the ball forward in implementing our expanded vision of Canadian studies at Harvard.

The WCFIA has a strong commitment to its Undergraduate Associates, and recently has strengthened this constancy even further. While for years the Center has supported undergraduate research through its Undergraduate Summer Travel Grant program, Dunwalke Associate Professor of American History and director of Undergraduate Student Programs, Erez Manela, has expanded the Weatherhead Center's vision for how to better support these young scholars both intellectually and professionally. Organized by Student Programs coordinator Clare Putnam, the Weatherhead Center now con-

venes an annual two-day conference, in which twenty undergraduates present their work to Weatherhead Center affiliates as well as students and faculty from a wide variety of departments. It is truly a time of discovery and professional development for Center-affiliated undergraduates, supported by the curious minds of a broader intellectual community.

Much less visible to most casual observers, staff members have initiated creative solutions to a number of inefficiencies in Center operations. Take the problem of financial reports, for example. Patrick McVay, director of finance, has implemented a new system that both simplifies and clarifies the financial standing of each and every program administered by the Weatherhead Center. The resulting reports provide summaries by several different sorting fields, plus the same detailed information they used to receive in the old reports generated from queries of the central data warehouse. Finally, a financial report anyone can understand!

Thanks to Shinju Fujihira, associate director of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, the Center is even improving its social connectedness. His vision is to facilitate interaction across the broader international and area studies community—interregionally, interdisciplinarily, and intergenerationally—by hosting the occasional reception with scholars from regional studies centers (such as the Asia Center and the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies). From Cambridge Street to Kirkland Street, the WCFIA fosters exciting conversations among those who share common research interests—democratization, the global economy, and global governance—in different regions of the world.

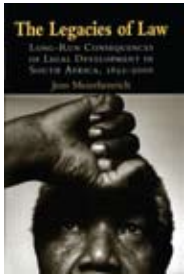
The Weatherhead Center works so well because personnel are an indefatigable source of fresh ideas, contributing to novel ways of thinking and doing. Executive Director Steven Bloomfield has helped in crucial ways to modify Center governance structures to better reflect its interdisciplinary constituency. He sees the opportunities to adapt to changing intellectual environments and works to implement needed adjustments in sensitive ways. Two staff members, Adelaide Shalhope and Lawrence Winnie, co-chair an administrative forum in which both exempt and union staff cooperate and solve problems of all kinds in the workplace in the best and most imaginative ways. Flexibility, openness, and problem solving are the guiding philosophies of the Administrative Action Group (AAG).

If I've managed to impart the impression that life at the WCFIA is perfect, it is completely unintended. It's just that as a Center we are good—*very good*—at recognizing weaknesses and tackling them in innovative ways. ●

Beth A. Simmons, Center Director

The Legacies of Law: Long-Run Consequences of Legal Development in South Africa, 1652–2000

by Jens Meierhenrich



This highly original book examines the function of legal norms and institutions in the transition to—and from—apartheid. *The Legacies of Law* sheds light on the neglected relationship between path dependence and the law.

Meierhenrich demonstrates that legal norms and institutions, even illiberal ones, can have an important—and hitherto undertheorized—structuring effect on democratic transitions. Focusing on South Africa during the period 1650–2000, Meierhenrich finds that under certain conditions, law reduces uncertainty in democratization by invoking common cultural backgrounds and experiences. *The Legacies of Law* demonstrates that in instances in which interacting adversaries share qua law reasonably convergent mental models, transitions from authoritarian rule are less intractable. Meierhenrich's careful longitudinal analysis of the evolution of law (and its effects) in South Africa, compared with a short study of Chile from 1830 to 1990, shows how, and when, legal norms and institutions serve as historical parameters to both democratic and undemocratic rule. By so doing, *The Legacies of Law* contributes new and unexpected insights—both theoretical and applied—to contemporary debates about democracy and the rule of law. Among other things, Meierhenrich significantly advances our understanding of “hybrid regimes” in the international system and generates important policy-relevant insights into the politics of law and courts in authoritarian regimes.

(Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Jens Meierhenrich is assistant professor of government and of social studies in the Department of Government. He also co-chairs the Weatherhead Center's International Law and International Relations Seminar.

American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Power, Culture, and U.S. Colonialism in Puerto Rico and the Philippines

by Julian Go



When the United States took control of the Philippines and Puerto Rico in the wake of the Spanish-American War, it declared that it would transform its new colonies through lessons in self-government and the ways of American-style democracy. In both territories, U.S. colonial officials built extensive public school systems, and they set up American-style elections and governmental institutions. The officials aimed their lessons in democratic government at the political elite: the relatively small class of the wealthy, educated, and politically powerful within each colony. While they retained ultimate control for themselves, the Americans let the elite vote, hold local office, and formulate legislation in national assemblies. *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning* is an examination of how these efforts played out on the ground in the early years of American colonial rule, from 1898 until 1912. It is the first systematic comparative analysis of these early exercises in American imperial power.

(Duke University Press, 2008)

Julian Go was an Academy Scholar (2001–2003) with the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies at the Weatherhead Center. He is currently assistant professor of sociology at Boston University.

Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan

by Margarita Estévez-Abe



This book explains how postwar Japan managed to achieve a highly egalitarian form of capitalism despite meager social spending. Estévez-Abe shows how Japan's electoral system generated incentives that led political actors to protect, if only for their own self-interest, various groups that lost out in market competition. She explains how Japan's postwar welfare state relied upon various alternatives to orthodox social spending programs. By developing an institutional, rational-choice model, Estévez-Abe shows how the current electoral system renders obsolete the old form of social protection. She argues that institutionally Japan now resembles Britain and predicts that Japan's welfare system will also come to resemble that of Britain. Japan thus faces a more market-oriented society and less equality.

(Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Margarita Estévez-Abe is Paul Sack Associate Professor of Political Economy in the Department of Government. She was also a Weatherhead Initiative grant recipient in 2004.

Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences Recognizes Weatherhead Center Executive Director for "Extraordinary Job Performance"

In May 2008, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) recognized four Harvard employees—the Center's executive director, **Steven B. Bloomfield**, among them—for extraordinary job performance. The FAS Administrative/Professional Prize supports one month of travel. Bloomfield has served as the Weatherhead Center's executive director since January 2006 and first came to the Center in 1993 as director of the Fellows Program. He has recently celebrated 25 years of service to the University. He intends to use the award "to allow for serendipity and service, to find something to do and someplace to be that will make me better in my coming back."

Raymond Georis Prize Awarded to Former Fellow

The 2008 Raymond Georis Prize for Innovative Philanthropy was awarded to **Diego Hidalgo**. The prize was launched four years ago by the Network of European Foundations' Mercator Fund, and aims to reward high-impact initiatives that illustrate European leadership. It also seeks to underline the important role that the European philanthropic community plays in promoting peace, security, and development.

Hidalgo is founder of the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE), as well as many other organizations committed to development, democracy, and human rights. He is a former WCFIA Fellow (1994–1995) and an active member of the Weatherhead Center Advisory Committee.

Herbert C. Kelman Receives IPRA Peace Award

The 2008 Peace Award from the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) was awarded to **Herbet C. Kelman**, Faculty Associate emeritus and co-chair of the Middle East Seminar at the Weatherhead Center. The IPRA award was created to honor leaders of transdisciplinary research on theory and practice toward sustainable peace.

Since its inception in 1975, the Middle East Seminar has focused on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Middle East peace process. Other topics have included state formation, the role of religion in politics, inter-Arab relations, internal social and political developments in particular countries in the Middle East, and the Middle East policies of the United States, the UN, as well as other governments and international organizations. Herbert Kelman, Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics emeritus at Harvard University, has chaired the seminar since 1978.

The award was announced this past July at IPRA's global conference in Leuven, Belgium.

Boundaries of the Republic Awarded the James Willard Hurst Book Prize

Mary Lewis, John L. Loeb Associate Professor in the Social Sciences, received the 2008 James Willard Hurst Prize for her book *The Boundaries of the Republic: Migrant Rights and the Limits of Universalism in France, 1918–1940*. The Law and Society Association awarded her for best work in socio-legal history published in 2007. Her book uncovers the French Republic's hidden history of inequality as she reconstructs the life stories of immigrants—from their extraordinary successes to their heartbreaking failures—as they attempted to secure basic rights.

Mary Lewis has been a Faculty Associate at the Weatherhead Center since 2000. Her current project, *Divided Rule*, explores the impact of European imperial rivalry on social life and legal institutions in Tunisia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

After Many Years of Academic Advancement, Lisa Martin Leaves Harvard

Lisa L. Martin, who served on the Weatherhead Center Executive Committee for thirteen years, left Harvard this past summer for a tenured professorship in political science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Martin joined the Department of Government as an associate professor in 1992, achieving tenure in 1996. She joined the CFIA in 1994 and served as co-director of the Student Programs for a year. She later became the editor-in-chief of *International Organization*, a peer-reviewed journal on international relations that was housed at the Weatherhead Center for several years.

In 2005, Martin was appointed senior adviser to the dean on matters related to gender, racial,

and ethnic diversity at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and she served on the Department of Government Committee on Sexual Harassment and the Standing Committee on Women.

Susan J. Pharr Receives Japanese Imperial Decoration

The Japanese Government, in recognition of Professor **Susan J. Pharr's** contributions to the study of Japan, intellectual exchange between the United States and Japan, and the nurturing of scholars of Japan, announced her decoration of the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon in April 2008.

As Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, Susan Pharr is one of the leading specialists on Japan in the United States. She is also responsible for two centers supporting Japanese studies and enhancing academic and intellectual exchange on Japan at Harvard: the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations of the Weatherhead Center and the Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies.

Michael Sandel Honored at APSA Meeting

Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Professor of Government **Michael J. Sandel** was honored by the American Political Science Association this past August. According to the *Gazette*, the event "Excellence in Teaching: Honoring the Career of Michael Sandel," included a video presentation on Sandel's popular undergraduate course "Justice" and comments from his former graduate student teaching fellows, many of whom are currently professors at various colleges and universities across the country.

Sandel has taught political philosophy at Harvard since 1980 and is a Faculty Associate of the Weatherhead Center.

Dispatches: Undergraduate Researchers in the Field

Sixteen Harvard College juniors received summer travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis research on topics related to international affairs. Since their return in September, the Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research environment. During the 2009 spring semester, the students will present their research in a conference (February 19–21, 2009) that is open to the Harvard community. Six Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences in the field:



John Sheffield

Social Studies

Samuels Family Research Fellow

Traveled to Argentina to study police violence under democratic rule in Latin America.

I spent three months in Buenos Aires, Argentina investigating police violence under democratic rule in Latin America. Some scholars have argued that quotidian violence and social inequalities are the defining political problems in Latin America since the end of military rule. Others point to the diminishing rule of law and historically weak states in the region. My thesis will link these two problems by addressing public security and policing in urban areas. The primary case study will be Metropolitan Buenos Aires, and in particular the Federal Police with jurisdiction over the capital. The current scholarly literature, sparse to begin with, lacks a detailed view of the streets and the police institution. The general thrust of my research was to fix this problem: I spent most of my time in the slums and shantytowns (*villas miserias*) conducting interviews with low-ranking police officers, community organizers, and victims of police brutality.

The deliberate isolation of the *villas*, beginning with the eradication plans under the Onganía dictatorship in the 1960s, laid the groundwork for a conflict dynamic between "society" and "villa." The military and the police launched joint operations to bulldoze entire settlements, and the police continued an operational policy of quarantining the *villas* to this day. I was given several family photographs, taken by residents of the Villa 11, that show destroyed houses and police vehicles driving through the rubble; these

photos date back to 1978, the height of the last dictatorship, and to my knowledge have never been published in the media or any academic study. I also conducted a lengthy interview with a retired police officer who drove a bulldozer in several of these eradication plans; he related details on operational tactics and police-military cooperation that haven't been documented in English or Spanish. This conflict dynamic extends to public opinion: I am completing an extensive quantitative analysis of crime fears in Latin America which shows that public fears of insecurity are almost entirely class-based.

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Argentina has an active civil society and a huge number of grassroots organizations. I worked as a research associate at the Argentine League for the Rights of Man, but I also profited from membership in or research assistance from CORREPI-Sur, the Human Rights Commission of Paraguayans in Argentina, the Human Rights Commission of the Villa 21, and several others. My favorite of these cooperative experiences was with the recently-organized 19th of January Housing Cooperative, led by Bernardo Corrales. The Cooperative is a group of 83 families who were evicted from their homes after an (unconstitutional) attempt to invalidate their contracts by the city government; these families lived in the Plaza de Mayo, in plain view of the presidential mansion, for three months in protest of these policy. Twenty of the members, along with a few other homeless men, worked with me as research assistants during the summer. They accompanied me into the *villas* for security reasons, helped dig through little-known archives and small used bookstores, and arranged interviews with *villa* residents and victims of police violence. This cooperation was by far the most valuable part of the summer: besides the obvious benefits to my research, I learned how to tap into these networks to effect real change. It was both humbling and confidence-building. As a Harvard student with an enormous amount of research funding and access to the most important scholarly networks in the world, the best of

my research came from twenty homeless Bolivian immigrants and a few old ladies in a shantytown. At the same time, collaborating with these groups—the members of which were among the brightest and most dedicated advocates I've met anywhere—gave me the sense that my research might actually be useful in the popular struggle against state brutality. In a related internship, I published a series of human rights reports and journalistic pieces on what I uncovered. Two of these reports have been cited in court cases on police torture, and I'm continuing to work with the League and the Cooperative on related human rights endeavors this year.



Leah Zamore

Social Studies

Traveled to Ethiopia and Somalia to study refugee participation in UNHCR's policies and programs and the adoption of voluntary repatriation as the ideal solution to all refugee crises.

Thanks to the grant I received from the Weatherhead Center, I was able to spend ten weeks this past summer conducting thesis research on refugees in Ethiopia. During that time, I worked as an intern for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)—the organization charged with the protection of refugees worldwide—in both the Regional Liaison Office in Addis Ababa as well as the Field Office in Jijiga. My days at UNHCR were spent, inter alia, documenting the personal histories of refugees, listening to and following up on refugees' individual needs and concerns, and liaising between the refugee community, UNHCR officers,

and implementing partners. In so doing, I was exposed to the majority of UNHCR's protection and assistance activities in Ethiopia (including its efforts to promote and facilitate voluntary repatriation) as well as to the internal and external challenges UNHCR faces in the discharge of its mandate. In short, my research took the form of interviews, conversations, documents, and observations, the composite of which has given me as complete an understanding of the situation of refugees—and the state of refugee protection—in Ethiopia as I could have hoped to attain in so brief a sojourn.

Since the end of the cold war, refugee policy has become less and less about protecting and providing refuge to those forced to flee their homes, and more and more about preventing, containing, and reversing refugee flows. Indeed, based on my experience in Ethiopia, I would go so far as to say that repatriation has become the singular end toward which refugee policy is oriented, with the protection of refugees often becoming an afterthought or secondary consideration. Working for UNHCR, I couldn't help but notice that the "right to return" has eclipsed the "right to asylum" as its guiding principle, nor could I ignore the fact that UNHCR has become far more preoccupied with encouraging refugees to return home than it is with encouraging the Ethiopian government to meet its basic protection obligations or to improve the dismal conditions of camp life in Ethiopia.

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Having already spent a summer working in IDP camps in northern Uganda, I was spared the shock that inevitably comes when visiting East Africa—and its refugee camps—for the first time. I spent most of my time living in Addis Ababa, a sprawling city of five million with (what felt like) as many street-sleepers as house-dwellers. The city is also home to roughly 1,200 urban refugees from Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, and the Great Lakes Region. I also had the opportunity to visit other parts of Ethiopia, the most memorable of which was a road trip from Addis to Jijiga, near the Somali border. Overall, the time I spent in Ethiopia was both unforgettable and invaluable, which is why I find it difficult to describe my experience with the sincerity and profundity that it deserves.

What I found most striking about working with refugees was how warm and munificent they were despite everything they had endured. What I found most striking about working for

UNHCR was how paternalistic and distrustful it was of the very people it was charged to protect. Rather than empower refugees, it was my impression that UNHCR helped perpetuate their dependence, though perhaps not on purpose. From the beginning, I was deeply uncomfortable with the relationship between UNHCR staff and refugees, and even more so with just how quickly I adapted to the role of the former. This relationship is premised upon the vast incongruity—in power, wealth, education, et cetera—that exists between aid workers and refugees, and is an inevitable part of life for both. UNHCR is limited in its ability to help refugees for a variety of reasons (a lack of resources being perhaps the most obvious), and thus even the most well-intentioned of its staff must detach themselves emotionally from refugees in order to ease the frustration that comes with not being able to assist them. I found myself doing just that.



Joseph P. Luna

Economics and Government

Rogers Family Research Fellow

Studied the political and economic determinants of ethnic identification in western Ghana.

I chose to research my thesis in Ghana because election campaigns (elections to be held in December 2008) were in full swing this summer and because Ghana had recently discovered oil off of the coast of Western Region, which will lead to a significant economic transformation over the next few years. Oil has been a curse for many African countries, and Ghanaians were particularly concerned that the oil discovery could lead to ethno-political tensions since the issue of regional resource-revenue sharing was especially contentious.

To quantify the effect of political, social, and economic stimuli on ethnic identification, I employed a survey methodology, supplemented with a series of qualitative interviews. Given

time constraints, I focused on skilled and unskilled formal-sector workers at Ghana's two largest ports: Tema and Takoradi. The ports are located in urban areas with much ethnic mixing, and, especially given the oil discovery, are expecting to see large revenue increases over the next few years, possibly leading to increased labor demand.

The first survey question presented a hypothetical situation in which a few co-workers of the respondent, who were of the same ethnic group, failed to receive a promotion for which they were qualified. Respondents were given no other information about the situation. They were then asked to rank how angry they would feel about this situation on a provided scale. Because of variation in "angriness standards" between respondents, I incorporated a series of hypothetical vignettes that respondents then answered, which gave me a better idea for what each individual considered "very angry" or not. I also included questions and vignettes related to respondents' perceptions of economic prospects regarding the oil find as well as their political and social habits. Control-variable questions for ethnic group, religion, political party, etc. were also included.

I was assisted by a team of three research assistants, one of whom was hired from the University of Ghana and the other two provided gratis by the Takoradi port administration. Because of time constraints, surveys were written in English but with the consultation of the research assistants to ensure the language, and associated connotations, would be understood by the respondents. In addition to assisting with survey distribution and collection (and ensuring that I got neither lost nor abducted), my research assistants also acted as interpreters during the numerous interviews conducted.

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Going to Ghana was undoubtedly the best—and most adventurous—summer I have ever had. I learned and experienced so much on the ground beyond the graphs and charts of my economics classes—and saw more of the human story not revealed by the statistics, development targets and poverty-reduction strategies. Walking around, little children would run after me crying "obruni, obruni!" (white man, white man!), and most were genuinely fascinated with me and curious about what I was doing in their village. I certainly witnessed a lot of poverty during my

travels, but, somewhat unexpectedly, I saw that the people were very happy and optimistic despite their economic conditions. Much of that had to do with the fervent religious beliefs just about everyone held—it was not atypical for people to go to church every day or spend almost all of Sunday at worship. I was truly astounded at the intensity of religious belief that most people had, and I believe that that played a major role in how they viewed their own conditions. Religion even seems to be a unifying force between ethnic groups rather than a dividing force.

I was also surprised with the openness with which people were willing to talk about ethnicity in daily life. From what I had seen on the news about Africa my entire life, I thought this would be a rather sensitive subject, but Ghanaians were very open about it, even to a foreigner. Interviewing people from all walks of life about their thoughts on ethnic relations taught me more than any book or paper could about how ethnicity is used in modern, everyday life—and many people even pointed me towards areas where I had not thought of looking, such as buying and developing real estate (almost all land in Ghana is owned by the tribal chiefs, making economic expansion a bit tricky, to say the least). These discussions I had with the local population greatly helped me in connecting everyday reality with ideas from many disciplines—I was able to look at daily problems, like property rights, and think about them from economic, political, and anthropological perspectives.

It is certainly very difficult for me to choose an experience or memory that I value the most, but I will have to say that I value most the connections and friendships I made while I was there. I did not appreciate it as much as I should have at the time, but looking back, I now realize just what kind of sacrifice numerous people made to ensure that my project went well. One official from the ports ministry took off an entire day to guide me around Tema and introduce me to the right people—and he even ensured that I got home safely on the, rather nerve-wracking, local minibuses. My research assistants were all spectacular, and the two provided by the port spent numerous hours with me each day for two weeks helping to administer and collect surveys. Without their inside knowledge, I do not know how I would have navigated around the port area, let alone maintain random sam-

pling. My research assistant from the university was absolutely indispensable, and he provided much assistance with language clarification, interviews, and sample stratification.



Claire Guehenno

Social Studies and Classics

Traveled to Paris and Turkey to study French laïcité in the context of the European Union and European identity.

When I decided to study French *laïcité*, I knew I had big shoes to fill. A core value of French republicanism since the revolution, *laïcité* has become an almost untouchable tenet of the country's constitution and the French staunchly defend their state/church neutrality against any reproach from abroad. But in recent years, I have sensed some national tensions on the role of *laïcité*, exemplified in part with a reaffirmation on the part of president Sarkozy of France's Christian heritage. Though Sarkozy's comments were met with a fair amount of criticism, they exposed increasing doubts in France about whether the country's attitude towards religion is perhaps too combative, rather than neutral and cognizant of the country's religious roots. This interior debate is also influenced by the European Union. As the EU tries to solidify its identity, it has recently turned to the idea of a Christian heritage as a unifying value. There is no denying that Christianity has been an important part of Europe's history since the Roman Empire, but does this attachment to religion persist? If it does, this can become a means to exclude Turkey from possible accession through explicit or implicit religious arguments. But the use of religion in debates against Turkey, a country that prides itself in its *laïcité*, is risky for France as it undermines its own commitment to *laïcité*.

To compare viewpoints on *laïcité*, I also spent some time researching in Turkey and meeting with people there. As I have devoted most of

my college career to studies of France and the European Union, my knowledge on Turkish history was more limited. However, I was able to organize interviews with the advisers to both the president and prime minister on European affairs and with several experts on *laïcité* and European integration. The Turkish had a completely different perspective on the question of *laïcité*. There was no doubt for them that their country is *laïc*, though they admitted national tensions on how that principle should be applied. For them, the possibility of accession to the EU would serve as an example to other countries reflecting the ability of a Muslim country to modernize and separate church from state. More importantly, they could not understand why France, a country they see as their brother in state neutrality towards religion, is so vehemently opposed to their accession to the EU, an organization which they see as democratic and *laïc*.

Though *laïcité* has become a hot topic across Europe, in Turkey especially, the question I am studying had been particularly contentious throughout the last year. While I was there, the country was on the verge of a coup d'état as the Turkish Supreme Court prepared to render its decision on whether to ban the current ruling party because it had violated the principle of *laïcité* by seeking to allow headscarves in universities. Understandably, the political climate was tense and current government officials seemed uncertain about their future. While I was in Istanbul, a large terrorist explosion rocked the city. Though the Supreme Court eventually voted narrowly not to ban the party, the debate about its decision exposed the tensions in Turkey between *laïcité* (which has historically been authoritative) and democracy.

The exciting events taking place during my research abroad intensified my experiences and allowed me to reflect more deeply on my subject among the very people it affects. I rediscovered Europe from a new perspective and reevaluated what I consider European. I looked at the Parisian landscape with a new eye, judging every monument and every person's behavior in the context of my thesis. Similarly, in Turkey, I found myself making mental lists contrasting the country's history with its modern struggles to preserve secular democracy, as I tried to dissect its complicated present as it seeks entrance into the European Union.

Photo Essay: Dispatches

John Sheffield

Top: Elio (my self-appointed bodyguard) is the man on the left wearing the Bolivian poncho; Bernardo Corrales, the president of the group and a close friend, is on the right. Elio was actually one of my interviewees, as well (which is why I'm only using his first name): four days after I met him, the ten police officers attacked him with batons, shattering his skull, right hand, and left arm. He's (more or less) fine now, and insisted that he continue to go with me to the dangerous areas just two weeks after the interviews.

Bottom: Note the "M11-C.30" on the wall. They number all of the houses. This system dates back to the days of the military dictatorship, when the army would come in, number the houses and their residents, and register entire blocks full of houses for "eradication." This block, M11, was to be destroyed in 1981; the standard methodology was to roll through with tear gas bombs and bulldozers. Whoever stayed through the tear-gassing would be bulldozed along with the house. At the last minute, massive social protests stopped the eradication process in M11. Many of the houses in this picture are new, but the numbering has persisted since the late 1970s and the residents of that house in particular lived there during the protest and near-eradication. I interviewed them for my research.



Joseph Luna

Above: With my good Ghanaian friend, Thomas, who assisted me during my research and introduced me to the various aspects of life in his country. This picture was taken after a long day of interviewing in Takoradi, one of Ghana's chief seaports and an ethnically diverse area that stands to benefit significantly from the recent oil discovery.



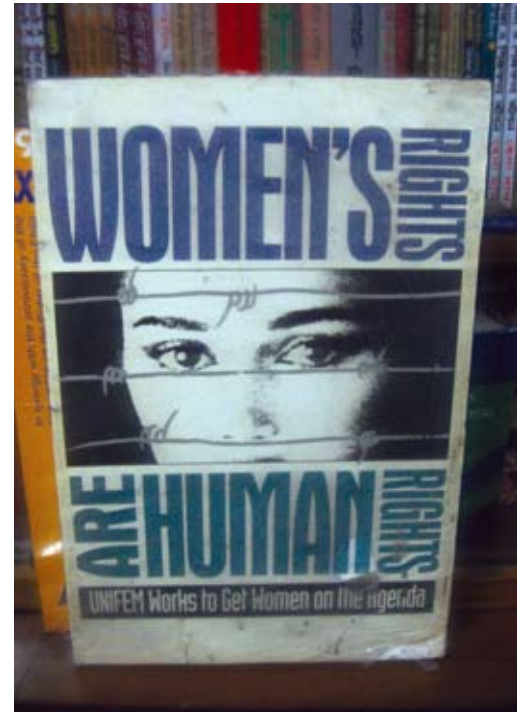
Nadira Lalji

Government
Rogers Family Research Fellow
Traveled to Bangladesh and India to study variation in the internalization of international women's rights norms.

Nadira Lalji

Right: Domestic Women's NGOs in Bangladesh have internalized the ideas and even slogans of the United Nations and its agencies.

The picture shows a poster widely displayed in women's groups across Bangladesh, which reflects a widespread shift in the approach of these domestic organizations from one of charity, based on a concept of giving to women in need, to one of empowerment, grounded in an understanding of the inalienability of women's human rights.





Ola Aljawhary

Anthropology and Near Eastern
Languages and Civilizations
Samuels Family Research Fellow

Traveled to Egypt to study identity notions of Palestinian refugees in Al-Arish after the breach of the border.



Claire Guehenno

Above: Though France has gained an international reputation for its “anti-religious” policies, churches and monuments scattered across the country reveal the stronghold that Catholicism once held. This chapel in the small town of Port-Blanc in Brittany stands as one of the thousands of remaining symbols of France’s Christian roots.



Ola Aljawhary

Above: “Al Ma`bar” (“The Border”): The barrier between Egypt and Israel, with a soldier guarding the watchtower, and barbed wire surrounding the area. (The soldier stood up and reached for his weapon as the car I was in slowed, as this photo was taken.) This is the new border, rebuilt after having been broken down by desperate Palestinians under total Israeli seige in Gaza in late January of 2008.



Ola Aljawhary

Above: Sheep, guided by a young Bedouin shepherdess, meet minivan. The two share the road, just as mountain-dwelling Bedouins, more urban Arish natives (“Arishiyya”), Palestinians, and “Egyptians” share the town of Arish.



Nadira Lalji

Left: This picture captures morning rush hour in Dhaka. I made my way in a rickshaw or local taxi every morning to meet my informants. The traffic was dire, but somehow the rickshaw drivers knew I was in a rush and told me they would engage in “risky” driving, which felt more like playing bumper cars than driving to work.

Global 1970s

by Daniel Sargent



Daniel Sargent is an assistant professor of history at the University of California at Berkeley. A Harvard Ph.D., he was a Weatherhead Center Graduate Student Associate in 2003–2004, a fellow at the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies in 2005–2006, and the Sidney R. Knafel Fellow in 2006–2007. He joined the UC Berkeley faculty this fall after a year at Yale University. He organized the “Global 1970s” conference with Niall Ferguson, Charles Maier, and Erez Manela, all of whom are members of the Department of History at Harvard University and Faculty Associates at the Weatherhead Center.

Held in October, the “Global 1970s” conference was co-chaired by Niall Ferguson, Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Department of History, and Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School; Charles Maier, Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, Department of History; Erez Manela, Dunwalke Associate Professor of American History, Department of History; and Daniel Sargent. Recognizing that the decade of the 1970s is an important new frontier for archive-based international history, the conference was organized to think through its larger implications. The conference papers will be published by Harvard University Press under the name *Shock of the Global*.

Zbigniew Brzezinski (left), former national security advisor under the Carter administration, was the conference keynote speaker. He is joined here by conference organizers Charles Maier and Niall Ferguson. Photo credit: Veselin Cuparic

Introduction

A heyday for bad hair, bell-bottoms, and pet rocks, the 1970s are a decade often reduced to pastiche, commemorated in disco's greatest hits and “That Seventies Show.” But the seventies, for all their endearing quirks, are fondly remembered by few. For North Americans and West Europeans, the decade was an “age of limits” that marked the end of the postwar economic miracle and the coming-to-terms with stagflation and recession. Infamous for Watergate, gas lines, and Jimmy Carter's cardigans, the seventies, for many who lived through them, were years best forgotten.

Yet the decade of the 1970s was also a time of upheaval and transformation for the world. It brought the end of the Bretton Woods monetary order and the advent of new kinds of interdependence among nation-states, including deepening trade relations and floating exchange rates. While growth rates faltered, the seventies saw the expansion of multinational businesses and offshore capital markets—processes that some would now describe as the beginning of a new era of “globalization.” Developing nations challenged the prerogatives of the affluent First World, in oil shocks orchestrated by Middle Eastern exporters of hydrocarbons and in proposals for a New International Economic Order that animated the UN General Assembly. At the same time, the seventies witnessed unprecedented cooperation between the cold war superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—at least until the era of détente that flourished under Henry Kissinger's guidance collapsed in the face of intensifying East-West rivalries in the developing world. And, from the late sixties, human rights and humanitarian interventions became prominent themes in international law and politics, while, in the United States at least, the seventies brought new rights and freedoms for groups—including women and gay and lesbian Americans—which the achievements of the civil rights era had largely bypassed.

Looking back, the seventies stand out as not only an interlude of bad fashion but also a point of departure for contemporary history: a time when the rigidities of a cold war world dissolved and present-day realities began to constitute themselves. This hypothesis was the rationale for the “Global 1970s” conference that Niall Ferguson, Charles Maier, Erez Manela, and I convened in Cambridge

on October 10–11, 2008 with the generous support of the Weatherhead Center and the indispensable help of Adelaide Shalhope. The WCFA's sponsorship was highly appropriate, for CFIA affiliates such as Robert Bowie, Raymond Vernon, Karl Kaiser, Robert Keohane, and Joseph S. Nye dominated contemporary scholarly analysis of the decade's distinctive challenges. Having supported the most significant and original work done on the seventies' new international patterns at the time, the Weatherhead Center found itself, forty years later, supporting what we hope will become a major reevaluation of the period as international history.

In pursuit of new perspectives, the "Global 1970s" conference brought together the work of scholars from the United States, Western Europe, and Australia. The twenty papers that were presented at the conference will comprise a volume, *Shock of the Global: The International History of the 1970s*, to be published by Harvard University Press in 2009–2010. Their subjects range broadly: from the crises of monetary order at the decade's beginning, to the fluid politics of sexuality, to the failures of secular socialism in the Islamic world.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, "crisis" turned out to be a dominant—and contested—theme of the discussions. With a number of papers dealing with aspects of U.S. foreign relations, the crisis of American power and influence in the 1970s—a crisis that may have been overshadowed by a rapid change of fortunes in the 1980s—attracted particular attention. But the conference highlighted a range of complimentary themes, including China's transition from Maoist isolation in the late 1960s to engagement with the global economy by the late 1970s, the collaborative efforts of governments and international organizations to control the transnational pestilences of disease and environmental degradation, and the struggles waged by territorial jurisdictions (i.e., nation-states) to regulate multinational business enterprises and global economic cycles.

By striving to relate historical case studies in creative ways, the conference highlighted both similarities and differences between national and regional experiences. While it achieved no consensus as to whether the seventies marked the beginning of a new global age or, as Lawrence Summers proposed, the end of a postwar era, the papers presented confirmed that the seventies were, in many respects, a deeply tumultuous and transformative decade. Collectively, the assembled perspectives hinted at an international history of the 1970s that will be richer and more complex than allowed by the traditional framework of cold war détente, with its monochromatic, geopolitical focus. While the conference offered a glimpse at this new interpretative paradigm, we hope that the forthcoming conference volume will provide a more substantial blueprint.

The highlight of the "Global 1970s" conference, however, was a dinner conversation with Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Adviser to President Carter

(1977–1981). While many of the conference papers suggested how we might move beyond the cold war as a historical framework, Dr. Brzezinski, formerly a research associate of the Center for International Affairs, injected a note of caution. Although he found the thesis of a transformative 1970s very plausible, Dr. Brzezinski warned the conference participants not to forget how deeply cold war concerns shaped the thoughts and actions of policymakers at the time.

In his responses to participants' questions and in his recollections of his government service, Dr. Brzezinski reminded us that (the Carter administration's concern for human rights and the challenges of economic interdependence notwithstanding) it was the cold war that preoccupied the makers of American foreign policy during the 1970s. Without rejecting the validity of the "transformative seventies" as an analytical framework, Dr. Brzezinski reiterated that the interpretations we impose upon the past are necessarily projections of our own perspectives and concerns. To relate the economic, sociological, and structural upheavals that have become clearer with the passage of time to the experiences of those who lived and led through the 1970s will be the real challenge for historians in the future and the standard for us to meet as we revise our papers for publication. ●



Emma Rothschild, director of the Center for History and Economics and Jeremy and Jane Knowles Professor of History, speaks with Jeremy Adelman, Walter Samuel Carpenter III Professor of Spanish Civilization and Culture and director of the Council for International Teaching and Research at Princeton University. Photo credit: Veselin Cuparic



Odd Arne Westad, professor of international history at the London School of Economics and Political Science, presented a paper at the conference entitled "The Great Transformation: China in the Long 1970s." Photo credit: Veselin Cuparic

A Letter from Brussels to the Next President of the United States of America

by José Manuel Barroso
President of the European Commission



Photo credit: Sofia Jarrín-Thomas

European Commission President José Manuel Barroso inaugurated the Weatherhead Center's new era of Paul-Henri Spaak Lectures with his September 24, 2008, "Letter from Brussels to the Next President of the United States." His address is excerpted here. The complete text and video are available at <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/lecture-ships/spaak/>.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I'd like to begin by thanking Harvard University for inviting me to deliver the 2008 Paul-Henri Spaak Lecture.

How fitting, in our fast-changing world, that we should honor a man who—along with other European founding fathers such as Konrad Adenauer, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, and Alcide de Gasperi—saw earlier than most how interdependent we were becoming. A man who recognized that "we are united in misfortune as we should be in prosperity."

It is with this sense of our ever-increasing interdependence that I decided to write a letter to the next president of the United States. A letter that explains how radically different Europe is today, one that sketches out global trends as I see them, that calls for a whole new approach that can respond effectively to these trends, engage with others, and focus on key challenges that we all face.

Dear Mr. President,

Congratulations on becoming the 44th President of the United States...As I write to you, the world is witnessing what some are now describing as the worst financial crisis since 1929...Over the coming weeks you will get a lot of advice, solicited and otherwise, about the European Union. But Europe is not what it was ten years ago, or even five years ago. I have even heard some say that Europe is a growing regional power. In fact, they are wrong. I have to explain to you in this letter that the EU is a global player. It is time to leave behind old ideas about the EU. Let me tell you how it really is:

- The EU is a single and dynamic market of half a billion people who use the euro, which is the world's second most important currency;

- The EU is home to world-beating multinational companies that, outside the EU and despite the attraction of cheap labor markets in North Africa and Asia, employ more Americans than any other nationality. Seventy percent of all Americans working for foreign companies work for European ones;
- The EU is a union of free countries that upholds the same political values that the United States holds dear, like democracy, freedom, and human rights. It is a natural ally that shares your belief in open markets and open societies;
- The EU has now grown to 27 Member States, bringing together in peace 500 million people throughout Europe, through the transformative effect of a common market and the adoption of deep political, legal, and economic reforms;
- The EU is a credible partner willing to share the burden of leadership, while welcoming new partners to the table—because that is not only our global responsibility but also our enlightened self-interest;
- The EU is a growing peace and security actor, with nearly 100,000 peacekeepers, police, and combat troops on the ground, helping to consolidate peace in a number of the world's hot spots;
- The EU is the world's largest development aid donor, delivering over 60% of international assistance.

A word here about the current financial crisis. I would stress that the degree of interdependence of our economies requires careful coordination, not just in the coming weeks, but crucially in the longer term. On both sides of the Atlantic, we must maintain open and dynamic financial markets to ensure the reliability of the overall economic system and to drive growth and jobs. To achieve that, we need clear and effective rules—commonly agreed rules, where appropriate—to ensure transparency and confidence in the market. Turmoil in closely linked financial markets can undermine our economic progress; global pandemics can spread faster; terrorists can more easily coordinate and carry out attacks on our homelands; a lack of secure and sustainable energy could push us into a worldwide recession; and climate change...

could have serious geopolitical and social repercussions. These challenges have no respect for national frontiers. America and Europe have no choice but to face them together. Given the complexity and scope of these challenges, it is tempting to take a step backward into protectionism, isolation, and economic nationalism. But this would be a serious dereliction of our duty to protect the interests and security of our people. As so often in life, doing what is right is going to be considerably harder than doing what is easy. We must keep making the case for open and inclusive societies and for open and modern economies, because that is the right way forward for all nations.

A second key trend in international relations today is the emergence of new powers. I do not agree with those who believe that a multipolar world will solve all the problems we face today. Europe tried a multipolar balance of power in the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century, and we all know where that led. We certainly welcome pluralism in international relations, but let us not forget that multipolar systems are based on rivalry and competition...In international relations, partnerships and a multilateral approach can achieve so much more. Therefore, as you will have realized, I see globalization and the rise of other powers as an opportunity for us to re-think and adjust our engagement with the world.

Looking back on the past 60 years, we can be proud of our accomplishments. But more of the same will no longer suffice. First, we need to strengthen the transatlantic economy. When we look at the figures, that may seem a strange priority. The transatlantic economy is already a behemoth. It accounts for 40% of world trade, generates \$4 trillion in annual commercial sales, provides up to 14 million jobs, roughly four times the entire workforce of Massachusetts...the picture is changing fast. Last year, one in every six dollars of foreign direct investment came from outside the developed world. Emerging economies' share in the world market is expected to double between 2005 and 2020. The trend is clear. We can thrive in a global economy as long as we maintain our productivity and our ability to innovate. This means promoting trade and investment between our economies even further, which is why your predecessor, along with Chancellor Merkel and myself, created the Transatlantic Economic Council last year, in a bid to eliminate remaining non-tariff barriers. Your support for this process will send a crucial signal about our confidence in open markets and open societies.

In addition to strengthening the transatlantic

economy, we must also make the transatlantic relationship more outward looking. Faced with the trends I outlined earlier, we need a renewed politics of global engagement, particularly with international institutions. Indeed, I believe we will need to reform these institutions and maybe even create new ones to address effectively the great challenges of our times...a new multilateralism is not only desirable but necessary. Europe and America provided the ballast for the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, the GATT, and other multilateral organizations. They have been fundamental to our international system. But they are not enough to tackle today's priorities. The EU has a particular experience in economic integration, which can serve as an important example in transformation.

Let me give an obvious example. Climate change. It will not be new to you that I believe the EU and the United States must show leadership on this. We have a moral obligation to offer real, deep cuts in emissions in the medium term, not least because we are responsible for the bulk of past emissions. But we also need China and India to play their part in moving as quickly as possible to a low carbon economy. China's annual increase in emissions is greater than Germany's total annual emissions. So we must engage with India and China in a real dialogue on this. We must deliver a successful outcome to the UN negotiations in Copenhagen in December 2009.

A final area I would like to highlight that could

reap the benefits of a more outward-looking and engaged transatlantic partnership is peace and security. Many of the challenges thrown up by globalization have security implications. The expansion of the world population, heightened competition for food and raw materials, and desertification are acting as crisis accelerators that may well result in pressure for mass migration. Then there are the public health challenges and pandemics, such as AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and the rise of new diseases or drug-resistant forms of well-known diseases. These are aspects of security in the broadest sense: environmental security, food security, health security. Then there is security, period. Reflecting on security in a narrow sense, as being able to live in peace and freedom, safe from any threat, the picture continues to be mixed. Seven years after 9/11, we must recognize that the world has not become a much safer place. Terrorism is down, not out—as we witness in Afghanistan, Iraq, or Pakistan. There can be no respite in the fight against terrorists and their sponsors. Dangers of proliferation—putting weapons of mass destruction in the hands of extremist regimes—loom large.

Security in the transatlantic context is first and foremost an issue for NATO. As we prepare for the 60th anniversary celebrations in Strasbourg next year, we should remind ourselves of the decades of peace the Alliance has assured us. In a complementary manner to NATO, the EU is also acting to bring peace and security

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Nicolas Janssen, generous benefactor of the Paul-Henri Spaak Lecture, is flanked by Director of the Center's Program on Transatlantic Relations Karl Kaiser and Center Director Beth Simmons. Photo credit: Sofia Jarrín-Thomas



Program on U.S.-Japan Relations (2008–2009).
Photo credit: Martha Stewart

PROGRAM ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS

The alumni of the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations have had distinguished careers in government, international organizations, business, media, and universities. Since January 2007, **Ban Ki-Moon** (1984–1985) has served as the Secretary General of the United Nations. **Hisashi Owada** (1980–1981) serves as Judge, the International Court of Justice. **Naoyuki Shinohara** (1985–1986) serves as Vice Minister of Finance for International Affairs. **Naoko Ishii** (1985–1986) is the Sri Lanka Country Director of the World Bank. **Heizo Takenaka** (1980–1981), the architect of former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's economic reforms, continues to teach at Keio University as Professor and Director of the Global Security Research Institute (G-SEC). **Mariko Bando** (2006–2007) serves as President of Showa Women's University, and was recently featured in the *New York Times* as an author of several bestsellers on parenting and women's career and family. **Ambassador Hisahiko Okazaki** (1981–1982) continues to shape Japan's foreign and security policies as President of the Okazaki Institute. **Yasuhiro Takeda** (1990–1991) is Dean of Graduate School of Security Studies at the National Defense Academy. **Clyde Prestowitz** (1986–1987) is President of the Economic Strategy Institute. **Ambassador Sakutarō Tanino** (1983–1984) is Vice President of Japan-China Friendship Center.

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Many alumni serve in the Japanese and U.S. governments as elected and bureaucratic officials. There are currently five program alumni in Japan's House of Representatives: **Kenji Eda** (1987–1988), **Yoichiro Esaki** (1985–1986), **Taku Eto** (1986–1987), **Katsuya Okada** (1985–1986), and **Kozo Yamamoto** (1981–1982). **Robert Dohner** (1989–1990) is Deputy Assistant Secretary for Asia in the U.S. Department of Treasury. **Michael Beeman** (1997–1998) is Deputy Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Japan in the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR). **Major General Sadamasu Oue** (1997–1998) is Director of Public Affairs, Joint Staff Office, in the Ministry of Defense. At the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), **Toru Odaka** (2001–2002) serves as Chief Representative of the New York office, and **Fumitaka Machida** (2003–2004) serves as the Chief Representative of the Singapore office.

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Many program alumni now occupy high-level positions in business. **Yukio Aoyama** (1990–1991) is President of STB Business Partners Co., Ltd. **Shigenori Takano** (1987–1988) is President of Dai-ichi Frontier Life Insurance Co., Ltd. **William Farrell** (1995–1996) is Chairman of Dynamic Strategies Asia, and also serves as Chairman of the National Association of Japan-America Societies. **Ninji Hayashi** (1994–1995) is President and CEO of KENEDIX Advisors, Inc. **Tatsuya Oishi** (1999–2000) is President of Focus Business Produce, Inc. **Kazuhiro Sakamoto** (1991–1992) is President of Marubeni Construction Material Lease Co., Ltd. **Kunio Inamura** (1992–1993) is President of Life Housing Loan, Ltd. At Tokyo Gas Co. Ltd., **Masahiro Mikami** (1989–1990) and **Hisao Watanabe** (1990–1991) both serve as Executive Officer and General Manager, and **Tsuyoshi Okamoto** (1986–1987) is Member of the Board and Executive Vice President. **Hiroshi Yokokawa** (1980–1981) is Executive Vice President of Osaka Gas Co., Ltd. **Stephen Elliott** (1995–1996) is Managing Director of iQ Venture Partners. **Andrew Osterman** is Director of Asia-Pacific Operations at Microsoft/Alluvion Global Financial Systems. **Sachio Nakagawa** (1987–1988) is Managing Director of Mitsubishi UFJ Trust Hosyo Co., Ltd. **Ryoji Kosugi** (1984–1985) serves as Executive Director and Secretary General of the Committee for Energy Policy Promotion. **Toru Takizawa** (1986–1987) is Managing Director of Epson Toyocom Corporation. **Akira Tachikawa** (1992–1993) is Managing Director of Maruhachi Warehouse Co., Ltd. **Shigeru Tsuburaya** (1995–1996) is Managing Executive Officer, the Business Division of Mitsubishi UFJ Trust and Banking Corporation. **Hiroto Matsuda** (2003–2004) is Managing Director (Asset Finance Department) at DBJ Nomura Investment Co., Ltd. **Chikara Kuranari** (1982–1983) is General Manager of the Corporate Planning Department, Sompo Japan Insurance Inc. **Yutaka Kijima** (2002–2003) is Executive Vice President of Technology Alliance Investment Ltd. **Masaru Toriyama** (1989–1990) is General Manager of Investor Relations and Public Relations Office at Idemitsu Kosan Co., Ltd. **Koji Tobita** (1998–1999) is Executive Vice President of Daiwa Fund Consulting Co. Ltd. **Carl Green** (1984–1985) is Senior Representative of the Washington, DC office of Hitachi Ltd.

The news reporting in the United States and Japan is now shaped considerably by the program's alumni. Fred Hiatt (1986–1987) is the Editorial Page Editor of the *Washington Post*. At Yomiuri Shimbun, Kojiro Shiraishi (1989–1990) recently became Chief Officer of the Yomiuri Research Institute, and Michiro Okamoto (2000–2001) is General Bureau Chief of the Americas in Washington, DC. At Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Takabumi Suzuoki (1995–1996) is Senior Staff Writer in the Editorial Bureau; Hiroyuki Akita (2006–2007) writes columns as Senior Staff Writer in the Political News Department; Waichi Sekiguchi (1988–1989) is Editorial Writer in the Business News Department; Keiichi Murayama serves as Bureau Chief of the Silicon Valley Bureau; Yusuke Yoneyama (2005–2006) recently became Chief Correspondent in the Washington Bureau; and Yasuhiro Tase (1996–1997) writes regular columns while also teaching at Waseda University. At Asahi Shimbun, Masaru Tachibana (1991–1992) serves as Managing Trustee of the Asahi Shimbun Foundation, and Kanako Ida (2005–2006) became a correspondent in the Brussels Bureau.

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Many of the program's academic alumni have continued their distinguished academic careers. Jun Iio (2001–2002) is Professor in the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, and his recent book on Japan's administrative state won numerous prestigious awards. David Leheny (2001–2002) is the Henry Wendt III '55 Professor of East Asian Studies and Christina Davis (2001–2002) is Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. Barbara Stallings (1988–1989) is the Williams R. Rhodes Research Professor at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University. Stephan Haggard (1989–1990) is Lawrence and Sallye Krause Professor of Korea-Pacific Studies and Director of the Korean Pacific Program, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California at San Diego. Ian Condry (2006–2007) is Mitsui Career Development Professor at MIT. Ming Wan (1993–1994) serves as Director of Global Affairs at George Mason University, where he also teaches as Professor of Government and Politics. Gregory Noble (1984–1985), Susumu Yamakage (1988–1989), Nobuhiro Hiwatari (1995–1996 and 2005–2006), Junko Kato (1996–1997), and Rieko Kage (2005–2006) teach political science at the University of Tokyo. Hugh Whittaker is Professor and Associate Dean at University of Auckland. Kentaro Fukumoto (2003–2004) recently became Professor of Political Science at Gakushuin University. Aurelia Mulgan George (1992–1993) is Professor in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at University of New South Wales. Verena Blechinger-Talcott (2002–2003) is Professor of Japanese Politics and Political Economy at Berlin Free University. David McConnell (1991–1992) is Professor of Anthropology at College of Wooster. David Johnson (1996–1997) is Professor of Sociology at University of Hawaii at Manoa. Michael Witt (1999–200) is Affiliate Professor of Asian Business and Comparative Management at INSEAD (Singapore). Kenneth McElwain (2005–2006) joined the University of Michigan as Assistant Professor of Political Science.

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Many program alumni also stayed at Harvard to serve in faculty and administrative positions. Michael Reich (1981–1982) is Takemi Professor of International Health Policy at the Harvard School of Public Health. Dani Rodrik (1980–1981) is Rafiq Hariri Professor of International Political Economy at Harvard Kennedy School. Anthony Oettinger (1981–1982) is Research Professor in the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences. Oliver Oldman (1983–1984) is Learned Hand Professor of Law, Emeritus, at Harvard Law School. Kathleen Molony (1993–1994) is Director of the Fellows Program at the Weatherhead Center. Robin Radin (1996–1997) is Associate Director of the Program on International Financial Systems at Harvard Law School.

FELLOWS' LIVES LIVED

Edward R.F. Sheehan, a Fellow of the Center in 1974–1975, passed away on November 3, 2008, at the age of 78. He was laid to rest in St. Joseph's Cemetery, West Roxbury, Massachusetts. A founder and longtime participant in the Center's Middle East Seminar, Edward was fundamentally a writer: a foreign correspondent, playwright, and novelist by trade. He was also a diplomat, having served in Cairo and Beirut as a U.S. Foreign Service Officer from 1957 to 1961.

Edward's calling was to deftly analyze high politics while indulging a need to explain the lives of common people often caught tragically in the crossfire of international events. He communicated a strong moral vision in everything he wrote and said.

A 1952 graduate of Boston College, Edward spent two years in the U.S. Navy before he began his career as a journalist with the *Boston Globe* reporting from Egypt, Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium, the United Kingdom, France, and Morocco. He wrote regularly for the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Harper's Magazine*, the *New York Times*, and the *New York Review of Books*. Among his novels were *Kingdom of Illusion* (1964); *The Governor* (1971), about Massachusetts politics; his 1993 examination of U.S.-Mexican immigration, *Innocent Darkness*; and the 1997 publication, *Cardinal Galsworthy*, a speculation on the possible succession to the papacy of a British prelate.



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through a range of crisis management tools. We have sent troops, police, magistrates, and other staff to more than fifteen trouble spots in the Balkans, Moldova, Afghanistan, the Palestinian territories, Central Africa, and Aceh. In the process, we have helped to stabilize the domestic situation and enabled states to fulfil their basic public functions. At the political level, too, the EU is increasingly shouldering its share of the burden. A recent example was the trip to Moscow and Tbilisi by President Sarkozy and myself. This allowed us to make concrete progress on implementation of the EU's six-point ceasefire plan between Russia and Georgia, including sending EU observers into Georgia. We made it clear to President Medvedev that if Russia wants to be seen as the great power it rightly aspires to be, then it must defend its legitimate interests through political dialogue, multilateralism, and diplomacy, not through archaic tools that should be left to the darkest days of the twentieth century.

Mr. President, with this in mind, I think you will agree that while many files will be waiting for you in your in-tray when you arrive in the Oval Office, the one marked "Relations with the European Union" deserves to be kept close. The relationship has achieved great things in the past. But set on the road of modernization and engagement with the wider world, it has the potential to achieve even greater things in the future. It is obviously in the interests of both the EU and the United States to deepen their partnership further. In my view, the time has come to start thinking of an "Atlantic Agenda for Globalization." We have the transatlantic marketplace, NATO, the Transatlantic Economic Council, and other instruments that we should continue to leverage for maximum mutual benefit. But I think we should move beyond this and set an agenda of common action for a new multilateralism that can benefit the whole world. From climate change to trade, from development to terrorism, these are the challenges that require Europeans and Americans to agree on a new multilateral agenda.

Mr. President, you will be seeing me and other European leaders regularly from now on, in the annual EU-U.S. summits and on ad hoc transatlantic occasions, in the yearly G8 meetings and in a host of other multilateral gatherings where so many of today's international questions are addressed.

We should seize these opportunities and start writing our new Atlantic Agenda now.

Yours sincerely,
José Manuel Barroso



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