



# CENTERPIECE

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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## From the Director

"A multigenerational community of scholars"—that is how I have introduced the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs to new affiliates for the past six years. From the most senior faculty to the newest college freshman, the WCFIA has often provided extraordinary mentoring connections across this university.

I was reminded of this only two weeks ago at our semiannual "State of the Field" night. Forty members of our scholarly community gathered on a mid-November evening at the Harvard Faculty Club to hear a very illuminating panel offer their multidisciplinary perspectives on the study of corruption. Early in the presentation, Professor Noah Feldman of Harvard Law School paused in his introductory remarks to recognize Professor Arthur Kleinman of the Department of Anthropology as the font of all of his correct perceptions (and none of his errors) regarding corruption and the law of contemporary China. The comment provided a moment to reflect on two professors, both eminent, and the baton of knowledge that is passed from one generation to the next through the sort of mentoring enabled by such institutions as ours. Bringing forward the next generation of scholars is elemental to our work. Some three dozen undergraduates are now engaged in assisting the research of our faculty, Fellows, and scholars of the Harvard Academy. More and more faculty seek Weatherhead Center funding through our formal grant-making processes specifically to engage students in their research projects. Undergraduates immersed in their own work, preparing their theses on the basis of field-research grants provided by the Center, are very often mentored by our Graduate Student Associates who volunteer their time, knowledge, and goodwill with truly outstanding energy and commitment.

This investment in human capital has tangible payoffs. Just days ago we received a grateful note from recent Harvard College graduate Tannis Thorlakson letting us know that her undergraduate thesis on "Reducing Subsistence Farmers' Vulnerability to Climate Change: Evaluating the Potential Contributions

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of Agroforestry in Western Kenya" was published by *Agriculture and Food Security* last week (<http://www.agricultureandfoodsecurity.com/content/1/1/15>). "It's a pretty amazing feeling to finally bring this to fruition, and incredibly gratifying to know that the countless hours that the farmers contributed to my research will not go unheard," she writes. "My research experience abroad really helped me test out my interest in academia, and I hope to be returning to get my PhD in a few years." She attributed her success, principally, to her summer field-research grant from the Center and to the mentorship of longtime Center associate, Professor Rob Paarlberg, Center Faculty Associate and Harvard Kennedy School Professor Bill Clark, and Graduate Student Associate Andy Harris. Tannis was also a faithful undergraduate member of our dinner series, the Workshop on the Sustainability of the World's Food and Farming Systems, chaired by Rob Paarlberg.

Graduate students like Andy Harris who do so much to mentor undergraduates and provide feedback to one another on a weekly basis are, of course, in turn nurtured through their scholarly growth by our faculty, including Professor Erez Manela of the Department of History and director of the Center's graduate student program. The number of regular scholarly consultations and the sheer number of letters of recommendation for grants, or for postdoctoral or faculty posts, is tremendously time consuming, and yet something that all of us recognize as essential.

And, of course, tenure-track faculty receive a great deal of guidance from their senior colleagues. The climb from assistant to associate to tenured faculty is a famously arduous one, perhaps nowhere more so than at Harvard. The faculty interactions that research centers such as ours enable are a core element of professional

success. One need only sit in on one of our Steering Committee meetings to hear how senior colleagues so carefully regard the funding proposals of their younger peers, suggesting revisions and generally helping to develop their grant writing skills. Our junior colleagues regularly return the favor by keeping us abreast of the latest tools and technologies available to supplement traditional research methods.

And so, too, do Weatherhead Center staff get in on this act of formal and informal mentoring. Freshmen and student-organization leaders receive advice from many members of our administrative team who have developed a knack (and a passion) for advising students regarding their scholarly development and their career choices. At least one member of the staff keeps a box of tissues close at hand for those conversations that might get sensitive, where the basic humanity of our scholarly community can't help but leak out. And, of course, more experienced staff nurture younger staff, because to our administrators a commitment to Harvard and the Weatherhead Center can be as long, or much longer, than any of our faculty or students.

We create a virtuous circle by understanding that knowledge is cumulative, sometimes ambiguous, and precious. We recognize that building a scholarly community in international affairs represents a stock of human capital that requires the generous but judicious budgeting of our time and financial resources to support. I want to take this opportunity to thank all of our student affiliates, Faculty Associates, visitors, and dedicated staff not only for their expertise, but also for their generosity in sharing it with all who are engaged in basic research in international affairs.

Beth A. Simmons  
Center Director

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Cover: Colorful autumn  
leaves surround the  
Knafel Building.  
Photo credit: Megan Countey

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Wins Phi Beta Kappa Teaching Award

Jeremy and Jane Knowles Professor of History and director of the Center for History and Economics, **Emma Rothschild**, was awarded a Phi Beta Kappa teaching award at the 222nd Phi Beta Kappa Literary Exercises. In addition to celebrating top-ranked seniors in Harvard College's class of 2012, the Literary Exercises honor Harvard professors for their excellence in teaching.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Named Walter Channing Cabot Fellow

**Mary C. Brinton** is one of nine professors in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) to be named a Walter Channing Cabot Fellow for 2012. The 2012 honorees were awarded for their distinguished publications. Brinton is the author of *Lost in Transition: Youth, Work, and Instability in Postindustrial Japan*, an analysis of the issues facing twenty-first-century Japan as it struggles to find its place and adapt its time-honored employment system to the global economy.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Receives Scholarly Publication Award

**Frank Dobbin**, professor of sociology, received the American Sociological Association's (ASA) Distinguished Scholarly Book Award for his book *Inventing Equal Opportunity* (Princeton 2009) which shows how corporate personnel managers defined what it meant to discriminate. The award is presented annually for the ASA member's best single book published in the two calendar years preceding the award year.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Presented American Society of Health Economists Medal Award

**Amitabh Chandra**, professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School, has been presented the 2012 American Society of Health Economists (ASHEcon) Medal Award. ASHEcon is a newly

formed professional organization dedicated to promoting excellence in health-economics research in the United States.

Chandra's research has been supported by the National Institute of Aging, the National Institute of Child Health and Development, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and has been published in the *American Economic Review*, the *Journal of Political Economy*, and the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

He is also the first-prize recipient of the Upjohn Institute's Dissertation Research Award, the Kenneth Arrow Award for best paper in health economics, and the Eugene Garfield Award for the impact of medical research.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Elected Annual General Meeting of the British Academy Fellow

**Elhanan Helpman**, the Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade at Harvard University, was elected as a corresponding fellow at the Annual General Meeting of the British Academy. Corresponding fellows of the British Academy are elected from overseas universities, and Professor Helpman was elected as one of fifteen new corresponding fellows. The British Academy elected thirty-eight new fellows from twenty-three institutions across the United Kingdom. Elected fellows to the British Academy are highly distinguished academics, each recognized for his or her outstanding research in their respective fields. Professor Helpman's contributions to economic research include studies of the balance of payments, exchange rate regimes, stabilization programs, and foreign debt. Most importantly, however, are his studies of international trade, economic growth, and political economy. He is a cofounder of the "new trade theory" and the "new growth theory," which emphasize the roles of economies of scale and imperfect competition.

### Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Selected to Co-Chair African Union Panel

**Calestous Juma**, professor of the practice of international development and director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization Project at Harvard Kennedy School, has been named co-chair of an eight-person African Union (AU)

panel on science, technology, and innovation. The panel will guide the AU on the review process of Africa's Science and Technology Consolidated Plan of Action (CPA), adopted by African ministers of science and technology in 2005 and endorsed by AU heads of state and government in 2006, with the intent of moving the continent from resource-based economies into the age of innovation-led growth.

The first meeting of the panel was held in August at the Library of Alexandria in Egypt, and its report was presented at the African Ministerial Conference on Science and Technology (AMCOST) in November 2012 in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. The adopted plan will be presented to the AU heads of state at the government summit in July 2013 for approval.

### Weatherhead Center Affiliate Wins Silver Magnolia Award

The Foreign Affairs Office of the Shanghai Municipal Government selected **Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good**, professor of social medicine in the Department of Sociology and the Department of Global Health and Social Medicine at Harvard Medical School, as a recipient of the Silver Magnolia Award for her "valuable support to Shanghai's development and outstanding contributions to our friendly cooperation." Good was nominated for the award for her contributions to educating young Chinese leaders and researchers in the field of mental health and for supporting young women to become leaders in the field of mental health.

### Intimate Enemies: Violence and Reconciliation in Peru

By Kimberly Theidon



In the aftermath of a civil war, former enemies are left living side by side—and often the enemy is a son-in-law, a godfather, an old schoolmate, or the community that lies just across the valley. Though the internal conflict in

Peru at the end of the twentieth century was incited and organized by insurgent *Senderistas*, the violence and destruction were carried out not only by Peruvian armed forces but also by civilians. In the wake of war, any given Peruvian community may consist of ex-*Senderistas*, current sympathizers, widows, orphans, and army veterans—a volatile social landscape. These survivors, though fully aware of the potential danger posed by their neighbors, must nonetheless endeavor to live and labor alongside their intimate enemies.

Drawing on years of research with communities in the highlands of Ayacucho, Kimberly Theidon explores how Peruvians are rebuilding both individual lives and collective existence following twenty years of armed conflict. *Intimate Enemies* recounts the stories and dialogues of Peruvian peasants and Theidon's own experiences to encompass the broad and varied range of conciliatory practices: customary law before and after the war, the practice of *arrepentimiento* (publicly confessing one's actions and requesting pardon from one's peers), a differentiation between forgiveness and reconciliation, and the importance of storytelling to make sense of the past and recreate moral order. The micropolitics of reconciliation in these communities present an example of postwar coexistence that deeply complicates the way we understand transitional justice, moral sensibilities, and social life in the aftermath of war. Any effort to understand postconflict reconstruction must be attuned to devastation as well as to human tenacity for life. (University of Pennsylvania State Press, 2012)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Kimberly Theidon is the John J. Loeb Associate Professor of Social Sciences in the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University.

### Obama and America's Political Future

By Theda Skocpol



Barack Obama's galvanizing victory in 2008, coming amid the greatest economic crisis since the 1930s, opened the door to major reforms. But the president quickly faced skepticism from supporters and fierce opposition from Republicans,

who scored sweeping wins in the 2010 midterm election. Here, noted political scientist Theda Skocpol surveys the political landscape and explores its most consequential questions: What happened to Obama's "new New Deal?" Why have his achievements enraged opponents more than they have satisfied supporters? How has the Tea Party's ascendance reshaped American politics?

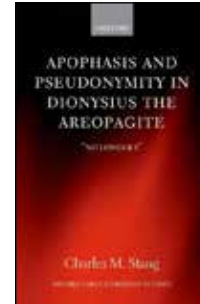
Skocpol's compelling account rises above conventional wisdom and overwrought rhetoric. The Obama administration's response to the recession produced bold initiatives—health care reform, changes in college loans, financial regulation—that promise security and opportunity. But these reforms are complex and will take years to implement. Potential beneficiaries do not readily understand them, yet the reforms alarm powerful interests and political enemies, creating the volatile mix of confusion and fear from which Tea Party forces erupted. Skocpol dissects the popular and elite components of the Tea Party reaction that has boosted the Republican Party while pushing it far to the right at a critical juncture for US politics and governance.

Skocpol's analysis is accompanied by contributions from two fellow scholars and a former congressman. At this moment of economic uncertainty and extreme polarization, Skocpol and her respondents help us to understand its triumphs and setbacks and see where we might be headed next. (Harvard University Press, 2012)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Theda Skocpol is the Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology at Harvard University.

### Apophysis and Pseudonymity in Dionysius the Areopagite: 'No Longer I'

By Charles M. Stang



This book examines the writings of an early sixth-century Christian mystical theologian who wrote under the name of a convert of the apostle Paul, Dionysius the Areopagite. This 'Pseudo'-Dionysius is famous for articulating a mystical theology in

two parts: a sacramental and liturgical mysticism embedded in the context of celestial and ecclesiastical hierarchies, and an austere, contemplative regimen in which one progressively negates the divine names in hopes of soliciting union with the 'unknown God' or 'God beyond being.'

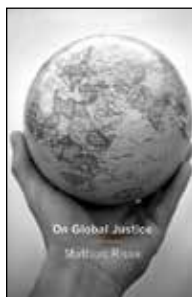
Charles M. Stang argues that the pseudonym and the influence of Paul together constitute the best interpretive lens for understanding the Corpus Dionysiacum (CD). Stang demonstrates how Paul animates the entire corpus, and shows that the influence of Paul illuminates such central themes of the CD as hierarchy, theurgy, deification, Christology, affirmation (kataphasis) and negation (apophysis), dissimilar similarities, and unknowing.

Building on the notion of apophatic anthropology, the book forwards an explanation for why this sixth-century author chose to write under an apostolic pseudonym. Stang argues that the very practice of pseudonymous writing itself serves as an ecstatic devotional exercise whereby the writer becomes split in two and thereby open to the indwelling of the divine. Pseudonymity is on this interpretation integral and internal to the aims of the wider mystical enterprise. Thus this book aims to question the distinction between 'theory' and 'practice' by demonstrating that negative theology—often figured as a speculative and rarefied theory regarding the transcendence of God—is in fact best understood as a kind of asceticism, a devotional practice aiming for the total transformation of the Christian subject. (Oxford University Press, 2012)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Charles M. Stang is assistant professor of early Christian thought at Harvard Divinity School.

## On Global Justice

By Mathias Risse



Debates about global justice have traditionally fallen into two camps. Statists believe that principles of justice can only be held among those who share a state. Those who fall outside this realm are merely owed charity. Cosmopolitans, on the other hand,

believe that justice applies equally among all human beings. *On Global Justice* shifts the terms of this debate and shows how both views are unsatisfactory. Stressing humanity's collective ownership of the earth, Mathias Risse offers a new theory of global distributive justice—what he calls pluralist internationalism—where in different contexts, different principles of justice apply.

Arguing that statists and cosmopolitans seek overarching answers to problems that vary too widely for one single justice relationship, Risse explores who should have how much of what we all need and care about, ranging from income and rights to spaces and resources of the earth. He acknowledges that especially demanding redistributive principles apply among those who share a country, but those who share a country also have obligations of justice to those who do not because of a universal humanity, common political and economic orders, and a linked global trading system. Risse's inquiries about ownership of the earth give insights into immigration, obligations to future generations, and obligations arising from climate change. He considers issues such as fairness in trade, responsibilities of the World Trade Organization, intellectual property rights, labor rights, whether there ought to be states at all, and global inequality, and he develops a new foundational theory of human rights. (*Princeton University Press, 2012*)

## Global Political Philosophy

By Mathias Risse



This book focuses on normative questions that arise about globalization. Much social science research is devoted to exploring the political, legal, social, and economic changes that occur all around us. This book offers an introductory treatment of the

philosophical questions that arise about these changes. Why would people have human rights? Could there be a universal morality in the first place? This question captures a particular kind of skepticism that has also been applied to the human rights movement and needs to be addressed for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be intellectually credible. Ought there to be states? Perhaps there are more appropriate ways of organizing humanity politically. What does distributive justice require at the global level? The world in which we live is one of a striking inequality that challenges us to explore what a just world would look like. What does justice require of us with regard to climate change? We now live in a geological era sometimes called the Anthropocene: it is human action that has the biggest impact on the future of all life. How should we think about fairness in trade? Trade, after all, ties people together around the world. And what does justice imply for immigration policy? Each of these questions is answered in its own chapter. Introductions to political philosophy normally focus mostly or entirely on domestic questions. This introduction is concerned with questions of global scope throughout.

(*Palgrave Macmillan, 2012*)

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Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Mathias Risse is professor of philosophy and public policy at Harvard Kennedy School.

# Honduran Model-Cities: A Historical Perspective

by Steven Press



Steven Press is a Graduate Student Associate and Research Fellow in the Weatherhead Initiative on Global History. He is also a PhD candidate in the Department of History. His research focuses on selling and leasing sovereignty in modern international law and private selling and leasing of sovereign rights to and from states.

In late 2011, President Porfirio Lobo Sosa of Honduras signed a decree to create a “model city” along the Honduran coast. According to President Lobo, the model city would be a territory with laws made, not by the state of Honduras proper, but rather by a consortium of international companies. To administer civil and criminal justice in this model city, the consortium of companies would contract with the Supreme Court of Mauritius—an African state located thousands of miles away. Meanwhile, the consortium would hire private security forces to do the job of police and law enforcement, in the hope of avoiding the kind of corruption for which the Honduran civil service currently has a reputation.<sup>1</sup>

Not long after being signed in late 2011, Lobo’s decree received 126 out of 128 possible votes in the Honduran parliament. The decree garnered much international acclaim on account of the jobs it promised to bring native Hondurans.<sup>2</sup> At home, however, the public proved far from unanimous in its support, and on October 18, 2012, the Supreme Court of Honduras (henceforth referred to as “the Court”) struck down the decree in a tightly contested ruling. The Court began its verdict by conceding that, in the decree’s wake, the Honduran parliament had amended its country’s constitution to permit the creation of a “model city.” This amendment notwithstanding, the Court nonetheless ruled out the idea of a model city. The Court’s reason was that the granting of “autonomy” to the model city in the hope of economic returns threatened to “harm the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and independence” of the Honduran state.<sup>3</sup>

Was the Court correct? Without taking a position on the specific Honduran debate, I want to examine the broader conviction underlying the Court’s verdict. This is the belief that states, in exchange for financial reward, may not grant part of their sovereignty—or jurisdiction that amounts to supreme territorial authority—to external parties without harming their own territorial integrity. At first glance, it may seem improper to even broach this point. This is because transfers of jurisdiction for money are typically associated either with the European Middle Ages, or with colonialism, two constellations that are theoretically in the rear-view mirror of the twenty-first century international community. Recently, however, such scholars as Alexander Cooley have begun to challenge this taboo.<sup>4</sup> For my part, I think it is instructive to test the Court’s position on sovereignty by bringing up several points from history.

The first point is that international legal precedent affords us an abundance of examples in which states freely exchange sovereignty over territories for money. Most Americans will have heard of the Louisiana and the

Alaska Purchases, of course, but there are also less well-known cases: Woodrow Wilson’s purchase of sovereignty over the Danish West Indies in 1917, for instance. Europeans may recall cases closer to home. Here one thinks of Prussia’s purchases of sovereignty over Lauenburg and Jade Bay.<sup>5</sup> Last, but not least, there is Asia, where, among other cases, Britain recently concluded its ninety-nine-year lease for sovereignty over the New Territories and Kowloon extension in Hong Kong.

So much for the argument that a state cannot sell or lease its jurisdiction. But this only leaves room for another objection currently made in Honduras: namely, that the proposed transfer of control over a model city smacks of colonialism. When historians of Asia, Africa, and Latin America look back at the last few centuries, they may well incline to agree with those Hondurans who fear “colonialism.” After all, much of colonial history affords us examples in which transfers of jurisdiction for money have merely been legal fictions in a colonial setting—window-dressing to conceal what was in truth a transfer of territory held under duress. This argument could certainly apply to some incidents affecting US relations: The United States’ lease for supreme jurisdiction at Guantanamo Bay Naval Station, for example, was written in 1903, at a time when the United States already occupied the site and could essentially force Cuba to comply.<sup>6</sup> The United States’ lease for sovereignty over the Corn Islands, granted by Nicaragua in 1914, should also be seen in the same light, as should its lease for supreme jurisdiction in the Panama Canal Zone. Likewise, the leases the Qing Empire made around 1898 to Germany, France, Britain, and Russia fit this description.

Colonialism, however, is hardly a constant in all transactions where cash is given in exchange for legal control. There was no colonial factor when Jimmy Carter’s administration transferred complete control over an entire city in Texas (Rio Rico) to Mexico, in exchange for other Mexican considerations along the border.<sup>7</sup> Nor was Peru a colony of Chile when the former accepted a six million dollar payment from the latter to compensate it for the receipt of a smaller, inferior territory.<sup>8</sup> True, states have primarily relegated the trade in jurisdiction to peripheral sites; the Louisiana and the Gadsden Purchases come to mind.<sup>9</sup> But where the periphery ends and begins is anyone’s guess. Not every sale or purchase risks loss of “territorial integrity,” although some do, as when the Duke of Waldeck sold off his entire jurisdiction and territory to Prussia in the 1860s.<sup>10</sup>

The Honduran debate grows still more interesting when one considers its theoretical relevance to today’s highly indebted states. Should people, or rather their

elected representatives, be able to treat parts of their state's territory as assets in transactions? Should sovereignty be utilized as a cash-equivalent, solving problems for some of a state's citizens while consigning others to a foreign government? Statesmen have often answered in the affirmative during the twentieth century; indeed, on occasion they have alienated their own territory as a path towards fiscal salvation. Britain, for instance, benefited mightily in September 1940 when it signed a contract that "leased" to the United States the jurisdiction over inhabited patches of several Caribbean islands.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, the Kingdom of Oman, desperate to fund a military campaign against rebels, generated vital revenue when it sold jurisdiction over Gwadar to Pakistan in 1958.<sup>12</sup> All these transactions took place without plebiscites—that is, without the direct majority consent of the people affected by the transfer. Nonetheless, all the transactions have been held to be perfectly valid in international law.

One of the more interesting documents I have come across in my research on this subject dates back to the late 1930s. This document is a memorandum prepared by several legal advisors to the British Crown. Its subject? The legality of selling British territory to Hitler—an idea first floated by Hjalmar Schacht as a means to ameliorate the restructuring of war reparations.<sup>13</sup> In the memorandum, the advisors admit that the sale of sovereign rights over any part of the British Empire would prove politically disastrous—especially in the absence of a plebiscite. At the same time, the advisors use the memo to insist that selling sovereignty over part of a state's territory is perfectly valid in international law, without the people's consent.<sup>14</sup> "Modern opinion," the advisors say, "would require that the fullest consideration should be given to any objections raised by inhabitants" in any affected territory.<sup>15</sup> But even the sale of governing rights over "home territory"—integral parts of Britain—might be arranged without a plebiscite, however improbable such a project seems. The key is to recognize that "the transfer of a part of the United Kingdom—say of Wales or of Devon and Cornwall—is not in the same order of ideas as the transfer of Sierra Leone."<sup>16</sup>

Over the last decade states have made dozens of handovers of partial jurisdiction across the world. Recent treaties for drone bases in Africa "lease" jurisdiction over certain matters, often including foreign detainees and drone strikes. The treaties also do so at an agreed price, which is sometimes high enough to constitute a sizeable portion of the "host" state's budget. It is true that the treaties put on a show of attributing the word "sovereignty" to the host countries. However, the legal execution of these same treaties absolutely indicates the transfer of supreme authority in several cases. What's more, "host" governments actively haggle with their "guests" over the price of alienating jurisdiction, threatening to not renew the "lease" upon its expiration if the right price is not agreed.

Many critics currently object to this practice because it reduces the state to something banal: to the level of a business run, as William Jennings Bryan once said, only "for our own profit."<sup>17</sup> But precisely such objections have a long history of futility, and today's critics may find it difficult to win their case as well, if recent developments are any indication. One prominent legal scholar has just written an editorial suggesting that Greece, in the throes of insolvency, can reduce its debt by selling jurisdiction over some of its islands.<sup>18</sup> Finally, in what amounts to an endorsement of these ideas, the United States Special Operations Command recently went on record with the opinion that jurisdiction was "a commodity driven by market-like forces" that will go to the "state, organization, corporation, tribe, gang, etc. that can best meet individual security, economic, and demographic interests."<sup>19</sup>

This last point gets us back to the issue facing Honduras, and it could represent the most intriguing aspect of the marketplace I have described so far. If parties that are not states wish to purchase or lease jurisdiction from states which, like Honduras, find themselves under economic pressure, then there are plenty of precedents for this option, too. Some of these examples are old, such as when Charles II transferred full jurisdiction over Pennsylvania to William Penn in order to settle gambling debts; or when the Mughals transferred control over taxes in Bengal to the East India Company.<sup>20</sup> Some examples, however, come from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, when adventurers and companies paid (or more often claimed to pay) beleaguered rulers to acquire sovereign rights in international law. The areas affected by this era now include the modern states of Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Zambia, Namibia, Mozambique, Malaysia, and Papua New Guinea.

*Continued on page 15*

Map of the Alaska Purchase lands, 1867. Painting done by EverGreene Painting Studios, oil on canvas, 1993–1994. Photo credit: Architect of the Capitol. [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flickr\\_-\\_USCapitol\\_-\\_Alaskan\\_Purchase,\\_1867.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flickr_-_USCapitol_-_Alaskan_Purchase,_1867.jpg)



## Photos: Events



### WCFIA Program and Student Program Events

The Weatherhead Center hosts seven formal programs that link faculty and affiliates working in similar research areas. In addition, nurturing the research of graduate and undergraduate students is one of the Weatherhead Center's highest priorities. The Center helps students financially and intellectually by supporting their research and by encouraging and facilitating meaningful collaboration between students and other Center affiliates including faculty, Fellows, and visiting scholars. In addition, the Center encourages students to participate in its seminars and conferences.

[WWW.WCFIA.HARVARD.EDU/PROGRAMS](http://WWW.WCFIA.HARVARD.EDU/PROGRAMS)  
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Top: The Fellows Program gathers on October 25, 2012, for a photo following a special meeting with Vice Admiral Scott H. Swift, US 7th Fleet Commander. *Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield*

Middle: The Center for History and Economics welcomes the 2012–2013 Prize Fellows. Left, CHE director, Emma Rothschild. Right: CHE affiliates and Prize Fellows mingle. *Photo credit: Megan County*

Bottom: Nancy Khalil, director of Undergraduate Programs, speaks to a Harvard student during the Undergraduate Open House Reception in February. *Photo Credit: Megan County*





### WCFIA Seminars and Conferences

The Weatherhead Center hosts twenty-four seminars that are open to the public. A constant stream of distinguished presenters enriches discussion and the exchange of ideas for more than 300 Center affiliates and the general public.

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WWW.WCFIA.HARVARD.EDU/CALENDAR



The Tuesday Seminar on Latin American Politics engages faculty, visiting scholars, graduate students, and invited guests to present their research on contemporary issues in Latin America. On November 6, 2012, the seminar presented “The 2012 Mexican Election,” with special guest Chappell H. Lawson (left), associate professor of political science and director of the MIT International Science and Technology Initiatives (MISTI) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. *Photo credit (this page): Megan Countey*



The Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People conference took place on November 16–17, 2012. It was the first collective enterprise to place the Pacific squarely within the paradigms of the new oceanic history and to bring together leading historians and anthropologists who have made signal contributions to the new histories of the Pacific. Pictured are speakers Christina Thompson, author, and Joyce E. Chaplin, the James Duncan Phillips Professor of History at Harvard University.



On November 5, 2012, the Herbert C. Kelman Seminar on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution presented “Covering Conflict: War, Storytelling, and the Impact of Witnessing Violence.” The seminar explored the emotional toll of war, how trauma affects brain and body alike, and what it takes to witness and narrate violent struggle in the world. The seminar was moderated by Associate Donna Hicks, and speakers included Finbarr O’Reilly, photographer for Reuters and Nieman Fellow, and Bessel A. van der Kolk, medical director at the Boston Trauma Center.

## Dispatches Undergraduate Researchers in the Field

Nineteen Harvard College students received summer 2012 travel grants from the Weatherhead Center to support their thesis research on topics related to international affairs. Since their return in August, the Weatherhead Center has encouraged these Undergraduate Associates to take advantage of the Center's research environment. Early in the 2013 spring semester, the students will present their research in a conference (February 7–9, 2013) that is open to the Harvard community. Four Undergraduate Associates write of their experiences in the field:



### Eric Justin

*Rogers Family Research Fellow. Degree Program in Social Studies. Economic and political power in an authoritarian state, particularly in Egypt.*

From January to May, I worked in Cairo, Egypt, as a legal assistant at a non-profit law firm dedicated to helping Egypt's refugee population. My time assisting impoverished refugees in Egypt fostered an interest in Egypt's economic policies in the contemporary era. After receiving a grant from Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, I returned to Egypt during the summer months to conduct thesis research.

My thesis analyzes Egyptian political and economic history of the past twenty years. It intends to prove the following: Egypt's political elite made a calculated gamble in the period from 2002 to 2005 to manipulate the tenets of international free-market economic development to entrench their political position. However, their reforms exacerbated income inequalities and weakened government accountability to social ills, unintentionally creating an environment ripe for revolution.

For a twenty-year-old, I was fortunate to obtain excellent access to many of Egypt's top political figures. As Egypt's first-ever legitimate presidential election was happening, I interviewed nearly thirty individuals to test my hypothesis. The interview subjects ranged from politicians, like presidential candidates Amr Mousa and Ayman Nour, to labor activists, like Ahmed Meher, to renowned Egyptian economists, prominent union leaders, and journalists. Benefiting from my knowledge of the Egyptian dialect, I interviewed some of these figures entirely in Arabic without the aid of an interpreter.

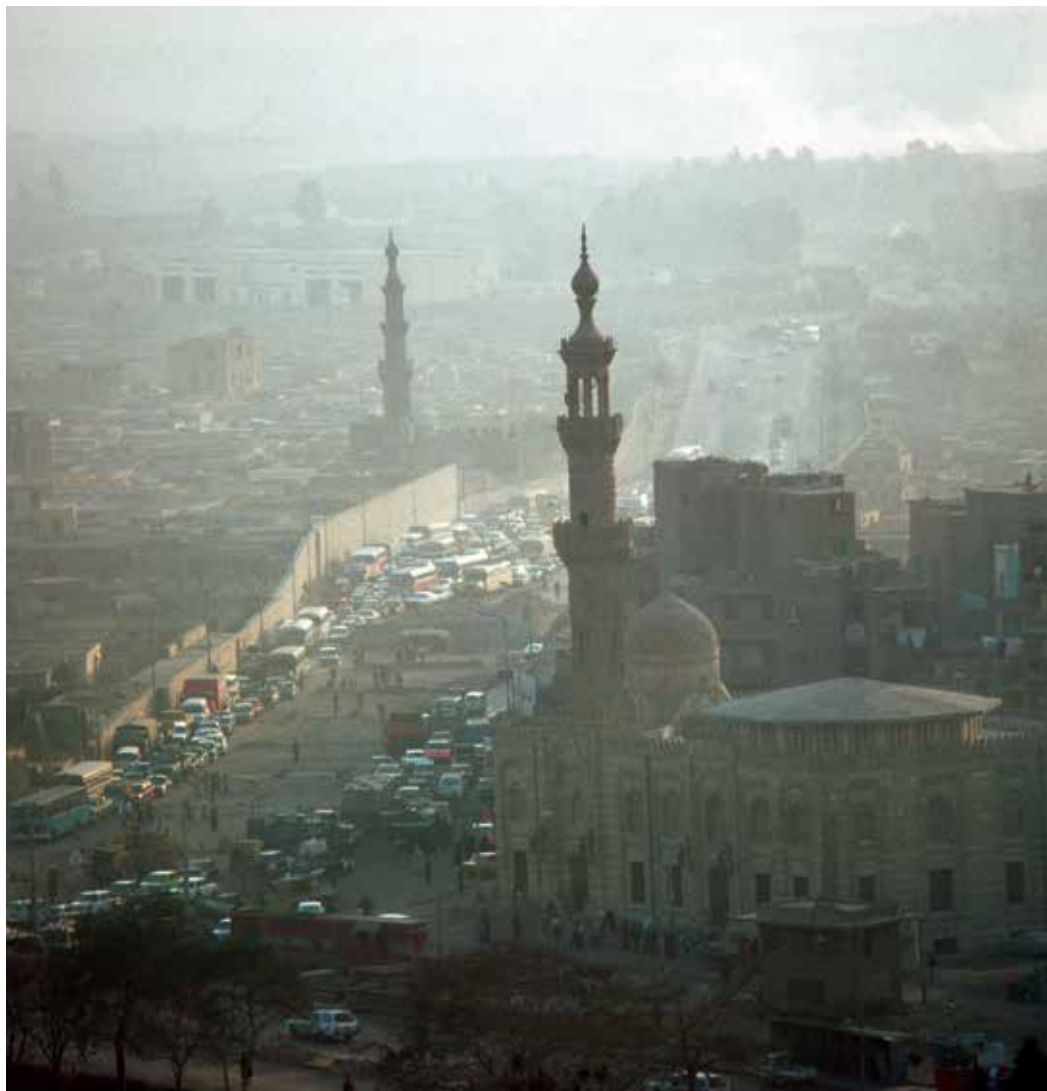
In a few important regards my thesis topic

evolved as I conducted my interviews. My original thesis topic was to understand the deep economic networks between the state (including the military) and the economic sphere. I sought to address how those networks developed over the last decade and how international institutions like the IMF and multi-national corporations prevented or assisted in the formation of this marriage of political and economic interests.

Most elements of this intended thesis subject did not change. Because Egypt's political elite drastically shifted their stance on the economy during the period from 2002 to 2005, I continued to focus on the last decade. However, I also chose to analyze Egypt's economic policies and political structures of the previous decade from

1991 to 2002. Also, owing to the ongoing revolution and concerns about my personal safety, I specifically decided not to include the military's economic benefits within my interview questions. Similarly, I planned to analyze the period following the January 25, 2011, uprising. Through my studies and interviews I quickly realized not only the challenges of studying ongoing events, but also that asking those questions could be potentially dangerous.

Frankly, I learned more valuable lessons during my seven months in Egypt than I learned in the previous two-and-a-half years at Harvard. My time as a thesis researcher provided both a sense of academic accomplishment and an aspiration to live an adventurous and fulfilling life.





### Will Rafey

Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. Concentration in Social Studies and Mathematical Sciences. Interview-based research on South African climate change energy policy.

This summer, with the support of the Weatherhead Center, I traveled to South Africa to interview stakeholders involved in the government's response to climate change. My time in South Africa widened my perspectives on the economics of climate change, and the world more generally, in ways that I did not expect but for which I am deeply grateful.

When I arrived in Johannesburg, I encountered what proved to be an endless stream of good luck. My first few interviewees referred me to their friends and colleagues and I gained access to a wide range of leaders in government, civil society, business, and academia. Between January and my return trip in August, I met with more than fifty people willing to discuss the policy debate: top government officials concerned with managing agency capacity and the nation's vast mineral wealth; mining and industry executives mapping out plans for carbon-constrained investments; economists and scientists devising models for government contracts; engineers describing South Africa's electricity grid or opportunities for renewable energy with contagious

enthusiasm; and activists working towards new paradigms of environmental justice.

The places I had the chance to visit in the course of my research also gave me a material and visual sense of climate politics and policy. The electric-fenced corporate headquarters of major mining firms in Johannesburg and the World Bank; the vast office complex home to 30,000 employees of the state-owned electricity utility, Eskom; and the towering campus-home to the former state-owned chemical company, Sasol, impressed upon me the centrality of coal-driven development to South African economic history.

I also walked through Pretoria to interview stakeholders at the National Treasury, the Department of Energy, and the Department of Environmental Affairs—all buildings that used to house the apartheid government. Towards the end of my visit, one of my interviewees invited me to Parliament's release of a landmark planning document intended to map out South Africa's future to 2030, where I saw President Zuma endorse the document and the subsequent parliamentary debates. These visits made it impossible for me to separate South African climate policy from the legacy of apartheid and the country's recent democratization.

I visited the economics departments at South Africa's major universities: the University of Cape Town, the University of Pretoria, and the University of the Witwatersrand. I also visited the offices of private environmental and economic consulting firms and the campus of the Council on Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), the apartheid government's major hub for research and development. In particular, I had the chance to spend some time at the University of Cape Town's Energy Research Center (ERC)—a central part of South African climate change economics and policy research. Attending research semi-

nars and talking with ERC researchers forced me to think harder about the ways in which universities participate in public life and decision making. It also allowed me to discuss my preliminary research with experts in the field.

My motivation to travel to South Africa derives from the fact that the country faces an especially tricky balancing act when it comes to climate change. As the world's most coal-dependent economy, with severe unemployment and a legacy of energy-intensive mining and industry, South Africa faces steep costs to climate mitigation. Stopping global warming will depend on the choices made by developing countries like South Africa to balance the dual imperatives of economic growth and carbon pollution reductions.

In particular, my thesis aims to answer a single question: What arguments dominate the South African government's climate change strategy in the energy sector, and why? I had hoped to isolate "economic science" as a contributor—materially (with models and empirical research) and conceptually (as a framing device)—relative to other arguments rooted in climate science, politics, ethics, business, or risk aversion. But as I talked with stakeholders, I realized that separating economic arguments from other arguments is more difficult in government than in a university.

In particular, the conversations I had with stakeholders taught me that we need not only good ideas but also people with the vision, willingness, and diplomatic skill to apply them. It helped me to see how solving climate change requires *intellectual* resources to define sets of economically viable futures and *political* resources—the endless conversations, negotiations, and debates—that can help us provisionally to select between them. I left South Africa with tremendous respect for the country—inspired by the honesty, energy, and kindness that I encountered in many of the people who opened their doors for me.

While talking with South African economists, government leaders, and activists, I learned more about the dense networks of people, ideas, and objects that structure the field for climate mitigation than I could have envisioned from my laptop in Cambridge. I look forward to taking what I learned to write my thesis.



**Annemarie Ryu**

*Williams/Lodge International Government and Public Affairs Research Fellow. Departments of Anthropology and Health Policy. **Pregnancy and mental illness among young Hmong Americans; negotiating distinct belief systems.***

“So how long will you be here?” asked another member of my new family, the Hmong American host family I would be staying with for the next eight weeks. It was the first time in three years that I had returned to my home state of Minnesota during the summer. I aimed to develop an understanding of the ways in which Hmong American young adults make healthcare decisions. The Hmong American community tends to be private, and I wondered if I would find enough interviewees, engage adequately with community members to really do ethnography, or ever truly feel at home with my host family.

Eight weeks later, at the close of the summer, I had conducted sixty-six interviews and attended an intergenerational Hmong women’s retreat, a Hmong breast cancer awareness forum, a funeral, three weddings, two birthday parties, five services at two Hmong churches, and a shamanic blessing ceremony—always with my host family or other Hmong American friends

I had embarked on my research with pregnancy and mental health as topical starting points and the concepts of “cultural competency,” “popular, professional, and folk sectors” of healthcare, and “local moral worlds” as theoretical starting points. With assistance from the Hmong Cultural Center, Hmong Women Achieving Together, the Lao Family Community, and a variety of Hmong American friends and contacts, I was able to interview Hmong American young adults seeking healthcare, their family members and friends, Hmong physicians, Caucasian physicians predominantly seeing Hmong patients, interpreters, social workers, acupuncturists, herbalists, shamans, and community leaders. Across these interviews, the research developed into a broader exploration of the historical, social, economic, political, and, as many interviewees mentioned, “cultural” influences on the healthcare decisions of Hmong American young adults.



I have been working to transform the enormous amount of data and experience I have accumulated into a comprehensive outline for my thesis. A miniature library of Hmong books and a towering stack of research papers, pamphlets, and articles sit willing to assist. I have discussed my initial findings with some of my final interviewees and with other Hmong American individuals who have also reflected deeply on the issues I have engaged with in research. The “local moral worlds” concept effectively serves to replace a concept of “culture” that is too constrained and isolated to reflect the enormous diversity of perspectives and situations of Hmong American young adults in St. Paul and the ways in which the Hmong have adapted to change in their environments over time.

I realize now that my background enables me more effectively to orient my research toward contributions to health policy, health program development, and medical practice. Growing up blocks away from the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, the worldview I held since childhood was largely biomedical. As I engaged more deeply with the sciences in my pre-medical coursework, my worldview became dominated by the biomedical perspective, to the near exclusion of a spiritual perspective. Now, after conducting my field research, I recognize some common assumptions in American society and among healthcare professionals that impede interactions between providers and many Hmong Americans who are relatively unfamiliar with modern medicine and do not give the same authority to medical professionals as most Americans do. The melting-pot ideology assumes that newcomers will smoothly integrate into American society, adopting typical beliefs and practices, but our society is not yet equipped to adequately assist refugees who arrive without English language skills or a background of interaction with similar work, social services, and healthcare institutions.

A particularly problematic assumption I encountered is that if a person speaks English fluently and has education and work similar to his or her peers, then that person will also have a worldview that coincides with the worldviews of his or her peers. This assumption seems especially dominant among medical professionals. Most of the Hmong American young adults I interviewed, however—whether they identified as animist, Christian, both, Buddhist, agnostic, or atheist—had some views on illness causation and treatment that differed markedly from biomedical views. Of these persons who spoke English fluently and most often had at least some college education, many explained that they preferred to seek herbal or spiritual remedies rather than visit the doctor when illness arose. Church- and clan-based communication networks, patriarchal and group-based decision-making processes, spiritual explanations for illnesses, and instances of perceived and actual racial discrimination notably influence the healthcare decisions of the younger generation.

I recognize that, through well over 100 hours of conversations with Hmong Americans, I can now acknowledge the powerful interlinkages between mental, emotional, spiritual, and physical health and the real structural violence that operates on underprivileged minority groups in our society, even in healthcare systems I once believed provided high-quality care to all.

With my understanding of the challenges that the Hmong and other refugee populations have faced in seeking healthcare in the United States, I plan to pursue further studies in healthcare disparities and healthcare delivery. I plan to work in healthcare policy, management, and program development as I practice medicine, angling my Global Health and Health Policy secondary concentration more towards the local.



**Joanne Wong**

Canada Undergraduate Research Fellow. Committee on Social Studies. *Effect of gentrification on immigrant settlement patterns in the greater Toronto area.*

This summer, I conducted research in Toronto, Canada, on the effect of housing conditions on the quality of life of recent immigrants. In addition to maturing me as an academic researcher, the experience showed me a beautifully vibrant side of my hometown that I have never seen in such depth before. The lessons I learned were personal, substantive, and methodological—a few of which I will detail below.

When I initially entered the field in May, I expected things to come together a lot more easily and quickly than they did. Toronto was, after all, my hometown and I thought that would give me an edge in simply getting around town, and more importantly, approaching community leaders to lend me a hand. I soon realized I should have cultivated key contacts in my field sites before I arrived in the city, seeing as these relationships were highly dependent on trust and credibility—

in other words, they took time to incubate. Nevertheless, I was fortunate enough to encounter individuals who volunteered to connect me with members of the communities I was studying.

The subsequent lesson I learned was to be aware of research fatigue. Owing to their notoriety as low-income, high-crime neighborhoods in a relatively peaceful city, both of my field sites have been heavily researched by local scholars and institutes. However, I was told that most of these researchers never report their findings to those whom they have interviewed, or to those who have helped them in their projects. As a result, many community leaders and members were quite skeptical toward my presence in the field sites, and getting them to warm up to me took a lot of time and intentional effort. I had to reassure everyone I met that they would hear back from me after the completion of my project and that I would use it to give back to these neighborhoods however I could.

Lastly, I discovered the importance of saying “yes.” Since scheduling interviews is dependent on the availability of both the interviewer and the interviewee, taking advantage of people’s free time was essential. Throughout my time in the field, I practiced recognizing opportunities to obtain unique information, as well as catching people on the spot to capture memorable moments. Since my interviews were qualitative and very conversational in nature, I had to think on my feet and read my subjects before, during, and after the recorded interview. I learned to say “yes” to hospitable people who invited me

to walk around the neighborhood with them, and welcomed me into their homes and gardens—saying “yes” helped me add relevant ethnographic elements to paint a more dynamic picture of these communities. My interaction with the people I met gave life to every interview, and seeing them live and work in their neighborhoods was a reward in and of itself.

I am in the process of transcribing interviews and reviewing field notes. I will continue to look for recurring themes and begin to summarize my findings soon. I am also taking courses to supplement my analysis, such as a mapping class that would allow me to spatially represent my research. As I complete my senior thesis this year, I look forward to giving back to the communities that supported me throughout the summer and hope to maintain relationships with the wonderful people I met in a city that seems like home to me now more than ever before.

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Eric Justin (page 10): Cairo, Egypt landscape. Photo Credit: United Nations.

Will Rafey (page 11): The Anglo American Corpportate Office in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Annie Ryu (page 12): A close friend and Hmong American interviewee cuts the cake for a one-year-old’s birthday party. Many family members gathered during the morning for a shaman ceremony to welcome and protect the unborn child that will soon be the one-year-old’s sibling. Outside in the afternoon, the children enjoy festivities together.

Joanne Wong (page 13): “After asking these two women about their favorite spots in the neighborhood, I was given a tour of a community garden situated in one of the most densely populated areas in North America.”



Sir Michael Palliser, GCMG, PC, who continued to make important intellectual contributions to the Weatherhead Center in the decades following his time as a Fellow (1982), died on June 19, 2012, at the age of ninety. Preceded in death by his beloved wife, Marie Marguerite Spaak, he is survived by his three sons. Sir Michael's death came just a few days after the Center's annual conference in Talloires, France, a gathering that he rarely missed and where he consistently shared his valuable insights and expertise on international affairs. He was, according to the *Guardian*, "one of the outstanding British diplomats of this generation." Educated at Merton College, Oxford, he served with the Coldstream Guards during World War II before joining the Foreign Office in 1947. Recognized almost immediately for his great promise, he became, early in his career, private secretary to the Foreign Office's permanent under-secretary. Successive assignments took him to Dakar, Paris, Brussels, and back to London, where he served as head of the diplomatic service. He remained very active in retirement from the Foreign Office, becoming chairman of Samuel Montagu & Co., and chairman of the Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He retired in November 2010 from the board of the Salzberg Global Seminar.

His many friends and colleagues describe best what Sir Michael Palliser meant to the Weatherhead Center, to Harvard University, and to the world of diplomacy. Jorge Dominguez, vice provost for international affairs and former Center director (1996–2006), offers these words about Sir Michael: "Smart, elegant, insightful, articulate, effective—Michael Palliser gave new meaning to words such as 'diplomat,' 'savvy,' 'cosmopolitan,' and, especially, 'friend.' He was one of the architects of the Atlantic relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom, a discerning British Europeanist, and a statesman whose wise counsel made decisions and policies more successful at different times, places, and circumstances. He was a valuable and indispensable adviser to me during my years as Weatherhead Center director, and he was a proud member of the community of Weatherhead Fellows worldwide."

Sir Richard Evans, a Fellow at the Center (1974–1975), died on August 24, 2012, in Wiltshire, England, at the age of eighty-four. He is survived by his wife Grania and their two sons. Sir Richard Evans, KCMG, KCVO, had a long and distinguished career as a diplomat. His exposure to China began shortly after he entered the Foreign Service in 1952, when he began Chinese language training. His first overseas assignment was at the British Embassy in Beijing, a place that he would become very familiar with during several postings in the years that followed. He served there as ambassador from 1984 to 1988, a time that included delicate negotiations leading to the handover of Hong Kong to China. According to an obituary in the *Telegraph*, Ambassador Evans was recognized and praised for his "steadiness and good sense." Though he also served with distinction in Stockholm, Paris, and London (he was assistant to the then deputy under-secretary of state), China was central to his diplomatic career and even informed his work following his retirement from the diplomatic service in 1988. He became a senior research fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford (and then a fellow emeritus) and produced, in 1993, a biography of the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, *Deng Xiaoping and the Making of Modern China*. Herbert Levin, also a Fellow in 1974–1975 who became a close friend, recalls his shared interest in China with Sir Richard. He was, in Levin's own words, a "scrupulous, realistic, charming British diplomat," whose presence benefited the Center.

Continued from page 7

Western states in the twentieth century ultimately decided that private parties should not hold jurisdiction in such areas. As important, however, was that upon so deciding, states did something quite familiar: They bought jurisdiction and sovereign rights from the recognized "owners."<sup>21</sup> Whatever the orientation of Honduras and its court system in the twenty-first century, these precedents attest to the existence of a marketplace open to all.

#### NOTES

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8. The two territories were Tacna and Arica. For eventual treaty, *League of Nations Treaty Series*, vol. 94 (1929), 401–411. On arbitration, see William Jefferson Dennis, *Tacna and Arica: An Account of the Chile-Peru Boundary Dispute and of the Arbitrations by the United States* (New Haven 1931), 260–289. *Tacna-Arica and the Washington Negotiations* (1922), 13.
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## 2012–2013 KENNETH I. JUSTER FELLOWS



Center Advisory Committee Chair  
Kenneth I. Juster.

The Weatherhead Center is pleased to announce its 2012–2013 class of Juster Fellows. Now in its second year, this grant initiative is made possible by the generosity of the Center’s Advisory Committee Chair, the Honorable Kenneth I. Juster, who has devoted much of his education, professional activities, and nonprofit endeavors to international affairs and is deeply engaged in promoting international understanding and advancing international relations. The Center’s Juster grants support undergraduates whose projects may be related to thesis research but may have broader experiential components as well. The newly named Juster Fellows, all of whom will be conducting their research this January, are listed below:

**Gabriel H. Bayard**, a Government concentrator. Gabriel will travel to Argentina to investigate a company that has been accused of violating environmental regulations.

**Mehron H. Price**, an Anthropology concentrator. Mehron will travel to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to finish her thesis research on nongovernmental organizations and the plight of street children.

**Annemarie E. Ryu**, an Anthropology concentrator. Annie will travel to India to develop case studies of jackfruit processing groups to guide agricultural development policies and programs.

**Heng Shao**, a Government concentrator. Heng will travel to China to complete the field research for her thesis entitled “Policy Innovation: The Faster Track to Promotion for Chinese Cadres.”

**Colby A. Wilkason**, a Government concentrator. Colby will travel to Freiburg, Germany, and Bosnia to conduct thesis research on women’s rights nongovernmental organizations.

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