



CENTERPIECE

NEWSLETTER OF THE WEATHERHEAD CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Volume 24
Number 2
Spring 2010

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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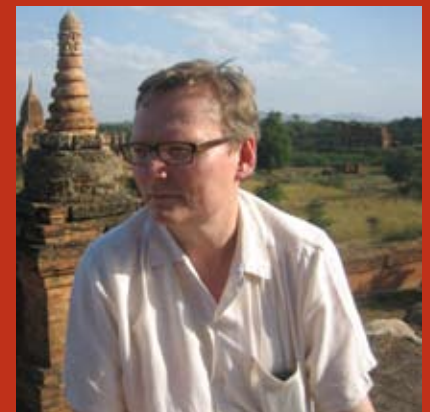
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In Memoriam

From the Director

One of the key roles of the Weatherhead Center is to promote interdisciplinary research on international affairs. Faculty Associates of the Center come from right across the social sciences, including anthropology, economics, history, political science, and sociology. They also come from the Law School, the Business School, the Kennedy School, and other Harvard professional schools. Still, interdisciplinary research is more often talked about than actually achieved. Indeed, there is a lot of skepticism about it. For instance, the Nobel Prize-winning economist George Stigler is supposed to have remarked that “the experience of inter-disciplinary research always re-confirms the advantages of the division of labor.” This skepticism is probably shared by many academics. Like everyone else, however, academics respond to incentives, and this is something that the Weatherhead Center can create. One of the instruments that the Center has for creating incentives and making the aspiration of interdisciplinary research a reality is the Weatherhead Initiative. This is the largest single research grant that the Center offers, and it is specifically aimed at funding “large-scale pioneering and integrative projects involving members of different Harvard faculties in collaborative research.” The Initiative was established in 1998 as a consequence of a gift from Albert and Celia Weatherhead.

Many people say that the research that I do is interdisciplinary. An alternative description would be multidisciplinary, or simply “schizophrenic.” I did my Ph.D. in economics and taught in economics departments for the first seven years of my career. After that I switched to political science because I realized that the issues that interested me most, particularly comparative economic development, were all explained by politics, not economics. But I also realized



James Robinson, Acting Center Director

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that a history-free understanding of development was impossible because so many processes that shape the current world are deeply rooted in history. Ignoring this produces neither good social science nor correct policy prescriptions. When I arrived at Harvard in 2004 I started teaching in the Department of History as well as in Government and Economics.

But still, interdisciplinary research is difficult. Different academic disciplines have their own intellectual points of view and different presuppositions when approaching the same question. One quickly understands this, and it is easy to get into the habit of putting on your historian's hat when talking to a historian, your economist's hat when talking with an economist, etc. Just in case you get confused, if someone says you ought to "foreground" something or "put pressure on that argument" then you know you're talking to a historian. If the person says that you have to subject something to "shocks" they're not advocating electro-convulsive therapy but he or she is, in fact, a macroeconomist. But of course getting your hats right isn't interdisciplinary research.

Since I arrived at Harvard one of the courses I have been teaching jointly with Robert Bates in the Department of Government is GOV 1997, "The Political Economy of Africa." One of the things that draw undergraduate students to this class is a curiosity about why Africa is so much poorer than any other continent. Though there are very poor countries outside Africa, like Haiti, Nepal or Laos, most of what the World Bank calls "Low Income Countries" are in sub-Saharan Africa. Why? Remarkably, there is little consensus on this question or on such factual questions as "Has Africa always been poor?" and, if not, "When did it diverge from the development patterns of Eurasia?" Just like me, Robert Bates has interdisciplinary leanings, which in his case stem from his broad interests in African society, politics, and economics. When I was studying the issue of why Botswana was so economically successful a few years ago, the work I found most insightful on this was by Isaac Schapera, a social anthropologist, and Neil Parsons, a historian. Similarly, Robert Bates studied social anthropology at Manchester University for the same reasons I read Schapera: Here was a great deal of insight into the nature of African societies. In fact, our experience with GOV 1997 taught us that to build a convincing explanation of African poverty requires that one draw on many academic disciplines that quite possibly have not focused on this question directly, but have nevertheless produced evidence and ideas that can help answer it. In 2008 we got together with two kindred spirits and Center Faculty Associates, Emmanuel Akyeampong of the Department of History and Nathan Nunn of the Department of Economics, and decided that

what we needed to do was to pool our skills and start collaborating on the question of African poverty. We also thought that a perfect way to begin this would be to organize a conference that would bring together many of the leading scholars from anthropology, archaeology, history, sociology, political science, and economics who had pondered this issue or done research relevant to it. The Weatherhead Initiative provided the perfect vehicle for both pursuing our research and also putting together the conference, which will be held at the International Institute for the Advanced Study of Cultures, Institutions and Economic Enterprise (IIAS) in Accra, Ghana, in July of this year.

The experience of working with Robert, Nathan, and Emmanuel under the auspices of the Weatherhead Initiative has been very rewarding for me. The thought of having to stand up in front of a group of distinguished scholars of Africa this summer in Ghana has pushed all of us (less so Robert or Emmanuel, since they are already distinguished scholars of Africa!) into new terrains and conversations. It also gave me the resources and impulse to start a large project on the institutional and economic history of Sierra Leone, in particular examining the formation of the state in the early colonial period and its evolution after independence. This project involved archival research in the National Archive in Sierra Leone and in London, the collection of survey data, extensive interviews, and theoretical modeling. I'm not sure if it is interdisciplinary work, but it feels like it. ●

Cover: The Knafel building
and the first signs of spring,
2010. Photo credit:
Megan County

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Elected to the Latin American Studies Association Executive Board

Kimberly Theidon, associate professor of anthropology, whose book, *The Milk of Sorrow*, inspired an Oscar-nominated film about the scars of Peru's violent past, has been elected to a three-year term on the Executive Council of the Latin American Studies Association. Also of note, Professor Theidon is an International Faculty Member to the new Master's Program in Community Psychology at La Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. This program responds to the need for expanded mental health services across the country and to the recommendations made by the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission in their Integral Reparations Program.

The Globalization of Japanese Cuisine

Weatherhead Faculty Associate and Chair of the Department of Anthropology, **Theodore C. Bestor**, presented a keynote address on "The Globalization of Japanese Cuisine" at the Culinary Institute of America, Napa Valley, as part of a conference on Japanese food culture sponsored by the University of California's Center for Japanese Studies. Another feature of the conference was a world-record breaking construction of the world's longest California roll, assembled by 500 students at the University of California Berkeley. The roll stretched 330 feet in length.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Appointed to the National Research Foundation of Korea

Michael Herzfeld, professor of anthropology, has been appointed a member of the International Advisory Committee of the National Research Foundation of Korea, which is the major funding agency for scholarly research in Korea.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Awarded Catalyst Program-Diversity Fellowship

Arachu Castro, assistant professor of global health and social medicine, was awarded the 2010 Harvard Catalyst Program for Faculty Development

and Diversity Faculty Fellowship for her project, "The Integration of Prenatal Care with the Testing and Treatment of HIV and Syphilis in Latin America and the Caribbean." This project is of a multi-disciplinary nature, as it presents innovative health services research in the area of HIV, syphilis, and prenatal care that is based on rigorous ethnographic and epidemiological research and health policy analysis. The aim of this project is to integrate prenatal care with the diagnosis and management of HIV and syphilis and to improve Preventing Mother-to-Child Transmission (PMTCT) efforts among participating countries. In addition, it will establish a model of South-South collaboration to tackle other regional challenges in the scale-up of comprehensive HIV care and the provision of maternal and child health in a concerted and systematic manner.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Awarded John E. O'Connor Film Award

Vincent Brown, Dunwalke Associate Professor of American History, was awarded the John E. O'Connor Film Award for his film, "Herskovits at the Heart of Blackness," co-produced with Llewellyn Smith and Christine Herbes-Sommers. The American Historical Association established this award in honor of John E. O'Connor and seeks to recognize outstanding interpretations of history through the medium of film or video.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Elected to the Royal Society of Edinburgh

David Armitage, Lloyd C. Blankfein Professor of History, has been elected a Corresponding Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Scotland's National Academy of Science and Letters established in 1783 under a charter granted by King George III for the "advancement of learning and useful knowledge in Scotland." Adam Smith was a founding member of the Society, and the Fellowship has since included Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, James Hutton, Charles Darwin, John Logie Baird, James Clark Maxwell, Niels Bohr, and Francis Crick, among many others of note.

Ernest May Fellowship Created

The Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Sciences and International Affairs has announced the creation of the Ernest May Fellowship, in honor of former Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate, **Ernest May**, the former Charles Warren Professor of American History, who passed away in June 2009.

Samuel Huntington Fellowship Fund Created

Former Weatherhead Center Director **Samuel P. Huntington** was one of the most influential political scientists of his generation. He mentored many of America's leading policy thinkers and scholars during his distinguished career. Huntington, who died in December 2008, taught at Harvard for more than 50 years and was widely admired for his dedication to students.

To honor his memory and intellectual legacy a group of generous alumni and friends has established the Samuel Huntington Fellowship Fund at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS). The fund will provide general aid to doctoral students who exhibit academic excellence in the social sciences—including international affairs, American politics, and political science. GSAS will award fellowships to deserving students each year.

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates Awarded John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowships

Guggenheim Fellowships are intended for men and women who have already demonstrated exceptional capacity for productive scholarship or exceptional creative ability in the arts. The four Weatherhead Center Faculty Associates to receive the fellowship award are:

Arachu Castro, assistant professor of social medicine at the Harvard Medical School, for her research on women and AIDS in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Caroline Elkins, professor of history and African and African-American studies, for her research on the end of the British Empire after the Second World War.

Sheila Jasanoff, Pforzheimer Professor of Science and Technology Studies, for her research on the comparative study of nature-culture relations.

Walter Johnson, Winthrop Professor of History and Professor of African and African-American Studies, for his research on slavery, capitalism, and imperialism in the Mississippi Valley's cotton kingdom.

Method and Discovery: Upending Conventional Wisdom in the Field

by Crystal M. Fleming



Crystal M. Fleming is a Dissertation Fellow of the Project on Justice, Welfare, and Economics, and a Graduate Student Associate of the Weatherhead Center. She is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology. Her research interests are focused on anti-racism and identity among African-Americans and French Caribbeans, and the commemoration of transatlantic slavery in France.

Above: Image of Place du Général Catroux in the 17th arrondissement of Paris. Inauguration of a monument to Thomas-Alexandre Dumas, the son of a slave and the first general of Afro-Caribbean descent to serve in the French army. Photo credit: Crystal M. Fleming.

The transatlantic slave trade—in which an estimated ten million Africans were kidnapped and forced into bondage in the New World—is often represented as a tragedy of devastating proportions. Although an ocean of time has elapsed since the end of African slave trade in the nineteenth century, the history of slavery seems to wash up on our shores again and again in the conversations of intellectuals, the pronouncements of politicians, and the claims of activists. In a 2007 joint resolution, the Virginia State Senate described slavery as a system that “brutalized, humiliated [and] dehumanized” Africans, and whose “bitter legacy” left “unbearable scars.” Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and Harvard sociologist Orlando Patterson referred to the “slave gulags of the Caribbean archipelago [as] arguably the worst nightmares of human brutality in the history of the world.” And, at the transnational level, the UN recognized slavery and the transatlantic slave trade as “crimes against humanity,” which they characterized during the 2001 World Conference against Racism in Durban as “appalling tragedies in the history of humanity” and “abhorrent barbarism.” While there is no shortage of public reflections on the legacies of slavery, curiously little is known about why some people look toward this difficult past while others seek to forget.

My dissertation research provides a lens into the dynamics of social memory by examining how the history

of slavery in the French West Indies is represented, debated, and discussed in Paris. Over the course of 2008 and 2009, I attended commemorative events as a participant observer (including official ceremonies as well as meetings of grassroots organizations, marches, cultural shows, and educational exhibitions) in Paris and the nearby suburb of Saint-Denis. These observations were supplemented with more than 100 interviews with activists and informants as well as ordinary French West Indians outside of the commemorative movement. My experience in the field taught me the perils of following conventional wisdom and the importance of utilizing methodologies that allow for one’s expectations to be challenged and even disproven.

Remembering Slavery in the City of Light

Paris provides an unusual sociological laboratory for exploring the contemporary meaning of slavery. Thousands of miles away from the vestiges of plantations that still exist in the French Caribbean islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, Paris seems an unlikely place to find memorials to slavery. Indeed, until recently, slavery was a black hole in the historical consciousness of the French Republic—a largely forgotten and inglorious past that challenges the nation’s cherished values of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. Yet, transnational migration from the former French colonies has begun to reverse the tide of slavery’s eroding memory. Over the last 40 years, hundreds of thousands of French citizens from the overseas departments (former French colonies that are now constitutionally recognized as part of France) have crossed the Atlantic in search of opportunities, and over 70 percent of them settled in the working-class, ethnically diverse suburbs outside Paris.

In the wake of these demographic transformations, recent mobilizations led by a wide range of civil society groups have pressured the French government and the broader population to recognize the slavery past. In 1998, tens of thousands of people (most of whom were of Caribbean and African descent) took to the streets of Paris in memory of the victims of colonial slavery. Several years later, the French legislature passed a law declaring colonial slavery a crime against humanity and designated May 10 as an annual national commemoration of slavery, the slave trade, and its abolition. In the last few years, the City of Paris has installed statues in memory of slavery in some of its most exclusive neighborhoods while a variety of organizations have held annual marches, debates, and film festivals to uncover and

address the history of French involvement in the slave trade. I went to Paris to uncover the forces behind this flurry of commemorative activity and to understand the reasons why some French Caribbeans choose to look toward the past.

Pleasure in the Midst of a Painful Past

Conventional wisdom suggests that slavery is widely viewed as a painful and tragic history. In preparing for my fieldwork, much of the existing research on the collective representation of slavery focused on the traumatic and dreadful dimensions of the triangular trade. Yet on the ground, I discovered that slavery commemorations were often the site of joyous emotions, cultural pride, and celebration. In some events, ceremonial gestures were meant to signal the solemnity and gravity of the slavery past: moments of silence, lighting and holding candles, and laying wreaths and flowers in memory of the dead. On the other end of the emotional scale, some commemorative practices produced an almost festive atmosphere. Such ceremonies frequently incorporated artistic performances featuring percussion (especially the traditional drums of Martinican and Guadeloupean folk music), song, and dance that almost demanded audience participation. The insistent beat of the drum—one of the hallmarks of plantation culture—was almost ubiquitous in the events I attended. From the annual commemoration of the abolition of slavery held in the grand auditorium of City Hall to grassroots marches organized by Afro-Caribbean groups in memory of their ancestors, percussion and music invited people to involve their bodies in the commemoration of slavery by rocking to the beat or clapping their hands.

Sometimes commemorative events were occasions for activist groups to take pleasure in coming together or celebrate achievements. On May 10, 2008, I stood in the stunning gardens of the French Senate known as the Jardin du Luxembourg while Nicholas Sarkozy, the president of France, gave a speech to mark the national event established in 2006 by his predecessor Jacques Chirac. It was an especially warm and sunny Saturday in Paris—a welcome change after a long, gray winter that meandered into spring. While Sarkozy spoke about slavery in tragic terms as a “profound wound that still weighs on our consciousness,” the mood was subdued, if not entirely somber. The invitation-only crowd murmured quietly, took pictures, and vied for the best view of the president. After the official ceremony, members of the West Indian Ethnic Association, “The 1998 March Committee” (CM98), gathered in the gardens. The group had just received word of an important victory. For almost ten years, they had lobbied the French government to recognize May 23 as a special day for migrants from overseas France to remember the victims of colonial slavery; the prime minister had finally signed a statement recognizing the date.

As members of CM98 held up black t-shirts that read “I’m for the 23rd of May,” their charismatic leader, a middle-aged geneticist from Guadeloupe, began a call-and-response song, singing in French creole: “*Woulo pou 23 Mai*” (Let’s roll for May 23rd)/“*pa ka yo courant, mète yo courant*” (They don’t know about it, so let them know about it!) The activists’ joy was palpable as they smiled and laughed with each other, moved their bodies to the rhythm of their song, and clapped their hands in unison. While their commemorative discourse usually focused on the social and psychological consequences of slavery, this particular moment was about celebrating the recognition they had finally garnered from the French Republic. For me, it was an opportunity to witness the broad range of emotions at work in the commemoration of slavery.

The Importance of Method

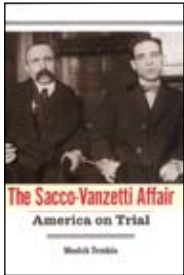
Conventional wisdom might also suggest that the best way to figure out what people think about slavery is simply to ask them directly. But social scientists have demonstrated that how you ask questions—and the order in which you pose them—matters greatly. The structure of a written survey or an interview questionnaire significantly shapes the kind of responses you are likely to elicit. In my own work, I adopted a methodological approach that would allow me to first elicit individuals’ spontaneous references to the past (for example, moments when participants referred to aspects of French or Caribbean history when discussing their identity, politics, or race relations in France) as well as their responses when asked directly about their views on the history of slavery. When I asked West Indians what they learned about slavery growing up, they often had little to tell me. The history of colonization and slavery has long been suppressed in the French educational system, and respondents often told me that the subject remained taboo within their own families and communities back on the islands.

Yet, in focus groups and individual interviews I found that some of the most rich and revealing narratives about slavery emerged when respondents discussed the uniqueness of their ethnic heritage. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and sociologist Michèle Lamont refers to this identity work as the making of symbolic boundaries—the lines of distinction people use to define their in-groups and out-groups. For example, respondents frequently explained present-day distinctions between Guadeloupeans and Martinicans by referring to the very different histories of slavery and abolition in the islands. France has the peculiar historical legacy of having abolished slavery twice. The first attempt at abolition occurred in 1794 following the French Revolution and effectively freed the enslaved populations of the overseas French territories with the exception of Martinique, which fell under British control. Only eight years later, former slaves in Guadeloupe (and the rest of the French

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The Sacco-Vanzetti Affair: America on Trial

Moshik Temkin



What began as the obscure local case of two Italian immigrant anarchists accused of robbery and murder flared into an unprecedented political and legal scandal as the perception grew that their conviction was a judicial

travesty and their execution a political murder. This book is the first to reveal the full national and international scope of the Sacco-Vanzetti affair, uncovering how and why the two men became the center of a global cause célèbre that shook public opinion and transformed America's relationship with the world.

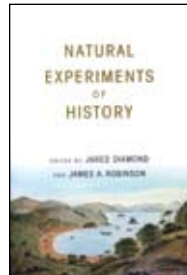
Drawing on extensive research on two continents, and written with verve, this book connects the Sacco-Vanzetti affair to the most polarizing political and social concerns of its era. Moshik Temkin contends that the worldwide attention to the case was generated not only by the conviction that innocent men had been condemned for their radical politics and ethnic origins but also as part of a reaction to U.S. global supremacy and isolationism after World War I. The author further argues that the international protest, which helped make Sacco and Vanzetti famous men, ultimately provoked their executions. The book concludes by investigating the affair's enduring repercussions and what they reveal about global political action, terrorism, jingoism, xenophobia, and the politics of our own time.

(Yale University Press, 2009)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Moshik Temkin is an assistant professor of public policy at the Harvard Kennedy School.

Natural Experiments of History

James Robinson and Jared Diamond



Some central questions in the natural and social sciences can't be answered by controlled laboratory experiments, often considered to be the hallmark of the scientific method. This impossibility holds for any science concerned

with the past. In addition, many manipulative experiments, while possible, would be considered immoral or illegal. One has to devise other methods of observing, describing, and explaining the world.

In the historical disciplines, a fruitful approach has been to use natural experiments or the comparative method. This book consists of eight comparative studies drawn from history, archeology, economics, economic history, geography, and political science. The studies cover a spectrum of approaches, ranging from a non-quantitative narrative style in the early chapters to quantitative statistical analyses in the later chapters. The studies range from a simple two-way comparison of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, which share the island of Hispaniola, to comparisons of 81 Pacific islands and 233 areas of India. The societies discussed are contemporary ones, literate societies of recent centuries, and non-literate past societies. Geographically, they include the United States, Mexico, Brazil, Western Europe, tropical Africa, India, Siberia, Australia, New Zealand, and other Pacific islands.

In an afterword, the editors discuss how to cope with methodological problems common to these and other natural experiments of history.

(Harvard University Press, 2010)

Weatherhead Center Acting Director (spring 2010) and Executive Committee member, James Robinson, is a Harvard Academy Senior Scholar and professor of government at Harvard University.

Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars

Monica Duffy Toft



Timely and pathbreaking, *Securing the Peace* is the first book to explore the complete spectrum of civil war terminations, including negotiated settlements, military victories by governments and rebels, and stalemates and ceasefires. Examining

the outcomes of all civil war terminations since 1940, Monica Toft develops a general theory of postwar stability, showing how third-party guarantees may not be the best option. She demonstrates that thorough security-sector reform plays a critical role in establishing peace over the long term.

Much of the thinking in this area has centered on third parties presiding over the maintenance of negotiated settlements, but the problem with this focus is that fewer than a quarter of recent civil wars have ended this way. Furthermore, these settlements have been precarious, often resulting in a recurrence of war. Toft finds that military victory, especially victory by rebels, lends itself to a more durable peace. She argues for the importance of the security sector—the police and military—and explains that victories are more stable when governments can maintain order. Toft presents statistical evaluations and in-depth case studies that include El Salvador, Sudan, and Uganda to reveal that where the security sector remains robust, stability and democracy are likely to follow.

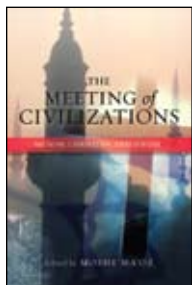
An original and thoughtful reassessment of civil war terminations, *Securing the Peace* will interest all those concerned about resolving our world's most pressing conflicts.

(Princeton University Press, 2009)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Monica Duffy Toft is an associate professor of public policy and director of the Initiative on Religion in International Affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School.

The Meeting of Civilizations: Muslim, Christian, and Jewish

Moshe Ma'oz



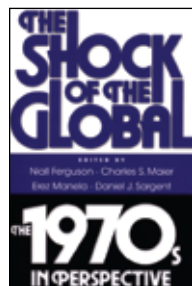
The horrific acts of anti-Western and anti-Jewish terrorism carried out by Muslim fanatics during the last decades have been labeled by politicians, religious leaders, and scholars as a 'Clash of Civilizations.' However, as the contributors to this book set out to explain, these acts cannot be considered an Islamic onslaught on Judeo-Christian civilization. While the hostile ideas, words and deeds perpetrated by individual supporters among the three monotheistic civilizations cannot be ignored, history has demonstrated a more positive, constructive, albeit complex, relationship among Muslim, Christians, and Jews during medieval and modern times. For long periods of time they shared divine and human values, co-operated in cultural, economic and political fields, and influenced one another's thinking. This book examines religious and historical themes of these three civilizing religions, the impact of education on their interrelationship, and the problem of Jerusalem, as well as contemporary interfaith relations. Noted scholars and theologians—Jewish, Christian, and Muslim—from the United States, Canada, Egypt, Indonesia, Israel, Pakistan, Palestine and Turkey contribute to this book, the theme of which was first presented at an international conference organized by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Harvard Divinity School.

(Sussex Academic Press, 2009)

Former Weatherhead Center Visiting Scholar Moshe Ma'oz is a professor emeritus of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies and the former director of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective

Edited by Niall Ferguson, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela, and Daniel Sargent



From the vantage point of the United States or Western Europe, the 1970s was a time of troubles: economic "stagflation," political scandal, and global turmoil. Yet from an international perspective it was a seminal decade, one that brought the reintegration of the world after the great divisions of the mid-twentieth century.

It was the 1970s that introduced the world to the phenomenon of "globalization," as networks of interdependence bound peoples and societies in new and original ways. The 1970s saw the breakdown of the postwar economic order and the advent of floating currencies and free capital movements. Non-state actors rose to prominence while the authority of the superpowers diminished. Transnational issues such as environmental protection, population control, and human rights attracted unprecedented attention. The decade transformed international politics, ending the era of bipolarity and launching two great revolutions that would have repercussions in the twenty-first century: the Iranian theocratic revolution and the Chinese market revolution.

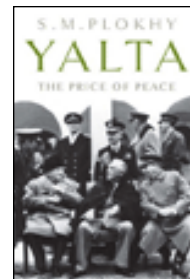
The Shock of the Global examines the large-scale structural upheaval of the 1970s by transcending the standard frameworks of national borders and superpower relations. It reveals for the first time an international system in the throes of enduring transformations.

(Harvard University Press, 2010)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Niall Ferguson is the Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History in the Department of History, and the William Ziegler Professor of Business Administration at the Harvard Business School. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Charles S. Maier is the Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History in the Department of History. Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate Erez Manela is a professor of history at Harvard University. Daniel Sargent is a former Weatherhead Center Graduate Student Associate and assistant professor of history at the University of California Berkeley.

Yalta: The Price of Peace

S. M. Plokhy



Imagine you could eavesdrop on a dinner party with three of the most fascinating historical figures of all time. In this landmark book, a gifted Harvard historian puts you in the room with Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt as they meet at a climactic turning point in the war to hash out the terms of the peace.

The ink wasn't dry when the recriminations began. The conservatives who hated Roosevelt's New Deal accused him of selling out. Was he too sick? Did he give too much in exchange for Stalin's promise to join the war against Japan? Could he have done better in Eastern Europe? Both left and right would blame Yalta for beginning the Cold War.

Plokhy's conclusions, based on unprecedented archival research, are surprising. He goes against conventional wisdom—cemented during the Cold War—and argues that an ailing Roosevelt did better than we think. Much has been made of FDR's handling of the Depression; here we see him as wartime chief. *Yalta* is authoritative, original, vividly-written narrative history.

(Viking Press, 2010)

Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate S.M. Plokhy is the Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History in the Department of History.

Photo Essay: Events

Book Launch: *Yalta: The Price of Peace*
February 4, 2010

S.M. Plokhy, faculty associate and Mykhailo Hrushevsky Professor of Ukrainian History offers a fresh account of the eight days Joseph Stalin, Franklin Roosevelt, and Winston Churchill spent carving up the map of Europe in his new book *Yalta: The Price of Peace*.

Discussants for the event were:

Mark Kramer, program director, Cold War Studies Project, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies.

Terry Martin, acting director, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies; George F. Baker III Professor of Russian Studies.

The session's moderator was Kelly O'Neill, assistant professor of history, and faculty associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies.

The event was co-sponsored by the Weatherhead Center, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.



Photo credits this page: Megan County



Above: S. M. Plokhy and Terry Martin discuss the book.



Middle and bottom: C-Span BookTV covered the event.

Undergraduate Thesis Conference
February 18–20, 2010

The Weatherhead Center Undergraduate Thesis Conference featured panels organized by regional or disciplinary themes and was chaired by Faculty Associates and Graduate Student Associates. The Center's Undergraduate Associates presented their thesis research findings, answered questions, and received comments and general feedback.



James Robinson (above, right), acting director and professor of government, opens the conference. From left to right: Melissa Tran (Sociology), presented "Transnationalism Online: How a Social Networking Website Connects Mexican Migrants." Sarah Burack (History), presented "Riot in the Hill: Afro-Caribbean Identity & Transnational Politics in London, 1958–1965." Elizabeth Nichols (History and Literature), presented "Creating an Espace Propre in La Goutte d'Or: Creativity, Plurality, and Agency in a Multicultural Parisian Neighborhood." Liz Powers (Sociology), presented "How Can Government Policy Affect Support Networks? South Asian Immigrant Women in Toronto and Boston." *Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield*



Panel Chair Steven Levitsky, professor of government, discusses Diane de Gramont's presentation "Leaving Lima Behind? The Victory and Evolution of Regional Movements in Peru." *Photo credit: Megan Countyey*

During a panel entitled, "Protest and its Discontents: Civil Strife in a Changing World," Megan Shutzer (Social Studies), presented "Operation Return Home: The Resettlement of Kenya's Internally Displaced." *Photo credit: Megan Countyey*



Asli Bashir (History and Literature) presents "Analyzing the Image of the Girl-child during Uganda's HIV/AIDS Crisis: When the Discourse of Protection Imperils." *Photo credit: Kristin Caulfield*

Book Launch: *Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*
March 31, 2010

Harvard University Press and the Weatherhead Center sponsored an event to launch *Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*. A panel discussion was held by the book's editors and Center Faculty Associates:

Niall Ferguson, Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Department of History; William Ziegler Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School.

Charles S. Maier, Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, Department of History.

Erez Manela, professor of history.

Daniel J. Sargent, former Weatherhead Center Faculty Associate and assistant professor of history, Department of History, University of California Berkeley.

The session's moderator was Lizabeth Cohen, chair of the Department of History; Howard Mumford Jones Professor of American Studies.

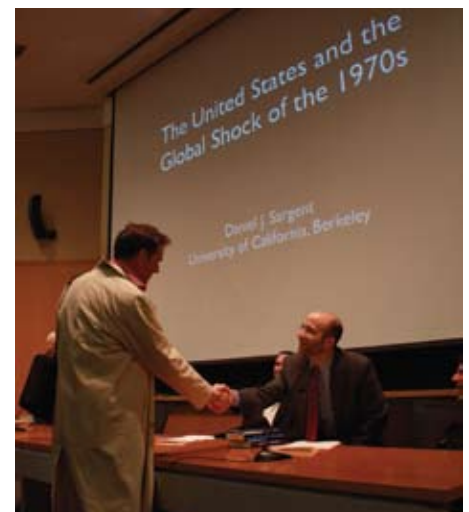


Photo credits this page: Megan Country



Above: The 2009–2010 WCFIA Fellows gather before the dinner at the Charles Hotel.

WCFIA Fellows Reunion April 15–16, 2010

Over the course of two days, April 15 and 16, 2010, alumni of the Weatherhead Center’s Fellows Program returned to the Harvard University campus for a reunion. Nearly fifty former Fellows from North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa participated in a dialogue around the theme, “The World in 2010: Confronting the Challenges of a New Decade.” On the first day of the reunion, Fellows audited classes, met informally over lunch to discuss current issues, learned about current trends in WCFIA research from some of the Center’s outstanding graduate students, and attended a reception and dinner at the Charles Hotel. The reception included a tribute by Professor Henry Rosovsky to the late Samuel P. Huntington, former Center director and mentor to generations of Fellows. The dinner that followed featured a keynote address by Professor Joseph Nye, Jr. on “The Future of American Power.” Day Two was dedicated to discussions on several issues of particular interest to this group of foreign affairs specialists. In keeping with the Center’s original intent, articulated with the establishment of the Fellows Program more than fifty years ago, these sessions featured presentations by and conversations between scholars and practitioners. Professors Bryan Hehir, Stanley Hoffmann, Ezra Vogel, Graham Allison, Markus Jachtenfuchs, Richard Cooper, Jeffrey Frankel, and Herbert Kelman joined Fellows Peter Watkins (2006–2007), Yunzhu Yao (2009–2010), Katarina Engberg (1986–1987), Joseph G. Kaufmann (2001–2002), Justin Chinyanta (2008–2009), Bernd Morast (2009–2010), and Khalid Emara (2002–2003) in generating many thought-provoking and animated discussions.



Below, left: Joseph S. Nye (center), who spoke to alumni at a dinner at the Charles Hotel, is joined by Karl Kaiser (left), director of the Program on Transatlantic Relations, and Richard Cooper (right), Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics. Nye, a former director of the Weatherhead Center, is a University Distinguished Service Professor.



Photo credits this page: Martha Stewart

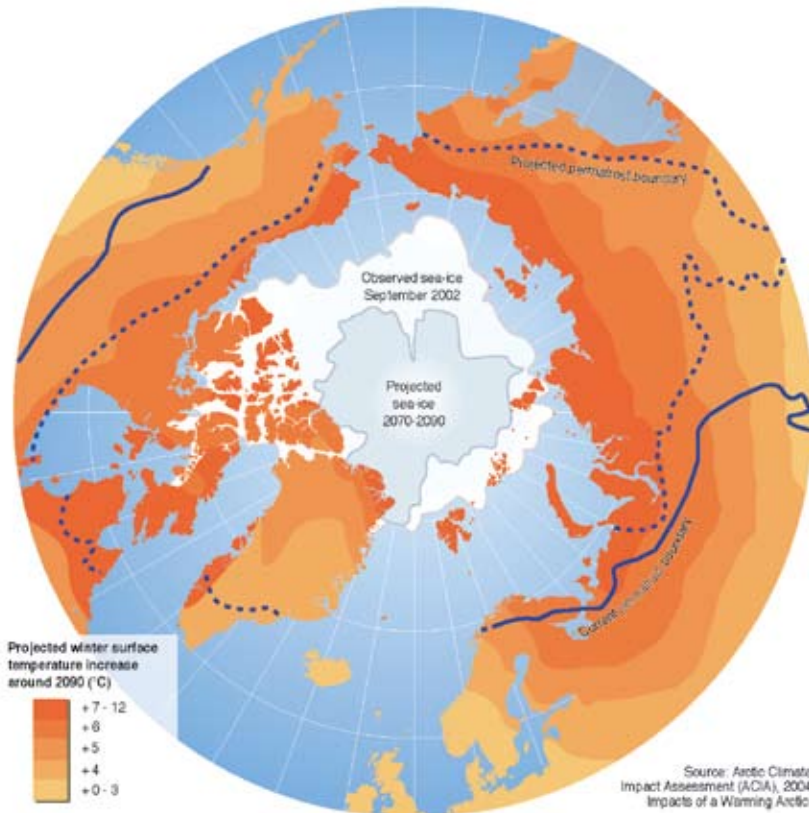
Above: Henry Rosovsky, Geyster University Professor, emeritus, pays tribute to the late Samuel P. Huntington, mentor to generations of WCFIA affiliates and a former Center director.

Left: Sir Andrew Burns (1982–1983) and Ambassador Kyoji Komachi (1993–1994) catch up over dinner.

Melting Ice and Drifting Interests: Dawn of a New Arctic Era?

by Elisa Burchert

Projected Changes in the Arctic Climate, 2090



Elisa Burchert is an associate with the Weatherhead Center's Program on Transatlantic Relations. She is also a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Heidelberg University, Germany. Her research interests are focused on U.S.-European cooperation on climate change and energy, the geopolitics of energy, and political philosophy.

Three events have significantly influenced recent debates on Arctic affairs. First, in its 2000 Petroleum Assessment report the United States Geological Survey postulated that a high percentage of the World's untapped energy resources is located north of the Polar Circle. The ensuing surge in public interest increased further when a Russian submersible planted the Russian flag on the seabed near the North Pole in August 2007. The maneuver, albeit irrelevant from a legal perspective, came to symbolize renewed attention to a region that had been largely forgotten since the end of the Cold War. In the wake of the controversy that this gesture generated, many practitioners and scholars promulgated visions of a "race" for the northern reaches of the world. The potential for territorial conflicts became, alongside alarmist predictions of a "gold rush," one of the most widely and contentiously discussed subjects in Arctic affairs. The third event—a record decline in summer sea ice during the same year—signaled the changing physical geographies of the Arctic. Given the unprecedented retreat and thinning of ice, numerous scientists heralded the dawn of a seasonally ice-free Arctic by 2030, or sooner. (See map above.)

The ramifications of these events are substantial and raise the following questions: Will the beginning of the twenty-first century usher in a new Arctic era, one in which the formerly "frozen backyard" reemerges as a political hot spot? If so, what will be its decisive feature? A clash over controlling Arctic riches? Military confrontations in disputed areas? And finally, how will "softer" environmental matters persist in discussions dominated by hard-power considerations?

A New Economic Frontier?

For some, the answer to the first question seems obvious, particularly in economic terms. Holding vast amounts of oil, gas, and other resources, the Arctic—commonly defined as the region north of 66° latitude—is what Lawson Brigham has called a "storehouse of natural riches." While detailed information on energy reserves remains sparse, estimates from the United States Geological Survey suggest that as much as 30 percent of the world's untapped natural gas and more than 10 percent of the oil may be found in Arctic soils. With rapid environmental change and technological advances, many of the hitherto inaccessible resources will be increasingly within reach. Against this backdrop, authors like Scott Borgerson have argued that the region could slide into an "armed mad dash." Awakened by the possibility of an energy bonanza, the five Arctic coastal states—Canada, Denmark (Greenland), Norway, the Russian Federation, and the United States—could escalate the ways in which they pursue conflicting claims over resource-rich areas.

Upon closer inspection, however, there are at least three reasons to be critical of such projections. First, the bulk of resource-bearing sediments lie within sovereign territories, clearly determining which coastal state holds exploitation rights. Second, industry interest—crucial for resource development—is increasing but still fragile. This has to do with high operation costs, which stem from harsh conditions and geographical remoteness. By the same token, investment policies in some states, such as Russia, are difficult to predict, and energy companies must engage in negotiations when drilling projects take place in areas governed by indigenous peoples. Finally, external factors such as oil price and reservoir discoveries elsewhere make projections unreliable. Taken together, notions of a full-blown race for Arctic resources seem far-fetched. This is not to discount the possibility of tensions. As oil and gas are unevenly distributed across the Arctic, some actors will profit more than others and might be inclined to use energy resources for political leverage.

Further, melting sea ice has fueled speculations about the prospects of Polar shipping. In 2007, the fabled

Northwest Passage (see maps on next page) along the coast of North America opened for the first time. As a result, commentators have delighted in noting how passing Polar waters would greatly reduce distances compared to navigating traditional routes. Yet, as with the case of energy, several myths have blurred the analysis of what can be expected. Sailing along the sprawling coasts of Arctic states or through the Arctic Ocean is expensive, owing to specific requirements for equipment and personnel training and insurance and disaster response, as well as to port infrastructure. What is more, although the term “ice-free” suggests otherwise, floating ice and extreme weather events will continue to pose challenges for marine operations. Different types of shipping also need to be taken into account when evaluating industry interest. Cargo ships, for example, follow rigid timetables, making trans-Arctic navigation at reduced speed less appealing. In contrast, bulk shipping companies are more flexible in terms of seasonality and time demands, as Frédéric Lasserre has astutely observed. In this regard, traffic is not likely to be heavy in the near future. While the Arctic promises considerable development opportunities, assumptions that the region represents a new economic frontier underestimate the environmental, technical, and financial factors at play.

A Theater of Military Confrontations?

Will the Arctic become a theater of military confrontations, as many fear? There can be no doubt that greater access and longer navigation periods imply a number of security challenges for state and non-state actors alike. For instance, whereas increased shipping can positively impact local ports and communities, ice-free coastlines also entail greater exposure to maritime terrorism. From a state's perspective, differences emerge concerning the delineation of Outer Continental Shelves and the question of who has authority over melting straits. The 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea provides a comprehensive legal framework within which these issues are addressed. As set out in Article 76, coastal states wishing to extend their boundaries beyond the 200 nautical mile line of the Exclusive Economic Zone may submit information to the UN Continental Shelf Commission. On the basis of scientific evidence, Russia and Norway were the first Arctic states to invoke this provision, contending that swaths of Arctic seabed constitute natural prolongations of their territories. Needless to say, this process is costly and dependent on each country's technological capabilities for detailed seabed mapping.

Heated talks of a “land rush” that could create new battlegrounds in the Arctic have largely focused on areas where territorial aspirations overlap. One of the most noteworthy cases is the Barents Sea, where Russia has resumed strategic bomber patrols. Although such military assertiveness demands close attention, the potential is low for an Arctic “great game” in the near future.

Unresolved disputes have persisted for many decades, and so far all Arctic states have demonstrated their willingness to abide by the laws now in place.

Arctic Environmental Change: The Obvious Neglected?

The emergence of these new and old challenges has fostered debates over the ways in which environmental arrangements and political agendas dynamically shape one another. A notable irony is that the region's economic outlook hinges upon dramatic changes in Arctic ecosystems. In other words, the more sea ice melts, the greater the access to its hidden riches. Conversely, transformations, including extreme weather events and thawing permafrost, present obstacles to resource development.

While the Arctic exhibits a history of high natural variability, most studies suggest that a long-term shift is indeed taking place. This shift is linked in part to anthropogenic factors originating well beyond the region. Irrespective of whether a “tipping point” has been reached, as some assert, changes in the physical geography create not only opportunities but a myriad of vexing problems, many of which threaten the lifestyles of indigenous populations. Protecting and managing the Arctic as an area of common interest is thus a critical issue. This has been recognized by the Arctic Council, an intergovernmental forum established in 1996 for the purpose of promoting cooperation among Arctic governments and peoples. In addition, a vast array of bilateral agreements and international regimes concerning, for example, biodiversity provide foundations for environmental governance.

But is this patchwork sufficient to effectively manage what has often been neglected? Opponents hold that the Arctic is threatened by lacunae that exist within current legal and institutional frameworks. They claim that a regional treaty inspired by the 1959 Antarctic Treaty should be negotiated. While rethinking current regulatory regimes of cooperation and environmental protection is necessary, it is highly unlikely that Arctic states will accept supplementary, legally binding documents. During the 2008 Ilulissat Conference, the five coastal states were reluctant to accept additional constraints. This can be read as shying away from the imposition of greater responsibilities, but legally binding regimes often involve protracted and less flexible bureaucracies, which, in turn, could hinder protection where immediate action is required.

A New Arctic Era?

With the effects of climate change marking the beginning of the end of Arctic isolation, there can be no doubt that a new era is dawning. The “age of the Arctic”—to borrow a term coined by Oran Young—will be driven by complex and interrelated sets of factors tied to economic opportunities and security concerns over a region that is becoming increasingly accessible. Yet, contrary to

Map (previous page): UNEP/GRID-Arendal, Projected changes in the Arctic climate, 2090, UNEP/GRID-Arendal Maps and Graphics Library, <http://maps.grida.no/go/graphic/projected-changes-in-the-arctic-climate-2090> (Accessed 21 April 2010)

Cartographer/designer: Hugo Ahlenius, UNEP/GRID-Arendal.

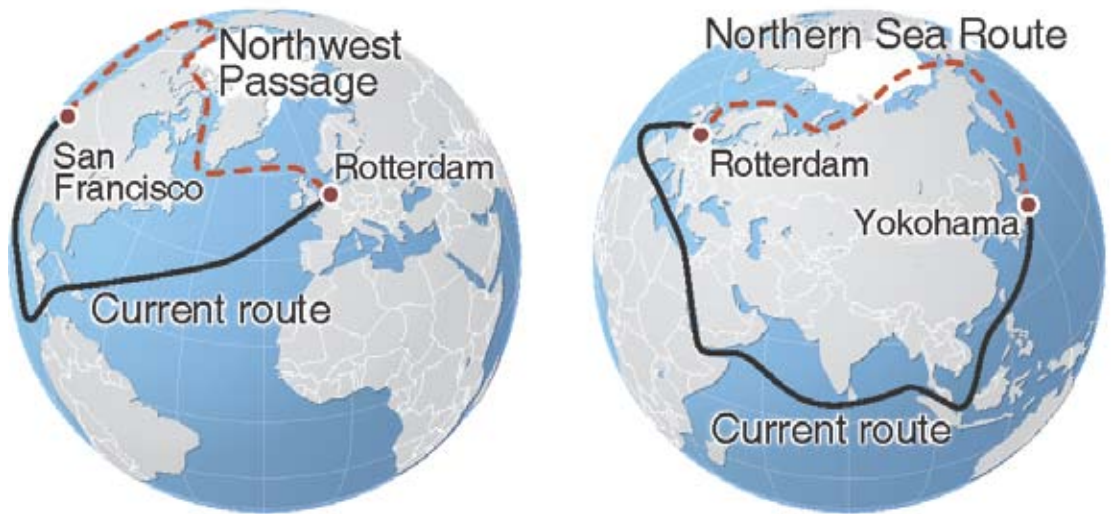
Map: UNEP/GRID-Arendal, Northern Sea Route and the Northwest Passage compared with currently used shipping routes, UNEP/GRID-Arendal Maps and Graphics Library, <http://maps.grida.no/go/graphic/northern-sea-route-and-the-northwest-passage-compared-with-currently-used-shipping-routes> (Accessed 21 April 2010)

Cartographer/designer: Hugo Ahlenius, UNEP/GRID-Arendal.

alarmist visions of a new “Cold War,” Arctic affairs will not be marked by violent conflict, particularly not in the short or medium term. This does not mean that competition and nonviolent conflict will not surface, but rather that such conflict will very likely remain at acceptable levels, only rarely involving aggressive military posturing.

To be sure, Russia’s flag-planting has catapulted the Arctic back into the orbit of geopolitics. Simplified readings of symbolic gestures, energy deposits, and jurisdictional disputes, however, belittle the reality of Arctic affairs. They not only overlook potentially serious damage to underlying diplomatic relations, as illustrated by some commentators’ use of “us-them” dichotomies when referring to Western Arctic states and Russia, they also deflect attention from the challenge of preserving the Arctic’s environment. Pessimistic analyses risk heating up the debate in ways that hamper discussions of collective interests by shifting emphasis away to hard-power considerations. As a result, short-term parochial strategies override collective long-term interests. Given that rapid changes easily outpace the capacity of institutions to deal with them, there is a need to effectively address tensions between wishes for economic development and for environmental protection. In essence, the Arctic, caught in uncertainty and change, provides a conspicuous reminder that climate change is not only about opportunities and risks but also about our responsibility to protect one of the planet’s most fragile and unique environments. ●

Northern Sea Route and the Northwest Passage Compared with Currently Used Shipping Routes





Susan Pharr, Yoichi Suzuki, and Hisashi Owada. Photo credit: Shinju Fujihira

The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations celebrated its 30th anniversary at a reception in Tokyo in January, which was attended by over 100 alumni. The Program was founded in 1980 by then university professor and former ambassador to Japan, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Hisashi Owada, currently president of the International Court of Justice. The current program director is Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics. Over the last three decades, the program has enabled outstanding scholars and practitioners from Japan, the U.S., and other countries to conduct independent research on a wide range of issues, including U.S.-Japan relations, contemporary Japanese politics & economy, the international security of East Asia, civil society in Asia, and the challenges of globalization. In attendance at the reception was Judge Hisashi Owada; former vice minister of finance for international affairs and Waseda university professor, Eisuke Sakakibara (1980–1981); Representative Kozo Yamamoto (1981–1982); former ambassador to France and India, Hiroshi Hirabayashi (1981-1982); Glen Fukushima (president and CEO, Airbus Japan); and Yoichi Suzuki (director general of the Economic Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and former consul general of Japan, Boston).



Masahiro Mikami (1989–1990) and Shigeko Fukai (1989–1990). Photo credit: Shinju Fujihira

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Continued from page 5

colonial empire) were forced back into bondage despite fierce rebellion when Napoleon reinstated slavery in 1802. It was not until 1848 that slavery was definitively abolished in all of the French overseas territories.

The Caribbeans I interviewed often referred to the continuity of slavery in Martinique (and the period of freedom and intense rebellion experienced by Guadeloupeans) as explanations for what they saw as present-day differences between the groups. For example, Guadeloupeans often saw themselves as more defiant and in touch with their "roots" than Martinicans, whom they viewed as more assimilated into the dominant French culture. The salience of slavery in their discourse about group boundaries was surprising to me and provided important clues into the collective identities of French West Indians. Limiting my direct questions about the history of slavery to the end of the interview allowed me to identify the contexts in which people viewed slavery as a relevant past.

Best practices in fieldwork are those that allow researchers to inductively discover the unexpected and to challenge the conventional wisdom about their objects of study. It would have been easy for me to go to France in search of tragic representations of slavery, but I would have missed out on the broad range of emotional work involved in the commemoration of slavery. Similarly, I could have simplified my project by administering hundreds of short surveys to assess public opinion on the history of slavery rather than conducting in-depth interviews that frequently lasted more than two hours. But doing so would have prevented me from uncovering the complex narratives people used to describe the history of slavery and the specific contexts in which they viewed the slavery past as having contemporary significance. In my experience, the most important methodological resource is a willingness to modify our most basic assumptions, to seek out data that might disconfirm our expectations, and to remain open to the myriad surprises that await us in the social world. ●

In Memoriam:

HUGH DOHERTY, 1933–2008



On March 24, a long-time member of the Weatherhead Center's staff, Hugh Doherty, passed away at his home in Charlestown, Massachusetts.

Hugh came to work here in the early 1990s, when we were still the Center for International Affairs. We hired him to fill in while I took a two-month leave of absence, and he and I spent a few days together before I left so I could explain to him things like my filing "system." Hugh was my father's age, of Irish stock and breeding like my dear old dad. He had apparently checked out the same joke book from the library where my father had gotten his own material. I could relate to this man. For years afterward, Hugh and I stayed in touch with phone calls and e-mail messages, as though we'd done hard time together in the gulags instead of a mere few days in my cramped Coolidge Hall office.

In 1997 I was thrilled to offer Hugh a position in the Center's financial office. I hired him not only because I valued his considerable skills and experience, but also because he was simply a great guy to be around. It was clear from the start that he was happy to be working at the Center, brightening the atmosphere just outside my door for many years. Hugh was infectiously funny and always ready with an ironic observation about things like the challenges of modern technology. His grand and great grandchildren were endless sources of joy and amusement to him, which made me want to have kids of my own. Staff and faculty alike stopped by on a daily basis to chat with Hugh in hope, I suspect, of having some of his upbeat outlook on life rub off on them.

Then there were the Red Sox. Hugh had been following the team for so long that he was surely among the most befuddled of fans when they won the World Series in 2004. Much of the idle chat we engaged in revolved around the team and their damnable inability to beat the Yankees—until 2004. But even after that improbable victory, there was always plenty of Red Sox material to chatter back and forth about. Perhaps this is why the spring of 2010 feels so different to me. Even after Hugh's retirement in 2005, talking Red Sox with him was just a phone call away.

Though I miss Hugh, I am warmed by the many wonderful memories of time spent with him, not the least of which was his retirement party in 2005. It was then that we raised his phone number to our proverbial rafters, like American sports teams do for their great stars. It is likely to be the only number the WCFIA ever "retires." Such is the unique place Hugh Doherty occupies in our hearts.

Patrick McVay, Director of Finance