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INTERVIEW CONT.

Students Get a Firsthand View of Foreign Policy Work in Qatar

by Bill Platt, *Dartmouth News*

Students in the War and Peace Fellows Program traveled to Qatar during winter break, attending the Doha Forum, a high-level international affairs summit, and meeting with U.S. and Qatari diplomats in the Persian Gulf state.

A group of 10 undergraduates heard from speakers at the Doha conference, including U.N. Secretary General Antonio Guterres, 2018 Nobel Peace Prize winner Nadia Murad—a member of the Yazidi ethnic minority of Iraq—and Emir of Qatar Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani. In addition, the students visited the offices of *Al Jazeera* news and met with Qatari officials involved in planning the World Cup soccer games in Doha in 2022.

“Qatar has played an outsized role in global affairs for some time now—in part because of its wealth and in part because of its active diplomacy—and the quality of the participants in the Doha Forum is a sign of that. It’s remarkable to have so many luminaries

in one place at one time,” says Daniel Benjamin, the Norman E. McCulloch Jr. Director of the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding.

“I’m grateful to the Embassy of Qatar in Washington, D.C., for making this possible. This was the kind of experience that few students anywhere will get,” Benjamin says.

The students also had a chance to talk with top foreign affairs experts, including senior diplomats in the U.S. embassy and then-U.S. Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS Brett McGurk. (McGurk resigned his position later in December following the departure of Defense Secretary James Mattis.)

“Qatar is at the center of an extraordinarily tense situation in the Gulf region now because of the blockade that Saudi Arabia and the UAE are conducting against this tiny country. For the

CONT. ON PG 4



Inventing a Post-Trump Foreign Policy: An Interview with the Former Obama Adviser Jake Sullivan, By Isaac Chotiner, *The New Yorker*, February 2019

Frequently during the academic term, the Dickey Center hosts a visitor from outside the academy as our Magro Family Distinguished Fellow in International Affairs, a position generously endowed by Dickey Board of Visitor member Anthony Magro '76 and his wife Laurence. While at Dartmouth, the fellows teach a seminar for undergraduates, meet with student groups and individual students and faculty and participate in a public event. Among those who have had this designation in recent years are former Acting Secretary of Homeland Security Rand Beers '64, Ambassador Johnnie Carson, who served as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and, most recently, Philip Short, a distinguished journalist who is currently writing a biography of Russian leader Vladimir Putin.

This spring, our Magro Family Distinguished Fellow is Jake Sullivan, who served as Director of Policy Planning at the State Department under Secretary Hillary Clinton and later as National Security Advisor to Vice President Joe Biden. A Rhodes Scholar and former Supreme Court clerk to Justice Stephen Breyer, Sullivan is regarded as one of the outstanding foreign policy analysts at work today. He is currently teaching a Government seminar entitled "The Future of the International Order." Below is a recent interview with him that appeared in *The New Yorker*.

Democrats are announcing Presidential bids seemingly every week, and they will soon be forced to craft foreign-policy agendas. Last week, we got a taste of some of the dynamics at play, when the Senate voted overwhelmingly in opposition to President Trump's proposed withdrawal of troops from Syria and Afghanistan. The twenty-six senators who opposed the resolution included the Presidential candidates Cory Booker, Kamala Harris, Elizabeth Warren, and Amy Klobuchar, which raised the interesting question of how the Democrats' foreign policy would and wouldn't distinguish itself from President Trump's.

To talk about this subject, I spoke by phone with Jake Sullivan, a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a Montgomery Fellow at Dartmouth College, and the former national-security adviser to Vice-President Joe Biden. He also worked as Hillary Clinton's deputy chief-of-staff during her tenure as Secretary of State. Recently, Sullivan has written about the need for Democrats to recapture the idea of "American exceptionalism," which

he believes has been misused by the likes of Trump and Dick Cheney. During our conversation, which has been edited and condensed for clarity, we discussed the biggest foreign-policy dangers for Democrats, the real reasons that the Obama Administration aided the Saudi war in Yemen, and whether Trump's embrace of foreign strongmen is really so different from the realpolitik of previous American Presidents.

How do you define American exceptionalism, and how do you think Democrats can or should employ it in the coming election?

The best view of American exceptionalism, from my perspective, is not that America is better than other countries—not America, love it or leave it, but America, warts and all. The notion that the United States has unique and distinctive attributes and capacities that really do distinguish us from any previous power in history and any potential future power—that allow us not only to deliver for the American people but to also contribute to the greater global common interest.



Dickey Center Director Daniel Benjamin and Jake Sullivan participating in a public event on January 16th. Photo, Lars Blackmore.

What are the “attributes” that differentiate us?

The United States is unique among countries in having been founded on an idea, not on territory or tribe, and that idea has dimensions that are core to the American story, but also core to the broader human story—a sense of aspiration, a sense of human rights and freedoms and the idea that actually we are all interconnected and that we need to work through institutions to safeguard our life and freedoms and to advance them more generally. So that’s one aspect of it.

The second aspect is that American foreign policy, unlike the foreign policy of other great powers through history, has not been zero-sum, has not relied on a notion that a dog-eat-dog world’s O.K., as long as you’re the biggest dog.

Third, we are a nation of problem-solvers in a world full of problems. There is a streak among the American people and throughout American history, and especially in difficult times with our foreign policy, where we look around the world and see challenges and roll up our sleeves and say, “What are we going to do about that?”

It’s not to say that we don’t screw up, and it’s not to say that we haven’t had plenty of failures and foul-ups in our foreign policy, but it is to say that we aspire to something, and, if we keep working to achieve those aspirations, as imperfect as the work along the way will be, then we can be a different kind of power than the ones that have typically been seen through history.

Without quibbling for now about what U.S. foreign policy has been, you are essentially describing the United States’ foreign policy as the polar opposite of the Trump Administration’s foreign policy. Do we need to face up to the fact that this is perhaps what American foreign policy is now, without wishing it were something else?

I certainly can’t be complacent. We’ve got to fight for it. Part of what I’m trying to do is to make the case for something that many people, including myself, took for granted for a very long time, took for granted in part because of the sensibility I developed as a Minnesotan growing up in the late Cold War. We can no longer do that. We can no longer take this for granted. I can’t sit here today and tell you the United States is innately thus and it will always be thus. What I can say is these attributes and these capacities are still very much alive in this country.

What do you think has been the Trump Administration’s biggest break from the foreign policy not just of the Obama Administration but of the postwar era?

I think you could select from a menu, but at the top of the list would be the shift from positive sum to zero-sum. The notion that if another country is doing well, it must necessarily be at our expense, rather than all of us can do better together. At its best, American foreign policy since the end of the Second World War has rejected that view, to our benefit. We have had a notion of

enlightened self-interest. It’s what led us to rebuild vanquished foes. It’s what led us to continue to invest in Europe so that we didn’t have a Third World War in the twentieth century. It’s what led us to shape a secure environment in Asia, that, yes, actually did contribute to the economic growth of many countries in that region.

A very close second on the list, though, is the view that Trump has espoused that values don’t matter at all in U.S. foreign policy—that, you know, how people are treated around the world, whether they have access to basic rights and dignity, is irrelevant to the United States. We don’t care about it. If another country’s willing to buy our goods, or buy our weapons, then it’s all just fine and good. They can do whatever the heck they please. That’s been a big break, too, from a strong bipartisan tradition in our foreign policy that has tried to stand for something more, that has actually tried to reflect our values.

How well do you think the Obama Administration stood up for the values you’re talking about, and are there areas where you feel like the Administration came up short?

Every Administration comes up short on this, because the charge of a President and the object of U.S. foreign policy is to secure and safeguard the basic interests of the United States, and that requires engaging in geopolitics. That was true during the Cold War, it was true after the Cold War, and when you’re engaging in geopolitics you’re sometimes necessarily pitting short-term security and stability interests against long-term commitments to values, and you’re having to balance the two against each other. Others have said more eloquently than me that hypocrisy and inconsistency are the necessary by-products of a foreign policy that both has to look out for our interests and tries as best it can to advance that. Just as a broad commentary on U.S. foreign policy going back to our founding, we are always falling short of our ideals, and we certainly did do that during the Obama Administration.

The fact, for example, that we were not able to more effectively play a role in stopping hundreds of thousands of people from dying in Syria and millions and millions more losing their homes. That’s a great regret of mine.

I think, looking at the U.S.-Saudi relationship today, through the prism of the heinous murder of Jamal Khashoggi, you know, in a way, the Trump Administration is dealing with the same balance or the same conflict between the security interests we share and the places where we diverge on fundamental questions of human rights and democracy and values. They’ve chosen to just ignore—a hundred per cent ignore—one half of that calculus.

I think the Obama Administration, like previous Administrations, did not do enough to elevate the priority of human rights and reform in our relationship with Saudi Arabia. If you take something like the conflict in Yemen, which has caused massive loss of life and is the greatest humanitarian catastrophe facing the world today, it was the Obama Administration who began the support for the Saudi-led coalition in that effort, I

New Members of Dickey's Board of Visitors

The Dickey Center receives advice from a dedicated group of alumni with extensive experience in international affairs who serve as members of our Board of Visitors. The biographies of all of our Board members can be viewed on the Dickey Center website under "About the Center," but here we recognize our newest members of the Board.

Elizabeth McClintock '86 is a Founder and Partner with CMPartners, LLC. Liz leads CMPartners' public sector practice and has 25 years of experience offering consulting services to and designing and implementing negotiation, conflict management, and leadership training programs for both private and public sector organizations around the world. In her work, Liz advises the U.S. Government and various United Nations leaders, including the Office of the Special Adviser of the Secretary General to Burundi on preparation for and conduct of negotiation and dialogue processes. She worked as the lead facilitator for a two-year Timor-Leste government collaborative capacity-building project and has advised the Office of the President of Sri Lanka, among other projects. Currently, Liz supports a Multi-stakeholder Dialogue (MSD) process for the Sierra Leone Ministry of Health and Sanitation. Ongoing work with WHO focuses on improving the ability of member states to better manage the global health diplomacy process and has resulted in a series of publications, including the book *Negotiating Public Health in a Globalized World: Global Health Diplomacy in Action*, with co-authors, D. Fairman, D. Chigas, and N. Drager (Springer 2012). Liz also teaches graduate-level courses in negotiation at both the Fletcher School at Tufts University and at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University.

At Dartmouth, Liz studied Government and was a founding member of the Women's Volleyball team. Liz has remained involved in Dartmouth since graduation, serving as Class President, co-chair of two reunions, Class Agent, and interviewer. Liz served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Morocco from 1988-1992. She received an MALD and a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School at Tufts University.

Charles Park '91 is a Managing Director in the Investment Banking Division of Goldman Sachs. Chuck is responsible for the

firm's Natural Resources Equity Capital Markets group focusing on origination, advisory and execution of Equity and Structured Equity offerings for Natural Resources corporate clients. Through his industry responsibilities, Chuck works closely with Energy, Metals and Mining, Chemicals, Utility and Power and Renewable Energy companies throughout the Americas. Throughout his career he has worked on over 150 IPOs and has helped raise capital for more than 600 companies worldwide.

Chuck graduated from Dartmouth College with an AB in Economics. He also received an MBA from the University of Chicago Booth School of Business and an MA from The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.

Aly Rahim '02 is the World Bank's Practice Manager for Social Development, West Africa. At the time of his appointment, he was the youngest executive in the World Bank Group. In this capacity, he oversees the Social Development Division for West Africa, responsible for social safeguards and sustainability across the Bank portfolio in the sub-region, conflict and forced displacement, community-driven development, social inclusion, gender and other key social development themes. Aly was mostly recently Assistant to the President of the World Bank Group, serving for three years as executive office focal point and lead for key practices, themes and geographic areas. Working with the leadership of the organization, he led Office of the President engagement on major milestones such as World Bank pledges under the COP21 Paris Climate Treaty, the passage of the World Bank's new Environmental Social Framework, and establishment of new global financing vehicles for Fragility-Conflict and Forced Displacement. Prior to Aly's time with the World Bank, he served in the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs as a foreign service officer and specialist in post-conflict reconstruction for Sudan and subsequently Afghanistan.

Aly holds a Master's degree from Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, and a Bachelor's degree from Dartmouth. During his time at Dartmouth, Aly was very active in the Dickey Center, where he was Chair of the World Affairs Council, a War and Peace Studies fellow, and the recipient of the Chase Peace Prize for his senior thesis. ■

We thank all members of our Board, past and present, for their commitment and support.

CONT. FROM PG 1

students to meet Qatari and U.S. officials as well as an array of scholars and experts during this trip was a sort of real-time, up-close experience of a major international relations dust-up. We all got a tremendous amount out of it," says Benjamin.

Sarah Drescher '20, a government and quantitative social science double major, says she is grateful for the opportunity to visit a part of the world she likely would never see otherwise.

"The group was also fortunate enough to see both the American Embassy in Qatar and the Qatari Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Getting to hear from and interact with high-level foreign policymakers at Dartmouth through the Dickey Center is already a massive privilege, but being able to do so in Qatar was an

incredible and unparalleled experience," she says.

Associate Professor of Government Benjamin Valentino, coordinator of the War and Peace Fellows Program, says the trip was "a one-of-a-kind opportunity and something that students at very few other institutions would have a chance to do. It was just an extraordinary experience for all of them."

Debora Han '20 says the insight and context that Valentino and Benjamin shared with the students before and during the trip were invaluable.

"Their presence with all of us on the trip really made the trip something special and something that I learned a lot from," she says. ■



Dartmouth Class of 1961 Announces Dickey Center Award to Honor the Memory of Classmate Stephen Warren Bosworth

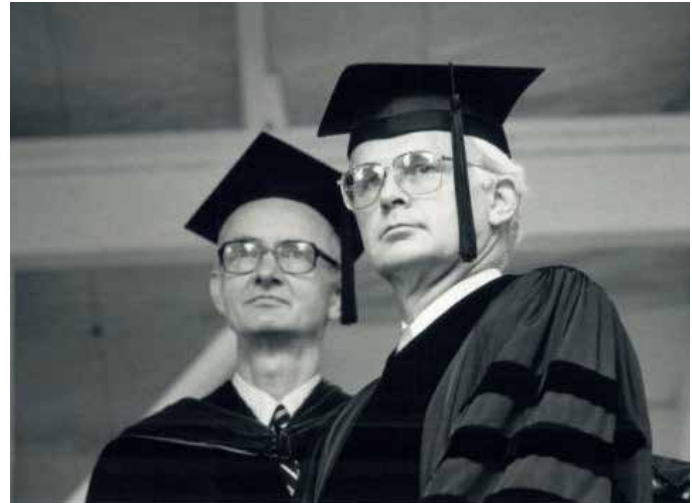
At its Class Officers Conference Call on February 14, 2018, the Class of 1961 announced that the College had agreed to their request to have a single endowment, totaling \$100,000, to fund two separate student projects; one in the arts (The Class of 1961 Arts Initiative Award) and the other in international relations (The Class of 1961 Stephen W. Bosworth Award for International Affairs). This award honors the memory of Steve Bosworth, a former U.S. Ambassador to three foreign nations and a vital force in helping the Dickey Center establish itself as an important presence in the arena of diplomacy and international relations in the academic world during the late 1980's and early 1990's.

Ambassador Stephen W. Bosworth '61 was one of the nation's most distinguished diplomats of his generation. He served as ambassador to South Korea, Tunisia and the Philippines, as well as Director, of Policy Planning. His career also included serving as President of the U.S.-Japan Foundation and Dean at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

At the Dartmouth 1986 Commencement, he received an honorary doctor of laws degree and delivered the commencement address.

Steve Bosworth's service to the College was extensive. He was a member of the Board of Trustees from 1992 to 2002 and served as Board Chairman from 1996 to 1999. He was Trustee Representative to the Dickey Center Board of Visitors from 1995 to 1998, served on the Class of 1961 Executive Committee, and as an Overseer of the Hop/Hood from 1993 to 1996. He also was a member of the Friends of Studio Art.

Upon his return to the United States from the Philippines in 1987, Ambassador Bosworth accepted an appointment as a John Sloan Dickey Endowment Senior Fellow. While in residence, he



Ambassador Bosworth receiving his honorary degree in 1986. Photo, Stuart Bratesman.

prepared a manuscript on his recent service in the Philippines, and an article, "After Iran: Can We Have a Foreign Policy?" which was published in the November 1987 issue of *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*. Steve also contributed to the College community through public lectures and class visits. During the summer term, he delivered a two-part lecture series entitled "Democracy and the Exercise of American Foreign Policy." During the fall term, he participated in Professor of Government Gene Lyons' International Politics course.

Funding for the award honoring their classmate has been guaranteed in perpetuity by the Class of 1961's generous endowment now formally named "Class of 1961 Robert Frost Endowment – Stephen W. Bosworth Award for International Affairs." ■

Dickey Global Health Initiative Awarded Inaugural Energy Funding

Health and energy are central to the realization of more equitable societies. Yet the intersections between health and energy remain underexplored in global health scholarship and practice. New strategies to extend care to remote, underserved communities domestically and globally, the increasing effects of climate change on health, and the myriad impacts of changing rural energy landscapes on health highlight the critical relationship between energy and health.

Recognizing the critical intersections between health and energy, the new Irving Institute for Energy and Society selected Dartmouth Rural Health and Energy Equity Advancement Lab (DR-HE2AL), a joint initiative of the Global Health Initiative (GHI) and Center for Health Equity (CHE) at the Geisel School of Medicine, as one of the inaugural recipients of its energy grants. Led by Dr. Lisa Adams

(faculty coordinator of GHI and director of CHE) and Anne Sosin (Program Director of GHI), DR-HE2AL seeks to investigate the previously unexplored linkages between health and energy equity in vulnerable global communities. In its first phase, the DR-HE2AL initiative will identify opportunities in which Dartmouth can have a transformative impact on health and energy equity issues affecting its existing network of partners in the US and abroad. Specifically, the project will aim to examine the critical role energy access and use plays: as a determinant of health, in the delivery of healthcare, towards sustainable development practices that promote and safeguard health, and in protecting from disasters in an era of rapid environmental and social change. Initial partnership sites for the health and energy project will include the Arctic, Peru, Kosovo, Tanzania, and rural New Hampshire and Vermont. ■

Winter Events

UNDERSTANDING AND PREDICTING THE RAPIDLY CHANGING ARCTIC: THE NEED FOR ENHANCED COLLABORATION IN RESEARCH

Martin Jeffries, CRREL, Executive Office of the Director, U.S. Army Engineer R&D Center. Jan 14

IN CONVERSATION WITH JAKE SULLIVAN

Jake Sullivan, Montgomery Fellow, Former Director of Policy Planning at the U.S. State Department, National Security Advisor to Vice President Biden. Jan 16

THE KHASHOGGI KILLING AND THE FUTURE OF SAUDI-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Gregory Gause, John H. Lindsey '44 Chair, Professor of International Affairs and Head of the International Affairs Department at the Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University. Jan 22

CENTRAL AMERICAN MIGRATION AND U.S. POLICY IN THE NORTHERN TRIANGLE

Ambassador James D. Nealon, former U.S. Ambassador to Honduras (2014-17) and former Assistant Secretary for International Engagement at the Department of Homeland Security (2017-18). Jan 23

AS OTHERS SEE US: AMERICA IN THE AGE OF TRUMP

Philip Short, Author, former BBC, Correspondent, Magro Family Distinguished Fellow in International Affairs. Jan 28

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES & PEOPLES IN THE SIBERIAN ARCTIC: VITALITY, WELL-BEING AND URBANIZATION

Lenore Grenoble, Professor, Department of Linguistics and Humanities, Collegiate Division, The University of Chicago. Feb 4

JAPAN'S OPTIONS IN A TURBULENT WORLD: NAVIGATING THE TRUMP YEARS

Toshihiro Nakayama, Professor, Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University, Japan; Adjunct Fellow, Japan Institute of International Affairs. Feb 11

UNWINDING YEMEN'S WAR: THE ORIGINS AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONFLICT AND PROSPECTS FOR RESTORING PEACE

Ambassador Stephen A. Seche, U.S. Ambassador to Yemen (2007-2010). Feb 19

THE HORROR OF SYRIA: WHAT HAPPENED, WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT

Charles Glass, Writer, Journalist, Publisher, and former Correspondent for ABC News. Feb 21

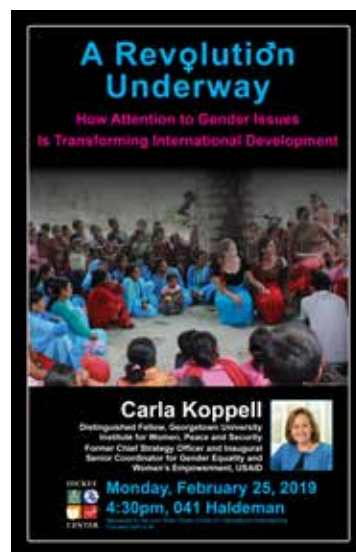
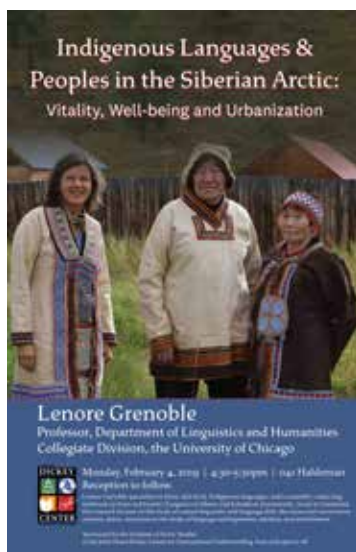
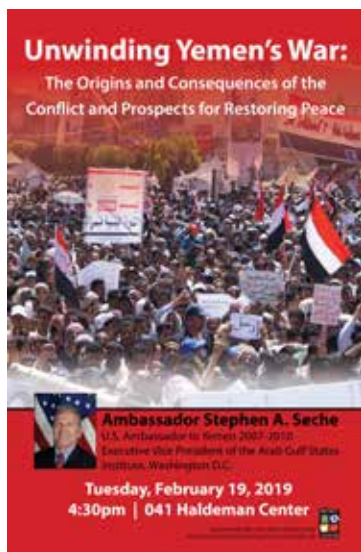
A REVOLUTION UNDERWAY: HOW ATTENTION TO GENDER ISSUES IS TRANSFORMING INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Carla Koppell, Distinguished Fellow, Georgetown University, Institute for Women, Peace and Security. Former Chief Strategy Officer and Inaugural Senior Coordinator for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, USAID. Feb 25



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DICKEY CENTER • APRIL 2019



Magro Fellow Philip Short delivering a lecture on January 28th. Photo, Lars Blackmore.

Website Provides Resources for Global Menstrual Health

by Bill Platt and Amy Olson, *Dartmouth News*



Professor Brooks with her IMHER team. Photo, Eli Burakian '00.

Associate Professor of Government Deborah Jordan Brooks and a team of students have created a website that consolidates information on global menstrual health education and access to menstrual products for low-income girls and women around the world.

Dubbed IMHER—the International Menstrual Health Entrepreneurship Roundup—the site provides information of use to small-scale, local entrepreneurs working in Africa, Asia, and South America.

“It is local entrepreneurs with knowledge of their area’s needs who can best get this work done in their communities,” says Brooks, the faculty coordinator for gender-based initiatives at the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding.

Under the Dickey Center, Brooks established the Dartmouth Global Girls Forward Lab, a team of undergraduate students focused on global development issues pertaining to women, to compile content featured in IMHER.

“This is not a project just about making menstrual health products more widely available. It’s a project that aims to promote human dignity, and that’s a big deal,” says Daniel Benjamin, the Norman E. McCulloch Jr. Director of the Dickey Center. “I’m thrilled that they and the Dickey Center have produced something that has the potential to make a real difference in empowering women in the developing world.”

The roots of IMHER go back to 2017, when Brooks was a mentor for Dickey’s Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) and met YALI Class of 2017 Grace Ningejeje, founder of the Burundi-based nonprofit organization Uplifting the Girl Child and author of *Break the Taboo on Menstrual Health*. As part of her work with the YALI program, Ningejeje researched the options for producing high-quality, low-cost menstrual pads in Burundi.

Working with Ningejeje, Brooks realized that many entrepreneurs entering this space need to gather the same information

when they start out. This spurred the idea of creating a website that consolidates educational and product resources on global menstrual health.

“While IMHER can help to make accurate information more accessible, it is female entrepreneurs like Ningejeje who are at the center of change, creating solutions to help address issues affecting the health and well-being of girls and women,” Brooks says.

Benjamin says IMHER illustrates the breadth of the connections that are possible through global initiatives like the YALI program. “I’m incredibly pleased to see another collaboration between Dartmouth faculty and students and alums of the Young African Leaders Initiative who were here on campus. We have a fabulous network of young Africans working with us to address big problems, and nothing could be more rewarding.”

IMHER features links to organizations and free resources from around the world on menstrual education and healthy self-care through several searchable databases. As the website came together over the past year, Brooks and her students have been building it out to include information that will be useful to a broader audience.

“It also has information of use to larger menstrual health and women’s organizations, to researchers and students of these topics, and potentially to donors who might be looking for organizations that work on these issues in particular countries,” says Brooks.

The goal is to make IMHER a “living resource,” Brooks says. The site encourages users to suggest organizations, educational resources, and documentaries/digital stories to add to their database and provide feedback about the website, allowing readers to help build part of the information base that others in the field can then use. The developers also plan to create a blog and offer other resources in the future. ■

Ross Virginia Elected a Fellow of The Explorers Club

In October 2018, Ross Virginia, Director of the Dickey Center's Institute of Arctic Studies, was elected a Fellow of The Explorers Club. Founded in New York City in 1904, The Explorers Club promotes the scientific exploration of land, sea, air, and space by supporting research and education in the physical, natural and biological sciences. The Club's members have been responsible for an illustrious series of famous firsts: First to the North Pole, first to the South Pole, first to the summit of Mount Everest, first to the deepest point in the ocean, first to the surface of the moon. The club's mission is to advance field research, scientific exploration, resource conservation, and the ideal that it is vital to preserve the instinct to explore.

Explorers Club Fellowships are "reserved for those who have distinguished themselves by directly contributing to scientific knowledge in the field of geographical exploration or allied sciences evidenced by scientific publications documenting fieldwork or explorations."

Virginia has made more than 20 field expeditions to the polar deserts of Antarctica. Virginia Valley in the Olympus Range of Southern Victoria Land Antarctica is named in his honor for this work. In the Arctic, his research and teaching in Greenland explores climate change impacts on tundra and permafrost soils.

Vilhjalmur Stefansson, founder of Dartmouth's Northern Studies program, was twice President of the Explorers Club, 1919-22 and 1937-39. "It is an honor to join the many distinguished explorers and researchers who are recognized by the Explorers Club and to support the spirit of exploration that I see in my students at Dartmouth" said Virginia.



Ross Virginia in Greenland. Photo, Robert Gill.

University of the Arctic Board Meets at Dartmouth

The Institute of Arctic Studies hosted the University of the Arctic (UArctic) Board of Governor's Meeting at Dartmouth in November 2018. Dartmouth is a founding member of this organization which has observer status in the Arctic Council, the multilateral forum that deals with shared challenges in the Arctic region. Over 20 years, the organization has grown from about 30 member institutions to over 200. UArctic's primary goal is to serve as a cooperative network for universities, colleges and research institutions concerned with education and research related to the North. Through cooperation in education, research and outreach, UArctic enhances human capacity in the North, promotes viable communities and sustainable economies, and forges global partnerships.

Dartmouth has several representatives currently associated with UArctic. Environmental Studies Professor and Director of the Institute of Arctic Studies Ross Virginia currently serves as a UArctic Board Member and the co-lead for the UArctic Institute for Arctic Policy. Associate Director of the Dickey Center and Adjunct Environmental Studies Professor Melody Brown Burkins serves as Dartmouth's Council Representative to UArctic. Russian Professor Barry Scherr is vice-chair of UArctic's Nomination Committee and has formerly served as a UArctic Board Member. Lindsay Whaley, Professor of Classics and Linguistics, is currently UArctic's Council Secretary and has also served as a UArctic Board Member.

Twelve members of the fifteen-person Board, including the UArctic President, Vice Presidents, and two members of the Secretariat were in attendance for the Board Meeting. The Board is comprised mainly of University Presidents or Rectors and includes prominent Arctic Universities from Sweden, Norway, Russia, Canada, Finland, and the U.S. Dartmouth has a long record of leadership in this international network.

Board members were shown two prominent Arctic collections housed at Dartmouth: the Stefansson Collection on Polar Exploration at the Rauner Library and the Arctic & Sub-Arctic collection at the Hood Museum of Art.

The Stefansson Collection on Polar Exploration is one of the premier library collections in the world on the history of the Arctic and Antarctica. Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson (1879-1962) established Dartmouth's Northern and Polar Studies Program. The collection is an outgrowth of his private research library. Special Collections Librarian Jay Satterfield guided the UArctic attendees through an activity that Professor Ross Virginia uses in his classes, through which participants are asked to study selected readings from the 17th and 18th century to create a storyline of how the Arctic was discovered.

Board Members also appreciated the ability to view the newly renovated Hood Museum. Senior Curator Katherine Hart guided the group through collections of art and artifacts from indigenous peoples of Greenland, Alaska, and Canada at the Bernstein Center for Object Study. ■

Advancing Science & Technology Diplomacy from the Arctic to the Middle East

Over the past six months, Dickey Center Associate Director Melody Brown Burkins, Ph.D., has traveled from Finland to Oman as an invited speaker to international meetings advancing science and technology diplomacy where she has also emphasized the importance of equity and inclusion in governance.

Burkins traveled to Finland twice in Fall 2018, once to lead a science session emphasizing the importance of Arctic science diplomacy and inclusion at the 2018 UArctic Congress in Oulu and Helsinki, and once to serve as a formal UArctic Observer to two meetings of the Arctic Council in Rovaniemi. In Helsinki, she joined the launch of the first “Women of the Arctic” program, a full-day event highlighting the prioritization of gender equality issues by Finland during its chairmanship of the Arctic Council from 2017-19.

In February, Burkins was invited by the Sultanate of Oman’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs to speak about “Science & Technology Diplomacy, Sustainability, and Global Challenges” at the 2019 International Forum for Science and Technology Diplomacy (IFSTD) hosted in Muscat. Burkins was one of only three women speaking on science diplomacy on the first day’s program and she highlighted the importance of educating next generation science diplomacy leaders and the importance of gender equity and inclusion in global science and technology governance. Burkins serves as the Vice Chair of the U.S. National Academies’ Board on International Science Organizations (BISO) and is an elected member of the Founding Governing Board of the International Science Council (ISC), the “global voice for science.”



Burkins with Gosia Smieszek, co-founder of the Women of the Arctic program, at the 2018 UArctic Congress in Helsinki, Finland.

Burkins is pleased that her ongoing practice of international science diplomacy, and her visibility as a woman in science and technology diplomacy leadership around the world, directly supports a diversity of Dartmouth student interests in science, technology, policy, and international affairs. In addition to her work in the Dickey Center, she serves as the faculty mentor for Dartmouth’s Science, Technology, and Engineering Policy Society (STEPS) and Adjunct Professor in Environmental Studies, teaching “The Practice of Science Policy and Diplomacy” to a growing number of students each year. ■

A Greenland Experience, by Ali Prevost-Reilly '21

When I first told people I was going to study at Ilisimatusarfik—the University of Greenland—for the fall of 2018, responses ranged from a shocked, “Whoa” to, “But Greenland’s not a real place.” Thanks to a grant from the Institute of Arctic Studies at the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding, I spent three months in Nuuk taking courses in international human rights law and indigenous rights, trying to navigate directions in Greenlandic (a language that cannot be found on Google Translate), and building relationships with friends from 15 different countries. In addition to my studies, I worked at the Greenland Institute of Natural Resources, where I contributed to various projects in the Fish and Shellfish department. We performed ecological field work in the Nuuk fjord assessing cod movement patterns, and I worked to digitize and organize tagging data on redfish in order to gain insight into their distribution and movement along the west coast of Greenland. As a biology major, my time at the Nature Institute provided me with valuable hands-on research experience, and gave me enhanced insight into the wildlife and landscape of the incredibly beautiful and vulnerable Arctic. While I have long been intrigued by Arctic science, it was not until living in Greenland that I came to know



Ali Prevost-Reilly in Greenland.

the people that call it a home and realize their deep connection to their environment. My participation in the Greenland exchange left me with the realization of the importance of Greenlandic and indigenous voices in Western science and portrayal of the Arctic, something I plan to acknowledge and incorporate in my studies moving forward. ■

Student Organizations of the Dickey Center

There are currently seven student-run organizations associated with the Dickey Center, all focused on varying international topics. These are: Dartmouth Coalition for Global Health; International Business Council; Science, Technology and Engineering Policy Society; World Affairs Council; *World Outlook*; International Development Forum; and Dartmouth Council on Climate Change. This past term, these groups pursued, discussed, and learned about numerous issues including: unconventional and indigenous ways in dealing with mental health issues in Arctic countries, the growing presence of Chinese businesses in Sub-Saharan Africa, the banking sector in New Zealand, and the cryptocurrency Petro in Venezuela. These student-run organizations meet weekly and often bring in guest speakers, professors, or give presentations themselves. Rik Abels, a member of the International Business Council (IBC) noted that, “IBC collaborates with an organization at the Tuck School of Business and organized a panel through which MBA students spoke about their careers in international business.” He added, “What I enjoy most about IBC is the opportunity to learn something new about a part of the world that I know nothing or very little about, every single week.”

To highlight the activity in a specific organization: The World Affairs Council (WAC) is implementing an exciting new program called “Global Relationship,” in

which members will dive deeper into different countries’ political systems and current events. Members will divide into assigned country groups, based on a certain region, and each week, over dinner, teams will present a certain aspect of their country; for example, one week they’ll discuss alliances, the next the domestic political system, the next current events, etc. WAC meetings also focus on events hosted by the Dickey Center. During the winter term, meetings were dedicated to discussing Montgomery and Magro Fellow and former director of policy planning at the U.S. State Department Jake Sullivan’s talk on “American exceptionalism” and the future of foreign policy and Dr. Gregory Gause’s talk on the Khashoggi killing and the future of Saudi-American relations. Dr. Gause is the head of Texas A&M’s International Affairs Department at the Bush School of Government. When asked what she enjoyed most about her time as a member of WAC thus far, club leader Jillian Freeman remarked, “When I first came to Dartmouth, I was constantly looking for places where I could discuss what was going on in the world with students as interested in world affairs as I was. What I’ve enjoyed most about my time spent with World Affairs Council is that I now have that place. I have really enjoyed being able to meet like-minded students in a relaxed environment and consider their opinions. I’ve learned a lot from my peers through WAC and I’m sure they have too.” ■



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The Dickey Center’s International Business Council student group participating in a careers discussion at the Tuck School of Business. Photo, Lars Blackmore.

Story from the Field – Teaching in Morocco, by Mary Versa Clemens-Sewall '20

In the fall of 2018, Mary Versa interned at the Tangier-American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies and the American Language Center of Tangier Morocco. While there, she taught math and computer programming to various student populations.

I was a math and coding instructor to students who voluntarily attended educational outreach functions of a wider nonprofit organization. My primary placement was with the Tangier-American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies, which operates its grounds as a museum, hosts visiting Arabic studies researchers from around the world, and conducts educational programming for the surrounding neighborhood. Within its educational work, it administers a grant to enrich the learning of a cohort of public high school students pursuing science by providing them English instruction. These students perform strongly in their science and math classes. They come from working-class backgrounds in the old part of the city, where the Legation is located. I set up and taught afterschool clubs for this group of students. My goal for the clubs was to further pique their interest in math and computer science while demonstrating that learning is a process of sharpening habits of the mind, not just memorizing facts and procedures.

My secondary placement was in the American Language Center of Tangier. This organization runs after-school English classes attended by children and adults of all ages and at all skill levels. In addition to the standard classes, for which students pay tuition, the center operates a variety of clubs where students can pursue their interests while practicing English. I started one such club in coding. The attendees were among the thousands of active students at the center, and most were college-aged, or recent graduates. Many had taken classes at college in basic computer science, but these courses were taught in French and

of Moroccans and English—or French—speaking foreigners, so the workplace was a site of constant cultural exchange. The Legation staff was all Moroccan except for the director, and the students were Moroccan, too, but museum visitors and visiting researchers were mostly from Western Europe, Southeast Asia, and North America. At the Language Center, the director and some teachers were American or European, while the students, the administrators, and the rest of the teachers were Moroccan. This mix of backgrounds made the organizations exciting and welcoming places to be, even though it sometimes complicated communication and loyalties.



Clemens-Sewall teaching at the Tangier-American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies.

Despite its challenges, the diversity at my workplaces gave me the greatest gift of my term abroad—the chance to get to know many people I now hold dear. I always aimed to befriend Moroccan co-workers, but at the start of the term, I had more success getting to know Americans and other expatriates who had been in Morocco for differing amounts of time. Through them, I gained a sense of how it would be to live and work outside the U.S. after I graduate from college. After a few weeks, I started developing friendships with some of my Moroccan co-workers. We talked about current events and traded stories of our experiences in different places. I am grateful for our conversations, which will continue to influence how I see the world and make decisions.

This fall was an opportunity for me to reflect and build on previous professional and volunteer experiences, but it also gave me a window into possible career opportunities for the near future. I had previously worked as a math and science tutor and an educational assistant, and I had conducted some of that work in a classroom of English language learners, but I had never presided over my own groups of students, and I had seldom had the freedom to teach whatever I believed would most benefit them. However, this internship put me in front of a class of students who were there by choice to learn whatever I deemed worthwhile to teach. Grappling with the challenges and possibilities in this role, I gained a clearer impression of what it would be like to work professionally as a teacher and to live abroad. With respect to my academic plans, I concluded that I cannot predict which courses will prove valuable in a work setting, so my best bet is to just keep learning, in classes and elsewhere. ■



Clemens-Sewall teaching at the Tangier-American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies.

did not seem to emphasize the problem-solving strategies that computer scientists use. I aimed to reveal the cleverness and elegance of some basic computer algorithms and, meanwhile, expose my students to English in a computer science context.

At both of my organizations, the staff and clients were a mix

Named Interns

Class of 1954 International Intern

Kingsley Osei-Karikari '19
Brain Clinic Ltd., Kumasi, Ghana

Class of 1954 International Intern

Mark Dominguez '19
Platform88, Shanghai, China

Class of 1960 International Intern

Edward Kamuhanda '21
Interchange Learning Ltd, Kigali, Rwanda

Class of 1966 International Intern

Matthew Magann '21
Collateral Repair Project, Amman, Jordan

Class of 1966 International Intern

Anabel Moreno-Mendez '19
U.S. Embassy, Mexico City, Mexico

Goldstein Intern in Japan

Leeya Kekona '20
International Law at Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan

Goldstein Intern in Japan

Dat Vo '19
TOKI (TIMEperience), Tokyo, Japan

Dianna L. Rynkiewicz '84 Global Health Intern

Lucy Tantum '19
Hospital San Bartolome/MINSA, Lima, Peru

Louis J. Setti '62 International Intern

Charlotte Evans '19
National Chilean Public Health Insurance Agency (FONASA),
Santiago, Chile

Bhavsar International Intern

Sirajum Sandhi '21
Sakhi for South Asian Women, New York City, US



Leeya Kekona '20, Goldstein Intern in Japan.

War & Peace Fellows – Hood Museum of Art Collaboration

The War & Peace Fellows Program continues its steady growth in terms of student numbers and programming. While the Program continues to provide students with unparalleled opportunities to engage with distinguished visitors, beginning in 2019, the Fellows will make termly visits to the newly renovated Hood Museum in order to engage with collections that address the themes of war and peace.

In Spring term, the Fellows will view the Museum's collection of Goya prints from the 19th century, which depict Goya's reactions to the atrocities of war during the Napoleonic period. Future terms will include viewing selections from the archive of James Nachtwey (D'70) and an engagement with the renowned war photographer. This coming Spring, the Great Issues Scholars program will also visit the Hood Museum as the Dickey Center continues to leverage Dartmouth's diverse and multi-disciplinary resources for students aiming to expand their understanding of international issues from multiple perspectives. ■



The new entrance to the Hood Museum of Art.

King Scholars – San Francisco / Bay Area Leadership Week

During the winter interim, Dickey's Human Development Initiative Manager, Dr. Kenneth Bauer, curated and led the King Scholars' annual Leadership Week. The King Scholars are Dartmouth undergraduates who hail from countries throughout the Global South and who share a common passion for poverty alleviation. During Leadership Week, the students have an opportunity to meet changemakers in poverty alleviation across a broad variety of fields. This intensive and immersive experience provides the King Scholars with an opportunity to interact with and learn from an amazing array of leaders engaged in tackling critical global issues like access to health and education,

equitable growth and job creation, and environmental change. Meeting entrepreneurs and visionaries in these fields catalyzes and reinforces the Scholars' own determination to make a significant impact in our world.

Highlights of this year's Leadership Week included hands-on workshops in human-centered design at Stanford's graduate school of design (d-School) and the world renown design consultancy, IDEO, along with sessions on health equity and access with Medic Mobile and Last Mile Health, as well as engagements with community activists in the Hunters Point neighborhood of San Francisco and a stewardship project at Golden Gate Park. ■

The Human Development Initiative's World Bank Internship

The World Bank provides financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world and seeks to end extreme poverty and promote shared prosperity. The Dickey Center is now offering an annual Spring term internship in the Bank's Social Development Group within the West Africa region. Recognizing that poverty is about more than the lack of income, but also vulnerability, exclusion, unaccountable institutions, powerlessness, and exposure to violence, the Bank's Social Development Group promotes social inclusion of the poor and vulnerable by empowering people, building cohesive and resilient societies, and making institutions accessible and accountable to citizens.

One of the newest members of the Dickey Center's Board of Visitors—Aly Rahim (D'02)—is the Social Development Practice Manager for West Africa at the World Bank and host for this internship, through which undergraduate students will gain exposure to how the Bank—working with governments, communities, civil society, and the private sector—translates the complex relationship between societies and states into operations. An undergraduate internship at the World Bank is a unique, if not unparalleled opportunity, an exciting addition to the Dickey Center's expanding efforts to foster future leaders who will make a significant impact in reducing global poverty and expanding economic opportunities. ■

think with the intention of trying to shape the behavior of that coalition so that it reduced human suffering, but the result of it was deeply negative. Those are a couple of examples of where I think we could have done better.

You gave testimony this week to a House committee calling for an end to American involvement in the Saudi war in Yemen. You mentioned that the Obama Administration wanted to minimize civilian casualties. Was there something more cynical there, too? This was going on at the same time as the Iran deal, which obviously pissed off the Saudis, because they felt that the United States was getting too close to Iran. How do you understand how the Obama Administration got involved in this thing that I think everyone now recognizes as calamitous in many ways?

Well, first of all, it's important to recognize that this was sprung on the Administration. It was not the product of deep strategic consultations between the Obama Administration and the Saudis or other coalition partners. The Saudis and the partners just started it. Then the question was posed to the Administration: Are you better off trying to engage on various forms of logistical assistance, to shape the behavior of the coalition and make it more positive, and to minimize the risk of the worst consequences and maximize the possibility that you can constrain bad behavior? Or do you just sit it out and let them do as they please?

The view of the Administration at the time was that our participation would be a net positive to reducing the worst potential outcomes of the military action. After now going on four years of that experiment, it's clear that calculus did not bear out in practice. Now, of course, the Trump Administration has taken the more qualified support and turned it into a foreign blank check, it seems to me, but still the basic bet the Obama Administration made, with positive intentions, did not pay off, so that's why I called for ending it.

Now to your question about whether these other factors, broader regional factors, including the Iran deal, and Saudi concern about the durability of the U.S.-Saudi relationship, played into this decision? I don't think that they were the central issue the way that it has been framed in some of the writing about that period, but I cannot make the case that this was an irrelevant factor. It was present. It was a contextual, ambient factor in the decision-making about Yemen, that our relationship with Saudi had been strained by the J.C.P.O.A. [the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, or the Iran deal], and that probably put a thumb on the scale in the decision making.

How do you understand the fact that the Khashoggi murder has become such a huge story?

Well, first, I think when you can put a name and a face to an event like this, it takes on a greater emotional valance for people than when they're just hearing statistics or hearing disembodied reports of repression. What's happening inside Saudi Arabia

and what's happening in Yemen is less immediately evocative to the American people than this one person who had this thing happen to him. Point 2 is that the nature of the actual murder is the stuff of fanciful movie scripts. Two planes of Saudi thugs flying to Turkey to go find a man inside the Saudi consulate to kill him as a reaction to his criticism of the young crown prince, who himself has become something of a global celebrity—that's a story line that is made for an ongoing kind of saga, that with each new piece of evidence and each new revelation keeps gripping the public.

Several years ago, Obama wrote the entry in the "Time 100" for Narendra Modi, the Prime Minister of India: "When he came to Washington, Narendra and I visited the memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. We reflected on the teachings of King and Gandhi and how the diversity of backgrounds and faiths in our countries is a strength we have to protect. Prime Minister Modi recognizes that more than one billion Indians living and succeeding together can be an inspiring model for the world." Modi presided over ethnic violence that killed about a thousand people. He was banned from coming to the United States for a long time before he was Prime Minister. I think the response from a lot of people when they read something like this is, well, it's ridiculous, but it has to be done. It's realpolitik. But when Trump does the same thing, it freaks people out more. Why?

I think Donald Trump looks at these dictators and thinks to himself, That is what real leadership is. By the way, I think he also thinks, I want what you have. I don't want to have to deal with all this democracy stuff. We are lifting off in a very affirmative way the idea that America's best friends and the people we can trust the most and the people we should respect the most are the most thuggish, brutal dictators across the globe.

I think, for Americans, they just naturally recoil at that, because that is so inconsistent with their view of what this country is and what it stands for. I think there's another aspect to it, too, that does not sit right with Americans, which is this point I was making before, about the transactional nature of it, with Trump saying 'I excuse everything a dictator does as long as he spends some money here.' This kind of desiccated, purely mercenary view of our relationship with the rest of the world, the removal of any sense that we have to stand for a set of values or principles—that also really, I think, makes Americans deeply uncomfortable.

When you hear the Modi piece being read, now that you're out of government, what is your feeling about it? Do you recoil a little?

Well, you know, it's interesting. I mean, I made this point earlier in this conversation about how we strive to live up to our values in foreign policy, but we don't always live up to them because we are balancing a whole range of interests, of which advancing our values is one. I might nitpick a word here or a word there, but the



basic idea that we're going to deal with the Prime Minister of India, despite the horrific acts that he had overseen in his home state when he was the chief minister, I cannot disagree with that policy decision. I don't believe that it was tenable for the American President to simply say, 'We ban him from coming to the U.S. We don't like him and we will not deal with him.' I don't think that's tenable.

Therefore, in my view, the way the United States should talk about these issues is to say not that we perfectly live up to our values in every circumstance but that we always work to take them into account in our decision-making, in a sincere and real way, and that alone, in my view, for a great power, is impressive enough. As long as we are sincere and real in doing that and actually having the hard conversations internally. How do we handle this Modi thing? This does bother us. This is a problem. What is the best balance? As long as that is baked into the serious, sober reflection of how best to manage our interests and values, then I think American foreign policy is on the right track. It's when we just say we're setting that aside because it doesn't even matter that I think we start to head down a dark path, and that's the path that I think the Trump Administration has put us on.

What is your biggest hope and your biggest fear about what sort of foreign policy the Democratic candidates will put forward?

The biggest danger I see is that the entire Democratic foreign-policy debate is just about what Trump is up to, and it's hard to avoid that, to a certain extent, because he is the Commander-in-Chief and he is making real-time decisions that matter for the United States. The Democrats need to also have a serious debate about the future, because the world has not stood still since Donald Trump was elected, and the world the Democratic President would face in 2021 demands some new and innovative approaches on everything from trade policy to how we handle multilateral cooperation around an issue like climate change.

My biggest hope is that actually Trump has provided the opportunity for a clarifying moment for our party, to really be the party of engaged, effective internationalism that is built on a sense of patriotism about America and what we're capable of.

It seems like our foreign policy over the next forty or fifty years is going to be very impacted or overshadowed by global warming and its consequences. Was there a sense of this in the Obama Administration? Do you feel that enough was done to prepare the American people for global warming as a foreign-policy issue? And what do you think the next Democratic nominee should do on that subject?

It definitely grew over the course of the Obama Administration, and the level of intensity that went into first striking the U.S.-China deal, making this a paramount issue in the U.S.-China relationship, and then getting Paris done, with the result of this being a top priority from the President on down in the period from 2013 on. [In 2014, the U.S. and China jointly announced their goals ahead of the Paris climate negotiations.] I think, if a Democrat is elected in 2020, we are well situated to lead a global conversation that dials up the ambition radically, and Paris was built not just to allow for that but to demand it. I think that will be a singular issue at the top of the next Administration's priority list, is to figure out, O.K., how do we now deliver on this in the period 2021 and 2022?

Now, this obviously raises what I think is the other big feature of foreign policy that will be with us for the next forty or fifty years, which is the disappearing line between foreign and domestic, and, when it comes to climate change, I think that's increasingly true. The question is: Can we deliver on the kinds of policies at home that will make the United States a credible actor in rallying the rest of the world to do what they need to do to solve this problem?

A question for me is, even if we are deeply active in rallying the rest of the world, can we deliver on the promise of aggressive American action here at home? And that is why thinking of this less as a foreign-policy issue or as a domestic-policy issue than as an all-encompassing issue that requires us to break down the line between foreign and domestic is going to be such a central part of how the next Administration has to deal with this. ■

Isaac Chotiner is a staff writer at *The New Yorker*.



Dickey Center Director Daniel Benjamin and Jake Sullivan participating in a public event on January 16th. Photo, Lars Blackmore.



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