



# Welcome, Mr. Secretary

The Belfer Center hosted Secretary of State John Kerry in October for a discussion of diplomacy and challenges in critical hotspots around the globe.

Center Director Graham Allison asked Secretary Kerry about his concerns and plans related to Iran, Syria, Russia, and the Islamic State. The overflow event included questions from the more than 500 Harvard students and faculty in attendance.

In his concluding comments to students, Kerry said, “When you look at health advances... technology advances...what we’re building in capacity in various countries...the movement of goods, the creation of middle classes in country after country, we’re on a march to transformation, folks, and you all are going to be part of it.”



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Robert, Laurence, and Renée Belfer

*“Leveraging science, technology, and policy to confront hard problems and better people’s lives has been the aim of my family’s philanthropy for decades.”*

—Robert Belfer

## Belfer Family Gift to Launch Cyber Project, Ensure Future Impact

Robert Belfer and his family are investing an additional \$15 million in the Belfer Center to help build a more secure, peaceful world.

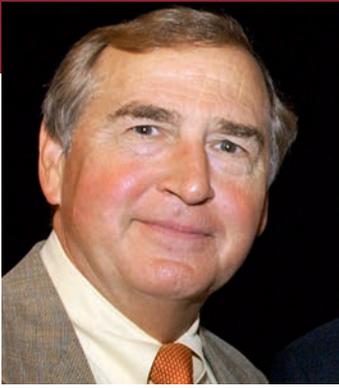
Two decades ago, Belfer support for Harvard strengthened the post-Cold War framework to manage nuclear weapons. Today, his family’s gift launches a project to confront what CIA Director John Brennan calls the chief national security threat of our time: cyber attacks. The Cyber Security Project is just one part of a New Initiatives Fund that will keep the Center’s work at the interface of science

and security abreast of the times. The gift also will help Harvard Kennedy School deepen its commitment to train tomorrow’s global leaders.

“Bob’s family knows better than most the importance of facing threats early,” said Belfer Center Director Graham Allison. “Their support signals confidence in our ability to mobilize students, scholars, and world-renowned leaders to think through policy solutions to today’s toughest issues.”

For more, see “From the Director” on page 2 »

# FROM THE DIRECTOR



*Graham Allison*

Over a lifetime, **Robert Belfer** has made many philanthropic investments. When asked which yielded the highest return for his family’s aim to build a more secure, peaceful world, he tells them it is the Harvard research center that bears his name.

It is thus with great pleasure that we announce that Bob, along with his wife, **Renée**, and their son, **Laurence**, are redoubling their commitment to the Belfer Center and to Harvard Kennedy School. With a new gift of \$15 million, the Belfer family will ensure a strong future for the School’s mission of public-service leadership and the Center’s work on the world’s most critical security challenges.

## *The Belfer gift will ensure a strong future for the School and the Center.*

Their gift launches a major new Cyber Security Project to help create a conceptual arsenal for strategists to confront what CIA Director **John Brennan** calls the greatest threat to U.S. national security in the decade ahead. Directed by former Pentagon official **Michael Sulmeyer**, it will bring together some of the best minds at Harvard and beyond, including **Joe Nye**, **Venky Narayanamurti**, **Jack Goldsmith**, **Michael Chertoff**, **Jim Miller**, **David Sanger**, **Sandy Winnefeld**, and **Hoss Cartwright**. The Project is a key element in the Center’s wider Cyber Initiative under **Daniel Schrag**, director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program. All of us at Harvard extend our deepest appreciation to the Belfers.

Proving that Harvard can be gracious toward a Yale man, we had the honor of hosting Secretary of State **John Kerry** in October. Responding to questions from students and faculty, Kerry shared insights on diplomatic priorities, the “imperative” in Syria, and negotiating with Putin. Just weeks

later, we welcomed back Center alumna and U.S. Ambassador to the UN **Samantha Power** for an intimate conversation with students.

**Niall Ferguson** makes a notable confession in his new Kissinger biography. “In researching the life and times of **Henry Kissinger**,” he writes, “I had missed the crucial importance in American foreign policy of the history deficit: the fact that key decision-makers know almost nothing, not just of other countries’ pasts, but also of their own.” What do students of economics and international relations need most, in his view? A dose of applied history—the attempt to illuminate current policy challenges via historical precedents and analogues. Ferguson’s book plants a flag for an Applied History Project that he and I have been gestating at Harvard for years. Following in the footsteps of **Ernest May**’s and **Richard Neustadt**’s 1986 classic *Thinking in Time*, our aspiration is to revitalize applied history as both a discipline at Harvard and an art in the practice of statecraft.

Learning from history is a common theme in this newsletter. Our Spotlight profiles Pulitzer Prize-winning historian **Fredrik Logevall**. Continuing a series of interviews with former secretaries of state, **Nicholas Burns** and his colleagues **Robert Mnookin** and **James Sebenius** hosted **Colin Powell** for a rousing conversation about global challenges and leadership lessons.



Center Namesake: Belfer Center donor and longtime supporter **Robert Belfer** with **Michael Sulmeyer**, director of the Center’s Cyber Security Project.

**“The Cyber Security Project will help create a conceptual arsenal for strategists.”**

## Laura Holgate Nominated for UN Vienna Ambassador

In August, Belfer Center alumna **Laura Holgate** was nominated by **President Obama** for the position of Ambassador and U.S. Representative to the Vienna Office of the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

“Laura’s wisdom, talent, and exceptional leadership make her uniquely qualified to serve in this role,” said National Security Advisor **Susan E. Rice** in announcing the nomination. “Laura has spent her career building and leading global coalitions to prevent states and terrorists from acquiring and using weapons of mass destruction.”

Holgate’s high-level service to the government has spanned more than 14 years, including six years as special assistant to President Obama and her current role as senior director for WMD terrorism and threat reduction on the National Security Council staff. She is also currently the U.S. sherpa for the Nuclear Security Summit, planning and preparing for the 2016 summit in Washington, D.C.

“We are extremely proud of Laura,” said Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. “Her continuing work to help secure nuclear weapons makes all of us safer.”

At the Belfer Center, Holgate served from 1990 to 1992 as staff assistant to then professor and current U.S. Secretary of Defense **Ashton B. Carter**.



At the Summit: President **Barack Obama** with then U.S. Nuclear Security Summit planning team member **Laura Holgate** at The Hague, March 2014.

WHITE HOUSE PHOTO / PETE SOLIZA

# Seeking Global Climate Answers

by Sharon Wilke

When President **Barack Obama** toured Alaska in September to experience first-hand how climate change is affecting Alaska and the greater Arctic, he was accompanied by his science advisor **John P. Holdren**, director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP) at the White House and chair of the Arctic Executive Steering Committee. Holdren, former director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, wanted to better understand the direct impact of climate change on local Alaskan communities and ecosystems.

Among the impacts Holdren observed was melting permafrost, which threatens transportation and infrastructure and can release vast amounts of carbon into the atmosphere. He, along with President Obama, listened to stories from Alaskan residents about life in Alaska and climate effects they are experiencing. They were hosted one evening at the home of **Alice Rogoff**, owner and publisher of Alaska's largest newspaper, the *Alaska Dispatch*, and her husband **David Rubenstein**, a long-time friend of Harvard Kennedy School.

Holdren's work at OSTP on climate challenges was aided during the past year by **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, a member of the Belfer Center board of directors and former director of the Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group. Now a professor at Tufts University, Gallagher spent a year working with OSTP and the State Department. She helped



Carbon Carpet: **John P. Holdren** (3rd from left), science advisor to President **Barack Obama**, tours a permafrost tunnel in Fairbanks, Alaska, during his September visit to Alaska with the president.

**"Climate change is a global threat, touching every region of the world."**

—**John P. Holdren**  
White House, March 30, 2014

with negotiations for two major climate change agreements between the U.S. and China, whose energy policies and practices were a focus of the ETIP group while Gallagher was at the Center.

The Center's ETIP researchers, now led by **Laura Diaz Anadon**, continue to work extensively on energy/climate issues related to China and the U.S., as well as India. ETIP and the Tsinghua School of Public Policy and

Management convened a workshop at Tsinghua University in Beijing in June to build on the momentum created by the U.S.-China joint emissions agreement and the planning underway for the Paris climate conference.

As this newsletter went to press, a team from the Harvard Project on Climate Agreements, led by HPCA Director **Robert Stavins**, completed preparations for several side-events they will host in Paris during the December conference, focusing on linkage of mitigation efforts, the IPCC, and implications of the agreement for business. See pages 4–5 for views on the Paris conference by Stavins and HKS Professor **David Keith**.

In October, a delegation of Kennedy School students, fellows, and staff took part in the Arctic Circle Assembly in Iceland. See the article below for more on that conference.

## Reflections on the Arctic and Climate Impacts

by Pinar De Neve



Riveting Reflections: Kennedy School delegates to the Arctic Circle Assembly in front of the sparkling glass-covered Harpa Hall in Reykjavik.

We arrived at the third Arctic Circle Assembly in Reykjavik on October 15, as a group of 11 from the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program and Harvard Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership.

**"More work must be done on the impacts of climate change on the region and the region's impact on climate change."**

At the official conference opening on the 16th, the majestic event hall of Harpa filled with heads of state, high-ranking officials, and up-and-coming leaders in the field. Iceland's President **Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson** invited people from all backgrounds to share their perspectives. In the diversity of panels and breakout sessions, the long-term view of climate change was challenged by the immediate needs of local populations. The multiple perspectives seemed to be reflected in the distinct rays of light striking the glass-covered Harpa building, and bending—hopefully—into a single beam of cooperation.

The questions that reverberated in my brain were: Who really owns the Arctic? Is it a world heritage site that belongs to humanity across borders and time? Is it territory divided among eight nations bordering the Arctic Ocean? Or is it the territory of indigenous people who live there today? Can non-regional populations resist development in the Arctic when the local populations support it? These local versus global and short-term versus long-term paradigms emerged as the ones we need to engage in to reconcile climate change and the needs of local populations.

In a final plenary session, **Katie Burkhardt** (Belfer IGA student fellow) reminded us that real security comes from the elimination of root problems through cooperation. The root of the Arctic issue is our lack of knowledge. Despite one's perspective on who "owns" the Arctic, the Assembly made it clear that more work must be done on the impacts of climate change on the region and the region's impact on climate change.

Unless we substantially accelerate our knowledge of the Arctic, we risk the Arctic becoming nobody's—fast.

# Climate Change

**David Keith**

*“Major progress will require **partial disassembly and ... reconstruction** of the current climate policy architecture.”*



To a good approximation, the amount of climate change is proportional to humanity’s cumulative emissions of carbon dioxide. So, if we are to stop making the problem worse, we will have to stop putting CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere. And, if we want to make the problem less bad, we will need to figure out a way to remove CO<sub>2</sub> from the atmosphere (often called carbon removal) and to use solar geoengineering to make the earth a little more reflective in order to partially and imperfectly offset the risks of the accumulated carbon.

My interest in climate policy started around 1988, the time of the Toronto meeting that set out a goal to cut emissions by 20 percent by 2005. It was perhaps the first inclusive effort to articulate a global goal for emission reductions and was a big step on the way to the 1992 Rio meeting and the Framework Convention.

Since then, excitement about global negotiation has waxed and waned, but one would be hard-pressed to see any impact of all this negotiating on emissions.

Emissions are up by more than 60 percent since Toronto. They were growing at about one percent a year in the 90s, but their growth has accelerated to about three percent a year in this century.

One unequivocal bright spot is that the world is now spending roughly \$320 billion (.4 percent global GDP) a year on renewable energy. And one spectacular success of this subsidy-driven renewables boom has been an extraordinary drop in the cost of solar photovoltaic (PV) technologies. Costs for power from industrial solar PV have come down more than threefold in five years. This is a major victory, as solar is perhaps the only renewable that could plausibly be scaled to meet the energy demands of a wealthy (my hope) late-21st century world.

Yet, it’s hard to see that this huge investment in renewable energy has had any impact on emissions. What it

has done is lowered the cost of solar, buying the world a hugely important option for cutting future emissions. But exercising that option requires policy and technology to enable integration of intermittent power as a major part of the world’s energy supply.

**“The challenge is to constrain free-riding.”**

An unavoidable consequence of the cumulative link between emissions and climate risk is that the benefits of cutting emissions are global rather than local and go mostly to future generations. Climate change thus poses an extraordinary public goods problem. The challenge is to constrain free-riding—the incentive to let others pay the costs of cutting emissions while doing little oneself. To date, negotiations have rested on such idealistic exhortation, with no effective mechanisms to punish free-riding.

Serious progress on climate will likely require two things—one political and the other technological.

First, serious progress in cutting emissions requires a political mechanism to discourage free-riding. I am persuaded by **Bill Nordhaus’s** argument that a “climate club” provides the best path. In such a club,

members would agree to a fixed carbon price and then punish nonmembers with import tariffs. Whatever the mechanism, the key is to provide a tangible near-term incentive to cooperate.

Second, we need to admit that the toolbox for solving the climate problem must include more tools than just incentives for renewables and energy efficiency. We need carbon-free power at a scale that meets growing demand for energy, here and especially in the developing world. Solar is great, but we need other options, and nuclear power is perhaps the only plausible alternative. Moreover, while emissions cuts are necessary they are not necessarily sufficient; the toolset must expand beyond emissions cuts to encompass geoengineering and carbon removal.

The Paris meeting will help strengthen existing national efforts. That’s a big success for one meeting, a better outcome than we have seen from these negotiations in years. But I don’t expect Paris will make significant headway on either of the two topics which are central to getting climate risk under control. Major progress will require partial disassembly and subsequent reconstruction of the current climate policy architecture. We will get there, but I hope we move faster.

# Paris Climate Conference 2015: A key step in stopping climate change?

## David Keith and Robert Stavins agree to disagree

**David Keith** is the Gordon McKay Professor of Applied Physics at Harvard's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences and professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School.

**Robert Stavins** is the Albert Pratt Professor of Business and Government at Harvard Kennedy School, the director of the Harvard Environmental Economics Program, and director of the Harvard Project on Climate Agreements.

### Robert Stavins

*"...the new approach being taken in Paris can be a key step toward reducing the threat of global climate change."*

The international climate change negotiations that are taking place in Paris the first two weeks of December hold promise to be key steps toward reducing the threat of global climate change. Although it will be many years before we can truly assess the impact of the Paris talks, it is clear now that they represent—at the very least—an important attempt to break with the past thrust of international climate policy and start anew with a much more promising approach.

The Kyoto Protocol, which has been the primary international agreement to reduce the greenhouse-gas emissions that cause global climate change, included mandatory emissions-reduction obligations only for developed countries. Developing countries had no emissions-reduction commitments. The stark demarcation in the Kyoto Protocol between developed and developing countries was one approach to realizing a principle in the underlying United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), that countries should act to “protect the climate system... on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but *differentiated* responsibilities and respective capabilities.”

The dichotomous distinction between the developed and developing countries in the Kyoto Protocol has made progress on climate change impossible, because growth in emissions since the Protocol came into force in 2005 is entirely in the large developing countries—China, India, Brazil, Korea, South Africa, Mexico, and Indonesia. The big break came at the annual UNFCCC negotiating session in Durban, South Africa, in 2011, where a decision was adopted by member countries to “develop [by December 2015, in Paris] a protocol, another legal instrument, or an agreed outcome with legal force under the Convention *applicable to*



*all Parties.*” This “Durban Platform for Enhanced Action” broke with the Kyoto Protocol and signaled a new opening for innovative thinking (which we, at the Harvard Project on Climate Agreements, took to heart).

In Paris this month, countries will likely adopt a new hybrid international climate policy architecture that includes bottom-up elements in the form of “Intended Nationally Determined Contributions” (INDCs), which are national targets and actions that arise from national policies, and top-down elements for oversight, guidance, and coordination. Now, all countries are involved.

**“Broad scope of participation is necessary... but not sufficient.”**

The current commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol covers countries (Europe and New Zealand) that account for no more than 14 percent of global emissions (and 0 percent of global emissions growth). But as of December 1<sup>st</sup>, 180 of the 196 countries of the UNFCCC had submitted INDCs, representing some 95 percent of global emissions!

Such broad scope of participation is a necessary condition for meaningful action, but it is not a sufficient condition. Also required is adequate ambition of the individual contributions. But keep in mind that this is only the first step with this new approach. The INDCs will likely be assessed and revised every five years, with their collective ambition ratcheted up over time. That said, even this initial set of contributions could cut anticipated temperature increases this century to about 2.7 to 3.5 degrees Centigrade, not terribly much more than the frequently discussed aspirational goal of limiting temperature increases to 2 degrees C, and much less than the 5 degrees C increase that would be expected without this action. (An amendment to the Montreal Protocol to address hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs) could shave an additional 0.5 degrees C of warming.)

The problem has not been solved, and it will not be for years to come, but the new approach being taken in the Paris Agreement can be a key step toward reducing the threat of global climate change. Only time will tell.

**Note:** These essays by Robert Stavins and David Keith were written prior to the Paris conference.

# Ferguson's New Look at Kissinger and the Lessons of History

"[History] can illuminate the consequences of actions in comparable situations."

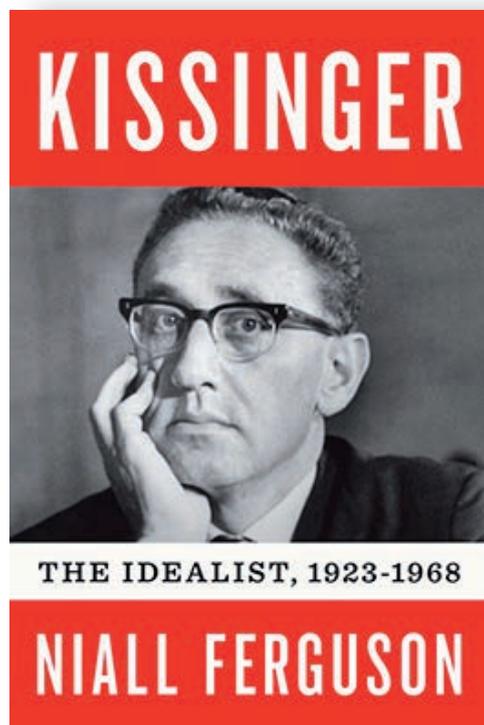
—Henry Kissinger

by Josh Burek

Few figures provoke as much passionate debate as **Henry Kissinger**. Equally revered and reviled, his work as an academic, national security advisor, diplomat, and strategic thinker indelibly shaped America's role in the 20th century. Kissinger's counsel knew few boundaries. His advice was sought by every president from Kennedy to Obama. Yet the man and his ideas remain the object of profound disagreement.

Drawing on 50 archives around the world, including Kissinger's private papers, **Niall Ferguson's** new book, *Kissinger: Volume 1: The Idealist, 1923–1968*, argues that America's most controversial statesman, and the Cold War history he witnessed and shaped, must be seen in a new light. In this first of a two-volume history, we learn that:

- Kissinger was far from a Machiavellian realist. At least in the first half of his career, he was an idealist, opposed to philosophies that see human actions and events as determined by factors beyond our control, such as laws of history or economic development. Kissinger rejected the idea that such "necessity" was the crucial element in human affairs. He exalted the role of human freedom, choice, and agency in shaping the world.



Top Diplomat: Former Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** during a November 2014 conversation at Harvard Law School as part of the American Secretaries of State Project.

- Kissinger worried that the United States was forfeiting its moral leverage by accepting a Soviet-framed contest over economic productivity. In a remarkable interview with ABC's Mike Wallace in July 1958, he made the startling argument that the U.S. was being insufficiently idealistic in its Cold War strategy. "I think we should go on the spiritual offensive in the world," he said. "We should identify ourselves with the revolution." The aim was not to win a contest between rival models of economic development but above all to "fill...a spiritual void."

"History is not, of course, a cookbook offering pretested recipes."

- Kissinger believed deeply in the importance of applied history to good statecraft: "When I entered office, I brought with me a philosophy formed by two decades of the study of history," he wrote in *White House Years*. "History is

not, of course, a cookbook offering pretested recipes. It teaches by analogy, not by maxims. It can illuminate the consequences of actions in comparable situations, yet each generation must discover for itself what situations are in fact comparable."

A proper understanding of American history requires a proper understanding of Kissinger. As Ferguson notes in *Volume 1*, "In researching the life and times of Henry Kissinger, I have come to realize that...I had missed the crucial importance in American foreign policy of the history deficit: the fact that key decision-makers know almost nothing not just of other countries' pasts, but also of their own. Worse, they often do not see what is wrong with their ignorance. Worst of all, they know just enough history to have confidence but not enough to have understanding"

What is most needed for students of economics and international relations alike, Ferguson says, is a stiff dose of applied history—a dose he will personally help provide through his continued affiliation with the Belfer Center and its emerging Applied History Project.



Different Decade: U.S. Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** (left) meets with Chinese Premier **Deng Xiaoping** in 1974. That year, Deng told the General Assembly that China would never be a superpower.



# General Colin Powell

underscores the need to  
“always show respect” for the other side

by Zachary Keck

“I know Vladimir Putin well,” General **Colin Powell** said during a recent appearance at Harvard University. “He’s KGB through and through.” Powell, a former secretary of state, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and national security advisor, was on campus on October 30 to participate in Harvard’s American Secretaries of State Project.

During a luncheon and a question and answer session, Powell discussed many of the geopolitical hotspots of the day. He characterized Russia as “basically a weak country” but said that Putin was playing his hand very well. “I wouldn’t quite call him a tsar,” Powell said of Putin, “but he sure models one from time to time.”

“I wouldn’t quite call [Putin] a tsar, but he sure models one from time to time.”

The retired four-star general urged the United States to “push back” against Russia’s misadventures in Ukraine and Syria, but also insisted that Americans need to better understand the Russian mindset. Based on decades of firsthand experience, Powell said Russian leaders are inherently paranoid. “You are surrounding us! Why are you surrounding us?” was a constant refrain he heard from Russian leaders.

With that in mind, Powell said the U.S. should be cautious about expanding its military presence along Russia’s borders. He also expressed opposition to providing lethal arms to the Ukraine government, saying that Russia would always overmatch whatever aid NATO provided.

Powell also discussed the chaos currently engulfing the Middle East. He said that he doesn’t believe airstrikes alone can destroy ISIS, which he characterized as a long-term problem that will continue to spread throughout the region. The only way to defeat ISIS, according to Powell, is with “forces on the ground, and those forces have to be supported by a political system that the people believe in...”

With regard to Syria, Powell argued there is a “level of strategic incoherence” to U.S. policy, as Washington doesn’t know who to support in the country. He also warned the U.S. to be cautious about calling for **Bashar al-Assad** to go. “[W]e have to be a little careful when we take the top off a government,” Powell said, “no matter how lousy and evil that top is...”

Besides addressing contemporary issues, Powell also reflected on his time as secretary of state. He argued that President **George W. Bush** would not have taken the country to war with Iraq if it were not for concerns about WMD, although some members of his administration thought there “should have been a conflict [with Iraq] anyway”

“We have to be... careful when we take the top off a government.”

“[I]f the weapons of mass destruction case wasn’t there, it [the Iraq War] would not have happened,” Powell told an overflow audience at Harvard Law School. In discussing **Saddam Hussein’s** refusal to come clean about WMDs before the war, Powell said Saddam “kept hoping that the French and the Russians would bail him out in due course, and that we couldn’t hold this coalition together. And he was wrong.” In the end, Powell said he supported the president’s decision to go to war, but regrets the way it was executed.

He also offered students and faculty some lessons he had taken away from years of public service, including to “always show respect” to the other side.



Global Dialogue: Former U.S. Secretary of State **Colin Powell** discusses diplomacy with Harvard Kennedy School’s **Nicholas Burns** (right), Harvard Law School’s **Robert Mnookin** (left), and Harvard Business School’s **James Sebenius**, as part of the American Secretaries of State Project.

**The American Secretaries of State Project** is an initiative of Harvard Kennedy School’s Future of Diplomacy Project, Harvard Law School’s Program on Negotiation and Harvard Business School.

The Project faculty chairs, Professors **Nicholas Burns** (HKS), **Robert Mnookin** (HLS) and **James Sebenius** (HBS) will interview all former secretaries of state about their most consequential negotiations.

They plan to write a book and work with PBS on three documentaries on this subject.

For more, see [belfercenter.org/SecStateProject](http://belfercenter.org/SecStateProject)

# Secretary of State on Hotspots, Diplomacy, and Determination

by Sharon Wilke

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** opened his October 13 conversation with Secretary of State **John Kerry** by praising him as a “celebrated diplomat” and “decorated warrior” and for “bringing home the Iran nuclear deal.”

If he had to describe Secretary Kerry in one word, Allison said, it would be “perseverance,” a trait Kerry demonstrated during acts of bravery and “derring-do” during the Vietnam War and on many other occasions, including his recent success in Iran. Allison said that **George Washington’s** observation, that “perseverance and spirit can do wondrous things in all ages,” applies directly to Kerry.

**“We will not be intimidated within the South China Sea.”**

—John Kerry

Acknowledging Allison’s introduction, Kerry joked to the students, “I don’t advise derring-do as a guidepost for foreign policy.”

In thanking Allison for inviting him to speak at Harvard, Secretary Kerry added another note of gratitude to him and to Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Wendy Sherman**, who attended the event.

“First of all, I want to thank Graham Allison, who has guided lots of members of Congress for years and years and whose judgment on all matters nuclear is impeccable. And his analysis of the Iran deal really played an important role in our ability to win votes from a very critical audience.”

Also, Kerry said, “I want you all to join me in saying thank you and honoring the service of the spectacular Wendy Sherman, who worked day-to-day on Iran for a couple years with me and others...I’m really happy that she is here at Harvard and you all will get the benefit of her wisdom.”

During a back-and-forth with Allison and questions from Harvard faculty members and students, Kerry made a number of key points. Several excerpts are listed to the right.

» For the video and transcript of the event, see [belfercenter.org/ConversationWithKerry](http://belfercenter.org/ConversationWithKerry)



## On implementing the Iran nuclear deal

*I’m very optimistic about the implementation because people forget we have lived for two years now with the interim agreement in which they rolled back their stockpile and rolled back their enrichment and reduced the number of centrifuges and so forth. People aren’t aware of that.*

## On violence in Sudan

*...[W]e’re very much front and center right now in trying to see if we can get something moving and change this cycle of violence that has consumed the youngest nation on the planet and consumed an old one too, I might add, at the same time.*

## On the South China Sea

*We will fly and we will sail and we will operate in any place where international law and custom and use allows us to...And that means that we will not be intimidated within the South China Sea from our normal assertion of right of navigation under the normal course of business.*

## On Russia in Syria

*If Russia were to legitimately commit that it wants to [defeat] ISIL and not preserve the Assad regime, then there’s a chance we really could take on ISIL and save Syria and provide the political solution, which is the only legitimate outcome for Syria.*



# Thoughts on the Paris Attacks

November's attacks in Paris renewed debate over a host of issues, including strategies to defeat ISIS, the migrant crisis, and where terrorists might strike next. Below is a sampling of insights from Belfer Center experts. (Quotes are exclusive to the Center unless otherwise noted.)

## Military Action

### Stephen Walt

Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs

*ISIS hopes to ignite a vast religious war, to vindicate its narrative of Western hostility and win it more support. **Sending U.S. forces back into the Middle East maelstrom would give ISIS exactly what it wants.** Military force alone cannot solve this problem, and could easily make it worse.*

### Charles Freilich

Senior Fellow, International Security Program  
Former Deputy National Security Advisor, Israel

*Air strikes, without some ground forces, will compound the problem, as ISIS learns that the West is unwilling to defend its liberties, no matter how heinous the provocation. **Immediate efforts must focus on ISIS, but Assad has murdered 250,000 people and Iran has not abandoned its nuclear ambitions.** They remain the primary threats.*

## Challenges for America

### Michael Morell

Senior Fellow, Belfer Center  
Former Deputy Director, CIA

*As a terrorist group, ISIS poses a threat to the Homeland. That threat today is largely indirect—ISIS's ability to radicalize young Americans to conduct attacks here.*

(Op-ed, *TIME*, 11/15/15)

### Farah Pandith

Senior Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Center  
Former U.S. Special Representative to Muslim Communities

*Precisely because we have **so much diversity within our Muslim communities**...the multitude of American Muslim voices could provide a serious counterweight to extremist narratives.*

(Interview, Council on Foreign Relations, 11/14/15)

## War on Terror

### Rami Khouri

Senior Fellow, Middle East Initiative  
At-large Editor, *The Daily Star*

*The Paris attacks by ISIS...suggest that a 'war on terror' response would be emotionally understandable and satisfying, but **ineffective once again.** A...difficult parallel effort is needed...to tackle the widespread vulnerability, humiliation and hopelessness among tens of millions of voiceless citizens.*

## Migrant Crisis

### Nicholas Burns

Director, Future of Diplomacy Project

*It would be a grave, grave misjudgment if we decided to close our borders to refugees because the United States has always, under Republican and Democratic administrations, welcomed refugees. **We're a refugee immigrant nation.** Remember that Albert Einstein, Henry Kissinger, and Madeleine Albright all came to this country as refugees. It's very important that we keep our doors open.*

(Interview, *Harvard Gazette*, 11/15/15)

### Jill Goldenziel

Fellow, International Security Program

***Europe must not fall into ISIS's trap.** ISIS wants to stop Syrians from fleeing its realm. It wants to stoke anti-Muslim backlash to provoke more European Muslims to radicalize....[F]ailing to handle the matter with caution is perilous for both refugees and European security.*

## Challenges for Europe

### Ayaan Hirsi Ali

Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Project

*...Europeans must design a new immigration policy that admits immigrants **only if they are committed to adopt European values** and to reject precisely the Islamist politics that makes them vulnerable to the siren song of the caliphate.*

(Op-ed, *The Wall Street Journal*, 11/15/15)

### Douglas Alexander

Fisher Family Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Project  
Former Shadow Foreign Secretary, United Kingdom

*The horrific terrorist attacks...confirm that European leaders now face security, refugee and Eurozone crises. **These attacks also confirm that the Middle East—a volatile, destabilised and deteriorating region—demands fresh approaches from global leaders.***

### Juliette Kayyem

Lecturer in Public Policy, Belfer Center  
Former Assistant Director for Intergovernmental Affairs, DHS

*My suspicion is that **Europe is going to reexamine its response to the Snowden disclosures** [following the Paris attacks], and you're going to get a greater surveillance apparatus in those countries.*

(Interview, *Harvard Gazette*, 11/15/15)

» For more reactions to the Paris Attacks, see [belfercenter.org/ParisAttacks](http://belfercenter.org/ParisAttacks)



**Intellectual Investment:** Belfer Center Senior Fellow **David Petraeus** and former MIT President and Center board member **Susan Hockfield** discuss Petraeus's report *The Next Great Emerging Market? Capitalizing on North America's Four Interlocking Revolutions*, co-authored by **Paras Bhayani**.

# Belfer Cent



**Expert Opinion:** Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Gary Samore** appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to brief members on the Center's report *The Iran Nuclear Deal: A Definitive Guide*. His testimony took place on August 4, 2015.



**Talking Treaties:** **Lassina Zerbo**, executive secretary of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization, discusses the future of the treaty during a Project on Managing the Atom seminar. The organization is a leading center of nuclear test-ban verification.



**Palestinian Power:** **Nadia Hijab**, executive director of Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network, speaks during a Middle East Initiative (MEI) about the Middle Eastern country's relationship with international law. Hijab co-founded the organization in 2009. Also pictured is MEI Director **Hilary Rantisi**.



**Media Mingle:** **David Fanning**, founder and executive producer at-large of PBS's *FRONTLINE*, talks with Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Farah Pandith** during a Belfer Center media dinner at the Harvard Faculty Club.



**Applied History:** **Arne Westad**, the Kennedy School's S. T. Lee Professor of U.S.-Asia Relations, speaks to the Belfer Center board about Chinese and U.S. governments. Westad is an expert on East Asia history and the Cold War era.

# er in Action



**Worthy Successors:** **John P. Holdren** (right), science advisor to President Obama, with Center director **Graham Allison**, greets **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti** and **Daniel Schrag**, his successors in directing the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program.



**Collegial Encounter:** U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations **Samantha Power**, a Belfer Center alumna, walks with Director **Graham Allison** prior to a discussion with Harvard Kennedy School students about her career. Power directed an early Center project, the Human Rights Initiative.



**Top Brass:** Chief of Staff of the Army Gen. **Mark Milley** takes part in a brainstorming session on security issues with Belfer Center experts. While on campus in November, Gen. Milley conducted an oath-of-enlistment ceremony at Harvard's Memorial Church for 75 new Army recruits from New England.



**Seeking Strategy:** **Amos Yadlin**, former chief of Israel's Military Intelligence Directorate under Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**, speaks at the Institute of National Security Studies (INSS) during the 3rd U.S.-Israeli Dialogue in Israel in May. The dialogue is co-sponsored by the Belfer Center and INSS.



**Guiding a Government:** Ukrainian Finance Minister **Natalie A. Jaresko**, at a Future of Diplomacy Project event, discusses the challenges of transforming Ukraine into a modern, resilient democracy.



**Power Struggle:** Former Ambassador **Robert Blackwill** (left) and Former Australian Prime Minister **Kevin Rudd**, both Center senior fellows, discuss best ways of "Meeting the China Challenge" during a director's seminar.

# Q&A: Daniel Schrag



**Daniel Schrag**, the Sturgis Hooper Professor of Geology and professor of environmental science and engineering at Harvard, is the new director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy (STPP) program. In addition, Schrag directs the Harvard University Center for the Environment. He studies climate and climate change of the distant past and works on energy technology and policy issues. Schrag is also a member of the President's Council of Advisors for Science and Technology.

**Q.** You bring to the Belfer Center 12 years of experience as director of the Harvard University Center for the Environment (HUCE) and an extensive background in climate and other environmental challenges and solutions. As the new director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy (STPP) program, where do you see the most symbiosis with HUCE?

One of the main areas of research for the last 20 years of the STPP program has been energy and climate policy. When I arrived at Harvard in 1997, I was immediately encouraged by then STPP Director **John Holdren** to get involved with STPP. Through interactions with him and many others at the Kennedy School, my interests in science and policy grew—and have been reflected in the activities of HUCE over the past decade. So now, as the new director of STPP, I have an opportunity to extend that great tradition, in the context of what I have been calling a program on “Energy Transformation.” That program will explore the energy transition to non-fossil technologies over the next many decades, while considering concerns for reliability, cost, and security.

This is a perfect partnership between STPP and HUCE, as it requires deep scientific and technological understanding of energy systems and of the climate challenges we face, but also a deep understanding of the role of public policy in navigating the transition. It is also a great way to bring together many of the experts in energy and environmental policy at HKS, both from the Belfer Center and beyond.

“We need to keep our eyes open to new problems at the interface of science, technology, and public policy.”

**Q.** What are some of your plans for the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program?

Besides the core effort on energy and climate, which is an obvious extension of my own research interests, I also want STPP to focus on the ways that information technology is changing government. Over the past six years of serving on President Obama's Council of Economic Advisors (PCAST), I have watched while the president brought young technology folks from Silicon Valley into the White House, and witnessed the many ways they have changed the way that government works. This is a fascinating interface between science, technology, and public policy, and I want to help the Belfer Center and the Kennedy School build a world-class program of research and teaching in this area.

A central theme for the Belfer Center will be cybersecurity—as many experts feel that this is one of the greatest challenges we face. Cybersecurity is an issue that requires not just knowledge of existing technologies and capabilities, but also an appreciation and vision for how these capabilities will change in the future, including artificial intelligence and machine learning. I look forward to working with others at the Belfer Center to build a substantial effort in this area. At the same time, an effort on cybersecurity requires complementary research and teaching on the role of technology in government, as the evolution of how information technology is used helps determine what vulnerabilities exist. And finally, the role of information technology in politics and social movements is another fascinating area that also requires a combination of different types of expertise.

“Cybersecurity requires complementary research and teaching on the role of technology in government.”

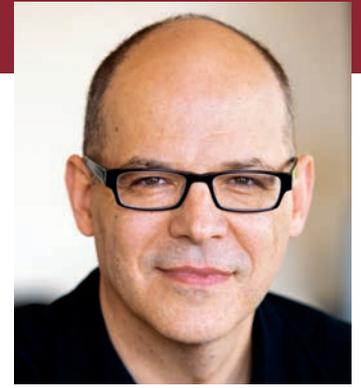
Another important investment I want to make is in building a stronger bridge between the sciences and engineering at Harvard and the Kennedy School. I want to increase the frequency of interactions between scientists and policy experts on these issues, providing opportunities similar to the one that I was given by John Holdren and others.

Finally, we need to keep our eyes open to new problems at the interface of science, technology, and public policy in the future. There are many important new frontiers of science, from nanotechnology to synthetic biology. I want to make sure we bring in the best young minds as scholars each year and provide them the opportunity to explore new issues as they emerge.



**Warm Welcome:** Daniel Schrag shares a light moment with colleague Nicholas Burns as they discuss their programs and welcome new fellows and staff during Belfer Center orientation.

# SPOTLIGHT: Fredrik Logevall



**Fredrik Logevall** is the Laurence D. Belfer Professor of International Affairs and professor of history at Harvard Kennedy School, based at the Belfer Center. An expert on the history of international affairs, he was until recently a professor of history at Cornell University. He is the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam* (Random House, 2012). In 2014, Logevall served as president of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

by Josh Burek

For **Fredrik Logevall**, the journey from his boyhood in Sweden to the Harvard faculty was a complex one, but a particular piece of weekly mail was key. His father's subscription to *TIME* magazine kindled a childhood spark for the study of international affairs that culminated in a Pulitzer Prize for his 2012 book, *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam*.

Logevall, the Belfer Center's newest faculty member, joined Harvard earlier this year from Cornell, where he was Anbinder Professor of History, vice provost for international affairs, and director of the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies.

Befitting a transplant to the Kennedy School, Logevall's current project is a full-scale biography of **John F. Kennedy**. Logevall, who stresses with a smile that he signed the contract with Random House "well before" his offer from Harvard, says the book will tell the story of the man while also using "Kennedy's life to map the rise of the United States, first to great-power, and then to super-power status."

Logevall will be a key figure in the Center's emerging Applied History Project along with **Graham Allison**, **Arne Westad**, and **Niall Ferguson**. Building on the tradition of Harvard legends **Ernest May** (whose writings were a major inspiration to Logevall) and **Richard Neustadt**, Logevall is developing a course provisionally titled "Reasoning from History" that will focus on the uses—and mis-uses—of history in decision-making. Such analogizing is at once inevitable and problematic, warns Logevall, whose scholarship defies simplistic sound bites but greatly enriches the ability of students and readers to see the past in color and high-definition.

*Logevall's scholarship defies simplistic sound bites, but greatly enriches the ability of students and readers to see the past in color and in high-definition.*

To take just one small example, many people know that **Dean Acheson**—**President Truman's** secretary of state and one of the leading architects of America's Cold War strategy—once defined foreign policy as "one damn thing after another." It's a clever acknowledgement that crisis management usually trumps grand strategy.

**"Even when decision-makers know some of the history, they don't always act on that knowledge."**

Logevall sees power in Acheson's quip, but says it does not capture the totality of U.S. foreign policy history. From the development of the strategy of containment of Soviet communism to the later engagement with China, he notes, careful strategic planning on occasion emerged right alongside crisis response.

To the question of whether American leaders know their history, Logevall offers a nuanced answer. "Plenty of senior and mid-level U.S. officials over the years have possessed a pretty sound grasp of American history, and some have also had decent knowledge of the major developments in modern world history more

broadly," he says. The problem is that "even when decision-makers know some of the history, they don't always act on that knowledge...U.S. officials knew full well, for example, that the Chinese and Vietnamese had a long history of conflict, and that the French had failed spectacularly in their bid to reclaim colonial control of Indochina after World War II. They just assumed, some of them, that the U.S. was somehow exempt from history, and that the bitter experience of the Chinese and the French therefore didn't have all that much to teach them."

Even today, Logevall says, there is still a widespread (if diminishing) belief that "if only the United States would assert its power in this or that problem area overseas, the crisis would get resolved...The U.S. is far and away the most powerful military power on the world stage, but that doesn't mean it can get its way in particular crises, especially those that ultimately demand a political solution."

Logevall says the opportunity to interact with a diverse body of students who share a passion for learning about history, and to teach courses that bring together history and policy in richly rewarding ways, made coming to Harvard irresistible. "I'm likewise honored to be ensconced in the Belfer Center, with its intellectual firepower and terrific programming, and to be the Laurence D. Belfer Professor."



Global Learning: **Fredrik Logevall** (left), then Cornell University vice provost, with **Pratim Roy**, director of India's Keystone Center, after signing an agreement to establish a shared research center in Tamil Nadu.

# Center Welcomes Global Leaders

## High-level officials and scholars share expertise with students



Hedi Larbi



Robert Blackwill



James "Sandy" Winnefeld



Wendy Sherman

This fall, the Belfer Center welcomed several distinguished leaders as new senior fellows and visiting scholars. These eight new arrivals come from a range of high-profile public policy backgrounds, and each brings significant and varied expertise to Harvard Kennedy School.

**Wendy Sherman** is in residence this semester as a senior fellow with the Belfer Center and a fellow with the Institute of Politics. **Robert Blackwill** and **James "Sandy" Winnefeld** come to the Belfer Center as non-resident senior fellows. Ambassador Sherman arrived at the Kennedy School directly from her position as the nation's lead negotiator on the Iran nuclear deal and under secretary for political affairs at the State Department. Admiral Winnefeld retired in July as America's second-highest-ranking military officer as vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He previously led the USS *Enterprise* in combat operations in Afghanistan after 9/11. Ambassador Blackwill has served in a number of top posts from the Middle East to India, working in both Bush presidencies.

*These eight new arrivals come from a range of high-profile public policy backgrounds.*

At the Belfer Center, Ambassador Sherman is exploring the politics of forgiveness. To examine the role of political forgiveness, or lack thereof,

in international relations, she is looking at truth and reconciliation mechanisms and their impact and at historic results when a regime or country has forgiven or been forgiven for past actions so that relationships can move forward.

Ambassador Blackwill's work at the Belfer Center focuses on the concept of the national interest and the identification of vital U.S. interests. Also, as director of the U.S.-Israel Security Project, Blackwill seeks to facilitate strategic dialogue and analysis among American and Israeli elites.

Admiral Winnefeld's focus at the Center is clarifying the hierarchy of national security interests. He is exploring the idea that casting security situations against an abstract, enduring, and prioritized list of national security interests could help policymakers make better decisions regarding use of force, resource allocation, senior leader bandwidth management, and risk assessment.

Former Tunisian Economic Infrastructure and Sustainable Development Minister **Hedi Larbi** has joined the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative as this semester's Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar. Larbi, who also served recently as advisor to the MENA vice president at the World Bank, is leading a seven-week study group focused on the Arab social contract.

**Robert Danin** also joined the MEI as a senior fellow. Danin served at the National Security Council for three years and received the State Department's Superior Honor Award for his many years of Middle East experience as a career State Department official. At the Center, Danin

is presenting and speaking with students and faculty on issues ranging from regional responses to the Iran nuclear deal to U.S. interests in the Middle East.

**"The Belfer Center is honored to be joined by such distinguished leaders. Each of them brings unique experience and insights that enrich our students and faculty."**

**—Graham Allison**

The Future of Diplomacy Project also has announced three Fall 2015 Fisher Family Fellows. They include **Douglas Alexander**, former UK shadow foreign secretary; **Jairam Ramesh**, a member of Parliament from India's Andhra Pradesh and a leader in international climate negotiations; and former NATO Secretary-General and Danish Prime Minister **Anders Fogh Rasmussen**. The three Fisher Fellows are working with students to prepare them for international relations in the 21st century.

"The Belfer Center is honored to be joined by such distinguished leaders," said Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. "Each of them brings unique experience and insights that enrich our students and faculty."



Robert Danin



Douglas Alexander



Jairam Ramesh



Anders Fogh Rasmussen

# Francisco Aguilar's Explorer Saves Lives



Presidential Praise: President Obama reaches out to shake hands with Francisco Aguilar (top row, third from right) during Entrepreneur's Demo Day at the White House.

When former Belfer Center International and Global Affairs Student Fellow **Francisco Aguilar** learned about the challenges facing responders during Haiti's devastating earthquake in 2010, he got an idea that could potentially save lives in the future. His idea, which took him to the White House this summer, was to develop a small and inexpensive tactical camera device that "spots danger," as the White House put it, "before soldiers and first responders walk into it."

President Obama invited Aguilar and other entrepreneurs to the White House to showcase their inventions at its first entrepreneur demo day, and invited a number of business, philanthropic, and non-profit leaders to meet the entrepreneurs and learn firsthand about their innovations.

*Aguilar's invention was prompted by his belief that many more lives could have been saved in Haiti.*

Aguilar's invention was prompted by his belief that many more lives could have been saved in Haiti if search and rescue teams had been able to determine more quickly whether it was safe to proceed into a disaster zone. While there were at the time some fiber-optic cameras available to search through rubble and dangerous sites, they were too expensive and complicated for extensive use.

Aguilar founded Bounce Imaging with his sister, **Carolina Aguilar**, to develop low-cost, throwable sensor cameras that provide omnidirectional images of hazardous, unseen spaces and transmit the information to a user's smartphone. The softball-size device, called *Explorer*, can be used by police officers, firefighters, and other first responders to see around a corner, inside buildings, or down a tunnel or sewer system. It was sent this summer to 100 police departments across the U.S.

Aguilar is currently focusing on making his device even more affordable. He wants it to be accessible to authorities and safety teams in developing countries so disaster relief can occur more quickly.

Aguilar's company, based at the Harvard Innovation Lab, was named a Gold Winner at MassChallenge, the largest startup accelerator in the world.

## Orga Cadet: Connecting Law and Policy

by Hunter Harris

As a Belfer Center International and Global Affairs (BIGA) student fellow, **Orga Cadet** sees every international affairs issue from two perspectives. Instead of right or wrong, prudent or risky, he sees the policy side and the law side: Cadet is a dual degree candidate, pursuing his Master of Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School, while also spending this semester in Beijing finishing his Juris Doctor degree through a study abroad program with Georgetown University.

"I like that at law school I can dive deep into the details of the law and make these arguments and ask these types of questions," Cadet says. "In policy school—at least the classes that I've chosen—the thinking is more high level, more abstract and theoretical in regards to conflict resolution and negotiation."

Cadet's parents were Haitian refugees, and he says his experience as a legal intern for the Haitian Embassy in D.C. was an important influence in his decision to come to the Kennedy School. "During my internship with the Haitian ambassador," he says, "I learned that for actors

in the international field, knowing what the law says is always half of the question. The other half is the 'what should we do,' and I think that's what policy school helps to answer."

**"... knowing what the law says is always half of the question. The other half is the 'what should we do.'"**

The "what should we do" question is obviously an important one, and as an IGA student fellow he's working with Professor **Stephen Walt** to try to answer it. Walt is working on a book "about foreign policy dysfunction." By analyzing past missteps, Cadet says they'll reach clearer ideas of how to manage the biggest threats facing the United States today.

"I've learned so much from Professor Walt," Cadet says, "...understanding how the U.S. acts in the ways that it does, and what makes it successful and what makes it not."



China's Wonder: Orga Cadet at the Great Wall.

In the spring, Cadet will return to Cambridge and the Belfer Center with a JD and a more informed perspective of the rise of China. "Being interested in conflict resolution and international law, it's pretty obvious that understanding China better will be important for my career," he says. "I wanted to see how China uses law as a means to solve problems, whether it's domestically or in foreign policy."

# FEATURED FELLOWS



International Security

## Evelyn Krache Morris: Understanding the Drug Trade and U.S.-Mexico Relations

by Casey Campbell

When talking to **Evelyn Krache Morris**, it becomes clear that she has never shied away from challenges in her work. Her dissertation from Georgetown University focused on a little-known Vietnam War scandal regarding a crop destruction enterprise. Now, she's tackling another under-publicized subject: the complex topic of the Mexican drug trade and its connection to U.S. relations.

International relations and history have always been passions for Krache Morris, and at Georgetown she was able to connect the two areas with a PhD in the history of U.S. foreign relations. Her dissertation focused on the origins and effects of Operation Ranch Hand in Vietnam. Was it chemical warfare? What "disguises" were put on the program? What was its propaganda effect? Upon completion of her degree, she accepted a fellowship with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, where she began her study of the Mexican drug trade and how it has affected U.S. relations with Mexico.

"I really liked the broad focus [and] the breadth of what people are working on here," she says. "I love the acceptance and enthusiasm for new ideas, new topics, and new approaches."

"The coverage of the global illicit drug trade academically and in other areas is very fragmented," explains Krache Morris. "People will talk about the heroin epidemic, and about human trafficking, and about violence in Mexico, but almost nobody talks about all of it together, which is very important."

Her research has made clear that the U.S. government needs to do more to eradicate the problem, she says. She advocates for more aggressive prosecution, including of the banks and bankers that make the system of illicit trade work.

Krache Morris is completing a book on this complex problem that she hopes will begin a conversation in the United States.

"I would like [my book] to reach the educated public," she says, "not just policymakers, but also people who hear outlandish statements about Mexico. I would like to see my book move and expand the conversation."

*Krache Morris says more aggressive prosecution is needed, including of the banks and bankers that make illicit trade work.*



Energy Technology Innovation Policy

## Anna Goldstein: Bridging the Gap Between Scientists and Policymakers

by Stephanie Wheeler

Anna Goldstein is, at the moment, a scientist standing at a crossroad. Since her PhD from University of California, Berkeley is in chemistry, one might imagine Goldstein working in the lab. Instead, she's at the Belfer Center researching the policy side of technology.

"I was a sophomore when I caught the energy bug," says Goldstein, a fellow with the Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group. When asked about her interest in pursuing clean technology both through science and policy, she says she has always been concerned about issues of human welfare and societal problems, but her interest found a focus as she learned more about greenhouse gas emissions and climate change. "My instinct was that if we had clean energy technology that was cheap, people would of course use it."

Goldstein believes in activism for clean energy. She also understands that its high cost can make it inaccessible to people with a limited income, no matter the benefits. When she realized all of the moving parts that go into obtaining this clean energy ideal, she began to gear her own efforts towards policy.

Through her research, Goldstein hopes to provide a deeper understanding of how governments can stimulate innovation, for example by motivating research and development in energy companies that will eventually make this energy more accessible.

While her research is in the early stages, she is optimistic about practical uses her findings may offer nationally and internationally.

When asked what's next, Goldstein laughs and says she's only just arrived at the Belfer Center. However, she sees herself continuing to work in a policy-related capacity, possibly as a translator of sorts, bridging the gap between scientists and policymakers. She likes the idea of helping policymakers prioritize policy needs based on the latest scientific findings. "Policymakers just don't have the time to read and absorb every new scientific paper out there."

So while Goldstein may be shifting disciplines at the moment, she realizes the importance of being at this crossroad.

*"My instinct was that if we had clean energy technology that was cheap, people would of course use it."*

In this issue, the Belfer Center is pleased to feature four Belfer Center research fellows:

International Security Program Associate **Evelyn Krache Morris**, Energy Technology Innovation Policy Postdoctoral Fellow **Anna Goldstein**, International Security Program Postdoctoral Fellow **Daniel Sobelman**, and International Security Program Research Fellow **Patricia Kim**.



International Security

## Daniel Sobelman: Learning to Listen to the “Other Side”

by Bridget Reed Morawski

A graduate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a former correspondent for the newspaper *Ha'aretz*, **Daniel Sobelman** arrived at the Belfer Center in the summer of 2014 at a time when Israel was embattled in a confrontation with Hamas. Large portions of the country were coming under daily rocket fire from Gaza.

From the balcony of his apartment in Rehovot, a small city about 14 miles south of Tel-Aviv and 30 miles north of Gaza, Sobelman recalls how he watched rockets firing from the Gaza Strip into Israeli air space and witnessed interceptions by the Iron Dome, a moveable missile defense system set up by the Israelis to prevent civilian casualties. He also watched Israeli fighter jets scramble for retaliation.

Living in America, Sobelman says, means that for many Americans, real trouble is thousands of miles away. Israel, in contrast, faces non-state adversaries along all but one of its borders. It is sometimes called “a small country surrounded by enemies.” The country’s strategic environment has shifted profoundly in recent years, he says, and is very different from the Israel where he was born following his parents’ emigration from New York City.

As a child growing up in Israel, Sobelman began studying Arabic in middle school. The language provided him with what he believes was the most essential tool in his college studies: perspective. For example, Arabic shaped his ability to understand the Hamas perspective. Nothing in academia better prepared him for his career analyzing the state and non-state conflicts of the Middle East, whether as an Arab affairs correspondent or as a postdoctoral research fellow at the Belfer Center’s International Security Program, than his ability to dig into the nuance of emotion and rationale behind “the other side.”

At the Belfer Center, Sobelman is researching the conceptual and military implications of “asymmetric conflicts,” focusing on the evolution of the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah.

“Just being able to listen and understand what the other side is saying is very, very important,” Sobelman says. “Without that basic tool, I think my life and career would have been very different.”

“Just being able to listen and understand what the other side is saying is very, very important.”



International Security

## Patricia Kim: Developing Effective Negotiation Techniques with China

by Jacqueline Tempera

As China continues to evolve into a modern superpower, American policymakers are grappling with how to work with its leaders.

For **Patricia Kim**, a research fellow in the International Security Program, this challenge has occupied her thinking and research for much of the past year. Through her PhD dissertation at Princeton University, she is taking a hard look at effective negotiation tactics for dealing with an ambitious and rising China.

“Our dilemma is how we ‘shape’ China’s behavior when Chinese leaders are determined to carve their own path and not necessarily buy into international norms,” Kim says.

It is important to understand the Chinese government’s priorities, she argues—like its desire to preserve the party regime and prevent Taiwanese independence—in order to find ways to communicate to them that we comprehend these concerns. Doing so may allow U.S. leaders to find more success when negotiating with China about terrorism, nuclear proliferation, climate change, and other issues plaguing the world today. “When negotiations involve China’s core values, holding a bigger stick isn’t necessarily going to move them,” Kim says.

Persuasive diplomacy techniques, she argues, such as those used by George Bush to convince the Chinese to participate in the Six Party Talks in 2003, are more effective.

“We have to approach them and say, ‘We know you are a rising power and you want leadership, but let’s take that ambition and channel it in positive ways that can make your country’s rise more sustainable.’”

“There are so many policymakers and former policymakers who are thinking about diplomacy here at the Belfer Center,” Kim says. “I hope to contribute to that dialogue.”

After she finishes her dissertation, Kim will expand her research and compare Chinese and U.S. efforts to win hearts and minds in East Asia. The country has been an area of passion for her since she first visited China as a volunteer English teacher during high school.

“The energy there is amazing,” she says. “I hope we don’t fall into another Cold War situation and instead partner with China and tackle global issues together.”

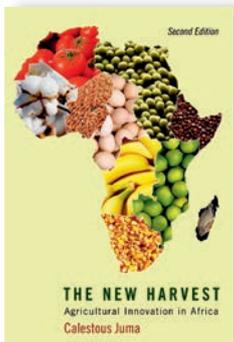
“Our dilemma is how we ‘shape’ China’s behavior when Chinese leaders are determined to carve their own path.”

# HOT OFF THE PRESSES

## **The New Harvest: Agricultural Innovation in Africa**

By **Calestous Juma**, Professor of the Practice of International Development, Harvard Kennedy School

Second Edition  
Oxford University Press (Sept. 2015)



This new edition of *The New Harvest* provides ideas on how to implement a series of high-level decisions adopted by African leaders to place agriculture at the center of the continent's long-term economic transformation. It puts agriculture in the context of the

Science, Technology, and Innovation Strategy (STISA-24) adopted by African presidents in 2014. More importantly, this edition provides a policy framework that could be adopted for other sectors such as health, industry, and green innovation.

*"...[A] welcome relief from the doom and despair in popular narratives about African agriculture."*

*A remarkably optimistic outlook for agriculture in Africa...Juma's account succeeds in offering a glimpse of the possible. The book provides a welcome relief from the gloom and despair in popular narratives about African agriculture.*

—Science

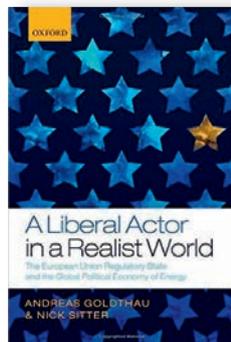
For more Belfer Center books and other publications, see

**belfercenter.org/  
publication**

## **A Liberal Actor in a Realist World: The European Union Regulatory State and the Global Political Economy of Energy**

By **Andreas Goldthau**, Associate, Geopolitics of Energy Project and **Nick Sitter**

Oxford University Press (Aug. 2015)



Since 1992, the European Union has put liberalization at the core of its energy policy agenda. This aspiration was very much in line with an international political economy driven by the neo-liberal (Washington) consensus. The central challenge for the EU is

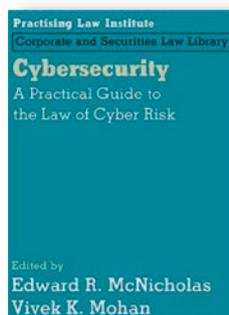
that the energy world has changed, while the EU has not. The rise of Asian energy consumers (China and India), more assertive energy producers (Russia), and the threat of climate change have securitized the international political economy of energy, and turned it more "realist." The main research question is therefore: "What does a liberal actor do in a realist world?" The overall answer as far as the EU is concerned is that it approaches energy challenges as a problem of market failure.

*A Liberal Actor in a Realist World* assesses the changing nature of the global political economy of energy and the European Union's response and the external dimension of the regulatory state.

## **Cybersecurity: A Practical Guide to the Law of Cyber Risk**

Edited by **Edward R. McNicholas** and **Vivek K. Mohan**, Associate, Cyber Security Project

Practising Law Institute (2015)

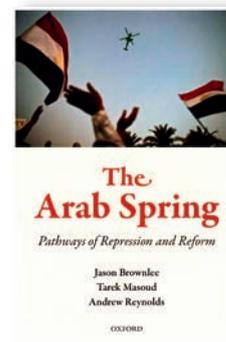


*Cybersecurity*, authored by 20 experts in the field, provides the practical steps that can be taken to help clients understand and mitigate today's cyber risk and to build the most resilient response capabilities possible.

## **The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform**

By **Jason Brownlee**, **Tarek Masoud**, Associate Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School, and **Andrew Reynolds**

Oxford University Press (Feb. 2015)



Almost five years after the Arab Spring began, democracy remains elusive in the Middle East. The Arab Spring that resides in the popular imagination is one in which a wave of mass mobilization swept the broader Middle East, toppled dictators, and cleared

the way for democracy. The reality is that few Arab countries have experienced anything of the sort. While Tunisia made progress toward some type of constitutionally entrenched participatory rule, the other countries that overthrew their rulers—Egypt, Yemen, and Libya—remain mired in authoritarianism and instability. Elsewhere in the Arab world uprisings were suppressed, subdued, or never materialized.

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

*"[Q]uite simply the best analysis of the Arab Spring."*

*This is quite simply the best analysis of the Arab Spring that I have read....The conclusions are thoughtful, highly intelligent, and mostly depressing. But as a work of scholarship and in its relevance to real world issues, this is extremely impressive.*

—Fareed Zakaria

Compiled by Susan Lunch, ISP/STPP

# NEWSMAKERS



The 2016 Weitsman Graduate Student Paper Award has been given jointly to **Mark Bell** and **Amanda Rothschild**, both of them research fellows with the Belfer Center's International Security Program.

Bell won the award for his paper *Beyond Emboldenment: The Effects of Nuclear Weapons on State Foreign Policy*.



Rothschild was selected for her paper, *Tipping Theory: Origins of Great Britain's Suppression of the Slave Trade and Implications for Today's Collective Action Problems*.



**Juliette Kayyem**, lecturer in public policy and member of the Center's board of directors, and **Farah Pandith**, senior fellow with the Future of Diplomacy Project, have been named to the Department of Homeland Security Advisory Council (HSAC). HSAC includes experts from government, emergency, and first responder communities.

Kayyem is a former assistant secretary for intergovernmental affairs at the Department of Homeland Security.

Pandith was the first special representative to Muslim communities for the U.S. Department of State.



**Anita Gohdes**, joint ISP/WAPPP research fellow, has been awarded the German Dissertation Prize for the Social Sciences for the best dissertation in Germany in the Social Sciences. Her dissertation title is *Repression in the Digital Age: Communication Technology and the Politics of State Violence*.



**Paul Staniland**, assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago and former research fellow with the Center's International Security Program, won the Peter Katzenstein Book Prize for Outstanding First Book in International Relations: *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*.



**Ben Heineman**, senior fellow with the Belfer Center, has been selected as a member of the Presidents' Circle of The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. Heineman is the former senior vice president for Law and Public Affairs with General Electric.



**Paul A. Volcker**, former chairman of the Federal Reserve and member of the Center's International Council, was awarded an honorary degree from the University of Toronto for taking action to end the high levels of inflation seen in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s.

## International Security

Vol. 40 No. 2  
Fall 2015

*International Security* is America's leading journal of security affairs.

*IS* was ranked first in impact factor for 2014 among 85 journals of international relations in the annual "Journal Citation Reports"® released by Thomson Reuters. *International Security's* 2014 impact factor is the highest of any international relations journals.

The journal is edited at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center and published quarterly by the MIT Press.

Questions may be directed to [IS@harvard.edu](mailto:IS@harvard.edu)



Compiled by *International Security* staff

### Blood Revenge and Violent Mobilization: Evidence from the Chechen Wars

Emil Aslan Souleimanov and Huseyn Aliyev

Blood revenge is a crucial yet understudied contributor to many insurgencies and civil wars. Interviews with participants in and witnesses to the First and Second Chechen Wars reveal how a desire to avenge dead or injured relatives drove many Chechens to join insurgent groups.

### How Realism Waltzed Off: Liberalism and Decisionmaking in Kenneth Waltz's Neorealism

Daniel Bessner and Nicolas Guilhot

In developing neorealist theory, Kenneth Waltz sought to reconcile the tenets of classical realism with those of liberal democracy. Classical realists called for foreign policy to be forged by elite decisionmakers, unconstrained by legal norms and public opinion. Waltz, by contrast, argued that the international system, rather than individual decisionmakers, shaped international relations.

### Assuring Assured Retaliation: China's Nuclear Posture and U.S.-China Strategic Stability

Fiona S. Cunningham and M. Taylor Fravel

Many analysts worry that recent advances in U.S. military capabilities could cause China to abandon its nuclear strategy of assured retaliation and its no-first-use doctrine. The writings and statements of Chinese nuclear experts, however, suggest that such fears are misplaced.

### Balancing in Neorealism

Joseph M. Parent and Sebastian Rosato

Do great powers balance against each other, as neorealist theory predicts? Over the past two centuries, great powers have typically avoided external balancing via alliance formation, but they have consistently engaged in internal balancing by arming and imitating the military advances of their rivals.

### Indignation, Ideologies, and Armed Mobilization: Civil War in Italy, 1943–45

Stefano Costalli and Andrea Ruggeri

Most explanations of why individuals fight in civil wars have focused on material factors, such as expected political or economic benefits. The history of the internal war that broke out in Italy during the final stages of World War II, however, shows that emotions and ideas—specifically, indignation and radical ideologies—can also fuel armed mobilization.

Chinese strategists are likely **underestimating the strength of U.S. interests** in possible crisis scenarios.

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The Belfer Center has a dual mission: (1) to provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect, and (2) to prepare future generations of leaders for these arenas.

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## BELFER IN BRIEF



MARTHA STEWART

Calling Attention: A panel of experts discusses ways to end human trafficking during a JFK Jr. Forum to be broadcast on CNN.

### Confronting Modern-day Slavery

The JFK Jr. Forum hosted a CNN broadcast taping in October of “Fight for Freedom: Confronting Modern-Day Slavery.” Co-sponsored by the Belfer Center and the Institute of Politics, the event featured a panel of experts on human trafficking who discussed the problem and possible solutions. The event will be broadcast by CNN at a future date.

CNN’s **Richard Quest** moderated the panel discussion with Academy Award-winning actress **Mira Sorvino**, UN Goodwill Ambassador to Combat Human Trafficking; **Swanee Hunt**, director of Hunt Alternatives; **Siddharth Kara**, director of the Carr Center’s human trafficking program; **Rachel Lloyd** of Girls Educational and Mentoring Services; and **Rosi Orozco**, president of Commission United Against Human Trafficking.

The event, part of the CNN Freedom Project, is supported by the **Essam and Dalal Obaid** Foundation.

To watch the event, see [belfercenter.org/ModernSlavery](http://belfercenter.org/ModernSlavery)

### Impact of the Iran Deal on the Middle East

To determine how Iran’s Arab neighbors view the nuclear agreement and envision the future role of Iran in the region, Iran Project Director **Payam Mohseni** asked 15 leading experts based in the Arab world to assess the impact of the agreement on Iran-Arab security relations.

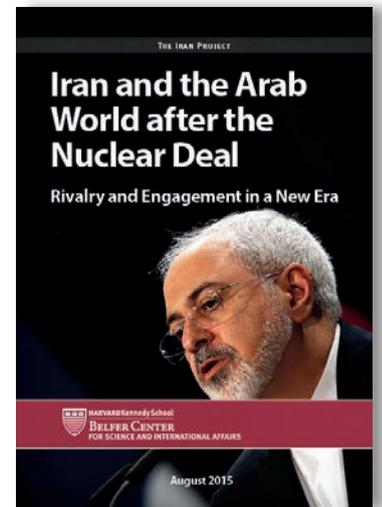
Those assessments are summarized in Mohseni’s report *Iran and the Arab World after the Nuclear Deal: Rivalry and Engagement in a New Era*.

Based on these expert perspectives, reactions in the Arab world were divided into three groups based on different political visions and geostrategic interests in the Middle East.

The first group, the “skeptics” (Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, Jordan, and Morocco), argued that the agreement will allow Iran to expand its primacy over other areas in the Middle East politically, economically, and militarily.

The second group, the “pro-Iran bloc” (Syria, Iraq, a faction of the Lebanese political mainstream, and part of the Yemeni political opposition), believe the deal will have an important positive effect on their aspirations and political empowerment in the region.

The third group, or the “third way” countries (North African states like Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Sudan), were generally satisfied with the deal and design of the framework.



For the full report, see [belfercenter.org/IranandArabWorld](http://belfercenter.org/IranandArabWorld)