

**Robert and Renée Belfer Center for  
Science and International Affairs**

# **Annual Report 2023**



**HARVARD Kennedy School  
BELFER CENTER**

**50** YEARS  
OF RESEARCH, POLICY,  
AND LEADERSHIP

**The Robert and Renée Belfer  
Center for Science and  
International Affairs**

**Annual Report  
2023**

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# From the Director

I am pleased to write my first Director's Foreword for the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Annual Report. In 2023, the Belfer Center launched a celebration of its 50th anniversary, commemorating a half-century of excellence in researching the world's toughest challenges and shaping policy responses. We are proud of the impact the Belfer Center has had in the policy arena. This reach is amplified by our more than 1,700 former fellows and staff now in government, academia, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector around the world.

However, 2023 was not simply about honoring our legacy. We are squarely focused on how Belfer will meet the moment today and in the decades to come.

Belfer's mission is as relevant today as it has been at any other time in our history. We bridge the gap between scholarly rigor and real-world impact, combining the best of academic research with practical policy solutions. Our university setting allows us to draw



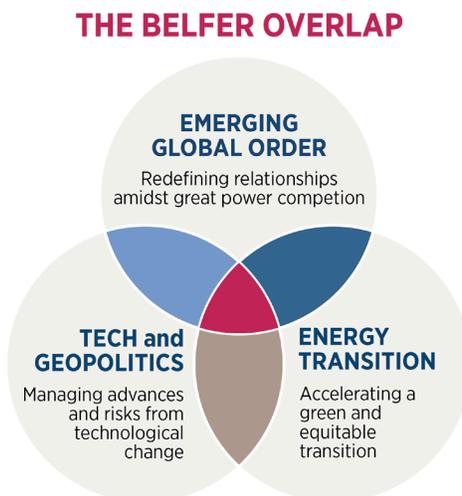
on experts in every field, as today's complex challenges require thinking from every discipline. It also allows us to step back from the daily whirlwind of policymaking and focus on innovative solutions to global challenges, including those just over the horizon. Finally, we are fortunate to have a diverse student body that brings fresh perspectives and its own experiences to the forefront of our work every day.

Given these strengths, Belfer is uniquely positioned to tackle some of our world's most consequential questions. How do we navigate the evolving landscape of great power competition and rapid

technological change? How can we sustain the "long peace" that has kept us safe from great power war for more than 75 years? What role will industrial strategies play in managing global competition and addressing technological risks? How will the world finance the energy transition, particularly in the Global South? How should we approach emerging technologies like AI, quantum, and biotechnology in the realm of national security?

These are just some of the questions that drive us. Increasingly, we will focus our work at the intersection of three consequential drivers of today's world: great power competition, technology and geopolitics, and the energy transition. While we will continue some of the Center's excellent work that falls outside these domains, my focus and energy will be directed at what I am calling "the Belfer Overlap."

This diagram helps convey both the existing "sweet spot" of the Belfer Center's work and the direction for future growth. In fact, 2023 featured a wide range of work that leveraged these attributes.



## 2023 Highlights

Our experts contributed more than 250 insight and analysis pieces in the world's most respected publications, including "The Path to AI Arms Control" in *Foreign Affairs*, co-authored by **Graham Allison** and **Henry Kissinger**. It would turn out to be Kissinger's last published work.

New analysis from the **Project on Managing the Atom** indicates the dangers of nuclear war have grown significantly in the last decade.

The **Environment and Natural Resources Program's** reports on hydrogen as an energy source attracted strong interest from both U.S. and European policymakers and private sector leaders.

Belfer Center experts and guests generated new insights and analysis on the war in Ukraine. Belfer researchers



October 31, 2023: Gen. Paul Nakasone at an event moderated by National Security Fellow Laura Cross.

began publishing a weekly report card to track developments in the war. Students also examined key foreign policy questions stemming from the war through constructive conversation and debate in a study group directed by Senior Fellow and former Assistant Secretary of State **Karen Donfried**.

Ukraine's Foreign Minister **Dmytro Kuleba** was a guest of the Belfer Center at a virtual event in February 2023, when he

discussed the roots of the war with Russia and the determination of the Ukrainian people.

Artificial intelligence remained a key focus of the Belfer Center with experts like **Bruce Schneier** examining its implications on every aspect of society, including how A.I. can aid democracy or destroy it.



January 13, 2023: The Arctic Initiative hosted indigenous youth leaders from around the Arctic.



September 26, 2023: **Meghan O'Sullivan speaks with former Prime Minister of New Zealand Jacinda Ardern prior to a Belfer Center board lunch.**

The **Middle East Initiative** convened candid, fact-based, and respectful discussions, including a retrospective on the Iraq War and a series of special events focused on the conflict in Gaza following the October 7 Hamas terrorist attack on Israel.

Recommendations by the **Arctic Initiative** helped shape Department of Homeland Security's approach to tackling the impacts of rapid climate change in Alaska.

**Eric Rosenbach** launched the **Defense, Emerging Technology, and Strategy**

**Program.** DETS is off to a dynamic start with a series of publications and high-level speakers such as General Paul Nakasone, Commander of the U.S. Cyber Command.

In his new book, *Spies*, **Calder Walton** revealed a Russian plot to assassinate a defector on U.S. soil in 2020. *Spies* was one of four books published by Belfer Center scholars.

The **Korea Project** brought together five senior negotiators from past U.S. administrations for an event examining

main lessons learned in their negotiations with North Korea.

The Belfer Center's work on our world's most consequential questions benefited greatly from additions to our ranks of faculty, staff, and Senior Fellows in 2023.

**Mark Pascale** joined the Belfer Center as the new Director of the **Intelligence Project**, succeeding **Paul Kolbe**. Mark is one of the most accomplished U.S. intelligence officers in recent history with the unique distinction of having served as Chief of Station in three of the most challenging operational environments in



December 11, 2023: **John Park moderates an event on negotiating with North Korea.**



March 30, 2023: **Ambassador of Zimbabwe to the U.S. Tadeous Tafirenyika Chifamba.**



October 13, 2023: **Amb. Edward Djerejian and Tarek Masoud discuss the Hamas attack on Israel.**



November 1, 2023: **Lecturer in Public Policy Zoe Marks and Executive Director Natalie Colbert spoke at AfriConnect, an event hosted by the Belfer Center to bring together the Africa-centered work and activities of HKS Centers and student organizations.**

the world and multiple tours throughout the Middle East, East Asia, and the former Soviet Union.

**Rana Mitter**, the Harvard Kennedy School's new ST Lee Chair in U.S.-Asia Relations, brings deep expertise from his tenure at the University of Oxford, where he led the University China Center.

**Ulrich Krotz** joined us during the fall semester as the Pierre Keller Visiting Professor of Public Policy, sharing a wealth of insights into European affairs. Krotz holds distinguished positions at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals and Sciences Po Paris.

Visiting from the University of Michigan, Associate Professor of Public Policy **Yuri Zhukov** shared his scholarship and expertise on Russia, Ukraine, and the complex dynamics of the conflict.

**Karen Donfried**, President Biden's former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, joined as a Senior Fellow after leading intense engagements with Europe in the wake of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine.

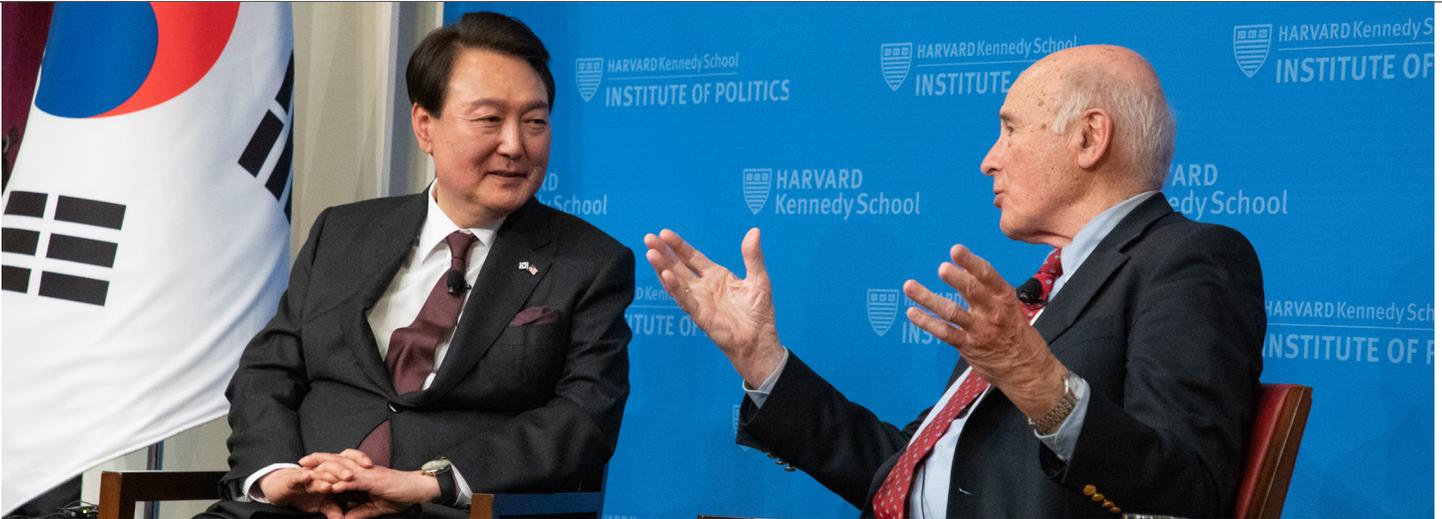
**Stephen J. Hadley**, the 20th U.S. National Security Advisor, a position he held under

President **George W. Bush**, also came on board as a Senior Fellow. He brings unparalleled understanding of how the U.S. government grapples with national security challenges and works with allies and partners in every part of the world.

**John Tien**, who served as the 8th Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security, joined



March 9, 2023: **Syra Madad, left, hosts a roundtable on women in STEM.**



April 28, 2023: **Joseph S. Nye, Jr. in conversation with President of South Korea Yoon Suk Yeol in the JFK Jr. Forum.**



March 30, 2023: **Former Taoiseach of Ireland Bertie Ahern joined Joseph Kennedy III and Meghan O'Sullivan to talk about the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement.**



October 24, 2023: **Senior Fellows Karen Donfried and Stephen Hadley.**

the Center as a Senior Fellow. As a former HKS student and Belfer Center National Security Fellow, his is a true homecoming.

With these and many others in our ranks, we are better equipped than ever to take on the formidable challenges that lie ahead.

Finally, we're proud of our alumni who have been nominated and appointed to prominent roles this year. **Kurt Campbell**, former Senior Fellow, was appointed as Deputy Secretary of State; **Cait Conley**, former Executive Director of the **Defending Digital Democracy**

**Project**, was appointed Senior Advisor to the Director of the Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA); **Lauren Zabierek**, the former Executive Director of the **Cyber Project**, was appointed Senior Policy Advisor with CISA; and Ambassador **Richard Verma**, former Senior Fellow, was sworn in as Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources.

As we move forward, please stay engaged and join us in forging new paths of understanding and action to shape a more secure and peaceful world. Together, we

can continue to make a profound impact for the next 50 years and beyond.

With excitement and determination for the journey ahead,

**Meghan L. O'Sullivan**

## Belfer Center Core Staff, 2023

### LEADERSHIP

DIRECTOR

**Meghan O'Sullivan** (since July)

CO-DIRECTOR

**Eric Rosenbach** (until July)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

**Natalie Colbert**

### DIRECTOR'S TEAM

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR

**Chloé Holt**

SENIOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATE & MANAGER

**Charles Landow** (since August)

### FINANCE

SENIOR FINANCE DIRECTOR

**Guy Keeley**

FINANCIAL ASSOCIATE

**Manyu Ng**

### OPERATIONS

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS

**Sarah Donahue**

OPERATIONS COORDINATOR

**Mackenzie Heather**

### COMMUNICATIONS

DIRECTOR OF GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS & STRATEGY

**Shannon Felton Spence**

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

**Sharon Wilke**

MULTIMEDIA PRODUCER

**Benn Craig**

DIGITAL COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR

**Liz Hoveland** (until August)

COMMUNICATIONS FELLOW

**Ada Ezeokoli** (until June)

COMMUNICATIONS INTERN

**Liza Xiao** (until May)

**Michael Dupre** (since October)



April 11, 2023: Senior Fellow Ambassador Paula Dobriansky introduces Belfer alum and U.S. Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs Bonnie Jenkins at a Future of Diplomacy Project event.





**October 3, 2023:** Former National Security Advisor of the United States Susan Rice speaks at a Belfer Center Director's Seminar in the Belfer library.

# Center-Wide Activities

## Policy Discussions

The Belfer Center is dedicated to engaging the Harvard Kennedy School and the broader academic community with research and programming on topics ranging from innovations in technology, energy, cybersecurity, defense, diplomacy, and the environment. Throughout the year, the Center organizes and supports programming for students, faculty, fellows, staff, and the public. At the Center level, Belfer Senior Fellow **Karen Donfried** kicked off an event series titled, “Belfer Briefings on Europe,” designed to delve into pressing political and security dynamics driving debate in Europe through discussions with expert scholars and European policymakers.

Belfer Center Director **Meghan O’Sullivan** hosted a series of Director’s Lunches during 2023, bringing together influential speakers in discussion with faculty, students, and fellows at Belfer and HKS. Director’s Lunch guests included **Stephen Hadley**, Belfer Senior Fellow and Former White House National Security Advisor; **Tom Tugendhat**, UK Minister of Security; and **Kurt Campbell**, then Coordinator for Indo-Pacific Affairs at the National Security Council.

## Belfer Board Lunches

Each semester, the Belfer Center hosts weekly meetings of the Belfer Board, known as the Belfer Board Lunch Series. Members and guests discuss cutting-edge research and developments in science, technology, and international affairs. Conversations ranged from leading in crisis and domestic terrorism with **Jacinda Ardern**, Former Prime Minister of New Zealand, to cyber and technology challenges with **Nate Fick**, U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Cyberspace and Digital Policy, and **Gary Marcus**, Founder of Geometric Intelligence and Professor Emeritus of Psychology and Neural Science at New York University.

**Brett McGurk**, White House Coordinator for the Middle East and North Africa; and **Colin Kahl**, Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, shared insights and perspectives on U.S. foreign policy and security challenges; and the Board explored energy and environment issues in conversation with **Evelyn Wang**, Director ARPA-E, and Harvard faculty **Dan Schrag**, **Rob Stavins**, and **Jim Stock**.



April 11, 2023: **U.S. Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and international Security Affairs, and Belfer Center alum, Bonnie Jenkins at a Belfer Center Board Lunch.**



November 15, 2023: **Meghan O'Sullivan** meets with the **Belfer Young Leader Student Fellows**.

## **Belfer Young Leaders Fellowship**

The Belfer Center’s student fellowship programs help prepare a cohort of high-achieving HKS students for leadership positions in international affairs, national security, and technology arenas. The Belfer Young Leaders Fellowship continues to support student research and development at the nexus of science and international affairs. Each year, the fellowship awards tuition support to MPP/MPA students who demonstrate interest or expertise in core Belfer Center research areas, leadership acumen, and a commitment to public service. Student fellows work directly with a faculty mentor and research teams to contribute to the Center’s policy research. In addition to their research, student fellows participate in professional development workshops and discussions with faculty, alumni, and practitioners. This year’s sessions have included guests such as Douglas Dillon Professor of Government **Graham Allison**; S.T. Lee Professor of U.S.-Asia Relations **Rana Mitter**; and Middle East Initiative Senior Fellow **Edward Djerejian**.

## **Student Support & Programming**

Mentoring the leaders of tomorrow is a core pillar of the Center’s mission. In addition to student fellowships, the Center provides students with the opportunity to serve as research assistants to Senior Fellows and Research Teams. The Center also provides research grants to support MPP students working on their capstone Policy Analysis Exercise (PAE). During the fall of 2023, the Center provided \$50,000 across 19 PAE grants to allow students to develop a series of policy recommendations designed to



April 3, 2023: **Eli M. Rosenbaum**, Counselor for War Crimes Accountability at the U.S. Department of Justice, speaks with the **HKS Ukraine Caucus** at a **Belfer Center sponsored event**.

solve strategic management or policy problems. In addition to individual student support, the Center consistently funds conferences, including the Women in Power Conference, the German-American Conference, The European Conference, The Social Enterprise Conference, the India Conference, the Asia Pacific Symposium, and the Black Policy Conference, as well as student organizations such as Women in Defense, Diplomacy, and Development (W3D) and the Black Student Union. Over the year we have worked closely with several student groups to support speakers and programming geared toward students and have engaged with Rangel and Pickering Fellows, as well as the Diplomacy PIC. For example, Belfer sponsored a number of events hosted by the HKS European Club, which brought together students and speakers on a range of topics including, “The Future of European Defense in Turbulent Times” and “Brexit and EU-UK relations.”



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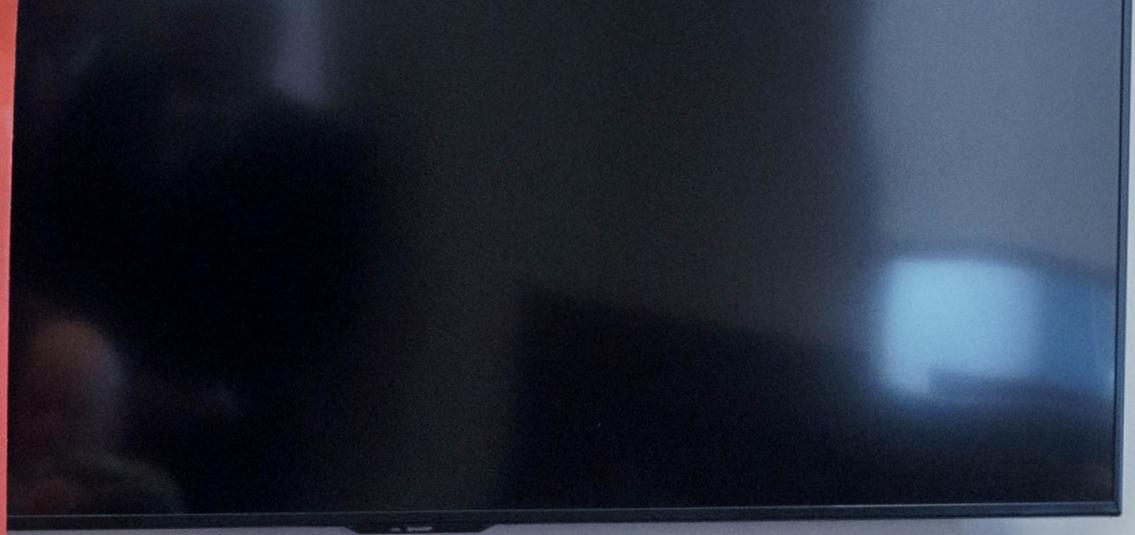
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Romualde  
House of Representatives  
Philippines  
AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Eric Rosenbach  
Co-Director  
Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs  
BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

**April 19, 2023:** The Asia-Pacific Initiative and the Defense Project host a conversation with Martin Romualdez, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippines.

# Publications & Communications

The Belfer Center produced a significant amount of policy-relevant research in 2023, publishing reports and policy briefs on peace and security issues ranging from nuclear and cyber challenges to intelligence, climate change, and emerging technologies. The Communications Team supported projects in their efforts to reach policymakers, the media, and engaged public with relevant research, expertise, and analysis.

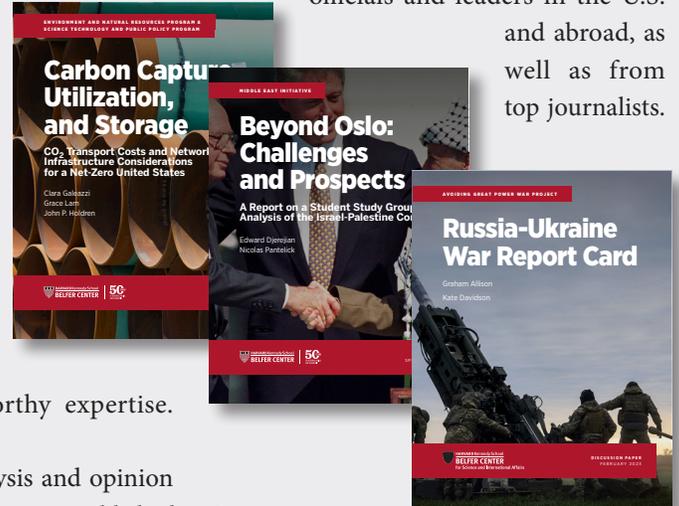
Belfer Center members published 78 research papers, reports, and policy briefs, 65 journal and other articles, and 12 books and book chapters. While a plurality of our audience is in the United States, we also have maintained a strong international presence, with traffic from China, United Kingdom, and India.

Responding to breaking national and international news, Belfer Center experts appeared on CNN, BBC, NBC, Fox, Bloomberg and other renowned outlets an

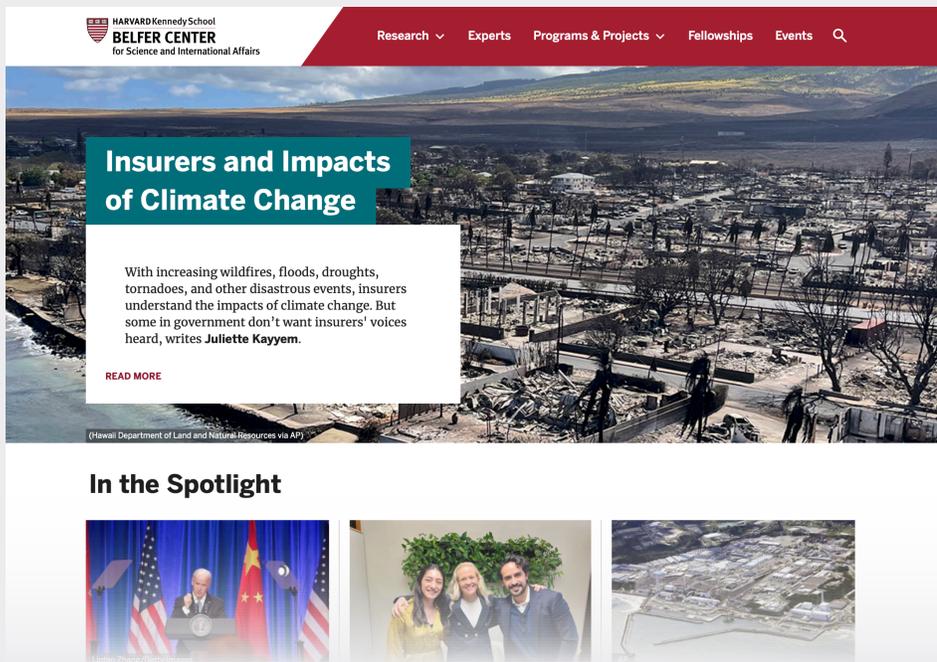
average of four times per week in the latter half of 2023. These appearances directed policymakers and the general public alike to the Belfer Center’s website and wider work. By speaking to a range of issues, from the Israel-Hamas war to Russia’s war in Ukraine, advancements in AI security to U.S.-China relations, the Belfer faculty and fellow network become a reliable source for newsrooms in search of relevant and trustworthy expertise.

Nearly 250 pieces of analysis and opinion from Belfer Center scholars were published in external media outlets throughout the year, including in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, and *Foreign Affairs*.

Additionally, the Center hosted more than 220 events. With both in-person and online attendees, our events continued to attract strong interest, including from current officials and leaders in the U.S. and abroad, as well as from top journalists.



Our primary communications channel, BelferCenter.org, continues to be a source of relevant research for policymakers, government officials, academics, students, and the media. As part of a full-scale website redevelopment, the Belfer Center undertook an in-depth analysis of audience engagement with research and other content to shape fundamental changes to our primary external platform, develop effective channels for driving web traffic, and inform our broader communications strategy. Among the initial takeaways, the assessment found that the majority of BelferCenter.org visitors (88%) are new users, primarily from the United States. However, half of the user base is outside the U.S.—including from China, the United Kingdom, and India—indicating a global reach that can be further capitalized.



The Belfer Center homepage, September 2023

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**50** YEARS  
OF RESEARCH, POLICY,  
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**October 25, 2023:** John Tien, former Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security and former Belfer Center National Security Fellow, spoke about America's safety and security in a time of increased global threats and domestic unrest during a Homeland Security Project event.





# Project Updates

# Arctic Initiative

**Arctic Initiative** focuses on research, education, training, and policy engagement on the regional and global challenges posed by rapid climate change in Arctic.

Faculty Co-Director  
**John P. Holdren**

Faculty Co-Director  
**Henry Lee**

Associate Director  
**Brittany Janis**

Senior Project Coordinator  
**Tessa Varvares**

Associate Director, ENRP/STPP  
**Amanda Sardonis**

Communications and Outreach  
Specialist, ENRP/STPP  
**Elizabeth Hanlon**

Administrative Coordinator, STPP  
**Karin Vander Schaaf**

In 2023, the **Arctic Initiative** engaged in addressing the dynamic challenges of the Arctic region, shaped by shifting geopolitics and climate change. The Initiative served as a key forum for Arctic leaders, navigating the future of Arctic governance, focusing on understanding, and communicating climate impacts in the Arctic, enhancing community resilience, and educating the next generation of Arctic leaders.

**Arctic Governance:** Our work in 2023 centered on evolving Arctic governance and developing strategies for progressing key areas of collaboration. A May workshop brought together experts to strategize the United States' role in the Arctic, balancing environmental protection with geopolitical stability. Recommendations included enhancing interagency dialogue, supporting Indigenous communities, and diplomatic engagements. A September panel with various institutions focused on maintaining cooperation within the Arctic Council, emphasizing the significance of its Working Groups and the need to bolster Indigenous participation. Recommendations from this panel were provided to the U.S. and Canadian State Departments and the Norwegian Chairship.

**Climate Resilience and Health:** The Initiative co-hosted a workshop in May with the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Science and Technology Directorate on the challenges posed by climate change in Alaska and potential enhancements in the responses of federal agencies like FEMA, CISA, and the USCG. Arctic Initiative experts provided analysis and recommendations to the federal government to inform policies for combating the climate crisis in the U.S. Arctic. The Arctic Yearbook's special issue on "Arctic Pandemics," co-chaired by Senior Fellow **Jennifer Spence**, provided unique insights into the pandemic's impacts in the Arctic, aiming to guide responses to future pandemics and regional

challenges. Faculty Affiliate **Stuart Harris**, recognized as a finalist for the Frederik Paulsen Arctic Academic Action Award, collaborated with the Maniilaq Association to develop a health monitoring program in Alaska's Northwest Arctic Borough, which would quantify the health impacts of climate change and inform decision-making.

**Developing Young Leaders:** In January, Indigenous youth leaders from across the Arctic participated in the International Workshop on Indigenous Youth Leadership for the Changing Arctic at Harvard Kennedy School. The workshop, designed in collaboration with the International Centre for Reindeer Husbandry and UArctic EALAT Institute, is part of an ongoing effort to empower Indigenous youth in addressing the climate crisis. In August, a new cohort of Indigenous youth leaders focused on sustainability and resilience convened in Arendal, Norway. Additionally, Kennedy School students attended the ARCADE program, focusing on interdisciplinary solutions for Arctic challenges and culminating in presentations at our Arctic Innovation Lab at the October Arctic Circle Assembly.

**Looking Ahead:** 2023 brought new additions to our team. Senior Fellow **Margaret Williams**, former Managing Director of the Arctic Field Program at the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), and Research Fellow **Guðbjörg Ríkey Th. Hauksdóttir** joined the Initiative, bringing expertise in marine governance, Arctic politics, and diplomacy. Our International Advisory Board welcomed **Riikka Karppinen** and **Sara Olsvig**, contributing their insights on Arctic governance and Indigenous rights. In the coming year, we look forward to continuing our role as a convener of crucial dialogues as the Arctic responds to dynamic transformations shaping the region.

# Avoiding Great Power War & Applied History

The **Avoiding Great Power War Project** under the direction of **Graham Allison** produced policy-relevant research and engaged policymakers on measures to avoid catastrophic war between the United States and China and the United States and Russia.

**China:** This research addresses the challenges the U.S. and China face as they grapple with Thucydides's Trap—the dangerous dynamic that occurs when a rising power threatens to displace a ruling power. Professor Allison has advanced his efforts to develop policy prescriptions for escaping Thucydides's Trap. In what turned out to be **Henry Kissinger's** final publication, Allison and Kissinger published “The Path to AI Arms Control” in *Foreign Affairs* in October 2023. Professor Allison also published numerous op-eds in outlets such as *Foreign Policy*, *The Washington Post*, *The Straits Times*, and *The National Interest*. Additionally, his essay on “Averting the Grandest Collision of All Time,” was published by the National University of Singapore's Asia Research Institute. Professor Allison was among the first Americans to return to China after the February 2023 spy balloon incident, speaking at both of China's two largest state-organized conferences—the Boao Forum and China Development Forum—in March 2023.

To advance opportunities to engage China on a range of issues, the Belfer Center China Working Group continued to meet under the Chairmanship of Professor Allison and **Larry Summers**. Speakers included **Hank Paulson**, former U.S. Treasury Secretary; **Kurt Campbell**, Deputy Assistant to the President and National Security Council Coordinator for the Indo-Pacific; and **Rana Mitter**, S.T. Lee Chair in US-Asia Relations at the Harvard Kennedy School.

**Russia:** Professor Allison and **Kate Davidson** created a weekly Report Card. The Russia-Ukraine War Report Card was launched at the one-year anniversary of the war with a discussion paper

about the key metrics and risks Ukraine faces going forward. It tracks 8 indicators in total: territorial change (including maps), military casualties, civilian fatalities, military equipment losses, civilian displacement, economic disruption, infrastructure damage, and popular support. The Report Card is published weekly on the Russia Matters website and provides unique weekly and monthly data on territorial advances, which have been cited by Reuters.

## Applied History Project

Led by co-chairs **Graham Allison** and **Niall Ferguson**, alongside Assistant Director **Calder Walton**, the **Applied History Project** aims to address the “history deficit” in policymaking.

The Project refined and ran an executive education program on historical reasoning for U.S. national security professionals. The course, which took place over a day and a half in June 2023 in Washington, D.C., emphasized critical skills and methods in analysis, derived from applying history. The project continued to host sessions of the Applied History Working Group with the world's foremost experts in Applied History. In addition to practitioners such as Secretary of Defense **James Mattis** and National Security Advisor **Stephen Hadley**, the Working Group heard from scholars ranging from **Melvyn Leffler** to **Drew Faust** and **Jon Meacham**. The project also hosted a cohort of nine pre- and post-doctoral Ernest May Fellows in Policy and History. In June 2023 the Project's Assistant Director, **Calder Walton**, published a book titled *Spies: The Epic Intelligence War between East and West* (Simon & Schuster US, and Little Brown UK). Recognized as “riveting history” by *The Economist*, the book made frontpage news in *The New York Times*, headlines on CNN, and received widespread attention in policy circles on both sides of the Atlantic.

The **Avoiding Great Power War Project** is an interdisciplinary effort to investigate, analyze, and produce policy-relevant research on great power relations. Directed by Graham Allison, the Douglas Dillon Professor of Government at the Harvard Kennedy School, the project builds upon a basic premise: the historical record of great power conflict can serve as an aid to understanding the dynamics between today's great powers, namely the United States, Russia, and China.

Director

**Graham Allison**

Research Manager

**Evan Sankey**

Executive Assistant

**Simone O'Hanlon**

Project Coordinator

**Arisa Shang**

Research Assistants

**Kevin Klyman**

**Peter Gaber**

**Kate Davidson**

**Bailey Marsheck**

**Raphael Piliero**

**Joshua Henderson**

**Jason Walter**

# Cyber Project

The **Cyber Project** investigates how developments in the field of cybersecurity will shape international conflict.

Principal Investigator  
**Eric Rosenbach**

Executive Director  
**Lauren Zabierek**

In the early months of 2023, the **Cyber Project** focused on its mission to address the emerging threat of cyber conflict. This included efforts to protect a nation's critical infrastructure from cyberattacks; strategies for organizing, training, and equipping military forces to succeed in future cyber conflicts; and methods to aid democratic resilience.

During 2023, the Project published a number of critical papers related to cyberspace and its security. Among these publications, HKS students **Bethan Saunders** and **Alex Cooper** collaborated on "Advancing Cyber Norms Unilaterally: How the U.S. Can Meet Its Paris Call Commitments." Their paper attempts to establish that norms for state behavior in cyberspace are essential for creating a stable and secure digital environment. However, despite efforts by international bodies like the UN Group of Governmental Experts and Open-Ended Working Group since 2005, fundamental disagreements and a lack of enforcement have prevented the implementation of such norms. Consequently, there are no effective accountability mechanisms or safeguards to protect civilians and critical infrastructure from cyber threats.

Another example is "We Don't Need to Reinvent Our Democracy to Save it from AI" by Faculty Affiliate **Bruce Schneier** and Berkman Klein Center Affiliate **Nathan Sanders**. As they find, the threat of AI hacking our democracy is legitimate and concerning, but its solutions align with our democratic values. Many of the proposed reforms are already being discussed at federal and state levels. In the Carr Center's

publication "Making a Movement: The History & Future of Human Rights," Cyber Project Faculty Affiliate **Bruce Schneier** asserts technology's potential. He finds, "Technology doesn't change people, but it changes affordances. Things become easier or harder, cheaper or more expensive, either individually or at scale."

The Project also hosted two events in 2023, one of which was titled "Methods to Secure Cyber Supply Chains." This event featured **Camille Stewart Gloster**, the Deputy National Cyber Director for Technology & Ecosystem at the White House; **Edlyn V. Levine**, the Chief Science Officer and co-founder of America's Frontier Fund, responsible for leading the organization's scientific and technical efforts to accelerate advanced technologies critical to U.S. leadership; and **Valerie M. Cofield**, the Chief Strategy Officer of the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA). They discussed traditional and nontraditional methods policymakers should deploy to mitigate supply chain risks.

**Lauren Zabierek**, the Executive Director of the Cyber Project through early 2023, moved on from the position when she was appointed Senior Policy Advisor with the Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA).

# Defense, Emerging Technology, and Strategy Program

The **Defense, Emerging Technology, and Strategy Program** (DETS) was founded by **Eric Rosenbach** in summer 2023. By exploring the nexus of national security and technology, this program strives to advance policy-relevant research, provide advanced training, and convene policymakers, military leaders, and technologists in this space.

The DETS program focuses on defense policy issues, previously covered by the **Defense Project**, as well as public sector strategy execution and new technologies that have emerged as pivotal to the future of international security. Through its programming, the DETS program seeks to train a new generation of technology-savvy policy and strategy leaders within the Kennedy School.

Guided by an analytical and data-driven approach, the DETS program authored 13 research products in 2023. Each product, from policy briefs to in-depth reports, broke down complex security challenges and focused on actionable recommendations for policymakers.

Providing advanced training to current and future leaders remained a priority for the DETS program in 2023. The **National Security Fellows Program** continues to be a vibrant part of the Belfer Center and Kennedy School community. This 10-month fellowship for U.S. and “five-eye” military and intelligence officers is certified by the Department of Defense as a senior service college fellowship to develop strategic-mindedness, executive leadership skills, and broader intellectual perspectives. Civil-military communication and understanding

between senior members of the defense community and the Kennedy School community was enhanced through the 18 community events led by the National Security Fellows.

To connect Kennedy School students with practitioners, DETS convened 14 high-level events in 2023. By engaging with practitioners at DETS events, students have gained a deeper understanding of the practice of diplomacy and security policy. Similarly, speaking at DETS events and engaging with the Kennedy School community gave policymakers the space for reflection and provided access to scholarly insights.

The aim of the **Defense, Emerging Technology, and Strategy Program** (DETS) is to advance policy-relevant knowledge and strategy on the most important challenges at the intersection of security and emerging technology and prepare future leaders for public service in relevant arenas.

Director  
**Eric Rosenbach**

Executive Assistant to Program Director  
**Emily O’Toole**

Program Coordinator  
**Olivia Leiwant**

# Environment and Natural Resources

The **Environment and Natural Resources Program** is at the center of the Harvard Kennedy School's research and outreach on energy, climate change, sustainability, and natural resources policy at the regional, national, and global levels.

Director  
**Henry Lee**

Associate Director  
**Amanda Sardonis**

Communications and Outreach Specialist  
**Elizabeth Hanlon**

Faculty/Staff Assistant  
**Paul Sherman**

In 2023, ENRP advanced policy-relevant research focused on overcoming the challenges of achieving a decarbonized energy system, including the development and deployment of clean energy technologies and policies—and the institutions, systems, and human capacity to support them. Many of ENRP's ongoing efforts on energy and climate policy operate in partnership with the **Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP)**.

The **Carbon-Neutrality Pathways for China and the United States** project identifies the technologies most likely to make a major contribution to meeting U.S. mid-century decarbonization goals, as well as options for overcoming the barriers to reaching their full emission-reduction potential. Collaborators at SEAS and Tsinghua University are conducting analogous work on China, looking toward its 2060 carbon neutrality target. In 2023, ENRP published two major papers on 1) challenges related to deploying and scaling infrastructure to transport carbon dioxide from capture sites to storage or utilization sites, and 2) costs and prospects for direct air carbon capture and storage. ENRP/STPP's China-focused activities included holding a joint workshop with SEAS and Tsinghua on transportation and aviation fuels, and funding two field researchers to study just transition policies in China's coal-producing regions.

The **Future of Hydrogen** project published policy briefs on energy value chains in a decarbonized economy and the roles countries could play in future green hydrogen industrial markets. It initiated a new project looking at U.S. and EU efforts to stimulate the demand for green hydrogen. Senior Fellow **Nicola De Blasio** presented ENRP's hydrogen research to House Energy and Commerce Committee staffers and the European Commission Workshop with Member States on the European Hydrogen Bank.

Faculty Affiliate **Joseph Aldy** led research on the competitiveness impacts of emission mitigation policy, voluntary corporate emission goals and the voluntary carbon market, evaluating the performance of clean energy programs under the Inflation Reduction Act, and estimating the benefits to the housing stock of flood control infrastructure projects. Published and forthcoming papers include one on the evolution of carbon offsetting in climate policy and one on the limited progress corporations have made in delivering on their voluntary emission goals.

ENRP hosted two study groups for HKS students. **"The Future of Coal Regions" study group**, organized in collaboration with the Malcolm Wiener Center, examined the socioeconomic challenges faced by the coal-dependent communities, culminating in a trip to West Virginia to meet with local miners and policymakers. Students in the **"Advancing U.S. Agriculture Policy" study group** explored opportunities for integrating climate-smart agriculture practices into the 2023 U.S. Farm Bill.

Throughout 2023, ENRP organized the weekly **Energy Policy Seminar Series**, with a broad theme of examining U.S. progress toward its 2050 climate goals and the impact of recent legislation on its ability to achieve them. The series continues to attract a large student audience as well as reaching non-Harvard academics, policymakers, and journalists virtually. ENRP contributed to the University-wide Harvard Climate Action Week in May by organizing a JFK Jr. Forum event about U.S. climate policy with **Nat Keohane**, President of the Center for Climate and Energy Solutions.

# Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship

Since the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the **Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship** has focused its programming and research on understanding how the war is reshaping the transatlantic and international security environment, and on conceptualizing a transatlantic security architecture for this changing landscape.

The Project's high-level events covered a range of topics that are either direct results of the war in Ukraine or are substantially impacted. In partnership with the **Future of Diplomacy Project**, the Project on Europe welcomed Foreign Minister of Ukraine **Dmytro Kuleba** for a conversation on Russia's full-scale invasion. Similarly, the partnership offered a seminar on "Europe's Security Landscape: The View from the Baltics," which featured Ambassador of Lithuania to the U.S., **Audra Plepytė**, Ambassador of Estonia to the U.S., **Kristjan Prikk**, and **Māris Selga**, Ambassador of Latvia to the U.S. Other collaborators included the Center for European Studies and the Kennedy School's Ukraine Caucus. Independently, the Project hosted former French Prime Minister **Édouard Philippe**, to discuss the changing economic landscape of Europe and the EU's influence in an uncertain international order.

Senior Spanish diplomat **Nicolas Cimarra** joined the project as the Rafael del Pino-Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Fellow from his role as Deputy Permanent Representative for political and military affairs at the Permanent Representation of Spain to the OSCE. During his fellowship, he undertook a major research study on European security

architecture in the wake of Russia's invasion and domestic polarization in the U.S. and Europe.

In September 2023, the Project welcomed a new Senior Fellow, **Karen Donfried**, who most recently served as Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs. Donfried hosted several "Belfer Briefings on Europe," a series that featured scholars and practitioners discussing a variety of themes relevant to the region. Donfried also began a study group that enrolled students from HKS and beyond to debate policy questions stemming from the Ukraine war. Insights from the debates were published online.

The Project has published two major reports: "Democracy and the Liberal World Order amid the Rise of Authoritarianism," written by **Nicolas Cimarra Etchenique**, and "Addressing Russian and Chinese Cyber Threats: A Transatlantic Perspective on Threats to Ukraine and Beyond" by **Svenja Kirsch**, a Fellow with both the Defense Project and Project on Europe, and **Bethan Saunders**, a Belfer Young Leader Student Fellow, and HKS Alum.

The **Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship** aims to strengthen Harvard University's capacities for teaching, research, and policy on the relationship between the U.S. and Europe.

Faculty Chair

**Eric Rosenbach**

Senior Fellow/Advisor

**Karl Kaiser**

Research and Administrative Manager

**Erika Manouselis** (until September)

Research Fellow

**Svenja Kirsch** (until August)

# Future of Diplomacy

The **Future of Diplomacy Project** goal is to promote the study and understanding of diplomacy, negotiation, and statecraft in international politics today. The Project aims to build Harvard Kennedy School's ability to teach in this area, to support research in modern diplomatic practice, and to build public understanding of diplomacy's indispensable role in an increasingly complex and globalized world.

Faculty Chair  
**Eric Rosenbach**

Senior Fellow/Advisor  
Amb. **Paula Dobriansky**

Research and Administrative Manager  
**Erika Manouselis**

In 2023, the **Future of Diplomacy Project** (FDP) organized several exceptionally relevant events, interviewed high-visibility visitors, and developed thought-provoking publications.

In 2023, FDP welcomed distinguished guests to partake in events for students, faculty, and members of the public. See the following examples:

In February, FDP, in partnership with Harvard Kennedy School's Ukraine Caucus, welcomed Ukrainian Foreign Minister **Dmytro Kuleba** for a conversation on the first year of Russia's full-scale invasion.

LTC(R) **Alexander Vindman**, former Director for European Affairs for the U.S. National Security Council and Spring 2023 Hauser Leader at Harvard Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership, discussed "Speaking Truth to Power," and the lessons he learned through 20 years of service. McCloy Fellow **Jennifer Pfister** (MPP '24) and Belfer Young Leader Student Fellow and Thomas R. Pickering Graduate Fellow **Vlad Wallace** (MPP '24) moderated a dynamic, wide-ranging conversation. The event was held in collaboration with the Belfer Center's Project for Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship.

FDP and **Women in Defense, Diplomacy, and Development** (W3D) held an engaging seminar on the future of arms control with Ambassador **Bonnie Jenkins** in April. Ambassador Jenkins currently serves as the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security. Moderated by Senior Fellow Ambassador **Paula Dobriansky** and Belfer Young Leader Student Fellow **Jacqueline White Menchaca** (MPP '23), Jenkins advocated for strengthening disarmament

and nonproliferation, and discussed the challenges to multilateral arms control architecture.

To discuss "Navigating the Post Post-Cold War Era," the **Asia-Pacific Initiative** and FDP welcomed **Matan Chorev**, Principal Deputy Director of Policy Planning at the U.S. State Department. Moderated by the Initiative's Director of Research **Chris Li** and Belfer Young Leader Student Fellow **Mayu Arimoto** (MPP '23), the conversation followed the Policy Planning Staff's long-term strategy and current objectives.

Belarusian opposition leader and democracy advocate **Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya** sat down with Belfer Center Fellow **Svenja Meike Kirsch** to address her vision for Belarusian domestic politics, the country's road to democracy, the war in Ukraine, and hopes for EU and U.S. support for her people's aspiration for freedom.

# Geopolitics of Energy

This year, the **Geopolitics of Energy Project**'s focus on the geopolitical consequences of the transition from oil and gas to alternative energy sources resulted in several prominent publications. Project Director **Meghan O'Sullivan** sought to inform policymakers and engage with the Harvard Kennedy School community about significant challenges and opportunities at the intersection of these forces.

In a late August discussion on *The Ezra Klein Show*, one of the country's most popular podcasts, O'Sullivan and **Jason Bordoff**, founding director of the Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, emphasized that transitioning from oil and gas is remaking world's entire energy system, the backbone of virtually all that humans do. This massive undertaking is all the more complicated because of its very compressed time frame due to the urgency of climate change.

In a *Wall Street Journal* essay, O'Sullivan and Bordoff advanced lessons from the 1970s Arab oil embargo for today's much different energy landscape. They argued that energy independence is a "chimera" and underscored the importance of diverse energy supplies, including the resources needed for the clean energy transition.

In a *Foreign Affairs* piece, "The Age of Energy Insecurity," O'Sullivan and Bordoff argued that the events of recent years have dramatically revealed the many ways in which the energy transition and geopolitics are entangled and widened the rift between rich and poor countries—highlighting the ramifications of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. The co-authors argued that a resilient energy system must weather unexpected shocks and supply

disruptions and that energy security advances through greater integration, not autonomy.

In the *Financial Times*, in her first article published as director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, O'Sullivan looked ahead to the upcoming COP28 summit. She contended that, although governments should take advantage of the opportunities COP28 would present, a cooperative approach to climate change is no longer realistic—or the best hope for progress. Instead, in a world of great power rivalry, policymakers face the challenge of crafting a competitive approach.

The **Geopolitics of Energy Project** explores the intersection of energy, climate, national security, and international affairs. The project, launched in 2011, aims to improve our understanding of how energy demand and supply shape international politics—and vice versa. It also endeavors to inform policymakers and students about major challenges to global energy security and, where possible, to propose new ways of thinking about and addressing these issues. The project focuses both on conventional and alternative energies, as both will influence and be influenced by geopolitical realities.

Director  
**Meghan O'Sullivan**

Project Coordinator  
**Chloé Holt**

# Harvard Project on Climate Agreements

The goal of the **Harvard Project on Climate Agreements**, established in 2007, is to identify and advance scientifically sound, economically sensible, and politically pragmatic public policy options for addressing global climate change. Drawing upon leading thinkers from around the world, the Harvard Project conducts research on policy architecture, key design elements, and institutional dimensions of international and domestic climate-change policy.

Director  
**Robert N. Stavins**

Co-Director  
**Robert C. Stowe**

Associate Director  
**Jason Chapman**

Program Coordinator  
**Meredith Landry**

The **Harvard Environmental Economics Program** (HEEP) continued to provide support for the Program's 23 Pre-Doctoral Fellows (and 31 Faculty Fellows). These Ph.D. students are based primarily at HKS and Harvard's Department of Economics, but also include students from Harvard Business School. This included funding for travel to various conferences and workshops, as well as support for research. In addition to supporting our Pre-Doctoral Fellows, HEEP, in collaboration with Harvard University Center for the Environment and the Salata Institute, provided funding for 13 Harvard students to attend the 28th Conference of the Parties (COP28) and has plans to continue the program in 2024.

Professor **Robert Stavins**, along with 17 other Harvard faculty members, received a three-year grant from the Salata Institute as part of the Institute's Climate Research Clusters Program. This grant will focus on reducing global methane emissions. This initiative is an end-to-end, collaborative strategy to reduce global methane emissions: science, engineering, economics, business, policy, law, politics, communications, and action.

The **Harvard Project on Climate Agreements** (HPCA) conducted a series of panel events and individual meetings at COP28 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Dubai in November 2023, focusing mainly on methane emissions as part of our three-year, university-wide research and outreach initiative, funded by the Salata Institute, Reducing Global Methane Emissions.

In April 2023, HPCA supported a workshop on the interactions of climate-change policy and trade policy, which brought together a

group of 35 leading experts in the field for a very successful research workshop. The workshop was led by **Catherine Wolfram** (then a Visiting Professor at HKS), in collaboration with Professors **Robert Stavins** and **Joseph Aldy**, and was organized by HEEP/HPCA Staff.

Professors **Joseph Aldy** and **Robert Stavins** hosted a one-day workshop as part of a larger Harvard workshop series aiming to support the professional advancement of junior academics in the social sciences focusing on climate change. Junior scholars of economics made presentations on research broadly applied to climate change-related issues. A call for papers was issued in May 2023, which resulted in over 100 submissions from doctoral students around the world. Fourteen papers were selected and presented, each with one to three respondents offering feedback on their work. This initiative was supported by—and in collaboration with—the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University and HEEP.

# Homeland Security

In 2023, the **Homeland Security Project** continued its programming and research initiatives, with the addition of **John Tien**, former Deputy Secretary at the Department of Homeland Security, as a Senior Fellow of the Belfer Center. The Project maintained student and expert engagement through its seminar series. John Tien led a seminar discussing the challenges facing America's safety and security in a time of increased global threats and domestic unrest. **Mark Follman**, National Affairs editor for *Mother Jones* and the author of *Trigger Points: Inside the Mission to Stop Mass Shootings in America*, presented on "How to Prevent Mass Shootings," an event delving into the burgeoning field of threat assessment. Follman described the workings of these multidisciplinary teams and the role of mental health, and emphasized that these recurring disasters can be stopped before they happen.

The Project also hosted additional seminars addressing key issues such as globalization, national security investment screening, and internet regulation with **Alan Bersin**, former Assistant Secretary for Policy & International Affairs and Chief Diplomatic Officer in the U.S. Department of Homeland Security; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Investment Security **Paul Rosen**; and **Steve Johnson**, CEO of technology company Notable Systems. Further, the Project hosted Chief Executive **Anwar Abdullah** of the Singapore Home Team Academy for a discussion with students on homeland security and regional dynamics.

The Project supported a book, with the Woodrow Wilson Center, entitled *North America 2.0: Forging a Continental Future*. Homeland Security Project's first ever Senior Fellow **Alan Bersin** was editor, and both he and Kayyem contributed chapters to the book that looked at the commonalities across the North American

countries, including shared resources in emergency management and border controls.

The project's continuation of the Global Crisis and Resiliency Forum (GCRF), supported by McKinsey & Company, was a key addition to its focus. The GCRF focused on current frameworks for responding to 21st-century threats and hazards, strategies for protecting people in an age of declining trust and marginalized expertise, and inequities in our current disaster response systems. By bringing together thought leaders and professionals from different disciplines and levels of government, the Forum was able to impact public policy discourse in a number of areas, in particular the first National Recovery Framework from the White House. Professor **Juliette Kayyem** was asked to provide an exclusive briefing on their findings at the National Governors Association. Kayyem also built on the momentum and thought leadership of her book *The Devil Never Sleeps: Learning to Live in an Age of Disasters* with a series of analyses published in *The Atlantic*, where she serves as a contributing writer.

The **Homeland Security Project** focuses on the unique challenges and choices around protecting the secure flow of people, goods, ideas, and networks, as well as a particular focus on crisis and disaster response.

Faculty Director  
**Juliette Kayyem**

Student Lead  
**Logan Herman**

# Intelligence Project

The **Intelligence Project** advances education and research at the critical nexus between intelligence and policy. The project focuses on building a new generation of practitioners and policymakers who better understand, navigate, and leverage intelligence to forge a decision advantage.

Director

**Paul Kolbe** (until July)  
**Mark Pascale** (since July)

Assistant Director for Research  
**Calder Walton**

Program Managers  
**Maria Robson-Morrow**  
**Michael Miner**

The **Intelligence Project** continued a strong track record of engaging academia, government, and the private sector. Through publications, lectures, conferences, teaching, and advising, the Project remains a global leader in the intelligence space for education and research. Highlights in 2023 included book publications, articles, reports, guest lectures, frequent commentary, and expert advising on current affairs.

The Project hosted numerous special visitors throughout 2023 for engagements with the Harvard community, including: **Linda Weissgold**, CIA Deputy Director for Analysis; **Nand Mulchandani**, Chief Technology Officer for CIA and a 2019 HKS graduate; **Joseph Bonavolonta**, FBI Special Agent in Charge of the Boston Field Office; **Michael Vickers**, former Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence; **David Priess**, author of *The President's Book of Secrets*.

The Project also hosted several panel and keynote events, with highlights including:

- *Russia's 2022 Invasion of Ukraine: One Year On*. Hundreds gathered online to hear from former NSC Director for Russia **Fiona Hill**, former Commanding General of U.S. Army Europe **Mark Hertling**, Douglas Dillon Professor of Government **Graham Allison**, multiple former CIA Chiefs of Station (Moscow), intelligence practitioners, journalists, and scholars in a half-day conference chaired by **Michael Miner**.
- *A Conversation with Congressman Adam Schiff* on national security and intelligence, co-hosted by the Intelligence Project and the Institute of Politics, and moderated by Senior Fellow **Paul Kolbe**.
- *Intersection of Science, Technology, and Intelligence* with **Dawn Meyerriecks**, former CIA Deputy Director for Science and Technology, on her experience and insight on the national security mission, in a series of packed discussions with fellows and students.

- *Great Power Competition* with retired Rear Admiral **Philip Yu**, an expert on strategy, plans and policy for managing relations with China and Russia, went over capacity with students from across Harvard.
- *Foreign Language and National Security Seminar* explored the role of language in national security. Moderated by Project Director **Mark Pascale** and featuring experts from inside and outside government, the panel explored subtopics related to language and the role it plays within diplomacy, intelligence, and the military.

The Intelligence Project hosts the **Recanati-Kaplan Foundation Fellowship**, bringing senior practitioners from around the world for a year of study at Harvard. In fall 2023, the Project welcomed 18 fellows from 7 countries and 12 intelligence agencies.

The **Intelligence Study Group** convened two remarkable cohorts of students eager to learn about intelligence theory and practice. Sessions unpacked the world of intelligence, organizational structures, historical case studies, and how intelligence supports decision-making. Guest speakers expressed an appreciation for Harvard's commitment to intelligence studies as a significant value add for student education and professional development.

The Intelligence Project's overarching priority for 2024 is facilitating engagement among current and future practitioners and policymakers and focusing on timely topics that are relevant for intelligence and national security. The primary focus is maximizing the experience of the Recanati-Kaplan fellows, facilitating their engagement with the full range of opportunities available to them while at Harvard on topics including, but not limited to, artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, technological innovation, and geopolitics.

# International Security Journal

*International Security*, the leading journal in security studies, publishes lucid, well-documented essays on the full range of contemporary security issues. Its articles address traditional topics of war and peace, as well as broader dimensions of security such as environmental, demographic, and humanitarian issues, transnational networks, and emerging technologies.

*International Security* has defined the debate on U.S. national security policy and set the agenda for scholarship on international security affairs for more than 40 years. The journal values scholarship that challenges the conventional wisdom, examines policy, engages theory, illuminates history, and identifies new trends.

In 2023, *International Security* published 19 articles in 4 issues (winter, spring, summer, and fall). The articles addressed a wide range of topics, including explanations of the role of racism in international relations; the role of global supply chains in great power competition, focused on China; a forecast of China's likely behavior as its power peaks; a policy prescription for uniting countries against China's weaponization of interdependence; an argument that Germany was not forced into atoning to Israel for the Holocaust but in fact the two countries decided themselves that it was in their best interests to do so; and an important increase in our understanding of nuclear brinkmanship based on the role of human emotions.

Our readership extends beyond the United States to include India, China, Pakistan, Germany, and Italy, among other countries.

*International Security* received high rankings for impact in 2022–2023, based on the number of times the journal's articles were referenced in other publications. The overall number of

citations for *International Security* was 4,331, based on the Web of Science citation database. Citations show the importance of research in terms of influence and significance as indicated by scholars' referencing a particular work.

CiteScore, the journal publisher Elsevier's journal impact metric, shows *International Security* at 8.9, putting us in the 98th percentile of journals of Political Science and International Relations. The journal's CiteScore was 6.9 for 2021, which also placed it in the 98th percentile.

Our Web of Science Journal Impact Factor is 5, showing the importance of the journal in our field. The average score is less than 1. In the Web of Science quartile rankings based on rank for the Journal Impact Factor, *International Security* appears in the first quartile as one of the highest ranking journals in our category. *International Security* has ranked in the top five for Impact Factor every year since 1996. Our Web of Science Journal Citation Indicator is 3.3, showing that our impact is more than three times the global average. Google Scholar's h5-index for *International Security* is 33. The journal's 2021 h5-index was 35 in Military Studies. The median is 68 for our category, meaning that *International Security* articles are cited at a rate that is well above average.

*International Security* promotes the analysis and policy recommendations that appear in its pages. *International Security* articles were featured or referenced in major news and policy outlets, including *Foreign Affairs* and *Lawfare*.

*International Security* strives to continue publishing and promoting the best possible articles in security studies. We look forward to reviving our podcast recordings with authors and to continue planning for our 50th anniversary in 2027.

***International Security*** is America's leading peer-reviewed journal of security affairs. It provides sophisticated analyses of contemporary, theoretical, and historical security issues. *International Security* is edited at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and is published by the MIT Press.

Editor-in-Chief  
**Steven Miller**

Executive Editor  
**Jacqueline L. Hazelton**

Editor  
**Owen Coté, Jr.**

Deputy Editor  
**Amanda Pearson**

Publications Coordinator  
**Monica Achen**

Executive Editor, Belfer Center  
Studies in International Security  
**Karen Motley**

# International Security Program

The **International Security Program** (ISP) addresses the most pressing threats to U.S. national interests and international security. The program supports young scholars with its fellowship program and sponsors and edits the quarterly journal *International Security*, a leading peer-reviewed journal of security affairs that provides sophisticated analyses of contemporary security issues and discusses their conceptual and historical foundations.

Faculty Chair  
**Stephen M. Walt**

Director  
**Steven E. Miller**

Program Assistant  
**Susan M. Lynch**

The **International Security Program** (ISP)'s **Program on Grand Strategy, Security, and Statecraft** (GSSS), joint with MIT's Security Studies Program (SSP), hosted a private discussion and dinner at the Harvard Faculty Club in April 2023 with **Christopher Chivvis**, Director of the American Statecraft Program, on "Retooling American Statecraft for the mid-21st Century." Although this was the last year of the GSSS Program, **Renanah Miles Joyce**, who had deferred a semester of her Postdoctoral Fellowship in order to begin a tenure-track faculty position at Brandeis University, will be in residence to complete her fellowship in spring 2024.

ISP Faculty Chair **Stephen Walt** continued to write a regular column for *Foreign Policy* and contributed to the debate on the ongoing war in Ukraine and the new war in Gaza.

ISP Associate and former Executive Editor of *International Security* **Sean Lynn-Jones** published a paper with the Stimson Center on "Scholarly Research & Policy Relevance: One Journal Editor's Perspective." This paper was written for **The Future of Social Science and National Security Project** and explores how scholarly articles influence national security policy. It focuses on articles in *International Security*, which has published a higher proportion of policy-relevant articles than any other scholarly journal of international relations and foreign policy. He presented the findings of his paper at an ISP seminar in October 2023.

ISP Research Fellow **Apekshya Prasai**, a political science doctoral candidate at MIT, was named a 2023 Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation Emerging Scholar. The Emerging Scholars (nine in all) are

doctoral candidates who are in the final year of writing dissertations on the nature of and responses to violence around the world. Prasai's dissertation, "Gendered Processes of Rebellion: Understanding Strategies for Organizing Violence," examines the gendered ways in which insurgents organize violence and highlights the pivotal role women play in shaping the gender strategies rebels adopt. This is an example of the program's support and mentorship of a promising security studies scholar.

ISP hosted three guest speakers in its weekly seminar series in fall 2023: **Jeffrey Friedman**, former ISP Fellow, spoke on "The Commander-in-Chief Test: How the Politics of Image-Making Shape and Distort U.S. Foreign Policy"; **Tobias Ide**, Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Australia's Murdoch University, presented on "Climate Change, Disasters, and Armed Conflicts"; and HKS Visiting Associate Professor **Yuri Zhukov** shared his research on "Fratricidal Coercion in Modern War."

During spring semester 2024, ISP will continue to select, support, and mentor promising scholars in the field of security studies and co-host a professional development event with MIT's Women in Political Science Group.

# Korea Project

The **Korea Project** is committed to advancing research and policy engagement on Korean security issues and mentoring next generation specialists at Harvard. We place the spotlight on how the Korean Peninsula functions as an oracle of global trends.

The Korea Project conducted major policy engagements ranging from Track 1.5 dialogues to an executive speaker series with leaders from the national security and scholar communities to media interviews. Highlights of the Korea Project's work in 2023 included: South Korean President **Yoon Suk Yeol's** historic address in the JFK Jr. Forum followed by a conversation event on Korea's soft power with Professor **Joseph Nye**; briefings featuring path-breaking publications such as former National Security Fellow General (ret.) **Vincent Brooks'** "Micro Deterrence Signaling: Policy Innovation During the 2017 Korean Missile Crisis" that inform current policy formulation on bolstering deterrence on the Korean Peninsula; a conference on "Negotiating with North Korea: Negotiators' Genesis Story," which convened former senior U.S. and South Korean negotiators; a public-private partnership dialogue with Silicon Valley-based VC investors and U.S. and South Korean officials on "Reducing DPRK Revenue Generation from Cryptocurrency Theft: Assessing the Impact of U.S. Economic Statecraft Policy Tools" with keynote remarks by Dr. **Jung Pak** (Senior Official for DPRK, State Department); and a high profile CNN report spotlighting the Korea Project's research on how the North Korean regime evades sanctions via cryptocurrency theft.

The Korea Project convened its three-day 4th Harvard Korean Security Summit. The Honorable Dr. **Jin Park** (MPA '85), South Korean Foreign Minister, delivered the keynote address. Top Korean security analysts, senior U.S. and South Korean practitioners, and next generation scholars

provided findings from their research. The summit highlighted the Korea Project's work as a policy research laboratory, whose members generate policy-relevant findings on complex Korean security issues that have an expanding global reach.

The Korea Project engaged policymakers in Washington. Dr. Park was invited to give briefings at the Treasury Department, State Department, Defense Department, Senate Armed Services Committee, House Armed Services Committee, and to the IC on the North Korean regime's increasing use of cryptocurrency heists to finance its nuclear weapons program. Dr. Park was a main speaker at Korea Days 2023, co-organized by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence and the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency.

The Korea Project continued to expand its student mentoring initiative called "Tradecraft: Learning from Policy Practitioners." Speakers included: Dr. **Victor Cha** (former Director for Asian Affairs, National Security Council, White House); **Markus Garlauskas** (former National Intelligence Officer for North Korea, ODNI); **Priscilla Moriuchi** (former Senior East Asian and Pacific Cyber Threats Expert, NSA); and **JeeYoung Oh** (Director of Office of Threat Management and Operational Coordination, Bureau of Cyberspace and Digital Policy, State Department).

The Korea Project's anchor events reflect the two traditions that drive the Belfer Center's work: bringing together top scholars and practitioners to diagnose policy puzzles as well as mentoring the next generation of leaders.

The goal of the **Korea Project** is to foster a deeper understanding of rapidly evolving security challenges on the Korean Peninsula and to develop creative approaches to address them. The Korea Project partners with interdisciplinary researchers to capture insights from the Peninsula's role as an oracle of global trends—from cybercriminal operations to nuclear proliferation to economic statecraft to chip tech competition.

Principal Investigator  
**Eric Rosenbach**

Director  
**John Park**

Coordinator  
**Alex O'Neill** (until June)

# Managing the Atom

The **Project on Managing the Atom** (MTA) continues to produce and disseminate policy-focused research on nuclear issues, and to engage with officials and experts to reduce nuclear risks around the world.

Principal Investigator  
**Matthew Bunn**

Principal Investigator  
**Steven Miller**

Executive Director  
**Francesca Giovannini**

Senior Research Associate  
**Hui Zhang**

Senior Research Associate  
**Mariana Budjeryn**

Project Coordinator  
**Marina Lorenzini** (until August)

Outreach Coordinator  
**Matt Parent**

The **Project on Managing the Atom** (MTA) continues to produce and disseminate policy-focused research on nuclear issues and engage with officials and experts to reduce nuclear risks worldwide.

Over the past year, the MacArthur-Harvard Research Network on rethinking nuclear deterrence, led by **Matthew Bunn** and **Francesca Giovannini**, has flourished. This growth, which now includes over 15 institutions and more than 80 scholars worldwide, is a testament to the MTA's commitment to fostering a collaborative environment that incorporates diverse perspectives and expertise. The network's research is focused on understanding potential drivers of nuclear war, ethical and legal dilemmas of current nuclear doctrines, and prospects for future arms control, as well as exploring pathways to nuclear disarmament.

Bunn and Senior Research Associate **Mariana Budjeryn** have continued participating in the National Academies' weekly Track II dialogues with Russian counterparts. This ongoing dialogue, in the aftermath of the Ukraine invasion, stands as the only remaining platform for American and Russian experts to engage in meaningful discussion.

MTA members have also continued their engagement with China's nuclear experts. Bunn participated in the Track II dialogue of the National Academy of Science. At the same time, Giovannini participated in multiple dialogues to discuss prospects for de-escalation between the US and China in the Indo-Pacific. Bunn, Giovannini, **Hui Zhang**, and **Steven Miller** spoke at a conference hosted by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences on the Future of China-US relations. The MTA team then traveled to Beijing to consult with several Chinese nuclear think tanks. Senior Research Associate **Hui Zhang** has been working on a report on the history of China's testing program, which should be released in fall 2024.

MTA continues to convene a bi-monthly working group on Iran to examine the prospects for Iran and the United States to return to an agreed framework to limit Iran's nuclear program. The working group features scholars, former diplomats, policymakers, and professionals from various disciplines. In 2023, MTA released two publications: the first delves into how reputation considerations have shaped Iran's negotiation strategy with the U.S., while the second provides a comprehensive analysis of the historical relationship between Iran and the International Atomic Energy Agency. Additionally, MTA has convened an exploratory meeting on managing the Iran-Israel relationship and de-escalating the risks of a military confrontation.

Miller has participated in the workshop "Anticipating the Future of War: AI, Automated Systems, and Resort-to-Force Decision Making," convened by the University of Canberra, and contributed an essay to a special issue of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs* released early this year.

MTA has continued to focus on the Ukraine war and the associated nuclear risks. The entire staff has participated in numerous media engagements. **Mariana Budjeryn** delivered the keynote address at the NNSA Administrator Distinguished Speaker Series and has been working on a book that reconstructs the Russian takeover of Zaporizhzhia. Her latest book, *Inheriting the Bomb: Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament and Why It Matters*, was awarded the 2024 Norwich University's William E. Colby Military Writers' Award.

MTA has continued to convene **Atomic Voices**, a series of events on diversity and inclusion in the nuclear field. One event focused on examining how nuclear courses are taught, and another dealt with the humanitarian and political consequences of nuclear testing.

# Middle East Initiative

The **Middle East Initiative** is committed to strengthening the intellectual exchange between Harvard and the Middle East and to providing educational opportunities for the Harvard community on the most pressing policy challenges facing the region today. In 2023, MEI worked toward this mission by hosting University-wide events and Senior Fellow-led study groups; by fostering a community of research fellows; by supporting faculty and student research; and by bringing mid-career and executive professionals to Harvard for Executive Education programs.

MEI Faculty Chair Professor **Tarek Masoud** moderated a series of public events and book talks featuring some of the most influential scholars on the region. Topics included the conflict between military and civilian factions in Sudan, economic reform in the Arab world, a reflection on 20 years since the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom, and the geopolitics of energy 50 years since the 1973 oil embargo. In fall 2023, MEI hosted five public events on the Israel-Palestine conflict, which included a JFK Jr. Forum, a Klarman Hall panel event at HBS, and a public address by MEI Senior Fellow **Salam Fayyad**. For HKS students, MEI also hosted a series of closed sessions with experts on the conflict as well as a teach-in for MPP candidates. Please refer to our website to learn more about MEI's programming on Israel and Gaza.

Through its Senior Fellows program, MEI brings to HKS seasoned public leaders to engage with students through teaching and mentorship. In 2023, MEI welcomed new Senior Fellows **Salam Fayyad**, former Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority, and **Mohammed Alyahya**, former Editor-in-Chief of Al Arabiya English and now

advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, and supported three study groups (not-for-credit academic seminars) led by Senior Fellows on important and timely topics including peacemaking in Israel and Palestine, the geopolitics of the Arabian Gulf, and political reform in Jordan and beyond.

Other activities in 2023 included hosting 13 junior scholars as research fellows in residence, awarding four grants to Harvard faculty for research on the Middle East, sponsoring 13 HKS students to pursue research or internships, and supporting through the Kuwait Program a custom executive education program on "Navigating Change: Decision-Making, Negotiation, and Leadership Strategies HKS," which brought 45 participants from Kuwait to HKS.

In 2024, MEI seeks to advance its educational mission through teaching, fostering rigorous scholarship, and facilitating constructive dialogues on the foremost public policy challenges in the region. Activities include: Professor Masoud's January Term course, "Leadership and Social Transformation in the Arab World," co-instructed by Senior Fellow **Sultan Al Qassemi**, which brought a delegation of 18 Harvard students to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; a new conversation series, hosted by Professor Masoud, which will offer frank, open, and probing encounters with vital and varied perspectives on the current conflict in the Middle East, its causes, and the prospects for peace and progress in the region; closed expert roundtables; and research community events.

The **Middle East Initiative** (MEI) is the Harvard Kennedy School's principal forum for policy-relevant research and teaching on the contemporary Middle East and North Africa. MEI convenes policymakers, scholars, and intellectuals from the region and beyond to expand our understanding of this complex part of the world and to contribute to the search for solutions to its most pressing policy challenges.

Faculty Chair  
**Tarek Masoud**

Associate Director  
**Julia Martin**

Research Program Coordinator  
**Marina Lorenzini** (since August)

Program and Communications  
Coordinator  
**Sam Himmelman**

Executive Assistant to Faculty Chair  
**Paige Ferreira** (since August)

# Russia Matters

The main aim of **Russia Matters** is to improve understanding of Russia and the U.S.-Russian relationship among America's policymakers and concerned public. It does this on the Russia Matters website by showcasing the best expertise on drivers of this relationship and its impact on the U.S., and through top-notch analysis, relevant factual data, and related digests of news and analysis on Russia and its relations with the U.S. and the rest of the world. The project is supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Stanton Foundation, and the U.S. Russia Foundation.

Principal Investigator  
**Graham Allison**

Founding Director  
**Simon Saradzhyan**

Managing Editor  
**Angelina Flood**

Editor  
**Natasha Yefimova-Trilling** (until June)

In 2023, Russia Matters' content continued to draw significant interest as Putin's war on Ukraine raged on for a second year.

The RM website's numbers reflect this interest. Between Jan. 1, 2022, and June 30, 2023, the site had 706,975 users and more than 1.3 million pageviews. RM's X (formerly Twitter) following has nearly quadrupled since the start of the Russian-Ukrainian war, and our weekly digests had over 3,000 subscribers each as of January 2024, including hundreds of government officials, academics and business leaders.

RM's most significant accomplishments in 2023 include our successful effort to analyze the evolving aspects of the war. We published new entries in our series on lessons of the Russia-Ukraine war as inferred by several international experts; a commentary by Italy's former NATO envoy on ways to end the war and rebuild European security; an analysis on the role of women combatants in the war; a commentary on the Russian oil price cap's efficacy; and more. We launched the "Russia-Ukraine War Report Card," co-hosted a debate on the costs of U.S. support for Ukraine, and co-sponsored a conference—"An Assessment of Russia's 2022 Invasion of Ukraine: One Year On"—with speakers such as **Fiona Hill** and **Tatiana Stanovaya**. Additionally, we hosted events featuring Council on Foreign Relations' **Thomas Graham** and King's College London's **Domitilla Sagramoso**.

RM content was cited by leading international news outlets and international think tanks. It has been on syllabi at Yale, Harvard, MGIMO and other universities.

As the Russia-Ukraine war has evolved, **Graham Allison** provided valuable insights through numerous commentaries and presented on the war and Russia's nuclear posture at the Munich Security Conference, the German Bundestag Executive Education program at HKS, the STRATCOM Commanders Conference, and the Hertie School in Berlin. Allison also interviewed **Henry Kissinger** on the Ukraine war at the World Economic Forum in January 2023.

In 2024, we plan to continue expanding our various series and researching and publishing analytical content about Russia, including its war against Ukraine. Specific products include a review of proposals for postwar pan-European collective security; a scenario-planning report on Russia after 2024; a report contrasting conditions for nuclear weapons use in Russia's strategic documents with Russian leaders' statements, wargames and the composition/deployment of Russia's nuclear arsenal; and an update of our comparative report on Russia's national power. Finally, we will continue providing on-the-job training for graduate students interested in Russia policy research careers.

# Science, Technology, and Public Policy

In 2023, the **Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program** (STPP) continued and expanded its long-standing research, training, and policy-engagement efforts on multiple fronts. The achievements of the **Arctic Initiative** (a joint project of STPP and ENRP) and **Managing the Atom** (joint among STPP, ENRP, and ISP) are described elsewhere in this report.

STPP's work with ENRP and the Harvard University Center for Environment on energy-technology innovation for deep decarbonization continued to focus heavily in 2023 on China, India, and the United States.

The project's China component is co-led by **John P. Holdren**, **Daniel Schrag**, and ENRP's **Henry Lee**. Its principal current focus is a collaborative effort with the Harvard-China Project on Energy, Economy, and Environment (based at Harvard's Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Science) and Tsinghua University's Institute for Climate Change and Sustainable Development (founded by China's former Climate Envoy, Minister **Xie Zhenhua** and now led by Tsinghua Engineering Professor **Li Zheng**), focused on exploration of policies to accelerate development and deployment of the most promising technologies for achieving decarbonization of the two country's energy sectors by mid-century. Highlights in 2023 included two joint video workshops engaging the full Harvard and Tsinghua teams and the completion of a number of policy briefs addressing opportunities and barriers around key decarbonization technologies. As another part of the work on low-carbon energy pathways in China, Schrag, Holdren, and Lee continue to supervise a number of STPP-ENRP fellows focused on obstacles to low-carbon energy development in China.

In addition to the U.S.-focused component of the collaborative decarbonization work with Tsinghua,

the U.S. focus of the STPP's energy-technology innovation work has included continuation of Holdren's engagement with top energy-climate officials in the Biden administration and the Belfer Center team's interactions with top BP officials on pathways toward sustainability, including co-hosting with BP in London at the end of November at the annual workshop on that topic. The India-decarbonization component, led by Holdren on the U.S. side and Professor **Ambuj Sagar** at the Indian Institute of Technology in Delhi, continued its biweekly video meetings of the two teams and its work on decarbonizing India's electricity sector and on innovation for increasing energy end-use efficiency.

A new component of the STPP program is an effort on clean energy finance, which grew out of a Belfer Center white paper published at the end of 2022 (Sanders and Schrag, 2022). Supported by funding from the Abu Dhabi Commercial Bank and the Middle East Initiative, this research effort is developing new approaches to encouraging private-public partnerships in clean energy financing of renewable energy projects in developing countries around the world. We have also developed a new teaching module called "Financing the Clean Energy Transition."

The STPP program also oversees the Council for the Responsible Use of Artificial Intelligence, which brings together leaders from academia, industry and the public sector to explore the use and misuse of machine learning and artificial intelligence. In 2023 we built on this effort with weekly seminars organized by **Bruce Schneier** and **Cathy O'Neil**, a fall workshop of "Designing AI with Dignity," and a workshop on "AI, Insurance, and Climate Change."

The **Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program** draws on insights from scholarly and applied work in science and engineering, technology assessment, political science, economics, management, and law to research and practice on the intersection of science and technology with public affairs. The goal is to develop and promote public policies that advance the application of science and technology to improvement of the human condition.

Co-Director  
**John P. Holdren**

Co-Director  
**Daniel Schrag**

Director Emeritus  
**Venkatesh Narayanamurti**

Administrative Coordinator  
**Karin L. Vander Schaaf**

Communications and  
Outreach Specialist  
**Elizabeth Hanlon**

# Technology and Public Purpose

The **Technology and Public Purpose Project** works to ensure that emerging technologies are developed and managed in ways that serve the overall public good.

Faculty Director  
**Eric Rosenbach**

Associate Director  
**Amritha Jayanti**

Project Coordinator  
**Victoria Burnham**

Senior Research Assistant  
**Ariel Higuchi**

Research Assistant  
**John Schultz**

Communications Fellow  
**Ada Ezeokoli**

During the first half of 2023, the **Technology and Public Purpose Project** (TAPP) continued advancing its mission to ensure innovation is aligned with public purpose. As of summer 2023, the TAPP project is no longer active.

In 2023, TAPP welcomed a new cohort of resident and non-resident fellows, who contributed to TAPP research and insight on technology and public purpose issues through events and publications.

TAPP produced a number of reports and papers on a range of emerging technology issues and organized relevant events. During this time, the Tech Hub Faculty Working Group—faculty from throughout Harvard and the other universities in the greater Boston area—continued to meet to discuss technology challenges and opportunities.

In July 2023, TAPP joined with the Shorenstein Center in publishing the final summarizing report of the Democracy and Internet Governance Initiative, titled “Towards Digital Platforms and Public Purpose.” The Initiative began in 2021 to address the growing public concerns about digital platforms. By emphasizing comprehensive disclosure schemes and stakeholder engagement, it advocates for a dynamic and sustainable accountability system to mitigate harms while preserving the benefits of platform technologies.

An example of other significant reports published was “Blueprint for a New Government Agency,” which outlines the need for government oversight in response to the societal harms exacerbated by digital platforms. Building upon previous legislative efforts and expert recommendations, it proposes the establishment of a federal watchdog to enforce industry standards and promote responsible practices within the digital services sector.

In addition, TAPP published case profiles and tech primers as well as blogs on various emerging technology challenges. Some examples include, “Augmented and Virtual Reality for the Metaverse” and “Artificial Intelligence & Machine Learning,” both of which serve as reference tools for researchers and policymakers.

During the year, TAPP also organized important events focused on semiconductor innovation, including the functions of the National Semiconductor Technology Center (NSTC), cooperative innovation projects, and managing American dependency.



**September 6, 2023:** HKS students attending an open house to learn about all the opportunities available to them at the Belfer Center.





# The Belfer Center

Group Photo – September 2023





**Research, ideas, and  
leadership for a more  
secure, peaceful world.**

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AND LEADERSHIP