

BCSIA News

THE ROBERT AND RENÉE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Holdren Leads Commission to End Energy Stalemate

For years, Congressional stalemates have stymied efforts to meet long-term energy challenges such as managing greenhouse gases and decreasing U.S. oil dependence. On December 8, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program Director **John Holdren** introduced a landmark bi-partisan proposal that has the potential to finally end the stalemate.

“This is a plan that can get the U.S. moving toward sensible long-term energy solutions.”

As co-chair of the National Commission on Energy Policy, Holdren joined his fellow co-chairs, Exelon CEO **John Rowe**, former EPA Commissioner **William Reilly**, and Kennedy School Institute of Politics Director **Phil Sharp** in rolling out a consensus plan concerning oil and natural gas supply, the future of nuclear energy, climate change, and other long-term challenges. The plan, “Ending the Energy Stalemate: A Bipartisan Strategy to Meet America’s Energy Challenges,” is backed by more than 30 original research studies, four of them conducted by the Belfer Center’s

Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP).

The independent national commission of 16 experts from government, industry, labor, academia, and environmental and consumer groups reached consensus on the package of recommendations after two years of research, debate, and compromise.

“This is a plan that can get the U.S. moving toward sensible long-term energy solutions,” Holdren said. “It is a truly bipartisan strategy that lays out

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JACQUELINE MALONSON

A New Grand Bargain: **John Holdren**, Director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program and Co-chair of the National Commission on Energy Policy, presents recommendations from the bipartisan report, “Ending the Energy Stalemate: A Bipartisan Strategy to Meet America’s Energy Challenges,” at a December 8 press conference in Washington, D.C.

Belfer Colleagues Named to Top Administration Posts

In January, President Bush tapped two Belfer Center colleagues for top-level positions in the second-term Bush administration. Kennedy School alum and former Belfer Center Fellow **Robert Zoellick** has been named Deputy Secretary of State, and Harvard alum and advisory board member for Belfer’s recent project on terrorism and the law **Michael Chertoff** has been confirmed as Secretary of Homeland Security.

Robert Zoellick, who has been U.S. Trade Representative since 2001, was a Belfer Fellow in 1999–2000. He worked closely with Center Director **Graham Allison** and Charles Warren Professor of History **Ernest May**, who provided direction as he delved into policies and practices of early 20th century secretaries of state.

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Robert Zoellick



Michael Chertoff



SHEREEN SHAHEEN

Bridging the Gulf: Ambassador **Barbara Bodine** (center) and Belfer Center Executive Director **Juliette Kayyem** join **Mohammed Al Gergawi**, Secretary General of the Dubai Executive Council, in announcing the Belfer Center’s Governance Initiative in the Middle East. The Initiative was announced during the Arab Strategy Forum that took place in Dubai in December. One of its first projects will be to assist the government of Dubai with its new Dubai School of Government.

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From the Director

As the Bush administration chooses key personnel for its second term, it has been a pleasure, though not a surprise, to see several members of the Belfer Center's extended family on the list. I have enjoyed working in several capacities with **Robert Zoellick**, who has been tapped as Deputy Secretary of State, first when he was a student here and more recently when he spent more than a year at the Center as a Senior Fellow researching U.S. secretaries of state. As Deputy Secretary, he will deal with issues ranging from Iraq and Russia to nuclear terrorism — and he's well prepared for the job.

Our Acting Executive Director for Research **Juliette Kayyem** has had the opportunity to deliberate about homeland security strategies and views on legal aspects of the "war on terror" with newly confirmed Secretary of Homeland Security **Michael Chertoff** during their service on the multi-year Long-Term Legal Strategy for Combating Terrorism project. We look forward to continuing our dialogue with him in his new position. And just weeks ago, **Condi Rice** called on Belfer Fellow Ambassador **Richard Jones** to assist her with the management and development of Iraq policy. We congratulate our colleagues and wish them well in their continued service to the country.

During the past few months, we have been joined by a number of guests who have informed, inspired, and challenged our thinking with views and debates on a range of critical issues. Among the recent visitors: former UN Ambassador **Richard Holbrooke**, Carnegie Endowment President **Jessica Tuchman Matthews**, former commander-in-chief of the U.S. Central Command General **Anthony Zinni**, the Council on Foreign Relations' **Elizabeth Economy**, Pew and Zogby International pollsters **Andrew Kohut** and **John Zogby**, "Politics of Truth" author Ambassador **Joe Wilson**, President Putin's senior economic adviser **Andrei Illarionov**,

award-winning *Bare Branches* author **Valerie Hudson**, Deputy of the Russian Duma **Andrei Kokoshin**, and former KSG Assistant Professor Ambassador **Jendayi Frazer**.

Over the past several months, several major Belfer policy proposals have entered the U.S. and world stage. Co-chair of the National Commission on Energy Policy, **John Holdren** helped guide the development of an extremely important bipartisan package of U.S. energy policy recommendations. The Commission's consensus plan, which includes original research from the Belfer Center, aims to end the energy stalemate that has kept the United States from moving forward on oil security, climate change, and other major long-term energy challenges.

Over the past several months, several major Belfer policy proposals have entered the U.S. and world stage.

On the homeland security front, **Juliette Kayyem** and Harvard Law School's **Phil Heymann** released the final report of the Long-Term Legal Strategy project which they co-chaired, rolling out recommended legislation to balance American freedoms and security in the "war on terror." Two dozen experts from across the political spectrum came together to develop this set of rules for detentions, interrogations, and other difficult issues to prevent future Abu Ghraib scandals and provide clear guidelines to those on the front lines of fighting terrorism.

In early January, **Calestous Juma's** UN Task Force on Science, Technology, and Innovation released its final report, "Innovation," calling the world's attention to the need for developing countries to strengthen the ways in which they use science and technology advice and education. The report's release coincided with the tsunami disaster in South Asia, providing a vivid example of the need for innovative technology policy to meet natural and geopolitical challenges of the developing world.

Also this winter, we launched the Governance Initiative in the Middle East to address the issue of governmental transformation in this critical region. In addition to other projects, the governance initiative will provide resources for the newly-established Dubai School of Government. This initiative was the



A View from Afar: **Andrei Illarionov** (second from left), Senior Economic Adviser to Russian President **Vladimir Putin**, presents his views on climate change during a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum presentation in November titled, "Global Warming: Is the Kyoto Treaty a Fraud?" Panelists debating this issue included (seated left to right) Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (moderator), Science Technology, and Public Policy Director **John Holdren**, and Albert Pratt Professor of Business and Government **Rob Stavins**.

result of four years of planning, and we are very pleased to see all that work come to fruition. We are especially pleased that Ambassador **Barbara Bodine** has agreed to head up this effort. As former Ambassador to Yemen and a career member of the Senior Foreign Service who has spent most of her diplomatic career in the Middle East, she is the ideal person to work with the scholars and practitioners both here at Harvard and at the new Dubai School to promote training and research to improve governance in the Middle East.

At the recent World Economic Forum in Davos, which was well populated with Belfer and other Kennedy School and Harvard scholars, the "town hall" top priorities for the current global agenda tracked closely with the research priorities here at the Belfer Center: climate change, the Middle East, global governance, poverty and its connection with instability, and containing weapons of mass destruction. As we move ahead, we recommit ourselves to advancement of policy-relevant knowledge about each of these critical challenges.

John Allie



American Alienation? **Andrew Kohut**, President and Director of the Pew Research Center, visited the Belfer Center in December to discuss results of his recent polls on what he calls "American Exceptionalism 21st Century Style." He has written widely on societal change and its impact domestically and internationally.



America's Place: Carnegie Endowment President **Jessica Tuchman Matthews** speaks on "Thinking About America's Role in the New World" at a Belfer Director's lunch in December. Listening is Belfer Fellow Ambassador **Richard Jones**.

Defending the Homeland

Kayyem and Heymann Propose New Security Laws

Since 9/11, much has been said about the difficult ‘balancing act’ between freedom and security, but few have considered exactly how to strike that balance. With this challenge in mind, two years ago the Belfer Center’s **Juliette Kayyem** and **Philip Heymann** of Harvard Law School convened the Long-Term Legal Strategy Project for Preserving Security and Democratic Norms in the War on Terrorism to take a hard and detailed look at how to balance the competing concerns of American liberties and national security in the age of terrorism.

“The way to keep these issues out of tomorrow’s headlines is for Congress to deal with them responsibly today.”

With support from the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, the project brought together more than two dozen experts from across the political spectrum — including such names as **Michael Chertoff**, **Rand Beers**, **Bob Barr**, **Robert McNamara**, and **Buck Revell** — to formulate clear rules to guide government action.

The project’s final report was released in November at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. The report offers specific legislative recommendations on the thorniest legal challenges of this new era, including coercive interrogations, detentions, racial profiling, assassinations, and spying on domestic groups.

The project demonstrated that it is possible to get people of different political backgrounds to agree how to draw the line to ensure both security and liberty. “We found that by using familiar legal doctrines, we could satisfy more than 90 percent of the concerns about security and more than 90 percent of the concerns about American liberties at the same time,” said co-director Phil Heymann.

“We hope the report and recommendations will generate debate in Congress that will lead to well thought-out rules for the war on terror,” Kayyem commented. “The way to keep these issues out of tomorrow’s headlines is for Congress to deal with them responsibly today.”



Getting the Balance Right: Belfer Center Executive Director **Juliette Kayyem** with **Philip Heymann** – Co-directors of the Long-Term Legal Strategy project, which is calling on Congress to put in place clear legal guidelines for the war on terror.

Against the backdrop of the widespread criticism of the government’s conduct at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq and the Guantanamo Bay detention facility in Cuba, Congress has already begun considering legislation based in part on the report’s recommendations. 🌐

Kamarck Leads CIA Project on Intelligence Reform



Elaine Kamarck

“This agency was designed for a different challenge in a different age, and now it is being asked not only to catch up with events, but to stay two steps ahead.”

The initial conference, held at the Kennedy School, brought together 50 officials and other experts to consider the breadth of the change ahead, and featured former Kennedy School Dean and Belfer Center Board member **Joseph Nye** and RAND’s **Brian Jenkins**. The second conference, which was held at the George H. W. Bush Presidential Library, explored the issue of collaboration with other government agencies and actors and featured **Maureen Baginski**, the Deputy Director of the FBI for counterterrorism. Last fall the group convened in California to consider how the CIA should be organized internally to facilitate strong analysis, and **Tim Roemer** from the 9/11 Commission came to discuss

their findings on this issue. The next gathering was held in December near Sandia and Los Alamos National Laboratories to examine both the role that evolving science and technology will play in carrying out the CIA’s mission and the challenges of containing the threat of WMD. This meeting included both former Senator **Chuck Robb** and genomics pioneer **Craig Venter**.

The final retreat this spring looks at how the CIA relates to the consumers of its intelligence, and will include a number of former intelligence consumers, including **Brent Scowcroft** and **Newt Gingrich** as well as Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and **Joseph Nye**.

“This agency was designed for a different challenge in a different age, and now it is being asked not only to catch up with events, but to stay two steps ahead,” says Kamarck. “This project has allowed key agency leaders to interact with diverse thinkers from outside of government to help them think about what challenges they will be facing in the years ahead and how to organize their activity to be most effective in meeting them.” 🌐

Elaine Kamarck is finishing an ambitious two-year project for the CIA to help the organization think through how to adapt itself to meet the new security threats of the war on terrorism. Starting in the fall of 2003, Kamarck has worked with the CIA to pull together a series of retreats and working papers considering different aspects of the evolving intelligence challenge.

In Brief



MARTHA STEWART

At the Crossroads: General **Anthony Zinni** (left) discusses points made in his Forum presentation on “The Future of the Middle East” with **Mustafa Kibaroglu**, joint International Security Program and Managing the Atom Fellow.

- Belfer Faculty Affiliate **Richard Clarke** hosted a special showing of HBO Films’ “Dirty War,” in early February followed by a discussion of “dirty bombs” with panelists **Rand Beers** and **Graham Allison**. The event drew a standing-room-only audience.
- International Security Program (ISP) / Intrastate Conflict Program (ICP) Fellow **Caty Clément** presented recently on the topic of “Early Warning Indicators of State Failure” to a number of organizations including the State Department, the World Bank, and Johns Hopkins University as well as at International Peace Institute seminars. Her report for the World Bank, “Probing Fragile States,” was released for internal use in December.
- **Kelly Greenhill**, ISP/ICP Fellow, has accepted a faculty position at Wesleyan University. She will join the faculty of Wesleyan’s Department of Government.
- International Security Program Fellow **Jeremy Jones** spoke in January on “Islam and Europe” at the Pentagon’s Center for Naval Analyses workshops about political and security implications for Europe and the United States.
- **Mustafa Kibaroglu**, also an ISP Fellow, traveled to Tehran, Iran, in December with a delegation from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to discuss Iran’s nuclear weapons program with Iranian scholars and diplomats.
- **William Rosenberg**, joint Fellow with the Science, Technology, and Public Policy (STPP) Program and Center of Business and Government, testified before Senator Pete Domenici’s Energy and Natural Resources Committee about how the coal gasification plan, developed in conjunction with ENRP’s **Henry Lee** and STPP’s **John Holdren**, could help address the imbalance in supply and demand for natural gas in the United States. 🌍

International Advocacy

New UN Report Urges Innovation in Developing Countries

Calestous Juma: Higher Education, Science Policy Essential

In the same week that Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Globalization Project Director **Calestous Juma** released the final report of the UN Task Force on Science, Technology, and Innovation that he coordinated, the disastrous tsunami hit South Asia. The task force report, titled “Innovation: Applying Knowledge in Development,” focuses on the need for developing states to harness the power of technological innovation to improve the lives of their people and the economies of their countries. The tsunami provided a tragic example of the need for innovative technology — in this case an early warning system.

“Now is the time to plant the seeds of change ...”

The “Innovation” report is one of ten commissioned by Secretary-General Kofi Annan for the United Nations Millennium Project. Juma’s report outlines key areas for urgent national and international policy action to accelerate economic and social progress in developing countries, even within the next five years.

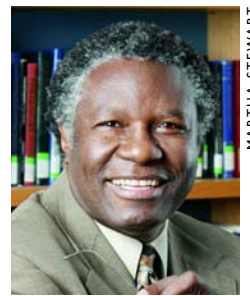
“There is an urgent need for developing countries to pursue those public policies that begin to tap the tremendous benefits promised by science, technology, and innovation,” said Juma. “Now is the time to plant the seeds of change — in education, government and the

private sector — that can begin moving developing countries forward.”

The Task Force recommendations aim at implementing the Millennium Development Goals adopted by all governments in 2000. They include:

- Strengthening the ways governments use science and technology advice to inform development policy and implementation;
- Putting institutions of higher learning to the service of community development; and
- Designing infrastructure projects as a foundation for technological innovation.

The Science, Technology, and Innovation Task Force is composed of 18 representatives from academia, the public and private sectors, civil society organizations, and UN agencies. It was coordinated by Juma (who also co-authored the report) and Lee Yee-Cheong, president of the World Federation of Engineering Organizations. The Science, Technology and Innovation report is available online: http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/BCSIA_content/documents/TF-Advance.pdf 🌍



MARTHA STEWART

Innovative Recommendations: **Calestous Juma** headed the UN Task Force on Science, Technology, and Innovation, which released its final report, “Innovation: Applying Knowledge in Development,” in January.

Hybrid Truck Project Wins Environmental Partnership Award

The Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP) has announced that the 2005 Roy Family Award for Environmental Partnership will go to the FedEx–Environmental Defense Future Vehicle Project. The award — presented bi-annually to celebrate an outstanding partnership project that enhances environmental quality through the use of novel and creative approaches — will be presented to the recipients in the spring of 2005 at the Kennedy School.

The Future Vehicle Project — a collaboration of Environmental Defense, Federal Express and the Eaton Corporation — has introduced a hybrid delivery truck that increases fuel efficiency by over 50 percent and reduces particulate emissions by 96 percent.

With 18 hybrid trucks already on the road, FedEx plans to build on the success of this demonstration and make the hybrid vehicles the standard replacement in its weight class of 30,000 medium-duty trucks.

“This unique project demonstrates that hybrid trucks can be a practical, economically viable alternative,” said **Henry Lee**, director of ENRP, which coordinates the Roy Family Award. “The trucks also reduce greenhouse gas emissions that cause global climate change,” he said, “and improved fuel efficiency translates into reduced oil dependency.”

The hybrid truck partnership was selected from a group of highly qualified projects that tackled environmental problems ranging from deforestation to urban sprawl. 🌍



MARTHA STEWART

Raising Eyebrows and Ire: **Andrei Illarionov**, Senior Economic Adviser to Russian President **Vladimir Putin**, debated climate change and the Kyoto Protocol with the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **John Holdren** and Albert Pratt Professor of Business and Government **Rob Stavins** during a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum presentation in November entitled, "Global Warming: Is the Kyoto Treaty a Fraud?" Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** moderated the event.



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Report from the Front: General **Barry McCaffrey** (U.S. Army Ret.), Bradley Distinguished Professor of International Security Studies at the U.S. Military Academy and most highly decorated four-star general in the U.S. Army at his retirement, discusses the "war on terrorism" at a Belfer Center luncheon. Among those attending were Kennedy School National Security Fellow Lt. Col. **Steven Smith** of the U.S. Army and U.S. Army Reserve Lt. Col. **Barbara Douglas**, a military Fellow at Tufts' Fletcher School.



MARTHA STEWART

Bipartisan Intelligence: Belfer Center Acting Executive Director **Juliette Kayyem** listens as **Slade Gorton**, 9/11 Commissioner and former U.S. Senator, makes a point about 9/11 intelligence during a February John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum entitled "After Intelligence Reform."

Foreign Policy on the Ballot: Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations **Richard Holbrooke** speaks to Belfer faculty and colleagues on "Foreign Policy in an Election Year." Holbrooke's credentials include serving as ambassador to Germany, playing a major role in ending the war in Bosnia, and normalizing Sino-American relations. He also wrote one volume of the Pentagon Papers.

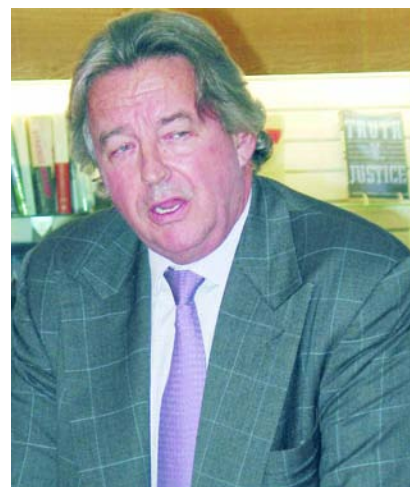


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Women and Technology: **Lucinda Sanders**, CEO and co-founder of the National Center for Women and Information Technology, presents "Women and IT at the Crossroads," focusing on the fact that women are opting out of IT careers and what this bodes for U.S. innovation, economic competitiveness, and security. The seminar was co-sponsored by BCSIA's Women in Science and International Affairs and Intrastate Conflict Program and KSG's Women's Leadership Board.



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Politics of Truth: Ambassador **Joseph Wilson**, former senior U.S. diplomat and author of the book, *The Politics of Truth*, speaks at a Belfer seminar in October about "Iraq: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow."

Debating Critical Issues



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How Green Is China? Author and Council of Foreign Relations Senior Fellow **Elizabeth Economy** presents "The Politics of China's Environmental Challenge" at a Belfer Center seminar in February. Economy, whose publications include *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future*, has written extensively on Chinese domestic and foreign policy. Next to her is **Merle Goldman**, Associate of Harvard's John K. Fairbank Center for East Asian Research. The Belfer Center's **Jeffrey Frankel** and **William Rosenberg** (left to right) are also pictured.

Middle East Insight: General **Anthony Zinni**, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.), delivered the annual Corliss Lamont lecture in the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in December. In his presentation, "Post Arafat & Saddam: The Future of the Middle East," General Zinni, former Commander in Chief of the U.S. Central Command, offered a unique perspective on the military conflict in Iraq, the nuclear threat in Iran, and the changes within the Palestinian Authority.



MARTHA STEWART



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Cold War Cleanup: **Andrei Kokoshin**, Deputy of the Russian Duma and Chairman of the Duma Committee on Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Relations makes a point to Preventive Defense Program Co-director **Ashton Carter** during a February visit to the Belfer Center to discuss "Cooperation of the U.S.A. and Russia in Nuclear Terrorism Prevention."

Swimming Upstream: **Aysegul Kibaroglu**, Assistant Professor of International Relations at Ankara's Middle Eastern Technical University, discusses the need for international institutional management of freshwater resources at a Belfer Center presentation in November.



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Nuclear Future: Belfer Center Board member **John Deutch**, Institute Professor at MIT and former CIA Director, presented his recent Foreign Affairs' article, "Nuclear Posture for Today," at a Board meeting in February. Deutch argues that the U.S. should no longer maintain a vast nuclear weapons stockpile, but should never abandon its nuclear program nor give up right to conduct limited nuclear tests.



MARTHA STEWART

Ambassadorial Visit: **Dorothy Zinberg**, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Faculty Associate and founding member of the Belfer Center, talks with former faculty colleague Ambassador **Jendayi Frazer** during Frazer's visit to the Belfer Center in January.

Allison Discusses Nuclear Threats in Israel

Graham Allison carried his message of preventing nuclear terrorism to Israel in early January. During his five-day visit, he spoke on “Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Disaster” at the residence of U.S. Ambassador **Daniel C. Kurtzer** as part of the Ambassador’s Distinguished American Speakers Series. The audience of leading academics, military, and government officials engaged Allison in a thoughtful discussion of concrete examples of what can be done to prevent such a catastrophe.

Allison continued to address nuclear terrorism and its prevention at an Israel Atomic Energy Agency roundtable discussion, at meetings with security and foreign affairs officials from the Israeli government and conferences at Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University, and during interviews with Israeli television and newspapers. 🌐



Road to Prevention: **Graham Allison** (standing) sets out his plan to prevent a nuclear catastrophe to Israeli officials and academics at the home of U.S. Ambassador to Israel **Daniel C. Kurtzer** in January. On hand was former Belfer Center International Security Program/Managing the Atom Fellow **Chen Zak** (far right), now External Affairs Director at the Israel Atomic Energy Agency.

Examining the Bastions of Terror by Debbie West

Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, and Sudan—the countries constituting the “Horn of Africa”—together with Yemen, are potential hostages to terrorism. Their largely unsecured territories provide a platform for terrorists, and their internal conflicts and weaknesses create potential breeding grounds for current and future anti-American terrorism.

At the Belfer Center’s Program on Intrastate Conflict conference entitled, “Examining the ‘Bastions’ of Terror: Governance and Policy in Yemen and the Horn of Africa” held at the Kennedy School of Government in November 2004, a group of three dozen experts from the diplomatic, NGO, policy, security, and scholarly communities discussed the urgent need to combat terrorism in the region.

The group’s recommendations were clear and remarkably unified about the major strategies for countering terrorism in Yemen and the Horn of Africa. The United States must work with its allies to craft a unified and multilateral approach to the underlying as well as the immediate problems of the region. American efforts must be concerted with local authorities and multinational efforts (including NGOs) and development and humanitarian efforts of the international donor community must be coordinated and complementary. Program on Intrastate Conflict Director Robert I. Rotberg recommended: “Washington requires more area specialists, more persons with appropriate language fluencies, and much more specific local acquaintance and knowledge . . . Amassing such a cadre of ability and acquaintance will facilitate the development of sensible policies capable of assisting the countries in the region. Time is running out.” 🌐

Debbie West is Program Coordinator of the Program on Intrastate Conflict.

Atlantic Monthly Features Belfer Terrorism Experts

The January/February issue of *The Atlantic Monthly* included a feature story about terrorism. In his article, “Success Without Victory,” James Fallows quotes several Belfer faculty and fellows about terrorism and its prevention.

“U.S. officials have refused to appear on al-Jazeera,” says **Steven Miller**, the director of international security programs at the Belfer Center. “That’s nuts! Yes, al-Jazeera is often a vitriol machine. But you have to engage it, or Arab publics hear nothing but the vitriol.”

“Nobody can ‘prove’ that it’s wrong to have so little [budgeted] for ports and roads and railroads . . . says **Daniel B. Prieto** . . . a staff member for the House Select Committee on Homeland Security . . . now at the Belfer Center. But it sure doesn’t seem right . . . when experts view insecure ports and cargo containers as among the most likely means of WMD entering the United States.”

“Suppose the United States viewed the loose-nukes project as the equivalent of the race to the moon in the 1960s, or the search for a polio cure in the 1950s. Suppose it had to succeed, and as fast as possible. What might that cost? According to **Graham Allison**, the total might be as high as \$30 billion over three years. America now spends that much every six months in Iraq.”

“How would the terrorists get the bomb? The easiest way would be to buy one smuggled from the Soviet arsenal. ‘Since the accounting system in the USSR was so bad, you just don’t know what went missing’ in the turbulent years following the Soviet collapse, says **Matthew Bunn**, of STPP’s Managing the



Nuclear Security: **Allison MacFarlane** (left), Research Associate with the Security Studies Program at MIT and former Managing the Atom (MTA) Fellow, discusses security of nuclear materials with **Matthew Bunn**, Belfer Center Research Associate in the MTA project and co-author of “Securing the Bomb.”

Atom Project. ‘I would say there’s stuff that got stolen that we don’t know about, because there is stuff that got stolen we do know about.’” 🌐

Anecdotes of Insecurity

In November 2003, a Russian court sentenced the Deputy Director for administration of Atomflot, the enterprise that maintains Russia’s fleet of nuclear-powered icebreakers, to . . . a penal colony for the possession of illegal nuclear or radioactive materials and munitions. . . . He was attempting to sell the material for \$55,000. . . . This is the first documented case of nuclear theft and smuggling involving the senior management of a facility handling tons of weapons-grade material.

Source: Nuclear Threat Initiative, Anecdotes of Insecurity: http://www.nti.org/e_research/cnwm/threat/anecdote.asp

Belfer Colleagues Named

(continued from page 1)

Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff is associated with the Belfer Center through his membership on the Long-Term Legal Strategy Project for Combating Terrorism (LTLS). As a federal judge and former director of the Justice Department’s criminal division, Chertoff worked with the Belfer Center’s **Juliette Kayyem** on the LTLS project, which in November released recommendations for new legal rules in the war on terrorism.

“We are pleased that Bob Zoellick and Michael Chertoff will be able to lend their expertise to the administration and the country in these important positions,” Graham Allison said. “We’re also pleased to have contributed to the experiences that will help inform them in their new jobs.” 🌐



Ambassador Barbara Bodine, Executive Director, Governance Initiative in the Middle East

*Last December, Ambassador **Barbara Bodine** was named the first Executive Director of the Belfer Center's new Governance Initiative in the Middle East, which promotes research and training in governance issues with a new generation of regional scholars and leaders in cooperation with the new Dubai School of Government. This new initiative and Ambassador Bodine's appointment were announced at the 2004 Arab Strategy Forum in Dubai, which brought together a host of leaders from around the world, including **Bill Clinton**, **Madeline Albright**, the late **Rafiq Hariri**, and others, to discuss the future of the region.*

As a former career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Bodine served as U.S. Ambassador to Yemen from 1997 to 2001, a period that saw enhanced support for democratization and increased security cooperation, as well as the terrorist attack on the USS Cole in 2000. She spent most of her 30-year diplomatic career in the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula, including tours as Deputy Principal Officer in Baghdad from 1980 to 1983 and Deputy Chief of Mission in Kuwait during the Iraqi invasion and occupation in 1990. In 2003, Ambassador Bodine served as coordinator for post-conflict reconstruction for Baghdad and the central provinces of Iraq.

Q What are your plans for the Governance Initiative in the Middle East?

Bodine: The primary focus of this initiative is to encourage, support, and enhance both the practitioner's skills and the scholar's understanding of the evolving governance issues in the Middle East region. Both the governance initiative and the Dubai School of Government (DSG) recognize this effort must be regional to be successful and that it must also grow organically if it is going to endure. As such, our approach is to build outward, cumulatively adding programs as we go. Most immediately, DSG and the governance initiative will conduct both an executive program and a conference on e-government, and the governance initiative is supporting student research projects in the region. We will conduct at least one executive training program and follow-on conference each year. In addition, we are actively recruiting and can financially support professionals in the region for KSG's many mid-career fellowship programs, as well as students for the degree programs. Finally, we will recruit a Senior Fellow in Islamic Government as well as creating senior and junior research scholarships for both those from the region and those interested in it. The ultimate goal is to raise the competence and awareness levels both at KSG and in the region through DSG.

Q How do you expect these efforts to be received in the region?

Bodine: This is a regional initiative and is the result of several years' discussions between KSG and the Dubai government. Reflecting a growing sentiment in the region among citizens and leaders, **Sheikh Mohammed al Ger-gawi** of Dubai, who is also the driving force behind DSG and its relationship with KSG, opened the Arab Strategy Forum last December with a widely reported address in which he declared flatly that international crises can not

be used as an excuse to delay reforms in the Arab world and challenged his fellow regional leaders to "change or be changed." But it is one thing to admonish and another to reform. Through the governance initiative, the Kennedy School will provide the tools, resources and expertise. Someone asked me what was the core question behind the initiative. Few in the region relish a return to the 7th century but many understand that the history of grafting foreign "isms" into the Middle Eastern context has not been good. So ultimately, the question for the leaders, scholars, and people becomes: what does a truly twenty-first century Islamic government look like, and how do you get there?

"This is an opportunity for the Belfer Center to take the lead on one of the most critical issues in the world today."

Q Clearly improving regional governance is the principle aim of the initiative. Do you see this initiative bringing other benefits as well?

Bodine: Absolutely. For all the assistance we hope to be able to provide the scholars and practitioners at DSG, this project will also provide a unique opportunity for American academics and faculty and students at Harvard to deepen their understanding of this critical region and its emerging political and social issues. Given the central role of this region in global affairs, we could use both more regional experts and better understanding of regional governance issues.

The broader hope is that this understanding will help inform the public and political debate here in the United States. Right now, there is a tragic disconnect between the

resources the U.S. government expends in the Middle East and the knowledge they have of the region and its people. This is a recipe for bad public policy. Given our long-term strategic interests there, we need to understand this region every bit as much as we want them to understand and accept us. As **Joe Nye** points out, the war on terror will ultimately be won or lost as a battle of ideas, and fostering better understanding among people on both sides directly contributes to our winning that war against the forces of extremist ignorance and violence. Promoting the spread of knowledge broadly is an important part of the mission of the university, and this is an opportunity for the Belfer Center to take the lead on one of the most critical issues in the world today. 🌐

End of Energy Stalemate (continued from page 1)

some prudent steps we must take now to avoid intolerable costs and impacts later." Meeting this challenge, Holdren said, "requires measures to encourage increased use of the best available technologies for energy supply and energy end-use efficiency in the years immediately ahead, as well as increased investments in energy research and development to improve the options available to us in the future."

ETIP Director **Kelly Sims Gallagher** served as deputy to John Holdren in the Commission work. ETIP-affiliated researchers **Robert Frosch**, **Ambuj Sagar**, **Bill Rosenberg**, and ETIP research assistant and MPP student **Diane Segal** all contributed research and analysis to the Commission as well.

A summary of the National Commission on Energy Policy's recommendations and the full report can be viewed at: <http://www.energycommission.org>. 🌐



BCSIA

Spotlight: Anne Wu

Anne Wu is a joint Research Fellow with Belfer's International Security Program and Managing the Atom Project 2004–2005

“He (or she) who excels in study should follow an official career.”

Growing up in Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province, these words were never far from Anne Wu's mind. Also, in Chinese traditional culture, she says, the best career is a career in government. In Anne's province, home of Chairman Mao and many other revolutionary leaders, governmental service is held in even higher esteem. It was in this atmosphere, with her father also serving in government, that Anne found herself leaning strongly toward this career path.

A decisive point in her life came when she had to decide between a governmental career and her other love, journalism. When she was accepted at China's Foreign Affairs College in Beijing, she made her decision. A cradle for diplomats, Foreign Affairs College would provide entrée into a very appealing governmental career that would allow her to pursue another of her interests — international travel.

Soon after her graduation, she joined China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was sent to the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore as a visiting scholar. From there, her work with the Ministry turned to substantial involvements in a wide range of diplomacy and negotiations involving China's relationships with other countries. She focused primarily on Asian Pacific security and political

issues, multilateralism, and conflict resolution. She was also a keynote speechwriter for Chinese state leaders such as the President and the Premier.

In 2003, Anne accepted an offer to attend the Kennedy School as an Edward S. Mason Fellow, a fellowship that would “provide her an opportunity to get a more global vision of the world.” During the year, as she attended classes and presentations about international security issues, she had the opportunity to engage in discussions about North Korea with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. “My discussion with Professor Allison convinced me that I had a misconception of the cooperation taking place between China and the U.S.,” Anne says, “and he felt strongly that China should use more of its influence on the North Korean issue.”

With her interest in North Korea piqued, Anne applied for and received a joint International Security Program/Managing the Atom Project fellowship to research Chinese and U.S. cooperation around the North Korean nuclear situation and how well — or badly — the countries involved in the 6-Party Talks are working together to resolve the crisis.

The U.S. and China want a peaceful resolution to a nuclear-free North Korea, but their approaches are different, Wu says. “The U.S. wants China to flex its muscles. China wants to teach the U.S. the importance of using more ‘tai-ji’ or internal strength and patience in dealing with North Korea.” She believes a combination of the two methods must be used to bring North Korea back to the negotiating table as soon as possible.

There's an old Chinese saying that “those who are skilled in war will bring the enemy to

the battlefield and not be brought there by the enemy.” In the case of North Korea, this means that the five parties must take back the initiative from North Korea; they must cooperate on bringing it back to the negotiating table — and quickly.

“The North Korean crisis is a serious challenge to U.S.-Chinese relations.”

Anne's experience at the Belfer Center and Kennedy School has given her the opportunity, she says, to observe the world in a new way by learning from and sharing views with academics and practitioners from all over the world.

“This is a very rich place intellectually,” she says, “and my colleagues here are extremely generous in sharing their ideas and offering support.”

Anne wants to do something with both intellectual depth and practical breadth in the future. For now, she is putting her energies into contributing toward a peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear crisis. 🌐



FROM ANNE WU

Anne Wu takes part in the red carpet welcome given Chinese Premier **Zhu Rongji** at the Philippines' “White House,” Malacañang, in 1999.

U.S. Security Transformation Lagging, Conference Concludes

Is U.S. national security capable of adapting to new threats?

Current and former defense officials and military commanders at the Third Annual Conference on Security Transformation, which met in November 2004 in Washington D.C., pondered this question and concluded that the transformation process is moving too slowly and identified the reasons for this dangerous lag.

The Belfer Center's **Ashton Carter**, **John White**, **John Deutch**, and **Joseph Nye**, as well

as Belfer Board member **Marty Feldstein**, International Council member **Herbert Winokur**, and KSG's National Security Program's **Tad Oelstrom**, participated in this Belfer Center-organized conference. Co-sponsored by the Army War College and National Defense University (NDU), the conference at NDU focused on factors that slow adaptation to new security threats. These include managing the stability and reconstruction operations that are now on-going in Afghanistan and Iraq, the outlook for the defense budget, the

implications of a change to the nature of the future threat on force structure, and stalled progress on homeland security.

This annual conference measures national security transformation by examining changes in doctrine, technology, and business practices that have become necessary to meet new national security threats brought on by the continually evolving geopolitical environment and technology. 🌐

Thanks to Stephen Metz, U.S. Army War College



Barbara Bodine, former U.S. Ambassador to Yemen and Coordinator for Post-Conflict Reconstruction for Baghdad, has been named Executive Director of the Belfer Center's Governance Initiative in the Middle East. The purpose of the initiative is to work with the government of Dubai to promote training and research in governance issues in the Middle East region.



Joshua Busby, Belfer International Security Program Fellow, was recently invited to become a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). The London-based IISS is among the world's leading independent research institute in the field of international security, and membership requires nomination.



Michael Chertoff, a federal judge and member of the advisory board of the Long-Term Legal Strategy Project for Combating Terrorism (LTLS), was confirmed by the Senate to replace Tom Ridge as Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security. Chertoff has served on the 3rd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals since 2003 and was director of the Justice Department's criminal division from 2001 to 2003.



John Holdren, Teresa and John Heinz Professor of Environmental Policy and Director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, has been elected to the office of President-Elect of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the world's largest general scientific society. Beginning in February 2005, he will serve for one year as AAAS President-Elect, followed by one year as President, then one year as Chairman of the Board. Also, Holdren co-chaired the National Commission on Energy Policy which in November released its report: "Ending the Energy Stalemate: A Bipartisan Strategy to Meet America's Energy Challenges."

"THE NATURAL GAS PRICE SQUEEZE

gives us the opportunity to usher in the return of coal power — not power from conventional high-polluting plants but from a new generation of much cleaner technology. . . . [that removes] more than 90% of toxic mercury emissions as well as impurities such as sulfur, nitrogen and particulates."

—**William Rosenberg**, "The Other Gas Crunch: How coal can help reduce soaring natural gas prices — and satisfy environmentalists," *Forbes* (1 November 2004)

"**AT THIS CRUCIAL JUNCTURE**, only concerted navigation will likely reduce Iran's ability to cross the nuclear weapon threshold and secure its existing fissile material stock from terrorists."

—**Brenda Shaffer**, "Will Iran Dupe the World Again?" *Jerusalem Post* (11 November 2004)

"CONDOLEEZZA RICE'S CHIEF TASK

AS SECRETARY OF STATE will be to make American foreign policy more consultative in style. . . . Only then will she be able to begin the job of repairing America's tattered reputation by shoring up its neglected public diplomacy."

—**Joseph Nye**, "Rice must deploy more 'soft power,'" *Daily Star* (25 January 2005)

"**PRESIDENT BUSH CAN NO MORE SUCCEED** with our current approach in Iraq than LBJ did in Vietnam."

—**Monica Toft and Ivan Arreguín-Toft**, "Peace with honor" in Iraq," *The Boston Globe* (25 October 2004)

"... **THE DISCONNECT BETWEEN THE STORIES** out of Iraq and the rhetoric of the administration about the operation as a 'remarkable success story' reinforces the view that the President and vice president would rather be consistent than right. It raises the

specter of a White House that insists that victory is around the corner in the same way that our leaders did in Vietnam."

—**Joshua Busby**, "President Bush's Resolve Can Be the Opposite of Reassuring," *The Union Leader* (30 October 2004)

"**WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR IN EARLY 2003** that some of Iran's activities were in violation of its safeguards agreement, Turkish security elites started to monitor Iran's nuclear program more closely. . . . [Now] voices are starting to be heard from within Turkish society promoting the idea of going nuclear, particularly if Iran manages to develop nuclear weapons capability."

—**Mustafa Kibaroglu**, "Iran's Nuclear Program May Trigger the Young Turks to Think Nuclear," *Proliferation News and Resources* (20 December 2004)

"THE PROBLEM OF INSECURE

NUCLEAR MATERIAL is global. Solving it will require forging a global coalition of countries willing to work together to improve security for nuclear materials, wherever they may be. Given the devastating global economic impact that a nuclear terrorist attack would have, every country has a strong self interest in cooperating to reduce this threat."

—**Matthew Bunn**, "Preventing a Nuclear 9/11," *Issues in Science and Technology* (Winter 2005)

"**IF IRAN GOES NUCLEAR, EGYPT WILL FOLLOW**, then Saudi Arabia (more likely buying than making) and possibly Syria. Contemplate the consequences of such a nuclear arms race for Israel's security and the stability of energy supplies."

—**Graham Allison**, "A Cascade of Nuclear Proliferation," *International Herald Tribune* (17 December 2004)



Bonnie Jenkins, Belfer International Security and Managing the Atom Fellow and counsel on the "9/11 Commission," was recently named Program Manager of the Ford Foundation's U.S. Foreign and Security Policy in the New York-based Governance and Civil Society Unit. In announcing her appointment, the Ford Foundation said, "By bringing together two areas of work that increasingly overlap, we hope to generate a more effective and coherent body of grant-making at a crucial time for America in world affairs."



Richard H. Jones, Belfer Fellow and former U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, Kazakhstan, and Kuwait and Chief Policy Officer and Deputy Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad, was presented with the "Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service" by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld in December. He was recently called back to Washington to serve as the State Department's point person for Iraq.

Opinion Leaders

"HOW THE NEW CHINESE LEADERSHIP HANDLES CROSS-STRAIT RELATIONS will speak volumes about what is meant by Beijing's desire to achieve a 'peaceful rise' onto the international stage."

—**Anne Wu**, "'Soft talk' across the Taiwan Strait," *The Boston Globe* (3 January 2005)

"SEVERAL YEARS AGO, GEORGE W. BUSH AND TONY BLAIR both tried to chasten [Zimbabwe's President] Mr. Mugabe directly and also to apply pressure to [South Africa's President] Thabo Mbeki . . . to bring Mr. Mugabe to heel. But in the shadow of Iraq, Washington and London are preoccupied. And so is the United Nations."

—**Robert Rotberg**, "Only Mbeki can restore sanity to Zimbabwe," *The Financial Times* (7 December 2004)

" . . . THERE ARE 3,000 U.S. CHEMICAL PLANTS IN THE U.S. where a bad day would dwarf the casualties of 9/11. Yet the industry remains completely self-regulated with regard to terrorism."

—**Graham Allison**, "America the Vulnerable," *The Baltimore Sun* (7 December 2004)

"HIGHER TECHNICAL EDUCATION IS A CRITICAL ELEMENT in long-term development. . . . But higher technical education will require increased foreign and domestic funding — and one possible source is repatriated funds channeled through a new generation of private foundations."

—**Calestous Juma**, "Seized funds should be spent on social schemes," *The Financial Times* (17 January 2005)



Calestous Juma, Professor of the Practice of International Development and Director of STPP's Science, Technology, and Globalization Project, has been appointed by Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki to serve on Kenya's newly-formed Economic and Social Council. The Council was recently established as the country's supreme advisory body to the President on economic and social affairs. Also, Juma headed the UN Millennium Project's Task Force on Science, Technology, and Innovation, which in January released its final report titled "Innovation: Applying Knowledge in Development."

"ISLAM IS A RICH AND ANCIENT RELIGION with much to offer. Muslim-Americans should let their religion develop synergies with their adopted American homeland. . . . A successful assimilation here will have positive ramifications worldwide."

—**Raja Kamal**, "Redefining Islam from within," *The Providence Journal* (21 January 2005)

"CONTRARY TO POPULAR VIEW, the Patriot Act did not address many of the toughest legal issues Americans face in trying to balance our concern for our freedoms with worries about our safety in the war on terror. What are needed are new rules for a new era."

—**Juliette Kayyem** and **Philip Heymann**, "How to Fight Terror While Preserving Liberty," *The Baltimore Sun* (16 November 2004)

"BY PRESSURING RWANDA, the African Union will be asserting a leadership role in African conflict mediation. . . . But if war cannot be averted through diplomacy, then UN forces must be prepared to live up to their mandate and protect civilians, with force if need be."

—**Omar McDoom**, "Calling the UN and the African Union," *International Herald Tribune* (24 December 2004)

"FOREIGN STUDENTS . . . RETURN HOME and carry American ideas with them. They add to our soft power, the ability to win the hearts and minds of others. As Secretary of State Colin Powell put it, 'I can think of no more valuable asset to our country than the friendship of future world leaders who have been educated here.'"

—**Joseph Nye**, "You Can't Get Here From There," *The New York Times* (29 November 2004)



Paul Kane, International Security Program Fellow, was awarded the Navy Commendation Medal for Personal Performance with Marines on combat duty during the 2003 Operation Iraqi Freedom. A nuclear-biological-chemical defense specialist in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1984–1988, he returned to the Marines from civilian life in 2001 and was mobilized to active duty in Iraq.



Juliette Kayyem, Belfer Center Acting Executive Director for Research, has been elected to the editorial board of the new *Journal of National Security Law and Policy*. Kayyem also co-directed Harvard's Long-Term Legal Strategy Project for Combating Terrorism (LTLS) which in November released its report to Congress recommending legal guidelines in the "war on terror."



Brenda Shaffer, International Security Program Fellow, delivered the opening address, "Security in the South Caucasus," at the 58th Rose-Ross Seminar in Baku, Azerbaijan on November 25. The seminar was sponsored by the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in cooperation with the Parliament of Azerbaijan.



Robert Stavins, Albert Pratt Professor of Business and Government, has been named by Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney to chair the newly created Scientific Advisory Board at the Massachusetts Executive Office of Environmental Affairs (EOEA). This new group has as its primary purpose "to assist policy makers by helping to ensure the production and use of sound science to support decision-making and to ensure that EOEA is making use of up-to-date assessment methods, innovative policy instruments, and appropriate technologies."



Dorothy Zinberg, Faculty Associate with the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, has been named to the Board of Associates of the Whitehead Institute for Biomedical Research at MIT and in December served on the selection panel for the National Academy of Sciences and State Department's Jefferson Scholar Program that brings five senior scientists to Washington for a year.

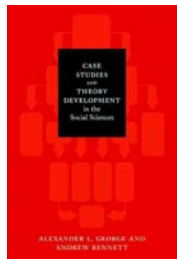


Robert Zoellick, former BCSIA Fellow and Kennedy School alumni (MPP '81), has been confirmed as Deputy Secretary of State by the U.S. Senate. Zoellick was previously U.S. Trade Representative, and also served as Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs under President George H.W. Bush.

Hot off the Presses

Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences

Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett
MIT Press, 2005



This book is not just another outstanding volume in the BCSIA Studies series. It is also a book that BCSIA is proud to have supported from inception to publication because it contributes to so many of the Center's missions. For decades, BCSIA — particularly the International Security Program — has hosted researchers who use the kinds of qualitative methods and case-study research that George and Bennett advocate. Like George and Bennett, the International Security Program believes that case-study research methods are an excellent way to build policy-relevant theories.

“In scope, clarity, and erudition, this book sets a new standard not only in the analysis of case study methods, but also in the study of social science methods more broadly.”

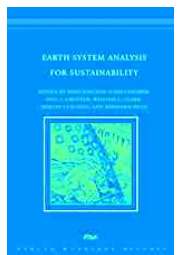
—David Dessler, Associate Professor of Government, College of William & Mary

“The more widely this book is read, the better future social science will be.”

—Stephen M. Walt, Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Earth System Analysis for Sustainability

Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, Paul J. Crutzen, William C. Clark, Martin Claussen, and Hermann Held, editors
The MIT Press, 2004



The book presents the complete story of the inseparably intertwined evolution of life and matter on Earth, focusing on four major topics: long-term geosphere-biosphere interaction and the possibility of using extrasolar planets to test various geophysical hypotheses; the Quaternary Earth System's modes of operation; current planetary dynamics under human pressure; and transition to global sustainability.

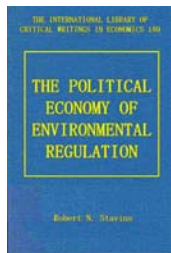
“This is an excellent synthesis of the elements that make up the emerging field of Earth system science. Leading global change scientists have pushed the boundaries of conventional science programs, producing a highly readable, challenging, and in part

provocative book about Earth in the Anthropocene. It ranges across time, space, and disciplines, from Earth's deep history to astrobiology. If we are to achieve sustainability at a global scale, many people — in science and policy — need to read and understand this book.”

—Brian Walker, CSIRO Sustainable Ecosystems, Australia, and Program Director of The Resilience Alliance

The Political Economy of Environmental Regulation

Robert N. Stavins, editor
Edward Elgar Publishing, 2004



This new authoritative collection comprises previously published papers on the political economy of environmental regulation: economic analyses of the processes through which political decisions regarding environmental regulation are made, principally in

the institutional context found in the United States. Despite this geographic focus, many of the papers contain analytical models that are methodologically of interest and/or have lessons that are relevant in other parts of the world.

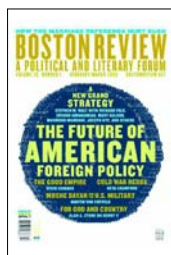
“In this stimulating compendium, Stavins has assembled many important papers dealing with both positive and normative themes in environmental regulation. The political economy overlay is more than a convenient organizational device, since environmental regulation is both an economic challenge and a target of political opportunity.”

—Kenneth Shepsle, George D. Markham Professor of Government, Harvard University

Forthcoming

Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy

Stephen M. Walt
W.W. Norton & Company, forthcoming fall 2005



“Stephen Walt,” says *Boston Review*, “calls for more diplomacy and military restraint from the Bush administration. The United States is the most powerful country in the world, and its economic and security interests will be best served, Walt argues, by maintaining this position of ‘primacy.’ But primacy requires that America’s power be seen by the rest of the world as legitimate.”

A chapter adapted from Stephen Walt’s forthcoming book appears in the February/March 2005 issue of *Boston Review* with commentary from leading academics as part of the New Democracy Forum.

“Stephen Walt is one of the most thoughtful and balanced practitioners of the realist school of international politics.”

—Joseph S. Nye, Sultan of Oman Professor of International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

“Stephen Walt’s essay has the great merit of broadening the debate on foreign policy at a time when institutional pressure has been narrowing it.”

—Mahmoud Mamdani, Herbert Lehman Professor of Government, Columbia University

New Honors for Belfer Books

Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe

by Graham Allison
Times Books / an imprint of Henry Holt & Co.; 2004

The *New York Times* has announced that its “100 Notable Books of the Year” includes Graham Allison’s new book, “Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe.” The “100 Notable Books” — selected from those reviewed by the *Times* since December 2003 — appeared in the Sunday, December 5 issue of the *New York Times Book Review*.

Terrorism, Freedom, and Security: Winning Without War

by Philip B. Heymann
BCSIA Studies in International Security, MIT Press, 2003

Choice Magazine, a publication of the Association of College and Research Libraries named Philip B. Heymann’s *Terrorism, Freedom, and Security: Winning without War* a CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title for 2004. *Choice Magazine* published its complete awards list in its January 2005 issue. This book also received *ForeWord Magazine*’s Bronze Award for Best Book in the Category of Political Science. The winners were announced at a ceremony at BookExpo America in Chicago on June 4, 2004.

Bare Branches: The Security Implications of Asia’s Surplus Male Population

by Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea den Boer
BCSIA Studies in International Security, MIT Press, 2004

The American Sociology Association’s Sociology of Population Section named *Bare Branches: The Security Implications of Asia’s Surplus Male Population* the winner of its 2004 Otis Dudley Duncan Award for distinguished scholarship in social demography. It is also the winner of the 2004 Association of American Publishers Award for Best Professional/Scholarly Book in Government and Political Science.

To the Shores of Tripoli

New Survey by Belfer Fellow Examines USMC Morale by Paul Kane


One of the earliest victories of the U.S. Marine Corps occurred in 1801 during the Barbary War. Lieutenant Presley O'Bannon led a small band of men across 500 miles of desert to attack Tripoli. Lt. O'Bannon became an instant national hero with the victory, and the battle was later immortalized in *The Marines Hymn*. Despite his accomplishments, however, O'Bannon grew frustrated with what he perceived to be bureaucracy, and two years later, he resigned and left the Marines. The early Corps was authorized to have only four captains: O'Bannon, the most decorated Marine, could not be promoted. The Marine Corps lacked an effective mechanism for listening to its people and changing to retain its best.

Today's Marine Corps is eager to listen to its members and adapt its policies to the changing nature of war and today's realities. During October 2004, the Corps asked me to design and execute a survey of the 35,000 Marines returning from serving on combat operations in Iraq. The purpose of the survey was to gather attitudinal data to gauge the impact of the deployment and fighting in Iraq on Marines' desires to re-enlist and continue to serve.

The survey was conceived by senior commanders as a way for the organization to take a candid look at itself. What in the Corps works well, and what are Marines frustrated or unhappy with?

The survey consisted of 44 questions designed to elicit candid responses and comments to measure attitudes about issues such as future re-enlistment, morale, and support for Marine families. The draft survey was designed in October 2004. An *ad hoc* Survey Working Group composed of various Kennedy School and other scholars was established to review and offer comments on the survey design, sampling techniques, and results. Noted military sociologist, Professor **Charlie Moskos** of Northwestern University, and Harvard alumnus Colonel **Mark Cancian**, USMCR (Ret), reviewed and refined the survey. Belfer ISP fellows **Omar McDoom**, **Bonnie Jenkins**, **Margaret Sloane**, and **Assaf Moghadam** generously lent support in analyzing the data. Professor **Bear Braumoeller** of Harvard, **Marie Besançon** of BCSIA's Intrastate Conflict Program, and **Raj Arunachalam** (University of California) contributed their expertise with statistical tools and quantitative analysis.

During December 2005, a sample population of 2,700 returned Marines who served in Iraq were identified and asked to complete anonymous surveys at their bases in the United States. The survey results are now being briefed to the Commandant of the Marine Corps for action, and it is expected they will be released to the public this May.

The survey is the only scientifically accurate "polling" of the attitudes of U.S. combat forces serving in Iraq about the war. Four more surveys will be executed during 2005 to assess what works well and to monitor trends that will help the Marine Corps better attract and retain the Presley O'Bannons of today and tomorrow. 

Paul Kane is an ISP fellow at the Belfer Center and a decorated Marine veteran of the Iraq war.



Wellspring of Western Culture: Paul Kane at the ancient site of Babylon, in Iraq, 2003. Building in background was reconstructed by Saddam Hussein to resemble Nebuchadnezzar's palace.

International Security WINTER 2004/05 Vol. 29, No. 3

The Perils of Counterinsurgency: Russia's War in Chechnya

Mark Kramer of Harvard University provides a military overview of the latest Russian-Chechen war, which began in 1999. Kramer examines the tactics of Chechen guerrillas and the responses by Russian military and security forces. He explains why Russian troops have been unable to crush the separatist insurgency and why Chechen fighters have resorted to increasingly deadly acts of terrorism. These terrorist attacks have greatly reduced the prospect of a lasting political settlement. Although some of the problems that have dogged Russian forces in Chechnya are unique to that particular conflict, the prolonged war is useful in illustrating the more general difficulty of counterinsurgency operations.

China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order

International relations in Asia are undergoing fundamental change, declares **David Shambaugh** of George Washington University. Shambaugh traces this phenomenon to several factors, including: China's growing power and influence, the relative decline of U.S. authority in the region, the expanding normative influence of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and growth of regional multilateral institutions, increased

International Security is America's leading journal of security affairs. It provides sophisticated analyses of contemporary security issues and discusses their conceptual and historical foundations. The journal is edited at BCSIA and published quarterly by the MIT Press. Questions may be directed to: isharvard.edu <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/IS>

technological and economic interdependence, and Beijing's improved relations with three former antagonists—South Korea, Vietnam, and India. Despite the significance of China's regional rise, Shambaugh asserts that it is premature to conclude that Asia's evolving order has become Sinocentric.

Blasts from the Past: Proliferation Lessons from the 1960s

Francis Gavin of the University of Texas argues that in making the goal of halting nuclear proliferation, particularly by so-called rogue regimes, a centerpiece of its national security strategy, the current Bush administration has failed to consider the lessons of the past. Gavin notes that President Lyndon B. Johnson confronted an equally if not more challenging threat when China joined the nuclear ranks in 1964. He describes the work of the Gilpatric Committee, an advisory group assembled by Johnson, whose controversial recommendations helped to transform U.S. nonproliferation policy and paved the way for a worldwide treaty negotiated in cooperation with the Soviet Union to slow the spread of nuclear weapons.

The Credibility of Power: Assessing Threats during the "Appeasement" Crises of the 1930s

For decades, statesmen and scholars have speculated about the sources of credibility in

international politics. **Daryl Press** of Dartmouth College challenges the prevailing view that a state's credibility depends on keeping its commitments. Using evidence from German decision-making during the 1930s, Press argues that German leaders did not assess British and French credibility on the basis of their history for keeping commitments. Rather, they believed British and French threats when the military balance favored the Allies and dismissed them when the balance favored Germany. Press closes with a discussion of the implications of his findings for contemporary international politics.

The 9/11 Commission Report: A Review Essay

Richard Falkenrath of the Brookings Institution offers an assessment of *The 9/11 Commission Report*. Falkenrath, Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Homeland Security Adviser within the White House from January 2003 until May 2004, praises the report's historical analysis but criticizes its failure both to explain how different policies could have prevented the September 11 attacks or to identify which government officials were responsible.

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

Graham Allison, Director
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
Tel: 617-495-1400
Fax: 617-495-8963
www.bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu
bcsia_ksg@harvard.edu

BCSIA News

Editor: Sharon Wilke
sharon_wilke@ksg.harvard.edu

Director of Communications and
Outreach: John Neffinger
john_neffinger@ksg.harvard.edu

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Belfer Center Mission: 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.

Visit our website at www.belfercenter.org to learn more about the Belfer Center.

Center Announces Initiative to Promote Middle East Governance

This past December, the Belfer Center announced the launch of the Governance Initiative in the Middle East, an effort to promote improved governance in the Middle East. Topping the initiative's agenda is assisting the government of Dubai as they establish a new Dubai School of Government (DSG) that will promote training and research in regional governance issues.

Ceremonies commemorating the new school of government's founding took place in Dubai on December 14 as part of the Arab Strategy Forum. Belfer Center Acting Executive Director for Research **Juliette Kayyem** took part in the ceremonies along with former U.S. Ambassador to Yemen **Barbara Bodine**, whom she introduced as the first executive director of the initiative.

**“Improving our understanding
of this critical region
will be vital to improving
international relations in
the decades to come.”**


Ambassador Bodine will work with representatives of the Dubai government to assist in the development of DSG, which will train a new generation of Middle Eastern scholars and leaders in governance issues and methods. The governance initiative will ensure that the new school is working with the latest and best

scholarship on governance issues by conducting extensive education programs in Dubai and providing access to the Kennedy School's materials and faculty, as well as hosting DSG scholars for extended periods of study at Harvard.

“This is a truly groundbreaking project to bring the research and training resources of the Kennedy School and the regional expertise of the Dubai School to bear on the critical issues of governance in the region,” said Ambassador Bodine. “I’m looking forward to working with my new colleagues both in Cambridge and in Dubai.”

“We are delighted to be able to contribute to this first-of-a-kind effort to improve governance in the Middle East, and especially delighted that Ambassador Bodine has agreed to join us to head up the effort,” said Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, who will serve as faculty chair of the new initiative. “The Belfer Center's arrangement with the Dubai School of Government will allow Harvard scholars to play a key role in the evolving debate about improving governance in the Middle East. At the same time, we are there to learn as well as to teach. Improving our understanding

of the challenges faced by this critical region will be vital to improving international relations in the decades to come.”

Ms. Bodine, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service who had been based primarily in the Middle East, served as Ambassador to Yemen from 1997 to 2001. (For more information on Ambassador Bodine, see Q&A, page 8.) 



Dubai is the second largest of the seven emirates which comprise the federation of the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Dubai City is the commercial hub of the entire Gulf region, as well as being the largest city in the UAE.