

BCSIA News

THE ROBERT AND RENÉE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Non-Proliferation Treaty and Iran, N. Korea Top Belfer Priorities

As the signatories of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) gather in May to review the treaty and to assess the impact of the nuclear activities in North Korea and Iran, Belfer experts continue working to assist policymakers and the public in understanding and responding to the treaty and its review.

Named by Senator **Richard Lugar** (R-Ind.) to co-chair a Senate Foreign Relations Committee Policy Analysis Group, the Belfer Center's **Ashton Carter**, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project (PDP), is leading efforts to reframe the international understandings surrounding nuclear proliferation. Carter and the PDP have also been deeply involved in finding solutions to the stalled Six-Party Talks to contain nuclear North Korea.

In March, Carter joined Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and Caspian Studies Research Director **Brenda Shaffer** at the Kennedy School Forum to discuss the Iranian nuclear challenge. Joined by **Henry Sokoloski**, executive director of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, they led a spirited debate on the effects of the nonproliferation regime on Iran and the chances for European efforts to contain nuclear development in the nation.

The Belfer Center Library has been the staging ground in recent weeks for several

discussions on North Korean and Iranian nuclear capabilities. **John Park**, a Center fellow, presented his analysis on China's lack of leverage over the country's nuclear efforts. The Center also welcomed **Goh Kun**, former prime minister of South Korea, to explore the future of the U.S.-ROK alliance in light of North Korea's nuclear weapons program.

International Security Program (ISP) Director **Steven Miller** participated in an international conference held March 5–6 in Tehran, Iran, on "Nuclear Technology and Sustainable Development." Belfer Center ISP Fellow **Mustafa Kibaroglu** recently led a discussion on "Positions of Major Players in the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle." Kibaroglu discussed the EU3 talks and their likelihood of success and the varying perceptions of the major players regarding Iran's nuclear capabilities and intentions.



Nuclear Pivot Point? During a panel discussion of "The Iranian Nuclear Challenge" at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in March, Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** notes a point made by **Henry Sokoloski**, executive director of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center. Allison moderated the discussion that included the Belfer Center's **Ashton Carter** (2nd from left), co-director of the Preventive Defense Project, and **Brenda Shaffer**, research director of the Center's Caspian Studies Project.

Managing the Atom's **Matthew Bunn** and **Anthony Wier** recently completed a new report on the security of nuclear materials. Written with the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), "Securing the Bomb 2005: The New Global Imperative" examines progress made on the front in the past year.

As a capstone project, Belfer Center scholars joined forces to produce a guide to understanding the NPT Review Conference and to help measure its success. This guide is available at www.belfercenter.org.

Belfer Center Informs United Nations Reform Debate

While United Nations reform efforts have been at the forefront of the news



Food and Oil: Belfer Faculty Affiliate and Center for Business and Government Director **John Ruggie** (right) talks with Belfer Fellow **Mustafa Kibaroglu** following Ruggie's presentation of "Lessons Learned from Oil-for-Food." Ruggie was U.N. assistant secretary-general and chief adviser for strategic planning from 1997–2001.

in recent months, reform activity has been underway within the U.N. for several years. The Belfer Center has been contributing its expertise to the reform debate on several fronts.

In April of 2004, the Belfer Center joined with the United Nations Foundation and the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) to convene a group of top nuclear arms control experts and leaders to formulate recommendations on how the U.N. might take a renewed leadership role in nuclear nonproliferation. The session was held at the request of a high-level panel named by U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan. The Belfer Center's **Graham Allison**, **John Holdren**, **Ashton Carter**, and **Matthew Bunn** joined in developing specific recommendations to address key proliferation threats.

The Center has continued to enrich the reform debate through workshops, discussions, and congressional testimony from reform experts such as Belfer Faculty Affiliate **John Ruggie** and the Belfer Center's **Ashton Carter** and **Graham Allison**.

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From the Director

As the summer approaches, we congratulate the students graduating from the Kennedy School and the fellows completing their year of study with the Belfer Center. Fellows and students contribute significantly to the richness of the Center with their diversity of backgrounds, experiences, and views. We wish them well as they move on to promising careers in the public and private sector.

These past few months have been extremely active, highlighted by visits and meetings with leaders in international and security affairs. Our international guests have included French Minister of Defense **Michele Aliot-Marie**, Deputy Prime Minister of Israel **Silvan Shalom**, former Prime Minister of South Korea **Goh Kun**, and the U.N. Advisory Board on Human Security's Chair **Sadako Ogata**. And we've had thought provoking discussions with a number of guests from within our country, such as Senators **Chuck Hagel** and **Bob Graham**, **Stephen Stedman**, special adviser to U.N. Secretary General **Kofi Annan**, Lt. Gen. **Michael Hayden**, director of the National Security Agency and nominee for deputy national intelligence director, former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs **Marc Grossman**, and Undersecretary of Defense for Policy **Douglas Feith**. We've been pleased also to exchange views with UCLA intelligence reform expert **Amy Zegart** and former Deputy Assistant to the President **Robert Blackwill**.

In March, we were proud to welcome "hero of the planet" **Peter Raven** to the Kennedy School to gain from his insights and advice on forging the link between biodiversity and sustainability.

The comments of these distinguished visitors have been enlightening and instructive, especially in light of the many reforms and changes around the world today.



View from the Hill: Senator **Chuck Hagel** (R-Neb.), Nebraska's Senior U.S. Senator, speaks with Belfer Center students and fellows during a visit to the Center in April. Listening is KSG student **Kent Grasso** (MPP2), a student in Graham Allison's international security class.

As the executive branch takes on the largest reform of the intelligence system in recent years, **Elaine Kamarck** concluded the last of a series of groundbreaking seminars on the subject here at the Kennedy School with a series of discussions and a war game scenario. Intelligence leaders from around the world took part in the conference. (See page 3 for more information.)

I was also joined by Elaine, **Juliette Kayyem**, and **Ash Carter** in sharing our views with the commission created by President Bush and chaired by **Laurence Silberman** and **Chuck Robb** on intelligence capabilities and weapons of mass destruction. Those recently released findings will have significant impact on how the government moves forward in developing intelligence capabilities for the threats we will face in the future.

Looking far into the future, STPP Director **John Holdren** and Belfer Fellow **Bill Rosenberg** testified before the Senate on how the United States should position itself to meet future energy needs.

Those [WMD Commission] findings will have significant impact on how the government moves forward . . .

The Belfer Center also is contributing to the current debate surrounding revisions of two international structures, the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the United Nations. As issues such as nuclear terrorism and new challenges with Iran and North Korea dramatically impact the NPT and the existence of the regime that governs non-proliferation efforts around the world, and the United Nations works to position itself to face an ever changing world, the Belfer Center is contributing its



Reaching Out: French Minister of Defense and Veterans Affairs **Michele Aliot-Marie** listens as she is introduced by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** before her John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum address on "NATO and the European Alliance: Partners or Competitors?"

expertise to the debate through conferences, consultations, and testimony.

We have had the honor this spring of taking part in a series of policy debates at the esteemed 92nd Street Y in New York. Belfer faculty and affiliates **Shai Feldman**, **Jessica Stern**, **Barbara Bodine**, and **Juliette Kayyem** have spoken about the Middle East, terrorism, and homeland security, and I'm scheduled for a presentation in late May on nuclear terrorism.

As our new director of communications and outreach, **Maira Whelan** will continue to foster this and many other relationships. Her extensive experience on Capitol Hill and in the Washington think-tank community will bring a new dimension to the Belfer Center's efforts.

The activities of the Belfer Center continue to move forward with the same dynamism as the world we study. We will continue to look over the horizon and assist policymakers, students, and others in addressing the challenges of today and tomorrow. 📍

Graham Allison

Belfer Experts Join Policy Debates at 92nd Street Y

The Belfer Center joined forces this spring with New York's 92nd Street Y, with several Center experts taking part in the organization's timely policy debate series. The Center's speakers were introduced by **Laurence** and **Robert Belfer**.

Shai Feldman, new director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University and member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, spoke on March 15 on "The Middle East: Terrorism and Global Security."

Jessica Stern and **Barbara Bodine** spoke on March 17 on "Winning the War of Ideas in

the War on Terror." Stern, a faculty affiliate of the Belfer Center, and Barbara Bodine, executive director of the Belfer Center's Governance Initiative in the Middle East, discussed the terrorism threat.

Belfer Executive Director **Juliette Kayyem**, who co-authored the "Long Term Legal Strategy for Preserving Security and Democratic Norms in the War on Terrorism," was joined on April 19 by New York City Police Commissioner **Ray Kelly** to address the issue of "Security at the State and Local Levels" and how the effort to protect America affects communities. 📍

Conference Creates Roadmap for Intelligence Reform

The final conference of the most comprehensive unclassified review of the U.S. intelligence community since 9/11 took place at the Kennedy School in April. Organized by the Belfer Center's **Elaine Kamarck**, a government reform expert and lecturer in public policy, *Strategic Issues for Intelligence in the 21st Century* was a five-part series of conferences that began in the fall of 2003. Aimed at shaping the U.S. intelligence infrastructure to meet the emerging security threats of the 21st century, the conferences drew intelligence experts and officials from across the country and around the world.

“The intelligence community was designed to meet the challenge of a different age and is now playing catch up.”

The concluding conference focused on the consumers of intelligence and included panelists such as **Jon Kringen**, deputy director for intelligence at the CIA, **Brent Scowcroft**, former national security advisor, **Bob Graham**, former chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and **Richard Falkenrath**, former special assistant to the President for homeland security. **Joseph Nye**, former dean of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, and **Graham Allison**, director of the Belfer Center, also addressed the group. Participants included over 100 representatives from throughout the intelligence community, including the National Laboratories, the FBI, and the Departments of Homeland Security and Defense. In addition, numerous foreign governments were represented.

Previous conferences explored cooperation among government agencies, reorganization of the intelligence community, and the role of science and technology in intelligence.



Effective Intelligence: “Strategic Issues for Intelligence in the 21st Century” conference organizer **Elaine Kamarck**, with former National Security Advisor **Brent Scowcroft**, who took part in the panel “The Future IC: What will decisionmakers of the future expect from intelligence officials?”

The goal of the conferences is a series of models to be made available to the new Director of National Intelligence, Congress and the public, defining options for the structure of the intelligence community as it should look in the year 2020.

“The intelligence community was designed to meet the challenge of a different age and is now playing catch up,” Kamarck said. “Creating a roadmap of where we need to be to meet the threats of tomorrow is essential and must take into account the many players in the intelligence game—classified and unclassified, domestic and international, official and unofficial.”

The conference was presented by the Global Futures Partnership of the CIA's Sherman Kent School for Intelligence Analysis, the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.



Better Prepared: Senator **Bob Graham** (center), former chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, makes a point during an intelligence simulation exercise at the “Strategic Issues” conference. Graham recently authored *Intelligence Matters*, a book based on his experiences.

Iraq WMD Commission: Why Was Intelligence “Dead Wrong”? by Sarah Dorland

On March 31, 2005, the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, concluded that the “Intelligence Community was dead wrong in almost all of its pre-war judgments about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction.” Co-chaired by **Laurence H. Silberman** and **Charles S. Robb**, the WMD Commission presented its findings to President Bush after a year of intense research and interviews.

Several Belfer Center experts asked to participate in the investigation included **Graham Allison**, **Ashton Carter**, **Elaine Kamarck**, and **Juliette Kayyem**. **Sean Davis**, a recent Kennedy School graduate affiliated with the Preventive Defense Project, served as a professional staff member on the Commission.

The Commission made a number of recommendations to correct intelligence community weaknesses, which it said included a lack of strong leadership and an over-reliance on assumptions, as well as poor information collection, information sharing, analysis, and communication.

In his meeting with Commission members, Graham Allison emphasized the need for “spies and shooters” who could have helped prevent 9/11 and the intelligence failure in Iraq. He warned that “for the continuing absence of competent spies and shooters, the U.S. stands gravely vulnerable to a nuclear terrorist attack a thousand times deadlier than the assault on the World Trade Center and Pentagon.”

In a formal hearing with the Commission, Ash Carter concentrated on the need to overhaul counterproliferation efforts as part of a greater intelligence management problem.

Carter is cited in the report as describing “today’s intelligence community as ‘not so much poorly managed as unmanaged.’”

Elaine Kamarck met with co-chair Charles Robb and with the Commission staff. She explained how organizational innovation in the federal government might apply to the intelligence community. “For the intelligence community to effectively monitor the new challenges which arise from nonstate based actors it will have to adapt its traditional organization—and look to new organizational forms, such as networks, as a way to monitor 21st century threats.”

“Today’s intelligence community is ‘not so much poorly managed as unmanaged.’”

Juliette Kayyem, who also spoke with the Commission staff, summed up the Commission’s objectives. “Previous commissions have approached intelligence reform by trying to assess how intelligence can be better shared and processed. This Commission tries to examine not how the deck chairs are arranged, but the content of how we actually get intelligence—from human intelligence sources to how the intelligence community portrays doubt or equivocation. That is an important contribution, regardless of whether you agree that politics had anything to do with the WMD fiasco.”

Sarah Dorland is a Belfer Center research assistant.

Understanding and Preventing Suicide Bombings

Belfer Fellows Instruct NATO on Suicide Attacks by Ersel Aydinli and Assaf Moghadam

In March, International Security Program research fellows Ersel Aydinli and Assaf Moghadam participated as co-instructors in a week-long pilot course on defense against suicide bombings. Organized by the Centre of Excellence—Defence Against Terrorism (CoE-DAT) in Ankara, Turkey, the seminar was one of the first projects of its kind. Its aim was to familiarize representatives of the military and police forces of over 35 NATO and Partnership for Peace (PfP) countries with the causes, nature, tactics, and possible responses to suicide attacks.

What motivates suicide bombers and what steps can be taken to prevent these attacks?

At a recent conference, we joined our colleagues from around the world, including the United States, Turkey, and Britain, to explore the causes of suicide bombings and motivations of suicide terrorists with the purpose of developing strategies to stem the phenomenon of such attacks. The prevailing sentiment was that motivations and capabilities of individuals and organizations must be tackled simultaneously to reduce the number of terrorist attacks.

Terrorism is primarily a power struggle. The strategy of terror must be seen as a tool for political ends—a means of redistributing political power between the “weak” and

“strong.” Suicide terrorism represents a huge leap for terrorists. It is the equivalent of a state going nuclear in its arms race with other states. Even religiously-motivated terrorists are not immune from the need to develop innovative methods of destroying their foe and, like all terrorists, must do so on a more “cost efficient” basis than nation-states. Failing to escalate risks the loss of prestige, public support, and, ultimately, defeat. For the traditional strong state power to build up a nuclear arsenal requires materials and laboratories. For the terrorist organization to arm its conventional warriors with the super weapon of suicide terror, religious incentives, or a concept of martyrdom provide the ideal software.

Suicide terrorism represents a huge leap for terrorists . . . the equivalent of a state going nuclear in its arms race with other states.

To reduce the incidence of suicide bombings, Western policies must acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of Islam, Islamism, and Jihadism, as well as the resulting internal war in the Islamic world over whose discourse is



Assaf Moghadam (left) and Ersel Aydinli

going to dominate. It is imperative that the West support the moderate segments of this heterogeneous body in order to marginalize the radical challenge.

A coordinated strategy to counter suicide terrorism must overcome several challenges, including national budgets, the competition of counter-terrorism with other national security interests, and the general preference for immediate results—by both the public and the government—over long-term prevention.

To contain suicide terrorism, several defensive and offensive elements must be utilized. In order to reduce the motivation for such attacks in the long term, the grievances that give rise to terrorism must be addressed at the same time. Law enforcement, mobilization of the public, domestic inter-service and international cooperation, and consequence management, among other steps, are critical elements of a national strategy to counter suicide terrorism that a government must utilize simultaneously. The role of intelligence is central, with the aim of preventing acts of suicide terrorism from occurring in the first place.

The campaign must also be accompanied by an effort to separate the communities that support suicide bombings from the organizations that plan and execute them. To the extent that the problem is an Islamist phenomenon, moderate Islamic clerics must be convinced to issue religious edicts that forbid suicide attacks, which indeed are unjustifiable in Islam. Most importantly perhaps, affected states must wage public information campaigns that identify the many contradictions of suicide attacks, including the reluctance of the leadership of terrorist organizations to sacrifice themselves or close family members in such a fashion. In addition, the hypocrisy of terrorist networks such as al Qaeda, which on the one hand accuses the West of hedonism, but on the other hand promises would-be-martyrs heavenly luxuries, must be exposed.

Further exploration into the causes of suicide terrorism is needed and will direct policy-makers on the steps they must take to mitigate this threat. Our presentations at the March conference in Ankara to familiarize military and police officials with this phenomenon were a step toward improving international cooperation to prevent suicide attacks. ■

Israeli Deputy Prime Minister: World Must Empower Moderates

Silvan Shalom, Israel's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, opened his address to a standing-room-only crowd at the Kennedy School on March 7 by quoting John F. Kennedy: “In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it.”

In a lecture hosted by the Belfer Center entitled “Peace in the Middle East: Challenges and Opportunities,” Shalom said that while communism has been defeated, “the challenge to freedom has not passed.” He said that

leaders today must choose between two strategies—preserving stability as a goal in itself and taking the initiative to promote positive change.

“Leaders today must choose between . . . preserving stability . . . and taking the initiative to promote positive change.”

“Every effort must be made,” Shalom said, “to empower the moderates and to weaken the extremists.” He called on all countries to take steps that include denying terrorist organizations the ability to raise money; holding states like Iran and Syria to account for their “support for terror,” and bringing an end to Iran’s “reckless drive for nuclear weapons.”

In addition, Shalom said, the world must unite to help the Palestinians build democratic institutions and practices, “which will ensure that they can indeed be a true partner for peace.” ■

Moment in Time: Silvan Shalom, Israel's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, addresses an overflow audience at the Kennedy School on March 7 on “Peace in the Middle East: Challenges and Opportunities.”



MARTHA STEWART

PDP Leads Delegation to Taiwan, China by Gretchen Bartlett

On January 22–29, the **Preventive Defense Project (PDP)**, in collaboration with the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, led a U.S. delegation to Taipei, Shanghai, and Beijing. This represents the seventh Track II strategic security dialogue with Chinese defense, military, diplomatic, and academic leaders led by PDP in as many years. Track II dialogues, designed to examine issues too controversial to be meaningfully discussed in official Track I bilateral discussions, serve as an important forum for confidence-building between nations. This one was no exception, receiving praise from throughout the region.

Track II dialogues . . . serve as an important forum for confidence-building between nations.

PDP met also with President **Chen Shui-bian** in Taiwan and Premier **Wen Jiabao** in China, and partnered again with the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies for a two-day conference in Shanghai. The group explored topics such as new foreign policy thinking in the United States and China, Sino-American relations, East Asian security, and the Taiwan issue in U.S.-China relations. The conference was opened by

Wang Daohan, president of the Association for Relations across the Taiwan Straits, a venerable statesman and long time friend of PDP.

The delegation led by PDP Directors **Ashton Carter** and **William Perry** included former Ambassador to China and Commander-in-Chief, Pacific **Joseph Prueher**, former Ambassador **Michael Armacost**, former Chief of Staff of the Army **Eric Shinseki**, former Ambassador **Robert Blackwill**, President of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations **John Holden**, Vice President of the NCUSCR **Jan Berris**, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense **Kurt Campbell**, Director of the China Studies Program at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies **David Lamp-ton**, PDP Senior Advisor **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall**, and PDP Associate Directors **Gretchen Bartlett** and **Deborah Gordon**.

In Taiwan, the delegation met with Speaker of the House **Wang Jin-pyng**, Secretary General **Chiou I-jen** and Deputy **Ko Chen-heng** of the National Security Council and Minister of Defense **Lee Chieh** as well as the president. In addition to meeting with prominent academics and journalists, the delegation met with members of the People First Party, the Kuomintang, and Democratic Progressive Party. In China, the group met with the premier, as well as with Minister of Defense **Cao Gangchuan** and General **Xiong Guangkai**.

The delegation's visit came on the eve of the first cross-strait direct flights in decades. Discussions focused on confidence-building measures in cross-strait relations and the resumption of dialogue between the two parties, in addition to security matters. 🇺🇸

Gretchen Bartlett is PDP Associate Director.



On Track II: Preventive Defense Project Directors **Ashton Carter** (left) and **William Perry** (third from left) meet with Chinese Premier **Wen Jiabao** (2nd from right). They are joined by Ambassadors **Robert Blackwill** (2nd from left) and **Michael Armacost**.

Belfer Experts Interviewed on Post-9/11 Science

How did 9/11 impact science in the United States?

The British Broadcasting Corporation recently aired a radio series entitled “Controlling Science,” which examined the effects of the 9/11 attacks on science. A number of Belfer Center experts were interviewed for the four-part series, which focused on visas, scientific research, scientific diplomacy, and co-operation/competition.

Responding to the question of impacts from the restrictive U.S. visa policy, particularly in China, Energy Technology Innovation

Project Director **Kelly Sims Gallagher** said, “It puts a lot more pressure on us to spend more time in China, and . . . the students I encounter in China are turning to European universities.” STPP Director **John Holdren** said, “People within the government are pursuing a great many different agendas beyond counterterrorism. . . . So you have people pursuing an anti-immigration agenda. . . .” STPP Faculty Associate **Dorothy Zinberg** added, “We’re going to have to work very hard to maximize the potential for collaboration . . . rather than creating a fortress America.”

STPP Senior Research Associate **Bob Frosch**, in a subsequent program, was asked whether the secrecy surrounding homeland security projects will hinder

advanced technologies from feeding back into the civilian world. He replied, “History says it will. I grew up as a physicist in the post World War II era. And I *know* that all of the early microwave research and a lot of the molecular beams research and all the electronics was living off World War II surplus. And scientists who’d been in World War II had carried all the stuff they’d done in radar *back* into the laboratory.”

“We’re going to have to work very hard to maximize the potential for collaboration.”

“I think if these trends continue it will have a negative impact on world science in terms of de-linking the United States from the rest of the global community,” said **Calestous Juma**, director of STPP’s Science, Technology, and Globalization Project. “Science advances through cooperation and through sharing,” Juma said. “Competition between blocs can only result in inefficiencies, because you have different regions of the world reinventing what’s already available.” 🇺🇸



Scientific Truths: The Belfer Center’s Director of Science, Technology, and Public Policy **John Holdren** with Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP) Director **Kelly Sims Gallagher** (right) and Lecturer in Public Policy **Dorothy Zinberg**.



Calestous Juma

Calestous Juma is professor of the Practice of International Development and director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization Project. He is a former executive secretary of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity and founding director of the African Centre for Technology Studies in Nairobi. Juma recently served as coordinator of the U.N. Millennium Project's Task Force on Science, Technology and Innovation, which in January released its report: "Innovation: Applying Knowledge in Development." He is currently working on a book on biotechnology and globalization.

Q What do you see as the single most important need facing the world today?

The most glaring need today is finding a way to bring the world's scientific and technological knowledge into the service of poor regions around the world.

Three important issues can be addressed by aligning the institutions concerned with global challenges: the persistence of poverty in developing countries, especially in Africa; the dramatic growth in science and technological knowledge, especially in the industrialized countries; and finally the growing recognition of the role of science and technology in solving social, economic, and environmental challenges. Today these three global phenomena are managed in isolation, but would bring about substantial benefits if we designed institutions that bring the world's scientific and technological knowledge to bear on development challenges.

Support for knowledge-based institutions such as universities and private enterprises should be at the center of development policies worldwide, with a specific focus on higher technical education to support development efforts at the local level. Shining examples of "development universities" such as EARTH University in Costa Rica and the Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management in Rwanda represent a new generation of institutions that will continue to play a key role in economic transformation.

Reinventing higher education in developing countries to serve development objectives will require political support and major contributions of institutional entrepreneurs. The creation of offices of science and technology to support presidents, prime ministers, and other leaders is an important policy measure that needs to be implemented by all countries as well as international organizations to ensure governments are using science and technology as effectively as possible.

Q How did you get interested in science and technology and the global picture?

My father was a passionate innovator who viewed every problem as a technological challenge. He hailed from a long line of craftsmen and was happiest when he was solving a problem. He introduced new crops, trees, building methods, and fishing and farming methods to our community on the Kenyan shores of Lake Victoria. He traveled widely, gaining new ideas wherever he went. It is from him that I acquired the interest to think globally. My mother was a businesswoman and from her we learned the value of private enterprises. My global perspectives were shaped largely by my early involvement in global environmental issues first as a science journalist and later as a researcher where interactions between human needs, technology, and environment informed much of the political dialogue.

Q How might your U.N. Task Force report, "Innovation," make a difference?

The report was written with two objectives in mind. First, it is an effort to bring together the latest thinking on the relationships between technological innovation and development.

Second, we set out to establish a basis for dialogue with high level decision-makers around the world on how to integrate science and technology into development strategies. The report has been very well-received and is being translated into other languages. We have also launched the *International Journal of Technology and Globalisation* which serves as a forum for academic research on the same subject.

Q What is one way the U.N. can have more positive impact globally?

Connections between the United Nations and the world of academia are rudimentary at best. The United Nations University, for example, could play a key role serving as a think-tank for the United Nations system, and the U.N. Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD) could be more effective if it served as the source of ideas of how to promote the sustainability transition. It would be more useful to governments as a "learning center" than continuing the current practice of recycling and massaging old decisions. The rules and procedures of the U.N. must be simplified and modernized to reflect today's technological and management opportunities. 📌

Belfer Center Hosts Global Summit on Future of Armenia

The future of Armenia was the focus of a global summit at the Kennedy School in March. Hosted by the Belfer Center, the "Global Summit on the Future of Armenia" was the culmination of three years of future scenario planning and the launch of a strategic plan to create prosperity in the newly independent nation by the year 2020.

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** opened the Summit by welcoming **Vahram Nercissiantz**, the chief economic adviser to Armenian President **Robert Kocharian**, along with **Dr. Noubar Afeyan**, member of the Armenia 2020 Executive Board, and other leaders of the Armenian diaspora, as well as economic development experts. Harvard Business School Professor **Michael Porter**, an expert on strategy and competitiveness who has advised a number of countries on economic planning, framed the discussion about Armenia's strategic imperatives to achieve prosperity.

[Armenia] faces persistent poverty despite a highly educated and accomplished population.

Organized by the think-tank Armenia 2020 and co-sponsored by the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), the Summit was part of an ongoing effort to build a shared vision among Armenians focused on creating successful Armenian companies and jobs and a shared strategy in which government, private sector, and the Armenian diaspora work together to realize their dreams for this small country of 3 million people. Armenia gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, but faces persistent poverty despite a highly educated and accomplished population and a sizable and wealthy diaspora. 📌



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American Primacy: Harvard President **Lawrence Summers** (2nd from left) listens to views expressed by Belfer faculty and colleagues regarding America's place in the world. The meeting in March was part of the "American Primacy and Its Discontents" series of discussions begun in 2003 by President Summers and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (center right).



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Through the Looking Glass: Intelligence reform expert **Amy Zegart** discusses "September 11 and the Adaptation Failure of the CIA" with Belfer colleagues. An assistant professor of public policy at UCLA, Zegart's research focuses on design problems of the American security system.

MARTHA STEWART



Human Security: **Sadako Ogata**, chair of the U.N. Advisory Board on Human Security and president of the Japan International Cooperation Agency, speaks to Kennedy School students and faculty on "Refugees and Internal Conflict in the 1990s: Thoughts for the Future," during her visit in March.

GREG WILSON



Evaluating Efforts: Undersecretary of Defense Policy **Douglas Feith** presents his views regarding the "War on Terrorism" at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in March.



AMBASSADOR ROBERT HUNTER

Plane Talk: The Belfer Center's **Ashton Carter** (center) with Sen. **Joseph Lieberman** (D-Conn) on left, and Sen. **John McCain** (R-Ariz.) en route to the 41st Munich (Germany) Conference on Security Policy in February.

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Bio-security: **Richard Danzig**, international security fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and former Secretary of the Navy (1998–2001), discusses terrorism and bio-security with Belfer faculty. Danzig is currently a Department of Defense consultant on terrorism. Next to Danzig is STPP Director **John Holdren** (center) and Distinguished Service Professor **Joe Nye**.



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Diplomacy at Work: Former Under Secretary for Political Affairs and U.S. Ambassador to Turkey **Marc Grossman** speaks about "Diplomacy in the 21st Century" to faculty, fellows, and students in the Belfer Library. Grossman served as the State Department's manager of regional and bilateral policy issues, and was responsible for integrating political, economic, global, and security issues in the United States' bilateral relationships.

ting Critical Issues



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Progress and Pitfalls: Stephen Stedman, special adviser to United Nations Secretary General **Kofi Annan**, joined Belfer Center faculty, fellows and students in April to discuss U.N. reforms and challenges facing the reformers. International Security Program Director **Steve Miller** (left) and Harvard Distinguished Service Professor and Belfer board member **Joe Nye** take part in the luncheon discussion.



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Security Exchange: Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) greets **Lt. Gen. Michael Hayden** (2nd from left), director of the National Security Agency and nominee for Deputy National Intelligence Director. **Tad Oelstrom**, director of the Kennedy School's National Security Program, and **Juliette Kayyem**, acting executive director of the Belfer Center, join in welcoming Hayden to the Center for a Director's Lunch discussion of intelligence and national security.



BCSIA

Hot Debate: The controversy over the Yucca Mt. nuclear waste site in Nevada was the focus of a Managing the Atom presentation by **Allison MacFarlane**, research associate with the Security Studies Program at MIT.



BCSIA

Path to Democracy? Iraq's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, H.E. Ambassador **Feisal Istrabadi**, visited the Belfer Center in April to discuss "The Iraq Constitution: Processes and Challenges." Mr. Istrabadi played a pivotal role in drafting Iraq's Transitional Administrative Law and helped ensure the inclusion of freedoms of speech and religion. His visit was organized by the Center's Governance Initiative in the Middle East.



MARTHA STEWART

Precious Planet: *Time* magazine's "Hero for the Planet" **Peter Raven** speaks to a large Forum audience about "Biodiversity and Sustainability: How to Forge the Link." Delivering the Kennedy School's Gustav Pollak lecture, the Washington University professor and head of the Missouri Botanical Garden said that at the current rate two-thirds of Earth's species will be gone by the year 2100. If the earth's carrying capacity were a checking account, Raven said, we would be overdrawn. He is joined by Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **John Holdren**, who introduced him.



MARTHA STEWART

Neighborly Advice: **Goh Kun**, former prime minister of South Korea, discusses the "U.S.-Republic of Korea Alliance and the North Korean Problem" at a Belfer Center Director's Lunch. **Jim Walsh**, director of the Center's Managing the Atom project, listens intently.

Public v Private: Former AOL Time Warner Executive **George Vradenberg** talks about the "dysfunctional relationship" between the "Public and Private Sectors in Homeland Security" and his experience as a Tom Ridge appointee to the Private Sector Senior Advisory Council. Next to him: Kennedy School student **Sabra Horne** and Belfer/Shorenstein Fellow **Doug Ahlers**.



BCSIA



Spotlight: Monica Duffy Toft

Monica Duffy Toft is an associate professor of public policy at the Kennedy School and faculty associate of the Belfer Center and serves as assistant director of Harvard's John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies. Toft holds a Ph.D. and M.A. from the University of Chicago and a B.A. in Political Science and Slavic Languages and Literatures from the University of California. She was a research intern at the RAND Corporation, and served in the U.S. Army in southern Germany as a Russian voice interceptor.

Why do some groups see violence as necessary, while others do not?

This is the question that has motivated Monica Duffy Toft's research on civil war, and it continues to be her central question as an associate professor of public policy at the Kennedy School and faculty associate of the Belfer Center. Toft also serves as the assistant director of the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies.

"There's still so much we don't know about civil wars, why they happen and how they end," said Toft. "Human nature is neither inherently peaceful nor warlike. Society is fragile. I want to understand the conditions under which people organize to kill other people."

Toft has published extensively on civil war and the impact of identity politics. Her latest book, *The Fog of Peace*, an edited volume due out later this year, broadens her focus to include interstate conflict. The book explores the manner in which militaries throughout history have attempted to restructure themselves when no immediate threat of war loomed.

Her third book project focuses on civil war settlements. Toft observed that policymakers and academics tend to dedicate their research to exploring the negotiations and peace talks that end civil wars, yet only 20 percent of civil wars end this way. Toft's research includes the other 80 percent—those that end in military victories (60 percent) and stalemates (20 percent). Her initial research is likely to send some shockwaves through the field of civil war termination studies: military victories tend to

lead to longer term stability for the state in question than negotiated settlements, and cases in which rebels win appear to be the most stable.

"There's a whole set of cases no one is examining, and they might shed light on cases we can potentially influence. The civil wars explored in most of the literature amount to only 24 cases and they've been picked over by academics and policymakers for years. I want to explore the other 80 percent," said Toft.

"Military victories tend to lead to longer term stability . . . than negotiated settlements."

Toft's research will take her to Moscow in June to explore key aspects of the Chechen case first hand. She has monitored activities between the Russian government and Chechen rebels for years, but recent developments have taken the conflict to a new level. "I was shocked at Beslan," said Toft, referring to the take over of a Russian school by Chechen terrorists in September, 2004. "They overstepped the line. It was so abhorrent, it hurt their cause." Toft will explore what motivates such acts and will monitor progress in managing the fractured relationship.

Her fascination with the former Soviet Union has featured prominently in the path that brought her to Harvard.

"The Soviet Union was always so mysterious to me," recalled Toft. "I remember being in sixth grade and drawing St. Basil's cathedral and I began studying Russian language in tenth grade." As her interest blossomed, Toft

traded the comforts of her Long Island home for the challenges of the U.S. Army, which she joined at the age of 17 as a Russian linguist. After a few years at Field Station Augsburg in then "West" Germany, she headed back to the states to the University of California at Santa Barbara to get a bachelor's degree in Political Science and Slavic Languages. From there, she was accepted to the Ph.D. program at the University of Chicago, where her Ph.D. dissertation—published by Princeton University Press in 2003 as *The Geography of Ethnic Violence*—focused on how group identification with territory and ethnic settlement patterns explain the likelihood of civil war in multinational states. She has been exploring the many aspects of ethnic conflict ever since. Toft has been at Harvard for six years and currently teaches classes on civil war intervention and peacekeeping.

Toft said it's been a challenge to teach students who never confronted the realities of the Cold War first hand. "Many of the students were brought up in the 90s where there was no threat to the homeland, but 9-11 has begun to change that. Now they know that the trepidation they feel is similar to what we felt in the Cold War. Conveying that emotion helps put this transformative era into context."

When Toft heads to Moscow this summer, she will be joined by her husband and fellow academic, **Ivan Arreguin-Toft**, and their two children. While Ivan, a Belfer ISP fellow who teaches at Wellesley College, is looking at strategies of governments and insurgents, Monica will explore the likelihood of a political settlement to the Chechen conflict. She will no doubt bring back many answers, along with more unanswered questions, for her classes to explore next year. ■

Delegations in Korea, Japan Focus on Six-Party Talks by Gretchen Bartlett

The **Preventive Defense Project (PDP)** led a U.S. delegation to Seoul and Tokyo in April to meet with South Korean President **Roh Moo-Hyun** and his national security team, as well as non-governmental experts and academics. The group discussed the diplomatic and coercive options available to address North Korea's nuclear program. Given North Korea's bold claims and technical advances, PDP's commitment to coordinating a strategy

between those governments wishing to stop North Korea's unfettered technical progress is as strong as it was during the late nineties when its directors were involved in the North Korea Policy Review under President Clinton.

PDP Directors **Ashton Carter** and **William Perry** were joined in the delegation by former Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Command Admiral **Thomas Fargo**, former Commander of U.S. forces in South Korea

General **John Tilelli**, Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and former Ambassador to the Republic of Korea **Stephen Bosworth**, former State Department official **Philip Yun**, and PDP Associate Director **Deborah Gordon**. ■

Gretchen Bartlett is PDP Associate Director.



Joshua Busby, International Security Program (ISP) Fellow, has accepted a position at the Center for Globalization and Governance of Princeton University's

Woodrow Wilson School. As he geared up for his new position as post-doctoral research associate, Busby ran in the 2005 Boston Marathon on behalf of the (Massachusetts) Thompson Island Outward Bound program.



Ashton B. Carter, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project, was a delegate to the 41st Munich Conference on Security Policy, held in February. As a member of the Congressional Delegation to Germany, led by Senators **John McCain** (R-Ariz.) and **Joseph Lieberman** (D-Conn.), Dr. Carter met with defense and foreign ministers from around the globe, including Secretary of Defense **Donald Rumsfeld**, as well as other legislators, corporate leaders, and other experts.



Patricia Chang (MPP '05), former research assistant with the Belfer Center's Executive Session on Domestic Preparedness, has received a Fulbright award to research the psychological impact of the public health response following the September 1999 earthquake. Her research will compare the Taiwanese and U.S. emergency response systems.



Fotini Christia, ISP/Intrastate Conflict Program Fellow, has accepted a Harvard Olin Fellowship for next year. She served as an elections observer in the 2004 Uzbek parliamentary elections and in the January 2005 Palestinian presidential elections.



Rebecca F. Denlinger, Fire Chief of Cobb County (Georgia) Fire and Emergency Services, has been appointed by President George W. Bush to a

26-member national advisory board on disaster preparedness. Chief Denlinger was a member of the Belfer Center's Executive Session on Domestic Preparedness, a task force of leading practitioners, first responders, and academic specialists concerned with terrorism and emergency management.

"GIVEN IRAQ'S STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE in the Middle East, and our ongoing battle with fundamentalist Islamic ideologies, failure is not an option, and a large sustained American presence in Iraq is part of the blueprint for insurgency, not U.S. victory."

—**Micah Zenko**, "Declare Victory, Bring Troops Home," *The Baltimore Sun* (3 February 2005)

"IN THE WAKE OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, doing technology badly costs not just dollars but lives. Decreeing new information-sharing policy while ignoring the IT issues that determine how the information is shared might hide but won't fix the problem."

—**Drew Ladner** and **Daniel B. Prieto**, "Technology Upgrade Urgency," *The Washington Times* (6 February 2005)

"RUSSIAN SECURITY OFFICIALS have been acting as if protecting a few more secrets from the U.S. is more important than protecting nuclear materials from falling into the hands of Osama bin Laden."

—**Matthew Bunn** in "Bush and Putin Exhibit Tension Over Democracy," *New York Times* (25 February 2005).

"NO MATTER HOW MUCH Europe, the United States, and Japan may do for Africa, trade is always more forceful than aid. The inflow of Chinese commerce has helped to slow, if not destroy, the outflow from Africa. . . ."

—**Robert Rotberg**, "Asian Exports Crimp Africa's Rise," *The Boston Globe* (15 February 2005)

"IF THE CHECHEN TERRORISTS who killed 172 schoolchildren . . . get a nuclear bomb from Russia's arsenal, their first target will not be New York or Washington but Moscow. Mr. Putin must therefore see securing all nuclear weapons and materials from theft

. . . as an essential exercise of his responsibility to protect his nation's vital interests."

—**Graham Allison**, "Tackling a Common Threat," *The Baltimore Sun* (2 March 2005)

"CHINA KNOWS FULL WELL that both Pyongyang and Washington want its support, and that puts it in a powerful bargaining position."

—**Anne Wu**, "Beijing's Stance on North Korea" *The Asian Wall Street Journal* (18 February 2005)

"WHAT IS URGENTLY NEEDED is a Chinese-sponsored multilateral road map for negotiating North Korea's nuclear disarmament. . . . Without such a road map, the six-party talks will continue to be a shiny car without an engine."

—**John Park**, "North Korea's Grip on China," *The Globe and Mail* (23 February 2005)

"THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S CURRENT FAILURE to more aggressively support innovation in these [cleaner coal] technologies is mystifying. Let's hope Senator Domenici and Senator Bingaman's efforts help remedy this situation, so that we can reconcile our need for a stable, healthy environment with our growing national energy demands."

—**Jennie C. Stephens** and **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, "Untie Utilities' Hands on Coal," *The Albuquerque Journal* (10 March 2005)

"IF CAPE WIND IS DEFEATED, its demise will not only impact future projects in the state and region, it will affect the willingness of investors and developers to pursue these projects in other parts of the country."

—**Henry Lee**, "Cape Wind Damage," *The Boston Globe* (14 March 2005)



John Holdren, director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, testified before the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee in March on the

findings of the National Commission on Energy Policy, which he co-chairs. The bipartisan plan is entitled, "Ending the Energy Stalemate." Belfer Fellow **William Rosenberg** also presented testimony to the committee regarding the importance of a national gasification strategy.



Piki Ish-Shalom, currently a post-doctoral International Security Program Fellow, has accepted a fellowship at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard

University's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs for 2005–2006. He will continue his research and writing of a book-length manuscript that examines the political mobilizing of the democratic peace thesis. During the 2003–2004 academic year, Ish-Shalom was a postdoctoral fellow at the Hebrew University's Leonard Davis Institute.

Opinion Leaders

"THE U.S. SHOULD INTEGRATE INDIA into the evolving global nonproliferation regime as a friendly nuclear weapons state. . . . We should sell India civil nuclear reactors, both to reduce its demand for Persian Gulf energy and to ease the environmental impact of India's vibrant economic growth."

—**Robert D. Blackwill**, "A New Deal for New Delhi," *The Wall Street Journal* (21 March 2005)

"MORAL AND PHYSICAL INTERVENTION of outside nations would dramatically impact Mugabe's efforts. . . . [His] staying power and tactics are mirroring those of oppressive regimes in Cambodia and North Korea. Left unchecked as he has been, there is no telling how far he will go."

—**Robert Rotberg**, "Starving the Voters Is How Mugabe Has Rigged the Election," *The Chicago Tribune* (25 March 2005)

"FOR DECADES, AFRICA WAS MADE TO BELIEVE that only primary education mattered for development. . . . African countries have been too slow to replace lamentation with the vigorous reforms needed to bring universities in line with development needs."

—**Calestous Juma** and **Lee Yee-Cheong**, "Like Nujoma, Africa Needs to Go Back to University," *The East African* (28 March 2005)

"THE 9/11 ATTACKS restored public realization in the importance of good intelligence but the failure to find WMD in Iraq renewed suspicion. [Mr. Negroponte] . . . will have to stimulate better tradecraft in collection, improve use of alternative analysis techniques and encourage more careful presentation to political leaders and to the public."

—**Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**, "Iraq Lessons Can Avoid Disaster in Iran," *The Financial Times* (31 March 2005)



Calestous Juma, director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization project, has begun writing a monthly column for the major newspaper in Kenya, *The East African*. His column will focus on innovations in science and technology. Juma served as co-coordinator of the Task Force on Science, Technology and Innovation of the United Nations Millennium Project, and co-authored the Task Force report, titled *Innovation: Applying Knowledge in Development*.

"THE TREMENDOUS SUCCESS OF THE NUNN-LUGAR PROGRAM in denuclearizing the former Soviet Union in the 1990s has not been replicated in the post-Cold War era of terrorism. If the United States had such a vigorous set of policies to combat nuclear terrorism, it would need good intelligence to implement those policies. But until we get the policy right, it hardly matters that the intelligence is imperfect."

—**Ashton B. Carter**, "A Failure of Policy, Not Spying," *The Washington Post* (5 April 2005)

"WE ALL AGREE THAT ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES ARE CRUCIAL to the future of coal," Holdren said. If the 100 or so plants slated for construction in the United States during the next decade are not equipped with advanced technology like IGCC, there will be 'an immense amount of additional CO₂ emissions into the atmosphere that we will wish we were able to avoid,' he explained."

—**John Holdren** in "Senators tackle climate issues during coal summit," *Environment and Energy Daily*, (11 March 2005)

"WE'RE WAY BEYOND THE CLAIM that the war in Iraq was a distraction from the war on terrorism—it's more than that. It has made the war on terrorism far more difficult to execute. . . . It has made the terrorism problem worse."

—**Jessica Stern** in "Curbing Terrorism Stumbling Over Bush's War on Terror," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 March 2005.

"THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION TO POSE is how could the weakening of America's power possibly make the world a better place?"

—**Thomas Wright**, "For Our Benefit, for Our Values," *Magill Magazine* (Ireland, March 2005)



William Marshall, ISP Fellow, spoke in March at the inaugural workshop of the European Space Policy Institute (ESPI) in Vienna, Austria. ESPI will direct a network of researchers and professionals working in various fields to provide Europe with a high quality independent source of analysis related to the long term needs, capabilities, and perspectives of the European space sector. Marshall's current research focus is space weapons and security and avoidance of an arms race in space.



Steven Miller, ISP Director, participated in an international conference held March 5–6 in Tehran, Iran, on "Nuclear Technology and Sustainable Development."

The conference was jointly sponsored by Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran, and the Ministry of Science, Research, and Technology.



Alexander Montgomery, currently a joint ISP/Managing the Atom (MTA) Fellow, has accepted a fellowship at Stanford Institute of International Studies' Center for

International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University. He will complete his dissertation on U.S. attempts to socialize states that attempt to acquire nuclear weapons by focusing on U.S. interactions with "rogue states."



Maria Stephan, Belfer Center Fellow with the International Security Program (ISP) and Intrastate Conflict Program, has been selected as one of 250 of "the world's

most outstanding scholars and graduate students" by the Catherine T. Reynolds Foundation. She will join with the other award winners June 1–4 in New York City for the 44th International Achievement Summit, an annual conference that brings together renowned world leaders from the arts, business, public service, science and technology, and athletics.



Both ISP Faculty Chair **Stephen Walt** and Caspian Studies Project Research Director **Brenda Shaffer** were speakers in the Lecture Series on World Affairs at historic Hamilton Hall in Salem, Massachusetts earlier this year. Walt spoke on "U.S. Foreign Policy: What to Expect in the Next Four Years" and Shaffer on "International Politics and World Energy Trends."



The Hamilton Hall Lecture Series on World Affairs began in 1946, carrying on a tradition of cultural and social events that began when the hall was built in 1805. Since its inception, it has hosted numerous lectures, dinners for heads of state, and even a visit by French hero **Marquis de Lafayette** in 1824.

Hot off the Presses

Globalization, Security, and the Nation State: Paradigms in Transition

Ersel Aydinli and James N. Rosenau, editors
SUNY Press, April 2005



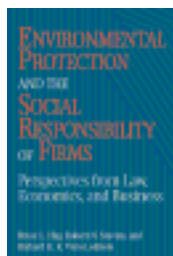
This volume studies the links among the concepts of globalization, security, and the authority of the nation state, drawing attention to why and how these three concepts are interrelated and why they should be studied together. Contributors explore the connections between security and global transformations, and the corresponding or resulting changes in state structures that emerge. Probing and extending existing paradigms, the book offers three regional cases studies: the periphery states of the Middle East and North Africa, the second world states of the Russian Federation, and the core states of the European Union. It concludes with three chapters that synthesize the above themes to identify corresponding changes in the patterns of international politics.

“These are absolutely terrific essays—extremely insightful, well informed, and extraordinarily readable. The contributors make important arguments that are provocative and worth pondering.”

— Edward Rhodes, Dean of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Rutgers University

Environmental Protection and the Social Responsibility of Firms: Perspectives from Law, Economics, and Business

Bruce L. Hay, Robert N. Stavins, and Richard H. K. Vietor, editors
April 2005, RFF Press



Everyone agrees that firms should obey the law. But beyond what the law requires—beyond bare compliance with regulations—do firms have additional social responsibilities to commit resources voluntarily to environmental protection?

How should we think about firms sacrificing profits in the social interest? Are they permitted to do so, given their fiduciary responsibilities to their shareholders? Even if permissible, is the practice sustainable, or will the competitive marketplace render such efforts and their impacts transient at best?

Furthermore, is the practice, however well intended, an efficient use of social and economic resources? And as an empirical matter, to what extent do firms already behave this way?

Until now, public discussion has generated more heat than light on both the normative and

positive questions surrounding corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the environmental realm. In *Environmental Protection and the Social Responsibility of Firms*, some of the nation's leading scholars in law, economics, and business examine commonly accepted assumptions at the heart of current debates on CSR and provide a foundation for future research and policymaking.

Biological Weapons: From the Invention of State-Sponsored Programs to Contemporary Bioterrorism

Jeanne Guillemin
Columbia University Press, January 2005



Until the events of September 11 and the anthrax attacks of 2001, biological weapons had never been a major public concern in the United States. Today, the possibility of their use by terrorists against Western states looms large as an international security concern.

In *Biological Weapons*, Jeanne Guillemin provides a highly accessible and compelling account of the circumstances under which scientists, soldiers, and statesmen were able to mobilize resources for extensive biological weapons programs and also analyzes why such weapons, targeted against civilians, were never used in a major conflict.

“Guillemin, one of America's most trusted authorities on biological weapons, recounts, in chilling detail, the evolution of the threat, from the state programs of the early twentieth century, to Iraq's program, to the horrifying prospects of twenty-first century bioterrorism. . . . Biological Weapons is a balanced and wise account that will help us make better decisions about an exceedingly difficult dilemma—balancing the need to protect ourselves while not discouraging important biomedical advances.”

—Jessica Stern, author of *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill*



Belfer Book Update

Joseph Nye's recent book, *The Power Game: A Washington Novel*, is in its second printing. Professor Nye discussed his fiction writing in a March 11 *International Herald Tribune* op-ed:

“I PUBLISHED A BOOK ON ETHICS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS, but academic abstractions could not convey what it is like to wrestle with such issues in the chaotic flow of events. Nor could my academic writings fully describe the ongoing struggles for

Forthcoming

Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War

BCSIA Studies in International Security,
MIT Press
Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder



Does the spread of democracy really contribute to international peace? Successive U. S. administrations have justified various policies intended to promote democracy not only by arguing that democracy is intrinsically good but by pointing to a wide range of research concluding that democracies rarely, if ever, go to war with one another. To promote democracy, the United States has provided economic assistance, political support, and technical advice to emerging democracies in Eastern and Central Europe, and it has attempted to remove undemocratic regimes through political pressure, economic sanctions, and military force. In *Electing to Fight*, Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder challenge the widely accepted basis of these policies by arguing that states in the early phases of transitions to democracy are more likely than other states to become involved in war.

“American foreign policy has been based on the premise that democracy promotes peace. *Electing to Fight* conclusively shows, however, that democratization, when mishandled, leads to war. Its challenge to the conventional beliefs of scholars and politicians makes it one of the most important books on international affairs in recent decades.”

—Samuel P. Huntington, Albert J. Weatherhead III
University Professor, Harvard University

power in Washington as people try to shape policy decisions in the midst of uncertainty.”

—Joseph S. Nye Jr., “Meanwhile: Searching for Truth, I Turn to Fiction,” *The International Herald Tribune* (11 March 2005)



A Turkish translation of *Borders and Brethren: Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity* by Brenda Shaffer (BCSIA Studies in International Security, 2002) by Bilgi University Press is scheduled for release by June 2005.

Students Bring Diversity of Views, Experiences

Kennedy School students who focus on issues taught by Belfer Center faculty contribute to the Center's mission not only by conducting research projects and carrying Center findings and goals into the larger world, but also by bringing to the Center a wealth of viewpoints, ideas, and past experiences. Current students are no exception.

Nate Fick, (MPA1), USMC captain who served in Afghanistan and Iraq, is the author of the forthcoming *One Bullet Away: The Making of a Marine Corps Officer*. **Gina Ruebensaal** (MPP2) spent last summer as a State Department intern at the U.S. Mission to NATO in Brussels where she worked for Ambassador **Nick Burns**. **Susan Doyle** (MPP2), a commissioned USAF officer, was a Japan desk officer for United States Pacific Command and will serve in the 33rd Fighter Wing at Aviano, Italy, after graduation. **Eric Ciliberti** (MPA/MC) worked as associate director of intergovernmental affairs at the White House and assisted the

Iraqi elections commission chief of operations during Iraq's recent elections.

Sebastian Abbot (MPP1) will be a summer intern for the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization—a new State Department Office that examines issues related to both conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction. **Joyce Hayes** (MPA/MC) worked for NASA for a number of years in the Space Shuttle Development Office and as an international space station flight controller. **Rob Knake** (MPP2) was a national security studies research associate at the Council of Foreign Relations.



Exchange of Views: Belfer Center Board of Directors member **Robert Blackwill** (left) shares a light moment with KSG student **Quentin Barber** (right) during Blackwill's meeting with students from **Graham Allison's** international security class. Olin Fellow **Denise Shorey** looks on.

Maggie Osdoby Katz (MPP2) was an assistant general services officer and political economic assistant at the U.S. Embassy to the Republic of Georgia. 🇬🇪

International Security

SPRING 2005
Vol. 29, No. 4

Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo

"Nuclear weapons have come to be defined as abhorrent and unacceptable weapons of mass destruction." So argues **Nina Tannenwald** of Brown University, who traces and analyzes the development of a nuclear taboo in world politics and U.S. policy. Tannenwald attributes the success of the nuclear taboo to three factors: a global grassroots antinuclear weapons movement, the efforts of nonnuclear states, and the role of Cold War power politics. She closes with some thoughts on ways to further strengthen the taboo, including the creation of a no-first-use agreement and the ratification of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty.

Russian Scientists and Rogue States: Does Western Assistance Reduce the Proliferation Threat?

Deborah Yarsike Ball of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and **Theodore Gerber** of the University of Wisconsin consider the likelihood of Russian scientists with knowledge of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons selling their expertise to so-called rogue states seeking to produce weapons of mass destruction. Using data collected in an unprecedented survey of Russian WMD scientists, the authors assess the effectiveness of U.S. and Western nonproliferation assistance programs aimed at keeping these scientists employed in Russia, where, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, they have watched their

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>

salaries plummet and their prospects of job security sharply decline. Although these programs have been quite effective, one-fifth of the survey's participants stated they would consider working in a "rogue" state, a possibility that policymakers must address.

September 11 and the Adaptation Failure of U.S. Intelligence Agencies

Amy Zegart of the University of California, Los Angeles, asserts that the vulnerability of the United States to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, is explained by the failure of U.S. intelligence agencies to adapt to the rise of the terrorist challenge following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Zegart presents evidence suggesting that although policymakers were well aware of the terrorist threat and realized the need for organizational change in the U.S. intelligence community, they were unable to achieve the reforms that several blue-ribbon commissions and studies urgently recommended before the September 11 attacks. Zegart contends that three factors explain the intelligence community failure to adapt: the nature of bureaucratic organizations; the self-interest of presidents, legislators, and government bureaucrats; and the fragmented structure of the federal government.

The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy

The promotion of democracy is central to the Bush administration's fight against terrorism and

its overall grand strategy, which holds that the U.S. political and security interests are advanced by the spread of liberal political institutions and values abroad. **Jonathan Monten** of Georgetown University examines two contending approaches to the long-term promotion of democratic change: leading by example versus the direct application of U.S. power, including the use of coercive force.

Who's Keeping the Peace? Regionalization and Contemporary Peace Operations

Alex Bellamy of the University of Queensland and **Paul Williams** of the University of Birmingham assess the prevalence and effectiveness of recent peace operations conducted without United Nations Security Council authorization. The authors assert that the prevalence of such operations is not a UN phenomenon per se because it has rarely challenged international society's foundational norm of nonintervention.

Letters to the Editors

The issue concludes with two sets of correspondence. In the first set, **Ronald Krebs** and **Chaim Kaufmann** discuss the marketplace of ideas and the Iraq War. In the second, **Ernest May** and **Philip Zelickow** dispute several points made by Richard Falkenrath in his Winter 2004/05 review of *The 9/11 Commission Report*.

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Panel Critiques Kazakhstan's New Reform Program by Susan Lynch

Can a regime democratize and reform the state?

The Republic of Kazakhstan's comprehensive New Reform Program—recently announced by President **Nursultan Nazarbayev**—was critiqued at a March 18 panel discussion organized by the International Studies Program's Caspian Studies Project. The reforms are an attempt by the Kazakh government to forge a new and better relationship with its citizens and accelerate its democratic and economic transition.

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** opened the event by praising Kazakhstan's leadership in deciding to eliminate its Soviet-era nuclear arsenal and emphasizing that such leadership is relevant to the discussion of Kazakhstan's new agenda. "Kazakhstan," he said, "has not received enough recognition and appreciation for the leadership role it played in

the nuclear area. If it plays a similar role in democratic and economic modernization, we'll certainly be celebrating other successes for Kazakhstan."

**"... Kazakhstan has not
received enough recognition
and appreciation for the
leadership role it played in
the nuclear area."**

Brenda Shaffer, Caspian Studies Project research director, analyzed the proposed reforms, such as: decentralizing the government—in contrast to Russia's increased centralization—and the effect this would have on corruption; increasing salaries for judges to

engender an independent judiciary; launching a nation-wide debate about an appropriate political model for the country which may stimulate interest in politics; and establishing a Central Asian Union to promote regional integration but which should also address Central Asia's external border control. She also asked if Kazakhstan's reforms might have a "demonstration effect" in other Central Asian countries.

Heritage Foundation Senior Research Fellow **Ariel Cohen** addressed "Kazakhstan's Modernization in the Global Context," and argued that what may have worked for Western Europe may not necessarily work for Central Asia. Kazakhstan's challenges include building a nation-state from scratch, outgrowing the clan structure, having an oil-based economy and the resultant "resource curse," and integrating into the global economy and global knowledge base. He stressed the need for Kazakhstan to become a transparent and well-managed investment magnet and lauded both Nazarbayev's funding for Kazakh citizens studying at universities in the West and the development of small and medium-sized businesses in the country.

The panel's central finding was that while the goals outlined in the reform proposal are praiseworthy, the success of the reforms is entirely dependent upon their direct implementation by a president who has been in power since 1991. 🇰🇿

Susan Lynch is an *International Security Program* staff assistant.

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Model of Reform?

The Belfer Center's Caspian Studies Research Director **Brenda Shaffer** debates Kazakhstan's new reform program with Heritage Foundation Senior Research Fellow **Ariel Cohen** (center). Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (second from right) introduced the debate. Belfer Center Research Assistant **Marcy McCullough** served as rapporteur.