

Will North Korea Sell Nukes to Terrorists?

Center Drives Debate on North Korea, Iran Nuclear Issues

MARTHA STEWART



Iranian Insight: Mohammad Khatami, former president of Iran, speaks about "Ethics of Tolerance in an Age of Violence" at the John F. Kennedy, Jr. Forum in September.

To contain the nuclear activities of North Korea and Iran and prevent wider global repercussions, Belfer Center experts have provided analysis and possible solutions, and the Center has brought together some of the best minds to brainstorm and recommend next steps.

Nuclear forensics will identify the "molecular fingerprint" of the seller of a terrorist bomb who will then bear the brunt of retaliation.
—Graham Allison

At a September Forum, former Iranian President **Mohammad Khatami** provided insight into Iranian concerns and interests related to that country's nuclear program. He criticized what he called an international

double standard that applies one set of rules to the West and another to the East, and called on both sides to come together for a more peaceful future.

Kennedy School founding father and Nobel Laureate **Thomas Schelling** pointed out in a recent Center presentation the importance of communicating nuclear responsibility to Iran and North Korea. (See page 3.)

Managing the Atom Executive Director **Jeffrey Lewis** expressed concerns in *Foreign Policy* that "opportunities for direct theft and bribing of nuclear custodians abound" (in North Korea and elsewhere), while Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** said in the *Washington Post* that North Korea should be assured that if it sells nuclear weapons to terrorists who use them, nuclear forensics will identify the "molecular fingerprint" of the seller who will then bear the brunt of retaliation. (See pages 12/13.)

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Kennedy School Alum to Head UN at Critical Time

When United Nations Secretary General-elect **Ban Ki-moon** spoke at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum last year on North Korea, he thanked his former professors **Graham Allison**, **Ashton Carter**, and **Joseph Nye**, and said, "The excellence of the ideas and the insights offered by many distinguished prominent scholars who have graced this campus have really enriched us all."

GREG WILSON



Illustrious Alum: Ban Ki-moon (center), upcoming UN Secretary-General, credits the Kennedy School for preparing him for leadership during a discussion of North Korea in September 2005. Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (right) moderated the discussion that included the Center's **Ashton Carter** (left) and **Joseph Nye** (not pictured).

Ban, who spoke at the September 2005 Forum in his role as South Korea's representative in the Six Party Talks, first came to the Kennedy School in 1982 as a Korean foreign service officer, graduating in 1984 with a Masters in Public Administration. He has maintained contact with the School and Belfer Center since that time, working with Carter on Korean Peninsula issues and in preparation for the first visit of a presidential envoy to North Korea, and with Allison on the Korean edition of Allison's book *Nuclear Terrorism*, for which he wrote the foreword. (See "From the Director" on page 2.)

The excellence of the ideas [of] ... scholars who have graced this campus have really enriched us all.
—Ban Ki-moon

"Ban Ki-moon," Allison says, "has been an outstanding foreign minister. I am confident he will be an outstanding Secretary General of the United Nations."

Schlesinger, Deutch Head Task Force on Energy, page 3

Energized Duo: James Schlesinger (right) and John Deutch, members of the Belfer Center's International Council and co-chairs of the Independent Task Force on Oil Dependency, conduct a press conference on the final report, "National Security Consequences on U.S. Oil Dependency."



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Bodman Talks Energy, page 3



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Fueling Debate: U.S. Secretary of Energy **Sam Bodman** discusses energy security challenges during an October brainstorming session at the Center. **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, director of the Energy Technology Innovation Project, participated.



Kofi Annan's successor as U.N. Secretary General is our alumnus, **Ban Ki-moon**. I was dean of the Kennedy School in 1983 when he arrived. I can still recall welcoming his class to whom he announced that his nickname was "JFK: Just from Korea." He has often told the story of how he was inspired to enter public service. During a trip to Washington in 1962, with several hundred fellow students from around the world, he visited the White House and met President John F. Kennedy.

According to the transcript of JFK's remarks to those students, the President said, "It's most encouraging to have people [here] from so many different countries, including countries where the government leaders don't always get along, but I think the people do . . . What hope we can have for the future . . . is in all of you."

Ban Ki-moon has served for the last several years as South Korea's foreign minister. In that capacity, he returned to the School last year when the Center hosted a Forum event discussing North Korea's nuclear challenge. The transcript of that Forum can be viewed on the Forum web site: http://ksgaceman.harvard.edu/iop/events_forum_video.asp?ID=2792.

Ban was also kind enough to write the foreword to the Korean edition of my book, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*, which will appear in Korea later this year.

Similarly symbiotic relations between the Belfer Center and alumni are reflected in the recently-released Council on Foreign Relations

study, "Energy and its Foreign Policy Implications." Established by the current president of the Council **Richard Haass**, previously a member of the faculty at the Belfer Center, the Task Force was co-chaired by **Jim Schlesinger** (former secretary of everything and chair of the Center's International Council) and **John Deutch** (former director of CIA, University Professor at MIT, and member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors). Other members of the group included **Bob Belfer** (of the International Council), **Marty Feldstein** (a member of the Center's Board), and me. Highlights from the report are included in this newsletter (page 3).

With North Korea and Iran foremost in our minds, we spent a recent afternoon benefiting from the insights of our former colleague, and recent winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics, **Tom Schelling**, about the responsibilities of nuclear powers. This discussion continued with **Henry Kissinger**, **Dick Holbrooke**, and others who were here for the North Trilateral Commission meeting. Others whom we have engaged in brainstorming on these challenges include former Iranian President **Mohamad Khatami**, Undersecretary of State **Nick Burns** (who is taking the lead on Iran) and Ambassador **Chris Hill** (chief negotiator with North Korea).

As we try to wrap our minds around some of the world's major problems, we do so with input from colleagues, fellows, students, and guests from around the globe. We have been fortunate that **Al Carnesale**, recently retired chancellor of UCLA and former dean of the



Exchange of Views: **Thomas Foley** (left), former speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and member of the Belfer Center's International Council, at the Trilateral Commission meeting with **Sadoko Ogata** (right), president of the Japan International Cooperation Agency and former fellow at the Belfer Center.



What's Next?: Former Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** (right) chairs the panel, "Developments in U.S. Foreign Policy," at the annual meeting of the Trilateral Commission hosted in October by the Belfer Center. **Robert Kagan** (far left), senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and **Richard Holbrooke**, member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, co-chaired the panel.

School, has returned to the Center as a senior faculty member, and we welcomed new and returning students and fellows who bring valuable experiences and ideas from around the world. It often seems that the challenges posed by international affairs are growing faster and more severe than are solutions. More than once have visitors reminded us of the Chinese saying, "May you live in interesting times."

Chertoff Returns to Center to Review Homeland Security



Home Safe: Department of Homeland Security Secretary **Michael Chertoff** discusses counterterrorism strategies at a meeting with the Center's Board of Directors in October. Also pictured is Secretary Chertoff's Chief of Staff **John Wood** (left) and Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Xenia Dormandy**. Chertoff updated the group on homeland security strategies and discussed ideas for improving security.

Department of Homeland Security Director **Michael Chertoff** returned to the Belfer Center in October to discuss and to brainstorm ideas on issues of national security. Chertoff's previous visit to the Center came days before the onslaught of Hurricane Katrina.

Chertoff and Belfer experts discussed various strategies, from increased implementation of biometrics and finger-printing to the role of the National Guard in national disasters such as Katrina.

This time around, Chertoff focused on a comprehensive program to protect America: screening out threats and threatening individuals, keeping nuclear and radioactive weapons

out, building up infrastructure security, and responding to threats. Chertoff argued that time, money, and effort should address all of these. This was summarized in the three-fold mission of homeland security: prevent, protect, respond.

Chertoff and Belfer experts discussed various strategies, from increased implementation of biometrics and finger-printing to the role of the National Guard in national disasters such as Katrina. They agreed that keeping radioactive and nuclear weapons out was a priority, and they brainstormed methods such as portal monitors that see through heavy shielding in containers.

The discussion included security of chemical plants, and suggestions were made to model security measures on financial industry standards and ratings. Such measurements were also recommended for emergency planning, in which the federal government should work with local governments to raise standards through mechanisms such as report cards.

KSG Founding Father, Nobel Laureate Schelling: Talk with the Enemy

Thomas Schelling, a founding father of the Kennedy School and 2005 winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics, told his colleagues during a visit in October that it is in the best interest of the United States to communicate to North Korea and Iran the lessons we have learned about nuclear safeguards and strategies. These lessons, he said, took the U.S. and others too many years to learn.

Teach North Korea and Iran to be responsible nuclear powers.
—Thomas Schelling

Schelling, currently a professor at the University of Maryland School of Public Policy, won the 2005 Nobel Prize (shared with **Robert Aumann**) for “having enhanced our

understanding of conflict and cooperation through game-theory analysis.” In his October presentation, “How Do You Communicate with the Enemy?,” Schelling said the U.S. and others who strongly believe that nuclear weapons must never (again) be used must ask themselves: “What will the North Koreans do with a nuclear weapon? How can we get them to do the right thing and not use the weapons?”

Communication, Schelling said, is crucial. We should ask **Kim Jong-il** and **Mahmoud Ahmadinejad** (if Iran gets nuclear weapons) to consider the following critical questions, he said: “What measures are in place to ensure weapon security, and to whom are the weapons entrusted? ■



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Vital Information: Thomas Schelling (second from left), former professor of political economy at KSG and winner of the 2005 Nobel Prize for Economics, speaks with **Albert Carnesale** (right), UCLA chancellor emeritus and former Kennedy School dean, and with **Richard Rosecrance**, Belfer Center senior fellow and professor of political science at UCLA, and **Xenia Dormandy**, executive director for research at the Belfer Center. Schelling spoke in October on the importance of communicating with North Korea and Iran.

Task Force: Increase Attention to Energy Issues

“The lack of sustained attention to energy issues is undercutting U.S. foreign policy and U.S. national security,” according to a report released in October by a Council on Foreign Relations’ Independent Task Force on Energy and U.S. Foreign Policy, co-chaired by **James Schlesinger** of the Belfer Center’s International Council and **John Deutch** of the Center’s Board of Directors and International Council.

The task force, which also included Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, International Council member **Robert Belfer**, and Board member **Martin Feldstein**, cautioned against focusing on “energy independence” which “encourages the adoption of inefficient and counterproductive policies.”

Task Force: Stop focusing on energy “independence” and adopt incentives to slow and reverse consumption of fossil fuels.

Among the recommendations of the report, “National Security Consequences of U.S. Oil Dependency,” are: adoption of incentives to slow and eventually reverse the growth in consumption of petroleum products; establishment of an energy security directorate within the National Security staff; engagement of the Secretary of Energy in foreign policy deliberations that involve energy issues; and inclusion of energy security considerations in planning studies at the National Security Council, Defense and State Departments, and the intelligence community. The full report can be accessed from: www.cfr.org/publication_list.html.type=task_force_report.

Energy security issues were also raised in an October meeting with Russian Duma Deputy **Andrei Kokoshin** who visited the Center to discuss U.S.-Russian relations. Kokoshin, a scientist and politician, took part in a Belfer Center energy security working group that provided recommendations to the G8 in Russia last summer, influencing the Bush-Putin Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism and the U.S./Russia civil nuclear energy agreement.

The Center continues to work on energy security issues from a number of fronts. (See Bodman article on this page.) ■

Bodman Brainstorms Energy Policies

In October, Secretary of Energy **Sam Bodman** visited the Belfer Center to discuss ideas for improving energy security. During the discussion with Center energy and nuclear experts, Secretary Bodman discussed the administration’s Global Nuclear Energy Partnership (GNEP), the situation with Iran, and **Warren Buffett’s** idea of an IAEA fuel bank for countries willing to forgo their own uranium enrichment.

The group also discussed the energy and environmental challenges created by China’s rapid development and the work being done by the Center’s Energy Technology Innovation Project to help China reduce pollution.

Bodman Supports Holdren View

In the December issue of the journal *Innovations*, Secretary Bodman said he supports the views expressed in an earlier article by Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **John Holdren** who said innovation offers our best hope for addressing over-dependence on foreign oil and the need for cleaner sources of energy.

As Professor Holdren describes, the challenges we face are too important for “business as usual.”
—Secretary of Energy
Sam Bodman

“The time has come,” Bodman said, “to focus on pushing the most promising technologies forward at a more rapid pace . . . As Professor Holdren ably describes, the challenges that we face are too large and too important for a ‘business as usual’ approach.” (See Holdren’s *Innovations* article at www.mit-pressjournals.org/toc/itg/1/2) ■



Securing the Future: Andrei Kokoshin, member of the Russian State Duma answers a question posed by **Matthew Bunn**, senior research associate with the Belfer Center’s Managing the Atom project, during a brainstorming session in October on nuclear and energy security.

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Belfer Energy Experts Promote Hybrids in China

If you want to buy a hybrid car in China today, you will have to dish out close to \$40,000 (U.S.), so it's not surprising that few Chinese consumers are going hybrid. In May, the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP) and the China Automotive Technology and Research Center convened a roundtable in Beijing with Chinese and foreign automakers to discuss the barriers that are slowing the development and deployment of hybrid-electric technology in China and how to overcome them.

The U.S. and China have a shared interest in managing growth in oil demand.
—Kelly Sims Gallagher

The discussions were organized by the Belfer Center's **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, director of ETIP, and co-chaired by Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **John Holdren** with **Xu Ling**, deputy director-general of China's Ministry of Science and Technology. ETIP has worked with Chinese officials and industry leaders since 2002 to deploy cleaner energy technologies in China. "China just

became the world's second-largest oil consumer after the United States, so the two countries have a shared interest in managing growth in their future oil demand," says Gallagher. "Hybrid technologies offer one viable option for drastically reducing the growth in oil consumption."

The discussion participants determined that barriers included cost, Chinese technical capabilities and intellectual property, consumer acceptance, hybrid parts and components manufacturers, low fuel prices, tariffs, and lack of policies.

Cost is seen as a major barrier because there is no incentive to buy a hybrid-electric car if a cheaper option is available. The cost of a Prius in China is between 288,000–302,000 RMB (US \$36,000–39,000). A survey of 1,000 Chinese found that most were not willing to pay over 200,000 RMB (US \$25,000) for a car. The high cost of the vehicle and low cost of gas further the problem because it is difficult for the buyers to recoup the price of the car with the savings from gas that is inexpensive to start with.



Hybrid China, Healthier World: Belfer Center Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **John Holdren** (right), co-chairs a roundtable discussion on hybrid vehicles at a workshop in China late last spring with **Xu Jing** (seated next to Holdren), deputy director-general of China's Ministry of Science and Technology. Energy Technology Innovation Project Director **Kelly Sims Gallagher** (left) organized the roundtable in Beijing.

The roundtable developed a list of areas in which incentives could be offered to increase the use of hybrid-electric technology in China. These include new government policies, government standardization of parts and components, improved Chinese technological capabilities and intellectual property, and ways to stimulate consumer demand. The participants also recommended additional research on effective hybrid-specific policies implemented in the U.S., Europe, and Japan, and how first-costs of hybrids can be reduced.

ETIP Fellow **Hongyan He Oliver** also took part in the roundtable, along with Chinese government officials from the Ministry of Finance and State Environmental Protection Administration.

Intrastate Conflict Program to Develop Index of African Leadership Collaboration with Ibrahim Prize Aims to Improve Governance

All eyes turned to Africa in October when the Ibrahim Prize for African Governance was announced. **Mo Ibrahim**, a businessman from Northern Sudan, announced a \$5 million prize for African presidents who on leaving office have demonstrated commitment to democracy and good governance. Judges for the Ibrahim Prize will base their decisions in

part on an Index of African Governance to be developed by the Belfer Center's Intrastate Conflict Program.

The prize will offer essentially good people, who may be wavering, the chance to opt for the good life after office.

—Mo Ibrahim
(*Financial Times*, 12/26/06)

Construction of the index will be a next step in the Intrastate Conflict Program's continuing effort to strengthen African leadership. Ibrahim sought out **Robert Rotberg**, director of the program, to help develop a ranking index of governance after reading about Rotberg's research on measuring African governance. The rankings will provide an analysis of the governance of 48 African nations and offshore islands.

The Index will assist . . . in understanding key challenges and opportunities in each country.
—Robert Rotberg

Rotberg, who has been studying governments and leaders in Africa and elsewhere for 40 years, launched the African Leadership Council in 2003, bringing together past and present leaders to help promote good governance throughout the continent.

"The Index will provide an objective, rigorous view of African governance, in comparative perspective," Rotberg said. "It will assist donors and investors in understanding the key challenges and opportunities in each country, and will assist civil societies in those countries in pressing for positive change." "In addition," he said, "the Index will provide a credible basis on which the Ibrahim Prize recipients can be selected."



Governance Guru: **Robert Rotberg**, director of the Belfer Center's Intrastate Conflict Program, describes the activities of the program at a September orientation. Rotberg will lead a team to develop an African governance index that will assist the Ibrahim Prize selection process.

These pages feature the research and recent activities of a sampling of the talented men and women who are current and former fellows and associates of the Belfer Center and whose work is making significant contributions in public and private sectors around the world.

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Fellows and Associates

Current Fellows: What Critical Issues Are They Addressing?

The Belfer Center this fall welcomed more than 70 research fellows who have come to the Center from 20 countries to conduct research on subjects relating to international security; science, technology, and public policy; environment and natural resources; and intrastate conflict.

Rachel Gisselquist



A pre-doctoral joint fellow with the International Security and Intrastate Conflict Programs and a PhD candidate in political science at MIT, Rachel Gisselquist has a foot in both Africa and Latin America.

Gisselquist's work is on ethnic politics and conflict, democracy and democratization, party politics, and the political economy of development. Her dissertation is a comparative study of identity politics in elections in new democracies in Africa and Latin America, focusing on when and why ethnicity versus class is salient in party politics, with a view to the implications for democratic stability and quality across countries. She has also published on ethnic parties around the world, peacekeeping, Bolivian politics, and the Sudanese civil war.

Gisselquist is a KSG alum (MPP '99) and holds a bachelor's degree in economics from Georgetown University with a focus on international development.

Alexander Vuving



The academic path of International Security Program (ISP) Research Fellow **Alex Vuving** is unique. Born and raised in Hanoi, Vietnam, Vuving won a "socialist" fellowship to study in Hungary. At the end of the Cold War, he relocated to Germany where he earned a master's degree in political science, economics, and sociology, and a PhD in political science from Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz. There, he won a fellowship in a nationwide competition that brought him to Harvard and the Belfer Center. Vuving is fluent in four languages.

Vuving's research suggests that the rise of China will divide, not unite Asia.

Vuving's recently completed dissertation on strategic change in Vietnam in the mid 1980s finds that grand strategies emerge as a response to perceived shifts in the distribution of economic, political, or military power at the international level. His current work on security strategies of Asian states in an age of China's rise suggests that the rise of China will divide, rather than unite, Asia.



Tally Zingher is a Dubai Initiative fellow currently based in Dubai where she is researching the impact of foreign workers in the emirate.

Zingher recently completed her four-year joint degree in law (JD at HLS '06) and international development economics (MPA/ID at KSG '06). Her studies focused on the Middle East with research in Israel, Jordan, and Egypt and U.S. policy in the region.

Zingher sees Dubai as potential model for Middle East economic development.

Intrigued by the recent boom years of Dubai, and the potential of Dubai as an economic development model, Zingher applied and received a Dubai Initiative fellowship with the Dubai School of Government.

Zingher's work in Dubai is giving her a better sense of the gulf region and how the Dubai government is making its transition to a more diversified (non-oil-based) economy, she says. Through her research and interviews with public and private sector decision-makers, Zingher seeks to better understand the legal and economic interfaces between foreign workers and local UAE nationals as well the long-term legal and economic consequences of the foreign presence in Dubai (estimated to be around 90% of the population).

Fellows in Brief

Hassan Abbas (ISP) has been notified that his book, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army and America's War on Terror* (ISP), has been selected by the U.S. Army's Command and General Staff College to be on the Combined Arms Center Commander's Cultural Awareness Reading List.

Nikolaos Biziouras (ICP/ISP) teaches International Politics and Theory of World Politics at Wesleyan University and continues his fellowship at the Belfer Center where his focus is racial and ethnic conflicts in Europe.

Vanda Felbab-Brown (ICP/ISP) is a fellow at the Brookings Institution this semester, while she continues her fellowship at the Belfer Center. Her research includes the relationship

between military conflict and illicit economies.

Rebecca Weiner (ISP) is an analyst with the New York Police Department's Counter-Terrorism Division. At the Belfer Center, Weiner studied the legal and economic implications of Private Military Companies (PMCs).

Dissertations Defended—from borders and bad neighbors to mobilization and military power

Boaz Atzili, Vanda Felbab-Brown, Michael Horowitz, Scott Radnitz, Tammy Ann Smith, and Alexander Vuving (all with

ISP) have successfully defended their PhD dissertations. They include: **Atzili**: "Border Fixity: When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors;" **Felbab-Brown** (ICP/ISP): "Shooting Up: The Impact of Illicit Economies on Military Conflict;" **Horowitz**: "The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics;" **Radnitz**: "It Takes More than a Village: Mobilization, Networks, and the State in Central Asia;" **Smith**: "The Boundaries of Conflict: Narrative, Violence, and Displacement on the Italo-Yugoslav Frontier;" **Vuving**: "The Shaping of Foreign Policy: Vietnamese Grand Strategy after the Cold War."

Belfer Center Alumni: Where Are They Now?

The Belfer Center is pleased to follow the careers of its alums as they move on from the Belfer Center to advance policy-relevant knowledge in multiple ways. Following is a sampling of Belfer Center alumni and their activities today.

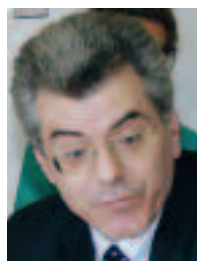


Richard Falkenrath, former Belfer Center fellow and executive director (1993–1998), was appointed in June of 2006 as deputy commissioner for counter-terrorism with the New York Police Department.

Falkenrath came to the Center as a fellow just after finishing his doctorate at King's College, London. While at the Center he was a co-author in the Center's 1996 study and book *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy*. He later joined two other Center fellows as co-author of *America's Achilles' Heel*, a book that analyzes the nature and limits of a covert nuclear, biological, or chemical threat.

Falkenrath became the Belfer Center's executive director for research in 1995 while he co-chaired the Kennedy School's Executive Session on Domestic Preparedness. He left the Belfer Center to take a position at the National Security Council. After 9/11, he moved to the newly created Office of Homeland Security, where he spent four years in the Bush administration as Deputy Homeland Security Advisor.

Now on the front lines with Police Commissioner **Ray Kelly** (another KSG alum) and ISP Fellow **Rebecca Weiner**, Falkenrath is continuing to apply his security expertise to defending the country against future terrorist attacks.



Gary Samore, a fellow with the Belfer Center in 1980–81 and an expert on nuclear proliferation, is now at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he serves as vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg

Chair. Samore also heads the David Rockefeller Studies Program, CFR's "think tank" of fellows.

Prior to his CFR position, Samore was vice president for global security and sustainability with the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, where he was responsible for the Foundation's grantmaking in international peace and security, human rights, international justice, the environment, and population.

From 1996 to 2000, Samore served as special assistant to President **Bill Clinton** and was senior director for Non-Proliferation and export controls at the National Security Council. From 1987 to 1995, he was deputy to the ambassador-at-large for Korean affairs in the State Department and was one of the U.S. negotiators of the 1994 U.S.–DPRK Agreed Framework.



Strategizing for Safety: Peter Feaver (ISP 1987–89), special advisor for strategic planning with the National Security Council, speaks on "The National Security Strategy" at a Center Directors' Lunch in September. Feaver was professor of political science at Duke University prior to his move to Washington.



Post Neocons: Francis Fukuyama (ISP 1978–79), professor of international political economy and director of the International Development Program at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, speaks on "After Neoconservatism" at a Directors' Lunch in the Belfer Center library. Also pictured is International Security Program Director **Steven Miller**.

Alums in Brief

Mike Boyle (ISP 2005–06) has taken a position as lecturer in International Relations at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland.

Rachel Bronson (ISP 1994–96) is an adjunct senior fellow for Middle East Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, and is author of *Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership With Saudi Arabia*.

Josh Busby (ISP 2004–05) is a fellow and lecturer at the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas–Austin.

Ivo Daalder (ISP 1985–87) currently is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and visiting professor at Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. His research is on American foreign policy and European security.

Assaf Moghadam (ISP 2004–06) is a fellow with Harvard's John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies. His research focuses on the nature and causes of terrorism, political violence, and suicide attacks.

Demet Yalcin Mousseau (ISP 2005–06) won third prize in the first annual Sakip Sabanci International Research Award essay competition for her essay, "The Impact of the European Union on Democracy in Turkey and its Implications for the Region."

Sebastian Rosato (ISP 2005–06) is now an assistant professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame. His research at the Belfer Center focused on European integration, democracy, and international conflict.

Carola Weil (ISP/ICP 2003–04) is a program officer with the United States Institute of Peace, an independent institution established by Congress to help prevent and resolve violent international conflicts.

Belfer Center Engages Military in National Security Debates

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Afghan Efforts: Lt. General **Karl W. Eikenberry** (right) with Preventive Defense Project Co-director **Ashton Carter**.

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Tactical Talk: Brigadier General **Mark Kimmitt** (right) with Brigadier General **Kevin Ryan** (ret.), a senior fellow at the Belfer Center.

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Challenges of Change: Lieutenant General **David H. Petraeus** discusses the challenges of transforming the Army to manage new defense needs.

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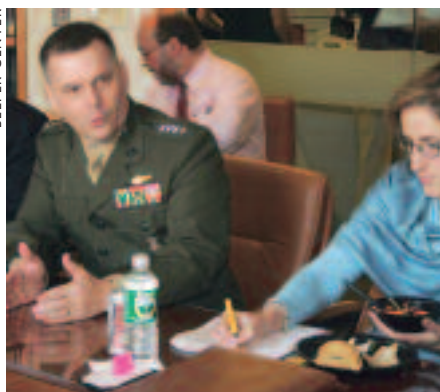
Interagency Interactions: Kennedy School alumnus **Dallas Brown** (front, speaking), director of the Joint Interagency Coordination Group, U.S. Central Command, discusses interagency challenges in prosecuting the war on terrorism at a Belfer Center Directors' Lunch. Joining the discussion (left to right) are: **Roy Glauber**, 2005 recipient of the Nobel Prize in Physics, Brigadier General (ret.) **Kevin Ryan**, a Center senior fellow, and Lieutenant General (ret.) **Tad Oelstrom**, director of the Kennedy School's National Security Program.

While Harvard College has not allowed ROTC on its campus for 35 years, the Belfer Center has always welcomed the country's uniformed men and women. Belfer Center faculty and fellows often join Kennedy School students who are soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines in lively discussions with active-duty senior military officials.

Belfer Center brings military and civilians together in policy debates.

The Center has recently been fortunate to host a number of military leaders, all of whom have contributed important insights on America's military policies and role in the world:

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Arsenal Outlook: General **James E. Cartwright** with Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Xenia Dormandy**.

- Gen. **James Cartwright**, commander of the U.S. Strategic Command, outlined his vision for the future of America's nuclear arsenal.
- Lieutenant General **Karl Eikenberry**, commanding general of the Commanding Forces Command in Afghanistan, gave an assessment of the nation-building effort in Afghanistan.
- Brigadier General **Mark Kimmitt**, U.S. Central Command's deputy director for strategy and plans, spoke on the future of counter-terrorism operations in the Middle East.
- Lt. General **David Petraeus**, commanding general of the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, outlined the struggle to transform the U.S. Army into an effective counterinsurgency outfit.

In addition to visits from top brass, the Kennedy School has two in-house military officers who provide on-going analysis and perspective on security affairs. Belfer Center Senior Fellow Brigadier General **Kevin Ryan** (ret.) focuses on U.S.-Russian security issues, nuclear proliferation, and military transformation, while Lieutenant General **Tad Oelstrom** (ret.) who directs the Kennedy School's National Security Program, has a 35 year career in the Air Force with expertise in strategy, weapons systems, and national security. 🇺🇸

Center Drives Debate

(continued from page 1)

In October, following North Korea's nuclear test, Belfer Center Board member and Preventive Defense Project (PDP) Co-director **Ashton Carter** moderated a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum "Can North Korea's Nuclear Breakout Be Stopped?" The panel, sponsored by the Belfer Center and PDP, highlighted the importance of negotiations with a regime unlikely to change, and included Center Fellow **Anne Wu**, who focused on the China connection.

Also with regard to North Korea's nuclear test, University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph Nye**, who serves on the Center's Board of Directors, said, "Why did North Korea risk taking actions that . . . brought about the UN resolution? In part . . . because it saw the great powers offering Iran an interesting package of incentives." ("Taming North Korea," *Taipei Times*, July 31, 2006). Center comments about the North Korea and Iran nuclear programs are available at: http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/research.cfm?program=CORE&pb_id=605 🇺🇸



Q&A

Tarik Yousef

***Tarik M. Yousef** is dean of the Dubai School of Government (DSG). The Belfer Center's Dubai Initiative has two objectives: to assist the DSG in establishing an internationally-recognized academic research center by bringing the research, academic and training resources of the Belfer Center and the Kennedy School to students, practitioners and scholars in the region; and to enable the scholars and students of the Kennedy School to learn and to improve their understanding of the emerging political, social and economic issues in the Middle East. Yousef, who received his PhD in economics from Harvard, is an associate professor of economics in the School of Foreign Service and Shaykh Al Sabah Chair in Arab Studies at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University.*

Q What is the goal of the Dubai Initiative?

The Dubai Initiative is a relationship between the Belfer Center/Kennedy School of Government and the Dubai Government. The primary objective of this relationship is to assist the government in establishing a Dubai School of Government as a center of academic and research excellence on public policy and public administration issues focusing on the Middle East. The intention is to build bridges between these two institutions to enable a two-way flow of faculty, researchers, students, and knowledge.

Q Is this a long-term initiative?

The Dubai Initiative was started as a three-year project with plans to extend the relationship. The Dubai Initiative and the Dubai School of Government leaders are currently working toward a Phase II strategy that responds to the strategic vision and evolving needs of the Dubai School of Government.

Q Why Dubai?

Over the last decade, Dubai has focused on becoming the international business, technology, trade, convention, and exposition hub and has succeeded in each of these goals. The location of this city-state, the open-mindedness of the government, its large expatriate population and neutral but objective position on various geopolitical issues in the region, makes Dubai an ideal location for a school of government that can relate to the region and is accessible to the Middle East as a whole.

Q What is unique about the DSG?

The Dubai School of Government is unique in its approach to becoming an academic and research institution in the realm of public policy and public administrations. The School adopts a three pronged approach to its quest for building an institution—research, outreach and training. The three elements of the strategy are fundamentally important when planning a successful institution that will engage

and educate as diverse a population as possible while still maintaining the highest standards for research and regional development. DSG is also unique in its joint fellowship appointments that bridge the DSG and the Kennedy School, supported by appointed faculty to enable a strong core curriculum.

The intention is to build bridges between these two institutions.

Q What is the status of the Dubai School of Government now?

Currently we are focused on capacity building, recruiting, and planning for core areas of research. The school is located in a temporary space while we complete plans for a full-scale campus in the next two to three years. Meanwhile, DSG is conducting workshops for local and regional government leaders, facilitating forums, and organizing conferences with major global institutions and government leaders. We have several research associates in residence in Dubai, as well as several joint fellows at the Kennedy School working with the Dubai Initiative. We are trying to strike a balance between building the infrastructure of an institution that can support a large student body and top research and academic faculty, while also participating actively in current research and academic initiatives to encourage excitement and momentum around the DSG.

Q What are some examples of support the Dubai Initiative provides to DSG?

The Dubai Initiative helps develop programs and fellowship appointments that complement the work of the DSG. In

addition to appointing several fellows a year, the Dubai Initiative will soon begin issuing a call for papers, funding research grants and summer internships, working on translations of papers and articles for the DSG library, and running a speaker series as well as multiple workshops, mini-conferences, and executive education programs. The partnership between the Kennedy School and the Dubai School of Government is essential to the momentum that we have achieved in establishing ourselves in the region.

Q Five (or ten) years from now, what do you hope to have accomplished?

Ideally, within five to ten years the Dubai School of Government will be awarding Masters in Government and Public Policy to scholars, students, and mid-career professionals throughout the Middle East. In addition, the school will become a top center for research and publication relating to the Middle East. We hope that the DSG will become a source for innovation as well as a marker for excellence. We want to draw academics and researchers from all over the world to add to the international legitimacy and authority of the school, while still maintaining a focus on the unique issues of the Middle East. 🇩🇪



Growing Governance: Dubai Initiative Team (from left): **John White**, faculty co-chair; **Yasar Jarrar**, Dubai School of Government (DSG) executive dean; **Ginger Dagli**, executive director; **Graham Allison**, faculty chair; **Tarik Yousef**, DSG dean; **Juliette Kayyem**, faculty co-chair.

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Prepared Prevention: **Frances Fragos Townsend**, deputy assistant to President Bush for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, speaks on "Transforming National Preparedness" at a Belfer Center Directors' Lunch prior to her presentation in the John F. Kennedy Forum in late spring. Townsend was assistant commandant for intelligence with the U.S. Coast Guard before moving to the White House.

Holding His Own: **Jaswant Singh** (right), senior fellow at the Belfer Center who is leader of the opposition in the Indian Parliament (Rajya Sabha) and has served as Minister of Finance and of External Affairs in various Indian governments, speaks about "India and Asia Today" at a Directors' Lunch in October. **Joseph Nye** (left) was among the faculty and fellows taking part in the discussion.



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Energized Asia: **Minoru (Mike) Takeda**, president of Shell Gas and Power Japan, gives a seminar, "Looking for New Supply of Gas: Issues for Japan and Asia," in October. The event was sponsored by the Environment and Natural Resources program.



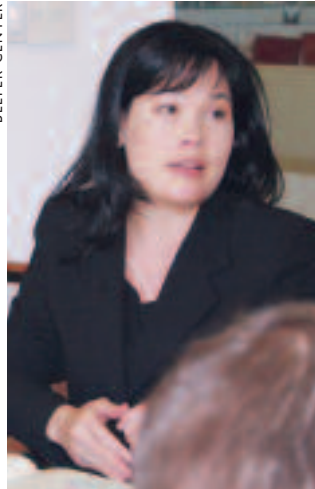
BELFER CENTER

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Scientific Inquiry: Belfer Center scientists discuss international collaboration in science with **Bruce Alberts** (center), former president of the National Academy of Sciences and professor in biochemistry and biophysics at the University of California in San Francisco. Alberts presented "An Expanded View of International Collaboration in Science: New Organizations, Broader Aims, and a Focus on Capacity Building in Developing Nations" with several Belfer Center scientists, including (from left) **Ashton Carter** (physics), **Paul Doty** (biochemistry, molecular biology), **Calestous Juma** (biotechnology), and **Robert Frosch** (theoretical physics).

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Reconstruction Ramifications: **Ginger Cruz**, deputy special inspector general for Iraq Reconstruction, discusses the situation in Iraq with Center faculty and fellows in September.

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Sacred Space: **Stacie Goddard** (right), assistant professor of political science at Wellesley College and former ISP Fellow, emphasizes a point during her presentation "Negotiating Behavior and Indivisible Territories." International Security Program Fellow **Phillip Potter** is also pictured.



Oil and UN: **Paul Volcker** (center), former chairman of the Federal Reserve and member of the Center's International Council, discusses the recent oil for food scandal and United Nations challenges along with **John Ruggie** (right), former UN assistant secretary-general and director of the Kennedy School's Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government. Volcker was appointed by Secretary General **Kofi Annan** to conduct an independent investigation of the scandal, and wrote the resulting report. **Robert I. Rotberg**, director of the Intrastate Conflict Program, is pictured at left.

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SPEAKERS

Sharing Policy-Relevant Knowledge

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Critical Training: **Richard Clarke**, chief counter-terrorism adviser on the National Security Council during the Clinton and Bush administrations and a Belfer Center faculty affiliate, leads an exercise on responding to a nuclear attack threat during a National Security Management class. He teaches the class with colleague **Rand Beers**, also a former NSC counter-terrorism adviser and Center faculty affiliate.

Historically Speaking: **Niall Ferguson**, Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History at Harvard and a member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, speaks at a Directors' Lunch on "The War of the World: Rethinking the Mid Twentieth Century Crisis" in late spring. Ferguson, also a columnist and contributor to television and radio in the United States and United Kingdom, wrote *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, and the sequel *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. In 2006, he published *The War of the World: History's Age of Hatred*.

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MARTHA STEWART



India on the Way: India Defense Minister **Pranab Mukherjee** (left) with Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Xenia Dormandy** following Mukherjee's address in September on "India's Security Perspective," the inaugural Harish C. Mahindra lecture co-sponsored by Harvard University's South Asia Initiative and the Belfer Center.

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Iraq and Back?: **Richard Haass**, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, addresses an audience in October at a Belfer Center Directors' Seminar on "Iraq: Where Do We Go From Here?" Prior to joining the Council on Foreign Relations, Haass was director of policy planning at the Department of State, where he was a principal advisor to Secretary of State Colin Powell on a broad range of foreign policy concerns.

On the Brink: **David C. Kang**, associate professor of government and adjunct associate professor and research director at the Center for International Business at the Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth, discusses "North Korea's Nuclear Program" with a Center audience in October. Author of numerous publications about Asia, Kang is also co-author of *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies* (2003).



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Moving Forward: Belfer Center Lecturer in Public Policy **Juliette Kayyem** (center) makes a point during a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum, "Five Years After 9-11: Understanding a Complex World," as part of a panel discussion that included Baroness **Kishwer Falkner** (left), a member of the United Kingdom's House of Lords and a fellow at Harvard's Institute of Politics, and National Security Program Director **Tad Oelstrom** (right). The panel also included the Kennedy School's **Samantha Power** and **Joseph Nye** (not pictured).

MARTHA STEWART

SPOTLIGHT

John Holdren

John Holdren, the Teresa and John Heinz Professor of Environmental Policy, is director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program and professor of Environmental Science and Public Policy in Harvard's Department of Earth and Planetary Science. He is professor emeritus of Energy and Resources at the University of California, Berkeley, director of the Woods Hole Research Center, co-chair of the bipartisan National Commission on Energy Policy, and president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

John Holdren can pinpoint two books that set the trajectory of his career.

He was a high school student in San Mateo, California in the 1950s when he first came across **C.P. Snow's** *The Two Cultures*, a book that demonstrates an increasing gulf between the cultures of science/technology and the humanities and argues that society's problems cannot be understood or solved without insights from both. Caught up in the challenge presented by Snow, he read geochemist **Harrison Brown's** *The Challenge of Man's Future*, which suggested that global problems of population, resources, development and security are so tightly intertwined that none of them can be solved unless we solve them all. Poverty creates conflict; population growth undermines prosperity.

Convinced that Snow and Brown were right, Holdren determined to learn more about both cultures and work on big global issues where they intersect. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he earned bachelor's and master's degrees in aeronautics and astronautics and minored in humanities. He earned his PhD in theoretical plasma physics at Stanford University with a growing focus on nuclear and alternative energy technologies.

It was also at Stanford that Holdren met **Paul Ehrlich**, a biologist whose ideas had a "huge influence" on his future. Ehrlich, author of *The Population Bomb*, argued that humanity was headed toward major disasters unless it changed course.

While at MIT and Stanford, Holdren did summer and consulting work on satellite and missile technology at the Lockheed Corporation, and later joined the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory as a physicist in the fusion energy program. After a brief stint at Caltech working with Harrison Brown, in 1973 he joined the faculty of UC Berkeley, where he put his own mark on the interplay of the sciences and social sciences by co-founding a campus-wide, interdisciplinary, graduate-degree program in energy and resources. For the next 23 years, he would build that program while teaching, researching, writing, and traveling worldwide to understand, find, and apply solutions to problems of energy, environment, development, and security.

Holdren served from 1994 to 2001 as a member of President **Bill Clinton's** Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST) where he chaired studies requested by the President on nuclear-materials protection, U.S. energy R&D strategy, and international cooperation on energy.

From 1993 through 2004, Holdren also served as chair of the Committee on International Security and Arms Control of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, overseeing studies on nuclear weapons, materials, and policies, and on technical issues related to ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, as well as leadership of bilateral interactions with similar committees in Russia, China, and India.

The Belfer Center offered a highly interdisciplinary setting with first-class people to interact with.

The need to spend substantial time in Washington, D.C. was one of the factors that motivated Holdren to shift his academic base of operations from Berkeley to Cambridge. Another was his long-standing promise to his wife, biologist **Cheryl Holdren**, that they would spend half of their married life in New England, where she grew up. In July of 1996, he started his new position as a professor both in the Kennedy School and in the department of Earth and Planetary Sciences at Harvard, at the same time succeeding **Lewis Branscomb** as director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program in the Belfer Center.

"I wanted to continue to be in an interdisciplinary academic environment where one works not just to understand the world but to influence it for the better," Holdren said. "The Kennedy School of Government obviously has that dual mission, and the Belfer Center offered a highly interdisciplinary setting with first class people to interact with."

Holdren's current work focuses on climate change, energy strategy, and nuclear nonproliferation. He and his teams at the Belfer Center conduct cutting-edge research to underpin policy proposals they pursue in the "real world"—focused, for example, on strengthening protection of nuclear-weapon-usable materials in Russia, on improving vehicle fuel economy in China, on reducing emissions of climate-altering and health-damaging emissions of black soot in India, and on accelerating energy-technology innovation in the United States.

As co-chair of the bipartisan, foundation-funded National Commission on Energy Policy since 2002, Holdren helped to craft a number of policy recommendations that were enacted into law in the 2005 Energy Act, including incentives for the deployment of



TOM FITZSIMMONS

"clean coal" technologies and revisions in the tax code to encourage more private-sector energy R&D.

The Commission continues to work with Congressional leaders on legislation to cut U.S. greenhouse-gas emissions.

We are in the situation of driving an automobile with bad brakes toward a cliff . . . in the fog.

As President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science—the largest general science society in the world and the publisher of the journal *SCIENCE*—Holdren's focus is on strengthening efforts worldwide "to deploy science and technology more effectively in support of sustainable well-being for all of the Earth's inhabitants." An important part of this focus is addressing the challenge of climate change. "Global climate change is the most dangerous and the most difficult of all the environmental problems that humans have ever caused and probably will ever cause," Holdren says in a AAAS video. "We are in the situation of driving an automobile with bad brakes toward a cliff . . . in the fog," he says. "The auto is the world's energy-economic system and the cliff is climate-change catastrophe. We don't know exactly where the cliff is because of the uncertainties in climate science—the fog—but that is hardly a consolation, or a reason not to try to slow down."

Holdren's journey has been highlighted by several prominent distinctions, including one of the first MacArthur Foundation "genius" awards in 1981 and, in 1995, acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs.

Holdren and his wife have two children and five grandchildren. Time with his family is a priority even as he maintains a huge workload. He also finds a little time for a hobby—fishing. Maybe it's the lure of solving smaller, simpler tasks rather than big problems for awhile—or, maybe it's just the lure itself. 🐟



Doug Ahlers, Belfer Center fellow and former Shorenstein fellow, joined **Walter Shorenstein** and **Walter Isaacson** in a \$5 million commitment through the Clinton Global Initiative to assist New Orleans' Broadmoor neighborhood in implementing its redevelopment plan. Ahlers initiated a continuing relationship between Broadmoor and Kennedy School students, who have been using their skills to help with the redevelopment plan.



Paul Anastas, research fellow with the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program and the "father of green chemistry," received the 2006 Heinz Award for Environment for his work to redesign chemical processes and products at the molecular level to eliminate potential wastes before they are produced.



Matthew Bunn, senior research associate with the Belfer Center's Managing the Atom project, is winner of the 2007 Joseph A. Burton Forum Award for helping formulate and communicate policies "to decrease the risk of theft of nuclear weapons and nuclear materials." Presented by the American Physical Society, the award is "for contributions to the understanding of issues relating to the interface of physics and society."



Albert Carnesale, the Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Public Policy *emeritus* and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, joined Center faculty in September after retiring as chancellor of UCLA where he led more than 38,000 students and 27,000 faculty and staff, and managed an annual budget of \$3.5 billion. He is working on nonproliferation efforts during his year at the Center.



Ashton Carter, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project, member of the Belfer Center Board, and professor at the Kennedy School, was sworn in as a member of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's National Security Advisory Board (NSAB). The NSAB is charged with providing advice on a wide range of issues affecting national security.

"KIM MUST BE CONVINCED THAT AMERICAN NUCLEAR FORENSICS WILL BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY THE MOLECULAR FINGERPRINT of nuclear material from his Yongbyon reactor. He must feel in his gut the threat that if a nuclear weapon of North Korean origin explodes on American soil or that of a U.S. ally, the United States will retaliate precisely as if North Korea had attacked the United States with a nuclear-armed missile . . ."

—**Graham Allison**, "Deterring Kim Jong Il," *Washington Post* (27 October 2006)

"If North Korea persists in its launch preparations **THE UNITED STATES SHOULD IMMEDIATELY MAKE CLEAR ITS INTENTION TO STRIKE AND DESTROY** the North Korean Taepodong missile."

—**Ashton Carter** and **William J. Perry**, "If Necessary, Strike and Destroy; North Korea Cannot Be Allowed to Test This Missile," *Washington Post* (22 June 2006)

"THE FRIGHTENING TRUTH IS THAT FISSILE MATERIAL, including nuclear explosive material, is an item of commerce, and moves from place to place."

—**Jeffrey G. Lewis** and **Peter D. Zimmerman**, "The Bomb in the Backyard," *Foreign Policy* (November/December 2006)

"IRAN'S DIPLOMATIC MACHINE WENT INTO OVERDRIVE to try to impress world opinion . . . Iran wants recognition and readmission into international society. Iranians have no desire for international isolation."

—**Abbas Maleki**, "Iran is Eager to Diffuse the Nuclear Squabble," *Financial Times* (10 May 2006)

"IRAN'S NUCLEAR POLICIES ARE CAUSING THIS CRISIS and Tehran has been left in no doubt about how to end it—stop trying to create a nuclear arsenal. Nevertheless, if negotiations with Tehran fail, the case against using U.S. military force to set back Iran's nuclear weapons program is impressive."

—**Robert Blackwill**, "Jaw-Jaw Before War?," *Wall Street Journal* (1 June 2006)



Charles Cogan, research associate with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, was awarded the Ernest Lemonon Prize for 2006 by the Association des Sciences

Morales et Politiques (ASMP) of the Institut de France, for his book entitled, "Diplomatie à la française."

"CHINA OPPOSED RESORTING TO SANCTIONS or the use of force against Iran, believing this will only provoke Iran unnecessarily. Instead, China urged all parties to reduce their saber rattling. Such an approach leaves room to maneuver to manage the crisis."

—**Anne Wu**, "U.S. Counts on China as Mediator with Iran," *San Francisco Chronicle* (5 June 2006)

"TO COUNTER THE GROWING CHORUS OF SKEPTICS, President Bush should do in the case of Iran what he did with regard to the Iraq NIE after the invasion: declassify the key judgments in the document and the dissents from it."

—**Micah Zenko**, "Share the Evidence on Iran," *Washington Post* (29 August 2006)

"BECAUSE RUSSIA CAN . . . MAKE BILLIONS of dollars importing U.S. origin spent fuel . . . that gives us a lot of leverage, which might be used to convince Russia to . . . set aside a portion of the revenue to beef up nuclear safety and security for their huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons and materials, so they can't be stolen by terrorists."

—**Matthew Bunn** (quoted in article), "U.S. and Russia Ready Civilian Nuclear Deal," *NPR Morning Edition* (10 July 2006)

"BUT UNTIL PAKISTAN . . . GETS SERIOUS about shutting down, arresting and otherwise dismantling the militant groups that operate from its territory, it cannot expect to be treated as a responsible player in the region."

Xenia Dormandy, "How Much Will India Endure?," *Washington Post* (12 July 2006)

"ZIMBABWE IS ONE OF THE 10 MOST CORRUPT places on earth. Greed and patronage demand more and more. As the state becomes morally outrageous, society breaks down and the overriding drive becomes personal security and advancement at any cost."

—**Robert Rotberg**, "Zimbabwe Needs Help if it is to have a Rose Revolution," *Financial Times* (21 June 2006)



Evan Feigenbaum, former fellow with the Center's International Security Program, has been named deputy assistant secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs in the State

Department, responsible for Central Asia. Feigenbaum served earlier at the Kennedy School as executive director of the Asia-Pacific Security Initiative and program chair of the Chinese Security Studies Program.

"IF AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES CANNOT REINVENT THEMSELVES to play a leading role in the transition towards sustainability, enlightened governments should charter other categories of institutions to perform this community function."

—**Calestous Juma**, "Reinventing African Universities" *Falmer*, University of Sussex magazine (Summer 2006)

"SO WHY NOT PURSUE SPACE WEAPONS?" . . . Adversaries wouldn't need to go to the trouble of building space-based weapons systems. Simple and inexpensive, ground-based systems could shoot these satellites out of the sky."

—**William Marshall**, "Weapons in Outer Space," *Boston Globe* (5 July 2006)

"IF YOU DO A LOT OF EXPANSION OF COAL without addressing the CO₂ issue, without capturing and storing it, we're going to dramatically increase our CO₂. When you gasify coal, you have the option of separating the carbon dioxide during the process," Sims Gallagher says. "You can then put it into a pipeline and store it below the ground."

—**Kelly Sims Gallagher** (quoted in article) "King Coal Comes Clean" *Kennedy School Bulletin* (Summer 2006)

"We are not talking anymore about what climate models say might happen in the future. **WE ARE EXPERIENCING DANGEROUS HUMAN DISRUPTION** of the global climate and we're going to experience more."

—**John Holdren** (quoted on BBC with quote carried by numerous media), "Top Scientist Fears for Climate," (31 August 2006)

"IF THE PRICE OF OIL STAYED AT 70 DOLLARS A BARREL, we would see tremendous investment in alternative fuels in this country," said Lee. "But few people believe the price of oil will stay this high."

—**Henry Lee** (quoted in article), "Looming Energy Crisis Requires New 'Manhattan Project,'" *Agence France Presse* (16 June 2006)



Martin Feldstein, George F. Baker Professor of Economics at Harvard and a member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, has been named by President Bush to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Feldstein is CEO of the National Bureau of Economic Research and former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

"... THESE ACCUSATIONS OF AMERICAN ATROCITIES, which are likely to proliferate the longer we remain in Iraq, will vastly increase the pool from which Al Qaeda and its sympathizers can recruit new members and supporters. Most troubling of all is that such stories will help Al Qaeda recruit Americans."

—**Jessica Stern**, "Al Qaeda, American Style," *New York Times* (15 July 2006)

"GOD IS ON A WINNING STREAK. It was reflected in the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan, the Shia revival and religious strife in postwar Iraq, and Hamas's recent victory in Palestine. But not all the thunderbolts have been hurled by Allah."

—**Monica Duffy Toft** and **Timothy Samuel Shah**, "Why God is Winning," *Foreign Policy* (June/July 2006).

"TERRORISTS HAVE ALWAYS EXISTED; they will always exist. 'Eradicating' terrorism from the world is a fool's errand. The notion, however, of making terrorism—the targeting of civilian populations for political purposes—less attractive to men and women who disagree with our policies is not."

—**Juliette Kayyem**, "Making Terrorism Less Attractive," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (13 August 2006)

"IF THE U.S. ARMY PLACED ONE RECRUITING STATION IN THE CAPITAL OF INDIA, we would have available a pool of enlistment-age adults equivalent to the entire population of the United States. . ."

—Brigadier General **Kevin Ryan** (ret.), "Enhance Force Levels? Look to Immigrants," *Christian Science Monitor* (26 July 2006)

"SINCE THE U.S. INVASION OF IRAQ and the failure to find either weapons of mass destruction or evidence of a connection between Saddam Hussein and 9/11, two of the three pillars of Bush's effort at transformation have been shaken."

—**Joseph S. Nye**, "Transformational Leadership and U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Policy* (July/August). Excerpts were also published in *TIME* and *Newsweek International*.



David Hamburg, member of the Belfer Center's International Council, has been appointed chair of the United Nations Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention. A noted psychiatrist, Hamburg previously headed the National Institutes of Health adult psychiatry branch and served as president of the Carnegie Corporation.



Ben Heineman, senior fellow with the Center, was honored with the Equal Justice Works' 2006 Scales of Justice Award in October. Heineman is the former senior vice president for law and public affairs at GE.



Fiona Hill, former associate director of the Belfer Center's Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, has been named national intelligence officer for Russia and Eurasia with the National Intelligence Council. She is a senior fellow with the Brookings Institution.



John Holdren, director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, is president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the influential international non-profit organization dedicated to advancing science around the world by serving as an educator, leader, spokesperson and professional association.



Calestous Juma, director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization Project, was one of 44 "exceptional" scientists to be elected to the Royal Society, the United Kingdom's national academy of science. Juma was elected for his work on the application of science and technology in developing and developed countries.



Nemir A. Kirdar, member of the Belfer Center's International Council and president and CEO of Investcorp, has received the Global Leadership Award from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs in recognition of his distinguished career in international banking and finance and his work to enhance the role of institutions of higher education around the world.

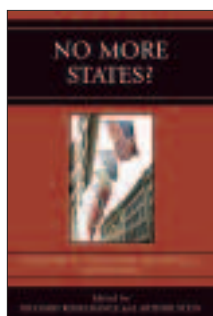


Kieran Prendergast, under-secretary-general for Political Affairs with the United Nations and former Belfer Center fellow, was selected by Secretary General Kofi Annan to head the follow-up committee for the implementation of the Greentree Agreement in which Nigeria conclusively recognized Cameroon's sovereignty over the territory and agreed to withdraw its troops and administration from the area.

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

No More States? Globalization, National Self-Determination, and Terrorism

Edited by **Richard N. Rosecrance** and **Arthur A. Stein**
Rowman & Littlefield



The 20th century witnessed an explosion of new nations carved out of existing ramshackle empires and multiethnic states. Many observers contend that the creation of new states will continue indefinitely. This book explores the impact of globalization and terrorism

on this trend, arguing convincingly that the era of national self-determination has finally ended.

Examining the forces that determine the emergence of new nation-states, the contributors consider a rich array of specific cases in which new states could be created. They contend that globalization, rather than expanding such opportunities, is not as friendly to new weak states with limited resources as it is to established rich nations and also that terrorism has lost its legitimacy as a technique for gaining independence in the eyes of the international community. The book concludes that discontented national movements will have to find ways to exist within current geopolitical boundaries.

“Richard Rosecrance and Arthur Stein deal with one of the most important and understudied issues in global politics today—the question of state fragmentation and state formation. The chapters in this volume provide fresh thinking on why states exist and how they are defined.”

—Francis Fukuyama, Johns Hopkins University, author of *The End of History* and *The Last Man*

Global Environmental Assessments: Information and Influence

Edited by **Ronald B. Mitchell**, **William C. Clark**, **David W. Cash**, and **Nancy M. Dickson**
The MIT Press



Knowledge about environmental problems has expanded rapidly in recent decades, as have the number and variety of processes for making large-scale scientific assessments of those problems and their possible solutions. Yet too often scientific information has

not been transformed into effective and appropriate policies to protect the global environment.

In this book, scholars find that global environmental assessments are more likely to be influential if the process is perceived not only as scientifically credible but also as salient to policy concerns.

“If humanity is to successfully confront the multiple, daunting environmental threats it has visited upon itself, it must figure out how to turn science into something that decision makers can actually use. . . .”

—Daniel Sarewitz, Professor of Science and Society and Director of the Consortium for Science, Policy, and Outcomes, Arizona State University.

Seeds of Disaster, Roots of Response: How Private Action Can Reduce Public Vulnerability

Edited by **Philip Auerswald**, **Lewis M. Branscomb**, **Todd M. La Porte**, and **Erwann O. Michel-Kerjan**
Cambridge University Press



In modern, industrial societies critical infrastructures offer more than convenience. They are lifelines to millions. Yet the complexity and interdependence of such infrastructures makes them vulnerable to both natural disasters and deliberate attack. This volume

describes the economic, organizational, and institutional factors that drive the creation, maintenance, and evolution of critical infrastructures and the fundamental trade-offs between private efficiency and public vulnerability in an open society. It offers insights on how institutions can be strengthened and private incentives modified so that private decisions reduce, rather than intensify, public vulnerability.

“[T]his book . . . calls not only for more leadership but for more realistic policies from both the private and the public sector.”

“Industries that provide critical infrastructure are becoming more efficient, but more vulnerable. This book introduces ‘security externalities,’ a phenomenon that inhibits private investments that would make critical infrastructure services more resilient to potential disaster from any source. It calls not only for more leadership but for more realistic policies from both the private and the public sector.”

—Prof. Thomas C. Schelling, Distinguished University Professor, University of Maryland and 2005 Nobel Prize Laureate in Economics

Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix

Edited by **Robert I. Rotberg**
Indiana University Press



This provocative volume addresses the two powerful, bitterly contested, competing historical narratives that underpin the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In creating a dialogue among Palestinian and Israeli authors, it examines opposing versions of the historical narratives in the context of contemporary Israeli-Palestinian relations. In hard-hitting essays the contributors debate the two justifying and rationalizing constructions, laying bare the conflict's roots and the distorted prisms that fuel it.

“An exciting and wide-ranging exploration of the myths and narratives that lie behind the unresolved Arab-Israeli and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts. . . .”

—Neil Caplan, Vanier College, Montreal

The Fog of Peace and War Planning: Military and Strategic Planning Under Uncertainty

Strategy and History Series
Edited by **Talbot C. Imlay** and **Monica Duffy Toft**



Routledge

Existing research on military planning has tended to focus almost exclusively on immediate pre-war and wartime periods surrounding the First and Second World Wars and has neglected peacetime periods and the specific challenges that planners

must face. This volume examines and analyzes how governments and military organizations planned for an uncertain and potentially threatening future during four different peacetime periods spanning from the beginning of the 19th century to the aftermath of the Second World War and discusses what lessons can be drawn from past cases of military planning.

Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War by **Edward D. Mansfield** and **Jack Snyder**

published in the BCSIA Studies in International Security Series, has been named Gold Award winner in the category of Political Science by ForeWord Magazine.

“Hot Off the Presses” compiled by **Susan M. Lynch**, ISP program assistant and STPP web manager

Preventive Defense Project Advances Dialogue on Iran, the Korean Peninsula, and China

The Preventive Defense Project (PDP), co-directed by **Ashton B. Carter** and **William J. Perry**, conducted workshops and provided testimony this fall to inform high-level discussions on North Korea, Japan, and China. Carter testified before Congress on Iran, PDP hosted an academic symposium highlighting the changing dynamics of the Korean Peninsula, and the directors led a delegation to Honolulu to meet with Chinese leaders on strategic security issues.


We have not exhausted diplomatic options in North Korea.
—Ashton Carter

On September 19, 2006, Carter testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on “Responding to Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions: Next Steps.” He outlined a potential “Plan B” for addressing the burgeoning nuclear threat from Iran, if “Plan A”—diplomacy as we have it today—fails. Variations of “Plan B” include the addition of direct U.S.-Iran negotiations, coercion, and a shifting U.S. strategy in the

event of a nuclear Iran. These specific proposals were drawn from a report that Carter co-authored with Perry, the product of a civilian-military experts workshop on Iran. Carter emphasized that he does not believe we have yet exhausted diplomatic options.

In collaboration with Ambassador **Charles (Jack) L. Pritchard**, president of the Korea Economic Institute, and the Korean Institute for International Economic Policy, PDP hosted the 17th annual U.S.-Korea Academic Symposium at the Kennedy School on September 25–27, 2006. The symposium, titled “Dynamic Forces on the Korean Peninsula: Strategic & Economic Implications,” featured panel presentations and discussions on key economic issues and security concerns currently facing the Korean Peninsula, including: U.S.-ROK economic linkages, the impact of China on the South Korean economy, the North Korean economy and North-South economic relations, U.S. strategic doctrine and the U.S.-ROK Alliance, and the North Korean nuclear program and peace progress.

In late September, Carter and Perry led a U.S. delegation to Honolulu in collaboration with the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations (NCUSCR) and the China Founda-

tion for International and Strategic Studies (CFISS). The sessions allowed delegates from the U.S. and China to share their concerns regarding one another’s military modernization and security strategies. Participants from both countries also proposed specific mechanisms for improving dialogue between the two militaries, and discussed strategies for reducing uncertainty in the U.S.-China security relationship. Delegates also focused on U.S.-China-Japan-Northeast Asia security issues and U.S.-China relations. 



Informing Debate: Ashton Carter, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project and member of the Belfer Center’s Board of Directors, speaks at the 2006 U.S.-Korean Academic Symposium in September.

International Security FALL 2006 Vol. 31, No. 2

The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States’ Unipolar Moment **Christopher Layne**

“Maintaining U.S. hegemony is a game that no longer is worth the candle, especially given that U.S. primacy may already be in the early stages of erosion. Paradoxically, attempting to sustain U.S. primacy may well hasten its end by stimulating more intensive efforts to balance against the United States, thus causing [it] to become imperially overstretched and involving it in unnecessary wars that will reduce its power.”

Why Terrorism Does Not Work **Max Abrahms**

“Target countries view the deaths of their citizens and the resulting turmoil as proof that the perpetrators want to destroy their societies, their publics, or both. Countries are therefore reluctant to make concessions when their civilians are targeted irrespective of the perpetrators’ policy demands.”

Friends Like These: Counterinsurgency and the War on Terrorism **Daniel L. Byman**

“For counterinsurgency more than other forms of warfare, the United States relies heavily on others to act on its behalf. Washington must recognize that its allies . . . are often ineffective at fighting insurgents and at times can make the problem worse.”

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 the Belfer Center and published quarterly by the MIT Press. Questions may be directed to: IS@harvard.edu

Preventing the Misuse of Biology: Lessons from the Oversight of Smallpox Research **Jonathan B. Tucker**

“Today the primary concern is with the deliberate misuse of molecular biology to create ‘designer pathogens’ that could injure or kill people, livestock, or crops.”

Breaking Out of the Security Dilemma: Realism, Reassurance, and the Problem of Uncertainty **Evan Braden Montgomery**

“I argue that the primary way a benign state reveals its motives to its adversaries is by taking actions that decrease its ability to defeat them in the event of a conflict.”

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How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups **Audrey Kurth Cronin**

“Terrorism, like war, never ends; however, individual terrorist campaigns and the groups that wage them always do. A vague U.S. declaration of a war on terrorism has brought with it a vague concept of the closing stages of al-Qaida rather than a compelling road map for how it will be reduced to the level of a minor threat.”

The Strategies of Terrorism **Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter**

“Because it is hard for weak actors to make credible threats, terrorists are forced to display

publicly just how far they are willing to go to obtain their desired results.”

Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and U.S. Policy toward East Asia

Thomas J. Christensen

“From the positive-sum perspective, U.S. policy toward East Asia since the early 1990s has largely been a success, despite certain notable and persistent regional problems . . . From the zero-sum perspective, however, U.S. policy seems to be heading down the wrong track.”

No Place to Hide: Refugees, Displaced Persons, and the Recruitment of Child Soldiers

Vera Achvarina and Simon F. Reich

“... child soldiering has become intertwined with terrorism, suggesting that the increasing use of child soldiers poses a long-term threat to the health and security of societies far beyond the borders of the war-torn, fragile states in which these civil and ethnic conflicts take place.”

Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security **Fiona B. Adamson**

“Ultimately, it is how states respond to global migration flows through policy formation and implementation that will determine the extent to which national security is enhanced or diminished by international migration.”

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BELFER IN BRIEF



In Africa: Katie Bartel, editorial assistant of *International Security*, with her technology students in Ejisu, Ghana.

Katie Bartel (*International Security* Editorial Assistant) spent her summer vacation in Ejisu, a town in the heart of Ghana's Ashanti region, where she helped run the Boston College-Ejisu Computer Literacy Camp for 250 children and 30 adults. Bartel's group also is working to gather enough donated laptops to establish a permanent computer center in town.

Randall Forsberg (ISP Research Associate) has been appointed to the Bernard Spitzer chair of International Security Studies at City College, New York. Forsberg, whose focus is nuclear proliferation, was instrumental in organizing the Nuclear Arms Freeze in the 1970s.

Robert Frosch (STPP Senior Research Associate), who headed NASA during the Carter administration, has been named scientific content advisor for the upcoming movie "Challenger," which examines Richard Feynman's role in the Challenger explosion investigation. The film is part of the Alfred P. Sloan

Foundation's Tribeca/Sloan Screenplay Development Program to develop scripts with scientific and technical themes.

Allison Macfarlane (MTA Research Associate) has been named associate professor of environmental science and policy at George Mason University. She co-edited the recent book *Uncertainty Underground: Yucca Mountain and the Nation's High-Level Nuclear Waste*.

Frosch advising on science for movie on Feynman's role in "Challenger" investigation.

Viktor Mayer-Schoenberger (Associate Professor of Public Policy) was elected "Salzburger of the Week" as an outstanding role model in public service for his home state of 500,000 Austrian inhabitants. Mayer-Schoenberger's work focuses on critical information infrastructure.

Smita Srinivas (former STPP Research Associate) was made professor of urban planning at Columbia University. She was a research associate with Harvard's Center for International Development as well as with the Belfer Center.

Robert Stavins (Albert Pratt Professor of Business and Government and member of the Belfer Center's Board) has been selected to head the Graduate Studies for the Doctoral Program in Public Policy and the Doctoral Program in Political Economy and Government at Harvard.

Monica Toft (Associate Professor of Public Policy) and **Niall Ferguson** (Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History) have been named to the Belfer Center Board of Directors.

Belfer Center Environment and Natural Resources Director **Henry Lee** presented awards in May to outstanding students of environment. The awards for the best papers in environmental and resource policy went to **Cynthia Lin** and **Jaclyn Marks**, the Roy Summer Internship Awards to **Jordi Honey-Roses** and **Andrew Murphy**, Norberg-Bohm Fellowship Awards to **Kelsy Jack** and **Kira Matus**, and the Crump Fellowship Award to **Hunt Allcott**.

Congratulations to all!



With Honors: Environment and Natural Resources Program Director **Henry Lee** (right) presents the Stone Fellowship award to student **Cynthia Lin** for the best paper written by a doctoral student in the area of environmental and resource policy.