

China Program Drives Research for Positive U.S.-China Relationship

Are China and the United States destined to become adversaries? The Belfer Center and the greater Harvard community are driving efforts to study the meteoric rise of China and to work with China to ensure a positive future relationship. The Center's efforts revolve around security, economic, and political dimensions of the relationship.



Friend or Foe?: Richard Rosecrance (left), adjunct professor and International Security Program (ISP) senior fellow, raises the question "Must China and the U.S. fight?" at an International Security Program brown bag seminar in April. ISP Director **Steven E. Miller** (right) took part in the discussion.

Kennedy School Adjunct Professor **Richard Rosecrance**, a senior fellow with the Center's International Security Program, is leading a Harvard-Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) initiative to develop policy recommendations regarding the future of the U.S.-China relationship. Leading China and international security scholars from Harvard met in March in Hong Kong and will meet again in Beijing in December with Chinese leaders. A paper by Belfer Center Board member **Ernest May** on accommodating rising powers throughout history has facilitated the discussion.

Anthony Saich, faculty chair of the Kennedy School's Asia Programs and director of Harvard's Asia Center, and **Ezra Vogel**, former director, have taken part in the meetings along with **C. H. Tung**, former chief executive of Hong Kong, and **Victor Fung**, businessman and former director of the Hong Kong Development Council. They were joined by **Wang Jisi** of Beijing University, **Gu Guoliang** of CASS, and **Chen Zhiya** of the People's Liberation Army. Besides Rosecrance, Belfer Center representatives include **Graham Allison**,

Ashton Carter, **Steven E. Miller**, **Joseph Nye**, and **Lawrence Summers**. The group contributes to Harvard's goal of solidifying Harvard's preeminence in the study of modern and contemporary China and the country's international relationships.

How can Chinese "hard power" be consistent with the maintenance of U.S. "soft power" in the years ahead?

This program will concentrate on ways in which China can become a responsible stake-

holder in international politics, on Chinese participation in a post-Kyoto energy regime, and on the need for U.S. and China to avoid becoming too committed to flashpoints like Taiwan and North Korea. How can Chinese "hard power" be consistent with the maintenance of U.S. "soft power" in the years ahead? In addition, the increasingly close economic ties between Beijing and Washington raise the question of whether that interdependence can become irreversible.

These studies will result in joint U.S.-China papers and policy initiatives. A final meeting of the group will take place in Cambridge in late January, 2008.

Initiative Explores Role of Religion in International Affairs

"Recent events demonstrate the powerful impact of religion on modern society and particularly on global events," Associate Professor of Public Policy **Monica Duffy Toft** said about the Initiative on Religion in International Affairs, launched in September by the Belfer Center and Kennedy School. Working with faculty and students within the Kennedy School and Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences and Divinity School, the initiative will examine the substantive policy issues relevant to the role of religion within international affairs during times of peace and war.

Recent events demonstrate the powerful impact of religion on modern society and particularly on global events.
—**Monica Duffy Toft**

Funded by a grant from the Henry Luce Foundation, the initiative will provide courses, seminars, executive training sessions, and research projects with the goal of informing policy makers, scholars, and students about the impact of religion in international affairs and foreign policy.

Toft will co-direct the initiative with **J. Bryan Hehir**, the Parker Gilbert

Montgomery Professor of the Practice of Religion and Public Life at the Kennedy School. Toft teaches courses at the Kennedy School on religion and global politics, civil wars, and international security. Hehir, a Catholic priest, teaches classes on religion, ethics, and public policy. Researcher **Assaf Moghadam**, an expert in Jihadist ideology and terrorism, works with the program.

"Working alongside their colleagues from across the university, scholars and students at the Kennedy School will have the opportunity with this new program to examine how faith affects policy and vice versa," said Kennedy School Dean **David Ellwood**.

—Courtesy of KSG Communications



Religious Rifts: Initiative on Religion in International Affairs Co-directors **Monica Duffy Toft** and **J. Bryan Hehir**.



FROM THE DIRECTOR

Andrew Allie

As we begin a new academic year, I'm pleased to announce the launch of a new and improved Belfer Center website. It can be accessed at www.belfercenter.org.

The new site incorporates state-of-the-art multimedia technology. It was designed to enable users to find and sort information by topic, region, and expert—making it much easier to find Center research and activities in each area. Visitors can also easily view the most recent work and upcoming events for each Center program and project. I hope you will check out our new website and visit it often since it will be continually updated with the Center's research, reflections, and policy recommendations on critical world issues. If you have suggestions about ways in which it can be further improved, please send them along.

Visitors to the website will notice the Center's increasing attention to China, especially in the areas of security and the environment. The cover story of this newsletter describes a number of recent efforts, including a project headed by Senior Fellow **Richard Rosecrance** to explore the future of the U.S.-China relationship.

The Belfer Center looks forward to an extremely lively discussion around climate disruption as the year progresses, with **John Holdren**, **Kelly Gallagher**, **Rob Stavins**, and **Bill Clark** among those leading the charge for solutions. Rob is heading an ambitious and far-reaching project to help design an architecture for controlling global climate change post-Kyoto. See more about these efforts on page 3.

Nearly 80 research fellows have recently arrived at the Belfer Center from around the world ... with extensive experience in government, academia, and the private sector.

The Center is also tracking the rise of India as a great power and has launched the Project on India and the Subcontinent to increase policy-critical knowledge on significant issues relating to India and South Asia. Our former Executive Director for Research **Xenia Dormandy**, who has extensive experience with U.S.-South Asia affairs, has moved over to head the new initiative.

In Xenia's place, we are pleased to welcome **Eric Rosenbach** as the Center's new Executive Director for research. Eric is a KSG alum who served on the staff of the Senate Select

Committee on Intelligence and as national security advisor for U.S. Senator **Chuck Hagel** until August when he came to the Belfer Center. We are looking to Eric for expert guidance on increasing the Congressional impact of our policy-related research.

To deepen our understanding of the role of religion in world events, we have undertaken a second new initiative—the Initiative on Religion and International Affairs—headed by Associate Professor **Monica Toft**. You can learn more about the religion and South Asia initiatives on the Center's new website (www.belfercenter.org/project) and in this newsletter. (See Religion, page 1 and India, page 8.)

Nearly 80 research fellows have recently arrived at the Belfer Center from around the world, bringing with them extensive experience in government, academia, and the private sector along with great enthusiasm for our mission of advancing policy-relevant knowledge about critical global challenges. We welcome them along with new Senior Fellows **Karen Elliott House**, Pulitzer Prize winning reporter and a former editor and executive at the *Wall Street Journal* who will look at forces shaping political evolution in Saudi Arabia, and **David Speedie**, here from the Carnegie Corporation to work on civic participation by Muslims in Western Europe and the U.S.

We look forward to an exciting, productive year. 📧

Rosenbach Named Executive Director for Research



Implementing Intelligence: **Eric Rosenbach**, then national security adviser to Senator **Chuck Hagel**, and Senate Intelligence Committee staff member, discusses intelligence and politics with students and fellows at a Center seminar in the spring. Rosenbach, the Center's new executive director for research, led and authored two formal investigations of prewar intelligence on Iraq during his time on the intelligence committee.

Kennedy School alum **Eric Rosenbach**, former national security adviser to Senator **Chuck Hagel** and Senate Intelligence Committee staff member, took the reins in August as the Belfer Center's executive director for research. Rosenbach worked on the Senate Intelligence Committee for three years, where he was responsible for oversight of the intelligence community's counterterrorism efforts.

It was at the Kennedy School that Rosenbach co-authored with **Richard A. Clarke** and other experts *Defeating the Jihadists*, a book on counterterrorism policy. Rosenbach previously served as a military intelligence officer supporting post-conflict operations in the Balkans. As a company commander, he was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal.

Rosenbach replaces the former executive director for research, **Xenia Dormandy**, who has been named director of the Belfer Center's new Project on India and the Subcontinent. 📧

Malin Directs Project on Managing the Atom

Martin Malin has joined the Belfer Center as executive director of the Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA). Prior to his arrival at the Center, he directed the Program on Science and Global Security at the



American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Malin continues to serve as co-editor of the American Academy Studies in Global Security book series (MIT Press) and sits on the editorial board of the journal *Innovations*. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University.

"I have long admired the work of the Managing the Atom project," said Malin. "It is a tremendous privilege to join this group and to help focus its work on the global challenges ahead."

Malin replaces **Jeffrey Lewis**, who has moved on to the New America Foundation. 📧

Harvard Launches Major Initiative to Shape International Climate Agreement

The Belfer Center and the Harvard Environmental Economics Program (HEEP) are sponsoring a bold new two-year initiative aimed at helping forge a broad-based consensus on international climate change policy. The initiative will draw on the ideas of leading thinkers from academia, private industry, government, and advocacy organizations, both in the industrialized world and in developing countries.

**At the end of two years,
if we help countries of the
world be open to better, more
progressive policy approaches,
we will have succeeded.
—Robert Stavins**

The initiative—the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements—is led by the Kennedy School’s Albert Pratt Professor of Business and Government and Center Board member **Robert Stavins**, who heads the Harvard Environmental Economics Program, and **Joseph Aldy**, a fellow at the Washington, D.C.-based Resources for the Future. The aim,

according to Stavins, is to develop a “scientifically sound, economically rational, and politically pragmatic” plan to succeed the Kyoto Protocol, the current global climate agreement whose first commitment period ends in 2012. The initiative is funded by a grant from the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation.

The project stems from a workshop last year hosted by the Environmental Economics Program. The participants from diverse fields developed and refined six policy frameworks—each an idea that could form the backbone of a new international agreement. These range from a stronger version of the Kyoto Protocol to entirely new recommendations.

The six plans are the subject of a new book by Stavins and Aldy titled *Architectures for Agreement: Addressing Global Climate Change in the Post-Kyoto World*, published this fall (2007) by Cambridge University Press.

The project consists of three stages. First, discuss among key domestic and international policy constituencies the proposition that the nations of the world ought to explore alternatives to Kyoto. This stage culminates in a “sidebar session” at the Conference of the Parties of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, scheduled to take place in Bali, Indonesia in December 2007.



BELFER CENTER

Post-Kyoto Priorities: Robert Stavins, Center board member and director of Harvard’s Environmental Economics Program, discusses “Climate Change: What is to be done?” with the Center’s International Council in May. The International Council discussed the Center’s work on climate change, new energy technologies, China, and other issues of concern.

Second, conduct economic modeling and policy analysis to develop a small set of promising policy frameworks and key design elements.

Finally, explore the key design principles and alternative international policy architectures with domestic and international audiences, including the new administration, and the new Congress in the spring of 2009.

“At the end of two years, if we help countries of the world be open to better, more progressive policy approaches, we will have succeeded,” Stavins said. ■

Energy Innovation Group Engages Washington on Transport Policy

—by Sam Milton, Energy Technology Innovation Policy

The Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group is intensely involved in the current debate in Washington, D.C. on future directions for U.S. transportation policy. Led by ETIP Director **Kelly Sims Gallagher** with contributions by **Gustavo Collantes**, **John P. Holdren**, **Henry Lee**, and **Robert Frosch**, ETIP’s primary goal in this project is to contribute to the current policy debate about how to effectively limit or reduce oil consumption and greenhouse-gas emissions from the U.S. transportation sector.

**It appears that a window for
new policies has been opened.
—Kelly Sims Gallagher**

The Innovation in Transportation Initiative, funded by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the Hewlett Foundation, and the Energy Foundation, includes three parallel but interacting work-streams: (1) a research component with ETIP-commissioned faculty, fellows, and students researching related topics; (2) a stakeholder outreach effort including dia-

logue with Ford, GM, DaimlerChrysler, Shell, Chevron, BP, the United Autoworkers, United Steelworkers, and Natural Resources Defense Council; and (3) a policy development track.

“We have been both surprised and delighted by the heightened interest in these issues in Congress,” Gallagher said. “It appears that a window for new policies has been opened.”

Gallagher, Collantes, Holdren, Lee, and Frosch recently published a discussion paper, “Policy Options for Reducing Oil Consumption and Greenhouse-Gas Emissions from the U.S. Transportation Sector,” to lay out options for policymakers and other stakeholders. Following its release, ETIP gave briefings to the House of Representatives’ Committee on Energy and Commerce and to the Select Committee on Energy Independence and Global Warming.

**ETIP plans to issue a
white paper with a policy
prescription for the U.S.
transportation sector.**

ETIP plans to issue a white paper later in the year with a policy prescription for the U.S. transportation sector that will help solve many of the sector’s challenges. For more information about ETIP and the Innovation in Transportation project, visit the ETIP webpage at www.belfercenter.org/etip. ■



MARTHA STEWART

Environmental Innovators: Kelly Sims Gallagher, director of the Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group, updates the Center’s International Council on new energy technologies during the Council meeting in May.



Seed of Hope: Kennedy School Dean **David Ellwood** (second from left) joins **Ellen Roy Herzfelder** and Environment and Natural Resources Director **Henry Lee** in presenting the 2007 Roy Family Award to **Livinus Manyanga** (left), managing director of Kakute Limited, one of the award recipients who traveled to Cambridge from Africa and Germany in May to receive the award.

For many living in rural sub-Saharan Africa, lack of electricity means nobody can work after sunset. This limits productivity in many areas, including students' ability to study in the evening. Kerosene lamps are an option, but they are expensive and dangerous and are used only in emergencies. Many people are left in the dark.

The 2007 Roy Family Award for Environmental Partnership project winner is working to shed some light on this problem with a local and green solution: the jatropha nut.

The challenge of providing 24-hour electricity is being met with a jatropha oil-solar power system. A solar panel provides electricity during the day, and the oil from the jatropha nut is used to fuel a modified diesel generator at night.

This winning innovation, called Hybrid Systems for Rural Electrification in Africa (HSREA), is the product of a unique collaboration between several groups. These include: Energiebau Solarstromsysteme, a German solar

Award Winner Makes Renewable Electricity from Jatropha Nut

—by Beth Maclin, Office of Communications

technology provider; InWEnt-Capacity Building International, Germany, a non-profit organization with expertise in human resources development, and their African colleagues at Kakute Limited, a technology training company in Tanzania; RENERG Ghana; and the Vincentian Sisters in Mbinga, Tanzania.

"This is an inspirational project put together by a group of very dedicated and creative people," said **Henry Lee**, director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP), which administers the Roy Family Award. The locally produced fuel from the jatropha nut is cleaner and less expensive than diesel, producing 24-hour electricity with no fossil fuels and no carbon emissions. The ability to approach rural electrification as a systems problem is unique, especially in a rural context.

The locally produced fuel [produces] 24-hour electricity with no fossil fuels and no carbon emissions.

The Roy Family Award, inaugurated in 2003, is given bi-annually to celebrate an outstanding partnership project that enhances environmental quality through the use of novel and creative approaches.

Energiebau, the PV developer, and InWEnt, its capacity-building partner, have enlisted the help of local NGOs to maintain and manage the local projects. They engage the local communities to allocate the electricity, Lee said. "Thus each community is intimately involved in the project as opposed to the traditional model where an outside company installs the facility, gets its picture taken, and disappears."

"We hope," Lee added, "that this innovation will stimulate similar projects in rural Africa, and in other environmentally challenging areas around the world, to encourage sustainable technological innovation and entrepreneurship."

Generals Abizaid and Jones to Advise Preventive Defense Project

—by Doug Presley, Preventive Defense Project

The Preventive Defense Project welcomed two new senior advisors in September—General (ret.) **John P. Abizaid** and General (ret.) **James L. Jones**.

Their insights . . . will help the Project analyze problems across the full range of national security and foreign policy issues.
—Carter and Perry



General Abizaid retired from the U.S. Army in May after 34 years of active duty service. He served most recently as commander of U.S. Central Command, and previously as director of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.



General Jones retired from the U.S. Marine Corps in December 2006 after 40 years of active duty service. He served as Commander of U.S. European Command and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

"Their insights from two long and successful careers will help the Project analyze problems across the full range of national security and foreign policy issues, and we greatly look forward to working with them and learning from their experiences," Carter and Perry wrote in announcing Abizaid and Jones as advisers.

Preventive Defense Workshop Prepares for Day After Nuclear Attack

—by Robin Olsen, Preventive Defense Project

What would happen if a nuclear bomb went off in a U.S. city? The Preventive Defense Project (PDP) organized a workshop in late spring to explore that question. Attendees recommended critical actions and strategies that policymakers should undertake now in order for the country to best respond to, and recover from, a nuclear terrorism attack.

The off-the-record workshop, titled "The Day After: Action in the 24 Hours Following a Nuclear Blast in a U.S. City," took place in Washington, D.C. Participants were senior members of the U.S. government who are responsible for responding to such an event.

PDP Co-directors **Ashton B. Carter** and **William J. Perry** worked with participants to identify the unique problems associated with responding to a hypothetical 10-kiloton nuclear ground-burst, such as radiation exposure to fallout, the likelihood of follow-on attacks, follow-up, and implications for international security and international order.



Preparing for the Worst: Participants in the Day After workshop included (left to right) **William J. Perry** and **Ashton B. Carter**, co-directors, Preventive Defense Project, and General **John Abizaid** (ret.), former commander, U.S. Central Command.

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

BELFER Fellows and Associates

Fellows, Alums Lauded for Contributions

Boaz Atzili

Fellow – International Security Program

2007 Kenneth N. Waltz Dissertation Prize; Awarded for best dissertation in the field of international security



Boaz Atzili received the 2007 Kenneth N. Waltz Dissertation Prize from the International Security and Arms Control Section of the American Political Science Association for his dissertation “Border Fixity: When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors.”

Atzili, who holds a PhD in political science from MIT and a BA from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, studies the effect of territorial norms on relations between states, the international relations of weak states, and the international politics of the Middle East.

Atzili’s dissertation examines the fact that in the last 50–60 years conquests and annexations of one’s neighbor’s territories are no longer acceptable tools of policy as they were in the more distant past. Atzili argues that contrary to what we might expect, this new norm, which he terms “border fixity,” results in more conflicts and wars as far as socio-politically weak states—states that do not possess a reasonable level of legitimate and effective governmental institutions—are involved. He shows that under such conditions, which are quite common among developing states, border fixity results in perpetuation and exacerbation of state weakness. Weak states in a world of fixed borders, in turn, are a source of frequent international conflicts, which arise out of spillover of internal conflicts and insurgency, as well as of foreign interventions.

Vanda Felbab-Brown

*Former International Security Program/
Intrastate Conflict Fellow (2005–07)*

2007 Harold D. Lasswell Award; Awarded for best dissertation in the field of policy studies



Vanda Felbab-Brown received the Harold D. Lasswell Award for her dissertation “Shooting Up: The Impact of Illicit Economies on Military Conflict.”

Felbab-Brown, assistant professor in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown

University and a fellow at the Brookings Institute, researches drugs and conflict, narcoterrorism, and illicit economies.

This dissertation brilliantly demonstrates how a skilled comparative and historical study can better inform military policy-making.
—Harold D. Lasswell,
Award Committee

The award committee stated: “Vanda Felbab-Brown has written a nuanced, thoughtful study of the role that illicit economies play in sustaining military conflicts. The conventional view holds that the nexus between insurgencies and these illicit economies must be broken in order to deny belligerents the critical resources that sustain their rebellion. Dr. Felbab-Brown argues that one of the many problems with the conventional wisdom is that it ignores the political capitol that insurgents gain when attempts to suppress the illicit economies alienate farmers. Drawing on observations from three countries—Peru, Colombia, and Afghanistan—Dr. Felbab-Brown’s study reveals the futility of the current strategy and recommends a new approach that exploits the inherent tensions between belligerents and those who traffic in illegal markets. This dissertation brilliantly demonstrates how a skilled comparative and historical study can better inform military policy-making.”

Brian Tucker

*Former Student and Fellow in Science,
Technology, and Public Policy (1990–91)*

*2007 George Brown Award for
International Scientific Cooperation*

Brian Tucker, Kennedy School alum (’91)



was presented in October with the U.S. Civilian Research & Development Foundation (CRDF)’s highest honor, the George Brown Award for International Scientific Cooperation. Tucker is the president and founder of GeoHazards International, a non-profit organization credited for saving thousands of lives around the world through advocacy and earthquake preparedness.

As a student at the Kennedy School in 1990–91, Tucker was awarded the Robert Seamans Fellowship in Science, Technology, and Public Policy. With the fellowship, he worked closely with the Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy program (STPP), then headed by **Lewis Branscomb**, current member of the Center’s Board of Directors.

Noting the encouragement and support he received and continues to receive from Branscomb and others at the Kennedy School, Tucker says, “Going to the Kennedy School was a critical step in deciding to create GeoHazards.”

Going to the Kennedy School was a critical step in deciding to create this non-profit.
—Brian Tucker

Center Welcomes House and Speedie as Senior Fellows



David Speedie comes to the Belfer Center from the Carnegie Corporation where he has worked in several capacities. He chaired Carnegie’s International Peace and Security program,

directed the Carnegie Scholars Program’s new initiative on Islam, and in June 2007 joined the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs as a senior fellow. He has also been a book editor, writer, and a freelance journalist on politics for *The Scotsman*.

At the Belfer Center, Speedie will explore civic participation by Muslims in Western Europe.



Karen Elliott House is a reporter and a former editor and executive at the *Wall Street Journal*, where she primarily focused on international affairs. She served as diplomatic correspondent,

foreign editor, and president of Dow Jones’ international operations prior to becoming publisher in July 2002 until 2006. Her specialty is the Middle East for which she won the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting in 1984.

While at the Center, House will research internal and external forces shaping political evolution in Saudi Arabia. ■

School, Center Alum Robert Zoellick Takes Reins of World Bank

—by Evelyn Hsieh, Office of Communications



Banking on the Future: World Bank President (then Deputy Secretary of State) **Robert Zoellick** at a Center directors' lunch.

Robert Zoellick, International Security Program research fellow (1999–2000) and Kennedy School alumnus, was appointed in July 2007 as the 11th president of the World Bank, the international poverty-alleviating organization owned by 185 member countries. Zoellick succeeds **Paul Wolfowitz** in the position.

Zoellick's challenge is to guide the World Bank in its mandate to help the world's poor. He brings much experience, having most recently served as deputy secretary of state and U.S. trade representative. Previously, he was executive vice president of Fannie Mae, deputy assistant secretary in the Treasury Department, vice chairman, international, of Goldman Sachs Group, and managing-director and chairman of Goldman Sachs Board of International Advisors. Zoellick has worked to alleviate the effects of a number of crises, from reconstruction efforts in Indonesia after the 2004 tsunami to increasing security and advocating for peace in Darfur.

Zoellick graduated from the Kennedy School and the Harvard Law School in 1981. Over the years, he has spoken frequently at the Kennedy School and Belfer Center, most recently in March 2006, when he presented "The Future of U.S. Foreign Policy" at a John F. Kennedy, Jr. Forum, spoke at a Belfer Center directors' lunch, and participated in a student session. As a fellow, he worked closely with Center Director **Graham Allison** and Charles Warren Professor of American History **Ernest May**, who provided direction for his

research into the policies and practices of early 20th century secretaries of state.

Graham Allison has created a center that draws together cutting-edge research, leavened and tested by experienced practitioners.
—Robert Zoellick

"Graham Allison has created a center that draws together cutting-edge research, leavened and tested by experienced practitioners,

and challenged and freshened by up-and-coming students at various phases of their careers," Zoellick said. "Then Graham adds his special contribution of supportive friendship for all who take part in the Belfer Center community."

Allison too praises Zoellick's commitment to service. "Bob Zoellick is, to paraphrase Gilbert and Sullivan, the very model of a modern American public servant," Allison said. "Bob's combination of analytic skills, strategic insight, political savvy, and solid values are a vivid reminder of what we are trying to do here." 📺

Tribute to Ed McGaffigan: Country Loses Outstanding Public Servant

—by Traci Farrell, Office of Communications

Edward McGaffigan was a model of integrity, ability, and public service, according to Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and Harvard Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph Nye**. McGaffigan, who grew up in Boston and graduated from Harvard, was also a Kennedy School student (1974–75) and worked closely with Center faculty. He died earlier this month following a battle with cancer.

McGaffigan was a wonderful model of what we aspire to do at our best.
—Graham Allison

McGaffigan, appointed to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in 1996, and reappointed in 2000 and 2005, was at the time of his death the longest serving member of the NRC in the history of the country. Before joining the NRC, McGaffigan was legislative director for Senator **Jeff Bingaman** of New Mexico. In a tribute on the Senate floor, Bingaman described McGaffigan as a man who "demonstrated great ability and uncompromising integrity," and praised him for his courage "to be the teller of truth." In his tribute, Bingaman noted that he would always be grateful to Joe Nye for recommending McGaffigan as an adviser on foreign and defense policy when Bingaman was first

appointed to the Armed Services Committee in 1983.

"I knew Ed as a student," Nye said, "and asked him to be my special assistant when I arrived at the State Department to run non-proliferation policy. It was one of the best decisions I ever made."

Graham Allison had the opportunity to teach McGaffigan in a political analysis course, and believes those who worked with him "came to admire his combination of analytic clarity and public service commitment." McGaffigan was, Allison said, "a wonderful model of what we aspire to do at our best." 📺



One of the Best: Edward McGaffigan with his children as he is sworn in as commissioner with the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission in 1996.

Center Rolls Out New Website

The Belfer Center's new website <http://www.belfercenter.org> is now live. The new site enables users to sort information both by topic and by region—making it far easier to find publications and experts on specific issues. Friends of the Center also can now sign up to receive e-mail updates of the Center's latest work on the topics that they care about.

The site's homepage features updates on the Center's work on critical issues, along with expert commentary on various topics and regions in the news.

"Callout boxes" along the right side of the page highlight special events, publications, and announcements.

During the website redesign process, each program and project designed a "banner" to represent themselves and their research. See their choices at www.belfercenter.org/project. Click on the name of each one.

The Center will use the site as a major launching pad for a range of communication efforts.



November Conference to Examine Middle East Progress, Conflict

—by Rachel Wilson, Dubai Initiative

During the past five years, the Middle East has witnessed notable economic change, exemplified by the meteoric growth of Dubai, an unprecedented level of instability caused by conflicts in Iraq, Lebanon, and Palestinian territories, and a stand-off between Iran and the U.S. Growing anti-Americanism has complicated a resolution of the conflict in Iraq and efforts to combat terrorism.

The occupation of Iraq, the Lebanon war, and the nuclear stand-off in Iran, as well as U.S. military strategy and energy policy, have defined U.S. relations with the Middle East during this period. Anti-Americanism has impacted America's soft power. However, there have also been important positive developments. One of these is reflected in the economic growth of Dubai, where economic restructuring, private-public partnerships, international investments, and state support for infrastructure development, education, and technological investment, combined with effective governance, have created a notable model that could serve as a pattern for the region as a whole.

On November 8, the Belfer Center's Dubai Initiative and the Dubai School of Government will sponsor a conference titled **The Middle East: Between Progress and Conflict**. Speakers and panelists at the conference will provide a framework for analyzing the divergent trends at play in the Middle East through academic discussions and policy-making debates.

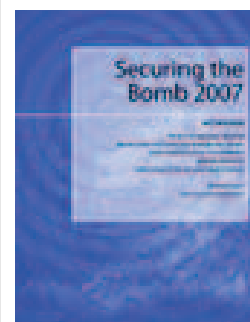
Speakers and panelists at the conference will provide a framework for analyzing the divergent trends at play in the Middle East.

The conference will feature four panels: "The Shifting Balance of Power," "The Challenge of Islamism," "Managing Ongoing Conflicts," and "Prospects for Economic Transformations." Ambassador **Lakhdar Brahimi**, former UN special representative for Afghanistan and Iraq, will be the keynote speaker at the conference, and a number of notable experts will participate in the panel discussions. For additional information, see www.belfercenter.org/project/53/dubai_initiative.html.

Afghan Answers: Ambassador **Lakhdar Brahimi**, former UN special representative to Afghanistan, provides insight into the question "How Do We End the Civil War in Afghanistan?" during a Dubai Initiative seminar in the spring.

Experts Urge Steps to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism

Securing the Bomb 2007



Six years after the September 11 attacks, new steps are urgently needed to keep nuclear weapons and materials out of terrorist hands, according to *Securing the Bomb 2007*, a report

released in September by the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA).

Authored by MTA Senior Research Associate **Matthew Bunn**, the report is the sixth in a series prepared by Managing the Atom and commissioned by the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI). The new report provides a comprehensive assessment of efforts to secure and remove vulnerable nuclear stockpiles around the world, and a detailed action plan for reducing the risk of nuclear terrorism.

The report can be accessed at www.nti.org/securingthebomb.



BELFER CENTER



Q&A Xenia Dormandy

*The Project on India and the Subcontinent is a new initiative of the Belfer Center, directed by former Executive Director for Research **Xenia Dormandy**. Its mission is to build knowledge, leadership, and recommendations on key policy-critical issues related to the rise of India and South Asia. Dormandy answered the following questions about the new project.*

Q In what ways are India and the Subcontinent critical to United States and global interests?

If you were to list the greatest challenges facing the United States or the world today, they would include such issues as weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, energy, the environment, economic development, HIV/AIDS, and more. India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the other countries in the region are all intimately involved with addressing these problems. For example:

- India, with a population of over 1.1 billion, is one of the fastest growing economies today with one of the fastest growing greenhouse gas emissions levels. Dealing with climate change will not be possible without India's involvement.
- In 2001, we came as close to nuclear war as we ever have when India and Pakistan lined up their militaries to face one another.
- Afghanistan produces over 90 percent of the world's opium.
- India is fast becoming a central player and leading democracy, not just in Asia, but globally. Its influence is growing as America's diminishes in this area.

Q What are your short-term and long-term objectives for the Project on India and the Subcontinent?

The project will serve as a hub within the Belfer Center and Kennedy School for policy-related research, teaching, and analysis regarding U.S. relations with the countries of South Asia, and transnational issues of relevance to South Asia, such as economic development, terrorism, and health. We plan to build on a small core of faculty and fellows to become a leading forum for policy recommendations. This core will also provide a base for enhancing education and training on South Asia-related issues and will provide a network for all those interested in working more on this region.

Q Several Belfer Center programs are currently involved in various aspects of India and South Asia issues. How will your project interact with these activities?

The Project will build on what we already do in South Asia, focusing on three main areas:

geostrategy, environment and energy, and nonproliferation. In the geostrategic area, Belfer Center experts such as **Joe Nye**, **Ash Carter**, and I already advance the policy debate on such issues as India's role in Asia, the bilateral relationship, and mutual expectations. We will work closely with the Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy group (ETIP) to support their work in India exploring energy efficiency improvements, India's use of coal, and the transportation sector. And, the project will work with the Managing the Atom (MTA) Project on improving our nonproliferation policy, the roles of India and Pakistan in the international regimes and export controls, and not least, mitigating the chances of nuclear war in the region. Given both Ash Carter's and my long involvement in the civil nuclear deal with India, we will continue to work in this area to evaluate the deal and understand its longer term consequences. In time, the project will expand to encompass many of the other strategic interests in the region and bilaterally, including, among others, terrorism, narcotics, and health.

The University is reenergizing its work on South Asia, recognizing the increasingly important role this region has in a broad array of areas.

Q How will your project's objectives and activities differ from the work of other Harvard programs focusing on South Asia, such as the South Asia Initiative, the Asia Center, and the Global Equity Initiative?

The University is reenergizing its work on South Asia, recognizing the increasingly important role this region has in a broad array of areas from health to religion to language and the business sector. The South Asia Initiative will provide a network that will work to improve collaboration and coherency with the various programs run by Harvard's schools. The Belfer Center's Project on India and the Subcontinent is proud to be able to join this broader alliance of centers and projects working in this region, bringing to it a policy focus

that is so vital. In so doing, we are building on a strong and illustrious history in the India policy domain, starting with the appointment of **John Kenneth Galbraith** as ambassador to Delhi, followed by **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** and, most recently, **Robert Blackwill**.

Q As director for South Asia at the National Security Council, you played an instrumental part in facilitating the U.S.-India nuclear deal. What role does this proposed deal play in the U.S.-India relationship?

The State Department's Under Secretary for Policy **Nicholas Burns** has described the civil nuclear deal as "the symbolic centerpiece" of the relationship. He is right in that it is truly symbolic; it represents much that has kept our two countries apart for over 50 years. Completing it will go far toward building trust and confidence between the two governments and peoples as to what is now possible. However, the relationship itself is vastly broader and deeper than this one area of policy. There are more Indian students in the U.S. than from any other nation. Trade is growing by 20 percent a year and with a population of 1.1 billion the market is enormous. We are working together on civil space issues, and in defense, science, and technology, infrastructure, agriculture, education, and more. The deal is an important hurdle, and completing it sends an important message—but there is so much more to do. ■



Indian Interests: Xenia Dormandy (right) with India's External Affairs Defense Minister **Pranab Mukherjee** during his visit to Harvard and the Belfer Center last fall. At the time of the visit, Dormandy was the Center's executive director for research.

MARTHA STEWART

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Rights and Wrongs: **Samantha Power**, Anna Lindh Professor of Practice of Global Leadership and Public Policy, speaks on “Human Rights After the Fall of the Superpower” at a Center directors’ seminar in the spring. Power is the author of the 2003 Pulitzer Prize winning book *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*.



BELFERS CENTER

Iran Illuminations: Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs **Nicholas Burns** (right) discusses U.S. foreign policy on Iran at a spring seminar. Also pictured: Preventive Defense Project Co-director **Ashton B. Carter** (left) and Managing the Atom Senior Research Associate **Matthew Bunn**.

MARTHA STEWART



Friendly Exchange: **John Holdren** (seated), director of the Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, enjoys a light moment with philanthropist **Louis Cabot** during the spring Dean’s Conference. Also pictured: **Daniel Schrag**, director of the Harvard University Center for the Environment, and **Kelly Sims Gallagher** (back to camera), director of the Center’s Energy Technology Innovation Policy group.



MARTHA STEWART

Securing the Future: **Calestous Juma**, director of the Center’s Science, Technology, and Globalization Project, with **Achim Steiner**, executive director of the United Nations Environment Programme, following Steiner’s JFK Jr. Forum presentation “Earth Out of Balance: Rethinking Global Environmental Security” in May.

MARTHA STEWART



In Good Hands: The Kennedy School congratulated Kennedy School alum and newly elected United Nations Secretary General **Ban-ki Moon** (second from left) with a celebration in his honor in New York on May 10. Dean **David Ellwood** (left), and the Belfer Center’s **Ashton Carter** (second from right), and **Graham Allison** (right) joined in the celebration.



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Nuclear Foresight: Former Under Secretary of Energy for Nuclear Security **Linton Brooks** discusses “The Near-Term Future of U.S. Nuclear Policy” with Center faculty and fellows in May.

SPEAKERS

ancing Policy-Relevant Knowledge

SUSAN LYNCH



Equal Rights: **May Al-Dabbagh**, fellow with the Center's Dubai Initiative, presents "Saudi Arabian Women and Reform: The Politics of Reclaiming Spaces in Public Life" at a Dubai Initiative event in May.

Bringing out the Best: **Klaus Schwab**, founder and chairman of the World Economic Forum, speaks to a gathering of Kennedy School friends and colleagues during a visit in the spring. He discussed the WEF's Forum of Young Global Leaders, which brings together young leaders from all walks of life who are committed to improving the state of the world. Each young leader selected agrees to dedicate part of his or her time to working jointly toward a better future.



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Einsteinian Wisdom: **Walter Isaacson**, chairman of the Aspen Institute, discusses his book *Einstein: His Life and Universe* with the Center's Board of Directors in late spring. Isaacson noted Einstein's manifesto that called for international control of weapons and challenged the Center and Harvard to use and stretch their imaginations as far as the "wise men" did in the period after WWII. As Einstein said, he reminded the group, "Imagination is more important than knowledge."

MARTHA STEWART



Iraq Conundrum: **Joseph Nye** (left), Harvard distinguished service professor and member of the Center's Board of Directors, with Center Director **Graham Allison** during a Kennedy School Forum discussion of the Petraeus report in September. Panelists not pictured: **Linda Bilmes**, **Tad Oelstrom**, and **Sarah Sewall** of the Kennedy School, and former Congressman **Clay E. Shaw, Jr.**

Creative Counsel: **Hillel Bachrach**, member of the Center's International Council, makes a point at the annual council meeting in May. Also pictured: **Xenia Dormandy**, director of the Center's Project on India and the Subcontinent. The Council discussed issues that included China, climate change, new energy technologies, the global economy, and African governance.



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Looking at Limits: Brigadier General (ret.) **Kevin Ryan**, senior fellow with the Center, leads a discussion of "The Surge, the Army, and Options in Iraq" with Kennedy School faculty, fellows, and students in the spring.

Know Your Enemy: **Louise Richardson**, executive dean of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, discusses the subject of her book *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat* (2006) at a directors' lunch in May. "Al Qaeda," she said, "was a motley group of extremists. We elevated their stature by our reaction and especially by declaring 'war' on them." Richardson studies international security with a focus on terrorist movements. She has received numerous awards for her research.



BELFER CENTER



SPOTLIGHT

Steven E. Miller

Steven E. Miller is the director of the Belfer Center's International Security Program and editor-in-chief of the quarterly journal *International Security*. He began his association with the Center as a predoctoral fellow in 1977. In 1979 he joined the staff of what was then called the Center for Sciences and International Affairs and in 1981 he was named assistant director by founder **Paul Doty**.

The report directly influenced the creation of the Nunn-Lugar Act.

The report marked a high point in a long line of policy-relevant papers for Miller, and it quickly gained international attention. Miller traveled throughout Western Europe and to London to brief officials, while Carter briefed officials on Capitol Hill. As the first major substantive report on the subject, the report directly influenced the creation of the Nunn-Lugar Act, which allocated U.S. funds to secure and dismantle weapons of mass destruction and their associated infrastructure in former Soviet Union states.

"We've had quite a few products with impact come out of the Center, but this was probably the most 'right place, right time' product we've ever had," Miller said. "It had enormous impact on the Hill and on the way that the issue was framed."

Miller, now director of the Belfer Center's International Security Program and editor-in-chief of the quarterly journal *International Security*, came to the Center first as a predoctoral fellow in the mid-1970s. From there, he rose through the ranks to a staff assistant, then on to assistant director. He left the Center for several years in the 1980s to teach at MIT and also to serve as a fellow at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute in Sweden. He returned to Harvard in 1991.

After the Soviet Union's arsenal was consolidated in Russia, Miller teamed with **Graham Allison**, now director of the Center, **Richard Falkenrath**, and **Owen Coté** to delve deeper

into the question of the safety of nuclear materials in Russia. Again, after some digging, the team began to see urgent problems. They realized that if nuclear materials leaked out of Russia, that could not only blow a major hole in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, but the materials could fall into the hands of anyone with means to pay the black-market price for them.

Miller and the others launched a "blitzkrieg" to get the work done, which culminated in the book *Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy*. The four were invited to brief the National Security Council on their findings.

Miller's work has continued to involve him in the most pressing problems in American foreign policy. In 2002, as the Bush administration laid its plans for the invasion of Iraq, Miller wrote a prescient piece for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences titled "War with Iraq: Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives." In one section, headlined *Bogged down in Baghdad? Running postwar Iraq may be a nightmare*, Miller laid out the case that the real problems might start after the war was won. "What will come of Iraq?" he wrote. "How will it be governed? How long will the United States need to stay in Iraq and with how large a force? How violent is post-Saddam Iraq likely to be? How much will it cost to restore Iraq to a healthy state?"

Miller finished the piece by arguing that the Iraq war was a high-stakes gamble, and not worth the risk. He wrote, "How far does the course of events have to diverge from the rosy scenario painted by the Bush administration before the war ends up looking like a costly, counterproductive mess, or even a disaster?"

The Soviet Union had tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, and even more nuclear material.

Just days before, officials in the first Bush administration had told the public not to worry about the future of the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal. Yet when those present began to review the facts, they immediately thought otherwise: the Soviet Union had tens of thousands of nuclear weapons, and even more nuclear material.

"We scared ourselves to death thinking about the possibilities," said **Steven E. Miller**, who participated in the meeting along with then Center Director **Ashton B. Carter**, Assistant Director **Kurt M. Campbell**, and Senior Fellow **Charles A. Zraket**.

From that realization of danger, the group worked around the clock. They woke up for 6 A.M. working breakfasts at Henrietta's Table. They stayed late. Miller recalls being so tired that he fell asleep in the shower.

In the end, the group produced a 129-page self-published monograph—which formed the first comprehensive analysis of what would happen to the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons. This became widely known as the "Harvard Report." Miller, Carter, and the others piled 2,500 of the reports in the Center's library and mailed them out to policymakers and anyone else they thought would pay attention.



Engaging Debate: Steven E. Miller discusses the Iran situation with Kennedy School students following his participation in the JFK, Jr. Forum "U.S. and Iran: Is Conflict Inevitable?" in March.



Matthew Bunn, senior research associate for the Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA), received the 2007 Joseph A. Burton Forum Award from the American Physical Society "for his outstanding contributions in helping to formulate policies to decrease the risks of theft of nuclear weapons and nuclear materials, and his effective communication of these proposals to Congress and the public." Bunn, an elected fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, authors the annual series *Securing the Bomb*, prepared by MTA and commissioned by the Nuclear Threat Initiative. *Securing the Bomb 2007* was released in September and is available at www.nti.org/securingthebomb.



Charles Cogan, associate in the International Security Program, was notified in May 2007 by then President of France **Jacques Chirac** that he had been promoted to the grade of Officer of the Order of the Legion d'Honneur. The order was established by Napoleon to recognize "illustrious individuals in all walks of life." Cogan previously was awarded the *Prix Ernest Lémonon* of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institut de France for his book *Diplomacie à la française*.



Paul Doty, founder of the Belfer Center, was one of 22 top world scientists who attended the first Pugwash Conference in 1957. Founded by **Bertrand Russell** and **Albert Einstein** as a conference for scientists to assess the dangers of nuclear weapons, Pugwash members explore alternative approaches to arms control and tension reduction. Their work was applauded at the organization's 50th anniversary celebration this summer. The anniversary conference was titled "Revitalizing Nuclear Disarmament." Doty's many contributions can be viewed at www.belfercenter.org/experts.



Kelly Sims Gallagher, director of the Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group, has been appointed to a new Task Force on Innovation under the auspices of the China Council for International Cooperation on Environment and Development (CCICED). The goal of the task force is to "explore the role of innovative technologies and their supporting policy innovations in achieving China's goal of creating an environmentally-friendly society by 2020." The report will go to Vice Premier Zeng Peiyan in late 2008.

"HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT A NATION WITH 300 MILLION PEOPLE, a \$13 trillion GDP and a defense budget of more than \$600 billion is unable to muster 30,000 additional troops and sustain the surge for even a full year? The bottom line is that the leaders responsible for our military—the president, the secretary of Defense, and Congress—refused over the past six years (as their predecessors had before them) to recruit, train and equip more troops."

—**Graham Allison and Kevin Ryan**, "No Choice—Withdrawal Starts in '08," *Los Angeles Times* (11 September 2007)

"ANOTHER DECADE OR SO OF 'BUSINESS AS USUAL' EMISSIONS would likely commit the planet to a temperature level that assessments by the most respectable scientific groups have concluded will bring immense suffering from such climate-related phenomena as floods, droughts, wildfires, severe tropical storms, rising sea level, and changing distribution of pests and pathogens."

—**Kelly Sims Gallagher and John Holdren**, "Sea Change in the Politics of Climate," *Washington Post* online (19 April 2007)

"IT'S AS IF WE'RE SITTING IN 1945, and World War II has just come to an end, and Europe is devastated," Stavins said in a recent interview. "Imagine trying to build a world monetary system and a system of world trade. This is an unbelievably difficult problem."

—**Robert Stavins**, "Climate: Negotiators Start Search for Post-Kyoto Accord," *Greenwire* (4 September 2007)

"THE UNITED STATES MUST ADOPT A TWO-PRONGED POLICY. The first is to encourage China to become a 'responsible stakeholder' in the international community. The second is to hedge against competitive or aggressive behavior by China."

—**Ashton Carter and William Perry**, "China on the March," *National Interest* (March/April 2007)

"CHINA'S STRATEGY IS ONE OF HUMANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENT AID plus influence without interference, in contrast to the West's coercive approach of sanctions plus military intervention."

—**Jason Qian and Anne Wu**, "China's Delicate Role on Darfur," *Boston Globe* (23 July 2007)

"TO UNDERCUT THE ABILITY OF THE TALIBAN to purchase arms, pay soldiers, and buy the support of villagers, the United States and NATO need to break the back of the drug trade in and out of Afghanistan. However,

reliance on eradication—the current weapon of choice—is foolish and wasteful."

—**Robert Rotberg**, "Losing the War in Afghanistan," *Boston Globe* (2 April 2007)

"AS EARLY AS 1993, al-Qaeda attempted to buy highly enriched uranium in Sudan. Seized documents from Afghanistan detail al-Qaeda's efforts to gain nuclear materials there from 1996 to 2001; Osama bin Laden has called getting the bomb a 'religious duty.' In Russia, Chechen terrorist teams carried out reconnaissance at two secret nuclear weapon storage sites in 2001."

—**Matthew Bunn**, "Thwarting Terrorists: More to Be Done," *Washington Post* (September 26, 2007)

"THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ORDINARY PAKISTANIS euphorically chanting in the streets in support of Iftikhar Chaudhry, the suspended chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, demonstrate that Pakistan has outgrown Pervez Musharraf's transitional leadership."

—**Hassan Abbas**, "Musharraf's Party is Over," *National Interest* online (11 June 2007)

"BUT UNLIKE OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENTS battling repressive regimes, which have traditionally looked to the West for a lifeline, Iran's activists are adamant that for all the gratitude they may feel for their Western supporters, they would prefer that we keep our distance."

—**Fotini Christia**, "A Quiet Battle for Rights in Iran," *Washington Post* (26 August 2007)

"THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS THE FUTURE, ONLY FUTURES. One conceivable future is that after (if?) Mr. Putin steps down next year, Russia will become more liberal in its politics. But that is not the future I would put my money on. A more plausible future is that, having more or less stifled internal dissent, Russia is now ready to play a more aggressive role on the international stage."

—**Niall Ferguson**, "Russia's Weimar Complex; Could History be Repeating Itself?" *National Post* (6 June 2007)

"THE SOFT POWER OF ATTRACTION is a critical component of being a major presence or leader in the world. And engaging with others diplomatically is a crucial part of attracting others. When we don't talk to people, even our enemies, that makes us look arrogant rather than humble."

—**Joseph Nye**, interviewed in "Bush Team Explores Use of 'Soft Power,'" NPR's *Morning Edition*, (23 March 2007)

“GIVEN A ‘TICKING TIME BOMB’ SITUATION like those on 24, nearly 44% of (college students) supported the use of torture, and 62% backed the employment of ‘soft’ torture methods, including ‘water-boarding.’ . . . A *Christian Science Monitor*/TIPP survey done shortly after the 9/11 attacks put the level of support for torture at 32%.”

—**Kelly M. Greenhill**, “24 On the Brain,” *Los Angeles Times* (28 May 2007)

“BLAIR WILL BE REMEMBERED BY MANY AFRICANS for his courage in articulating the continent’s needs. It was during his tenure that the sovereign activism of the UK saw the world community start to focus on Africa’s quest for competence-building and the jettisoning of the traditional focus on relief.”

—**Calestous Juma**, “How Blair Redefined the Aid Game,” *Business Daily* (25 May 2007)

“THE IMPOSITION OF ADDITIONAL UN SECURITY COUNCIL SANCTIONS ON IRAN would prolong instability in Iraq, exacerbate the Iran-U.S. dispute, and encourage rapid revolutionary developments in the Persian Gulf.”

—**Abbas Maleki**, quoted in “Additional Sanctions Would Exacerbate Iran-U.S. Dispute,” *Tehran Times* (31 May 2007)

“THE MOST REASSURING SOURCE OF HOPE AND NORMALCY FOR PALESTINIANS will emerge from jump-starting the economic machine that has been grounded to a dangerously lethargic pace.”

—**Raja Kamal**, “Fighting Militancy with Economics,” *Chicago Tribune* (19 June 2007)

“WE WILL NEVER KNOW EVERYTHING, and we will probably never achieve ‘identity of opinion,’ but we keep clarifying the relevant questions and issues—and that is, after all, the essence of the scholarly enterprise.”

—**Ernest May**, “An Identity of Opinion: Historians and July 1914,” *Journal of Modern History* (June 2007)

“WASHINGTON CANNOT GIVE PAKISTAN THE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE in southern Afghanistan that it desires to make sure it will not be encircled by India. However, Washington can give Pakistan greater interest in Afghanistan’s stability than it has now by encouraging Kabul to include Pakistan’s allies and clients in government; and more important, to finally recognize its international border with Pakistan.”

—**Vali Nasr**, “How to Squeeze Jihad Culture out of Pakistan,” *Christian Science Monitor* (20 July 2007)

“IF THE UNITED STATES GAVE A QUARTER OF THE TIME, money, effort, and high-level diplomatic attention to reaching a peace agreement that it has on UN force rhetoric, no-fly zones, and threats to invade Darfur, there might be peace.”

—**Marie Besançon**, “Facing a Fragile Situation in Darfur,” *Boston Globe* (9 August 2007)

“PRESIDENT BUSH IS ON RECORD saying that we ought to create an “ownership society.” . . . Let’s do that by giving individuals a property right in their own names and personal identifiable information. This reform would not protect individual privacy from undue government surveillance. But it would begin to limit the amount of personal data collected, maintained, and processed by commercial firms . . .”

—**Nolan Bowie**, “Treating Money as Free Speech,” *Boston Globe* (16 July 2007)

“WESTERN JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS in particular may be consistently missing the most important story in the Arab world: the quest by millions of ordinary people to create a better political and socioeconomic order, anchored in decent values, open to the world, pluralistic and tolerant yet asserting indigenous Arab-Islamic values.”

—**Rami Khouri**, “Missing the Epic Story of the Middle East,” *Agence Global* (11 August 2007)

“AS THE CENTERPIECE OF THE TRANSFORMED RELATIONSHIP, there is enormous political will to complete the [civil nuclear] deal, but the devil is in the details. The Indians have dug their heels in on a couple of integral points, including the enrichment and reprocessing in India of spent fuel and the removal of a clause from U.S. legislation that mandates U.S. sanctions if India tests nuclear weapons. The United States has little room to maneuver.”

—**Xenia Dormandy**, “Growing Links for U.S. and India,” *Boston Globe* (19 July 2007)

“NEVER BEFORE IN HUMAN HISTORY has the most powerful weapon available to our species been so widely forsworn. The vast majority of the world’s states realize, as Langewiesche does not, that their security is better served by not having nuclear weapons—particularly if their neighbors can be convinced to forgo them as well.”

—**Matthew Bunn**, “Bombs We Can Stop,” *American Scientist* (September/October 2007)

(To read op-eds in full, see Publications on the Belfer Center website: www.belfercenter.org)

—Compiled by Courtney Anderson, Communications Office



John P. Holdren, director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, received the Robert Fletcher Award from the Thayer School of Engineering at Dartmouth College in June. The award is given annually as the highest honor in recognition of distinguished achievement and service at one of the oldest engineering schools in the United States.



Calestous Juma, director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization project, was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Science by Ghana’s University of Education, at its 12th commencement in September. Juma was honored for his “illustrious and inspiring role as an internationally-recognized authority and leader in the application of science and technology to sustainable development in both developing and developed countries.”



Susan Lynch, program assistant for the International Security Program (ISP) and web manager for the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP), was presented with a Harvard Hero Award in May by then Acting President **Derek Bok** for her extraordinary contributions to the Belfer Center and Harvard University.



Constance Milstein, member of the Belfer Center’s International Council, was presented an award for Urban Citizenship in June by Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. The award, presented at Cooper Union’s Fifth Annual Urban Visionaries Benefit dinner, cited Milstein as one of the artists, architects, scientists, and exemplary citizens who make New York City great.



Joseph Nye, distinguished service professor at Harvard and a member of the Center’s board of directors, was elected in July to the British Academy, the UK’s prestigious national academy for the humanities and social sciences.

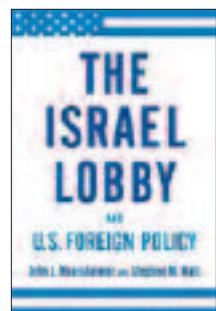


Anya Schmemann, former communications officer with the Belfer Center (1999–2003), has been named director of the Council on Foreign Relations’ Task Force program and also director of Communications and Marketing. Schmemann is based at the Council’s D.C. office. While at the Belfer Center, Schmemann also coordinated the Caspian Studies Program for a time.

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy

By John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt; Farrar, Straus and Giroux



"The Israel Lobby," by John J. Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago and Stephen M. Walt of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, was one of the most controversial articles in recent memory. Originally published in the *London Review of Books* in March 2006, it provoked both

howls of outrage and cheers of gratitude for challenging what had been a taboo issue in America: the impact of the Israel lobby on U.S. foreign policy.

"...a powerful call for change for the sake of both Washington and Tel Aviv."
—The National Interest

Mearsheimer and Walt provocatively contend that the lobby has a far-reaching impact on America's posture throughout the Middle East—in Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, and toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict—and the policies it has encouraged are in neither America's national interest nor Israel's long-term interest.

"... ruthlessly realistic..."
—The New York Times

"The strategic questions the book raises, particularly about Israel's privileged position with the United States, are worth debating..."

—The New Yorker

"... a powerful call for change for the sake of both Washington and Tel Aviv."

—The National Interest

Architectures for Agreement: Addressing Global Climate Change in the Post-Kyoto World

Edited by Joseph E. Aldy and Robert N. Stavins; Cambridge University Press



With increasing greenhouse gas emissions, we are embarked on an unprecedented experiment with an uncertain outcome for the future of the planet. The Kyoto Protocol serves as an initial step through 2012 to mitigate the threats posed by global climate change. Policy-makers, scholars, businessmen, and environmentalists now have begun debating the structure of the successor to the Kyoto agreement. Written by a team of leading

scholars in economics, law, and international relations, this book contributes to the debate by examining the merits of six alternative international architectures for climate policy.

"This book should be read by everyone who takes climate change seriously as a policy problem."
—Richard Schmalensee

"The Kyoto Protocol was at best an imperfect and incomplete first step toward an effective response to the enormously difficult problem of climate change, which is characterized by huge stakes, great uncertainties, global scope, and a time scale measured in decades or centuries. In this important volume, Joseph Aldy, Robert Stavins, and a host of distinguished contributors provide a thoughtful exploration of a range of alternative post-Kyoto top-down and bottom-up regimes and their implications. This book should be read by everyone who takes climate change seriously as a policy problem."

—Richard Schmalensee, John C. Head III Dean, Emeritus, MIT Sloan School of Management

Reassessing Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific: Competition, Congruence, and Transformation

Edited by Amitav Acharya and Evelyn Goh; Belfer Center Studies in International Security; The MIT Press



Since the 1990s, Asia-Pacific countries have changed their approaches to security cooperation and regional order. The end of the Cold War, the resurgence of China, the Asian economic crisis, and the events of September 11, 2001, have all contributed to important changes in the Asia-Pacific

security architecture. In addition to the traditional bilateral security arrangements based on the U.S. "hub and spokes" alliance system, there has been an increase in multilateral efforts.

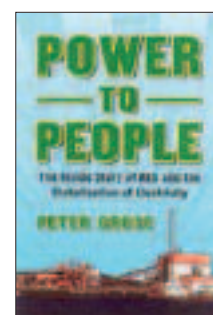
This book examines how successful these new arrangements have been, whether there is competition among them, and why some modes of security cooperation have proven more feasible than others.

"It brings together the most formidable group of experts yet assembled to gauge how the region's alliances, institutions, and regimes work to advance Asia's regional security order."

—William Tow, Professor of International Relations, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University

Power to People: The Inside Story of AES and the Globalization of Electricity

By Peter Grose; Island Press



In the late 1990s, while Enron was flying high, a smaller power company flew under the radar. The AES Corporation was founded in 1981 according to a different set of principles—fiscally conservative investment strategies paired with the belief that business can be both fun and socially responsible.

While Enron and many others stumbled, AES proved itself able to survive and often to thrive. Rapid growth would become the company's greatest challenge, yet through exhilarating highs and disappointing lows, AES has maintained its founders' original vision of electricity generation that sustains workers, consumers, and the environment.

Power to People is the story of electricity privatization, expanding global markets, and the transformation of an industry. It is also proof of the electrifying combination of innovation and good citizenship.

"... Grose helps us to appreciate the upside of a values-driven approach, but also the imperatives for management and the board to ensure that values enhance—and don't undercut—performance."

—Les Silverman, Director Emeritus and former head of Electric Power and Natural Gas Practice, McKinsey & Company

J.D. Bernal: The Sage of Science

By Andrew Brown; Oxford University Press (Paperback Edition)



J.D. Bernal, known as "Sage," was an extraordinary man and multifaceted character. A scientist of dazzling intellectual ability and a leading figure in the development of X-ray crystallography, he was a polymath, a fervent Marxist, and much admired worldwide. Although he himself never won a

Nobel Prize, several of his distinguished students went on to do so, including Dorothy Hodgkin, Max Perutz, and Aaron Klug.

Andrew Brown has had unprecedented access to Bernal's papers and diaries, and this biography includes previously unpublished material on Bernal's role during the Second World War. Brown's compelling account covers all aspects of Bernal's brilliant, colorful, and bohemian life, and introduces this towering figure of 20th century science to a wide audience.

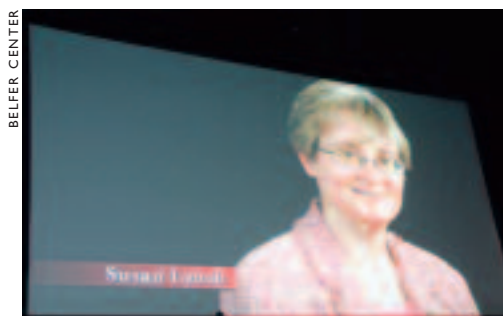
"In the end, Brown is himself too much a scientist to force a neat conclusion on to the amazing story of J. D. Bernal's life and mind; but he takes us on a thrilling voyage and the reader is content to have been, in the better sense of the term, a fellow-traveler on that extraordinary journey."

—The Spectator

Compiled by Susan Lynch.

Susan Lynch: Kennedy School and Harvard Hero

By Shannon Brown, Office of Communications



Honoring Actions: Belfer Center's **Susan Lynch** on the big screen at the Harvard Hero Awards ceremony in the spring.

Susan Lynch, program assistant for the International Security Program (ISP) and web manager for the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP), was presented the prestigious Harvard Hero Award by Harvard University President Emeritus **Derek Bok** in a lavish ceremony in Sanders Theatre in late spring. Bok called Lynch a "lynchpin" for the Belfer Center.

"Susan is truly an 'unsung hero' for ISP, STPP, for the more than 70 research fellows

with those programs, and for other departments and individuals within the Center as well," said Steven E. Miller, director of the International Security Program at the Belfer Center. "In every aspect of her work, she demonstrates her belief in the mission and goals of the Kennedy School and Belfer Center and her commitment to the people she 'serves' by doing not just what is expected, but by doing what she believes should be done to meet those goals."

She demonstrates her belief in the mission and goals of the Kennedy School and Belfer Center.
—Steven E. Miller

Named a Kennedy School and Harvard Hero, Susan was nominated for both awards by a number of her colleagues, including faculty, staff, and fellows.

First Annual Peggy Scannell Award Presented to Sharon Wilke

Sharon Wilke, associate director of communications, was presented the first annual "Peggy Scannell Award for Excellence" by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** at the Center's end of the year celebration in May. The award recognizes Wilke's "outstanding contributions to the Center and the environment in which we work." The Scannell award was created to honor **Peggy Scannell**, a longtime employee of the Center who died in November 2006 after a courageous fight with cancer.



Honored: Center Director **Graham Allison** presents the Peggy Scannell Award to **Sharon Wilke**.

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"Dead Center: The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States"

Charles A. Kupchan and Peter L. Trubowitz

According to the prevailing wisdom, the largely unilateralist foreign policy of the George W. Bush administration is an aberration from the liberal internationalist foreign policy pursued by previous administrations. In reality, it represents a turning point in U.S. grand strategy. The geopolitical and domestic conditions that prevailed during much of the second half of the twentieth century produced bipartisan consensus on important foreign policy issues. These conditions have disappeared, as has the political center. As long as the United States remains polarized, no administration will be able to pursue a liberal internationalist foreign policy.

"Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution"

Michael McFaul

The United States and the European Union spend roughly \$1.5 billion per year on democracy promotion, but how effective are such external efforts? As the 2004 Orange Revolution in Ukraine demonstrates, for such efforts to succeed, local actors must want democratic change; foreign attempts to "export" democracy are likely to fail in the

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

absence of domestic consumers. In the Ukraine case, external assistance played a direct, causal role in restricting some aspects of President Leonid Kuchma's power while increasing some aspects of the opposition's power. Examples include efforts to help strengthen local institutions, boost independent media, mobilize voters, and expose electoral fraud.

"Muting the Alarm over the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The New York Times versus Haaretz, 2000-06"

Jerome Slater

The United States' near-unconditional support of Israel's policies toward the Palestinians has been disastrous not only for Israelis and Palestinians, but also for U.S. national interests. The largely uninformed and uncritical media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the United States—especially in the *New York Times*—holds the Palestinians largely responsible for the lack of progress toward a two-state solution. On the other hand, Israeli media—in particular, *Haaretz*—has been much more critical of Israeli policies. The U.S. government is less likely to call on Israel to change its policies toward Palestinians until public discourse in the United States begins to demand such change.

"Color Bind: Lessons from the Failed Homeland Security Advisory System"

Jacob N. Shapiro and Dara Kay Cohen

The United States' color-coded Homeland Security Advisory System (HSAS) has failed to motivate relevant actors to take costly protective measures in response to a terrorist alert, particularly after increases in the threat level appeared to be politically manipulated. The HSAS has neither shared relevant information regarding its alerts nor generated enough confidence in the government to convince the public to take necessary actions. An alternative trust-based alert system could succeed where HSAS has failed.

"The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory"

Keir A. Lieber

New historical evidence reveals that World War I, far from being accidental, was provoked by German leaders who hoped to dominate the European continent, fully aware that the conflict would be long and bloody. They did not have a blueprint for quick victory embodied in the Schlieffen Plan; they did not misjudge the nature of modern war; and they did not lose control of events and attack out of fear of their enemies moving first. This new historiography challenges the core concepts of defensive realism and calls for a reinterpretation of the war as it relates to causes of conflict.

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BELFER IN BRIEF

Allison's Nuclear Terrorism now in Russian



Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison's** widely read book *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*, is now available in Russian (LKI Publishers). Released in English in 2004, the book spells out the threat of nuclear terrorism and the steps needed to prevent it.

Deputy of the Russian Duma and long-time nuclear nonproliferation advocate **Andrei Kokoshin** said in his forward to the Russian edition, "There is no doubt that the assessments and recommendations made by Allison should be seriously studied both by political scientists and government leaders, including those in the highest echelons. We have not used all the means possible of solving the problem of nuclear terrorism; Allison's book is an important step in that direction."



MARTHA STEWART

Innovator Honored: Lewis Branscomb at a Center celebration in his honor in May.

Branscomb Honored

Lewis M. Branscomb, *emeritus* director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program and member of the Center's Board of Directors, was honored with a symposium and celebratory dinner in May. The symposium, titled Innovation and Public Policy: Facilitating Economic Growth, Environmental Sustainability, and National Security, drew colleagues from around the country. Branscomb was honored for a lifetime of pathbreaking research in public policy for technological innovation.

Presidential Attention

"In order to know how we are looked upon, every French negotiator would be interested in reading **Charles Cogan's** *How to deal with the Grande Nation*," French Foreign Minister **Hubert Védrine** wrote in September in a study requested by President **Nikolas Sarkozy** on globalization and its effect on France. International Security Program Associate Cogan published *French Negotiating Behavior: Dealing with la Grande Nation* in 2003.

Dubai School of Government Report Presented at World Economic Forum

Tarik Yousef, dean of the Dubai School of Government and senior fellow at the Dubai Initiative, served as a primary editor and author of the "2007 Arab World Competitiveness Report," officially released by *The World Economic Forum* in the spring. The report highlights the competitiveness of the United Arab Emirates in terms of securing international trade and investment. The Dubai School of Government is mentioned prominently.



Soft Power: Belfer Center staffer **Sarah Bieging** with a friend in El Pedregal, Honduras this summer. Bieging spent a week with a group of young adults assisting a team of medical professionals who treated children and their parents in Honduran villages. The mission was part of the Trinity Church Boston's social justice efforts.



Great Honor: **Calestous Juma**, director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization project, is prepared to receive an honorary Doctor of Science degree at Ghana's University of Education.