

Eliminate All Nuclear Weapons?

Gorbachev and Belfer Center Combine Forces to Overcome Nuclear Danger

—by Kevin Ryan, Belfer Center Senior Fellow

"If you ask yourself which single individual contributed most to the resolution without war of four decades of Cold War between the U.S.-led free world and the Soviet Union, it was Mikhail Gorbachev. Fifty years into the future, when the Oxford University Press one-volume history of the 20th century is published, only two people on earth today will be the subject of an entire chapter in that book: Mikhail Gorbachev is one."

—Graham Allison

Former Soviet President **Mikhail Gorbachev** visited Harvard's John F. Kennedy School on December 4 and told an overflow crowd at the JFK Jr. Forum that the time has come to rejuvenate efforts to eliminate the danger from nuclear weapons and materials.

Russia alone cannot do anything to stop the spread of nuclear danger. . . . This is our common task.
—Mikhail Gorbachev

"Russia alone cannot do anything to stop the spread of nuclear danger . . .," Gorbachev said. "This is our common task; the task of the entire world community. If current processes in nuclear policy continue the way they have gone over the past years, then it is very difficult to say what will happen 100 years from now, whether mankind will survive 100 years."

The day after his Forum speech, Gorbachev led a select group of experts in a day-long closed discussion of the challenges of nuclear weapons and how to address them.



From Russia with Lessons: Mikhail Gorbachev (right), former head of the Soviet Union, fields questions from the audience following his JFK Jr. Forum presentation on "Overcoming Nuclear Danger" in December. Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** moderated the event.

The conference "Overcoming Nuclear Danger" was co-sponsored by the Belfer Center and the World Political Forum and hosted by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. Sixty Russian, American, and international

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Stavins, Holdren: Key Takeaways from Bali Climate Conference



Robert Stavins



John Holdren

John Holdren and **Robert Stavins** joined top climate negotiators from more than 180 countries in Bali, Indonesia, in December to address one of the most pressing issues of our time: forging an international agreement on climate change.

At the conference, Holdren, director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, led a side event which focused on the topic of developing "win-win" strategies that link climate policy with development strategy in Brazil, China, and India. The Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy group's **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, **Hongyan He** **Oliver**, and

Lifeng Zhao coordinated the China component of this joint project with the Woods Hole Research Center, and the Belfer Center's **Ambuj Sagar**, senior research associate, contributed to the India component.

Holdren expanded on "win-win" strategies at a Kennedy School JFK Jr. Forum presentation in November. "We need a portfolio of choices," Holdren said, noting that these include speeding up "win-win" mitigation and adaptation measures, putting a price on greenhouse gas emissions, expanding international cooperation, and increasing investments in energy-technology research and development. The U.S., Holdren said, "must switch from being a laggard in climate policy to being a leader." See <http://www.belfercenter.org/publication/17661/>.

Stavins, co-director of the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements, traveled to Bali with members of the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements, an effort



to help design a successor to the Kyoto Protocol by drawing on the best ideas from government, academia, business, and environmental advocacy groups. While there, he and the project co-director **Joseph Aldy** met with government delegations, including China, India, Denmark, and Japan, and exchanged ideas with leading scholars, business leaders, and NGO representatives from around the world.

The project also hosted a side event, "Architectures for Agreement: Issues and Options for Post-2012 International Climate Change Policy," which resulted in a lively discussion of six

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FROM THE DIRECTOR

Graham Allison

In the last several months, the Belfer Center has been in the thick of two of the most important discussions in international affairs: halting the spread of nuclear weapons and shaping a global agreement to mitigate severe climate disruption. (Both are discussed in this newsletter.)

On the first issue, researchers at the Center have participated in the debate initiated by our colleagues **Sam Nunn**, **William Perry**, **Henry Kissinger**, and **George Shultz** in two influential *Wall Street Journal* opeds. They have called upon governments to embrace the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons and are proposing an ambitious program of urgent steps to that end. In December, we hosted President **Mikhail Gorbachev** for a conference on “Overcoming Nuclear Danger,” which explained actions the Russian and American governments should take to advance the “Four Horsemen’s” agenda. Co-sponsored by the World Political Forum, this event marked the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, which zeroed out the two countries’ intermediate range missiles.

Gorbachev’s visit builds upon years of work at the Center on this and related topics. Last summer, **Ashton Carter** hosted a workshop for senior leaders in the U.S. government on planning for the day after a nuclear attack. *Securing the Bomb 2007*, written by **Matthew Bunn** of our Managing the Atom project and commissioned by the Nuclear Threat Initiative, was released in September along with a detailed report in the *Washington Post* that tracked international efforts in securing nuclear materials.

On a second big international challenge facing the world—shaping an international climate agreement to succeed the Kyoto Protocol—**John Holdren** and **Rob Stavins** traveled to Bali, Indonesia, in December for the big climate change conference. At the event, Holdren presented the groundbreaking work he and the Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group are doing on “win-win” energy policies in China, India, and Brazil. Stavins has recently launched the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements (co-sponsored by the Center and the Harvard Environmental Economics Program). At the meeting, he and other members of the project team met with government officials to describe

“Architectures for Agreement: Issues and Options for Post-2012 International Climate Change Policy.” Climate change is another instance in which Center participation in a high-profile international event is just the tip of the iceberg; our work in this area ranges from auto policy in China to making recommendations for the G-8 on biofuels to bringing an economic perspective to environmental issues.

For more on all the work and presentations mentioned in this email, please visit our website: www.belfercenter.org.



Powerful Presence: Ted Turner (right), Cynthia MacDonald, and Joseph Nye listen to Mikhail Gorbachev’s JFK Jr. Forum presentation on overcoming nuclear danger. Turner is co-founder of the Nuclear Threat Initiative with Sam Nunn.

Conant Cites Specter of Nuclear War in 1951 Letter to 21st Harvard President

Shortly after becoming president of Harvard, **Drew Faust** was given a manila envelope from **James B. Conant**, president of Harvard from 1933 to 1953, with instructions that it be opened by his 21st century successor. President Faust opened the letter, written in 1951, with anticipation. It was addressed, as she said when describing the event during her inaugural address, to “My dear Sir.” It began with “an imminent sense of danger.”

There are many who anticipate World War III within the decade and . . . destruction of our cities including Cambridge quite possible.
— James B. Conant, 1951

Conant’s letter expressed dread at the specter of an impending World War III that would destroy everything, including Harvard. He hoped the “prophets of doom” would be proved wrong and there would be a Harvard president alive in the 21st century to read the letter.

“There are many,” Conant wrote, “who anticipate World War III within the decade and not a few who consider the destruction of our cities including Cambridge quite possible.” The international situation “appears to have taken a turn for the worse,” he wrote, and wondered how the free world “is going to get through these next fifty years.”

“As in Conant’s day,” Faust said, “we face uncertainties in a world that gives us sound



Presidential Prescience: Harvard’s 28th President **Drew Gilpin Faust** speaks during her inauguration in October. She referred to former Harvard President James Conant’s concerns over nuclear war.

reason for disquiet. But we too maintain an unwavering belief in the purposes and potential of this university and in all it can do to shape how the world will look another half century from now.”

“When Conant wrote his letter in 1951, nuclear war seemed a real possibility,” said Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. “While a combination of international efforts, good fortune, and grace have over the years prevented that catastrophic event, we continue to face serious nuclear threats today,” Allison said. “Conant’s concerns and President Faust’s charge remind us,” he added, “that there remains much to do to help ensure that in 2058 the president of Harvard can once again call on the university to ‘shape how the world will look a half century from now.’”

Should Nuclear Weapons Be Eliminated?

YES: George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn

"Reassertion of the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons and practical measures toward achieving that goal would be, and would be

MARTHA STEWART



Nuclear Free: Former Secretary of State **George Shultz** teleconferences with participants of the "Overcoming Nuclear Danger" conference. Shultz has called for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

perceived as, a bold initiative consistent with America's moral heritage. . . . We endorse setting the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons and working energetically on the actions required to achieve that goal. . . ." ("A World Free of Nuclear Weapons," *Wall Street Journal*, 4 January 2007)

NO: John Deutch and Harold Brown

"Nuclear weapons are not empty symbols; they play an important deterrent role, and cannot be eliminated. Foreign policy must be based on this reality; and the U.S. should work with other nations on those achievable objectives that lower the risks of the spread of nuclear weapons capability and . . . use." ("The Nuclear Disarmament Fantasy," *Wall Street Journal*, 19 November 2007)

YES: Mikhail Gorbachev

"We must put the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons back on the agenda, not in a distant future but as soon as possible. . . . Over the past

15 years, the goal of the elimination of nuclear weapons has been so much on the back burner that it will take a true political breakthrough and a major intellectual effort to achieve success in this endeavor." ("The Nuclear Threat," *Wall Street Journal*, 31 January 2007)

YES: John P. Holdren

"To those who say that it is 'unimaginable' that verification of a NFWF [Nuclear-Weapon-Free World] could be good enough, or that sovereign states will ever voluntarily surrender control over nuclear weapons and nuclear-fuel-cycle facilities, I say these are failures of imagination. . . . No one is smart enough to be able to confidently place limits on what may be achieved in a few decades more." ("Getting to Zero: Is Pursuing a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World Too Difficult? Too Dangerous? Too Distracting?" *Ending War: The Force of Reason: Essays in Honour of Joseph Rotblat*, pages 33–56, June 1999)

Overcoming Nuclear Danger

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specialists came together to examine the historical lessons of the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty—signed by then President **Ronald Reagan** and Gorbachev to eliminate all U.S. and Russian intermediate range nuclear missiles—and to explore ways to leverage those lessons in the future to eliminate nuclear threats. Among the participants were former U.S. Ambassador to Russia **Jack Matlock**, former French Prime Minister **Michel Rocard**, past commanders of U.S. and Russian intercontinental rocket forces, and many nuclear and defense experts. **Gore Vidal**, who has written about the danger from nuclear weapons, was also present.

Joining the discussion by video teleconference from California, former Secretary of State **George Shultz** echoed Gorbachev's call for fresh ideas on reducing and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons. Shultz, a distinguished fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institute, led a conference last October entitled "Reykjavik Revisited," examining the lessons of the 1986 Reykjavik Summit between Gorbachev and Reagan and their failed attempt to reach

agreement on eliminating all nuclear weapons. The Harvard conference built on the Stanford conference and the vision and agenda of actions proposed by the "Four Horsemen" **George Shultz**, **Henry Kissinger**, **Sam Nunn**, and **William Perry**.

It was always Ronnie's dream that the world would one day be free of nuclear arms. He felt that as long as such weapons were around, sooner or later they would be used. That would be catastrophic.

—Nancy Reagan in a letter to the Reykjavik Revisited Conference, Stanford University, Oct. 2007

Gorbachev told conference participants in Cambridge that eliminating nuclear arsenals and addressing the danger from nuclear materials will require resolving not just technical military issues, but political ones as well. He said that initial steps should focus on improving U.S.-Russian relations to a level that will allow resolution of several political differences. He noted that there exists already some consensus on important issues like nuclear terrorism, nonproliferation, lowering of nuclear alert status, and ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

"All of these [arms] agreements were concluded by the previous generation of political leaders," Gorbachev said. "It's very important

to make sure that the new presidents of the United States and Russia have available to them a conceptual basis and specific proposals for new agreements. These new agreements cannot be a simple extrapolation of the existing agreements, because too much has changed in the world over the past decades. Therefore, the role of the expert community is even greater."

If you Google . . . "Britney Spears," you will find 2,490,000 entries . . . if you Google "nuclear annihilation," you will get 17,400. Something is wrong with that picture.

—Arnold Schwarzenegger, Reykjavik Revisited Conference, Stanford University, Oct. 2007

Gorbachev proposed that a small working group be formed from among the conference participants, which would develop an agenda of steps that national decision makers could draw on to renew the effort to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons. Participants solidly endorsed Gorbachev's proposal and committed to working together to develop the agenda he requested. The Belfer Center, together with the World Political Forum, is facilitating the work of the small group with the intent to develop recommendations for U.S. and Russian leaders by autumn of 2008.

—Brigadier General (ret) **Kevin Ryan** led the organization of the Overcoming Nuclear Danger conference.

MARTHA STEWART



Back to the Future: Former Soviet leader **Mikhail Gorbachev** (center) makes a point during a teleconference with former U.S. Secretary of State **George Shultz** about the Gorbachev/Reagan effort to eliminate nuclear weapons. **Graham Allison** (left) and **Joseph Nye** (right) joined in the discussion during the Center's "Overcoming Nuclear Danger" conference in December.

Middle East Conference Explores Conflict and Economic Promise

—by Shana Rabinowich, Dubai Initiative



Promise and Peril: Kennedy School Dean **David Ellwood** (left), and Dubai School of Government Dean **Tarik Yousef** (right), with former UN Special Advisor **Lakhdar Brahimi**, key speaker at the Middle East conference.

How should the Middle East and the United States approach the region's divergent trends of ongoing conflict and economic promise? On November 8, the Center's Dubai Initiative conference "The Middle East: Between Progress and Conflict" considered this key question. Ambassador **Lakhdar Brahimi**, former special advisor to then UN Secretary General **Kofi Annan**, and Ambassador **Edward P. Djerejian**, former ambassador to Israel, delivered the keynote addresses. Experts from the United States, Europe, and the Middle East discussed solutions during panels: "The Shifting Balance of Power," "The Challenge of Islamism," "Managing Ongoing Conflicts," and "Prospects for Economic Transformations."

Our strategy of Arab-Israeli peacemaking must move from conflict management to conflict resolution.
—Edward P. Djerejian

In his opening address, Ambassador Brahimi weighed in on the conflict in Iraq, noting that "the United States cannot fix Iraq. Iraq needs to be fixed by the people of the region; but the people of the region cannot fix Iraq without the cooperation of the United States." On the Middle East, Ambassador Djerejian stated that "our strategy of Arab-Israeli peacemaking must move from conflict management to conflict resolution."

Distinguished panelists included the Belfer Center's **Joseph Nye**, Dubai Initiative Senior Fellow **Vali Nasr**, **Olivier Roy** of France's Center for International Studies and Research,

and **Kito de Boer** of McKinsey and Company, Middle East. Leading the discussion on the shifting balance of power, Nye was hesitantly optimistic about the region's political future.

"I didn't hear anything this morning that wouldn't suggest that, with a wiser mix of the tools in our kit, we couldn't restore a more favorable balance in the region," Nye said. During his presentation on prospects for economic transformation, de Boer summed up the economic promise in the region. "Those companies and organizations that are in the region," he said, "are simply overwhelmed by a tide of opportunity."

The conference was a continuation of the ongoing collaboration between the Dubai Initiative and the Dubai School of Government. It offered speakers and participants the opportunity to engage on interconnected issues and work to develop viable policy for the region. "We hope that our cooperation with Dubai will not only bring expertise from the Kennedy School to Dubai," Nye said, "but will also bring knowledge from Dubai to the Kennedy School."

To view the full conference proceedings, see: www.dubaiinitiative.org.



Can the United States Save the Nonproliferation Regime?

Ashton Carter and Robert Joseph Disagree

—by Robin Olsen, Preventive Defense Project

The future of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and its relevance to the security of the United States was the subject of a November debate in the JFK Jr. Forum between **Ashton B. Carter**, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project and member of the Center's Board of Directors, and former Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security **Robert G. Joseph**.

Carter opined that there was a 75 percent chance that the NPT would be "healthy" in five to ten years, despite critics' assertions that the system was eroding. Joseph said there are "major challenges to the viability of the non-proliferation regime," mainly due to the actions of Iran and North Korea.

Carter and Joseph differed about the prospects of the United States revisiting arms control negotiations with Russia.

Addressing the contention that the United States undermines the NPT by not disarming, Joseph argued that the country has a positive record of drawing-down its nuclear weapons stores and that it should continue to do so as long as that action is in alignment with American defense and deterrence requirements. He said he believes the United States will continue to make use of nuclear weapons as part of its defense strategy, but that they will play a less prominent role than in the past.

Carter and Joseph differed about the prospects of the United States revisiting arms control negotiations with Russia and the merits of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. Carter argued that arms control treaties are useful in combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and advocated readdressing the issue with Russia to attempt to reduce weapons stockpiles. Joseph was less inclined to believe those talks would be helpful.

Eric Rosenbach, executive director for research at the Belfer Center, moderated the discussion. Questioners were current and former Kennedy School students **Jason J. Blackstock** and **Manjana Milkoreit**.

Nixing Nuclear? Preventive Defense Project Co-director **Ashton Carter** and former Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security **Robert Joseph** argue pros and cons of the Non-Proliferation Treaty at a November JFK Jr. Forum.

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.

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Fellows and Associates

Fellows Research Terror Financing, Wind Power, Organizations and Policy

Haroon Ullah

Research Fellow, *The Dubai Initiative*



Haroon Ullah's research at the Belfer Center focuses on the intersection of political organizations and social networks and their nexus with economic policy and governance. A Thomas J. Watson Scholar,

Ullah earned his masters in International Development from the Kennedy School and is now a PhD candidate in Political Science and Public Policy at the University of Michigan.

Ullah will continue to research the effects of Pakistan's election process ...

Ullah's current work includes the development of political organizations and the security and democratic implications of weak parties. In the coming months, he will continue to research the effects of Pakistan's election process and the increased instability in the country following Benazir Bhutto's tragic assassination.

Ullah has conducted fieldwork in Malaysia, Bangladesh, and Yemen, where he studied economic development, extremist groups, and political organizations. Ullah also spent a year in Morocco on a Fulbright Fellowship, examining local political organizations and social sector reforms.

"My experience at the Belfer Center has been excellent," Ullah says, adding that the Dubai Initiative's Tarik Yousef and Ginger Dagli have been very helpful in facilitating his research and introducing him to key scholars in the field. He has enjoyed getting to know his colleagues "and taking part in many enriching conversations."

Juha Kiviluoma

Research Fellow, *Energy Technology Innovation Policy*



Juha Kiviluoma researches the integration of wind into energy systems. A PhD candidate from Helsinki University of Technology, he received a one-year Fulbright grant to work on his thesis in the U.S.

A resident of Finland, Kiviluoma is employed by VTT Technical Research Centre of Finland. His work at the Belfer Center

involves the variability of wind power and the challenges that variability poses for large-scale utilization. In his research, Kiviluoma is analyzing different ways to increase the flexibility of power systems to cope with the variability. His research includes: ways to increase flexibility of conventional power plants; use of electric vehicles; combining heat production with heat storages; and having more control over demand for electricity.

The hands-on attitude in the Belfer Center has given me invaluable insight into how to relate my ... research to the policy issues in the real world.

Kiviluoma believes that wind power could be a significant component of energy systems since wind power resources globally and in the United States are several times larger than energy consumption.

"The hands-on attitude in the Belfer Center has given me invaluable insight into how to relate my current and future research to the policy issues in the real world," Kiviluoma says. This is especially important, he believes, because of the techno-economic nature of his research.

Hope LeBeau

Research Fellow, *International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom*



Hope LeBeau is focusing on financial support systems for combating terrorism while at the Belfer Center. A PhD candidate in the War Studies Department at King's College, London, she hails originally from Arizona.

LeBeau's research examines the importance of constricting the financial environment of proliferation networks and nascent nuclear terror networks as one way to help prevent nuclear terrorism. She is a member of the recently formed Nuclear Terrorism Working Group within the Project on Managing the Atom.

Prior to coming to the Belfer Center, LeBeau established an anti-money laundering/counter-terror finance resource company and was a founding member of the Association of Certified Anti-Money Laundering Specialists. She also is co-chair of Women in International Security-New England.

Most of the people I've studied, watched in politics or government ... as they shaped counterterror policy, have been involved in some way with the Belfer Center.

"At one point or another," she says, "most of the people I've studied, watched in politics or government, and listened to as they shaped counterterror policy, have been involved in some way with the Belfer Center." She says she is looking forward to engaging the community as part of the Center's *Women in Science and International Affairs Group* events this spring.

Fellows in the Field

Hassan Abbas, research fellow with the International Security Program (ISP), Project on India and the Subcontinent, was interviewed by numerous national and international news media in December regarding the assassination of Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto. Abbas served in the administrations of former Prime Minister Bhutto and President Pervez Musharraf.

Emma Belcher, research fellow with ISP and MTA, presented on the threat of weapons of mass destruction at the World Affairs Council in November. Belcher served during 2005–06 as a policy advisor in Australia's Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

Ant Bozkaya, research fellow with the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program and the Dubai Initiative, has been named Senior Research Fellow of Innovation and Entrepreneurship at Solvay Business School, *Universite Libre de Bruxelles*.

Jonathan Caverley, research fellow with the International Security Program (ISP), has been invited to join the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), a United Kingdom-based think tank on political-military conflict.

Erica Chenoweth, ISP fellow, has received a postdoctoral fellowship from the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) through the University of Maryland.

William Martel, a former ISP fellow (1991–93) and now associate professor of International Security Studies at Tufts, has published *Victory in War: Foundations of Modern Military Policy*, a look at the concept of victory and what it means. ■

Alum Focus: Leo Mackay Cites Belfer Center, School Impact on Career

“Going to the Kennedy School of Government changed my life,” says **Leo Mackay**, Kennedy School alum (MPP ’91) and former Belfer Center International Security Program fellow (1991–92).

Mackay is currently vice president for Corporate Business Development at Lockheed Martin Corporation. His impressive résumé includes service as Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs, head of operations for a large healthcare business, “top gun” pilot in the Navy’s Fighter Squadron Eleven, and military assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy.

At the Kennedy School, Mackay wrote his PhD dissertation on nuclear proliferation policy after the Cold War. As an International Security Program fellow, he took part in the Center’s nuclear weapons and counter proliferation policy research, which became the nucleus for the incoming administration’s policy agenda in 1992. In June of 1993, he was asked by then Assistant Defense Secretary **Ash-ton Carter** (now co-director of the Preventive Defense Project and member of the Belfer

Center Board of Directors) to serve as his military assistant.

“The timing could not have been more exciting for someone in my shoes,” Mackay says. “I went from being a Kennedy School student to a fellow to working in the Pentagon on the security policy issues that were a major focus of the work at the Belfer Center.”

Mackay says that his courses and training at the Kennedy School and his research and analysis at the Belfer Center have given him a “way to think and work through policy, operational, and political issues” in all of his public and private positions.

“I went to the Kennedy School to study with **Ash (Carter)** and **Graham (Allison)** and **Joe (Nye)** and **Al (Carnesale)** and came out on the other side with them considering me a colleague and friend,” Mackay says. As part of the Aspen Strategy Group, Mackay continues to brainstorm policy issues with a number of his Kennedy School colleagues.

Leo Mackay continues close relationships with other Kennedy School and Belfer Center alums as well, such as **Kurt Campbell**,



U.S. DEPT. OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

Michele Flournoy, Owen Coté, Laura Holgate, and Steve Kelman. And, it was while studying in the Kennedy School library that Mackay met his future wife, **Heather Deebel** (’91), then a senior at Harvard College and a Kennedy School library assistant. “This is a great community,” he says. 📍

Tribute to Randy Forsberg: Colleague and Arms Control Activist

—by **Michael Nacht**

JOSH REYNOLDS, AP



Only once in a great while does someone come along with a combination of rare intellectual ability, deep substantive knowledge, great organizational skills, and a passionate, contagious stubbornness to make a big difference. Randy Forsberg was one. A Barnard graduate, she learned from scratch about national security and nuclear weapons while working originally as a secretary at

the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and raising a daughter. She later returned to the U.S., completed a PhD in defense studies at MIT, and did a post-doc at the Center for Science and International Affairs (now Belfer Center).

Randy was intense, indefatigable, and impatient with those of us in academia who wanted to study and speak and were content to move primarily within the specialized, expert community. She wanted to take the danger of nuclear weapons to the people and, ultimately, to the streets.

She wanted to take the danger of nuclear weapons to the people and, ultimately, to the streets.

After founding her own institute at the start of the 1980s in the early Reagan years, she conceived of the elegantly simple but compelling concept of a “nuclear freeze” to halt and then reverse the intense and dangerous U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms competition.

Through fits and starts and despite the opposition of many and the skepticism of many more, she succeeded in galvanizing an international movement that produced peaceful demonstrations in support of the freeze in major cities in the U.S., Western Europe, and elsewhere—the largest mass outpourings since the celebrations to end World War II.

While hard to prove, it is plausible that the enormity and scope of these demonstrations helped lead Reagan and Gorbachev within two years to Iceland for the first superpower head-of-state discussions to eliminate all nuclear weapons.

Randy’s energy and determination, her skill and her cleverness, and her achievements should be a reminder to all of us who too often doubt the impact that one human being can make in this complex and crazy world. 📍

Randall (Randy) Forsberg, a fellow and associate of the Belfer Center since 1977, passed away October 19, 2007 after a courageous battle with cancer. **Michael Nacht**, currently dean of the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, was founding assistant director of the Belfer Center and worked with Forsberg at the Center.

Iceland Minister Cites Climate's Impact on International Security

—by Susan Lynch, International Security Program

BELFER CENTER



Slippery Slope? Icelandic Minister of Justice **Björn Bjarnason**, whose responsibilities include oversight of Iceland's Coast Guard, describes new maritime security issues in the warming North Atlantic during a presentation in November. Bjarnason specifically focused on energy supply and energy security for sustainable development and global security. Science, Technology, and Public Policy Fellow **Rasmus Bertelsen** hosted the minister.

“The interests of the High North, both locally and globally, are a trans-Atlantic issue that can only be dealt with as part of a strong and realistic security policy and maritime strategy on the part of NATO,” concluded Icelandic Minister of Justice **Björn Bjarnason** at an International Security Program-sponsored lecture last fall. While the Cold War's end saw the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iceland, climate change has reconfigured the security, economic, and geopolitical profile of the Arctic with Iceland retaining its geo-strategic importance.

A new northern sea route is opening up, Bjarnason explained, and Arctic oil and natural gas resources are accessible for exploitation. Increasing volumes of oil and natural gas are being transported from Russia and Norway to the U.S. through Icelandic waters. The maritime transport system is vulnerable to terrorists, and a well-coordinated attack could result in the entire system shutting down with profound consequences for U.S. energy security.

Russia, Bjarnason added, has been increasingly asserting its influence in the High North as its economic strength has risen with energy prices. Russian bombers have been flying around Iceland or along the Norwegian coast down to Denmark and the Netherlands—NATO's Cold War frontline. Russian military bases on the Kola Peninsula are being renewed and developed, and the Russian flag was planted in the seabed below the North Pole last August.

“A permanent U.S. maritime presence in the North Atlantic is of vital importance to guarantee NATO's security interests, enforce international law, and influence the international foreign policy process,” Bjarnason said, adding that the European Union “has not formulated any maritime strategy for the North Atlantic.”

The entire presentation is available at <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/17696/>.

Climate Disruptions

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different ideas to succeed the Kyoto Protocol. Stavins separately gave the principal presentation at an event sponsored by the International Emissions Trading Association.

Holdren and Stavins offered their take-aways as well as key items to watch going forward.

The hope . . . was simply that the Bali meeting would agree on 2009 as the target date for completing the post-Kyoto framework, and this was achieved.

—John Holdren

Holdren: “The agreement finally reached in Bali actually achieved more than I had expected. There was never any possibility—in fact there was no intention by the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change leadership—to reach formal agreement at this juncture on specific numerical targets and timetables for reductions in greenhouse gas emissions after the Kyoto Protocol expires in 2012. The hope, with respect to timing, was simply that the Bali meeting would agree on 2009 as the target date for completing the post-Kyoto framework, and this was achieved.”

Besides agreement on 2009 as the date for completion of the post-Kyoto framework, Hol-

dren said, “the Bali agreement contains very important progress on an approach for including reductions in emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD) after 2012, on mechanisms and financing for technology transfer, and on increased attention to and financing for adaptation to the degree of climate change that will occur in spite of the best possible mitigation efforts. So, in reality, a lot was achieved at Bali.”

The conference was a qualified success. Before we went to Bali, we observed that it will be good news if there's no bad news coming out of the negotiations. That was achieved and then some.

—Robert Stavins, Joe Aldy

Stavins and Aldy: “For the Bali roadmap, countries agreed to continue working together, and they have agreed on certain measures. The ultimate destination was not decided. That was not feasible, and was not necessary. But the direction was decided, and the vehicle for travel was augmented in positive ways.”

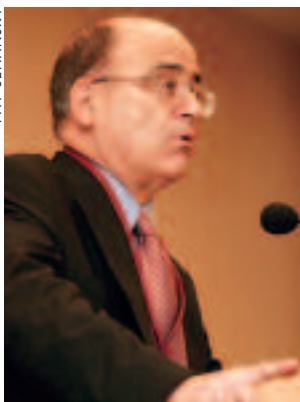
“It's important that both the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change process (the process that led to the original Kyoto



U.S.: Environmental Leader or Laggard? **John Holdren**, director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, presents “Global Climate Disruption: What do we know? What should we do?” at a JFK Jr. Forum in November. The U.S. must lead the world in climate policy, he said.

Protocol) and President Bush's Big Economies process continue,” Stavins and Aldy said. “In January, the White House hosted in Hawaii the largest emitters from the industrialized and developing world, accounting for 85 to 90 percent of emissions,” they noted. “This dual track makes sense for the time being,” they added, “as it allows those countries that are the biggest part of the problem to negotiate more intensively on solutions.”

MIKE CASEY



Henry Lee

Q&A Henry Lee and Doug Ahlers

What the Broadmoor community has done in partnership with Harvard's Kennedy School . . . will be a model for what a place like Harvard can do, and what a community like Broadmoor can do.

—Author **Walter Isaacson**, former Broadmoor resident and vice-chairman of the Louisiana Recovery Authority



Doug Ahlers

Following Hurricane Katrina's devastation in New Orleans, Belfer Center Senior Fellow and New Orleans resident **Doug Ahlers** organized a group of Kennedy School students to help with the recovery of the city's hard-hit Broadmoor neighborhood. Since then, the Kennedy School/Broadmoor collaboration has grown, and in 2006, the Belfer Center launched the Broadmoor Project: New Orleans Recovery. The project is directed by Ahlers, with **Henry Lee**, director of the Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program, serving as faculty chair. We asked them to tell us more about the successful efforts to bring back Broadmoor.

Q *Following Hurricane Katrina, what inspired you to organize Kennedy School students to help draft the Broadmoor recovery plan?*

Doug Ahlers: Katrina raised serious policy questions about effective disaster recovery management. Clearly, there was a leadership role in New Orleans for the Belfer Center and Kennedy School. Most other groups were approaching the problem of recovery by pursuing a single issue, such as housing or education, but we believed that the only viable solution was to work with a community on all of their issues across time. That way, we could focus our attention and resources. Broadmoor was the best match to the citywide demographic averages and was most representative of the city as a whole.

Q *How do you see the collaboration between the Kennedy School and Broadmoor fitting in with the mission of the School and the Belfer Center?*

Twenty years from now, these Kennedy School students can revisit Broadmoor and tell their children that they played a tangible role in bringing this neighborhood back.

Henry Lee: In the last two years, 74 students from the Kennedy School have spent time working in New Orleans. In their post-visit debriefings with the dean, most stated that their work with Broadmoor was the most

satisfying experience in their time at the School. Why? Broadmoor provided a very different and tangible experience. Students met the people they were trying to help, visited their destroyed homes, and became familiar with their pain and loss. They played a major role in developing the recovery planning document, in designing the community development corporation, in helping the citizens deal with bureaucratic hurdles, and in bringing back the community's school.

Twenty years from now, these Kennedy School students can revisit Broadmoor and tell their children that they played a tangible role in bringing this neighborhood back.

Q *The Belfer Center's Broadmoor Project has worked with the Broadmoor Improvement Association to raise significant funding to help rebuild the community. How has Broadmoor used these funds?*

Doug Ahlers: Broadmoor has raised funds to rebuild their neighborhood library, community center, school, playgrounds, and homes. Instead of waiting for government funds for these civic projects, the neighborhood raised monies from the private sector. Broadmoor's fundraising success is due to a focus on building public-private partnerships. The residents educated themselves on grant-writing and learned to think in the same terms as do funders. In short, Broadmoor makes it easy for partners and donors to work with them.

Q *The federal government has been strongly criticized for doing much too little too late in New Orleans. Are there lessons from the Center's and School's involvement with New Orleans that the federal government can apply in future disasters?*

Henry Lee: When I talk with people in Broadmoor and other neighborhoods, the federal government is very distant. The city and state governments affect their lives. There is a strong belief that government failed them. The one bright light has been the role of neighborhood associations. The institutions that have made the most significant contributions have been these associations. What should their role be going forward? Should they be given formal governance authority and if so how would they be funded? How could one assure that they would accurately reflect the needs of the

citizens in their neighborhoods? If higher levels of government are unable to respond to the needs of people, inevitably there will be pressure to look to other institutions.

Broadmoor was one of the hardest hit neighborhoods, and has one of the highest concentrations of poverty. . . . And yet, Broadmoor has one of the highest recovery rates in the city.

Q *Have other neighborhoods been able to benefit from Broadmoor's experiences?*

Doug Ahlers: From the beginning, one of our goals, along with the Broadmoor Neighborhood Association, has been to share our knowledge with other New Orleans neighborhood and community leaders so that they can replicate the Broadmoor model. The Center's Broadmoor Project has conducted a series of neighborhood leadership training forums in New Orleans, we have published a guide to community-based recovery planning and implementation, and we bring New Orleans neighborhood leaders to Cambridge for Executive Education Program training. Broadmoor was one of the hardest hit neighborhoods, and had one of the highest concentrations of poverty before Katrina, with 24 percent of its households having a total household income of less than \$10,000 a year. And yet, Broadmoor has one of the highest recovery rates in the city.

For an expanded Q&A, see www.belfer-center.org/broadmoor.



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Sea Change: Congressman **Joe Sestak** (D-PA), a graduate of the Kennedy School and friend of the Belfer Center, visited the Center in November to speak on security and policy. Sestak spent 31 years in the U.S. Navy, rising to the rank of three-star admiral.

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Nuclear Notes: **Laura Holgate**, vice president for Russia/New Independent States Programs at the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), speaks to faculty and fellows about efforts to secure nuclear materials

in Russia. Holgate, a Belfer Center alum, previously managed the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program at the U.S. Department of Defense and served as director of the Office of Fissile Materials Disposition at the U.S. Department of Energy. Holgate has received numerous public service awards.



State of Security: **Juliette Kayyem**, undersecretary of homeland security for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and former acting executive director for research at the Belfer Center, discusses "Homeland Security from the State House" during a directors' seminar in October. Kayyem is the Commonwealth's first director of homeland security.

MARTHA STEWART



Korean Connections: **Song Min-soon** (left), minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade for South Korea, with Center International Council member **Harold Hestnes** following Min-soon's JFK Jr. Forum presentation on North Korea's nuclear program in November. Min-soon heads the South Korean delegation to the six-party talks.

Inside Israel: **Uzi Dayan**, chair of the Tzafit Party in Israel, speaks on "Sderot and Teheran—Between Two Cities" in November. Dayan served for two years as chairman of the Israeli National Security Council and was the national security adviser to Prime Ministers **Barak** and **Sharon**. Dayan also has served as president of the annual Sderot Conference for Social and Economic Policy and as the chairman of the youth organization Chugay Sayarut. Seated to the left is **Nabil Ali Alyousuf**, assistant director general of the Executive Office of His Highness Sheikh **Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum**, prime minister of the United Arab Emirates and ruler of Dubai.



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Analyzing Acumen: **Thomas Fingar**, deputy director of National Intelligence for Analysis and chairman of the National Intelligence Council, leads a discussion on "Transforming Analysis" with faculty and fellows in October.

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SIS Secrets: **Sir Richard Dearlove**, master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, presents "Back to Basics: What are the Primary Influences on our Intelligence and Security Services?" at a directors' lunch in December. Sir Richard served as chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) or MI6 from August 1999 until his retirement in July 2004. Previously, he was a career intelligence officer for 38 years.

SPEAKERS

Sharing Policy-Relevant Knowledge

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Ignoring Counsel: Sir **Michael Howard**, retired British military historian at Oxford and Yale, discusses “America and the World: A British View” at a Belfer Center discussion in October. Referring to the war in Iraq, he noted, “British advice was virtually ignored.” Sir Michael, president emeritus of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, is well-known for expanding military history to include wider discussions about the sociological significance of war.

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Crossing the Line: **Chung-In Moon**, ambassador for International Security Affairs, Republic of Korea, speaks on “Three Days on the Other Side: A First Hand Account of the Second Inter-Korean Summit” at a directors’ seminar in October. The summit Moon recounted was held October 2–4 in Pyongyang, between **Kim Jong-il** of North Korea and **Roh Moo-hyun**, the current president of the Republic of Korea. Moon is a professor of political science at Yonsei University and chairman of the Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative.

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From the Top: General **James Cartwright**, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (center) with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) and Robert and Renée Belfer Lecturer in Public Policy **John White**, following Cartwright’s presentation on security in November. Allison and White are former assistant and deputy secretaries of defense.

Getting the Game: **Thomas Schelling**, former Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Political Economy at the Kennedy School and professor at the Maryland School of Public Affairs, discusses security issues at a directors’ lunch in October. Schelling was awarded the 2005 Nobel Prize for Economics (shared with Robert Aumann) for “having enhanced our understanding of conflict and cooperation through game-theory analysis.”

The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences noted, “Schelling’s work prompted new developments in game theory and accelerated its use and application throughout the sciences. Notably, his analysis of strategic commitments has explained a wide range of phenomena, from the competitive strategies of firms to the delegation of political decision power.”

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Optimizing Options: “If you want Iraq to stay united, democracy is the only option,” said **Meghan O’Sullivan**, former special assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, during a directors’ seminar in October on “Iraq: Re-examining Three Conventional Wisdoms.” A new Kennedy School adjunct lecturer and senior fellow at the Belfer Center, O’Sullivan was at the State Department and Brookings Institute before joining the

National Security Council. A graduate of Georgetown University, O’Sullivan worked for the late Senator **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, for whom she did foreign-policy work on ethnic conflicts. She received her master’s and doctorate from Oxford, with a thesis on ethnic conflict in South Asia.

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International Community: **Kristin Silverberg**, assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs, speaks on “A United Nations for the 21st Century” in November. Silverberg leads the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, which is responsible for pursuing U.S. interests through international organizations. Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Karen Elliot House** is on the left.

“Overcoming Nuclear Danger” Conference

December 4, 2007

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Sergei Rogov (left), director of the Moscow Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies, and General **Eugene Habiger**, former commander-in-chief of U.S. Strategic Command.



Center International Council Member **Leo Kahn** and **Emily Kahn** with **Mikhail Gorbachev**.

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Gore Vidal, author and supporter of efforts to reduce nuclear dangers worldwide.

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Steven Miller, director of the Center's International Security Program.

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Sixty Russian, American, and international specialists participated in the conference.

Gianni De Michelis (speaking), member of the European Parliament, with (from left to right): **Linton Brooks**, former director of the National Nuclear Security Administration; Brigadier General (ret) **Kevin Ryan**, former defense attaché to Moscow and senior fellow with the Belfer Center; and **William Taubman**, Amherst College professor.

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Jack Matlock (left), former ambassador to the Soviet Union, with Center founder and arms control activist **Paul Doty**, whose efforts include years of work with Soviet scientists outside official channels to prevent the use of nuclear weapons.

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Rose Gottemoeller, director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, and Ambassador **Max Kampelman**, former head of the U.S. delegation to Negotiations with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms.



Matthew Bunn (right), senior researcher with the Center's Project on Managing the Atom, with **Mikhail Gorbachev** (left), and assistant **Pavel Palazhchenko**.

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Center Board of Directors member **Shirley Williams** (left), member of the British Parliament and nuclear proliferation advisor to Prime Minister **Gordon Brown**, and **Laura Holgate**, vice president for the Russia/New Independent States Programs at the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI).



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Alexander Konovalov (left), president of the Institute for Strategic Assessments, with **Ashton Carter**, co-director of the Center's Preventive Defense Project.

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International Security • Environment and Natural Resources



Matthew Bunn, senior research associate in the Project on Managing the Atom, was presented with the Federation of American Scientists' Hans Bethe Award at an awards ceremony in Washington, D.C. in December. In a speech accepting the prestigious award, Bunn drew on lessons of recent nonproliferation crises to outline a series of practical steps to strengthen the global effort to stem the spread of nuclear weapons. He called for greatly reduced numbers of nuclear weapons and greatly strengthened international controls, inspections, and restraints.



William Clark, Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science, Public Policy, and Human Development and a member of the Center's Board of Directors, has been named a Fellow with the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). Clark was selected for "distinguished contributions to interdisciplinary studies of global environmental change." **Paul T. Anastas**,

former fellow with the Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program and director of the Green Chemistry Institute, has also been named an AAAS Fellow.



Thomas Foley, former speaker of the House of Representatives and member of the Center's International Council, received the 2007 Freedom Award in December. He was presented the award

"in grateful recognition of his leadership in the United States Congress and for all he has accomplished domestically and internationally to advance greater public understanding and appreciation of the United States Congress and the United States Capitol."



David Hamburg, member of the Center's International Council, along with his wife **Beatrix Hamburg**, were awarded the 2007 Rhoda and Bernard Sarnat International Award in Mental Health by the Institute of Medicine. The Hamburgs are DeWitt Wallace Distinguished Scholars in the department of psychiatry at the Weill Medical College of Cornell University, and co-directors of the social medicine and public policy program. The Hamburgs have conducted extensive research in adult, adolescent, and child psychiatry.

"CLIMATE IS EVERYTHING. It is science, it is technology, it is economics, it is politics. It includes international relations, and it includes international security. In fact, the current Nobel Prize rightly emphasizes that peace, prosperity, and the fate of the environment are all intertwined, and that the climate issue—the biggest and most dangerous of all environmental problems—is in fact, the most immediate threat to peace and prosperity."

—**John Holdren**, "Interview with John Holdren," *Mumbai Mirror* (14 October 2007)

"IN SOME RESPECTS, THE GOAL OF A WORLD FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS is like the top of a very tall mountain. From the vantage point of our troubled world today, we can't even see the top of the mountain, and it is tempting and easy to say we can't get there from here. But the risks from continuing to go down the mountain or standing pat are too real to ignore. We must chart a course to higher ground where the mountaintop becomes more visible."

—**George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger, and Sam Nunn**, "Toward a Nuclear Free World," *Wall Street Journal* (15 January 2008)

"IN A WORLD IN WHICH POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES are pursuing intermediate-range missiles, neither the United States nor Russia has the capability to effectively counter them. Although no senior official in the United States has openly advocated withdrawing from the INF Treaty yet, Russian leaders have been talking about it for some time."

—**Kevin Ryan**, "Expand or Scrap Missile Ban," *Los Angeles Times* (16 October 2007)

"A NATION THAT WISHES TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS believes these weapons will improve its security. The declaration by the U.S. that it will move to eliminate nuclear weapons in a distant future will have no direct effect on changing this calculus."

—**Harold Brown and John M. Deutch**, "The Nuclear Disarmament Fantasy," *Wall Street Journal* (19 November 2007)

"IT IS UP TO THE WEST TO CONVINCE RUSSIA that, regarding Iranian nuclear ambitions, Moscow's long-term equities are best served by comprehensive and full-fledged cooperation with the West."

—**Robert Blackwill**, "The Three Rs: Rivalry, Russia, 'Ran,'" *The National Interest* (7 January 2008)

"THE TIME HAS COME FOR FULL BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS between the United States and Iran. The talks should be unconditional: Mr. Bush simply must drop the demand for Iran to halt enrichment before

talks begin. Both sides should use the momentum generated by negotiations in Baghdad to broaden the dialogue and address diverse security concerns."

—**Graham Allison and Eric Rosenbach**, "Rethinking U.S. Foreign Policy," *The Globe and Mail* (5 December 2007)

"AN UNDERREPORTED ATTACK ON A SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR FACILITY last month demonstrates the high risk of theft of nuclear materials by terrorists or criminals. Such a crime could have grave national security implications for the United States or any of the dozens of countries where nuclear materials are held in various states of security."

—**Micah Zenko**, "A Nuclear Site Is Breached: South African Attack Should Sound Alarms," *Washington Post* (20 December 2007)

"THE U.S.-INDIA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP is much broader than the nuclear deal. Regardless of whether the deal goes through during this administration, this relationship still remains an enormous success."

—**Xenia Dormandy**, "India-U.S. Atom Deal," *The Tribune of India* (20 October 2007)

"A WITCH'S BREW that includes political instability, a burgeoning Islamic insurgency, a demoralized army, and an intensely anti-American population, puts Pakistan's nuclear weapons at risk . . . Pakistan has dispersed its weapons and distributed oversight to multiple strategic and security authorities. But these arrangements by necessity increase the likelihood that corrupt officials could successfully divert weapons or materials."

—**Graham Allison**, "What About the Nukes?" *Newsweek* Web Exclusive (28 December 2007)

"MUSHARRAF . . . IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY IRRELEVANT and there is a growing possibility that military leadership will distance itself from him and return to its professional job and regain people's confidence . . . [O]ne hopes that Benazir's sacrifice will pay off, ushering Pakistan towards a progressive democratic order."

—**Hassan Abbas**, "The Elections Must Go Ahead," *The Guardian.com* (1 January 2008)

"KENYA'S RECENT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION unleashed turmoil that has so far claimed more than 500 lives and displaced thousands of people. Blame has been pinned on Kenya's ethnic divisions. . . . But this story is misleading. . . . If ethnic diversity didn't cause the recent round of violence in Kenya, what did? The answer: a feeble parliament."

—**Matthew Kroenig**, "Kenya's Real Problem (It's Not Ethnic)," *Washington Post* (9 January 2008)

“WORLD WAR FOUR WAS SUPPOSED TO BE THE SHOWDOWN between the west and radical Islam, forecast in 1993 by Samuel Huntington as the ‘clash of civilizations.’ . . . And the worse things have gone in the Middle East since the invasion of Iraq, the more likely it has seemed the U.S. might launch its next pre-emptive strike against neighboring Iran.”

—**Niall Ferguson**, “World War Four is Off: Time for a Bargain with Tehran?” *Financial Times* (8 December 2007)

“SO WHAT, IF ANYTHING, DO WE OWE THE KURDS?” Should we protect them from the ensuing wrath of nervous neighbors or their sectarian foes in Iraq? . . . The trap, of course, is that in our humanitarian impulse to protect our Kurdish allies we will facilitate the dangerous imperial ambitions of the proponents of the ‘Kurdistan option.’”

—**Matan Chorev**, “Opposing the Kurdistan Option for Withdrawal,” *Boston Globe* (4 October 2007)

“AMERICANS SHOULD GRASP PRECISELY WHY A U.S.-LED WAR ON GLOBAL TERROR HAS BACKFIRED. . . . The main reason, simply, is that every aspect of Washington’s ‘global war on terror’ is perceived by the majority of people in the Arab-Asian region as reviving, reaffirming, expanding, and accelerating all the negative Western policies that have devastated the people of the Middle East for nearly a century.”

—**Rami G. Khouri**, “Things to Consider Before Attacking Iran,” *Agence Global* (29 October 2007)

“THE . . . NEXT PRESIDENT is going to be left with a legacy of hostility around the world and that is going to breed terrorism no matter how ably a future president works through existing problems. That is why we have got to simply be ready.”

—**Elaine Kamarck**, “Elaine Kamarck on Homeland Security,” *KSG Insight Web Feature* (7 December 2007)

“THE NATION SHOULD EMBRACE A SMARTER STRATEGY that blends our ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ power—our ability to attract and persuade, as well as our ability to use economic and military might. Whether it is ending the crisis in Pakistan, winning the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, deterring Iran’s and North Korea’s nuclear ambitions . . . the United States needs a broader, more balanced approach.”

—**Richard L. Armitage** and **Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**, “Stop Getting Mad, America. Get Smart,” *Washington Post* (10 December 2007)

“HAS QADDAFI REALLY CHANGED?” It is difficult to know for sure. He has always been a protean figure—part Bedouin libertarian, part revolutionary socialist—and, obviously, his future actions will speak louder than any current words. But there is no doubt that he acts differently on the world stage today than he did in decades past. . . . One thing about Qaddafi, however, has not changed: Even as he takes a softer approach to the exercise of power abroad, he remains the dominant figure at home.”

—**Joseph Nye**, “Big Tent,” *The New Republic* (10 December 2007)

“WHILE THE CLINTON PARAMETERS OF DECEMBER 2000 outlined the core trade-offs on Jerusalem, refugees, borders, and security—thus removing the mystery of what might be required—the ability to cross such historic thresholds and make historic compromises remains a daunting task.”

—**Dennis Ross**, “What Rice Must Do to Pave Way for Mideast Peace Deal,” *USA Today* (17 October 2007)

“THE AMERICAN ECONOMY is now very weak and could get substantially weaker. Current economic conditions call for lowering interest rates and for enacting a tax cut now that is conditioned on economic developments in 2008.”

—**Martin Feldstein**, “How to Avert Recession,” *Wall Street Journal* (5 December 2007)

“THE ODDS OF A 2008 U.S. RECESSION have surely increased after a very poor employment report, growing evidence of weak holiday spending, further increases in oil prices, more dismal housing data, and further write-downs in the financial sector.”

—**Lawrence Summers**, “Why America Must Have a Fiscal Stimulus,” *Financial Times* (7 January 2008)

“IT IS OUR DUTY AS UNIVERSITIES to form the new leaders that the world requires to achieve transformations. These leaders have to be educated in a holistic way. These leaders should be sensitive to the current reality, to the real problems that face the world, and should be equipped to offer practical solutions that permeate all sectors of society.”

—**Calestous Juma**, “University as Agents of Prosperity,” *The Nation* (Kenya) (October 2007)

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

—Compiled by Courtney Anderson and Traci Farrell, Communications Office



John P. Holdren, director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, was lead speaker at the United Nations General Assembly’s first-ever thematic debate of climate change in July. Hol-

dren presented the science and policy implications of climate disruptions, noting to members that damage is already taking place and the world needs to act on mitigation “to avoid the unmanageable” and adaptation “to manage the unavoidable”—as stated by the UN’s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.



Henry Lee, director of the Environment and Natural Resources Program, has been invited to serve on the National Academies Transportation Research Board’s Committee for a Study of

Potential Energy Savings and Greenhouse Gas Reductions from Transportation. The project will estimate potential energy savings and greenhouse gas reductions that might be realized from transportation, and will review policies and strategies to affect behavior and improve fuel economy for passenger and freight vehicles.



Meghan O’Sullivan, former special assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, has been named adjunct lecturer and senior fellow with the Belfer Center

for the spring 2008 semester. Before joining the National Security Council, O’Sullivan was at the State Department and at the Brookings Institute.



William J. Perry, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project (PDP) and former secretary of defense, has been named by Secretary of Defense Robert Gates to the Pentagon’s Defense Policy Board. The Defense Policy Board focuses on long-term issues central to the Pentagon’s strategic planning.



Robert Rotberg, director of the Belfer Center’s Program on Intrastate Conflict (ICP), along with ICP researcher



Rachel Gisselquist, developed the Index of African Governance that instructed the Mo Ibrahim Foundation in its selection of Joaquim Chissano, the former president of Mozambique, as the first recipient of the Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership. The annual prize is

given to a former African head of state “who has demonstrated exemplary leadership.”

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Strengthening African Governance Ibrahim Index of African Governance: Results and Rankings 2007

By Robert I. Rotberg and Rachel M. Gisselquist;
Mo Ibrahim Foundation; Harvard's Kennedy
School of Government; World Peace Foundation



The new generation of African leaders faces a major challenge: lifting millions of people from poverty. This cannot be achieved without good governance.

The Mo Ibrahim Foundation is an African initiative that has been established to stimulate debate on good governance across sub-Saharan Africa and the world, provide objective criteria by which citizens can hold their governments to account, and recognize achievement in African leadership.

The essential political goods that nation-states are responsible for delivering to their inhabitants can be summarized and gathered under five categories: Safety and Security; Rule of Law, Transparency, and Corruption; Participation and Human Rights; Sustainable Economic Opportunity; and Human Development.

The *Ibrahim Index* measures the degree to which each of these political goods is provided within the forty-eight African countries south of the Sahara for the years being investigated—2000 and 2002 (for baseline indications) and 2005 (the last year with reasonably complete available data for nearly all sub-Saharan African nation-states).

"The major innovative feature of the Ibrahim Index is its emphasis on measuring the output of 'political goods.' The fact that it is an 'African-owned' initiative lends it important symbolic significance."

—Oxford Analytica

Governance and Information Technology: From Electronic Government to Information Government

Edited by Viktor Mayer-Schönberger and
David Lazer; The MIT Press



Developments in information and communication technology and networked computing over the past two decades have given rise to the notion of electronic government, most commonly used to refer to the delivery of public services over the Internet. This volume argues for a shift from the narrow focus of "electronic government" on technology

and transactions to the broader perspective of information government—the information flows within the public sector, between the public sector and citizens, and among citizens—as a way to understand the changing nature of governing and governance in an information society.

This is a first-class study of the complex processes of information flows between citizens and government.

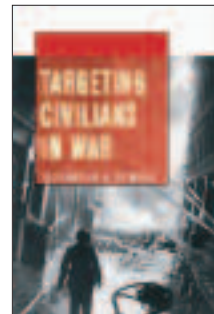
—Pippa Norris

"The e-governance revolution has transformed the way that government commonly delivers basic services. But has it transformed democracy? This is a first-class study of the complex processes of information flows between citizens and government."

—Pippa Norris, director, Democratic Governance Group, Bureau for Development Policy
United Nations Development Programme

Targeting Civilians in War

By Alexander B. Downes
Cornell Studies in Security Affairs
Cornell University Press



Accidental harm to civilians in warfare often becomes an occasion for public outrage, from citizens of both the victimized and the victimizing nation. In this vitally important book on a topic of acute concern for anyone interested in military strategy, international security, or human rights,

Alexander B. Downes reminds readers that democratic and authoritarian governments alike will sometimes deliberately kill large numbers of civilians as a matter of military strategy. What leads governments to make such a choice?

He concludes that governments ... target civilian populations ... to avert defeat, or ... to seize and annex enemy territory.

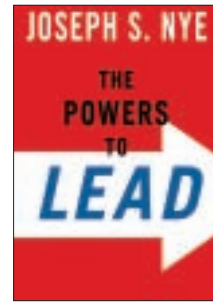
Downes examines several historical cases: British counterinsurgency tactics during the Boer War, the starvation blockade used by the Allies against Germany in World War I, Axis and Allied bombing campaigns in World War II, and ethnic cleansing in the Palestine War. He concludes that governments decide to target civilian populations for two main reasons—desperation to reduce their own military casualties or avert defeat, or a desire to seize and annex enemy territory. Democracies historically have proven especially likely to target civilians in desperate circumstances.

"This is a powerful and disturbing study of the dark side of democracy..."

—Scott D. Sagan, Stanford University

The Powers to Lead

By Joseph S. Nye; Oxford University Press



What qualities make a leader succeed in business or politics? In an era when the information revolution has dramatically changed the playing field, when old organizational hierarchies have given way to fluid networks of contacts, and when mistrust of leaders is on the rise, our ideas

about leadership are clearly due for redefinition.

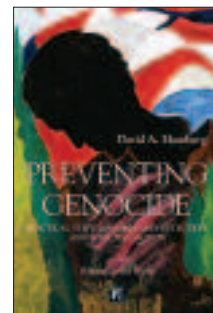
With *The Powers to Lead*, Joseph S. Nye offers a sweeping look at the nature of leadership in today's world, in an illuminating blend of history, business case studies, psychological research, and more. As he observes, many now believe that the more authoritarian and coercive forms of leadership—the hard power approaches of earlier military-industrial eras—have been largely supplanted in postindustrial societies by soft power approaches that seek to attract, inspire, and persuade rather than dictate. Nye argues, however, that the most effective leaders are actually those who combine hard and soft power skills in proportions that vary with different situations. He calls this smart power.

"Finally, a book that analyzes what leadership really means and how it relates to power. It will be invaluable for both political and business leaders alike."

—Walter Isaacson, author of *Einstein: His Life and Universe*, and president, the Aspen Institute

Preventing Genocide: Practical Steps toward Early Detection and Effective Action

By David A. Hamburg; Paradigm



Dr. David Hamburg's groundbreaking book approaches the problem of mass violence from three perspectives. The first part of the book examines the root causes of genocide, using illustrative case histories from the 19th century to the present to identify recurrent elements and pat-

terns in genocides as they develop. A basic theme is that clear warnings always appear long before genocide erupts, and that there are practical ways to prevent its outbreak before mass violence occurs. The second part of the book describes pillars of operational and structural prevention: elements in society that have strong long-term potential for preventing mass violence of all kinds. The third part considers what various organizations and institutions have done and can do to build and maintain the pillars.

"In Preventing Genocide, David Hamburg makes the most compelling case I have read for our ability to prevent 'the problem from hell.'"

—The Honorable Lee H. Hamilton, president and director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and former U.S. Representative (D-Indiana)

—Compiled by Susan Lynch, International Security Program and Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program

Nye/Armitage Report: Steps Toward Restoring U.S. Influence

—by Michelle Weitzel, Communications Office

“America’s image and influence are in decline around the world. To maintain a leading role in global affairs, the United States must move from eliciting fear and anger to inspiring optimism and hope.” The 2007 report, “A Smarter and Safer America,” prepared by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Commission on Smart Power, makes this message clear as it lays out foreign policy recommendations for presidential candidates one year ahead of elections. The commission is co-chaired by **Richard Armitage**, former deputy secretary of state, and Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**, who serves on the Belfer Center’s Board of Directors.

To reverse the deterioration of American influence and enhance national security, the report advocates complementing U.S. military and economic might with greater investments in soft power—a combination the authors call a “smart power” strategy.

The report recommends five areas where the United States should make critical adjustments to improve its global image.

- Reinvigorate alliances, partnerships, and institutions
- Elevate the role of development in U.S. foreign policy to align United States interests with the aspirations of people around the world
- Win the “hearts and minds” of foreign populations through long-term, people-to-people relationships in the public diplomacy realm
- Encourage economic integration and increase the benefits of trade for all people
- Assume a leadership role in technology and innovation, specifically by addressing climate change and energy insecurity

The report also identifies obstacles that the incoming U.S. president will face in the development of a cohesive foreign policy that combines hard and soft power elements, including the high level of development of the Pentagon and Department of Defense and the compartmentalization of foreign policy instruments within the structure of the U.S. government.



LIZ LYNCH

Capitol Comments: Joseph Nye (left) and Richard Armitage (right) with Center for Strategic and International Studies President John Hamre on Capitol Hill to discuss their “Smarter and Safer America” report.

“Since the shock of 9/11,” Nye said, “the United States has been exporting fear and anger rather than our more traditional values of hope and optimism. Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo have become more powerful global icons of America than the Statue of Liberty. It is time for a smarter approach.”

A copy of the report can be found at www.csis.org.

International Security

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“America’s Liberal Illiberalism: The Ideological Origins of Overreaction in U.S. Foreign Policy”

Michael C. Desch

In recent years, Democrats and Republicans have endorsed illiberal policies that include the pursuit of global hegemony, the launching of a preventive war, restrictions on civil liberties, and torture. These policies seem to contradict the Liberal tradition of the United States, but it is precisely this tradition that compels Americans to spread their values around the world and combat terrorism in this way. Only a foreign policy strategy based on realism—a decidedly non-Liberal way of viewing the world—will preserve the domestic virtues of Liberalism while diminishing its negative effects abroad.

“Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China’s Use of Force in Territorial Disputes”

M. Taylor Fravel

East Asia and the rest of the world have feared that China’s rise would create regional instability, particularly if China used force in territorial disputes. Although this fear is not completely unfounded, Beijing has gone to great lengths to settle or neutralize the majority of its disputes and has rarely used force. Only after China experienced a decline in its bargaining power in six conflicts did its leaders face pressure to signal resolve

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through the use of force. Today, China’s disputes over the Senkaku Islands and Taiwan remain the most volatile. As a major player in the region (particularly in the case of Taiwan), the United States can limit the potential for violence by continuing to support the status quo.

“‘New Fighting Power!’ Japan’s Growing Maritime Capabilities and East Asian Security”

Richard J. Samuels

After World War II, Japan’s U.S.-imposed constitution and regional opposition to its rearmament severely restricted its military capabilities. Recently, however, Japanese leaders have found a way around these external and internal restrictions by reframing the nature of the threat they face and by empowering the Japan Coast Guard (JCG) while reassuring the country’s citizens and neighbors by classifying the JCG as a police, rather than a military, force. Although the JCG will not become a “second navy,” it is continually gaining in power, and is already a fourth branch of the Japanese military, allowing Japan to take the lead in regional maritime security initiatives.

“Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia: Analyzing Regional Security Strategies”

Evelyn Goh

The end of the Cold War left the stability of Southeast Asia in question, with many assuming that China would dominate the region after the United States withdrew and that other countries

would engage in conflict. Instead, Southeast Asian states shaped the new regional order by encouraging the omni-enmeshment of major powers through multilateral institutions and indirectly balancing against China. The resulting stability, though promising, remains questionable because of uncertainty regarding U.S. commitment and Chinese intentions in this part of the world, as well as the involvement of other regional powers. The United States must widely engage Southeast Asia to maintain a favorable regional order.

“A Cold Start for Hot Wars? The Indian Army’s New Limited War Doctrine”

Walter C. Ladwig III

India’s inability to coerce Pakistan into halting its support for insurgents in Kashmir, as well as its experience in past conflicts with Pakistan, led it to develop Cold Start—a new offensive military doctrine that will allow it to mobilize quickly and retaliate in a limited manner. Although India is far from realizing its goal, this break from a traditional defensive strategy deserves scrutiny. A history of misperception and mistrust between India and Pakistan, poor intelligence, and domestic insecurity suggests that limited war could quickly escalate to the nuclear threshold, posing a serious risk to the stability of the subcontinent and the rest of the world.

—Compiled by International Security Staff

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BELFER IN BRIEF

Swanson Receives Peggy Scannell Award for Excellence

Amanda Swanson, program administrator for the Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program, was presented the Peggy Scannell Award for Excellence at the Belfer Center's annual holiday celebration. In presenting the award, Center Director **Graham Allison** noted that the award recognizes a Center member annually for her or his "outstanding contribution to the Center and to the environment in which we work."



Swanson was selected for her "exceptional work" in helping coordinate the Broadmoor Project: New Orleans Recovery and organizing and working through complex arrangements for events related to the 2007 Roy Family Award.

Kennedy School Honors

Three Belfer Center colleagues were honored in December for their service to the Kennedy School: **Karen Motley**, executive editor, BCSIA Studies in International Security (15 years); **Gretchen Bartlett**, associate director, Preventive Defense Project (10 years); and **Susan Lynch**, program assistant, International Security Program and web manager, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (5 years).

On to Oxford

Omar McDoom, International Security Program/Intrastate Conflict Program associate, has been awarded a postdoctoral fellowship at Oxford's Department of Political Science and International Affairs, for turning his doctoral thesis into a book titled, *Why Men Kill: Security, Authority, and Opportunity in Rwanda's Genocide*.

Mia Farrow Joins Rotberg in China-in-Africa Discussion

Robert Rotberg, director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict, took part in a discussion in October on "China-Africa: the Yin and the Yang." Rotberg, with actress and activist **Mia Farrow**, and **Michael Sata**, leader of the Zambian Patriotic Front, discussed the positive and negative impact of China's increasing presence on the African continent. In November, Rotberg took part in a JFK Jr. Forum event "From Apartheid to Democracy" with **F.W. DeKlerk**, former president of South Africa, and **Tony Leon**, former leader of the official opposition.

Belfer Center Welcomes

The Belfer Center welcomes two December arrivals: **Saira Veronica**, born to **Ginger Dagli**, executive director of the Dubai Initiative and her husband, **Nirav**—and **Sophia Marie**, daughter of **Eric Rosenbach**, executive director for research, and his wife, **Alexandra**.



Princely Proceedings: **Calestous Juma**, director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization project, at his induction in November into the UK Royal Academy of Engineering as an honorary fellow. With Juma is **Prince Philip**, the Duke of Edinburgh, a senior fellow with the Royal Academy of Engineering.