

Iraq Five Years In: Should the U.S. Stay or Go?

Experts Sound Calls for Action on Economy

With the United States economy still in turmoil, economists affiliated with the Belfer Center are deeply involved in helping the federal government develop sound policies to mitigate the damage.

Martin Feldstein, Harvard economics professor and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, is outgoing president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, the organization that is officially charged with declaring a recession. Feldstein expressed his personal opinion on the matter in a speech in March, saying that the United States is in a recession that could be "substantially more severe" than those in the recent past. "The situation is bad, the situation is getting worse, and the risks are that it could get very bad," Feldstein said.

Feldstein noted that the housing-related risk is greater than anything since the 1930s.

Feldstein has called for action by both

Congress and the Federal Reserve to stimulate the economy. Additionally, in a *Wall Street Journal* oped on March 7 titled "How to Stop the Mortgage Crisis," Feldstein noted that the housing-related risk is greater than anything since the 1930s. He called for a program of federal loans to individuals to pay down part of their mortgages, secured by their future incomes.

One way such a program might work, Feldstein said, would be for the federal government to lend each participant 20 percent of that individual's current mortgage at a very low interest rate. She/he would pay it back in 15 years. In the meantime, the individual would immediately pay down his existing primary mortgage, substantially reducing interest and principal payments. This would have the effect of also reducing the possibility that the individual would have a negative equity mortgage. In doing this, it would lower the risk of more widespread defaults that would push house



Martin Feldstein, Lawrence Summers, Jeffrey Frankel, Paul Volcker

prices down even further.

Lawrence Summers, Charles W. Eliot University Professor at Harvard and a member of the Center's board, has called for the government to seriously examine ways to help refinance mortgages that consumers can no longer afford. "If the government, by stepping in and engaging in transactions where it could well make a profit, can contribute importantly to that, that's a very worthwhile effort for the government to engage in," Summers said in March.

Summers called for the government to examine ways to help refinance mortgages.

Iraq: Stay or Go? Center Analysts Explore the Options

The President-elect has brought you on as National Security Advisor based on your analytical capability to think clearly about Iraq and the



From the Front Lines: Brigadier General (ret) **Kevin Ryan**, Belfer Center senior fellow, discusses counterinsurgency strategies in Iraq with Colonel **John Tien**, an Army War College and National Security fellow at the Kennedy School this year. In 2006/07, Tien commanded a battalion of a thousand troops in Iraq and was responsible for securing Tal Afar and Ramadi. He helped start the Al Anbar Awakening in Ramadi in which Sunni tribes denounced Al Qaeda and started partnering with U.S. and Coalition Forces.

region. He/she has asked for your comprehensive analysis of the best way forward in Iraq. You are to draft a memo outlining three strategic options. One option should provide the newly-elected president an opportunity to deliver on his/her political promise to withdraw troops as rapidly as possible. The others should focus on how best to defend and advance American vital national interests within Iraq and across the region, even if that requires some adjustment of what was said in the campaign.

Graham Allison, director of the Belfer Center, and **Meghan O'Sullivan**, Center senior fellow and former deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, assigned this task to students in their "Central Challenges of American Foreign Policy" class. Interestingly, Allison notes, 90 percent of the students were for rapid withdrawal from Iraq when they began, but by the time they wrote their memos, "more than half were for leaving 75,000 plus troops there for long time."

Summers also has advocated more credit counseling and increased aid to state and local governments that have been hit hard by the economic crisis. (See Summers, page 11.)

Paul Volcker, former chairman of the Federal Reserve and a member of the Belfer Center International Council, has suggested a broader role for Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac in mitigating the crisis, as well as tighter government oversight of investment banks such as Bear Stearns. The U.S. government stepped in to assist JP Morgan in taking over Bear Stearns in March, raising new questions about the role of the government in shepherding the country through the crisis.

"Unless the Fed's initiative can somehow be contained to a single aberrant incident—which seems quite unlikely—a direct responsibility for oversight and regulation follows," Volcker said at the Economic Club of New York in April.

Jeffrey Frankel, James W. Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Growth and a faculty affiliate of the Belfer Center, argues



FROM THE DIRECTOR

Indira Alli

But we could be four times as efficient—at least as efficient nationally as California or maybe even Japan.

(See *Oil ShockWave*, page 3.)

Now more than ever, the current economic situation drives home the relationship between the economy and national security. Several of our Belfer Center colleagues—among them **Larry Summers**, **Marty Feldstein**, **Paul Volcker**, and **Jeff Frankel**—not only warned about the coming economic troubles well ahead of the rest of the pack, they also are leading the search for solutions. (See more on their work on pages 1 and 11.)

Along similar lines, our recent Oil ShockWave Forum event vividly illustrated the security implications of a disruption in oil supplies. Former Treasury Secretary **Bob Rubin**, **Meghan O'Sullivan**, **Summers**, and others played the role of U.S. Cabinet members developing a proposed U.S. response to a devastating oil crisis.



Insight from Down Under: **John Howard** (left), former prime minister of Australia for four terms (1996–2007), discusses critical issues involving Asia with **Lawrence Summers**, member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors. Howard spoke at a Belfer Center seminar in March regarding his assessment of challenges facing Australia and Asia.

These issues were on the agenda of the Belfer Center International Council's annual meeting in April, and members were joined by Center scholars and practitioners in discussing these and other critical issues and brainstorming best ways forward. The Council, whose membership consists of leaders in a wide range of fields throughout the world, provided valuable counsel as always. 🌐

The U.S. is highly vulnerable in a situation in which other countries decide to deliberately withhold oil for strategic reasons.

We also are working with Securing America's Future Energy (SAFE) to produce an oil crisis simulation game for use in university classrooms, based on lessons learned in Oil ShockWave. The game provides a useful way to engage students in grappling with a realistic scenario that drives home the vulnerability of U.S. dependence on oil imports. We believe it will provide a valuable supplement to classes on foreign policy, energy and the environment, public policy, or even general government. (To order the case, see: www.belfercenter.org/oil.)

After watching the Oil ShockWave simulation several times, and being involved in production of the case, I have several key takeaways:

- High levels of imports leave the U.S. (and the world) vulnerable to price shocks. We urgently need more robust shock absorbers.
- We need to coordinate our strategic oil reserves with those of Europe, Japan, and China.
- A rational U.S. energy policy would increase energy efficiency (note that we are twice as efficient as we were before 1973 as a result of adopting CAFE and other standards, as well as adjusting to higher prices).

Center's Energy Team Works with India on Clean Coal Policies

Belfer's Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group is in the midst of an exciting initiative, engaging with the Indian government, industry, and academics, on addressing various challenges in the Indian coal sector. Because of coal's abundance, it plays a critical role in India's energy, while at the same time contributing to its social and environmental problems. Led by Research Fellow **Ananth Chikkatur**, in collaboration with Senior Research Associate **Ambuj Sagar**, ETIP's work is helping chart an environmentally responsible way forward for the Indian coal sector.

Because of coal's abundance, it plays a critical role in India's energy, while ... contributing to its social and environmental problems.

For months, Chikkatur and Sagar have been meeting with members of the Indian Planning Commission, the Administrative Staff College of India (ASCI), Indian coal companies, various energy and environment ministries, and other relevant agencies in an effort to identify and address the various gaps in the Indian coal sector. Familiar with the details of Indian coal, from resource evaluation to extraction and combustion, they are working with India to find ways to maximize the

coal sector's efficiency, while minimizing social and ecological impacts of the nation's reliance on coal.

One major result from their work in India has been a series of high-level workshops, convened by the influential Indian Planning Commission and ASCI.

The overall goal of the workshops is to assess the current state of knowledge about India's coal reserves, determine a plan of action for filling knowledge gaps, assess key processes and technologies for more efficient and cleaner coal extraction and power generation, and to develop a coherent roadmap for the coal and coal-power sectors for the coming two to three decades. The workshops have been very successful, with wide-ranging and energetic contributions from the participants. "The imprimatur of the Planning Commission and participation of the relevant ministries and agencies," Chikkatur says, "ensure that key outcomes of the workshops will get appropriate policy attention."

A Chikkatur and Sagar roadmap for cleaner coal-based power generation in India is available at <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18186>. 🌐



Ananth Chikkatur



Ambuj Sagar

"Oil ShockWave" Sends Tremors through the Forum

by Angharad D. Laing, BA '02 MPP '09

Even a relatively minor disruption in the global supply of oil could have profound effects for the U.S. economy and national security, according to a distinguished group of former government officials, economists, and energy and security experts who took part in an innovative role-playing exercise in the John F. Kennedy Forum last month.

[P]articipants assumed roles as members of the United States Cabinet and reacted in real time as a simulated geopolitical crisis unfolded.

"This simulation provides us with a vivid demonstration of how vulnerable we really are," said **Eric Rosenbach**, executive director for research at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, which organized the event in partnership with Washington, D.C.-based Securing America's Future Energy (SAFE), a

nonpartisan, not-for-profit organization committed to reducing America's dependence on oil and improving U.S. energy security. "An unexpected reduction in oil supply of just three to four percent could cause prices in the U.S. to spike by more than 50 percent and have profound effects on American consumers."

Based on materials developed by SAFE as part of its *Oil ShockWave* project, the simulation explored the nature and extent of U.S. oil dependence and the policy decisions that U.S. government officials would face in the event of a global oil crisis. Before an audience of Boston-area professors, students, and members of the press, seven participants assumed roles as senior members of the United States Cabinet and reacted in real time as a simulated geopolitical crisis unfolded.

Members of the Cabinet, chaired by former Secretary of the United States Treasury **Robert Rubin**, were selected to represent bipartisan viewpoints. Participants included former White House Press Secretary **Joe Lockhart**, former Congressman **Philip Sharp**, former Deputy National Security Advisor **Meghan O'Sullivan**,



Preventing Aftershocks: A mock Cabinet meeting in the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum as members determine U.S. response to a global oil crisis. The *Oil ShockWave* simulation in April included (from left) **Joe Lockhart**, **Meghan O'Sullivan**, **Lawrence Summers**, **Robert Rubin**, **Ashton Carter**, **Philip Sharp**, and **Joan Dempsey**. Inset: **Rubin** and **Carter** debate an issue.

former Assistant Secretary of Defense **Ashton B. Carter**, former Executive Director of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board **Joan Dempsey**, and former Secretary of the United States Treasury **Lawrence H. Summers**.

Information was relayed to the group through pre-produced television newscasts and notes injected during the event. The simulation began with a newsflash from Istanbul: terrorists had attacked and sunk a cargo ship in the Bosphorus Straits, thus blocking the movement of oil in the region for the foreseeable future and sending the price of oil up to \$160 per barrel. As the Cabinet debated options, they were informed of a sudden outbreak of violence in Saudi Arabia. The added uncertainty in oil supply sent the price even higher.

The simulation began with a newsflash ... terrorists had sunk a cargo ship ... blocking movement of oil ... and sending the price up to \$160 per barrel.

At the conclusion of the simulation, former Secretary of the Treasury **Robert Rubin** observed that the *Oil ShockWave* exercise is important because it makes policymakers and industry leaders think ahead about their options if such a situation should occur.

Oil ShockWave was originally produced by SAFE in 2005 and has received widespread acclaim as a tool to bring the expertise of senior decision-makers to bear on the challenge of energy security.

***Oil ShockWave: College Edition* box set available. See page 15.**

Workshop Ponders Post-Kyoto: What Next?

With the Kyoto Protocol's first commitment period expiring in 2012, the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements hosted a workshop of leading thinkers in March to help determine what comes next.

The workshop brought together key scholars and other thinkers working on international climate change policy from a variety of disciplines, including economics, political science, and law. Together, they addressed issues such as how to persuade developing countries—among them China and India—to sign on to an international agreement, how to link climate policy with international trade, and how to effectively address deforestation, which accounts for 20 percent of global emissions.

The workshop is part of a larger effort by the Harvard Project to draw on the ideas of key stakeholders—including academics, busi-

ness, government and NGOs—to help inform global climate policy architecture.

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

One of the project's key goals is to persuade the countries around the world to not only look at ideas similar to the Kyoto Protocol, but also to look at ideas very different in structure. Key ideas range from indexing emissions targets to economic growth to "bottom-up" approaches such as linking together the actions of a number of 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," said Kennedy School Professor **Robert N. Stavins**, co-director of the Harvard Project with Resources for the Future Fellow **Joseph Aldy**.

The project's research agenda closely parallels the "Bali roadmap," laying out a two-year plan to reach an agreement in 2009, and calling for long-term efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, increase transfer of clean energy technologies, and address deforestation.

—From *Harvard Gazette*, March 20, 2008



Brainstorming Alternatives: **Robert Stavins** (right) and **Joseph Aldy**, co-directors of the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements, discuss project goals at the March workshop.

SUSAN LYNCH

MARTHA STEWART

MARTHA STEWART

Iraq: Stay or Go?

(continued from page 1)

Like the students, Allison and others at the Center have a range of views on the Iraq war and the best way forward. As the nation noted the fifth anniversary of the war in March, several experts offered their thoughts. Commentary is posted in full at <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18169/>

The president took our eyes off the prize. —Graham Allison

Graham Allison

“Senator **Chuck Hagel** (R-NE) has called the Iraq War, ‘the most dangerous foreign policy blunder in this country since Vietnam.’ I agree. The fifth anniversary of this unnecessary ‘war of choice’ should serve as a reminder that however expensive the direct costs in blood and treasure, the opportunity costs are even more significant. At a point where the U.S. had successfully toppled the Taliban and had Al-Qaeda on the ropes, the president took our eyes off the prize. As a consequence, Al-Qaeda has re-acquired its sanctuaries and was able to regenerate ‘key capabilities it would need to launch an attack on U.S. soil.’”

Eric Rosenbach (Executive Director for Research, Belfer Center)

“The reality of contemporary Iraq is that we are far from achieving the goal of a stable, independent and democratic country. . . . Upon taking office in January 2009, the next president will need to rationally and thoughtfully consider America’s national interests in a future Iraq. . . . Military advisors will likely recommend that the president maintain enough troops in Iraq to hold hard-won gains. . . . This will likely lead the next president, whether Republican or Democrat, to seriously consider a longer-term commitment to Iraq.”

Calls for Action on Economy

(continued from page 1)

that the euro could surpass the dollar within 10 years as the leading international currency. Frankel explains that this matters both for economic reasons—“the U.S. would lose the ‘exorbitant privilege’ of being able to finance its international deficits easily”—and geopolitically.

“In the past, U.S. deficits have been manageable because allies have been willing to pay a financial price to support American global leadership; they correctly have seen it to be in their interests,” Frankel wrote on his blog in March. The next time the U.S. needs other central banks to bail out the dollar, Frankel said, they may not do it as willingly. 🇺🇸

Civil war may occur after we withdraw, but that danger exists whenever we leave. —Stephen Walt

Stephen Walt (Professor of International Affairs; Belfer Center Board of Directors)

“The war has done enormous damage to U.S. interests in the Middle East. The invasion destabilized the region and enhanced Iran’s influence and strategic position. It also contributed to the unprecedented rise in oil prices, discredited democracy, and further tarnished America’s image in the Arab and Islamic world. . . . Civil war may occur after we withdraw, but that danger exists whenever we leave. . . . For the next President, continuing the occupation means taking ownership of Bush’s blunder. If he or she does this, the Iraq quagmire will dominate their presidency and make it harder to focus on other looming challenges, while the costs continue to mount. By getting out quickly, the next President can restore America’s freedom of action and begin to rebuild our damaged international position.”

Meghan O’Sullivan

“At the end of 2006, most Americans were talking about how to manage a defeat in Iraq. . . . Today, we have the right strategy in place, and it is making a difference on the ground. . . . It is too early to claim success and we know how fragile progress in Iraq can be. . . . When

our commitment to Iraq is strong, we can help create the environment in which Iraqi leaders make decisions consistent with a stable, united Iraq.

Today, we have the right strategy in place. —Meghan O’Sullivan

If our commitment comes into question, it will become harder for Iraqis to put aside their sectarian and ethnic affiliations and make decisions in the interest of Iraq as a whole.”

Kevin Ryan (Belfer Center Senior Fellow; Brigadier General ret.)

“Time may turn out to be our greatest ally in Iraq. If we can keep violence to a tolerable level and keep reconciliation moving forward then, given enough time, we can be hopeful about a unified and stable Iraq. American military and diplomatic presence in Iraq should be designed to leverage this growing factor of time. Our force levels should be lowered so they can be sustainable over time. Our reconstruction investments should be increased so they can provide substantial economic assistance for the long haul.” 🇺🇸

Time may turn out to be our greatest ally in Iraq. —Kevin Ryan



Commanding Decisions: Anthony Zinni (right), retired four-star general in the United States Marine Corps and former commander-in-chief of Central Command, speaks to Belfer Center faculty and staff in February about military and security challenges. Zinni was responsible for overseeing U.S. military activity in the Arab Gulf and Central Asia from 1997 to 2000. Tad Oelstrom, adjunct lecturer in public policy and director of the Kennedy School National Security Program, is also pictured.

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

Emma Belcher

*Project on Managing the Atom/
International Security Program*



Emma Belcher's research focuses on international cooperation to prevent weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation to states and non-state actors. Belcher is a PhD candidate at the Fletcher School, where she completed her masters in 2004 and was editor-in-chief of the *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*. She also holds a diploma in modern


languages (Arabic) from the University of Melbourne, Australia.

Belcher's current work examines the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)—a loose association of states which undertakes to intercept WMD, their components, and delivery systems—as an example of international cooperation outside the traditional nonproliferation treaties. She seeks to determine state motivation for participation and address claims of illegitimacy given its informal nature.

An Australian citizen, Belcher was an exchange student at Georgetown University in 1997 when she developed an interest in the role of nuclear weapons in statecraft. Since then, Belcher has spent eight years in the U.S., mainly in Washington, D.C. where she worked at the Australian Embassy. In 2005, Belcher returned to Australia to serve as a policy

adviser on national security and international affairs in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

Being a fellow at the Belfer Center has been invaluable for receiving constructive criticism from leading experts . . .


"Being a fellow at the Belfer Center has been invaluable for receiving constructive criticism from leading experts, as well as for the opportunity to develop professional networks with my peers and future colleagues," Belcher says. "Having worked for government and seen the potential contribution to policy formation that academic institutions can make, it's been a privilege to be associated with an institution as engaged and vibrant as the Belfer Center." 

Kayhan Barzegar

*Project on Managing the Atom/
International Security Program*

Kayhan Barzegar's research at the Belfer Center focuses on Iran's foreign policy in the post-9/11 Middle East and especially in post-invasion Iraq. He examines the aims, strategies, and the prospects of Iran's relations with regional countries and outside powers, especially the United States. He also researches the politics of Iran's nuclear program, focusing on the views from inside Iran.

Barzegar is assistant professor of international relations at Science and Research Campus, Tehran Azad University, and teaches at the School of International Relations. He is also a senior research fellow at the Center for Middle East Strategic Studies and Center for Strategic Research (CSR) in Tehran. In 2002-'03, he was a post-doctorate research fellow at the London School of Economics. An expert in Middle East politics and Iran's foreign policy, Barzegar has published on Middle East issues and participated in several international conferences on the Middle East, Iran-U.S. relations, and political-security issues in the Persian Gulf.

meeting with policymakers has been very beneficial for me. Also, having the chance to directly discuss with them the regional issues and Iran's foreign policy aims and demands is the best way of advancing mutual understanding. I can transfer my experience at the Belfer Center to my research institutes as well as my students upon my return to Iran." 



Having the chance to directly discuss [with policymakers] the regional issues and Iran's foreign policy aims and demands is the best way of advancing mutual understanding.

"I am experiencing a great time at the Belfer Center," Barzegar says. "Having worked with research institutes and executive elites in Tehran, I am happy to have the opportunity to share the views and realities of inside Iran with other fellows and researchers at the Kennedy School. Attending the Center's seminars and

Fellows on the Move

Boaz Atzili (ISP) will begin a new position in the fall as assistant professor in the School of International Service of American University in Washington, D.C.

Kristin Bakke (ICP/ISP) will take a position as assistant professor in the Department of Political Science, Leiden University, The Netherlands.

Emily Balic (ICP/ISP) will be a fellow at the Remarque Institute at New York University.

Jonathan Caverley (ISP) will join the political science faculty of Northwestern University as an assistant professor.

Erica Chenoweth (ISP) will be assistant professor of government at Wesleyan University. With a Department of Homeland Security grant, she also will collect and analyze the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies in the Middle East from 1980–2004.

Belfer Center Programs and Projects: International Security Program (ISP); Science, Technology, and Public Policy (STPP); Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP); Program on Intrastate Conflict (ICP); Dubai Initiative (DI); Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP); Project on Managing the Atom (MTA); Science, Technology, and Globalization Project (STG); Preventive Defense Project (PDP); Broadmoor Project; Project on India and the Subcontinent; Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements; Initiative on Religion in International Affairs

Bill Haney, Renaissance Man: Doing Something About Many Things That Matter

When **Bill Haney** was a freshman at Harvard, he launched a company that provided air pollution systems for power plants—systems now in use throughout the world. Since then, he has helped start almost 20 technology companies. His most recent business venture is the development of cost-efficient, environmentally sound homes that dramatically reduce the environmental footprint of conventional houses and can be built in a week. These Blu Homes will soon be on the market.

Haney, a research fellow with the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (1997–2001), was at the Kennedy School in February not to talk about his environmentally sensitive homes, but to introduce *The Price of Sugar*, his most recent documentary film. One of a dozen films he has written and produced, *The Price of Sugar*, narrated by **Paul Newman**, focuses on thousands of dispossessed Haitians who toil in the Dominican Republic under armed-guard on plantations harvesting sugarcane, much of which ends up in U.S. kitchens. The film was shortlisted for the 2008 Academy Awards. In addition, Haney has just completed a full-length feature film about the impact of U.S. drug laws on the rights of poor people. *American Violet* should be in movie theatres within a year.

Haney is also the co-founder and president of Infante Sano, a nonprofit dedicated to

improving maternal and neonatal health care in Latin America and the Caribbean in a medically sound and culturally sensitive manner. Since the launch of the pilot program in the Dominican Republic—working with communities to use and enhance existing health services with needed medical supplies and equipment, training, and recommended interventions—infant mortality in the target province has dropped 40 percent. With plans to be helping more than 30,000 mothers and children each year by the end of 2008, Infante Sano intends to begin operations in its second country in 2010.

Most important is to “work passionately on something that matters.”
—**Bill Haney**

Haney credits his years at Harvard for inspiring and motivating his entrepreneurial activities. As an undergraduate, he met Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, and that continuing relationship brought him to the Belfer Center as a fellow many years later. After working on environmental and natural resources issues for 20 years, he applied for a fellowship because he thought the Kennedy School would allow him the best opportunity



UNCOMMON PRODUCTIONS

to work collaboratively on issues he cared about “most deeply and pragmatically.”

Also, Haney says, “Graham’s particular blend of passion, compassion, and irreverence is a very compelling force. He has a magical way of engaging and inspiring young people.”

Others at the Kennedy School have also had a significant impact on Haney. **Henry Lee**, director of the Environment and Natural Resources Program, is a mentor and friend. “Henry is a very deep, effective, selfless thinker on environmental and natural resources issues,” Haney says—someone he continues to call upon for ideas. He also has high praise for **Joseph McCarthy**, senior associate dean at the Kennedy School. “Joe may well be the most humane single person I’ve ever met,” Haney says. “In his quiet, gracious, humble way, he makes a difference in people’s lives every single day.”

Haney’s experience at the Kennedy School helped convince him that perhaps his most effective way to make a difference was through “bringing ideas to life,” whether through nonprofits, films, or companies.

“Almost everybody asks ‘what can I do to leave things better?’” Haney says. “I don’t think my interest in doing that is any different from anybody else’s.” Most important, he says, is to “work passionately on something that matters.” Also, he adds, you have to be willing to take chances and to try things where you might fail.

Asked if there one venture of which Haney is most proud, he hesitates only an instant.

“When someone walks up to you with a healthy baby and tells you that the baby would not be alive without the hospital you helped equip—it doesn’t get much better than that.” ■

Fotini Christia (ISP) will begin a tenure track assistant professor position in political science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Erik J. Dahl (ISP), now Dr. Dahl, will join the faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California, as an assistant professor of national security affairs.

Christopher Elders (ISP) will move to New York City next year as an associate at the law firm of Cravath Swaine & Moore.

Matthew Fuhrmann (MTA/ISP), now Dr. Fuhrmann, has accepted a job as an assistant professor in the department of political science at the University of South Carolina, beginning in January 2009.

Sarah Kreps (ISP) has accepted a tenure track position in the Department of Government at Cornell University.

Matthew Kroenig (MTA/ISP) will begin in the fall as an assistant professor in Georgetown University’s Department of Government and Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service.

Adria Lawrence (ICP/ISP) has accepted a position as assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Yale University.

Wendy Pearlman (ICP/ISP) has been named assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Northwestern University.

Jeremy Pressman (ISP 2002–’03) is the author of the forthcoming *WARRING FRIENDS: Alliance Restraint in International Politics*, to be published by Cornell University Press in June 2008.

Stephanie Rupp (ICP/ISP) will be an assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology at Lehman College, City University of New York.

Wang Shacheng (ISP) was awarded the Student Stars of Peking University in January. He was one of only 12 students to obtain the title of honor in 2008.

Dormandy, Abbas Analyze Significance of Pakistan Elections



Xenia Dormandy, director of the Belfer Center's Project on India and the Subcontinent, was an election monitor in Pakistan during February's parliamentary elections. Hassan Abbas, PhD, research fellow with the Project on India and the Subcontinent, is a former Pakistani government official. Their complete commentary on the elections is at <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18108> and 18069.

Reflections on the Process by Xenia Dormandy

In the run-up to the February 18 elections, I was focused on events in Pakistan that highlighted an undemocratic and corrupt system. Observing the elections, however, gave me new insights into Pakistan's democracy. It is a lesson taught to me not by the politicians or the elites, but by the people of Pakistan. Those I met—men and women, young and old, wealthy and poor—care deeply about their country and their freedom to vote. I saw at least as many young people voting, presiding as election monitors, or present as political agents, as I did the older generation.

I came away with a profound respect for the men and women on the street who are engaged despite these problems and who want to see change.

Given the cost of the National Identity Card required before one can vote in most places, it is wise to question whether the poor had an opportunity to be heard. The turnout in the underprivileged and rural areas was generally higher than in the wealthier urban communities. In many poverty stricken areas, voters were bused in by the political parties. Perhaps they were paid to vote “appropriately,” but they did have the opportunity to vote.

And while women have clearly been disenfranchised and problems continue, there were a number of separate polling places set up for women. Those with whom I spoke did not feel disenfranchised.

While the Pakistani election process is far from perfect—with old and inaccurate electoral rolls, stolen ballots, ghost polling stations, and political pressure on voters—I came away with a profound respect for the men and women on the street who are engaged despite these problems and who want to see change.

The United States has long supported democracy in Pakistan, but at the same time has supported President Musharraf. Throughout the past year, the Pakistani people have made clear their desire to have him move aside, a message that rang out on election day. The time has come for the U.S. to align its actions with the democratic values it espouses.

The U.S. should assist with building education and health systems and should put pressure on the government to reengage with its people and bring back into the fold those now disenfranchised, most notably women and residents of the Tribal Areas and Baluchistan. This does not mean stopping support of the military, which will continue to play a central role in Pakistan for a while to come. It does mean recognizing that what for the U.S. may be an effort to root out extremists is for Pakistanis domestic upheaval that does not tend to win hearts and minds. ■

Alex Farrell: Energy Expert, Colleague, and Friend

Alexander Farrell, an associate professor in the Energy and Resources Department at the University of California, Berkeley, and a former Belfer Center fellow, passed away in April at his home in San Francisco. As a fellow in 1997–’98 with the Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program, Farrell worked on the Global Environmental Assessment Project and co-authored its book *Assessments of Regional and Global Environmental Risks*. At the time of his death, he was recognized internationally as a leading expert on transportation fuels and the role of transportation in climate change.

Most recently, Farrell was the coordinating lead author of the transportation chapter of a

major study for California on how the state can implement climate change policy. Last year, Farrell was asked to join the Roundtable on Sustainable Biofuels, a new international panel of environmental, energy, economic, and cultural experts developing standards by which nations and consumers can judge biofuels and their impact on the environment and society.

“Alex was an original thinker, tireless worker, and a delightful colleague,” said William Clark, Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science, Public Policy, and Human Development, who worked with Farrell on the Global Assessment Project. “His death is a major loss to the cause of sustainable energy development.” ■

A Clear Verdict

by Hassan Abbas

(Excerpt from the *Guardian*, February 19, 2008)

The verdict is clear. Pakistan has shown the door to the mullahs and delivered a stern warning to **Musharraf**. . . . As a result, Musharraf’s future looks bleak, while Pakistan gets a fighting chance to put its house in order.

The most significant victory of all was that won by the secular and Pashtun nationalist party, the Awami National Party (ANP) in the volatile North-West Frontier Province . . . [I]n Swat, which was in the eye of the Islamist militancy storm recently, the ANP won comprehensively, establishing that ordinary Pashtuns are not supportive of extremist forces.

It is going to be an uphill task to form a stable, focused and accountable government dedicated to the well-being of the people.

One other factor worth taking into account is the success of women candidates in 12 national and provincial constituencies. The major parties fielded a number of women candidates, and most of them won—a healthy trend in a country where in some rural areas women were stopped from voting by their male “guardians.”

Despite all these positive trends, however, Pakistan’s problems are far from being over. It is going to be an uphill task to form a stable, focused and accountable government dedicated to the wellbeing of the people. Developing a consensus among coalition parties in the center and then sticking to it will be a challenge in itself. Religious extremism can also raise its ugly head at any time. . . . This early period is the most challenging of all.

The new government will be under tremendous public pressure to bring back the deposed judges, and that could sound a death knell for the Musharraf presidency. For the army, institutional interests, saving prestige, and influence will be more important than rescuing a president who continues to shoot himself in the foot. The west in general—and Britain and the U.S. in particular—must show patience while democratic forces settle—at least as much patience as they showed with military dictators. This is the very least that the people of Pakistan earned in February’s elections. ■



BELFER CENTER



Q&A Elaine Kamarck

*With the current attention on the role of super-delegates in the selection of a Democratic candidate for president, we asked **Elaine Kamarck**, Kennedy School lecturer in public policy, if we might reprint a portion of her doctoral dissertation on the history of super-delegates. Her dissertation, "Structure as Strategy: Presidential Nominating Politics Since Reform," was submitted to the political science department of the University of California, Berkeley in 1986. The following is extracted from the original. Kamarck will serve as a super-delegate at the 2008 Democratic National Convention.*

A History of 'Super-Delegates' in the Democratic Party by Elaine Kamarck

Lessons of the 1980 Democratic convention and nomination race were not lost on the members of the Hunt Commission (named for its Chair Governor **Jim Hunt** of North Carolina) as they met to write delegate selection rules for the 1984 nomination season. The 1980 race had concluded in an especially bitter and contentious convention fight between President **Jimmy Carter** and Senator **Edward Kennedy**. The convention fight had centered upon Rule 11 (H) that bound delegates to support the candidate in whose name they were elected. Senator Kennedy's campaign, in an effort to convince Carter delegates that they should abandon Carter and support him, waged a series of platform and rules challenges culminating in the fight over Rule 11 (H).

In short order the Commission agreed to get rid of the controversial Rule 11(H) and replace it with a less intrusive rule, but one that, nevertheless, urged delegates to vote for the presidential candidate they had been elected to support. The new 11 (H) read:

"Delegates elected to the national convention pledged to a presidential candidate shall in all good conscience reflect the sentiments of those who elected them." (This rule exists today, in 2008, as Rule 12 (J) of the delegate selection rules and has not changed since.)

Yet the exorcism of Rule 11 (H) was not sufficient to solve the deep doubts about the nominating system that had arisen as the result of the bitter rules and platform fights at the 1980 Convention. Congressmen, stung by the lack of impact they had been able to have on the 1980 process, and fearing that 1984 would be a repeat, banded together to ask that two-thirds of the Democratic Members of the House be elected by the House Caucus as uncommitted voting delegates to the 1984 Convention. Led by Congressman **Gillis Long**, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, members asserted that they had a special role to play in the nomination process and in the platform process. In his testimony before the Hunt Commission, Long put the views of the Democratic Caucus as follows:

"We in the House, as the last vestige of Democratic control at the national level, believe we have a special responsibility to develop new innovative approaches that respond to our Party's constituencies." (Testimony before the Hunt Commission, November 6, 1981)

In a statement that reflects the sense of helplessness with ... the events of the 1980 nomination season, Hunt said, "We must also give our convention more flexibility to respond to changing circumstances ..."

Governor Hunt, chair of the Commission, also made the inclusion of more elected officials a top priority. In a statement that reflects the sense of helplessness with which many elected officials had watched the events of the 1980 nomination season, Hunt said, "We must also give our convention more flexibility to respond to changing circumstances and, in cases where the voters' mandate is less than clear, to make a reasoned choice. One step in this direction would be to loosen the much-disputed "binding" Rule 11 (H) as it applies to all delegates. An equally important step would be to permit a substantial number of party leaders and elected official delegates to be selected without requiring a prior declaration of preference. We would then return a measure of decision-making power and discretion to the organized party and increase the incentive it has to offer elected officials for serious involvement." (Remarks of Governor Jim Hunt, Institute of Politics, JFK School of Government, December 15, 1981)

Hunt was joined by the AFL-CIO and the Democratic State Chairs' Association in calling for a plan whereby 30 percent of the 1984 convention would be composed of uncommitted delegates drawn from the ranks of party leaders and elected officials. Ironically, this number is close to the number of delegates (38 percent) who had gone into conventions "unaffiliated" in the pre-reform years. Only a large number of unbound delegates—who had not been required, by virtue of filing deadlines and fair reflection rules, to declare a presidential preference early—could return a modicum of flexibility or deliberativeness to the post-reform conventions.

Opposition to this proposal came from supporters of Senator **Edward Kennedy** (who, at the time was expected to make another run for the presidency) and from organized femi-

nists. Kennedy supporters on the Commission feared that a large number of senators and congressmen at the convention could stop him. On the other hand, former Vice President **Walter Mondale** felt certain that a large number of these delegates would favor him and his operatives, and he, therefore, embraced the 30 percent number.

Organized feminists, on and off the Commission, however, made a new argument. Speaking on their behalf, Technical Advisory Committee Member **Susan Estrich** of Massachusetts argued that creating a new category of delegates who were not subject to the fair reflection and candidate right of approval rules would create a new status of delegate which she referred to as "super-delegates." These delegates, argued Estrich, would be overwhelmingly white and male. Even were they balanced by an equal number of women in the total delegation, there would still be the problem of "equal power." The "super-delegates," because of their greater flexibility in the choice of a nominee, would have greater power than the female delegates committed to presidential candidates. ("Unintended Consequences," by **Susan Estrich**, Memorandum to the Hunt Commission, September 9, 1981.)

The issue was finally resolved through a compromise created by Congresswoman **Geraldine Ferraro**. The Ferraro Proposal reduced the total number of un-pledged delegates to 566 or 14 percent of the Convention, but it left selection of the Congressional delegates in the hands of the House and Senate Democratic Caucuses. (See *Bringing Back the Parties*, by **David Price**, Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984) The 14 percent number was far short of the original proposal that 30 percent of the convention be unpledged. However, if the number had been much larger, it would have been practically impossible to meet the equal division between men and women requirements in the rules.

Super-delegates today, in 2008, are no longer elected by congressional caucus. There have been some additions over the years and thus the total number of super delegates as a proportion of the convention has increased by about five percent to 19 percent.



Man in the Know: Donald Kerr (right), principal deputy director of national intelligence (PDDNI) and a former Belfer Center International Security Program scholar-in-residence (1992-'93), speaks to Belfer Center faculty and fellows about intelligence challenges at a directors' seminar in April. Kerr previously served in the CIA and FBI and was the fourth director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory, where he also led research in high altitude weapons effects, nuclear test detection and analysis, and other programs. Seated next to Kerr is Military Assistant to the PDDNI Captain **James Bjostad**.



Getting the Scoop: Journalist and best-selling author **Bob Woodward** answers a student's question during a discussion regarding his writing about the Bush administration. Woodward was invited to speak in April to the Kennedy School class "Central Challenges of American Foreign Policy," taught by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Meghan O'Sullivan**.



Truth to Tell: Michal Ben-Josef Hirsch, International Security Program (ISP) research fellow, speaks in March on "And the Truth Shall Make You Free: The International Norm of Truth-Seeking" at an ISP seminar. A PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, she is researching the spread of norms in the international system such as post-conflict truth commissions.



Global Partners: British Prime Minister **Gordon Brown** (right) talks with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) and Charles W. Eliot University Professor and Center board member **Lawrence Summers**. Brown met with a small group at the Kennedy School during a visit to Boston in April. In a speech at the Kennedy Library, Brown urged Europe and the U.S. to increase cooperation to solve global problems.



Shaking Addiction: David Sandalow, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and chair of the Energy and Climate Working Group of the Clinton Global Initiative, discusses his book *Freedom from Oil: How the Next President Can End the United States' Oil Addiction* at a February directors' lunch. Sandalow, a former assistant secretary of state for oceans, environment and science, is joined by **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, director of the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group.



Knowing NATO: Lieutenant General **Karl Eikenberry** (right), deputy chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Military Committee in Brussels, speaks at a March seminar on "NATO: Current Operations and Future Challenges." Eikenberry's previous assignment was as commander of the Combined Forces Command-Afghanistan. Also pictured (left to right): Center Executive Director for Research **Eric Rosenbach** and University Distinguished Service Professor and Center board member **Joseph Nye**.

R S P E A K E R S

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Arabian Reform? **Karen Elliott House**, senior fellow at the Belfer Center, leads a discussion on “Reform in Saudi Arabia: Movement or Mirage?” during a Center directors’ lunch in March. House, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter and former editor and executive at the *Wall Street Journal*, is researching internal and external forces shaping political evolution in Saudi Arabia. **Steven Miller**, director of the Belfer Center’s International Security Program, is also pictured.

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Pakistan Power: **Shaukat Aziz** (right), former prime minister of Pakistan, speaks at a directors’ lunch in March on challenges and opportunities facing Pakistan. Prior to his tenure as prime minister, Aziz served as Pakistan’s minister of finance and was an elected member of the Pakistan National Assembly. Also pictured: **Eric Rosenbach**, executive director for research at the Belfer Center.

Practicing Physics: **Robert Frosch**, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program senior research associate, discusses “Application Oriented R&D: Aphorisms and Anecdotes” at an Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) seminar in March. Frosch, a theoretical physicist also known as the “father of industrial ecology,” is a former administrator of NASA, assistant executive director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and vice president of General Motors in charge of Research Laboratories.



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Iranian Expectations:

Nicholas Burns (right), former under secretary of state for political affairs, speaks at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in March on the future of the U.S.-Iran relationship. Burns argued that Iran threatens U.S. national security because of its growing regional power, pursuit of a nuclear weapons capability, and support for groups that oppose America’s presence in the Middle East. Joining him in the Forum discussion was **Ashton Carter**, co-director of the Belfer Center’s Preventive Defense Project.



MARCUS HALEVI

BELFER CENTER



Moving Forward: **Montek Singh Ahluwalia**, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of the Government of India, speaks on “A Trajectory for India” at a seminar hosted by the Center’s Project on India and the Subcontinent in April. Ahluwalia, who was appointed to the post in 2004, played a critical role in reforming India’s economy in the 1990s under the current Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Ahluwalia served previously

in India as finance secretary, secretary in the Department of Economic Affairs, commerce secretary, and special secretary to the prime minister.



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Continuing Crunch: **Niall Ferguson** (right), Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History at Harvard and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, discusses “The Geopolitics of the Credit Crunch” with members of the Center’s International Council. Ferguson said the U.S. economic crisis is worsening and will affect the country’s position of power politically and economically. Council Chair **James Schlesinger** (left) and Council member **Robert Belfer** (center) joined the discussion.

SPOTLIGHT

Lawrence H. Summers

Lawrence H. Summers is Charles W. Eliot University Professor and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors. He served as the 27th president of Harvard University from July 2001 until June 2006. Previously, he was U.S. Secretary of the Treasury following his earlier service as Deputy and Under Secretary of the Treasury and as Chief Economist of the World Bank. Prior to his government service, Summers was a professor of economics at Harvard and MIT.

Back in August 2007, most on Wall Street and Capitol Hill believed the turmoil in subprime mortgages could be contained. Growth might be slower, they said, but the economy would still move forward.

But a small vanguard of economists—among them **Lawrence Summers**, former treasury secretary and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors—sounded a clear warning bell. “The risks of recession are now greater than they’ve been any time since the period in the aftermath of 9/11,” Summers told *ABC*’s “This Week.” He added—presciently, as it turned out—“we can’t yet know that there aren’t more shoes to drop in the financial area.”

Summers was one of the first economists to diagnose the current financial crisis, and his early calls to action fundamentally influenced the debate. As far back as November 25, 2007, when most were still scrambling to understand the problems, Summers was already looking toward solutions. He said then that the government needed to have a fiscal policy package “on stand-by,” in case the situation worsened.

By December 19, 2007, he was calling for fiscal stimulus that was “timely, targeted and temporary”—exactly what Congress passed nearly two months later.

Summers’ current recommendations have been highly influential with policymakers, and he has traveled several times to Washington, D.C. to testify before Congress and make public speeches. Behind the scenes, he is advising Congressional staff on legislation.

Summers said close reading of the economic data gave him confidence to speak out.

“I don’t worry about providing as accurate judgments as I can,” he said.

Summers said during a speech that, even during a mild recession, the average family stands to lose \$5000 in income.

Summers, once the youngest person to have received tenure at modern-day Harvard, rose rapidly to the top of his profession. After a stint as chief economist at the World Bank, he moved to the Treasury Department under President Clinton and ultimately became treasury secretary. He was president of Harvard from 2001 to 2006. Summers is now the Charles W. Eliot University Professor at Harvard and has his home base at the Kennedy School.

“I’ve been around some pretty smart people,” **Jonathan Gruber**, M.I.T. economist and former student of Summers, told the *New York Times* last year. “But it’s a different level with Larry.”

Summers frequently emphasizes the human impact of the current economic woes. Many of his policy proposals call for helping those most hurt by the current turmoil, including those on the verge of losing their homes.

He is unsparing in his assessment of the toll the economy is taking on American families. In December, Summers said during a speech that, even during a mild recession, the average family stands to lose \$5000 in income.

Speaking before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs in April, Summers predicted more distress ahead and called for several additional steps to mitigate the current crisis. The continuing woes in the housing market are likely to result in two million foreclosures within the next two years, and 15 million homes where the outstanding mortgage exceeds the current value of the home, Summers said.

[I]t is very difficult to defend . . . a bankruptcy code that provides more protection for the third home of a wealthy family than for the first home of a working family.
—Lawrence Summers

He argued that the federal government should, in selected cases, purchase and renegotiate mortgages that would otherwise force foreclosure. Additionally, Summers called for bankruptcy reform.

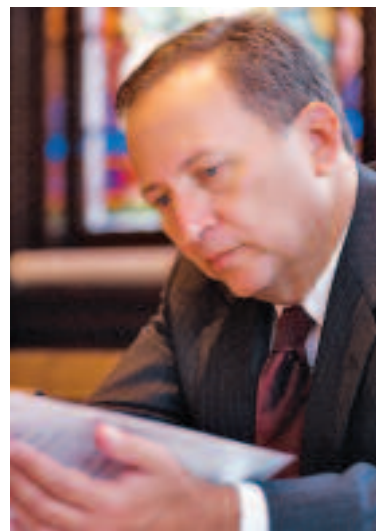
“I believe it is very difficult to defend, at a time like the present, a bankruptcy code that provides more protection for the third home of a wealthy family than for the first home of a working family,” Summers told the committee.

Here is a rundown of Summers’ key economic analysis at the end of 2007 and beginning of 2008:

Aug. 26, 2007

Summers says: “The risks of recession are now greater than they’ve been any time since the period in the aftermath of 9/11.”

—*ABC*’s “This Week”



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It would be “premature to judge this [subprime mortgage] crisis over,” in part because “we can’t yet know that there aren’t more shoes to drop in the financial area.”

Nov. 25, 2007

“It is now clear that only a small part of the financial distress that must be worked through has yet been faced. On even the most optimistic estimates, the rate of foreclosure will more than double over the next year as rates reset on subprime mortgages and home values fall.”

—*Financial Times*, “Wake Up to the Dangers of a Deepening Crisis”

“Fiscal policy needs to be on stand-by to provide immediate temporary stimulus through spending or tax benefits for low- and middle-income families if the situation worsens.”

—*Financial Times*, “Wake Up to the Dangers of a Deepening Crisis”

Dec. 19, 2007

“The most urgent priority for policy over the next several months is containing the incipient economic downturn.”

- In even a relatively mild recession, the average family stands to lose \$5000 in income.
- “Fiscal stimulus is critical but could be counterproductive if it is not timely, targeted and temporary.”
- “It is reasonable to suggest that stimulus approaching \$50–\$75 billion—roughly in the range of 1/2 of 1% of GDP—is likely to be appropriate. The largest part of this stimulus should come in the form of tax cuts distributed equally among all taxpayers and recipients of tax refunds.”

—Speech at the Brookings Institution, “The State of the U.S. Economy.”

Jan. 27, 2008

“Along with macro-economic stimulus in the U.S., there is the need for further policy development in three other areas—repair of the financial system, containing the damage caused by the housing sector and assuring the global co-ordination of policy.”

—*Financial Times*, “Beyond Fiscal Stimulus, Further Action is Needed”

International Security • Environment and Natural Resources



Graham Allison, director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, and former United States Senator **Bob**

Graham, associate and former senior fellow at the Belfer Center, have been appointed to the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism, a newly formed congressional commission.



Former Senator **Bob Graham** recently opened the Bob Graham Center for Public Service at the University of Florida. The Graham Center takes a multidisciplinary approach to solving problems related to public policy, focusing specifically on public leadership, public problems in the Americas, and homeland security.



Albert Carnesale, Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Political Economy at the Kennedy School and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, has been named

chair of the Committee for Sustaining and Improving the Nation's Nuclear Forensics Capabilities at the National Academies. The project will examine the United States' nuclear forensics capabilities, discuss their findings, and provide recommendations for improvement.



William C. Clark, Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science, Public Policy and Human Development at Harvard Kennedy School and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors,



has been appointed chair of the Harvard Greenhouse Gas Emissions Reduction Task Force by Harvard President Drew Faust. Science, Tech-

nology, and Public Policy Program Director **John P. Holdren** has also been named by President Faust to serve on the task force, which is comprised of a small group of Harvard faculty, students, and staff. The task force is charged with examining the university's greenhouse gas emissions and developing a recommendation for a greenhouse gas reducing goal.



Kelly Sims Gallagher, adjunct lecturer and director of the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group, has been invited to serve as a lead

author of the Global Energy Assessment, focusing on policy for energy innovation. The Global Energy Assessment is a major initiative created to help global leaders.

"THE PRESIDENT WHO TAKES OFFICE IN JANUARY 2009 should appoint someone who has the president's ear, whose sole responsibility will be to see that everything that must be done to prevent a nuclear terrorist attack is being done, keeping these issues on the front burner at the White House every day."

—**Matthew Bunn**, "The Risk Of Nuclear Terrorism—And Next Steps To Reduce The Danger," testimony to Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee (April 2, 2008)

"EVERY NEW PRESIDENT HAS ABOUT A YEAR when they can better achieve goals and changes because of their fresh mandate from the people . . . [The authors] propose a three-part framework for combating terrorism that involves drying up support for terrorism, improving our intelligence capabilities and rethinking our approach to homeland security."

—**Richard Clarke** (with Rob Knake), "Counter-Terrorism Issues for the Next President," *CTC Sentinel* (February 2008)

"FOR MUCH OF THE PAST TWO DECADES, Americans have watched in frustration as presidents and members of Congress have repeatedly achieved deadlock rather than consensus on issues that are critical to our nation. . . . The next president can't do it alone. If we are to break the cycle of partisan gridlock, others who have contributed to the disease must also help with the cure."

—**Bob Graham**, "How to End the Gridlock," *Washington Post* (January 30, 2008)

"IF SO MUCH AS A SUBSTANTIAL FRACTION OF THE WORLD'S SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS resolved to ["tith" 10 percent of your professional time and effort to working in these and other ways to increase the benefits of S&T for the human condition and to decrease the liabilities] . . . the acceleration of progress toward sustainable well-being for all of Earth's inhabitants would surprise us all."

—**John P. Holdren**, "Science and Technology for Sustainable Well-Being," *Science* (January 25, 2007)

"BECAUSE LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS devote greater shares of their income to energy and transportation costs than do higher-income households, virtually any climate policy will place relatively greater burdens on low-income households. But because cap and trade will minimize energy-related and other costs, it holds an important advantage in this regard over conventional regulations."

—**Robert Stavins**, "State Fight Against Climate Change Benefits Everyone," *Sacramento Bee* (March 16, 2008)

"[T]HE FED SHOULD PUSH FOR FURTHER EFFORTS TO RAISE CAPITAL.

Consideration should be given to collective actions designed to destigmatize cutting dividends or raising equity. The idea of linking access to Fed credit and measures to attract capital should also be explored. At a time when much is being given to financial institution shareholders and management, action to help the economy and protect the taxpayer should be expected in return."

—**Lawrence Summers**, "Steps That Can Safeguard America's Economy," *Financial Times* (March 30, 2008)

"THE POTENTIAL COLLAPSE OF HOUSE PRICES, accompanied by widespread mortgage defaults, is a major threat to the American economy. . . . Although there is no perfect plan, a program of federal mortgage-paydown loans to individuals, secured by future income rather than by a formal mortgage, could reduce the number of mortgages with high LTV ratios and cut future defaults."

—**Martin Feldstein**, "How to Stop the Mortgage Crisis," *Wall Street Journal* (March 7, 2007)

"WHILE THE CANDIDATES KEEP TALKING ABOUT JOBS GOING OVERSEAS, the irony is that over the past year, trade is helping to stave off the recession. Since early 2007, the US trade deficit has actually narrowed by \$50bn as exports have increased more rapidly than imports."

—**Robert Lawrence**, "Much Ado About NAFTA," *Guardian.com* (March 6, 2008)

"WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF A MAJOR NUCLEAR RENAISSANCE. Countries in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia have all expressed a desire to begin or revive civilian nuclear programs. Bartering nuclear technology for oil is sure to lead to the further spread of nuclear weapons."

—**Matthew Fuhrmann**, "Oil for Nukes – mostly a bad idea" *Christian Science Monitor* (February 29, 2008)

"ALTHOUGH DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PRECEPTS AND BELIEFS GUIDING AL-QA'IDA and its associates as ideological in nature certainly hit the mark, few serious attempts have been made to justify the use of the term "ideology" in connection with the Salafi-jihad—the guiding doctrine of al-Qa'ida, its affiliates, associates and progeny."

—**Assaf Moghadam**, "The Salafi-Jihad as a Religious Ideology," *CTC Sentinel* (February 2008)

"SINCE THE SHOCK OF 9/11, the United States has been exporting fear and anger, rather than our more traditional values of hope and optimism. Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo have become more powerful global icons of America

than the Statue of Liberty. Terrorism is a real threat and likely to be with us for decades, but over-responding to the provocations of extremists does us more damage than the terrorists ever could."

—**Joseph Nye**, "Toward a Liberal Realist Foreign Policy: A Memo for the Next President," *Harvard Magazine* (March–April 2008)

"THIS SPRING THE U.S. IS TEMPORARILY PUTTING 3,200 MORE MARINES INTO AFGHANISTAN to help fill the gap—the same number of Marines withdrawn from Iraq last September in the initial rollback of the surge. The swap is emblematic of the fact that we have no surplus U.S. troops to send to commanders in Afghanistan. If you want more troops in Afghanistan, you pretty much have to take them out of Iraq."

—**Kevin Ryan**, "Is It Wise to Pause in Iraq?" *Orlando Sentinel* (February 25, 2008)

"FORTUNATELY, PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE SECURED BY ITS ARMY, the country's most effective national institution. . . . In contrast, a government that truly reflects the current views of the Pakistani people is more likely to be an unspoken opponent than an ambiguous ally in the US war against Al Qaeda and other terrorists in the region."

—**Graham Allison**, "Reading the Tea Leaves in Pakistan," *Boston Globe* (February 21, 2008)

"THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRENGTH, MILITARY STRATEGY AND LEADERSHIP QUALITY OF THE TALIBAN in Pakistan's tribal territories has qualitatively improved during the last few years. . . . Today, Pakistan's indigenous Taliban are an effective fighting force and are engaging the Pakistani military on one side and NATO forces on the other"

—**Hassan Abbas**, "A Profile of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan" *CTC Sentinel* (January 2008)

"THE TROUBLE WITH WAVES is that sooner or later they break. Every year, the think-tank Freedom House awards scores to the countries of the world according to their degrees of political freedom. According to the latest figures, no fewer than 57 countries have suffered a democratic ebb in the past five years."

—**Niall Ferguson**, "Slow but Sure," *Financial Times* (January 26, 2007)

"THE LONG-TERM TRUCE THAT HAMAS HAS OFFERED ISRAEL should be seen in a new light, because it offers all sides meaningful gains that can halt the current deterioration, while creating a new foundation for possible political breakthroughs. And both sides should welcome that as fiercely as they now fight militarily."

—**Rami G. Khouri**, "Fighting for a Cease-Fire," *AgenceGlobal* (March 10, 2008)

"THE CONCERN NOW IS THAT CHÁVEZ IS AMPLIFYING AN EXTERNAL THREAT to distract Venezuelans from domestic malaise. His saber-rattling, however, runs the risk of escalation. What started out as a domestic prop could easily lead to outright conflict if one side or the other miscalculates."

—**Sarah Kreps**, "Chávez Rattles His Saber," *International Herald Tribune* (March 6, 2008)

"ALTHOUGH MUGABE PROMISED THE AFRICAN UNION that the elections would be fair, it has been clear for months that Mugabe intends to win, by fair means or foul. No independent foreign observers will be allowed to watch the election or the centralized counting at a 'command center' controlled by Mugabe."

—**Robert I. Rotberg**, "Politics and Power in Zimbabwe," *Boston Globe* (March 26, 2008)

"AFRICA'S URGENT NEED FOR AGRICULTURAL MODERNIZATION IS BEING RUDELY IGNORED. When elite urbanites in rich countries began turning away from science-based farming in the 1980s, external assistance for agriculture in poor countries was cut sharply. . . . In this fashion, and perhaps without realizing it, wealthy countries are imposing the richest of tastes on the poorest of people."

—**Robert Paarlberg**, "Africa's Organic Farms; Food Fantasies," *International Herald Tribune* (March 1, 2008)

"MANY BELIEVE THAT CHINA SHOULD FLEX ITS DIPLOMATIC MUSCLE by voting for coercive measures, such as sanctions on countries with problems, such as Iran. It remains to be seen whether sanctions are effective in making the world more secure."

—**Anne Wu**, "Flexing Muscles in the Year of the Rat?" *San Francisco Chronicle* (February 22, 2008)

SUPERDELEGATES PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE because it's such a close campaign, but they were created for precisely the situation we may be in: to break a dead tie. . . . They're not going to turn aside the will of the voters, unless there is some compelling reason to do that."

—**Elaine Kamarck**, quoted in "If Superdelegates Pick Nominee, Democrats Face Backlash," *Christian Science Monitor* (February 20, 2008)

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

—Compiled by Courtney Anderson, Communications Office



Calestous Juma, Professor of the Practice of International Development and director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization project, has been

appointed a special advisor to the International Whaling Commission (IWC). Juma's assignment is to advise on the future of the commission, which is divided between those who want to resume commercial whaling and those who do not.



Matthew Meselson, Thomas Dudley Cabot Professor of the Natural Sciences and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, has discovered with Harvard gradu-

ate student **Eugene Gladyshev** that a tiny aquatic animal—the bdelloid rotifer—is able to withstand far more radiation than any other known animal. The finding is significant for the impact it may have on treatment of cancer, inflammation, and other medical issues.



Richard Rosecrance, adjunct professor at Harvard Kennedy School and senior fellow with the Center's International Security Program, has been awarded the

International Studies Association Distinguished Scholar Award. The award commends Rosecrance for his 50 years of outstanding work in international security as well as his mentoring of scholars who have become leaders in the field.

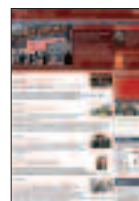


Monica Duffy Toft, associate professor of public policy and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, has been named a 2008

Carnegie Scholar by the Carnegie Foundation of New York. The prestigious award, which grants scholars up to \$100,000 to advance the public dialogue on Islam, will enable Toft to further her research on the role that Islam and other religions play in civil conflicts.



Lifeng Zhao, Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) fellow, has been invited to serve as a lead author of the Global Energy Assessment.



The **Belfer Center website** (www.belfercenter.org) has been selected as an *Official Honoree* for the *Politics* category in the 12th Annual Webby Awards, the leading international awards honoring excellence on the Internet. Distinction is awarded to work that scores in the top 15 percent of all sites entered from 50 states and 60 countries.

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Starved for Science: How Biotechnology Is Being Kept Out of Africa

By Robert Paarlberg; Harvard University Press
(February 2008)



Nearly two-thirds of Africans are employed in agriculture, yet on a per-capita basis they produce roughly 20 percent less than they did in 1970. Although modern agricultural science was the key to reducing rural poverty in Asia, modern farm science—including biotechnology—has recently

been kept out of Africa.

In *Starved for Science* Robert Paarlberg explains why poor African farmers are denied access to productive technologies, particularly genetically engineered seeds with improved resistance to insects and drought. He traces this obstacle to the current opposition to farm science in prosperous countries. Having embraced agricultural science to become well-fed themselves, those in wealthy countries are now instructing Africans—on the most dubious grounds—not to do the same.

“Except for South Africa, no African state has legalized the planting of GMOs for production and consumption. While citizens of rich countries have the luxury of deciding what kinds of foods—organic, nonorganic, GMO, non-GMO—to eat, droughts and insect infestations continue to wipe out crops, and rural African children die because they have no choices.”

—Joshua Lambert, *Library Journal*

Worst of the Worst: Dealing with Repressive and Rogue Nations

Edited by Robert Rotberg; Brookings Institution Press and World Peace Foundation (2007)



Repressive regimes tyrannize their own citizens and threaten global stability and order. *Worst of the Worst* identifies and characterizes the world's most odious states, singling out those few that are aggressive beyond their own borders and can hence be characterized as rogue states.

Robert Rotberg and his colleagues present an innovative, transparent approach to determining which of these nations are most problematic and thus demand immediate policy attention. Previous determinations have been based on inexact, impressionistic criteria. Tyranny was like obscenity—hard to define but recognizable when it occurred. This volume establishes a framework

for measuring and assessing repression, helping policymakers to establish priorities.

“... an unparalleled contribution to the growing and vital field of measurement and human rights.”

Worst of the Worst defines the actions that constitute repression and proposes a method of measuring human rights violations. It provides an index of nation-state repressiveness, ranking nations on a ten-point scale and classifying them as “gross,” “high,” or “aggressive” repressors. Aggressive repressors are those nations that may truly be labeled “rogue states.” This diagnostic tool—based on arms trafficking, support for terrorism, WMD possession, and cross-border attacks—will guide the international community in crafting effective policies to deal with injustice in the developing world.

“This volume makes an unparalleled contribution to the growing and vital field of measurement and human rights. Rotberg offers a useful categorization and assessment of repressive and ‘rogue’ states, allowing us to measure the extent of repressive state behavior more accurately.”

—Sarah Sewall, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard University

High Performance with High Integrity Memo to the CEO Series

By Ben W. Heineman, Jr.; Harvard Business School Press
(Forthcoming June 2008)



Heineman, senior fellow at the Belfer Center and former senior vice president-general counsel of GE, argues that high performance with high integrity should be the goal of contemporary corporations—and global capitalism—to avoid catastrophic legal and ethical lapses but also to achieve affirmative ben-

efits inside the company, in the marketplace, and in the broader society. He argues that CEOs must create an affirmative culture by driving eight core integrity principles and associated practices deep into business operations—and addresses some of the toughest issues for international companies, including emerging markets, acquisitions, crisis management, public policy, and reputation. Based on his experience in senior management, he also seeks to refocus current debates on corporate governance, corporate citizenship, global ethics, CEO succession, and pay for performance.

La République de Dieu

By Charles Cogan; Editions Jacob-Duvernet
(February 2008)



La République de Dieu is a collection of essays on the idea of God (“Comment peut-on croire?”), on evangelism and its influence on public policy (“La République de Dieu”), and on Islamic fundamentalism (“L’Islam médiéval”). It is followed by empirical chapters analyzing a num-

ber of conflicts between the Muslim and non-Muslim world—“Iran 1979: First Major Conflict with Radical Islam,” “Afghanistan: The Struggle Against the Soviets and the Myth of bin Laden,” “Iraq 2003: The Unbearable Lightness of Decision,” and “Israel: The New Jamestown?”

“... [C]haracterizes the United States today as a ‘Republic of God’ which has found its champion in George W. Bush.”

“The author presents a series of reflections on the relations between religion and the state and characterizes the United States today as a ‘Republic of God’ which has ‘found its champion in George W. Bush.’ He then analyzes the conflicts between revolutionary Islam and the United States during the second half of the 20th century including a description of the crisis of 1979 in Iran and of the ‘unprecedented strategic error’ represented by the American invasion of Iraq in 2003.”

— L’Hémicycle

Financing Entrepreneurship

Edited by Philip Auerswald and Ant Bozkaya; The International Library of Entrepreneurship Series; Edward Elgar (April 2008)

This important collection comprises 24 previously published papers. These include foundational papers which offer an understanding of the conceptual and historical substructure of entrepreneurial finance and more recent seminal works about entrepreneurs and the obstacles that they systematically seek to overcome.

“... [F]oundational papers which offer an understanding of the conceptual and historical substructure of entrepreneurial finance...”

Further articles describe the variety of institutional forms that have evolved to address the challenges inherent in entrepreneurial finance and the role of government in the process of innovation, entrepreneurship, and the financing of new ventures. These papers, complemented by the editors’ comprehensive introduction, are essential for scholars, researchers, policymakers, and entrepreneurs wishing to advance their understanding of this important and expanding field of study.

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

Post-Bush Defense

In February, Preventive Defense Project Co-Directors **Ashton B. Carter** and **William J. Perry** hosted one in a series of workshops entitled “Defense Management Challenges in the Post-Bush Era.” The off-the-record workshop, held in Washington, D.C., focused on what management challenges the next administration will face in the next two to five years. The management issues include balancing strategy and resources in a tightening budget climate, leveraging America’s technology and industrial bases to sustain a competitive edge, resetting civil-military relations, and extending the concept of national security management to include non-military capabilities.



Clarifying Climate: **Cristine Russell**, journalist and Environment and Natural Resources Program senior fellow, discusses media coverage of climate change with faculty, fellows, and students in April.

BELFER IN BRIEF

Let's Go to New York

Evelyn Hsieh, communications student intern and recent graduate of Harvard Divinity School, has accepted a summer job as editor for Harvard’s *Let’s Go* travel guides. She will head to New York City in the fall, where she has been accepted to the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

Electricity Heats Up

In April, the **Energy Technology Innovation Policy** group convened a diverse group of academics, business leaders from the auto and electricity sectors, energy modelers, and regulators to study the possibilities for and ramifications of a greater reliance on electricity in the transportation and heat production sectors.

Kingdom and Power

Joseph S. Nye, who serves on the Center’s Board, will teach leadership and international affairs at Oxford’s All Souls’ College in May. Nye previously was on tour to discuss his new book *The Powers to Lead*.

India’s Gain

Ambuj Sagar, senior research associate with the Center’s Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group, has accepted a position as professor with the prestigious Indian Institute of Technology in New Delhi. He will continue association with ETIP on energy issues.

Oil Shock Wave Box Sets Available for Educational Use

This year, the Belfer Center and Securing America’s Future Energy (SAFE) have collaborated to create *Oil ShockWave: College Edition*, a box set that includes all of the multimedia components, background materials, and instructions needed for professors to conduct *Oil ShockWave* simulations in their own classrooms. The package is available to instructors free of charge. Interested parties may obtain copies by completing the order form on the Belfer Center website: www.belfercenter.org/oil.

International Security

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“The Rise of Afghanistan’s Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad”

Seth G. Jones

In 2001 U.S. and Afghan forces overthrew the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, but they failed to prevent insurgent groups from rising up against the new government. Existing theories, which focus on grievance or greed as primary motives, do not sufficiently explain why this insurgency flourished. In fact, the collapse of the Afghan government allowed the Taliban to step in and fill the void. Second, insurgent leaders sought to replace the government with one grounded in an extremist interpretation of Sunni Islam. The Afghan government, then, must provide basic services to rural areas, increase its monopoly of the legitimate use of force, and better counter insurgent ideology in Afghanistan and Pakistan to undermine the Taliban’s support base.

“No Sign until the Burst of Fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier”

Thomas H. Johnson and M. Chris Mason

The Pakistan-Afghanistan border area has become a safe haven for terrorists and is the biggest threat to U.S. national security interests. Yet religious and political extremism in the region ends neatly at the borders of the Pashtun lands, which creates a unique cultural challenge. To reverse the trend of

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

radicalization in this area, the United States should strengthen and rebuild the tribal structures while reducing the external pressures on them, rather than maintaining its current policy of extending central government, which only foments insurgency among a proto-insurgent people.

“What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy”

Max Abrahams

The widely accepted strategic model claims that terrorists are rational actors who attack civilians to achieve political goals. Policymakers accordingly seek to defeat terrorism by decreasing its political utility in three ways: through a no concessions policy, political accommodation, or democracy promotion. This model, however, has not been tested, and evidence demonstrates that terrorists are not politically motivated, but are rational people who use terrorism to develop affective ties with fellow terrorists. Existing counterterrorism strategies should shift their focus and attempt to diminish the social benefits of terrorism.

“Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States”

Pierre Englebert and Denis Tull

Africa boasts the highest percentage of failed states in the world, so it is not surprising that donors have made statebuilding their top priority. Yet externally sponsored reconstruction efforts have not succeeded, which is partly due to

three flawed assumptions: that Western state institutions can be transferred to Africa; that donors and African leaders share the same understanding of failure and reconstruction; and that donors are capable of rebuilding African states. Uganda and Somaliland, however, show that African societies can rebuild successfully—and without external assistance. Donors should, then, encourage both indigenous state formation and constructive bargaining between social forces and governments.

“Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars”

Carter Johnson

Partitioning states along ethnic lines is a debatable solution to solving ethnic civil wars. Advocates argue that this offers the best chance for lasting peace, while opponents claim that it takes a huge toll on the populations involved and that its effectiveness has yet to be proven. In fact, only partitions that completely separate the warring groups succeed in creating peaceful states. Policymakers should, then, consider partition as an option only where populations are already separated or where population transfers can be accomplished safely. Partitioning Kosovo into ethnic districts could lead to lasting peace, whereas partitioning Iraq would most likely increase human suffering and violence.

—Compiled by *International Security* Staff

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New Orleans' Broadmoor is Model for Disaster Recovery

by Traci Farrell, Communications Office

The intense storm that hit the northwestern United States in December of 2007 devastated the mountain timber town of Vernonia, Oregon, with landslides and floods that forced the evacuation of most of the town of 2500. Luckily, **Ariana Tipper**, a graduate student at Portland State University (PSU), had spent the previous summer in New Orleans as an intern for the Belfer Center's Broadmoor Project. Using the recently published Broadmoor community recovery guide as a model, Tipper organized a team of PSU students to help Vernonia residents in their recovery effort.

Vernonia was the first community outside of New Orleans to take advantage of the "Broadmoor Guide for Recovery Planning and Implementation," the practical handbook designed by the Broadmoor Project for just that purpose. The guide—a collaboration of the Belfer Center and Kennedy School and the New Orleans' community of Broadmoor—was developed to provide "a nationally recognized model for how to implement an effective and efficient recovery management strategy." San Francisco officials have also met with Broadmoor leaders for ideas on responding to a disaster.

The Broadmoor Project began when students from the Kennedy School traveled to New Orleans in 2006 to help residents of the hard-hit Broadmoor neighborhood with a

strategy for recovery after Hurricane Katrina. The project was launched by **Doug Ahlers**, a senior fellow with the Belfer Center and a New Orleans resident. The Belfer Center's **Henry Lee** is faculty chair for the Broadmoor Project.


The Broadmoor Project recently hosted a Neighborhood Leadership Forum series to share Broadmoor's work with neighboring communities in New Orleans. The three forums focused on data collection and recovery management information systems, best practices in neighborhood revitalization, and establishing private-public partnerships.

The forums were not meant to be dialogues or discussion, said Ahlers. They were hands-on sessions, he said, "where community leaders and residents could leave with skills, ideas, and resources and then implement real initiatives in their neighborhoods."

Broadmoor today is a success story that has gained national attention. In addition to bringing back many of its pre-Katrina residents, Broadmoor has developed the plans and funds to build a community center, library and school, according to **Sarah Bieging** of the Belfer Center's Broadmoor Project. Recently, the community launched the Broadmoor Community Development Corporation (BDC) which has been working with volunteers to build new homes. The BDC also has implemented the Broadmoor Case Management

System, a database that monitors residents' needs and pairs volunteers with the skills to meet those needs. Developed by project intern **Suzanne Hague**, it enables the BDC to quickly send needed items like furniture to one family and plumbers to another.

With the continued revitalization of the Broadmoor neighborhood, and the implementation of the model elsewhere, the Broadmoor model is proving to be an effective recovery strategy.

"Broadmoor is proud to be serving as a model for other communities recovering from disaster," said Ahlers. "It is the proverbial silver lining." 



Road to Recovery: The Wilson School is slated for rebuilding in Broadmoor, where the residents decided education should be the central and distinguishing concept around which they rebuild their neighborhood.

PAT SEMANSKY