



What should the next president do first?

For the Next President— Center Scholars Suggest Priority Actions on Security and Climate/Energy

With a new president of the United States soon to be elected, Belfer Center scholars offer their advice on issues of national security and climate/energy policy. The Belfer Center's **Graham Allison**, **Ashton B. Carter**, and **Joseph S. Nye** summarize what they think the president's top priorities should be to increase security and decrease the threat of terrorism in the United States. The Center's **John P. Holdren**, **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, and **Henry Lee** join together to suggest steps they believe the next president should take to increase energy security and decrease potentially catastrophic effects of climate disruption. For additional information on these recommendations, see: www.belfercenter.org/advice.

Improving National Security

by **Graham Allison**

- A Nuclear 9/11 is the only clear and present existential threat to America. **Preventing a nuclear 9/11 must be a central organizing principle of your administration.**
- A successful strategy must confront the dual challenge: (1) in the short run, a determined adversary who demonstrated on 9/11 a capacity to kill thousands of Americans and (2) over the longer run, trend-lines that threaten to take us to a world of nuclear anarchy. This will require you to:
 - **"Find, fix, finish" nuclear-capable global terrorists**, focusing on the main enemy: Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda central.
 - **Mobilize a global undertaking in a new 21st century equivalent of NATO:** a Global Alliance Against Nuclear Terrorism. The Alliance should organize to realize four common objectives:

- No loose nukes;
- No new nascent nukes;
- No new nuclear weapons states;
- No role for nuclear weapons in international affairs.

- **Appoint a Deputy National Security Advisor** whose sole responsibility is to integrate, shape, and define the strategic, technical, and political dimensions of your strategy, to set targets for all departments and agencies, and to lead U.S. participation in the Global Alliance.



The Belfer Center's **John P. Holdren** (left) with **Kelly Sims Gallagher** (center) and **Henry Lee**

**America's reputation matters
as much as its power. . . .**
—**Ashton B. Carter**

by **Ashton B. Carter**

- The U.S. is spending almost twice as much on defense as before 9/11. But our

investments in national security are out of balance, with spending on "soft power," diplomacy, and foreign aid still tiny in comparison with defense spending. **The new president is required to conduct a Quadrennial Defense Review, but he should broaden it to a National Security Review** encompassing every tool of peace and justice the U.S. can wield.

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Acting on Climate and Energy

by **John P. Holdren**, **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, and **Henry Lee**

**Impose a significant price
on carbon . . .**

- **Send a climate protection bill to Congress** that (1) imposes a significant price on carbon, which escalates over the course of the next two decades, (2) includes a provision to use the revenue from the carbon tax or auctioned cap-and-trade permits to reduce income taxes and ease the transition for those who would be disproportionately harmed by the subsequent increase in prices—primarily low income people, and (3) contains a long-term target for climate stabilization. The prices and long-term targets should be re-evaluated in light of new scientific, economic, and technical information every five to ten years.

- **Immediately begin bilateral negotiations with the Chinese government** on an international framework for cooperation on global climate change. The United States and China together emit nearly half of the global greenhouse-gas emissions.

**Impose a variable tax
on foreign oil . . .**

- **To address both energy security and climate change, impose a variable tax on foreign oil imports** that would be triggered when crude oil prices reach a certain threshold. This would entail establishing a floor price. If the price of oil decreases below that floor, the government would impose a tax equal to the difference between the price of oil and the floor. Such a program would give a clear signal to investors and consumers and would significantly reduce the financial uncertainties caused by the volatility in oil prices. This program would

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Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) with Center board members **Ashton B. Carter** (center) and **Joseph S. Nye**



FROM THE DIRECTOR

John Allie

As our colleague **Lawrence Summers** (a member of the Center's Board of Directors) noted recently: in each of the last ten presidential elections it has been argued that "this was a uniquely important presidential election—that the country was at a turning point, that the decisions that were going to be made would shape the future irrevocably. Sometimes clichés turn out to be true."

For a Center that attempts to advance policy-relevant knowledge about the most important international challenges, the combination of the economic 9/11, an overcrowded national security agenda, and growing consciousness about challenges of energy and climate change, assure that both our hearts and minds are pounding.

This issue offers a few tidbits of the work being done at the Center and offers links to the website for further exploration.

As director, I am especially pleased to welcome new faculty members, fellows, and students here this fall. **Nicholas Burns**, the highest-ranking career diplomat at the State Department, has become a professor of the practice of diplomacy and international politics and a new member of the Center's Board. (See the Q&A with Nick on pg. 8.)

A senior fellow and former director of the Managing the Atom project here at the Center, **Matthew Bunn** has been appointed an associate professor of public policy at the School. This appointment not only acknowledges the quality of Matt's research and its impact on global nuclear policy, but is also a vote of confidence in the future of the Belfer Center.

Another senior fellow at the Center, **Meghan O'Sullivan**, who served until September 2007 as President Bush's deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, has been appointed a lecturer in public policy at the School. Students at the



Welcoming Wisdom: Belfer Center founder **Paul Doty** greets new fellows at orientation. Associate Professor **Monica Toft** (left) looks on.

Kennedy School are fortunate to have Meghan as my co-instructor in the course on "Central Challenges of American Foreign Policy."

The Center is also pleased to provide the intellectual infrastructure for the Kennedy School's new concentration in International and Global Affairs (IGA). **Ash Carter**, faculty chair of this effort, has taken the lead in creating this concentration. The Belfer Center has established and funded twelve Belfer student fellowships for a dozen of the most outstanding public policy students who have chosen this concentration.

Managing the Atom's Matthew Bunn Named Associate Professor of Public Policy



Matthew Bunn

The Belfer Center's **Matthew Bunn**, co-principal investigator for the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA), was appointed associate professor of public policy at the Harvard Kennedy School in July. HKS Dean **David Ell-**

wood announced Bunn's appointment.

Bunn's research at the Belfer Center has focused on nuclear theft and terrorism, nuclear proliferation and measures to control it, and the future of nuclear energy and its fuel cycle. Before joining the Kennedy School in 1997, Bunn served for three years as an advisor to the Clinton administration in the Office of Science and Technology Policy, where he played a major role in U.S. policies related to the former Soviet Union. He also worked at the National Academies of Sciences and is an elected fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. For his efforts to improve international security by formulating policies to decrease the risk of nuclear theft, Bunn has received several awards that include the American Physical Society's Joseph A. Burton Forum Award and the Federation of American Scientists' Hans Bethe Award.

[Matt] is the best generator anywhere of practical ideas for reducing the dangers we continue to face from nuclear weapons.

—John Holdren

Bunn also is lead author of the Managing the Atom's annual report "Securing the Bomb," a comprehensive yardstick of global progress toward locking down nuclear materials and weapons worldwide. Commissioned by the Nuclear Threat Initiative, the report has been credited for suggesting a number of nuclear security measures later implemented by the government.

"Matt is enormously knowledgeable, creative, productive, and effective," said **John Holdren**, director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program and co-principal investigator with Bunn for the Project on Managing the Atom. "I think he's the best generator anywhere of practical ideas for reducing the dangers we continue to face from nuclear weapons."

[R]esearch at the Center is providing policy analysis as input to both campaigns and recommendations relevant to the new government . . .

As Americans go to the polls to elect a new president, members of the Belfer Center are engaged as citizens on both sides of this campaign. In addition, research at the Center is providing policy analysis as input to both campaigns and recommendations relevant to the new government that will be organized in the months immediately ahead. Advice to the next president on national security and climate/energy is noted on page 1. A brief summary of proposed "to do's" for the economy (from **Feldstein, Frankel, Summers, and Volcker**) is featured on page 16. Links to elaborations of these points—in opeds and testimony—can be found on the Center's website at www.belfercenter.org/advice.



Global Reach: **Eric Rosenbach** (center), Belfer Center executive director for research, talks with International and Global Affairs student fellows **Carla Laroche** (left) and **Randy Bell** (right).

BELFER IN BRIEF

Juma: Harnessing Knowledge to Address Global Challenges

As a guest of the Japanese Prime Minister's office in late spring, the Center's **Calestous Juma** spoke to an international gathering of more than 100 science ministers on the need for collective initiatives to harness the world's body of scientific and technical knowledge to address challenges facing the global community. Juma, who heads the Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization project, proposed urgent investments in new international biotechnology research partnerships and institutional reforms in research and higher education to facilitate closer cooperation between government, business, and academia.

Acting on his belief in the need to link technology and higher education, Juma recently founded the Victoria Institute of Science and Technology on the shores of Lake Victoria in Kenya.

Carnesale: Providing a Non-nuclear Option

Albert Carnesale, a member of the Center's board of directors, chaired a blue-ribbon

committee of the National Academies' National Research Council charged by Congress to analyze the need for a non-nuclear weapon with the ability to accurately strike a target anywhere in the world within an hour. The report, released in August by the 18-member Committee on Conventional Prompt Global Strike (CPGS), advised Congress to fund the research and development of the Conventional Trident Modification (TCM) program, which calls for converting two of the 24 Trident missiles currently deployed on each of 12 submarines from nuclear to non-nuclear warheads.

Belferites Out and About

Naseem Khuri has been named executive director of the Belfer Center's Dubai Initiative. A graduate of Harvard Kennedy School, Khuri previously served as senior advisor to the Kennedy School Negotiations Project.

Hassan Abbas, research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program/Managing the Atom, was interviewed by numerous media regarding the resignation of



Honor and Opportunity: **John P. Holdren**, director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, was installed in May as guest professor of Tsinghua University, a prestigious three-year, non-resident appointment to the university known as "the MIT of China." Holdren spoke at the ceremony on "Meeting the Climate Change Challenge."

Pakistan's President **Pervez Musharraf** and the future of Pakistan. Abbas served in the administrations of both **Benazir Bhutto** and Musharraf.

The Belfer Center congratulates three of its staff who got married over the summer. Best wishes to the Center's **Neal Doyle**, **Amanda Swanson**, and **Sasha Talcott**. 🍷

Improving National Security

(continued from page 1)

- A bipartisan review of DOD's programs to counter WMD proliferation and terrorism, conducted this year by me and Ambassador Robert Joseph (President Bush's counterproliferation head), found that DOD's efforts in this field had not grown since 9/11—with the sole exception of missile defense. **The new national security team should implement the recommendation of the bipartisan review** (available at www.belfercenter.org/dodreview).
- **America's reputation matters as much as its power.** Our reputation for careful deliberation in how we choose our objectives was dented when we invaded Iraq, and our reputation for competent pursuit of our objectives shattered by the early mismanagement of post-war Iraq. Our reputation as a steady ally is questioned from the Korean peninsula to Europe and Latin America. Our reputation for honorable conduct was besmirched by Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo, and waterboarding. Not all of this is fair, but the next president must take it seriously, speaking and acting like a good friend and opponent to be reckoned with.

by **Joseph S. Nye**

- **Smart power is the ability to combine the hard power of coercion or payment with the soft power of attraction into a successful strategy.** Recently, U.S. foreign policy has tended to over-rely on hard power.

Combine the hard power of coercion ... with the soft power of attraction.
—**Joseph S. Nye**

- **Diplomacy and foreign assistance are under-funded and neglected.** Foreign policy institutions and personnel are fractured and compartmentalized and there is no adequate inter-agency process for developing and funding a smart power strategy. Many official instruments of soft or attractive power—public diplomacy, broadcasting, exchange programs, development assistance, disaster relief, military to military contacts—are scattered around the government.
- **Last year, the bipartisan Center for Strategic and International Studies Commission on Smart Power proposed that we develop a smart power strategy by:** (1) creating a Deputy National Security Advisor charged with developing and implementing such a strategy; and (2) giving him or her the authority to work with the Office of Management and Budget to reallocate departmental funds to fit the strategy. The challenges to integrating our soft and hard power tool kit have deep roots, and it will take a dedicated effort by the next administration and Congress to overcome them. 🍷

Acting on Climate

(continued from page 1)

encourage alternatives to oil, support U.S. oil producers, and encourage consumers to be more energy-efficient.

Support carbon capture and storage ...

- **Support accelerated research, development, and demonstration** of carbon capture and storage technologies and new electric batteries, and cut in half the tariff on imported biofuels. Sharply increase federal support for basic energy sciences and early-stage applied-energy-technology research in universities and national laboratories.
- **Extend the renewable-energy production tax credits** (if this has not been done already by the time the new president takes office).
- **Increase federal tax credits for private-sector investments** in energy-technology research, development, and demonstration.
- **Sharply increase federal support (direct spending and tax incentives) for U.S. participation in international cooperation** on energy-technology research, development, demonstration, and the accelerated deployment of the most attractive options that RD&D produce.
- **Understand that off-shore oil drilling is unlikely to reduce gasoline prices significantly** because the resulting increase in world oil production would be marginal, and therefore unlikely to reduce crude oil prices. 🍷

Report Urges Governments to Explore Benefits, Risks of Biofuels

Despite pressure from biofuel critics, governments should avoid simplistic and precipitous changes in course on biofuels such as rollback or moratoria on existing biofuels mandates or incentives, according to a recent report from the Sustainability Science Program of Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) in collaboration with Italy's Ministry for the Environment, Land and Sea, and Venice International University.

Instead, "Biofuels and Sustainable Development" urges governments to initiate an orderly, innovation-enhancing transition toward incentives that target multi-dimensional goals for biofuels development. These goals should include poverty alleviation, reducing net greenhouse gas emissions, increasing use of non-food feedstock, attaining sustainable biofuel production targets, and conserving biodiversity.

Biofuels have the potential to promote economic development, climate protection and other environmental goals, energy security, and returns to private investors, according to the

report. However, if not implemented with care, biofuel production can put upward pressure on food prices, increase greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, exacerbate degradation of land, forests, water sources, and other ecosystems, and jeopardize the livelihood security of individuals immediately dependent on the natural resource base.

"As the world confronts the prospects that by 2020 the supply of oil will be unable to meet demand, biofuels will take on increasing importance," said **Henry Lee**, director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program and co-author of the report along with Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science **William Clark** and **Charan Devereaux**, senior researcher with the HKS and Harvard Law School's Trade and Negotiations Program.



Balancing Biofuels: Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science **William Clark** (left) discusses the biofuels report he co-authored with **Henry Lee** (right), director of the Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program, and **Charan Devereaux**, senior researcher at Harvard Kennedy School (not pictured).

Clark Joins Call for Congress to Adopt System to Evaluate U.S. Ecosystems

William Clark, Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science, Public Policy and Human Development and member of the Center's board of directors, joined the nonprofit Heinz Center this summer in calling on the next president and Congress to take up the reins of a system of U.S. environmental indicators that evaluates the condition of major ecosystems within the United States.

The Heinz Center began designing a system of indicators in 1997 at the suggestion of then Vice President **Al Gore** and the Clinton administration's Office of Science and Technology Policy. Since that time, a committee chaired by Clark, with input from more than 150 representatives from environmental groups, industry, academia, and government agencies, has designed a system of indicators and issued two reports evaluating the condition of six major ecosystems.

"The State of the Nation's Ecosystems 2008," to be published by Island Press, summarizes 108 indicators on the condition and use of major ecosystem types such as coasts and oceans, farmlands, forests, and fresh waters—and the nation as a whole. Among the indicators that reflect climate are: measurements of sea surface temperature, which rose significantly in the past two decades in U.S. coastal waters of the Gulf of Mexico, Gulf of Alaska, and South Atlantic; and carbon storage, which shows gains rather than losses in

carbon stored in forest biomass, cropland soils, and private grasslands and shrubland soils since 1990. The report also shows a significant reduction in high stream flow rates compared to a baseline period in the 1940s and 50s, and notes the presence of contaminants in nearly all streams and about three out of every four groundwater wells tested in the United States.

This system of environmental indicators . . . shows changes and trends in our ecosystems and provides essential information that can help Congress determine the need for certain types of action and legislation . . .
—William Clark

"This system of environmental indicators which the Heinz Center has put in place should now become a government responsibility," Clark said. "It shows changes and trends in our ecosystems and provides essential information that can help Congress determine the need for certain types of action and legislation related to climate change and other impacts." Clark joins the Heinz Center in calling for a Congressionally-mandated public-private partnership to take over and build on the system. The report is available at www.heinzctr.org/ecosystems/index.

Guiding biofuel development to realize its multiple potential benefits while guarding against its multiple risks requires the application of a . . . diverse set of tailored policy interventions . . .

"Any single policy to address every one of these challenges simultaneously is certain to be ineffective," Lee said. "To address these concerns, good biofuel policy should expect to rely on four to five instruments. If the potential of biofuels is to be realized, governments must be clear about goals and constraints and the specific interventions to address each of them."

Guiding biofuel development to realize its multiple potential benefits while guarding against its multiple risks requires the application of a similarly diverse set of tailored policy interventions, together with integrated efforts to assure that those interventions work synergistically rather than at cross-purposes.

The purpose [was to] explore the actions needed to foster the sustainable development of biofuels development while . . . mitigating the impact on food prices and the environment.

The report stems from a workshop in May hosted by the Kennedy School in cooperation with its Italian partners. Twenty-five of the world's top experts on biofuels, economic development, and ecology explored the actions needed to foster the sustainable development of biofuels investments while simultaneously mitigating the impacts on food prices and the environment.

The report is available at www.belfercenter.org/biofuels.

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

BELFER

Faculty, Fellows,

Assaf Moghadam Explores Global Jihad Movement and Increase in Suicide Attacks

For nearly a decade, **Assaf Moghadam's** research has examined the rise and spread of suicide attacks. As a graduate student at the Fletcher School at Tufts University, Moghadam wrote a master's thesis on Palestinian suicide



AVIVA KRAUTHAMMER

terrorism, which he later turned into a dissertation examining suicide attacks planned and executed by Al Qaeda and the global jihad movement. Currently a fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program/Initiative on Religion in International Affairs, Moghadam writes extensively on terrorism. In 2006, he published *The Roots of Terrorism* in the course of his research.

Moghadam recently completed his second book manuscript. *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks* examines the reasons for the unprecedented rise in suicide missions during the past decade. (See page 14.)

Moghadam says his time at the Belfer Center has been integral to his personal, academic, and professional development. "Belfer faculty and fellows have not only raised the academic quality of my research, but have also reminded me to answer the critical 'so what?' question, thereby ensuring that my research is not only sound, but relevant," he said.

Belfer faculty and fellows have ... reminded me to answer the critical 'so what?' question ...
—Assaf Moghadam

Currently an assistant professor and senior associate at the Combating Terrorism Center (CTC) at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, Moghadam directs West Point's Advanced Terrorism Course and the CTC's newly established Shia Ideology Program. Along with his non-resident joint fellowship at Belfer Center and his work at West Point, Moghadam is completing work on an edited volume that examines the nature and state of Shia ideology. 🌐

Anadon Leads Research in Low-Carbon Energy Technologies

Originally from Spain and educated in the U.K. and Germany, **Laura Diaz Anadon** worked as a chemical engineer and as a financial consultant before coming to Har-



vard Kennedy School and the Belfer Center. Anadon was named program manager of the Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group's Energy Research Development &

Deployment Policy (ERD3) this past summer.

The ERD3 project, funded by a grant from the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, will produce and promote a comprehensive set of recommendations for the next U.S. administration to accelerate development and deployment of low-carbon energy technologies.

Policymakers will require solid, credible analysis of their options [with] climate change legislation ...
—Laura Diaz Anadon

"The 2008–2010 time period will be critical for energy technology innovation policy in the United States as the federal government comes to understand the tremendous role that federally-funded energy research, development, demonstration, and deployment policies will play in meeting the climate change challenge," Anadon said. "Policymakers will require solid, credible analysis of their options, their pros and cons, on a continuous basis as climate change legislation is being developed."

While working toward her Ph.D. in chemical engineering, Anadon became more interested in environmental issues and what governments and the private sector could do to address them. She says her work with ETIP provides the opportunity to combine her technical expertise with the policy perspective necessary to find solutions through policy and technology for some of society's toughest problems. 🌐

Belfer Center Alums Launch

While many might think the last thing Washington needs is another think tank, **Kurt Campbell** and **Michèle Flournoy** saw a niche no one had filled and decided to challenge this notion. They were right.

"We looked around Washington and there were a number of places that tried to be bipartisan, but it was a very careful, cautious, let's-not-offend-each-other bipartisanship," said Flournoy. "Consequently, they didn't always take some of the toughest issues on directly," she said. "So we felt there was room to bring those groups together, establish some rules of civility, but then have at it intellectually and see if we couldn't discuss and debate our way through to some new insights and recommendations."

The kind of intellectual debate at CSIA ... stuck with both of us ... It was civil and cordial, but the gloves were off intellectually.
—Michèle Flournoy

The Center for a New American Strategy (CNAS), which Campbell and Flournoy co-founded in February 2007, is a nonpartisan organization focused on national security and defense. In less than two years, it has grown

Biotechnology Support is Key

Biotechnology—defined broadly to include the use of living processes to produce goods and services—is emerging as a key driver of economic renewal in developing countries. But controversies surrounding the safety of genetically-modified (GM) foods are threatening to undermine international cooperation in this emerging field.

Part of the problem is that much of the debate is limited to agricultural applications. Other important applications, such as the use of biotechnology in environmental management and improvement of human health, are often ignored. Moreover, much of the debate focuses on the narrow area of genetic modification while other techniques, including tissue culture propagation, are increasingly being adopted in developing countries.

Tissue culture propagation, for example, is now widely used to distribute disease-free

CENT Staff, and Alums

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; Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements; Initiative on Religion in International Affairs

Center for New American Strategy (CNAS)

from a “handful” of participants to a full-time staff, a military fellows program, a writers-in-residence program, and an internship program with young people from all over the country.

“We’ve sort of had a ‘Field of Dreams’ experience,” Flournoy said. “If you build it, they will come.”

Flournoy and Campbell met at Oxford and began their professional relationship in 1989 when she was a research fellow and he was the assistant director at the Belfer Center—then Harvard’s Center for Science and International Affairs (CSIA).

Both agree that their time at the Center influenced how they decided to run CNAS. “The kind of intellectual debate that took place at CSIA is definitely something that stuck with both of us,” Flournoy said. “It was civil and cordial, but the gloves were off intellectually.”

Kurt Campbell

Campbell started out as an International Security Program fellow at the Center, and later became an associate professor of public policy and international relations at the Kennedy School and assistant director of the Center.

The Belfer Center . . . helped broaden my perspective on how to define national security.
—Kurt Campbell

His experience at the Belfer Center, Campbell said, involved “lots of deep thinking” about issues related to security, and “helped broaden my perspective on how to define national security.”

Prior to starting CNAS, Campbell served as senior vice president and director of the International Security Program and Henry A. Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Before that, he served in several positions in government, including as deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asia and the Pacific in the Pentagon, director on the National Security Council staff, deputy special counselor to the president for NAFTA in the White House, and White House fellow at the Department of the Treasury.

Michèle Flournoy

Prior to founding CNAS, Flournoy was a senior adviser at CSIS. She also held positions as a distinguished research professor at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University and worked in the Pentagon as principal deputy assistant secretary of defense for strategy and threat reduction and deputy assistant secretary of defense.

Flournoy was responsible for three policy offices in the Office of the Secretary of Defense: Strategy; Requirements, Plans, and Counterproliferation; and Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasian Affairs.



Kurt Campbell and Michèle Flournoy at the Center for New American Strategy

Flournoy started out as a research fellow for an early CSIA initiative called the Avoiding Nuclear War project. “It was a great opportunity to write and publish,” she said. Also, she added, “It’s hard not to have a great experience when you’re working for Joe Nye, Graham Allison, and Al Carnesale.”

to Africa’s Economic Renewal by Calestous Juma, STG

banana suckers for cultivation in Kenya. Universities and local enterprises, such as the Genetics Technologies International Ltd (GTIL), are providing crop and tree seedlings produced through tissue culture.

Building state of the art research facilities in African universities will also help stimulate international research partnerships.

The next frontier of biotechnology research in Africa will include the use of genetic modification techniques. This will entail greater partnerships between Africa and the rest of the world. The facilities of the Biosciences Eastern and Central Africa (BecA) in Nairobi offer

unique opportunities for promoting research cooperation on issues of relevance to Africa.

There is considerable interest in figuring out how to engage African biotechnology researchers in Diaspora to focus on local African problems. Facilities such as BecA laboratories and other institutions can help to host African researchers residing in the industrialized countries. Building state of the art research facilities in African universities will also help stimulate international research partnerships.

Such cooperation will benefit from improvements in the legal environment for biotechnology research. It will also make it easier for African countries to attract financial investments needed to commercialize research results.



Brimming with Bananas: Calestous Juma, director of the Center’s Science, Technology, and Globalization project, observes tissue culture propagation of bananas at a genetics technology lab in Nairobi, Kenya.

Experts Identify Most Urgent Energy Policy Needs at Acting in Time Conference

Energy Advisors to Presidential Candidates Join in Timely Discussion by Sam Milton, ETIP

On September 18–19, the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group hosted a major conference on U.S. energy policy. Under the auspices of the Consortium for Energy Policy Research at Harvard, led by **William Hogan** and **Louisa Lund**, and with the cooperation of Harvard University Center for the Environment, ETIP brought together members of academia, research centers, government, business, and non-governmental organizations for intensive discussion on future energy policy directions for the United States. About twenty members of the faculty from across Harvard University served on the program committee.

More than 80% of the energy [the world's] economy needs is wrecking the climate its environment needs. We've got to fix this.
—John P. Holdren

The conference, *Acting in Time on Energy Policy*, focused on six main topics: global climate change, carbon capture and storage technology, oil and transportation, energy innovation, electricity, and leadership. Seven Harvard faculty members and senior researchers contributed papers for the conference,

including **Max Bazerman** of Harvard Business School, **William Hogan**, **Kelly Gallagher**, **Henry Lee**, **John P. Holdren**, and **Laura Diaz Anadon** of Harvard Kennedy School, and **Dan Schrag** of FAS and the Harvard University Center for Environment. On the evening of the first day, a "Dinner with the Campaigns" featured **Floyd Deschamps** and **Jason Grumet**, senior energy advisors to **John McCain** and **Barack Obama**, who explained their candidates' energy platforms.

On the subject of overall U.S. emission reductions, Deschamps said the target should be to restore U.S. emissions to 2005 emission level by 2012, to 1990 levels by 2030, and to 20% below 1990 levels by 2060. Grumet noted that Senator Obama is committed to somewhat more aggressive emission reduction pathways, using a full auction of emission allowances.

Summing up the importance of "acting in time" on energy policy to prevent catastrophic effects of climate change, the Belfer Center's John Holdren said, "More than 80% of the energy [the world's] economy needs is wrecking the climate its environment needs. We've got to fix this. That is the essence of the problem."

The conference title, "Acting in Time on Energy Policy," draws on the Harvard Kennedy School "Acting in Time" initiative, launched by HKS Dean **David Ellwood**. In his welcome, Ellwood noted the significance of the conference and expressed hope that "in



Time to Act: Kelly Sims Gallagher, director of the Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group, welcomes participants to the "Acting in Time on Energy Policy" conference.

spite of all the pressures and competing interests, we will ultimately act in time to deal with this major crisis."

The purpose of the conference was to inform and help shape energy policy for the next administration and Congress. "We particularly wanted to identify the problems that need to be acted upon most urgently," Gallagher said. A forthcoming book titled *Acting in Time on Energy Policy*, to be edited by Gallagher, will be used to brief members of the next administration and Congress. "It is our hope that this infusion of innovative and fresh policy recommendations will result in some concrete actions," she said.

Reflections and Actions on Improving China's Air Quality by Hongyan Oliver, ETIP

While the world congratulated Beijing for its dazzling Olympic stadiums and the splendid opening ceremony, it should have also given the city another round of applause for its decade-long effort to clean up its air. Air quality was among the most difficult challenges Beijing had to tackle to host the 2008 Olympics, given its dire environmental conditions in the late 1990s.

[China's] Olympic effort showed the world and China that it is capable of making great changes.

To my delight, on my research trip there four weeks before the Beijing Olympics, I perceived apparent improvements in air quality and traffic conditions in the city. Some of these improvements were temporary, but its Olympic effort showed the world and China that it is capable of making great changes.

Like Beijing, most Chinese cities are facing air pollution problems mainly resulting from

burning coal at a very large scale and rapidly rising vehicle population. Since 2000, the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group (ETIP) has been working with partners in China to tackle these problems. With ETIP Director **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, my research identifies technological and policy solutions for key energy and environmental problems associated with the fast expanding Chinese transportation sector. We study and make recommendations around clean and alternative mobile fuels, advanced vehicle technologies, fuel economy standards, and in-use vehicle emissions. We work with Chinese partners such as the Ministry of Science and Technology, national and municipal environmental agencies, the China Automotive Research and Technology Center, and Tsinghua University.

Since the late 1990s, China has undertaken a full array of aggressive actions toward a more

sustainable transportation sector: increased government research and development spending on advanced vehicle technologies, promulgation of vehicle fuel economy, and more. With its population and prosperity rapidly increasing, the challenge to drastically reduce emissions is huge but essential.



Evaluating Emissions: Hongyan Oliver (center), ETIP research fellow, in Beijing with Tsinghua University students assisting her with analyzing China's fuel economy standards.



Q&A Nicholas Burns

R. Nicholas (Nick) Burns, formerly the highest-ranking career diplomat at the U.S. Department of State, is a Belfer Center faculty member appointed as Harvard Kennedy School Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Politics. He will also serve on the Center's board of directors. Burns has an extensive background in diplomacy and international affairs, having served most recently as U.S. under secretary of state for political affairs (2005–08). He was a lead member of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's senior management team. We asked Burns about his plans at the Belfer Center and his views on some of the foremost international challenges facing the United States.

Q What attracted you to Harvard Kennedy School and the Belfer Center and why did you decide to make the move?

Harvard and the Kennedy School seemed a natural fit for me after my retirement in April after 27 years in the United States Foreign Service. I had a challenging and interesting career at a unique time in our history. I was very proud to serve our country, and my family and I enjoyed living in Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. I thought about business but decided that teaching, writing, and thinking about America's role in the world was my abiding interest. I grew up in Wellesley and graduated from Boston College and was close friends with **Graham Allison** and **Ash Carter**. So, I was obviously grateful for the invitation to become a professor here.

Q What are your plans for this year?

I look forward to teaching courses in diplomacy, American foreign policy, and international politics. I am a passionate advocate for diplomacy in the era of globalization and believe we Americans have often undervalued and underutilized it. I will also use the time to reflect on my years in government. I may write a book about America's global leadership challenges. There are so many challenges that

require our sustained commitment, starting with climate change, terrorism, nuclear proliferation. The list is long.

The next president . . . will need to repudiate our episodic infatuation with isolationism and reject unilateralism . . .

Q What do you think are the top three international priorities for the next administration?

First, the next president will need to convince the American people and Congress that, despite our enormous domestic challenges—the recession, an exploding deficit, weakening financial institutions, the price of gas, our reliance on foreign energy—we have no alternative but to stay engaged all around the world. In fact, in a globalized world, it is the only way forward. He will need to repudiate our episodic infatuation with isolationism and reject unilateralism, which I believe is a recipe for failure in our foreign policy. Instead, he should seek to return us to purposeful and energetic multilateral leadership.

Second, we have vital and critical challenges in every part of the world—war and proliferation in the Middle East and South Asia, the necessity of working more effectively with rising powers China, India, Brazil, and South Africa, climate change and the perilous global energy problems, pandemics, food shortages, and trafficking in human beings. We must tackle all of these and more.

Third, the next president will need to work hard to restore our influence and credibility where it has taken a major hit—in the Muslim and Arab worlds, in parts of Europe, and in Latin America. He will need to project hope, not fear, and convince the rest of the world that we are ready to lead on what average people on every continent care about, starting with climate change.

Q You were the negotiator on Iran. What is the best move that the U.S. president could make at this juncture?

Iran may be the single, most difficult issue for the next president. Iran is the leading sponsor

of the terrorist groups that are operating against us, the Israelis, and the moderate Palestinians. Iran is also seeking a nuclear capability. If it becomes a nuclear power, that will change the balance of power in the Middle East against our interests. My strong sense is that we need to keep all options on the table. But, we should make a very strong effort to get to the negotiating table with Iran. We have not had a serious discussion with them since 1979. I do not believe war with Iran is inevitable. The next president should exhaust the diplomatic options. If Iran fails to stop its nuclear research, we will then be in a stronger position to argue for substantially stronger economic sanctions.

The single, greatest benefit of the end of the Cold War was the establishment of a democratic peace in Europe after the bloodiest century in history.

Q Russia is playing an increasingly assertive role in global affairs. What are the implications of this posture, and what should the U.S. do now?

Russian behavior and rhetoric is deeply troubling. There is no question that Russia is and will continue to be a major problem for the U.S. I would argue for a balancing of our interests. On the one hand, we should seek to work with Russia on the global and vital issues where it has influence—countering terrorist threats and limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons and materials, especially in North Korea and Iran. On the other hand, it will be very important, even critical, for the next president to oppose resolutely Russia's attempt to reestablish its sphere of influence in the countries neighboring it.

The single, greatest benefit of the end of the Cold War was the establishment of a democratic peace in Europe after the bloodiest century in history. With that firmly in mind, we should continue to condemn and isolate Russia in its bullying of Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, and the Baltic countries. Their sovereignty and territorial integrity must be supported by the U.S. and our European allies. 🌐



For the People: Nicholas Burns (right) makes a point to **David Gergen**, director of the Harvard Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership, during a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum event in September on "Celebrating Public Service."



Palestinian Progress: Lieutenant General **Keith Dayton**, United States security coordinator for Israel and the Palestinian Authority, speaks at a Belfer Center seminar about Middle East challenges. Dayton was appointed the U.S. security coordinator for the Palestinians in November 2005, charged with helping the Fatah government reform the Palestinian security apparatus to establish internal law and order, stop terrorism, and deter extralegal forces. For his service, he has received a number of awards and decorations including the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the Distinguished Service Medal, and the Defense Superior Service Medal.

International Interests: **Robert Orr** (right), assistant secretary-general for strategic planning and policy coordination at the United Nations and former executive director for research at the Belfer Center, speaks about global challenges at a Belfer Center/Center for International Development lunch meeting. Orr serves as the principal policy advisor to UN Secretary-General **Ban Ki-moon** on climate change and chairs the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. Also pictured is Evron and Jeanne Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs **John Ruggie**, who serves on the Center's board of directors.



Energizing the Future: **Jesus Reyes Heróles**, CEO of Petroleos Mexicanos (PEMEX), speaks at a Belfer Center Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) event in May on the outlook for energy in Mexico and its repercussion on North America's energy security. His talk, co-sponsored by the Harvard University Mexican Association, emphasized the role and future challenges of oil policy in the United States.



Ways of War: Lieutenant General **Douglas E. Lute**, assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, discusses U.S. involvements in Iraq and Afghanistan at a directors' lunch in the spring. At the time of his confirmation by the Senate, Lute was commonly identified by the media as a new "war czar." Also pictured is **Meghan O'Sullivan**, Harvard Kennedy School lecturer in public policy with the Belfer Center and former deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan.



Addressing Success: Liberian President **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf**, an alumna of Harvard Kennedy School (Master in Public Administration/Mason Fellow 1971), talks with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** following her address to the Harvard Kennedy School Class of 2008 in June. Johnson Sirleaf encouraged graduates to "Think big. Let your dreams soar . . . Go for your ambition." Sirleaf became Africa's first elected female head of state in 2006.



Nuclear Divide: **Scott Sagan**, professor of political science and co-director of Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation, speaks at a Belfer Center Project on Managing the Atom seminar titled "The Evolution of Indian and Pakistani Nuclear Doctrine." Before joining the Stanford faculty, Sagan was a lecturer in the Department of Government at Harvard University and served as a special assistant to the director of the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pentagon.

REVISITORS

Advancing Policy-Relevant Knowledge

UN PHOTO/MARK GARTEN



Critical Climate Exchange: **Joseph Aldy** (front left) and **Robert N. Stavins** (back left), co-directors of the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements, meet with U.N. Secretary-General **Ban Ki-moon** (center right) and his climate team in New York in June.

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Cosmic Affairs: **Reza Aslan**, senior fellow with the University of Southern California's Center on Public Diplomacy, speaks on "How to Win a Cosmic War" at a Dubai Initiative and Initiative on Religion in International Affairs lunch in May. Aslan, an internationally acclaimed writer and scholar of religions, is the author of *No God but God*. Also pictured is **Monica Duffy Toft**, associate professor of public policy and director of the Belfer Center's Initiative on Religion in International Affairs.

Reaching for Reserves: Former Secretary of the Interior **Gail Norton**, currently general counsel for Shell Exploration and Production, discusses natural resources management with faculty and fellows at a Belfer Center directors' lunch in the spring. Norton works with Shell's Unconventional Oil Directorate, which is engaged in technological development and research projects to unlock the potential of oil shale and heavy oil resources.



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Law on the Move: **Aitzaz Ahsan** (center), senior advocate for the Pakistan Supreme Court and president of the Pakistani Supreme Court Bar Association, speaks at a Center lunch in July about the lawyers' marches in Pakistan in resistance to anti-democratic movements. Ahsan played a key role in organizing the marches. Also pictured is **Hassan Abbas**, Managing the Atom research fellow who organized Ahsan's visit.

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Safety in the City: **Richard Falkenrath**, NYPD's deputy commissioner for counterterrorism and former executive director for research at the Belfer Center, discusses his perspective on future challenges in homeland security in April. Before joining the NYPD, Falkenrath was director for proliferation strategy on the National Security Council staff and senior director for policy and plans within the Office of Homeland Security. **Karl Kaiser** is also pictured.



BELFER CENTER

Agricultural Ambitions: U.S. Secretary of Agriculture **Edward Schafer** speaks at a Belfer Center directors' lunch on "The Environment and Biofuels." Schafer, who served as North Dakota's governor from 1992 to 2000 with previous experience as an entrepreneur and business executive, made diversifying and expanding North Dakota's economy a top priority. **Paula Broadwell** is also pictured.

SPOTLIGHT

Richard Clarke

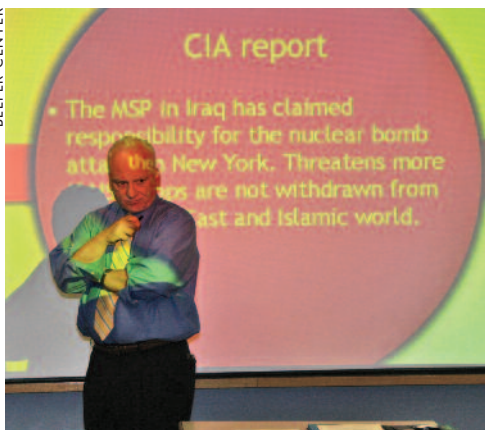
Richard Clarke, a Belfer Center faculty affiliate, grew up in Boston's Dorchester neighborhood in a home where the family read newspapers together, watched the news, and often discussed world events and the military. His dad spent four years in the Pacific, and talking with his father about his experiences and national news was part of Clarke's life from his earliest days. His increasing interest in government intensified the day in 1960 when John F. Kennedy was elected president of the United States. Clarke was 10 years old.

"It was an exciting time," Clarke says. "And it was a guy down the street getting elected that made it more special. Everyone in the neighborhood knew someone who knew someone who was a cousin. We felt a real connectivity with him." Then, John Kennedy made his call to the nation: "Ask what you can do for your country."

The next few years, as a student at Boston Latin—a school that stresses public service and graduated the likes of Ben Franklin, John Hancock, and John Adams—Clarke felt the call to serve his country more and more strongly. It was expected that students would go into public service. "It never occurred to me to do anything else."

I was 24–25, the junior guy on staff, but I was sitting at negotiations with Soviet diplomats and living in spy central—Vienna.

Clarke's first venture into government began immediately after his graduation from the University of Pennsylvania. He got a job in the Pentagon in a management intern program that encouraged the new graduates to "wander around" the Pentagon and select several departments where they could work and learn. A year or so later, he was in Europe, where he spent months as part of the U.S. negotiating team for the Warsaw Pact. "I was 24–25, the junior guy on staff, but I was sitting at negotiations with Soviet diplomats and living in spy central—Vienna." It was like being thrown into the movie "The Third Man," he says, except it was real.



Critical Training: Richard Clarke leads one of his Harvard Kennedy School national security classes in a crisis simulation exercise.

From those dramatic days in Vienna, Clarke has continued to serve in real-life dramas in the Pentagon, the intelligence community, and the State Department. He was assistant secretary of state for politico-military affairs under Presidents Reagan and Bush (senior) and served under the last three presidents as senior White House advisor. He was the first member of the Bush administration to apologize to the families of victims of 9/11, and in *Against All Enemies* and *Your Government Failed You*, he provides his views and insights into leadership and other failures that preceded and followed that day. Clarke currently is a partner in Good Harbor, a company that consults on a range of security issues.

One semester each year, Clarke returns to his roots, to Boston and to Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) where "Ask what you can do" is the school's charge to its students. As a faculty affiliate with the Belfer Center, Clarke teaches courses in national security.

By the end of the course, Clarke, Beers, and Rosenbach hope that by looking at responses to 9/11, students will be able to make generalizations about how institutions respond to crises in general.

Clarke and his colleague **Rand Beers**, who have taught together at HKS since 2004, structure their courses in a way that allows students to learn from the experience and insight of their instructors. Clarke believes mentoring is essential in government. "The system doesn't work well without it. You get people in jobs without a clue, because there's no textbook for a lot of this stuff. There's a wealth of experience out there that people can pass down—but little way to do that. So I've always tried to find time." As part of their courses, Clarke and Beers meet with students in small groups at dinner, a setting that encourages them to ask questions they wouldn't ask in class.

Clarke, Beers, and Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Eric Rosenbach** teach an HKS course this semester titled "Terrorism and the American Response." The class focuses on the response of institutions—like the media, the military, Congress, and the legal community—to the 9/11 attacks. In addition to the historical value of this exploration, Clarke believes students will benefit by better



understanding American institutions and what influences them by looking at the last seven years. "What happened and why did it happen and how did we do?" By the end of the course, Clarke, Beers, and Rosenbach hope that by looking at responses to 9/11, students will be able to make generalizations about how institutions respond to crises in general. They will then be able to determine how they might influence and improve institutions' responses in the future.

Clarke's students are exploring some of the questions he asks in his newest book, *Your Government Failed You*. He suggests that the failure of the government to prevent the 9/11 attacks and the mishandling of crucial national security situations since then—from Iraq to Katrina—are not just failures of the current leadership but are systemic. "The culture of mediocrity that is asserting itself in our national security apparatus increases the likelihood of further calamitous failures," Clarke says.

Analysis in government has become a lost art. People are walking into issues and think they know the answers.

The most important thing the next president needs to deal with, Clarke believes, "is not an issue, but a process . . . that allows for professional analysis of what the problems and the options are. Analysis in government has become a lost art. People are walking into issues and think they know the answers." "That's pretty arrogant," he says. "They have preconceived notions and are not therefore taking analysis seriously."

Clarke is concerned with the impact that government failures have on young people today and their belief in the good that government and public service can do. "They're frustrated," he says, adding that the coming election is especially important. "If there isn't change, I think they'll walk away."

As a realist but also an optimist, Clarke argues in *Your Government Failed You*: "Government has worked in the past, and I believe it can again, if we can identify what has gone wrong in each area . . . and devise initiatives and programs to overcome the entropy and decay that has set in."

Richard Clarke is doing his best to make that happen 🌍

International Security • Environment and Natural Resources



Graham Allison, director of the Belfer Center, was appointed in May by majority and minority leaders in Congress to serve on the new Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism. The commission implements a key recommendation of the 9/11 Commission to address the threat of weapons of mass destruction. Allison also co-directs a new Commission on United States Policy toward Russia launched by the Belfer Center and Nixon Center. The commission will present policy recommendations to the next president and Congress regarding the U.S.-Russian relationship.



Paul Anastas, former fellow with the Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program and director of the Center for Green Chemistry and Green Engineering at Yale University, was honored in May by the Council of Scientific Society Presidents with their "Leadership in Science" award for founding the field of green chemistry. Council President Martin Apple praised Anastas "for his 12 principles redirecting progress on chemical frontiers to address key 21st century challenges."



William Clark, Harvard Kennedy School professor and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors who headed the Harvard University Greenhouse Gas Task Force, joined Harvard President Drew Faust in releasing the task force report in July. As a result of the report, Harvard has pledged to reduce the university's greenhouse gas emissions by 30 percent in the next eight years, with many other long-term strategies. The Belfer Center's **John Holdren** also served on the task force.



Helen Fein, associate with the Center's International Security Program and author/activist on genocide and human rights, has been recognized by the International Association of Genocide Scholars with a book of essays. Titled *Essays in Honor of Helen Fein*, scholars from around the world provide anecdotes and insight into Fein's impact. Roger Smith, professor emeritus of government at the College of William and Mary, said: "You have taught a generation of scholars how, and why, to study genocide. . . ." Also, he said, "You have kept in mind the ultimate issue of saving lives."

"THE UNITED STATES FINDS ITSELF AT ONE OF THOSE MOMENTS when the actions of one nation can shape the future of humankind. Drawing on our rich and varied traditions and putting aside our many differences, we can begin this day to lead the formation of an open, civilized world."

—**Ernest May**, "An Open, Civilized World," *The American Interest Online* (September–October 2008)

"WE TALK ABOUT LEADERS BEING MORE ENERGETIC, more risk-taking, more optimistic, more persuasive, and more empathetic than other people. These traits, however, are affected partly by a leader's genetic makeup and partly by the environments in which the traits were learned and developed."

—**Joseph Nye**, "Follow the Leader," *Globe and Mail* (July 11, 2008)

"UNFORTUNATELY, THE CIA IS NOW ALLOWING THE WHITE HOUSE to withhold access to intelligence about the Israeli bombing of an alleged Syrian nuclear facility. Don't be surprised if this leads to another round of intelligence bashing on Capitol Hill."

—**Eric Rosenbach**, "Real Intelligence Men Don't Cry," *Washington Post* (May 28, 2008)

"IT IS A FREQUENT REFRAIN IN WASHINGTON that the United States needs leverage before it can talk to Iran. In Iraq, Washington is getting leverage. America has the advantage while Iran is on its heels. Engaging Iran now could even influence who wins the Iraq debate in Tehran."

—**Vali Nasr**, "Iran on Its Heels," *Washington Post* (June 19, 2008)

"CRITICS OFTEN ARGUE THAT USING MODERN BIOTECHNOLOGY in African agriculture would harm farmers, wreck the environment and expose consumers to unknown risks. But by failing to adopt biotechnology, Africa puts its poor populations at greater risk of starvation."

—**Calestous Juma**, "Get biotechnology on the agenda for Africa," *Japan Times* (June 30, 2008)

"THE COUNTERTERRORISM EFFORT OF THE GAMES IS A PEOPLE'S EFFORT, and does not depend on the Chinese government only. This is special in China. The most important counterterrorism force may be the 'Red Armbands' who stand and watch outside the gates of Beijing's communities. These 'Red Armbands' are familiar with their communities and will question any strangers in them."

—**Wang Shacheng**, "Beijing Says No to Terrorism at Olympics," *Korea Times* (July 14, 2008)

"THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IRAN WILL RESPOND TO A DIRECT ATTACK, or a blockade, but its options, heated rhetoric notwithstanding, are actually limited. What can it truly do? Attack American ships, block the Gulf? Maybe a pinprick to make it look good at home, but beyond that, the risks of escalation and the costs to Iran's economy are too great."

—**Chuck Freilich**, "A Disastrous Attack on Iran?" *Jerusalem Post* (June 25, 2008)

"UNLESS AFRICA AND THE UN ACT COURAGEOUSLY, Mugabe will get away with his brazen attempt to cling brutally to power and impoverish his own people despite broad global contempt."

—**Robert Rotberg**, "Who Will Have the Courage to Save Zimbabwe?" *Boston Globe* (June 25, 2008)

"IF AMERICANS WANT LOWER GASOLINE PRICES, they should first identify the true culprits: unsustainable rates of consumption growth and a world oil supply that is unlikely to meet the forecasted consumption levels."

—**Henry Lee**, "Running on Empty and Spreading the Blame," *Boston Globe* (July 16, 2008)

"IN BASEBALL, IT'S THREE STRIKES AND YOU'RE OUT. After the undeniable failure of the third Security Council resolution imposing sanctions to slow Iran's nuclear program, Bush's Iran strategists should recognize that they have struck out."

—**Graham Allison**, "Sitting Down at the Nuclear Table with Iran," *Boston Globe* (June 7, 2008)

"DEMOCRACY PROMOTION HAS LED TO A REGRESSION IN DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS in most Arab countries and Iran, causing most native democrats in the region to shun any involvement with the United States. To make democracy promotion with American assistance a dangerous endeavor for Middle Easterners is an astoundingly amateurish foreign policy."

—**Rami G. Khouri**, "Washington's Grim Performance in the Middle East," *Agence Global* (June 18, 2008)

"CYBER WARFARE UNITS IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY have penetrated—and could likely disable in the future—the Pentagon's unclassified network. Other experts have publicly stated that the Chinese army's cyber warfare units were responsible for the massive power blackout in 2003. Chinese cyber warriors almost certainly have the source code of popular office software, which allows them to steal invaluable

intellectual property from private-sector firms around the world.”

—**Eric Rosenbach**, “China’s Cyber Warriors,” *Baltimore Sun* (June 18, 2008)

“JOURNALISTS WILL PLAY A KEY ROLE in shaping the information that opinion leaders and the public use to judge the urgency of climate change, what needs to be done about it, when, and at what costs.”

—**Cristine Russell**, “Climate Change: A big beat grows more complex,” *Columbia Journalism Review* (July–August 2008)

“THE EXTENT OF UNFOUNDED SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE DISRUPTION OF GLOBAL CLIMATE by human-produced greenhouse gases is not just regrettable, it is dangerous. It has delayed—and continues to delay—the development of the political consensus that will be needed if society is to embrace remedies commensurate with the challenge. The science of climate change is telling us that we need to get going. Those who still think this is all a mistake or a hoax need to think again.”

—**John Holdren**, “Convincing the climate change skeptics,” *Boston Globe* (August 4, 2008)

“TO BE SURE, ENTREPRENEURSHIP, CREATIVITY, AND INNOVATION ARE NECESSARY to stimulate growth in revenues, profits, and market value. But, so too, internal checks and balances are needed to constrain greed, avoid commercial and legal collapses, and ensure integrity and quality deep inside the corporation.”

—**Ben Heineman**, “Risk-Taking, Discipline—and Regulation,” *Business Week* (May 20, 2008)

“AS EUROPEAN BUSINESSES PULL THEIR INVESTMENTS OUT OF IRAN, in line with current EU sanctions, the Chinese and Russians have been happily stepping in to fill those lucrative vacancies. In essence, they are reaping the benefits of other governments’ efforts to stave off the disaster that a nuclear Iran would be.”

—**Joshua Gleis**, “Chinese, Russians stall tactics on Iran,” *Boston Globe* (August 9, 2008)

“IN 2002, PRESIDENT BUSH ISSUED A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL STRATEGY TO COMBAT WMD. We found the guidance to be sound, but its implementation to be incomplete. While much progress has been made, performance has fallen short in all three pillars of the National Strategy: prevention, protection, and response.”

—**Ashton B. Carter**, “Strengthening our strategy against WMD,” *Boston Globe* (August 14, 2008)

“IT HAS BECOME A CLICHÉ to suggest that the world’s institutional approaches to economic co-operation need overhauling to take into account the rising economic clout of emerging markets and the decline in dominance of the group of seven leading industrialised nations (G7). This is correct.”

—**Lawrence Summers**, “The global consensus on trade is unraveling,” *Financial Times* (August 25, 2008)

“WESTERN GOVERNMENTS, PRIMARILY THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, have shown far more patience with dictators than with elected leaders. Periods of military rule in Pakistan . . . lasted an average of 10 years, while democratic phases lasted an average of less than three years and were often declared to be unstable, corrupt and weak.”

—**Hassan Abbas**, “Après Musharraf, Patience,” *International Herald Tribune* (August 28, 2008)

“RUSSIA HAS . . . BEEN BUSILY COOKING UP SOUTH OSSETIAS AND ABKHAZIAS in other parts of the former Soviet Union. Crimea in Ukraine and Transnistria in Moldova are just two of many possible future Russian targets. But building an empire is an expensive undertaking. Russia’s appetite for expansion might only weaken it further.”

—**Monica Duffy Toft**, “Russia’s Recipe for Empire,” *Foreign Policy* (September 2008 issue)

“TO WHOM SHOULD THE NEXT PRESIDENT TURN FOR ADVICE ON FOREIGN POLICY: realists or neoconservatives? Given the disastrous results that neoconservative policies have produced since 2001, the answer seems obvious. Yet . . . realists have become an endangered species inside the Beltway and a muted voice in contemporary policy debates.”

—**Stephen Walt**, “The Shattered Kristol Ball,” *National Interest Online* (September 2, 2008)

“FOR NUCLEAR ENERGY TO MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION to mitigating climate change, without creating undue risks, will require a reinvigorated IAEA and new approaches to cooperating for the safety and security of all.”

—**Matthew Bunn** and **Martin B. Malin**, “A nuclear revival needs new cooperation,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (September–October 2008)

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

—Compiled by Courtney Anderson, Communications Office



Ben Heineman, senior fellow with the Belfer Center, has received the first Lifetime Achievement Award for a general counsel from *Corporate Board Member* magazine.

Heineman, senior vice president-general counsel and then senior vice president for law and public affairs at GE, was honored for “the distinctive mark he has left on the field of corporate law.” The *Wall Street Journal* in June named Heineman’s new book, *High Performance with High Integrity*, as one of its recommended six summer reads for CEOs.



Harold Hestnes, who serves on the Belfer Center’s International Council, received the Leadership in Non-Profit Governance Award from the National Association of Corporate Directors in May. Hestnes, whose legal work for more than 40 years focused on public law issues, was honored for his outstanding contributions to the area’s corporate community. He was also recognized for his continuing outstanding service on a number of nonprofit boards.

show to discuss climate change. Explaining the need to act immediately to reduce global warming, Holdren said, “You wouldn’t say, ‘My usual temperature is 98.6, I’ve now got 104, but that’s just a few degrees, so why should I worry about that?’ You know why you should worry about that! The earth has a fever.”



John P. Holdren, director of the Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, stirred the airwaves in late spring with an appearance on the *David Letterman*

show to discuss climate change. Explaining the need to act immediately to reduce global warming, Holdren said, “You wouldn’t say, ‘My usual temperature is 98.6, I’ve now got 104, but that’s just a few degrees, so why should I worry about that?’ You know why you should worry about that! The earth has a fever.”



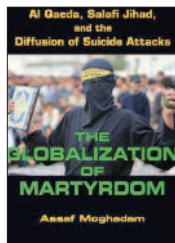
Patricia McLaughlin, project coordinator for the Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, was honored by Harvard

Kennedy School and Harvard University in June as a Harvard Hero. In recognizing McLaughlin’s work at a university-wide ceremony, Harvard President Drew Faust said, “Your door is open to all, from new employees to lost students. Your skills—as a program organizer, faculty assistant, advice-giver, manuscript editor, and winter-coat buyer for newcomers unprepared for New England winters—are prized and legendary. As one of the seven who nominated you says, ‘the mere mention of Pat brings a smile to the stoniest of faces.’”

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks

By Assaf Moghadam; Johns Hopkins University Press (Forthcoming November 2008)



This groundbreaking volume examines the rise and spread of suicide attacks over the past decade. Sorting through 1,270 terror strikes between 1981 and 2007, Assaf Moghadam attributes their recent proliferation to the mutually related ascendance of al Qaeda and its guiding ideology, Salafi Jihad, an extreme interpretation of Islam that rejects national boundaries and seeks to create a global Muslim community. In exploring the roots of the extreme radicalization represented by Salafism, Moghadam finds many causes, including Western dominance in the Arab world, the physical diffusion of Salafi institutions and actors, and the element of opportunity created by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He uses individual examples from the Middle East, Southwest Asia, and Europe to show how the elite leaders of al Qaeda and affiliated groups and their foot soldiers interact with one another and how they garner support from the Muslim community.

[P]rovides new information about the relationship between ideology and suicide attacks and recommends policies focused on containing Salafi Jihadism.

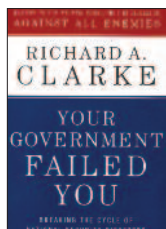
This unflinching analysis provides new information about the relationship between ideology and suicide attacks and recommends policies focused on containing Salafi Jihadism.

“This is an authoritative and updated study on suicide attacks that is better than any other research published in the field. Moghadam offers a clear conceptualization of a complicated phenomenon and a fascinating historical background of the various manifestations of suicide in political contexts.”

—Ami Pedahzur, University of Texas, Austin

Your Government Failed You: Breaking the Cycle of National Security Disasters

By Richard A. Clarke; HarperCollins (May 2008)



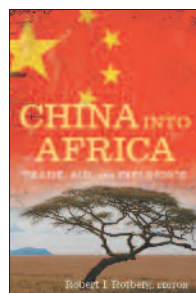
Richard Clarke's dramatic statement and apology to the grieving families during the 9/11 Commission hearings touched a raw nerve across America. Clarke says in his new book that not only had our government failed to

prevent the 2001 terrorist attacks, but it has proven itself, time and again, incapable of handling the majority of our most crucial national security issues, from Iraq to Katrina and beyond. This is not just a temporary failure of our current leadership—it is a systemic problem, he claims.

Clarke minces no words in his examination of the breadth and depth of the mediocrity, entropy, and collapse endemic in America's national security programs. Drawing on his thirty years in the White House, Pentagon, State Department, and intelligence community, Clarke gives us a privileged, if horrifying, look into the debacle of government policies, discovering patterns in the failures and offering ways to stop the cycle once and for all.

China into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence

Edited Robert I. Rotberg; Brookings Institution Press (October 2008)



Africa has long attracted China. We can date their first certain involvement from the fourteenth century, but East African city-states may have been trading with southern China even earlier. In the mid-twentieth century, Maoist China funded and educated sub-Saharan

African anti-colonial liberation movements and leaders, and the Peoples' Republic of China then assisted new sub-Saharan nations. Africa and China are now immersed in their third and most transformative era of heavy engagement, one that promises to do more for economic growth and poverty alleviation than anything attempted by Western colonialism or international aid programs. Robert Rotberg and his Chinese, African, and other colleagues discuss this important trend and specify its likely implications.

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Among the specific topics tackled here are China's interest in African oil; military and security relations; the influx and goals of Chinese aid to sub-Saharan Africa; human rights issues; and China's overall strategy in the region. China's insatiable demand for energy and raw materials responds to sub-Saharan Africa's relatively abundant supplies of unprocessed metals, diamonds, and gold, while offering a growing market for Africa's agriculture and light manufactures.

Primacy and Its Discontents: American Power and International Stability

An International Security Reader

Edited by Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller; MIT Press (February 2009)



The unprecedented military, economic, and political power of the United States has led some observers to declare that we live in a unipolar world in which America enjoys primacy or even hegemony. At the same time, public opinion polls abroad reveal high lev-

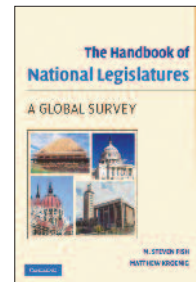
els of anti-Americanism, and many foreign governments criticize U.S. policies. *Primacy and Its Discontents*, based on a series of presentations and discussions organized by the Belfer Center, explores the sources of American primacy, including the uses of U.S. military power, and the likely duration of unipolarity. It offers theoretical arguments for why the rest of the world will—or will not—align against the United States. The contributors offer alternative prescriptions for U.S. foreign policy, ranging from vigorous efforts to maintain American primacy to acceptance of a multipolar world of several great powers.

“Primacy and Its Discontents is an astonishing, state-of-the-art collection of articles about this profound change in the structure of international politics and its implications for the rest of the world.”

—Randall Schweller, Ohio State University

The Handbook of National Legislatures: A Global Survey

By M. Steven Fish and Matthew Kroenig; Cambridge University Press, (2008)



Where is the power? Students of politics have pondered this question and social scientists have scrutinized formal political institutions and the distribution of power among agencies of the government and the state. This book assesses the strength of the national

legislature of every country in the world with a population of at least a half-million inhabitants. The Legislative Powers Survey (LPS) is a list of 32 items that gauges the legislature's sway over the executive, its institutional autonomy, its authority in specific areas, and its institutional capacity. Individual country chapters provide answers to each of the 32 survey items, supplemented by expert commentary and relevant excerpts from constitutions.

“This is an impressive undertaking, genuinely novel in its conception, and remarkably broad in scope. The strength of legislatures is a critical marker of the performance of representative institutions and of democracy more generally.”

—John Carey, Dartmouth College

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

Preventive Defense Project Encourages Taipei-Beijing Dialogue

by Jennifer Bulkeley, PDP

Over the past decade, the Belfer Center's Preventive Defense Project (PDP) has organized a series of "Track II" dialogues between Taiwan, mainland China, and the United States—dialogues that have contributed substantially to diffusing tensions between leaders in the U.S. and China. The off-the-record discussions offer participants an opportunity to speak candidly about issues

often deemed too controversial to be discussed in official Track I bilateral discussions.

In July of this year, days after Taiwan and mainland China ended their first formal talks in nearly a decade, the PDP bipartisan civilian/military delegation, led by PDP Co-directors **William J. Perry** and **Ashton B. Carter**, arrived in Asia for the ninth of these meetings. The timing was fortuitous as both Taiwan and mainland China had just agreed to take important steps to improve relations across the Strait.

In its meetings with officials in Taipei and Beijing—including Taiwan's President Ma Ying-jeou and President of the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) Mr. Chen Yunlin—the PDP delegation encouraged leaders on both sides to seize this opportunity for an improved relationship. All parties acknowledged an historic—but limited—window of opportunity to make meaningful progress toward a more peaceful, stable, and lasting arrangement between Taipei and Beijing.

The American delegation worked with its counterparts on both sides of the Strait to identify additional steps all parties might take to further improve regional stability. In

addition, participants examined regional security issues, including the continued nonproliferation challenges posed by North Korea and Iran, and identified opportunities for Sino-U.S. cooperation on a variety of security issues, with special attention paid to developments in environmental protection and energy policies.

Participants . . . identified opportunities for Sino-U.S. cooperation on a variety of security issues, with special attention paid to developments in environmental protection and energy policies.

At the workshop's conclusion, participants agreed that this year's meeting was the most productive to date and returned to their home institutions to promote opportunities for further cooperation in both the Cross-Strait and U.S.-China relationships. 🌐

DEBORAH GORDON



Candid Conversation: Preventive Defense Project Co-director **Ashton B. Carter** and Ambassador **Wang Yingfan**, former vice minister of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and former PRC ambassador to the UN, discuss regional security challenges at Track II meeting in Beijing.

International Security

SPRING 2008
FALL 2008

Spring 2008, Vol. 33, No. 1

"Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict"

Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth

"Nonviolent resistance is a forceful alternative to political violence that can pose challenges to democratic and nondemocratic opponents, and at times can do so more effectively than violent resistance."

"How American Treaty Behavior Threatens National Security"

Antonia Chayes

"Negative reactions to U.S. treaty behavior may well have undercut essential international cooperation. We cannot know for sure that the 'unsigned' of the ICC, walking away from Kyoto, rejecting the Land Mine Treaty, or any other form of American treaty behavior will lead to lack of future cooperation on issues that Americans value. But resentment runs deep."

"Closing Time: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz"

Caitlin Talmadge

"The notion that Iran could truly blockade the strait is wrong—but so too is the notion that U.S. operations in response to any Iranian action in the area would be short and simple."

International Security ranked first in the 2004–2007 Impact Factor rankings calculated by the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI). The Institute, which also publishes the Social Science Citation Index, covers more than fifty of the world's most cited international relations journals, evaluating their impact and influence on the global research community through quantifiable data. Questions about IS may be directed to: IS@harvard.edu

"The Window of Vulnerability That Wasn't: Soviet Military Buildup in the 1970s—A Research Note"

Pavel Podvig

"Concerns about the U.S. 'window of vulnerability,' which figured so prominently in U.S. political discussions of the Soviet Union's missile modernization program in the late 1970s and early 1980s, were unjustified."

"Divining Nuclear Intentions: A Review Essay"

William C. Potter and Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova

"Solingen, like Hymans, is wary of predicting rampant weapons spread and finds little evidence in her case studies to suggest the existence of a proliferation dynamic that resembles nuclear chains."

Fall 2008, Vol. 33, No. 2

"Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida May Be Less Dangerous Than Many Think"

Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones

"What is most revealing, perhaps, is the evidence that al-Qaida's most successful operations took place when the organization possessed a hierarchical structure."

"Nuclear Stability in South Asia"

Sumit Ganguly

"Nuclear weapons have reduced the risk of full-scale war in the region and have therefore contributed to strategic stability. I also contend that, barring India's acquisition and deployment of viable antiballistic missile capabilities, nuclear deterrence in South Asia should remain robust."

"Ten Years of Instability in a Nuclear South Asia"

S. Paul Kapur

"Optimistic analyses of proliferation's regional security impact are mistaken. Nuclear weapons not only destabilized South Asia in the aftermath of the nuclear tests; they may damage the regional security environment in the years to come."

"Security and Displacement in Iraq: Responding to the Forced Migration Crisis"

Sarah Kenyon Lischer

"The longer that millions of Iraqis remain unable to return to their homes, the more likely that the displaced population will become involved in political violence."

"Making the World Safe for Partial Democracy? Questioning the Premises of Democracy Promotion"

Arthur A. Goldsmith

"Blustering, all-embracing democracy promotion is not a way to enhance national security because it wastes U.S. resources and can prove counterproductive in furthering the ultimate goal."

"Wishful Thinking or Buying Time? The Logic of British Appeasement in the 1930s"

Norrin M. Ripsman and Jack S. Levy

"British appeasement was not a naïve attempt to secure a lasting peace by resolving German grievances, as traditional analyses assume. Instead, it aimed to buy time for rearmament, based on the perception that the balance of power had already shifted in Germany's favor."

—Compiled by *International Security* staff

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Belfer Center Mission: To provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge
about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues
where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect.

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Global Financial 9/11 – What Should Be Done Now?

“We must achieve both security and solvency. In fact, the foundation of military strength is economic strength.” Dwight D. Eisenhower’s comments during his presidential campaign in 1952 resonate today as Center scholars consider possible impacts of the current economic crisis on global security. Belfer Center Board of Director members **Martin Feldstein**, **Jeffrey Frankel**, and **Lawrence Summers**, and International Council member **Paul Volcker**, offer suggestions for dealing with the financial upheaval.

Martin Feldstein “The Problem is Still Falling House Prices,” *Wall Street Journal* (October 4, 2008)

- “A successful plan to stabilize the U.S. economy and prevent a deep global recession must . . . address the fundamental cause of the crisis: the downward spiral of house prices.”
- “Here’s how it might work. The federal government would offer any homeowner with a mortgage an opportunity to replace 20% of the mortgage with a low-interest loan from the government, subject to a maximum of \$80,000. This would be available to new buyers as well as those with mortgages.”

Jeffrey Frankel (October 7, 2008)

- The Troubled Asset Relief Program that passed has a provision that, if the taxpayer is still in the red after five years, the president must submit legislation to recover the difference from the finance industry. How might

this be done? A securities transaction tax.

- Adding a small tax on securities market transactions will accomplish the fiscal goal of raising revenue, which the federal government sorely needed even before the bailout arose, and give expression in a non-damaging way to the blood lust that the public feels toward Wall Street.

Lawrence Summers “A Bailout is Just a Start,” *Washington Post* (September 29, 2008)

- “The idea seems to have taken hold that the nation will have to scale back its aspirations in areas such as health care, energy, education, and tax relief. This is more wrong than right. We have here the unusual case where economic analysis suggests that dismal conclusions are unwarranted and recent events suggest that in the near term, government should do more, not less.”
- “Indeed, in the current circumstances the case for fiscal stimulus—policy actions that increase short-term deficits—is stronger than ever before in my professional lifetime.”
- “The best measures would be short-run investments that will pay back to the government over time or those that are packaged with longer-term actions to improve the budget, such as investments in health-care restructuring or steps to enable states



Economic Upheaval: Lawrence Summers (right), member of the Center’s board of directors, discusses the U.S. financial crisis at a directors’ seminar. International Council member Ric Lewis (left) took part in the discussion.

and localities to accelerate, or at least not slow, their investments.”

Paul Volcker “We Have the Tools to Manage the Crisis; Now we need the leadership to use them,” *Wall Street Journal* (October 10, 2008)

- “The inevitable recession can be moderated. The groundwork can be laid for reconstructing the financial system and the regulatory and supervisory arrangements from the bottom up. The extraordinary interventions by the government . . . should be ended as soon as reasonably feasible.”
- “That rebuilding will be the job of another day—of a new administration here in the U.S., of finance ministries and central banks working together. . . . It will require more understanding of the risks embedded in so-called financial engineering and of the perverse compensation incentives that have exalted risk over prudence.”