



Center Supports Summit Efforts to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism

Nuclear Spring, the term President **Barack Obama** has given the spring of 2010, was highlighted by the Nuclear Security Summit, an international gathering of 47 world leaders who met in Washington, D.C. in April to discuss actions to prevent nuclear terrorism around the world.

Organized in large part by Belfer Center alumni **Gary Samore**, White House coordinator for WMD counter-terrorism and arms control, and **Laura Holgate**, senior director for WMD terrorism and threat-reduction, the leaders concluded the Summit by signing a communiqué agreeing that security standards and accountability should improve. They also established a work plan regarding commitment to international initiatives and treaties. A number of countries

made individual pledges to improve nuclear security. (See Samore/Holgate Q&A page 8)

The Center supported Summit planning with a number of suggestions and contributed to its efforts and goals through publications and numerous interviews recommending steps for and after the Summit. **Matthew Bunn's** *Securing the Bomb 2010* was released the day the Summit began and **Graham Allison** provided attending leaders with materials that included a nuclear terrorism assessment and fact sheet.

Allison, with **Mohamed ElBaradei**, former director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and **Ernesto Zedillo**, former president of Mexico, wrote in an oped published by the *International Herald Tribune* on Saturday, April 9: "To address the array of



Assessing the Summit: **Gary Samore** (left), who was responsible for organizing the Nuclear Security Summit, discusses highlights of the Summit with the Belfer Center Board of Directors in April. The Center's **Matthew Bunn** is also pictured.

nuclear threats and specifically the specter of a nuclear bomb exploding in one of our cities with consequences that will fundamentally change our lives and our world, the supreme requirement is for meaningful, sustained international cooperation."

Links to all Center-related Nuclear Spring materials are available at: <http://belfercenter.org/NuclearSummit/>.

Volcker, Holdren Headline International Council Debate of Critical Issues

Paul Volcker launched the annual meeting of the Belfer Center International Council in April with a substantive and thought-provoking discussion of "The American Economy, the Global Economy, and the Financial Order." Volcker, chair of President Obama's Economic Recovery Advisory Board and member of the Center's international council, has received substantial attention for his proposed "Volcker rule" to prohibit commercial banks from engaging in high-risk trading activities.

John P. Holdren, who is on leave from the Belfer Center Board of Directors to serve as assistant to the president for science and technology and director of the Office of Science and Technology, provided an insightful look at the administration's interests and policies involving science and technology. Holdren described the science and technology aspects of key issues facing the United States including the economy, climate disruption, and outer space.

International council members from around the globe participated in lively discussions about issues ranging from the economy to cyber security and diplomacy. They



Wise Counsel: **Paul Volcker** (2nd from left) at the annual meeting of the Belfer Center International Council in April with Council chair **James Schlesinger** (2nd from right), Council member **Robert Belfer** (left), and Center Director **Graham Allison**.

exchanged views and ideas with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and with Center board members **Nicholas Burns**, **John Deutch**, **Niall Ferguson**, **Joseph Nye**, and **Meghan O'Sullivan**, as well as Center Senior Fellow **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen** and **Melissa Hathaway**, senior advisor to the Center's cyber security project, Project Minerva.

Ferguson initiated a robust debate with his presentation "A Greek Crisis is Coming to

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Future of Diplomacy Project to Focus on Negotiation, Communication

As the international need grows for nations to overcome challenges from climate change to terrorism to ending the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Harvard Kennedy School is responding with a new Future of Diplomacy Project. Based within the Belfer Center, the project will prepare current and future leaders to focus more effectively on

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Affairs of State: Ambassador **Nicholas Burns**, director of the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy project and director of Aspen Strategy Group, with Indian Foreign Secretary **Nirupama Rao** at a Center for a New American Security (CNAS)-Aspen event in New Delhi in January.



FROM THE DIRECTOR

John Allie

On April 13, President Obama hosted the largest gathering of heads of state to assemble at the invitation of an American president since FDR convened the meeting in San Francisco at which the United Nations was founded. The single

focus of the meeting was “Nuclear Security:” locking down all nuclear weapons and materials worldwide to a gold standard—beyond the reach of thieves or terrorists. As President Obama said in welcoming nearly 40 heads of state: “The single biggest threat to U.S. security, short term, medium term, and long term, is the possibility of a terrorist organization obtaining a nuclear weapon.”

[T]hese leaders have in their power to prevent the only terrorist attack that could kill hundreds of thousands of individuals in a single blow.

The big insight President Obama attempted to drive home is that these leaders have in their power to prevent the only terrorist attack that could kill hundreds of thousands of individuals in a single blow. This would indeed be a civilization changer. But if nations lock down all nuclear weapons and bomb-usable material as securely as gold in Fort Knox, they can reduce the likelihood of a nuclear 9/11 to nearly zero.

The themes developed at the Summit and its agenda of action, including countries’ specific work plans, reflect the Belfer Center’s analytic efforts over more than a decade. Belfer Center senior researchers were actively involved in providing support and suggestions for Center alumni, who were the White House’s principal architects and organizers of this undertaking. The Center also provided background materials, including a threat briefing, key facts, and proposed action agendas, to each of the heads of state and delegations attending the Summit. In addition, the unofficial scorecard on progress in securing nuclear materials worldwide—**Matt Bunn’s** *Securing the Bomb 2010*—was released the week before the Summit.

On a related note, I am particularly pleased that the Belfer Center has established two new fellowship programs this year, a nuclear security fellows program and a fellowship in honor of **Ernest R. May**, a longtime member of the Belfer Center’s board of directors, who passed away last year. The new fellowships fit in perfectly with the Center’s dual mission: (1) 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; and (2) to prepare future generations of leaders for these arenas.

These two new fellowship programs will expand the pipeline of talented men and women entering nuclear security-related fields, as well as encourage the next generation of leaders to examine links between history and public policy. That is now more important than ever. 🇺🇸



Scientific Applications: **John P. Holdren** (left), assistant to President Obama for science and technology and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors (on leave), speaks to Center faculty and fellows about the science and technology aspects of key issues facing the United States today, including the economy, climate disruption and outer space. **Robin Zahran** (right), member of the Center’s international council, took part in the discussion.

Fellowships Encourage Scholars in Nuclear Security, History and Policy

The Belfer Center has grown this year with the addition of two new fellowships.

Three 2010–2011 **Nuclear Security Fellows** will spend a year in residence at the Belfer Center and conduct research under the auspices of the Center’s International Security



Nuclear Matters: **Yun Zhou**, 2010–2011 Nuclear Security Fellow, discusses “China’s Nuclear Energy,” during her 2009–2010 research fellowship with the Center’s Project on Managing the Atom and International Security Program.

Program and Project on Managing the Atom. The fellowships, to begin in September 2010, are supported by a generous gift from the Stanton Foundation.

Karthika Sasikumar, who will be a junior faculty fellow, will research the adoption and adaptation of deterrence theory in South Asia, civil-military relations in nuclearizing countries, and the implications of a “renaissance” in nuclear power.

Yun Zhou, currently a research fellow with the Center’s Managing the Atom project, will be a post-doctoral fellow. Her research will focus on the requirements and consequences—for nuclear safety, security, and nonproliferation—of a major expansion of nuclear energy in China and elsewhere around the world.

Mahsa Rouhi is a Ph.D. candidate who will continue her dissertation research and writing on Iran’s foreign and security policy-making, with a special focus on Iran’s nuclear-related policymaking.

The **Ernest May Fellowship** is a new initiative to help build the next generation of men and women who will bring professional history to bear on strategic studies and major issues of international affairs. The fellowship honors **Ernest May**, a member of the Belfer Center’s board of directors who passed away in June 2009.

The Ernest May Fellowships have been awarded to **James Esdaile** and **Ian Klaus**, doctoral candidates in Harvard’s history department. Esdaile’s dissertation is on the role of finance through the decline of the British Empire and onset of Cold War. Klaus’ dissertation is on the place of fraud in military and commercial expansion of the 19th century British Empire.

Niall Ferguson, Laurence Tisch Professor of History at Harvard and member of the Center’s board of directors, will serve as point of contact and mentor for the fellows. 🇺🇸

Students Research Pakistan's Military-Civilian Relationship

Two Belfer Center International Global Affairs (IGA) fellows traveled to Pakistan in March for a week of research about the Pakistani military and its relationship with the civilian government.

The trip is part of the Belfer Center's research project focusing on the Pakistani military, led by Executive Director **Eric Rosenbach** and researched by HKS students **Francisco Aguilar, Randy Bell, Natalie Black, Sayce Falk, and Sasha Rogers**. The research done in



High-Powered Defense: **Pervez Hoodbhoy**, professor of high energy physics and chairman of the Physics Department at Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad, Pakistan, speaks at a Belfer Center directors' lunch on "Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons." Hoodbhoy is a well-known Pakistani nuclear physicist and political defense analyst as well as a prominent environmental and social activist.

Pakistan will be incorporated into the final report that is scheduled for publication in June.

Rosenbach launched the project because he found that the most pressing issues in the region all involve the Pakistani military, yet there is no easily digestible authoritative literature on the institution.

The final report is intended for policy-makers—including those at the U.S. State and Defense Departments—and the interested public, according to Bell, a second-year MPP student and IGA fellow.

The report ... provides background on how the Pakistani military operates.

"There's a lot of talk about the Pakistani military and there's a lot of misconceptions" said Bell. The report aims to clear up some of the misconceptions, but also provides background on how the Pakistani military operates.

Two of the misconceptions addressed in the report are the lack of a counterinsurgency strategy and the "lost generation" of senior military leadership.

Pakistan's counterinsurgency strategy, though initially ineffective, has evolved into a successful approach. The aspect that still needs improvement is the civilian follow-up to the military operation.

The Pakistani military is such a powerful institution that it has crowded out the civilian

side of counterinsurgency, according to Aguilar, an IGA fellow and dual-degree candidate with Harvard Kennedy School and MIT's Sloan School of Management.

The weak civilian side is unable to employ the needed development efforts to maintain the military gains. "You spill a lot of blood and do it well, but if you don't have a credible, capable partner, it may not be sustainable," Aguilar said.

The second misconception is that a "lost generation" of senior military officers exists because of the Pressler sanctions in the nineties. While the number of officers who trained in the U.S. dropped substantially during the Pressler era, some officers did still train here, according to Bell.

The effect of the Pressler sanctions, while not as extreme as some think, does impact U.S.-Pakistan relations today. "What you're seeing is a generation of Pakistani officers who really have minimal contact with the U.S.," said Bell. The lack of personal connections has led to a "trust deficit" between the two countries and it is harder for the U.S. to make its voice heard in Pakistan.

The project/trip was independent of the U.S. government, an important detail when applying for visas and scheduling interviews. Bell and Aguilar met with retired military officers, politicians, academics, and journalists. 🇺🇸

U.S.-China Experts Meet to Strengthen Nuclear Cooperation

A cooperative U.S.-Chinese nuclear relationship is essential for making good on the United States' commitment, as stated by President Obama in Prague a year ago, to "seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons." Yet that relationship has been fraught with tension. In mid-March, the Belfer Center's Managing the Atom (MTA) Project, together with Professor **Li Bin** of Tsinghua University, convened back-to-back workshops in Beijing on ways to strengthen U.S.-Chinese cooperation across a broad

agenda of issues. MTA research associate **Hui Zhang** organized the effort from the U.S. side. The discussions in China involved more than 40 leading nuclear experts and policy makers. **Matthew Bunn, Steven Miller, Zhou Yun, and Martin Malin** participated, along with Zhang, on behalf of the MTA project.

Non-governmental hosts and off-the-record rules were highly conducive to getting beyond scripted, diplomatic discussion.

The confidential discussions focused on: U.S. and Chinese approaches to preventing nuclear terrorism; Chinese nuclear weapons policies and perspectives on the U.S. nuclear posture; reactions to the Prague arms control agenda; opportunities for strengthening cooperation on nonproliferation; and China's nuclear energy and commercial reprocessing plans.

The discussions came at a critical juncture: U.S.-Chinese relations were at a low point, the level of Chinese participation in the Nuclear Security Summit was in question,

and China's willingness to support any further UN Security Council sanctions on Iran was in doubt.

Many of the Chinese participants expressed the view that the discussions were an important means of improving their understanding of relevant U.S. policies, reducing misunderstanding and building up trust, and increasing U.S.-Chinese cooperation. There was a strong consensus that non-governmental hosts and off-the-record rules were highly conducive to getting beyond scripted, diplomatic discussion, and should occur regularly in the future. The Harvard-Tsinghua partnership was also successful in forging new relationships between the individuals stepping into leading foreign and energy policy roles in China and the established U.S. experts, such as **Richard Garwin, Frank von Hippel, Mark Hibbs**, and those in the MTA group.

The discussions were part of an ongoing MTA research initiative on China's nuclear policies, led by Zhang, and made possible by generous support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. 🇺🇸



Powerful Partnership: The U.S. nuclear experts in China for meetings with Chinese colleagues visit the country's pilot fast breeder reactor.

Program in Jordan Builds on Kennedy School-Middle East Relations

King Abdullah II bin al-Hussein welcomed Belfer Center and other Harvard Kennedy School faculty to Jordan in January to launch a pioneering Kennedy School executive program titled “Leading for the Future: The Middle East in a Changing World.” The event, at a site overlooking the Dead Sea, was organized by the Kennedy School’s Middle East Initiative and Executive Education department, in association with the King Abdallah II Fund for Development.

The conference was a harbinger of a new relationship between the school and this important region.

—Henry Lee

Robert Lawrence, Albert L. Williams professor of international trade and investment, Henry Lee, director of the Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program, and Nicholas Burns, professor of the practice of diplomacy and international poli-

tics—all members of the Center’s board of directors—took part in the five-day event along with the Kennedy School’s Herman “Dutch” Leonard and Andy Zelleke. Lawrence is faculty chair of the Leading for the Future program.

More than 50 public and private sector professionals and officials, hailing from 11 countries in the region, participated in discussions and reflections led by the Kennedy School group on topics such as innovation, competing in the global economy, leading in difficult times, and economic challenges facing the Arab world.

“Thanks to the leadership of the King Abdullah II Foundation, the event was the first time that the Kennedy school has been

able to gather senior representatives from most all of the Arab countries, including the Palestinian Territories and the Gulf states,” Lee said. “The conference was a harbinger of a new relationship between the school and this important region.”



Royal Treatment: Jordan’s King **Abdullah II** and Professor **Robert Lawrence**, faculty chair of Harvard Kennedy School’s Leading for the Future program.

Dubai Initiative Conference Encourages Middle East Adaptation, Innovation

“Innovation and Adaptation in the Middle East”—the Dubai Initiative’s annual conference in May—explored unique responses to the challenges facing the region. Prominent researchers and practitioners from the public, private, and non-profit sectors contributed expertise and ideas to the dynamic gathering. Following an opening address by **Tarik Yousef**, dean of the Dubai School of Government, the keynote address was delivered by Ambassador **Nicholas Burns**, professor of the practice of diplomacy and international politics, and member of the Belfer Center’s board of directors.

The research of Dubai Initiative fellows and faculty affiliates was highlighted throughout the event’s ten panels. Topics covered included state formation and the role of political Islam, the challenges of the “youth bulge” in the region, and the changing financial markets and global economies. The conference included a workshop on adaptation to climate change that was co-sponsored by the Center’s Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements and Duke University’s Nicholas School of the Environment.

The aim of the conference, said Dubai Initiative Executive Director **Ashraf Hegazy**, was “to provide a platform for relating research to practice on Middle East issues, and act as the launching point for new multi-disciplinary, cross-institutional initiatives.”

The climate workshop, which included top academic experts, policymakers, and practitioners, proved to be a valuable venue for the

exchange of new insights and expertise to inform future research and policymaking. It is expected to result in a comprehensive publication in fall 2010, and a new collaborative initiative among most of its 20 participants.

Similarly, a meeting of urbanization experts from several institutions is expected to lead to the creation of a consortium to study the various dimensions of urbanism in the Arab world.

Discussion of multi-disciplinary integration, policy, research, and practice during the two day event provided numerous practical anchors to the theories behind the practice. Policy reforms were also given consideration with an eye toward effectively meeting upcoming challenges in the Middle East and North Africa.

New Professorship Named for Minos Zombanakis

The Belfer Center launched a new professorship this spring named for **Minos A. Zombanakis**, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank’s International Advisory Council for Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, a Harvard Kennedy School alum, and member of the Belfer Center International Council. Harvard Kennedy School celebrated the professorship with Zombanakis and his family in April.

Educational Distinction: **Minos Zombanakis** (center) with his family at the Harvard Kennedy School celebration of the Zombanakis professorship. Pictured (from left): **Andreas Zombanakis**, **Minos Zombanakis Jr.**, **Minos Zombanakis**, **Constantinos Zombanakis**, and **Agapi Zombanakis**.



HKS MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE

ROSE LINCOLN

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, Staff,

Featured Fellows—Focus on Research



Jennifer Dixon

Jennifer Dixon Researches Explanations, Impact of Controversial National Histories

Jennifer Dixon is a research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, analyzing how nations deal with controversial pasts.

New Jersey native **Jennifer Dixon** credits a dedicated and enthusiastic high school teacher with her initial interest in government and politics. Dixon said this class inspired her initial interest in studying politics, which eventually led to her decision to major in government as an undergraduate at Dartmouth College.

In college, Dixon focused almost entirely on American politics, until a semester at the London School of Economics piqued her interest in comparative politics and international relations. She studied Turkish during her junior year, and as a result of this semester abroad, she developed an academic interest in Turkish politics and history in her final year of college.

After working in New York City for four years, Dixon started graduate school in political science at the University of California, Berkeley. She studied comparative politics and international relations, while continuing to focus on Turkish politics.

When the time came to write her dissertation, Dixon was intrigued by the ways in which the Armenian genocide has been dealt with in Turkey's domestic politics and foreign relations. Moreover, despite its importance, the issue has only recently begun to be discussed openly in Turkey, let alone studied.

The International Security Program at the Belfer Center has given Dixon access to a broad group of scholars working on Turkish politics, the Armenian genocide, and Sino-Japanese relations.

As a result, Dixon decided to analyze how states' narratives of shameful pasts change over time, the dynamics of contestation over such narratives, and the meaning of these debates for contemporary politics. However, as a student of comparative politics, Dixon did not want to study Turkey's narrative in isolation. She decided to compare it with Japan's narrative of the Nanjing massacre and its invasion of China during World War II, since there are a number of similarities—and a few key differences—between the two cases.

"As I progressed in my research, I realized that the threat of violence (and in some cases, actual violence) was one domestic factor—among many—accounting for the striking continuities in both of these narratives," Dixon said.

The International Security Program (ISP) at the Belfer Center has given Dixon access to a broad group of scholars working on Turkish politics, the Armenian genocide and Sino-Japanese relations. Moreover, "I have been able to interact with and learn from scholars who are doing interesting work on different aspects of foreign policy and international relations," Dixon said. Her future plans include a career in political science that will combine teaching and research.

For additional information about Dixon's research, see <http://belfercenter.org/Dixon>. 📄

Ruud Kempener Builds International Cooperation on Energy Policy

Ruud Kempener is a postdoctoral research fellow in the Belfer Center's Energy Research, Development, Demonstration & Deployment (ERD3) Policy project.



Ruud Kempener

Growing up in a small countryside village near Maastricht, in the Netherlands, Ruud Kempener spent most of his youth playing on his grandparents' farm. At the age of 17, he entered the Eindhoven University of Technology, where he earned an engineering degree that combined engineering, economics, psychology, and philosophy, allowing him to better understand each profession's differing views of technology and innovation.

As Kempener grew increasingly interested in a career involving energy and sustainable development, he took some early lessons with him. "I believe there are certain values to farming (balancing economic, environmental and social issues, forward planning, local materials streams) that are also at the basis of sustainable development," he said.

He went on to earn his Ph.D. in engineering at the University of Sydney, Australia, and did postgraduate and postdoctoral work in energy technology innovation in the Netherlands, South Africa, and the United Kingdom. Living in different places made him realize how socially embedded technologies vary and the impact that cultural differences have on climate and vice versa. Consequently, he gained a better understanding of the need for collaboration and cooperation among countries on this issue.

"I realized that energy is an issue that needs to be assessed from a systemic perspective. Individual efforts can provide local savings, but the true impact and potential from energy saving activities can only be measured and analyzed considering all activities from cradle to grave," he said.

Kempener has worked on projects that include developing national policies for the Dutch energy transition, using analytic methods to help chemical companies achieve efficient energy supply chains, and developing agricultural policies to foster sustainable development in rural Europe.

Kempener is working on the development of a framework for international cooperation on energy technology innovation policy.

A research fellow for the Energy, Technology Innovation Policy research group at the Belfer Center, Kempener is working on the development of a framework for international cooperation on energy technology innovation policy between the U.S. government and other countries. For more information on the program, see: <http://belfercenter.org/ERD3>.

"Many policymakers who come through the Belfer Center are really interested in discussing their issues and getting feedback from scientists, while my experience in other countries is that scientists are mostly called upon if a particular piece of information is required," he said.

Ruud Kempener's hope for the future is "to work on the playing field between government and business, because I think it is in this space where the biggest gains can be achieved, especially in an international context." 📄

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 Policy research group (ETIP); Project on Managing the Atom (MTA); Science, Technology, and Globalization Project (STG); Broadmoor Project; Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements; Initiative on Religion in International Affairs; Agricultural Innovation in Africa; U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism; Future of Diplomacy Project*

Fellows at Work and Moving On

Congratulations and best wishes to Belfer Center research fellows who will share their knowledge and talents with other institutions next fall. They have enriched the Belfer Center and Harvard Kennedy School community as fellows with the Center's International Security Program (ISP), Project on Managing the Atom (MTA), Science, Technology, and Public Policy (STPP) Program, Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group (ETIP), Intrastate Conflict Program (ICP), and Initiative on Religion in International Affairs (RIIA).

Emma Belcher (ISP/MTA) and **Matthew Fuhrmann** (ISP/MTA) accepted Nuclear Security Fellowships with the Council on Foreign Relations.

Philipp Bleek (ISP/MTA) will join the faculty of the Monterey Institute for International Studies in February 2011.

Robert Bosco (RIIA/ISP) successfully defended his dissertation titled "Moderating Islam: Religion, Security, and the Western State" and will be an assistant professor of international affairs at Centre College in Kentucky.

Malfrid Braut-Hegghammer (ISP/MTA), who also successfully defended her dissertation "Nuclear Entrepreneurs: Drivers of Nuclear Proliferation," will return in the fall to the Norwegian Staff College as a Research Fellow.

Vaidyanatha Gundlupet (ISP/MTA) will be an assistant professor of political science at University of Texas San Antonio.

Matthew Kroenig (formerly ISP/MTA) received a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship for next year.

Vipin Narang (ISP/MTA) accepted a position as assistant professor of political science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Ragnhild Nordas (ISP/RIIA) successfully defended her dissertation "Beliefs & Bloodshed: Understanding Religion and Intrastate Conflict." Next year, she will be a visiting research fellow at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

T. Negeen Pegahi (ISP/MTA) will be an assistant professor of political science at the Naval War College.

Elena Rodriguez-Vieitez (formerly ISP/MTA) was named scientific project officer with the European Commission's Institute for Prospective Technological Studies with Spain's Sustainable Production and Consumption Unit.

Paul Staniland (formerly ISP/ICP) accepted a position as assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago.

Andrea Strimling (ISP) was awarded a World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship by Smith Richardson Foundation.

Lorenzo Vidino (ISP/RIIA) will have a section of his recent dissertation published in August as a book titled *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (Columbia University Press).

Shacheng Wang (formerly ISP) was named a lecturer with the Institute of Defense Economics and Management at the Central University of Finance and Economics in Beijing.



Vaidyanatha Gundlupet



COURTESY OF PAUL FISHSTEIN

Contemplative Conversation: **Paul Fishstein**, joint fellow with the Belfer and Carr Centers, talks with an orchard owner and official of an agricultural cooperative in Khulum, northern Afghanistan. Fishstein was in Afghanistan in March to continue his research on markets, economic policy, and state legitimacy in Afghanistan. He also made a presentation on the effect of development projects on stability in Afghanistan at a major conference on aid and security in Wilton Park, United Kingdom.

Media Coverage Impacts Climate Change Perceptions, Actions

Leading climate journalists and scholars headlined a three-part seminar series this spring on "Climate Change & the Media," sponsored by the Belfer Center and the Shorenstein Center on the Media, Politics and Public Policy. Organized and moderated by **Cristine Russell**, senior fellow with the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program, the seminars looked at the impact of media on public perceptions of the reality and threat of climate change.

A major challenge is ensuring that the public get credible information on climate change issues.

—Andrew Revkin

Andrew Revkin of the *New York Times*' blog "Dot Earth" noted that "climate change, which rarely makes the front page of major newspapers, has found its voice through online social networks such as blogs and Twitter." A major challenge, he said, is ensuring that the public get credible information on climate change issues—and not just views of advocates or skeptics.

Juliet Eilperin, who covers environment for the *Washington Post*, and **Eric Pooley**, deputy editor of Bloomberg's *Business Week*, expressed concern that newspapers' financial challenges are undermining climate change coverage. They noted also that paid professional climate change deniers have had successful campaigns that promote controversy and discourage the public from taking action.

Belfer Center Associate Professor of Public Policy **Matthew Bunn**, who served as discussant for the final seminar on the role of the media in communicating about new clean energy technologies, framed the discussion by saying, "Scale is the fundamental issue. We don't really understand as a society just how big this challenge is." 📱

Feldstein Class Connects the Dots—Economics and Security

Shortly after the Sept. 11 attacks, the well-known economist **Martin Feldstein**, a longtime member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, introduced a new course at Harvard: the Economics of National Security. For Feldstein, the attacks crystallized an idea that he had been thinking about for years: Unlike other critically important national issues such as health care and crime, very few economists do any work on national security. Feldstein hoped his course at Harvard would change that.

Feldstein's course brings tools of economics to critical international security challenges.

His course, which takes the form of a seminar series and is now in its ninth year, for the first time brings the tools of economics to bear on some of the most important international security challenges we face today. Over the years, the course has attracted some of the leading thinkers working on national security today, including **Robert Gates**, now secretary of defense; former CIA Director **John Deutch**, a member of the Belfer Center's board of directors; and **Stephen Bosworth**, dean of the Fletcher School at Tufts University and current U.S. special representative for North Korea policy.

For an economics course, Feldstein's approach is unusual: He brings in experts in national security issues—almost all non-economists. Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** was an early supporter of Feldstein's

efforts and has spoken to his class nearly every year since.

Along the way, the speakers highlight interesting facts, figures, and issues that enterprising students of economics may want to research further. **Bruce Riedel**, who led President Obama's first review of policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan in March 2009, spoke to Feldstein's class in April about the challenges posed by both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

"People like Bruce Riedel, who are not economists, talk about very important problems," Feldstein said. "I hope some of the students would respond to that by saying, 'How does this get funded?' 'How do you create a stable economy?' 'What's the right size army to have?'"

Speakers this year included Deutch on the national security aspects of the global energy market, former Belfer Center Executive Director **Richard Falkenrath**, then deputy commissioner of counter-terrorism with the New York Police Department, and Harvard Economics Professor **Effi Benmelech** on the economic cost of harboring terrorism.

Feldstein's model seems to be working. Over the years, the course has spawned a number of thesis chapters focusing on topics such as military recruitment, economic sanctions, and the nature of terrorism.



Security in Numbers: Martin Feldstein (2nd from right) is joined prior to his economics-national security class by (left to right) students **Melissa Eccleston** and **Bill Gallagher**, the evening's guest speaker **Richard Falkenrath** (center), then the deputy commissioner of counter-terrorism for the New York Police Department, and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**.

Allan Friedman, a fellow with the Belfer Center's Minerva Project, which focuses on cyber security, took Feldstein's class this spring.

"I think it's fascinating," he said. "The discussion is incredibly respectful. Many of the questions reflect a unique perspective."

The course also has another benefit: Introducing Harvard economics grad students to military officers, and vice versa. The course started out as all economics students, but over the years has evolved to include quite a few National Security Fellows from the Kennedy School and other military officers.

"How many graduate students in economics have met a colonel?" Feldstein said. "That exposure is very valuable." 📌

Diplomacy (continued from page 1)

diplomacy, grand strategy, and negotiations. The initiative intends to make diplomacy a greater focus of teaching and research at the Kennedy School and will create several new areas of engagement.

Few American universities focus on the study and practice of diplomacy... Harvard and the Kennedy School are well-positioned to make the study of diplomacy a central focus of our thinking and research.

—Nicholas Burns

Nicholas Burns, Harvard Kennedy School professor of the practice of diplomacy and international politics and member of the Center's board of directors, will direct the diplomacy project. Burns, a former ambassador of NATO and Greece, served until 2008 as under secretary of state for political

affairs responsible for negotiations on the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Agreement and Iran's nuclear program.

"Few American universities focus on the study and practice of diplomacy," Burns said. "We believe Harvard and the Kennedy School are well-positioned to make the study of diplomacy a central focus of our thinking and research."

The diplomacy project will include several new initiatives, including expanding course offerings on modern diplomacy. Beginning in the fall semester of 2010, a new Fischer Family Fellows Program will recruit distinguished former world leaders to spend time at the Kennedy School to write, teach, and speak about diplomacy.

Career diplomat **Marc Grossman** became the first diplomacy fellow this spring. Ambassador Grossman, a former under secretary of state for political affairs and assistant secretary of state for European affairs, has spent

the spring semester teaching, meeting with students, and writing a book on the utility of modern diplomacy.

The diplomacy project also plans a major conference... that will bring together world leaders to focus on the importance of diplomacy.

Other Future of Diplomacy Project initiatives include a joint project with Harvard Business School to stimulate research, case studies, conferences, and speeches about the nexus between diplomacy and negotiations. The diplomacy project also plans a major conference in the coming year that will bring together world leaders to focus on the importance of diplomacy in global politics.

Additional information about the Future of Diplomacy project is available at <http://belfercenter.org/diplomacy>. 📌

Q&A Gary Samore and Laura Holgate

The Nuclear Security Summit that brought 46 global leaders to Washington, D.C. in April was a major step by President Obama to “ensure that terrorists never acquire a nuclear weapon.” The Summit, intended to launch what President Obama called “a new international effort to secure all vulnerable nuclear material around the world within four years,” was organized by Gary Samore, coordinator for arms control and weapons of mass destruction, proliferation, and terrorism, and Laura Holgate, senior director for weapons of mass destruction terrorism and threat reduction. We asked Samore and Holgate, alumni of the Belfer Center’s International Security Program (ISP), to comment on the planning and successes of the Summit.



Gary Samore

Q You were responsible for organizing the Nuclear Security Summit that was attended by 47 nations in April. What do you see as the key successes of the Summit?

The greatest success is that President Obama persuaded 46 countries to join the U.S. in a plan to put the world’s nuclear material out of the reach of terrorists within four years. While the president has acknowledged that this won’t be easy, the Summit greatly increased the global visibility and urgency of the problem. All of the countries signed onto a 12-point non-binding Communiqué and a work plan, both of which Laura and I developed with delegates ahead of the Summit.

A number of countries pledged during the Summit to take concrete steps to increase nuclear security in their countries. For example, India announced it would build a center to promote nuclear security, and Ukraine, Mexico, Chile, Kazakhstan, Vietnam, and Canada agreed to dispose of hundreds of pounds of highly enriched uranium (HEU) used in civilian facilities. The biggest surprise was Ukraine’s agreement to give up its HEU. Laura Holgate worked out the details for this agreement.

Q What were some of the biggest challenges for you in planning the Summit and making sure it ran smoothly?

In the context of nuclear security, for some countries it was important to have a specific reference to the security of nuclear weapons in the Communiqué, but several countries with nuclear weapons did not want any mention of weapons. It took a lot of work to get agreement to include a statement to: “Reaffirm the fundamental responsibility of States . . . to maintain effective security of all nuclear materials, which includes nuclear materials used in nuclear weapons . . .”

Another challenge was how to reference the relationship of nuclear security to disarmament, nonproliferation, and peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We see nuclear security as the essential foundation of disarmament, nonproliferation, and peaceful uses, and each of these pillars of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is bolstered by high-quality nuclear security. Some Summit participants are not NPT member states, however, so are reluctant to enshrine these principles by referencing the NPT. Others oppose any reference to disarmament that does not hew to

caveats agreed to in other recent international fora. Some others suggested that progress on nuclear security be preceded by further progress on disarmament. Several states were intent on ensuring that nuclear security not be used to constrain or limit rights to peaceful use, while others wished to highlight that nuclear security is an essential enabling component of the expansion of nuclear energy and other peaceful applications. You can see for yourself how the Communiqué trod carefully to balance these various views.

The Belfer Center has had a huge impact by injecting timely research and analysis directly into real-life debates and policies on international security.

—Gary Samore, Laura Holgate

Laura Holgate

Q As you worked with nations to develop the work plan, did you find it difficult to get countries to internalize the threat of nuclear terrorism and commit to taking concrete steps following the Summit?

I think it is fair to say that not all nations share the same sense of urgency and reality that the U.S. places on the threats that come from the deadly intersection of vulnerable nuclear material and suicidal terrorists bent on mass killing. Some nations are defensive about the security of their own materials, some nations are skeptical about the intent or capabilities of terrorists, and some believe that as long as the U.S. is the main target of terrorists, this is not their problem. By contrast, we know that nuclear security needs to be improved in many countries, including my own. We also know that the crude design of the first U.S. bomb was considered so reliable by its designers that it was never tested before it was used, and that the principles of this design are available to experts without direct bomb-building experience. We know that al Qaeda has received fatwas from religious authorities condoning the use of weapons of mass destruction, and that the acquisition of this capability has been a consistent theme of al Qaeda leaders’ statements and activities. And we know that the global effect—economically, politically, and psychologically—of a terrorist nuclear attack anywhere will challenge the capacity of all

states to manage the consequences. We are foolish if we ignore or deny these realities.

I think the discussion among leaders during the Summit provided an opportunity to narrow some of these differences, but we still have work to do in terms of coming to a truly shared perception of the threat. As the Summit Communiqué indicates, however, all participants agreed that nuclear security is the most effective way to prevent nuclear terrorism, and nations recognize their national responsibilities and international commitments to ensure security of nuclear materials.

Q Can you explain how the Ukraine agreement came about and why it is especially significant?

Ukraine is the latest of many countries to recognize that highly enriched uranium is not needed to carry out world-class science or to manufacture beneficial isotopes. Through the Global Threat Reduction Initiative and its predecessor programs, we had been working with Ukraine for several years to improve security of their facilities and to develop low enriched uranium fuels for its reactors. The combination of the maturity of these new fuel types, of the arrival of a new government in Kiev, and of the opportunity of the Summit to provide high-level recognition of another positive step taken by Ukraine in the realm of nuclear nonproliferation brought about the conditions necessary to proceed with the removal of all HEU from Ukraine in the next two years. All HEU could be used to make a nuclear weapon, so the secure removal and elimination of unneeded HEU is a significant contribution to permanently reducing nuclear threats.

Q Are there lessons from your experiences as a fellow and staff member at the Belfer Center that you apply in your work in the National Security Council today?

We are both fortunate to have benefited from time spent at the Belfer Center. The Belfer Center has had a huge impact by injecting timely research and analysis directly into real-life debates and policies on international security. Whether on Middle East politics during Gary’s time at the Center, or on the concept that became known as “cooperative threat reduction” during Laura’s work there, or today with Matt Bunn’s ongoing focus on the risks of nuclear terrorism, the knowledge, relationships, and intellectual frameworks developed within the Center have made enormous contributions to global security. 🌟



In the Know: **Bruce Riedel**, former Central Intelligence Agency officer who chaired President Obama's review of American policy towards Afghanistan and Pakistan, speaks on "The State of al Qaeda Today" at a Belfer Center directors' seminar in April. Riedel served in the CIA for 30 years and was senior advisor on South Asia and the Middle East to the last four U.S. presidents.



Preventing Peril: **Ikram Sehgal**, (left) chairman of the Pathfinder Group G4S, discusses "Terrorism and Countering it in Pakistan" with faculty and fellows in February. A veteran of the Pakistan Army, he is a member of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council for Counter-terrorism. A former journalist, Sehgal's syndicated weekly editorial ran in fifteen publications in six countries. He also was publisher and chief editor of the *Defence Journal*. Also pictured is Harvard Business School professor **James Sebenius**.



Weighing the Risks: **Siegfried S. Hecker** (right), co-director of the Stanford University Center for International Security and Cooperation, speaks in February on "North Korea and the Bomb: History, Risks and Prospects." Hecker's accomplishments include years of fostering cooperation with Russian nuclear laboratories to secure and safeguard the stockpile of former Soviet nuclear materials. **Meghan O'Sullivan**, Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs and Belfer Center Board of Directors' member, took part in the discussion.



Dangerous Drivers: **Malfrid Braut-Hegghammer**, a research fellow with the International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom, presents on "Nuclear Entrepreneurs: Drivers of Nuclear Proliferation" at a brown bag lunch in March. The seminar focused on what causes states to commit to nuclear weapons programs and the role of nuclear entrepreneurs in predicting the programs' levels of political sustainability. Braut-Hegghammer has also given talks for members of the British Parliament, appeared on Norwegian broadcasts, and served as an expert commentator for media.



Virtual Vulnerabilities: **Michael Chertoff**, former secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and member of the Belfer Center International Council, discusses cyber security with faculty and fellows in March. Chertoff headed the Department of Homeland Security from 2005 to 2009. Previously, he was a federal prosecutor, investigating cases that included organized crime, corporate fraud, and terrorism.



Protecting Pandora's Box: **Olli Heinonen**, deputy director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and head of the IAEA's Department of Safeguards, discusses the challenges facing the IAEA at a directors' lunch in March. The Department of Safeguards is responsible for verifying that nuclear materials placed under safeguards are not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and that there is no undeclared nuclear material or activities in non-nuclear weapons states party to the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty.

SPEAKERS



High-Level Dialogue: **Toomas Hendrik Ilves**, president of the Republic of Estonia, is welcomed by Ambassador **Nicholas Burns**, professor of the practice of diplomacy and international politics and member of the Belfer Center's board of directors. President Ilves, former minister of foreign affairs and member of the European Parliament, spoke at Harvard Kennedy School in March on European and Transatlantic Security in the 21st Century.



AfPak Alternatives: Ambassador **Richard Holbrooke** (right), special representative for Pakistan and Afghanistan in the Obama administration, speaks at the John F. Kennedy, Jr. Forum in March on challenges facing the United States in relationships with the two countries. Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) moderated the event. Holbrooke served previously as United States ambassador to the United Nations and was assistant secretary of state for Europe from 1993 to 1994.



Healthy Choices: **Julio Frenk**, dean of the Harvard School of Public Health, speaks on "Global Health in Transition: New Concepts for New Realities" at a Belfer Center directors' lunch in February. Frenk previously served as senior fellow in the global health program of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and as president of the Carso Health Institute of Mexico where he pursued an ambitious agenda to reform the nation's health system.



Enlightened Engagements: General **James Cartwright**, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, discusses "Evolving National Security" with members of the Center's board of directors. General Cartwright is the nation's second highest ranking military officer and has commanded the First Marine Aircraft Wing and the United States Strategic Command. He is a graduate of the Air Command and Staff College and the Naval War College.



Market Malfunctions: **Justin Dargin**, research fellow with the Dubai Initiative and a Fulbright Scholar of the Middle East, presents "The Gulf Gas Sector: Challenges and Opportunities" at a brown bag seminar. Dargin discussed the Gulf gas market at a macro level and analyzed its operative market inefficiencies that are discouraging development.

Constructive Coordination: **Andrea Strimling**, research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program (ISP), presents "No One in Charge: Coordination in Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations and Peacebuilding" at an ISP brown bag seminar in February. Strimling's work focuses on inter-agency, civil-military, and public-private coordination in post-conflict peacebuilding and stabilization and reconstruction service. Strimling worked with leaders from the U.S. Departments of Defense and State and USAID to enhance coordination-led conflict management initiatives.



SPOTLIGHT **Monica Toft**



Monica Duffy Toft is an associate professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors. She holds a Ph.D. and M.A. from the University of Chicago and a B.A. in Political Science and Slavic Languages and Literatures from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Toft is director of the Belfer Center's Initiative on Religion in International Affairs, which was established with a grant from the Henry Luce Foundation.

In December, **Monica Toft** found herself in Khartoum, Sudan, meeting with a local imam. They sat for hours in the mosque talking about religion and its role in Sudan's politics, and at the end of their conversation, he invited her to take part in evening prayers.

Unlike many academics, who tend to shun Sudan's North because it has been labeled a rogue regime, Toft tries to speak to both sides. During her eight days in Sudan, she conducted dozens of interviews, including with local business leaders, people in Sudan's Islamic movement, and members of its Justice Department.

The research is part of Toft's ongoing efforts to understand how religion gets into politics and why this mix so often turns violent, and it marks a significant turn in her already remarkable career. Toft's work has long challenged academic convention: When she first started graduate school, the international relations field was dominated by those who studied great power wars and conflicts between states.

But Toft decided to look at violence inside of states instead. Her pathbreaking idea: Smaller scale, regional and minor powers can destabilize the entire international system. The idea gained even more currency after the Balkans crises of the 1990s and especially after the Sept. 11 attacks, as policymakers began to come to grips with the fact that a

failing state—Afghanistan—had hosted the perpetrators of the biggest attack on the American homeland since Pearl Harbor.

"Since the 1990s, the field has broken wide open," Toft said. "We have no choice but to engage the fact that peace is not breaking out everywhere."

[N]egotiated settlements, despite their good intentions, are far more likely to restart than civil wars which end in military victory.

—Monica Toft

Toft's work also broke new ground in understanding civil wars. For years, those who looked at civil wars focused primarily on the difficulties of negotiating peace settlements. But Toft realized that negotiated settlements represented only 25 percent of the endings of civil wars (most end when one side wins). She also discovered something striking: negotiated settlements, despite their good intentions, are far more likely to restart than civil wars which end in military victory. Her newest book, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars*, provides a comprehensive theory explaining why this is so.

At Harvard, Toft's research has explored the global resurgence of religion, its role in politics, and the instances in which it results in violence. When she first arrived at Harvard, prominent political scientist **Samuel Huntington** invited her to participate in his religion project as a postdoctoral fellow. Now an associate professor at the Harvard Kennedy School, Toft runs the Initiative on Religion and International Affairs at the Belfer Center. She just finished her third manuscript—*God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*—on the global resurgence of religion, which she and co-authors **Dan Philpott** and **Tim Shah** link to broader transnational trends dating back some four decades.

Toft, the youngest of six children, grew up on Long Island. After studying French, Spanish, and Russian in high school, she joined the U.S. Army and was stationed in Germany from 1984–87. As a Russian voice interpreter, her mission required her to be able to monitor and understand as many as four simultaneous Russian conversations, ranging in subject matter from the bawdy to the highly technical.

"It was a lot of drunken singing—all these Russian ballads," she said. "These were young kids and it's cold in the winter."

After leaving the Army, Toft finished her undergraduate degree at the University of California at Santa Barbara, then went to the University of Chicago for her graduate studies. In Chicago, she studied under professors **Stephen Walt** and **John Mearsheimer**.

As part of her graduate work, Toft traveled to Ukraine, just one year after it had gained independence from the Soviet Union. While there, Toft visited the Parliament building and saw a man dressed in full Cossack regalia advocating for the interests of the Ukraine's Cossacks. The most interesting part, to Toft: he carried a basket filled with tiny bags of dirt, bound with a seal marked with the trident symbol of Ukraine.

The image stayed with Toft—so much so that it became the basis of her dissertation and first book. She wanted to know what it was about group identity and the concept of homeland that might make the gift of a bag of dirt so meaningful and so politically charged. It also has inspired much of her work since.

Toft never went back to tell the Cossack what role he played in launching her academic career—but she still has her bag of dirt. 🇺🇸

International Council

(continued from page 1)

America." Nye and Hathaway, former acting senior director for cyberspace at the National Security Council, led an animated discussion of cyber security. Deutch discussed "Making Progress on Energy," a preview of the prestigious Godkin Lecture he delivered at Harvard in May, and was followed by additional thoughts on energy security by O'Sullivan. Burns, formerly the State Department's top career diplomat, described plans for a new Harvard Kennedy School program—the Future of Diplomacy Initiative (described on page 1).

Allison and Mowatt-Larssen led a dynamic discussion of the Nuclear Summit and Nuclear Posture Review, and the next best steps toward preventing nuclear terrorism. 🇺🇸



International Electives: Associate Professor **Monica Toft** describes her Harvard Kennedy School courses on security studies and religion in global politics at a Kennedy School orientation.



Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** gave the keynote address during the International Symposium on “Global Terrorism and International Cooperation” in Ankara, Turkey, in March. He spoke about the threat and prevention of nuclear terrorism. The symposium, the third in a series, was organized by the Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism to focus on “consolidating the understanding that international cooperation is needed more than ever in order to deal with terrorism that has become a global problem.”



Philip Auerswald, an associate of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, was selected as a topic leader for the Clinton Global Initiative’s 2010 Annual Meeting in the area of “Strengthening Market Based Solutions.” He and Julia Novy-Hildesley, his co-leader, will help guide the programming content that is presented at the meeting in September.



Albert Carnesale, a member of the Belfer Center’s board of directors, was named to President Obama’s Blue Ribbon Commission on America’s Nuclear Future. The commission, co-led by former Rep. Lee Hamilton and former presidential adviser Brent Scowcroft, will have two years to produce a report that will “chart new paths to manage highly radioactive nuclear waste,” according to the Department of Energy.



Paula Dobriansky, an adjunct senior fellow with the Belfer Center, received the Commander Cross of the Order of Merit of Poland on March 30, 2010, at the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Washington, D.C. The Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland is a Polish order awarded to those who have rendered great service to the Polish nation. It is granted to foreigners or Poles in residence abroad and as such is a traditional “diplomatic order.”



Former International Security Program Research Fellow **Alexander Downes’** book, *Targeting Civilians in War*, won Georgetown University’s Joseph Lepgold Prize for best book on international relations this year (the book was published in 2008). The award honors exceptional contributions to the study of international relations. Downes received the award and gave a public address on April 28, 2010. Past winners include

Nuclear

TO ADDRESS THE ARRAY OF NUCLEAR THREATS and specifically the specter of a nuclear bomb exploding in one of our cities with consequences that will fundamentally change our lives and our world, the supreme requirement is for meaningful, sustained international cooperation.

Mohamed ElBaradei, Graham Allison, and Ernesto Zedillo, “Nuclear Security,” *International Herald Tribune* (April 10, 2010)

... **[W]HILE REFERENCES TO NATO-RELATED THREATS** have won more play in the media, the innovations in the doctrine’s provisions on nuclear weapons are clearly more significant. For the first time since the adoption of the first-use policy, the Russian leadership has decided to constrain, if only somewhat, the use of nuclear weapons in a strategic document.

Simon Saradzhyan, “Nuclear ‘Constraint’ in Russia,” *International Relations and Security Network* (February 16, 2010)

AfPak

MORE IMPORTANTLY, PROGRESS IN PAKISTAN—strengthening economic growth, governance, and liberal values—takes years to realize but only a few American airstrikes or Taliban bombings to destroy. American mistakes in the region have been aggravating public sentiments for years and fueled fundamentalism in the mainstream.

Nadia Naviwala, “Let Pakistan Make Its Own Progress,” *International Herald Tribune* (March 16, 2010)

... **[T]HE PAKISTANI DECISION TO TAKE DOWN BARADAR** and several Afghan Taliban governors may show that Pakistan made the strategic decision that supporting the Afghan Taliban no longer advances its core national security interests. If true, the odds of success for U.S. efforts in Afghanistan have significantly increased.

Eric Rosenbach, “Pakistan Smart to Hit Taliban,” *Boston Globe* (February 21, 2010)

THE TALIBAN’S OFTEN BRUTAL FORM OF CONSERVATIVE JUSTICE shocks the liberal sensibilities of the western electorates paying for the war. Bringing them into the political process will mean conceding that where, for example, young brides wed older men, NATO troops are not the right means to change those customs and attitudes.

Azeem Ibrahim, “NATO’s New Afghan Strategy Underlines the Necessity of Talking to the Taliban,” *Huffington Post* (February 12, 2010)

China

MANY EXPERTS AND SCHOLARS FIND CHINA’S NO-FIRST-USE PLEDGE SUSPECT, claiming it is just a declaratory policy. On the other hand, if a country really pledges a meaningful no-first-use policy, in practice, experts argue that its force posture, including size, configuration, and readiness, would be significantly different from that with a first-use option.

Hui Zhang, “China’s Perspective on a Nuclear-Free World,” *Washington Quarterly* (April 2010)

CHINA’S RISING DEMAND FOR AFRICA’S NATURAL RESOURCES helped to re-establish Africa as a source of valuable commodities for the global market. But it also helped to focus Africa’s political attention on why, despite its vast resources, the continent still remains poor.

Calestous Juma, “Africa and China” debate, *Economist* (February 15, 2010)

THE MORE WEIGHT THE TWO NATIONS HAVE, the more important for them to treat bilateral relations with discretion and avoid provocations. As one possesses powerful means to take action against the other, the countermeasures from the other country would be equally strong.

Anne Wu, “U.S. and China Need Not Bare Teeth,” *Boston Globe* (February 22, 2010)

CERTAIN CHINESE SCHOLARS ARE NOW WRITING ABOUT THE DECLINE OF THE U.S., with one identifying the year 2000 as the peak of American power. This overconfidence in foreign policy, combined with insecurity in domestic affairs, may combine to explain the change in Chinese behavior in the latter part of 2009. If so, China is making a serious miscalculation.

Joseph S. Nye, “China’s Bad Bet Against America,” *Daily News Egypt* (March 11, 2010)

Middle East Politics

WHATEVER YOU THINK OF ITS STRATEGY or its tactics, the Obama administration is genuinely committed to achieving a two-state solution, which is hardly an act of hostility toward Israel. On the contrary, for Obama to keep this difficult and time-consuming issue on his already crowded agenda is an extraordinary act of friendship—especially when friendship means speaking difficult truths.

Stephen Walt, “In the Fight over Settlements, Who are Israel’s Real Friends?” *Washington Post* (March 21, 2010)

IRAQ IS ON MUCH SOUNDER FOOTING TODAY than it was in 2005 or 2006. Yet once again, after Sunday's parliamentary elections, the country is probably in store for long negotiations over who will share power in the new government—a battle that could strain Iraq's fledgling political institutions and complicate the planned drawdown of U.S. forces. Although forming a government is an Iraqi affair, the United States has clear interests in the character of that government.

Meghan O'Sullivan, "After Iraq's Election, The Real Fight," *Washington Post* (March 7, 2010)

TILTING THE SCALES IN FAVOR OF A REGIONALIST APPROACH in Iran's foreign policy will not only be beneficial, but is key to realizing Iran's national and security interests. Such a strategy, however, should be based on creating a "balance" in the various geographic-geopolitical, historical-civilizational, and political-security approaches of Iran's foreign policy. It should also be centered on establishing relations with various geographical regions and political-security and economic sub-systems.

Kayhan Barzegar, "Regionalism in Iran's Foreign Policy," *Iran Review* (February 8, 2010)

Religion

EVEN AFTER SEPTEMBER 11, colleagues have repeatedly asked me whether religion "really" matters. I always say the same thing: "Go read 9/11 hijacker Mohammad Atta's letter." Religion matters a great deal, and its positive and negative influence both within and between states is certain to continue well into the coming decades.

Monica Toft, "Religion Matters in International Relations," *Huffington Post* (March 1, 2010)

RELIGION MATTERS AND IS WORTH STUDYING, but policy is far more important for promoting normal and friendly ties between Americans and the citizens of Muslim-majority countries. Policy, not faith, is the issue and the problem.

Rami Khouri, "America and Islam," *Agence Global* (March 3, 2010)

Science and Technology

JUST AS OUR COUNTRY'S CAPACITY TO PERFECT AND COPE with extreme weather events depends heavily on science and technology, so does our ability to . . . meet energy needs without wrecking global climate; to protect our troops abroad and our citizens at home; and to create the new products, services and high-quality jobs that real economic recovery and sustained growth will require. Putting the science and technology in place to meet these challenges requires a vigorous partnership between the public and private sectors in which the federal government's funding and encouragement of research, development and science and math education are crucial.

John P. Holdren, "The Science Budget and the Future," *Politico* (March 2, 2010)

Economy

THE REST OF THE EUROZONE COULD ALLOW GREECE to take a temporary leave of absence with the right and the obligation to return at a more competitive exchange rate. More specifically, Greece would shift its currency from the euro to the drachma, with an initial exchange rate of one euro to one drachma. Bank balances and obligations would remain in euros. Wages and prices would be set in drachma.

Martin Feldstein, "Let Greece Take a Eurozone 'Holiday,'" *Financial Times* (February 12, 2010)

IMPERIAL COLLAPSE MAY COME MUCH MORE SUDDENLY than many historians imagine. A combination of fiscal deficits and military overstretch suggests that the United States may be the next empire on the precipice.

Niall Ferguson, "Complexity and Collapse," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2010 issue)

Leadership

THE SAGA OF PRESIDENT OBAMA IS BUT 14 MONTHS OLD. It is too soon to tell whether health care reform will be a policy success in implementation and a long-term political success (like Medicare) as it changes a health care system bristling with problems. And, of course, it is far, far too soon to make any meaningful judgments about his tenure.

Ben Heineman, "No Presidential Greatness Without Spending Political Capital," *Atlantic* (March 23, 2010)

Samantha Power, founding director of the Belfer Center's former Human Rights Initiative, who won for her book, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*.



Robert Frosch, senior associate of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program and a physicist who has served in a number of top government positions, is the 2010 recipient of the American Physical Society's George E. Pake Prize. The award is given "for outstanding achievements in physics research combined with major success as a manager of research or development in industry."



Melissa Hathaway, senior advisor to the Belfer Center's Project Minerva on cyber security, received the Internet Security Dave McCurdy Internet Security Award for her contribution to strengthening cyber security. The award recognizes Hathaway's contribution to U.S. national cyber security in her role in conducting the Cyberspace Policy Review and her ongoing efforts to raise cyber security awareness.



John P. Holdren, on leave from the Belfer Center's board of directors to serve as assistant to the president for science and technology and director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy, received the prestigious Boston Society of Natural History's Walker Prize in March for "meritorious published scientific investigation and discovery."



Joseph S. Nye, Harvard University distinguished service professor and a member of the Belfer Center's board of directors, received the Distinguished Scholar of the Year Award from the Foreign Policy Section of the International Studies Association (ISA) in February at the 2010 ISA Annual Convention in New Orleans. He was honored at the Distinguished Scholar Panel and presented with the award at a reception that followed.



James Schlesinger, chair of the Belfer Center International Council, received the Department of Defense's Eugene G. Fubini Award for 2009. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates presented the award, which was established in 1996 to annually recognize an individual from the private sector who has made highly significant contributions to the Department of Defense in an advisory capacity over a period of time.

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

Compiled by Beth Maclin and Lucia Cordon

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979

By Thomas Hegghammer; Cambridge Middle East Studies

Cambridge University Press (April 2010)



Saudi Arabia, homeland of Osama bin Laden and many 9/11 hijackers, is widely considered to be the heartland of radical Islamism. Yet Islamism within Saudi Arabia itself remains poorly understood. Why has Saudi Arabia produced so many militants? Has the Saudi government supported violent groups? How strong is al-Qaida's foothold in the kingdom and does it threaten the regime? Why did bin Laden not launch a campaign there until 2003? This book presents the first ever history of Saudi jihadism based on extensive fieldwork in the kingdom and primary sources in Arabic. It offers a powerful explanation for the rise of Islamist militancy in Saudi Arabia and sheds crucial new light on the history of the global jihadist movement.

"... [W]hat stands out most are his persuasive insights..."

"Mr Hegghammer's analysis of the rise and fall of Saudi jihadism reveals some fascinating details.... Yet what stands out most are his persuasive insights. The spread of jihadist ideas in Saudi Arabia, it seems, owed as much to temporary local factors as to outside influences or, for that matter, to Islamic scripture."

—*The Economist*

History and Neorealism

Edited by Ernest R. May, Richard Rosecrance, and Zara Steiner; Cambridge University Press (Forthcoming 2010)

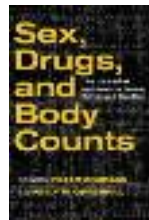


Neorealists argue that all states aim to acquire power and that state cooperation can therefore only be temporary, based on a common opposition to a third country. This view condemns the world to endless conflict for the indefinite future. Based upon careful attention to actual historical outcomes, this book contends that while some countries and leaders have demonstrated excessive power drives, others have essentially underplayed their power and sought less position and influence than their comparative strength might have justified. Featuring case studies from across the globe, *History and Neorealism* examines how states have actually acted.

Sex, Drugs, and Body Counts: The Politics of Numbers in Global Crime and Conflict

Edited by Peter Andreas and Kelly M. Greenhill; Cornell Studies in Security Affairs

Cornell University Press
(Forthcoming June 2010)



"Between 600,000 and 800,000 women are trafficked across borders every year." "Money laundering represents as much as 10 percent of global GDP." "Internet child porn is a \$20 billion-a-year industry."

These are big, attention-grabbing numbers, frequently used in policy debates and media reporting. Peter Andreas and Kelly M. Greenhill see only one problem: these numbers are probably false. Their continued use and abuse reflect a much larger and troubling pattern: policymakers and the media naively or deliberately accept highly politicized and questionable statistical claims about activities that are extremely difficult to measure. As a result, we often become trapped by these mythical numbers, with counterproductive consequences.

In *Sex, Drugs, and Body Counts*, political scientists, anthropologists, sociologists, and policy analysts critically examine the murky origins of some of these statistics and trace their remarkable proliferation. They also assess the standard metrics used to evaluate policy effectiveness in combating problems such as terrorist financing, sex trafficking, and the drug trade.

"... [C]hapters both systematic and vivid show the dangers of basing public policy on numbers that no one should count on, including exaggerating numbers of victims or, the opposite ..."

"Puncturing many myths—sometimes uncomfortably so—chapters both systematic and vivid show the dangers of basing public policy on numbers that no one should count on, including exaggerating numbers of victims or, the opposite, deliberately downplaying gross state violations. The authors show how and why unreliable numbers persist, what it takes—politically and methodologically—to develop better estimates, and why it matters."

—Lynn Eden, Stanford University

Compiled by **Susan Lynch**, ISP/STPP

Going Nuclear: Nuclear Proliferation and International Security in the 21st Century

Edited by Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller; An International Security Reader

The MIT Press (January 2010)



Going Nuclear offers conceptual, historical, and analytical perspectives on current problems in controlling nuclear proliferation. It includes essays that examine why countries seek nuclear weapons as well as studies of the nuclear programs of India, Pakistan, and South Africa. The final section of the book offers recommendations for responding to the major contemporary proliferation challenges: keeping nuclear weapons and materials out of the hands of terrorists, ensuring that countries that renounce nuclear weapons never change their minds, and cracking down on networks that illicitly spread nuclear technologies.

"The articles in Going Nuclear address the key questions in the ongoing debate over the causes and consequences of nuclear proliferation, with special attention to the critical case of South Asia."

—Charles L. Glaser, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, Elliott School of International Affairs and the Department of Political Science, George Washington University

Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons

By Matthew Kroenig; Cornell Studies in Security Affairs

Cornell University Press (April 2010)



In a vitally important book for anyone interested in nuclear proliferation, defense strategy, or international security, Matthew Kroenig points out that nearly every country with a nuclear weapons arsenal received substantial help at some point from a more advanced nuclear state. Why do some countries help others to develop nuclear weapons? Many analysts assume that nuclear transfers are driven by economic considerations.

Kroenig challenges this conventional wisdom. He finds that state decisions to provide sensitive nuclear assistance are the result of a coherent, strategic logic. The spread of nuclear weapons threatens powerful states more than it threatens weak states, and these differential effects of nuclear proliferation encourage countries to provide sensitive nuclear assistance under certain strategic conditions.

"Tackling an urgent but too often neglected real-world puzzle—why states help other states acquire nuclear weapons—Matthew Kroenig develops one of the most original and illuminating arguments about proliferation and deterrence in more than a decade."

—Nina Tannenwald, Brown University

New Report: Agriculture is Key to African Economic Development

African countries must increase their focus on promoting regional economic integration as a way to stimulate economic growth and expand local agricultural markets, according to an upcoming report by the Belfer Center's Agricultural Innovation in Africa project. Scheduled for release in summer 2010, the report is authored by **Calestous Juma**, professor of the practice of economic development and principal investigator of the agricultural innovation project.

Juma recently returned from Tanzania, where he and Project Coordinator **Greg Durham** joined the project's international advisory panel in meetings with Ambassador **Juma Mwapachu** and other senior officials from the East African Community (EAC) Secretariat. The advisory panel, a group of 10 experts in agriculture and related fields, discussed with the EAC the draft study titled *The New Harvest: Agricultural Innovation in Africa*, which positions agriculture at the center of efforts to spur economic development. Supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates

Foundation, the project seeks to disseminate policy-relevant information on how to align science and technology missions with regional agricultural development goals—all with the larger goal of promoting regional economic integration and development.

[A]gricultural innovation will increasingly be the engine of social and economic development in Africa.

—Calestous Juma

The draft report notes that regional cooperation is underutilized in Africa and recommends that African nations intensify efforts to use regional groups, such as Regional Economic Communities, as agents of innovation and modernization and give them a stronger role in promoting agricultural development.

“This report is guided by the view that agricultural innovation will increasingly be the engine of social and economic development in Africa,” Juma said. 📖



COURTESY OF GREG DURHAM

Agricultural Acumen: Calestous Juma (right), principal investigator of the Belfer Center's Agricultural Innovation in Africa project, with Project Coordinator Greg Durham in Arusha, Tanzania, where they met with senior officials from the East African Community Secretariat.

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“Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?”

Monica Duffy Toft

Since 1990, negotiated settlements have been the preferred method for ending civil wars. A new analysis of all civil war endings since 1940, however, shows that military victory can be more effective than negotiated settlements in establishing lasting peace. The case of Uganda illustrates how peace eludes negotiated settlements and how rebels might be more likely to allow democratization. If stability, democracy, and development are valued objectives, then policymakers should examine victories as well as negotiated settlements to understand the conditions most likely to achieve durable outcomes.

“Sex and the Shaheed: Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism”

Bradley A. Thayer and Valerie M. Hudson

Conventional explanations for suicide terrorism, which center on international anarchy, U.S. intervention in Islamic nations, and religious approval for suicide terrorism, do not sufficiently describe this phenomenon. The life sciences offer explanations that explore the influence of high levels of gender differentiation, polygyny, and obstructed Middle Eastern marriage markets on Islamic suicide terrorism. Combining conventional and life sciences explanations offers greater insight into the causes of Islamic suicide terrorism and the motivation of suicide attacks, allowing policymakers to develop better approaches to counter this threat.

“Status Seekers: Chinese and Russian Responses to U.S. Primacy”

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko

The United States needs multilateral support to carry out its foreign policy agenda, particularly from rising powers such as China and Russia. Typical strategies that appeal to common norms and values might not work, however, because China and Russia are not part of

the liberal Western community. Social identity theory posits that China and Russia are both seeking to restore their great power status. Policymakers, then, should focus on status considerations and incentives to gain Chinese and Russian support to further U.S. foreign policy goals.

“Biosecurity Reconsidered: Calibrating Biological Threats and Responses”

Gregory D. Koblenz

The risks posed by biological threats are increasing, and biosecurity has risen higher on the international security agenda. Yet the lack of a common definition of biosecurity, the range of biological threats, and differences of opinion over the most important threats hinder the development of effective bioterrorism counterstrategies. A definition that includes naturally occurring, accidental, and deliberate disease outbreaks, combined with a taxonomy of threats that identifies the sources of and groups at risk for biological threats, would help policymakers assess and manage these risks, prevent and respond to biological threats, and further biosecurity research.

“The Deception Dividend: FDR's Undeclared War”

John M. Schuessler

Although leaders are more likely to initiate wars they believe they can win, sometimes they enter conflicts where an easy victory is anything but assured. In such cases, leaders use deception to preempt domestic opposition by shifting blame onto the adversary. The United States' entry into World War II illustrates this argument: by 1941 Franklin Roosevelt welcomed U.S. entry into the war and manufactured events accordingly to avoid opposition that might have prevented the United States from entering the war. In some cases, then, deception may be in the national interest.

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BELFER IN BRIEF

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, along with Center board of directors' member **Nicholas Burns**, International Security Program Research Fellow **Ehud Eiran**, and Columbia University Professor **Gary Sick**, were guests on the "Charlie Rose Show" in January, discussing the findings of a Belfer Center simulation game that illuminated the possible evolution of the Iranian nuclear crisis over the next year.

Belfer Center Fellow **Arnold Bogis** has been working on a Department of Homeland Security-funded project run by George Washington University on community medical resilience, an effort to get beyond standard concepts of surge capacity (e.g., increasing hospital capacity) following a catastrophic event. This initiative focuses on developing a definition of what constitutes community medical resiliency, identifying barriers to achieving this goal, and expanding existing solutions to reach beyond conventional ideas about preparedness and response.

Dorothy Zinberg, lecturer in public policy with the Belfer Center, gave the keynote speech at the first International Development Conference of Syria held in Damascus in January. Her talk, "Vital Links," explored interrelated conditions necessary for development to gain momentum.

The Belfer Center's **Graham Allison**, **Matthew Bunn**, and **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen** have significant roles in the new documentary film "Countdown to Zero." It has been described by producer **Lawrence Bender** (also producer of "An Inconvenient Truth") as an "edge of the seat wake-up call about global nuclear threat." In the days leading up to the Nuclear Security Summit, the film was screened for policymakers and shapers in Washington, D.C.

Top Flight: International Affairs Professor **Stephen Walt** (right), a member of the Belfer Center's board of directors, spent 24 hours in January on the USS Harry S. Truman as part of the Distinguished Visitor Program. Walt and Massachusetts Institute of Technology political science professor **Barry Posen** (center) were flown on and off the carrier and traveled by helicopter to the USS Winston Churchill. They observed flight operations and were briefed by officers and crew on both ships. In May, they will meet with the chief of Naval Operations to talk about the Navy's role in U.S. grand strategy. Also pictured is Admiral **William Burke**, who accompanied Walt and Posen on the visit.



Food for Thought: More than 20 Belfer Center staff, fellows, and faculty members spent a morning in February sorting and boxing donated food and household items at the Boston Food Bank. The Belfer Center volunteers sorted 12,374 pounds of food and salvaged 9,899 pounds—enough to serve 7,615 total meals.



COURTESY OF STEPHEN WALT