



Revolution and Radiation: Next Steps for Mideast, Japan

With twin crises in the Middle East and Japan, Belfer Center security and nuclear scholars have been in demand. Government officials and advisors, and print, broadcast, and online media have sought out Center experts for analysis and advice regarding the historic upheavals in Egypt, Libya, and neighboring states, as well as the nuclear safety and security concerns raised by the disastrous earthquake and tsunami. We asked several Center scholars to offer their views on next best steps.

What Role Should the U.S. Play in Middle East?

GRAHAM ALLISON, *Belfer Center Director*

First, think carefully about American national interests. What do we care about **more** than something else that we care about? The United States has no vital interest in Libya but does have vital interests in preventing a substantial interruption in the flow of oil from the Persian Gulf. Second, know that the U.S. cannot be, or appear to be, indifferent to an Awakening in which individuals are claiming rights our own revolutionary Constitution declares to be their endowment. Third, analyze comparative histories of analogous revolutions, beginning with Brinton's *Anatomy of a Revolution*.

**Each case is different;
 one size policy does not fit all.**
 —Graham Allison

Fourth, recognize that the transition from sclerotic, relatively stable autocracies to more successful societies is certain to be tumultuous and to risk many dangers. Fifth, differentiate: each case is different; one size policy does not fit all. Distinct histories, cultures, and societies will produce distinct dynamics. Finally, while attending to the downside, be alert to opportunities presented to advance American interests.



JAY CONNOR

Moment in Time: **Stephen Walt** (right), professor of international affairs at Harvard Kennedy School (HKS), makes a point during the JFK Jr. Forum "Libya After the No-Fly Zone: Political Change or Civil War?" Other panelists included (left to right): HKS professor **Nicholas Burns**, His Excellency **Ali Suleiman Aujali**, former Libyan ambassador to the U.S., and Dartmouth College professor **Dirk Vandewalle**.

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After Fukushima: How Should Nuclear Regulators Respond?



TOM FITZSIMMONS

Triple Hit: **Matthew Bunn** (left), associate professor of public policy with the Belfer Center, listens as the Hon. **Takeshi Hikihari**, consul general of Japan, speaks during a JFK Jr. Forum event titled "Japan: The Earthquake and the Worldwide Aftershocks." Other panelists (not pictured) included **Herman "Dutch" Leonard**, Harvard Kennedy School professor of public policy, and **Susan Pharr**, director of Harvard's Program on U.S.-Japan Relations.

MATTHEW BUNN, *Associate Professor of Public Policy*

After Fukushima, countries around the world must reassess whether they have done enough to prevent a radioactive disaster—whether by

accident or caused by terrorists. The most obvious lessons relate to providing sufficient capacity to power essential cooling systems even in the face of multiple disasters—for example with mobile power units that can rapidly be brought to sites—and having effective and well-exercised plans in place to respond to emergencies.

Every organization operating nuclear facilities must have a "red team" in place tasked with creatively identifying potential vulnerabilities—and cost-effective means to

fix them. Countries around the world should set stringent standards of nuclear safety and security, and request independent, international reviews of their safety and security performance.

The high-level ministerial meeting scheduled for June to address new safety measures must address new security measures as well—for while it took a truly extraordinary natural disaster to knock out both the normal and the emergency cooling systems at Fukushima, for terrorists, taking out both these systems might well be part of the plan.

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FROM THE DIRECTOR

Graham Allison

“There are decades when nothing happens, and then there are weeks when decades happen.” So Lenin once observed, and as the impetus for the revolution that transformed Czarist Russia into the Communist Soviet Union, he had

grounds for this insight. In the spaces analyzed by those of us at the Belfer Center, more things seem to be happening more rapidly with greater impact on a broader array of American interests than any time in recent memory.

The Great Awakening across the Middle East has been the source of amazement and inspiration as well as apprehension. Americans in particular cannot be, or even appear to be, indifferent to individuals claiming for themselves freedoms and rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that our revolutionary Constitution declared to be an endowment from the Creator. But the pace and diversity of events is unquestionably dizzying. For those of us whose worry beads and waking hours were already programmed to address other topics, the compelling claim for attention has been a stretch. Moreover, the distinct nature of each of the nations swept up by the currents running through the region puts a premium on understanding better histories, cultures, ethnicities, tribes, and societies that resist being shoehorned into simplistic storylines. The conversation among colleagues at the Center—**Nick Burns, Meghan O’Sullivan, Joe Nye, Shai Feldman, Steve Walt, Tarek Masoud, Monica Toft**, and a host of others—has been exceedingly lively.

The compound crisis caused by an earthquake followed by a tsunami, and the consequent damage to the Fukushima nuclear reactor complex in Japan has highlighted another dimension of nuclear risk. Former Deputy Director of the IAEA **Olli Heinonen**, senior fellow **Will Tobey**, and Associate Professor **Matt Bunn** have been engaged with experts in the U.S. government, the IAEA, and other governments in attempting to analyze alternative futures, as well as draw lessons for the future.

At our International Council meeting in April, we were pleased to announce completion of the campaign to establish an endowed professorship in the name of the Council’s chairman, Jim Schlesinger. The only individual who has ever served as Secretary of Energy, Secretary of Defense, and Director of CIA, **Jim Schlesinger** symbolizes indivisible links between energy and national security. The James R. Schlesinger Professorship of Energy, National Security, and Foreign Policy will assure



Reconciliation: Harvard President **Drew Faust** and Navy Secretary **Ray Mabus** sign an agreement to reestablish the Reserve Officers’ Training Corps’ (ROTC) formal presence on Harvard’s campus for the first time in nearly 40 years.

that, in perpetuity, generations to come at Harvard will remain committed to advancing knowledge and teaching about these vital subjects.

For a School that itself bears the name of a Navy hero, this [reestablishment of ROTC] was a special treat.

We were happy to celebrate the reversal of 35 years of misguided policy when Harvard’s President **Drew Faust** announced the signing of a formal agreement with Navy Secretary **Ray Mabus** to restore and reestablish the ROTC presence on campus. For a School that itself bears the name of a Navy hero, this was a special treat.

Members of the Belfer Center community had long advocated this step. In applauding President Faust’s leadership in acting quickly after the change in the law that made it possible for all qualified men and women to serve, I observed that too many Harvardians had forgotten the truth captured so well by **George Orwell**: “People sleep peaceably in their beds at night only because rough men stand ready to do violence on their behalf.” Of course, today, many women stand ready as well.

The decades that it took the University to come to this conclusion reminds us of the similarities between Harvard and what **Winston Churchill** once observed about the United States: It always does the right thing—after exhausting all possible alternatives. 🌐



Schlesinger Honored with Professorship in his Name

James R. Schlesinger, chair of the Belfer Center International Council and Harvard alumnus, has been honored by Harvard Kennedy School with the establishment of the James R. Schlesinger Professorship of Energy, National Security, and Foreign Policy. The endowed professorship, funded by Schlesinger friends and admirers, will focus on contemporary policy issues, with an emphasis on foreign policy, defense, strategy, energy, and intelligence.

Schlesinger helped shape American security policies for more than four decades as secretary of defense, secretary of energy, director of Central Intelligence, and chair of the Atomic Energy Commission. Recently, he chaired the Commission to Investigate the Department of Defense’s Treatment of Detainees and vice-chaired the Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States.

“Jim Schlesinger has been a great son of Harvard and a great inspiration for those of us who have had the honor to work with him,” said Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. “Who could better symbolize ‘energy and national security’ than the first secretary of energy and one of two people ever to serve as both director of CIA and secretary of defense?”

Robert A. Hefner III, a member of the Center’s International Council, said, “Jim’s brilliant career in energy, national security, and foreign policy has given him unique insight into the truth that one cannot effectively deal with one of these areas in isolation and without full understanding of the other two.” He and his wife **MeiLi** were the lead contributors to the professorship.

“Jim Schlesinger,” noted HKS Dean **David T. Ellwood**, “is a monumental figure in American foreign and energy policy.” 🌐

Workshop Explores Options to Strengthen Nuclear Export Rules

The Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom convened a workshop in April to discuss measures for strengthening restraints on the transfer of enrichment and recycling technologies, with a particular focus on the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). The workshop was held in Washington D.C., and hosted by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

Workshop participants discussed a draft report, by **Fred McGoldrick**, which identified a broad set of options for policymakers seeking to limit the spread of technologies that could be used to develop nuclear weapons. McGoldrick, an internationally renowned expert on nuclear energy and nonproliferation policy, who served previously in the U.S. Departments of State and Energy, recommended ways of strengthening NSG guidelines on the supply of proliferation-sensitive technologies. The Belfer Center's **Matthew Bunn**, **William Tobey**, and **Martin Malin** contributed to the draft.

The workshop discussion focused on the current status of efforts to bolster NSG guidelines, and on political and institutional factors that constrain those efforts. Participants also discussed the report's recommendations.

Participating in the workshop were leaders from the nuclear energy companies

AREVA, Inc, and USEC, Inc., officials from the U.S. Departments of Energy and State, representatives from The Netherlands, Turkey, and France, and experts from CSIS and the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

Mary Alice Hayward, vice president for strategy at AREVA, Inc, commented that the workshop was "important because it brought government officials, academics, and industry leaders together to identify pragmatic responses to reduce the illicit spread of enrichment and reprocessing technologies."

The group agreed to "exercise restraint" in the transfer of sensitive nuclear facilities, technology, and weapons-usable materials.

In response to a growing concern with nuclear proliferation in the mid-1970s, the United States took the initiative with other major nuclear exporters to form what became the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). The NSG put into place a set of voluntary guidelines governing exports of nuclear materials, equipment, and technology. The group agreed to "exercise restraint" in the transfer of sensitive nuclear facilities, technology and weapons-usable materials. The effort to make



Preventing Proliferation: The Belfer Center's **Martin Malin** (left) and **Matthew Bunn** with **Sharon Squassoni**, director and senior fellow with the Proliferation Prevention Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), at the workshop they co-sponsored.

the guidelines more explicit in recent years has been particularly contentious. The group, which operates by consensus, has been at an impasse on this question for several years.

The Managing the Atom Project will publish the final report in late April and distribute it to policymakers and other experts. McGoldrick will also present the recommendations from the report to NSG representatives at a meeting in May in Brussels organized by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The report and workshop were supported with funds from AREVA, Inc., and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. The full report can be accessed at <http://belfercenter.org/nuclearexports/>.

—Neal Doyle

International Council Engages on Middle East, Energy

The turmoil engulfing the Middle East dominated the two-day gathering of the Belfer Center's International Council on April 12–13. One panel after another discussed the wide-ranging implications of the Arab Spring, debating potential outcomes and ramifications of the dramatic uprisings as

well as the Obama administration's handling of the serial crises.

Moderated by Council member **Albert Carnesale** in place of chair **James R. Schlesinger**, who was unable to attend, discussions focused also on the changing sources and instruments of power in the world, the impact of the media and the web on national security strategy, and the geopolitics of energy and energy technology innovation and transformation.

The annual meeting opened with a dinner presentation by **Paul Volcker**, Center board member and former director of the White House National Economic Council. Council members also attended a JFK Jr. Forum presentation by Center member on leave **Ashton B. Carter**, under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology, and logistics, on managing budgets and wars in the Pentagon.

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** noted the creation of an endowed Kennedy School professorship in Schlesinger's name, noting that lead contributors were Council member **Robert A. Hefner III** and his wife **MeiLi**. While at the Kennedy School for the



Global Exchange: International Council members **Samer Salty** (left) and **Peter Aldrich** during the annual meeting.



Determined Debate: Historian **Niall Ferguson**, member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, makes a point at the International Council meeting.

annual meeting, Council member **Robert Taubman** took part in a portrait dedication honoring his father, **A. Alfred Taubman**, and his support of the School's Taubman Center.

What Role for U.S. in Middle East Uprisings? *(continued from page 1)*

NICHOLAS BURNS, *Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Politics*

This is the most significant movement for reform in the modern history of the Arab world. And, fifty years of American policy that assumed that backing authoritarian rule was the best way to achieve stability and American interests is now in question.

How should the U.S. react to these events? I believe **President Obama** has maneuvered in a largely skillful way to advance American policy since the demonstrations began in Tunisia in mid-January. My image of him is a leader carefully juggling two conflicting and competing interests up on a high wire, without a net beneath him, and in the full glare of the international spotlight.

But the U.S. will also have to act to protect its central military, economic and counter-terrorist interests in the Gulf, especially in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Bahrain. While we should support long-term reform in that region, we should be careful to also ensure that our friends in those countries survive the crisis and continue to help us with the vital interests that we must protect—blocking the advance of Iranian power in the region, countering radical terrorist groups, helping Iraq to survive as a nascent democracy itself, and ensuring the survival of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty.

ASHRAF HEGAZY, *Dubai Initiative Executive Director*

U.S. policymakers are facing two main challenges in Arab countries: the perception of having propped up oppressive regimes, placing U.S. and Israeli priorities ahead of the needs of local populations; and the rise of unfriendly political parties, especially Islamist

ones, through the democratic process. However, Arabs admire U.S. democratic values and are attempting to adopt them as part of their nascent democracies. To address the challenges by building on that admiration, the U.S. should:

- Adopt a new paradigm for developing regional allies by prioritizing American interests that overlap with those of Arab publics, as opposed to those of autocratic regimes.
- Support the democratic aspirations and movements by Arab publics without supporting specific candidates or political parties. Anyone seen as an ally of the U.S. will be DOA on the electoral scene.
- Publicly commit to working with all peaceful, elected parties, including the Muslim Brotherhood. Including them in the political process is key to their moderation.
- Maintain a consistent policy of strongly criticizing crackdowns on demonstrators across the region, including those by ally regimes.
- Transfer some military aid (in Egypt, for example) to civil society programs.

JOSEPH S. NYE, *Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor*

While there is a wave of contagion sweeping the region, the so-called “Arab Spring” plays out differently in each country, and that has policy implications. In Egypt and Tunisia, for example, there is some hope that assistance can help create conditions for democratic change; in Saudi Arabia, those conditions are not present and we should avoid doing anything that destabilizes the country. We should beware of thinking that one size fits all.



Future in Flux: Flags of Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia are waved by the crowd at a demonstration in Tahrir Square in Cairo in February.

STEPHEN WALT, *Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs*

The upheavals that have swept the Arab world have not altered U.S. interests in the region. U.S. strategic interests include 1) reliable access to energy supplies, 2) counter-terrorism, and 3) preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The United States also has a moral commitment to Israel's security and favors the spread of democracy and human rights.

It is the policies used to advance these interests that need to be changed. In the past, the United States relied on Arab governments whose policies did not reflect their citizens' opinions. In the future, most Arab governments will be more *responsive to popular sentiment*. If the United States wants the policies of Arab governments to be congenial to its interests, it will have to make its own policies more congenial to Arab peoples, not just Arab rulers.

This approach would be a major departure from past U.S. policy, but wise statecraft anticipates and exploits the tides of history, instead of engaging in a futile struggle to hold them back.

See additional comments at <http://belfercenter.org/Power/>.

After Fukushima *(continued from page 1)*



Global Support: Students collected donations at a JFK Jr. Forum to help Japan after the quake.

OLLI HEINONEN, *Senior Fellow; Former IAEA Deputy Director General*

There are a number of lessons learned and still to be learned. Assessment of the situation and actions taken by various parties from the facility operators and national authorities to the IAEA should start now. These unfortunate events indicate weaknesses in the international emergency preparedness and response system. The impact of disasters—whether caused by nuclear accidents or acts of terrorism—of this magnitude go beyond national borders. Therefore, it is important to ensure that the IAEA has sufficient procedures, resources, and authorities to be able to respond timely, effectively, and independently, and that it is able to provide its member states and public with independent assessments on implications as well as support member states on further cause of action.

WILLIAM TOBEY, *Senior Fellow; Former Deputy Administrator for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation at the National Nuclear Security Administration*

First, nuclear regulators must reexamine their assumptions about the combined probabilities of catastrophic events. An event large enough to cause a primary system to fail may also undermine secondary systems. Moreover, there are paired disasters beyond earthquakes and tsunamis—including electrical storms, wildfires, hurricanes, and tornados—and we must be diligent in imagining and preparing for them. Second, far from obeying the laws of combined probabilities, terrorists attack them. Nature may cause random catastrophes, but our terrorist adversaries are plotting them. Our defenses, therefore, need to be both robust and deep. 🌐

New Geopolitics of Energy Project Weighs Fuel Options

As the Arab Spring raises oil prices and concerns about energy security around the globe, the links between energy, international security, and global politics are more dramatic than ever. The new Geopolitics of Energy Project at the Belfer Center has set out to tackle some of the most intriguing and pressing issues at this intersection.

Directed by **Meghan L. O'Sullivan**, Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs, the project explores how the dual energy impulses of the next decade—the press for ever larger amounts of conventional resources and the shift away from fossil fuels—will shape and be shaped by international politics and security.

Energy transitions have historically been accompanied by shifts in the distribution of global power.

Energy has long been a major determinant of the international system. Energy transitions have historically been accompanied by shifts in the distribution of global power. Today, while the world holds vast reserves of oil, there are legitimate concerns about the ability to access and develop these resources due to factors such as political instability, resource nationalism, and limited capacity of the industry. Even while oil will continue to


play a central role in meeting global energy demands over the next decades, the world economy will diversify its energy mix. Understanding issues such as the growth of natural gas markets and the need for new institutions to gird the development of alternatives will be essential to anticipating and addressing the challenges of this energy transition.

In its initial phase, Geopolitics of Energy is pursuing three strands of research. A major study conducted jointly with Rice University examines the geopolitics of natural gas, exploring how different nations' political trajectories will shape future global gas markets. A second strand of research focuses on energy and the Middle East, examining the impact of the Arab unrest on energy and how Iraq's energy strategy will affect OPEC and the global oil market. A third strand of research led by **Jonas Meckling**, a postdoctoral fellow, explores the rise of national oil companies in global energy markets and their role in shaping the energy diplomacy of major emerging economies. The Geopolitics of Energy Project is housed in the Belfer Center and currently receives funding from BP and the Dubai Initiative.

In April, the project officially launched with the Geopolitics of Energy Case Competition. More than 70 students from Harvard and MIT were challenged to devise a strategy to help Iraq turn its resource wealth into



Applied Learning: Meghan O'Sullivan, professor of the practice of international affairs, welcomes participants in the Energy Policy Case Competition at Harvard Kennedy School in April.

prosperity and regional prominence. Finalists presented their proposals to a panel of judges, including **Katherine Hardin**, **David Kilcullen**, **Bijan Mossavar-Rahmani**, **Eric Rosenbach**, **Emma Sky**, and O'Sullivan. Winners were HKS students **Louis Beryl**, **Reid Capalino**, and **Stephen Elliot**. The Geopolitics of Energy Project will inform students, scholars, policymakers, and the public about key challenges to global energy security. 

Refrigerants, Naturally! Wins Award for Healthier Cooling Method

The Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP) coordinates a unique award presented by Harvard Kennedy School every two years to an outstanding public-private partnership project that enhances environmental quality through the use of novel and creative approaches. This year, the Roy Family Award for Environmental Partnership went to Refrigerants, Naturally!, an unlikely alliance that includes Greenpeace, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), The Coca Cola Company, McDonald's, Unilever, and PepsiCo.



Representatives of the winning coalition took part in an awards ceremony at the Kennedy School in May with a panel discussion titled "Keeping Our Cool: Promoting Green Technologies to Combat Climate Change."

"[M]eaningful reductions in greenhouse gas emissions are possible if businesses and NGOs...work together."

—Henry Lee

Refrigerants, Naturally! works to get rid of the environmentally harmful fluorinated gases ("F-gases," such as CFCs, HCFCs, and HFCs) that currently cool the commercial refrigeration units that dispense their products in supermarkets and in private and public facilities worldwide—and substitute those gases with natural refrigerants. Natural refrigerants are climate and ozone-friendly gases that exist naturally in the biosphere, like ammonia, carbon dioxide, and hydrocarbons. The goal of Refrigerants, Naturally! is to combat climate change and ozone layer depletion by developing natural refrigeration technologies that are safe, reliable, affordable, and energy efficient.

In the 1990s, Greenpeace began a campaign to raise public awareness of the environmental impact of F-gas refrigerants and worked to lobby business to adopt HFC-free refrigeration solutions. Corporations, in turn, sought alternative refrigerants, but found that as manufacturers were not offering HFC-free options, companies could not switch to natural refrigerants. In 2004, Refrigerants, Naturally! was launched by McDonald's, the Coca-Cola Company and Unilever to encourage manufacturers to make products using natural refrigerants and to share technological information. It is estimated that hundreds of thousands of tons of greenhouse gas emissions already have been prevented from entering the atmosphere as a result.

"Strong U.S. legislation on climate may not be passed by this Congress," said ENRP Director **Henry Lee**, "but Refrigerants, Naturally! demonstrates that meaningful reductions in greenhouse gas emissions are possible if businesses and NGOs are creative and prepared to work together."

Additional information about the award is available at <http://belfercenter.org/refrigerants/>. 

—Amanda Swanson

Q&A Lawrence H. Summers

At a special forum organized by the Belfer Center on April 5, Director **Graham Allison** welcomed **Larry Summers** home to Harvard. On behalf of the community, Allison expressed “gratitude for Larry’s service to the nation and pride in having him back as a colleague.” A superstar economist who won the coveted John Bates Clark Medal in 1993 before he turned 40, Summers has spent almost as many years in public service as he has teaching at Harvard. As Chief Economist for the World Bank, and Under Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and then Secretary of the Treasury in the Clinton Administration and most recently as chief economic adviser to **President Obama**, Summers has been a pivotal player in U.S. economic policy-making. A member of the Belfer Center’s Board of Directors, he will be co-director (with **John Haigh**) of the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government. Here are excerpts from **David Gergen**’s recent interview with Summers at the Kennedy School’s JFK Jr. Forum (the webcast can be viewed at the Institute of Politics website).



Q Gergen: The deficit commission came in with a proposal for \$4 trillion in deficit reduction over 10 years . . . Is it time for the administration to come up with a proposal?

... It’s not the time to slash spending immediately. We’ve still got nine percent unemployment. Aggregate demand in the private sector is not what it needs to be for the economy to grow and create jobs. So no one should be rushing to cut government spending and cut the deficit right now. At the same time, no one can look at the forecasts out five to 10 years and think that this has any high probability of being sustainable.

It’s really a political judgment, not an economic judgment, what the best way to do that is. One of the things you learn when you go from a university to Washington is that at a university the idea is to figure out what the best policy is, and you try to persuade everybody else it’s the best policy, and you try to win the argument. In Washington it’s very different. Some of it is about what the best policy is, but everyone wants to feel that they have had an important impact on the policy. Everyone wants to show their constituencies that they have pushed it in the right direction. So even if you know exactly what the right compromise is at the end of that process, and even if you could figure it out, announcing it prematurely can doom it.

... Professors always want a plan; they want to lay out a detailed plan. If there’s ever a choice between having a five-page fact sheet and a 30-page blueprint, the academics advising any president are always in favor of a 30-page blueprint. So I had very much that bias in each of the areas we faced. But this president, doing it

his way—which is to talk about principles, to consult with others, not to have a cymbal and drums White House announcement—actually has been the most productive president legislatively, certainly in the last 40 years, and perhaps in the last 70 years.

Q Gergen: You’ve managed to express your preferences while avoiding headlines. Very deft.

The first experience I had in Washington was working for **Marty Feldstein** during the Reagan Administration, during which time you served as White House communications director, and I watched you very carefully and learned a great deal during that time. I have not always been successful in every position I’ve held in avoiding statements that would make headlines. So perhaps a painful experience has on occasion been instructive.

“It’s going to be incumbent on the business community to reassure their public that they are citizens of the United States as well as citizens of dollars...”

Q Gergen: What is your advice to the business community about this growing gap that exists between the business elites and the public?

I ask myself what I will worry about in the United States in 2030: Some people worry about deficit accumulation and debt. Some people worry about a rising China and what it will do to us. I worry most about what increased inequality and reduced opportunity will do to the legitimacy of our system.

There is something deeply troubling about the fact that even after the economy recovers, one in six men in the United States between 25 and 54 will not be working. If one looks at what has happened to the top one percent, relative to the other 99 percent, and what has happened to the top one percent [of that one percent], the figures have to be deeply disturbing.... Probably for the first time in American history, over the last generation the gap between the prospects for the children of the well-off and the children of the less well-off has widened.

So I think it’s going to be incumbent on the business community to reassure their public that they are citizens of the United States as well as citizens of dollars, that they have a stake in what happens in the United States. I think there’s going to be a need to relegitimize public institutions, starting from the public schools.

Q Gergen: You are the only person I’ve ever heard of who had a prominent role in two films nominated for Academy Awards in the same year, *The Social Network* and *The Inside Job*. You probably were happier with one than the other, but I’m just curious what you thought about them.

I liked *The Social Network*, better than I liked *Inside Job*. I’m told that the Winklevii [twins], when asked about it, said it was fairly accurate but Larry Summers was not nearly as nice to us as he was in the movie. I’ve read on occasion that I can be arrogant. And if that is so, it probably was on the occasion of my visit with the Winklevii. But I thought Harvard’s student discipline procedures were already vexed enough without taking a role in intellectual property disputes among different students.

On *Inside Job*, the first thing to say is I only wish, and my children only more wish, that the estimates of my financial position in that movie were remotely close to being correct. And that is not the only egregious error of fact that is contained in that movie. 🌐

—James F. Smith

MARTHA STEWART



A Conversation:
Lawrence Summers (right) and **David Gergen**, director of Harvard Kennedy School’s Center for Public Leadership, share a light moment during a Kennedy School conversation in April about Summers’ latest tour of duty in Washington and his views on American economic risks and opportunities.

SPOTLIGHT

Paul Volcker

Volcker Rules: A Lifetime Serving, Still Landing Big Fish

Paul Volcker, former chairman of the Federal Reserve and recent adviser to **President Obama**, is a graduate of the Harvard Kennedy School and a longtime member of the Belfer Center's International Council. In May, he received the School's **Richard E. Neustadt Award**, presented annually to a person "who has created powerful solutions to public problems, drawing on research and intellectual ideas."

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** has called him "the very model of a modern public servant."

In one columnist's view, he was "the man who helped save the free world" by crushing inflation. *Newsweek's* 1986 cover named him "the second most powerful man in America."

A generation later 6-foot-seven "Tall Paul" still towers over yet another generation of Americans.

Timothy Geithner, who followed **Paul Volcker** as president of the New York Federal Reserve before becoming President Obama's Treasury secretary, worked closely with Volcker in his latest public service venture. Geithner described Volcker as: "Strong, modest, intrepid, no touch of arrogance, no presumptiveness in terms of what he understands."

At the age of 83, Volcker has just completed a grueling two-year stint as chairman of Obama's Economic Recovery Advisory Board. Volcker struggled to make himself heard in the early days of the administration. One columnist grouched that the White House whiz kids treated Volcker "like a crazy aunt in the attic. He's around, wandering the halls—but no one in the administration cares what he thinks."

But it wasn't long before Volcker made himself heard so loud and clear that he ended up with a powerful rule named after him. The "Volcker Rule" imposes restraints on speculative trading by commercial banks, the kind that fueled the bubble that burst in 2008. Obama endorsed the Volcker Rule in January 2010, in what MIT Sloan School Professor **Simon Johnson** declared "a complete change of policy."

Volcker has devoted a lifetime of public service to confronting such seemingly unsolvable crises. A fishing friend and colleague, Graham Allison says Volcker "is irresistibly attracted to intractable problems."

Certainly none was more daunting than combating the worst inflation in memory, combined with stagnating growth—or "stagflation." When President Jimmy Carter swore in Volcker as Federal Reserve chairman in 1979, inflation had soared to 13 percent. With a fierce regimen of tight monetary policy and painful interest rates, Volcker strangled it in just four years. He was reappointed by President Ronald Reagan, and by the time he stepped down in 1987, inflation had fallen to 1.1 percent.

Volcker is a serial public servant. His career began as a civil servant in the Treasury Department and thereafter, the Federal Reserve. After 35 years, he could have gracefully retired and gone fishing. Instead after a short stint in investment banking, he returned to public assignments.

In 1996, at the age of 69, he led a panel that tracked accounts of Jewish Holocaust victims still held in Swiss banks. Against all odds, he persuaded the parties to agree on a settlement worth \$1.25 billion. After the Enron scandal, he led a public commission that integrated accounting practices and instigated major reforms in practice. After the notorious corruption in the UN's Iraq Oil for Food program was exposed, he led the international investigation that documented the abuses and initiated reforms to prevent a recurrence.

Volcker said the Oil for Food probe fascinated him. "I had never been in any big investigation like that, with a group of highly motivated investigators and attorneys. For many of them, it was the most satisfying thing they had ever done. They came from all over the world, and they had sky-high morale. They felt they were making a contribution."

His service includes his continued support for the



Harvard Kennedy School, where he earned a master's degree in political economy in 1951 from what was then called the Graduate School of Public Administration. A long-time member of the Belfer Center's International Council, he spoke at the opening dinner in April, cautioning that euphoria is "not what I specialize in."

"There are lots of reasons to be critical of government," he said, "but that's why it's important for Kennedy School students to get involved, and to deal with these important challenges."

Just before that dinner, Volcker attended a Forum at which **Ashton B. Carter**, a Kennedy School professor on leave to serve as under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology and logistics, described the challenges of managing a \$700 billion budget when the U.S. government is running a \$2 trillion deficit.

Responding, Volcker observed "what resonates with me about Harvard and the Kennedy School and public service is the kind of impact people like Ash Carter can have. The satisfaction you can get out of handling the responsibilities and the organization that he has to oversee—he's responsible for billions of dollars worth of materials, and for getting it to the right place, when it's needed. There's nothing better to me than what he's trying to do. It turns me on."

"There are lots of reasons to be critical of government," he said, "but that's why it's important for Kennedy School students to get involved, and to deal with these important challenges."

Volcker's father, the township manager for Teaneck, N.J., taught him to fish—and that has been his avocation since then. His favorite species is Atlantic salmon and he is director of the Atlantic Salmon Federation.

But his passion remains public service. As **George Soros** observed at Volcker's 80th birthday celebration, Volcker "embodies that old idea of civic virtue." 🌐

—James F. Smith



Economic Know-how: **Paul Volcker** (right) with **Nathaniel Rothschild** at the Belfer Center's International Council dinner in April.

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

CRISTINE RUSSELL: What happens at the intersection of media and science?

Russell is a senior fellow in the Environment and Natural Resources Program

When **Cristine Russell** chose nuclear energy as the topic of the third seminar in the Belfer Center spring series, “Clean Energy and the Media,” no one knew of the radioactive disaster that would unfold in Japan. Two weeks after an earthquake and tsunami crippled reactor cooling mechanisms at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant, the seminar’s discussion with scientists and journalists provided valuable insight at a critical point in the crisis.

Russell’s discussion with science reporters **Matthew L. Wald** of *The New York Times*, ABC News’ **Ned Potter**, and Belfer Center Associate Professor of Public Policy **Matthew Bunn** provided a nuanced look at the media’s coverage of the disaster. Russell’s unique authority to comment on the media’s nuclear crisis coverage stems from her earlier reporting on the 1979 Three Mile Island nuclear disaster for *The Washington Star*. “Suddenly I was on a helicopter and I was headed to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. I rented a car and—looking back on it I can hardly believe it—I drove straight to Three Mile Island, straight to the cooling towers,” Russell said in a recent interview.

Except perhaps for her jaunt to Antarctica, most of Russell’s career has taken her to less dangerous, though no less important, destinations. She is a former national science reporter for *The Washington Post* and appeared frequently on PBS’s *Washington Week in Review*. Today, she is a senior fellow with the Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program, a contributing editor for the *Columbia Journalism Review*, and has been actively writing about the Fukushima nuclear crisis as a correspondent for *The Atlantic* online.

Russell is also the president of the Council for the Advancement of Science Writing, a distinguished group of journalists and scientists dedicated to improving science news coverage for the general public. At a time when scientific research—from stem cells and evolution to climate change and renewable energy—demands an informed public for crafting policy, Russell’s work focuses on how the news media can facilitate this demand given dwindling newsroom budgets.

As evinced by Japan’s troubled nuclear plant, the intersection of the media and science often occurs in unexpected and sometimes tragic ways. Russell’s ability to assess and adjust to new developments distinguishes her as a leader in her field.

In June, she will be speaking at the World Conference of Science Journalists 2011 in Doha, Qatar, which aims to build relationships between journalists from around the world. Due to another historic world event in Egypt, the conference has been relocated from its original site in Cairo.

—Joseph Leahy



Cristine Russell



Chiara Ruffa

CHIARA RUFFA: How do civil-military interactions impact conflict arenas?

Ruffa is a research fellow in the International Security Program

With an interest in international events and medicine in high school, **Chiara Ruffa** dreamed of joining Doctors without Borders. A fear of surgery kept her from becoming a doctor, but it did not stop her from crossing borders. Now a fellow with the International Security Program at the Belfer Center, Ruffa says her extensive travels inspire her research of humanitarian emergencies.

Field experience has been critical in shaping Ruffa’s research and understanding of the world. Ruffa said, “I have lived a lot in war torn countries . . . but I think that Afghanistan has changed me profoundly and has really taught me how we should actually all be much more respectful of local ownership and what the actual local population wants to achieve.”

Ruffa lived in Kabul, Afghanistan, in 2009 to understand the relationship between international actors and the local population. She worked as a communications officer with Intersos, an Italian NGO, and observed units of the Italian and French armies, which allowed Ruffa to experience the diversity of Afghanistan. “I could see with my own eyes the diversity across region that I had only heard about: People’s colors, traits, smiles were varied, and how ‘visible’ women were varied, too, according to what covered them . . . I could feel and taste a different threat level, higher in the South and in Kabul, lower in Herat.”

Ruffa’s work and cultural submersion changed her understanding of the international reconstruction effort. She had underestimated “how the lack of coordination among agencies could damage the entire Western effort in the country.” For example, she said, organizations would be working on similar projects at schools or hospitals and have no idea of the presence of other groups.

The greatest resource of the Belfer Center is the fellows.—Chiara Ruffa

“The second issue I was confronted with,” Ruffa said, “was the interaction between ‘me’ and ‘them’ . . . not feeling welcome [at first] but then surprised by the generosity and pride of these people.” Ruffa examined Afghanistan, torn apart by war yet also filled with classical heritage and diverse people, like that explored by scholar Peter Levi in *The Light Garden of the Angel King*. “This is Afghanistan: the land of the Taliban and of the ‘light garden of the angel king’ at the same time. All in one,” she said.

The influence of her time in Afghanistan can be seen in her research at the Belfer Center. Ruffa, in collaboration with other ISP fellows, is studying the civil-military interactions in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Sudan. “The greatest resource of the Belfer Center is the fellows,” she said. “They have been an endless source of inspiration and motivation for me.”

—Brittany Card



Joshua Walker

A FELLOW'S VIEW: Inshallah, A Middle East More Like Turkey Than Iran

Given the recent events sweeping the Middle East, the role of Turkey as a regional model or inspiration has gained considerable traction. As a longtime ally of the West and new partner of Iran and Syria, Turkey has been seeking the role of *mediator and model* in every available arena including Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Tunisia. As a G-20 founding member, holder of a seat on the UN Security Council, European Union aspirant, and head of the Organization of Islamic Conference, Ankara has transformed itself into an international actor, capable of bringing considerable clout and influence to its regions. One fact often gets lost in the debates about Turkey and its potential as a model: Ankara did not transform itself overnight from a defeated post-Ottoman state led by Atatürk's military to a flourishing market-democracy led by a conservative Muslim party. It has been almost a century in the making.

[T]he Turks have been embraced by the region because they have been both pragmatic and proactive in their diplomacy ...

As seen from the region, Ankara's official strategy of diplomatic and economic engagement has been a welcome one. With its non-sectarian and pragmatic focus, Turkey offers the greatest economic incentives to finding political and sustainable solutions to the problems of the Middle East today. On the whole, the Turks have been embraced by the region because they have been both pragmatic and proactive in their diplomacy, compared to other regional players such as Iran that have been more ideological and reactive.

Having clearly placed Turkey on the side of the pro-democracy movements throughout the Middle East starting with Tunisia and Egypt, Prime Minister **Erdogan** and his Justice and Development Party (AKP) struggled with its response to Libya and now faces its greatest test in Syria. Ankara's newly cultivated relations with the Arab world represent an opportunity to come out on the proverbial right side of history. Yet, as in Damascus, they face a major challenge as Turkey seeks to balance its principles and interests throughout the region. As the first country to call for President **Mubarak** to step down at a time that other leaders, including President **Obama**, were hedging their bets, Erdogan has set Turkey up as a regional leader encouraging democracy in other Muslim countries based on its own experiences *and lessons*.

The Turkish experience with the AKP in a still-secular state with the continuing influence, albeit weakened, of the military with direct connections to the West does offer hope for coexistence between conservative Muslims in democratic politics with strong institutions in the Middle East. But comparisons to Turkey should be approached with extreme caution. Despite their superficial similarities, the various Arab Muslim movements, including the Brotherhood and Turkey's AKP, have little in common. The Arab world and Turkey represent different political traditions, and the shape of any possible government in Benghazi, Cairo, Damascus, or Tunis is likely to be unique. However, pushing for a Middle East that looks more like Turkey than Iran seems eminently more likely and desirable in the long run. 🌐

—Joshua W. Walker

Fellows at Work and on the Move

Congratulations to the following International Security Program (ISP) fellows.

Col. **Casey Eaton** has been assigned the position of vice commander of the 97th Air Mobility Wing, Altus Air Force Base, Oklahoma, with responsibilities for training aircrews and quickly deploying mission-ready airmen.

Maya Eichler (joint ISP/Women and Public Policy Program) won a postdoc from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to the University of Toronto where she will research Canadian women who have fought in combat in the Afghanistan war. Congratulations, also, to Maya and **Govind Rao** on the birth of little **Priya Poesie Eichler**.

Matthew Fuhrmann (former ISP/MTA Fellow) has been named assistant professor in the department of political science at Texas A&M.

Jacqueline (Jill) Hazelton has accepted a one-year visiting assistant professorship at the University of Rochester's Department of Political Science.

Peter Krause will be a postdoctoral candidate at the Crown Center for 2011–2012, then move on as assistant professor at Boston College starting in the fall of 2012.

John McCauley will return to the University of Maryland, College Park, as assistant professor of government and politics.

Zannis Pappas has been assigned to Air Force Headquarters at the Pentagon, where he will be the chief of the Nuclear Requirements Division.

Chiara Ruffa will participate this summer in SWAMOS (Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy) with other young scholars, focusing on military and strategic studies.

Joshua Walker will be an assistant professor at the University of Richmond's Jepson School of Leadership Studies. Over the summer, he will be in Istanbul as a fellow with the German Marshall Fund.



Advancing Dialogue: Peter Krause discusses his research at an International Security Program brown bag seminar.



Arabian Insight: **Karen Elliott House**, former publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*, speaks at the Belfer Center directors' lunch on "Saudi Arabia: Reaction, Revolution or Reform." House is a former senior fellow at the Belfer Center and studied and taught at Harvard's Institute of Politics. Senior fellow **Chuck Freilich** is also pictured.



Nuclear Divide: **William J. Perry**, former secretary of defense, delivers a speech entitled "Have We Reached the Nuclear Tipping Point?," the second Robert S. McNamara Lecture on War and Peace, moderated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. Perry supplemented his lecture with clips from "Nuclear Tipping Point," a documentary he co-produced with former Secretary of State **Henry A. Kissinger** and others.



TOM FITZSIMMONS

Wars and Budget Wars: **Ashton B. Carter**, under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology, and logistics (on leave from the Belfer Center), discusses the challenges of managing the Pentagon. Carter, who was introduced by Center director **Graham Allison**, previously headed the Center's Preventive Defense Project.



WALL-E Reality: Former Director of the MIT Artificial Intelligence Laboratory **Rodney Brooks** (right) speaks at the Belfer Center directors' lunch on "Robots Working with People." Also pictured: **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, professor at Tufts' Fletcher School, **Richard Agbeyibor**, Air Force ROTC cadet, and **Shai Feldman** (left), director of Brandeis' Crown Center. Brooks' robotic creations are in homes and on battlefields of two U.S. wars.



Strategic Support: At a Belfer Center lunch, **Robert L. Gallucci** (center) presents "Nuclear Terrorism and Foundation Strategy," a focus on the threat of nuclear terrorism and MacArthur Foundation strategies to combat the threat. Gallucci is president of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and former dean of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Also pictured are Harvard Kennedy School's **Joseph S. Nye** (left) and **Ted Oelstrom** (right).



MARTHA STEWART

Nuclear Neighbors: **Han Hua**, associate professor and director of the Center for Arms Control and Disarmament at the School of International Studies at Peking University, speaks on "China and South Asia's Nuclear Relationship," at a Managing the Atom seminar at the Belfer Center.

SPEAKERS

JAY CONNOR



Powerful Partners: **Monica Duffy Toft**, director of the Belfer Center's Religion in International Affairs program and author of the forthcoming book *God's Century*, joined **Joseph S. Nye**, university distinguished service professor and author of *The Future of Power*, in a discussion of religion and power at a JFK Jr. Forum. Toft and Nye discussed the connections between religion and power and how and why religion's influence on global politics is surging.



Diplomatic Strength: Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs **Kurt Campbell** speaks at the seminar "U.S. diplomacy in East Asia and the Pacific." Campbell is a former associate professor of public policy and international relations at the Kennedy School and former assistant director of the Belfer Center. In March, Campbell testified before the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, reaffirming the United States' commitment to supporting democracy and human rights in the Asia-Pacific region.

Generals Advance Civil-Military Dialogue at School, Center

David Gergen suggested it was probably the largest gathering of Harvard's military officers and veterans since **Winston Churchill** received an honorary degree in 1943 and addressed a sea of students in uniform who filled the Tercentenary Theater. On April 25, some 300 Harvard students now serving in the U.S. military or recent veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan gathered for the 3rd annual "Tribute to Student Veterans at Harvard." The speaker was **Stanley McChrystal**, former commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan and former commander of America's premier counterterrorism force, Joint Special Operations Command. As Secretary of Defense **Robert Gates** noted at McChrystal's retirement, he is "one of America's greatest warriors." Organized by David Gergen's Center for Public Leadership in cooperation with the Belfer Center, the evening featured a hearty welcome home to Harvard veterans and ROTC by President **Drew Faust**, as well as General McChrystal's reflection on his 33 years in service, including the impact of his year at Harvard as a national security fellow at the Kennedy School and Belfer Center. In addition to General McChrystal, recent speakers at the School and Belfer Center include General **Ray T. Odierno**, General **James Cartwright**, and Lt. General **Patrick O'Reilly** (see below).



General **James E. Cartwright**, vice chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, with the Belfer Center's **Chuck Freilich** (left) and **Monica Toft**



General **Stanley McChrystal**, former commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan and Joint Special Operations Command, with Lt. Colonel **Jerry Carter**



General **Ray T. Odierno**, commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command



Lt. General **Patrick O'Reilly**, director of Missile Defense Agency, with the Belfer Center's **Meghan O'Sullivan**



Belfer Center board member **Albert Carnesale**, chancellor emeritus and professor of public policy and mechanical and aerospace engineering at UCLA, will receive the 2011 Harvard Medal for his extraordinary service to Harvard University, which included concurrently serving as HKS dean, University provost, and as acting University president. Carnesale also was elected a member of the National Academy of Engineering “for bringing engineering excellence and objectivity to international security and arms control, and for leadership in higher education.”



In commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the attacks of 9/11, the Center for First Amendment Studies announced the **Richard A. Clarke** 2011 National Scholarly Monograph Contest. Awards will be given in honor of the former counterterrorism czar Richard A. Clarke, faculty affiliate with the Belfer Center.



Calestous Juma, principal investigator of the Belfer Center’s Agricultural Innovation in Africa project, has received widespread media attention for his recently released book *The New Harvest*. More than 325 stories have been captured from media websites in 13 languages and 47 countries, 35+ newswire stories, 14 known radio and television stories, and 35+ stories published in the print editions of international newspapers.



Donald Kendall, Belfer Center International council member, was presented the Russian Order of Honor award for his support of the arts in Russia. Kendall, the first foreigner to receive this award, was recognized for his support of Russian music and the Mariinsky Theatre at a ceremony at the Russian Embassy in Washington, D.C.



Tara Maller, International Security Program research fellow, was named a summer visiting scholar at the American Political Science Association Centennial Center for Political Science and Public Affairs in Washington, and was awarded funding from the James Bryce Endowment Fund at the Center.



Peter W. Singer, former International Security Program research fellow, currently director of the 21st Century Defense Initiative at the Brookings Institution, presented the Secretary of the Navy Guest Lecture on the topic of his latest book, *Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century*. The book made *The New York Times* bestseller list in its first week of release and has been named Book of the Year by *The Financial Times*.

Fukushima: Views on the Global Future of Nuclear Energy

Comments from Belfer Center Research Fellows



Days after a devastating earthquake and tsunami damaged Japan’s Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant, Martin Malin, executive director of the Belfer Center’s Project on Managing the Atom, asked several Center research fellows to write about “how the discussion of nuclear energy is unfolding in their key countries where plans for growth are most significant.” Following are excerpts from their comments, published in full in the Belfer Center blog *Power & Policy* on March 16, 2011. See <http://belfercenter.org/GlobalNuclearFuture>.

China

Analysis by **Yun Zhou**, Nuclear Security Postdoctoral Fellow

The Fukushima tragedy gave the Chinese a serious wake-up call on the importance of nuclear safety. Currently, China has 13 reactor units and 28 units under construction. Although the Chinese government quickly claimed China would not change its nuclear power projects, the latest news shows the Chinese government taking actions to strengthen its nuclear safety at reactors. Nuclear projects which do not comply with the new safety regulation and requirements will be suspended or terminated.

While the Chinese government emphasized its resolution to develop nuclear energy, the public is worrying about the radiation from Japan and the nuclear safety culture in China. People have already started wearing paper face masks for precautionary purposes. Public concerns could lead to questions about whether China can maintain sound nuclear safety culture in light of China’s poor safety record.

Russia

Analysis by **Simon Saradzhyan**, Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and member of the *U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism*

Both the Russian public and political leadership have expressed sympathy for the tragedy unfolding in Japan. Russia offered to help Japan in the form of additional supplies of energy. Moscow has also offered to dispatch its nuclear specialists.

As for Russia’s response, the Ministry of Emergency Situations has conducted exercises to manage the impact of a nuclear meltdown in Japan on Russia’s Far East. Prime Minister **Vladimir Putin** has ordered safety inspections at Russian nuclear facilities and a review of nuclear industry development plans. Extra safety measures should be expected, especially given the upcoming federal elections (December 2011 elections to the federal parliament and March 2012 presidential poll), which traditionally make the government more sensitive to public sentiments.

South Korea

Analysis by **Sungyeol Choi**, Research Fellow, International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom

South Korea, which is currently operating 21 nuclear power plants and constructing 5 more units, is not very likely to change its nuclear power policy in response to the crisis in Japan. Nuclear power is currently supplying almost 40% of national electricity, and there are no viable short- and mid-term alternatives. South Korean President **Lee Myung-bak** emphasized Korea’s nuclear safety and emergency planning. A Congressional debate underlined that safety features in nuclear power plants must be improved to sustain an extreme earthquake or tsunami.

Nevertheless, nuclear power will face harsh time in South Korea. There is great public concern about the accident in neighboring Japan appearing in the news at several media outlets. Public opinion on nuclear issues could be a key factor in the 2012 South Korean presidential election.

f Nuclear Power

India

Analysis by **Karthika Sasikumar**, Nuclear Security Junior Faculty Fellow

India has 20 functioning nuclear plants—of which two are General Electric Boiling Water Reactors (BWRs), the type that is in peril in Japan—supplying around three percent of the country’s energy needs. But demands for energy are soaring. Trying to overcome its dependence on oil imports, India turned to nuclear power.

The Japanese tragedy has prompted a renewed focus on nuclear safety, which had been somewhat marginalized with the rush to secure India’s entry into the commercial nuclear technology market. In the past, nuclear plans have forged ahead in spite of qualms about safety. A greater investment in research and development in renewable energy sector may be the best outcome from the unfolding tragedy in Japan.

Iran

Analysis by **Mahsa Rouhi**, Nuclear Security Predoctoral Fellow

The explosions in Japan’s Fukushima nuclear power plant caused controversies over nuclear safety in Iran. This prompted reactions from Iranian officials, media and general public. Since Iran is an earthquake-prone country, there is great sympathy towards Japan and widespread alarm about the safety measures in place at the Bushehr reactor. **President Ahmadinejad** has stated that the Bushehr reactor meets all necessary safety standards, and this has been confirmed by the IAEA on various occasions.

It is notable that the majority of media responses argue that the current debate on the safety issue in Iran is more political than technical. Therefore, it seems unlikely at this point that the officials will plan to revise the current plans for the Bushehr nuclear facility in the light of Japan’s experience.

For more views on the Japan crisis, see <http://Fukushima>.

Seminars Assess Media’s Impact on Clean Energy Views



Nuclear Coverage: The *New York Times*’ **Matthew Wald** (on screen), and ABC’s **Ned Potter** (center seated) discuss “In the Shadow of the Japan Crisis.” Also pictured (left to right): Belfer Center’s **Matthew Bunn**, and **Cristine Russell**.

Informing the public with critical and strong reportage about energy is imperative for crafting policy, but with shrinking newsroom budgets, is the news media up to the task? This spring, the Belfer and Shorenstein Centers’ three-part seminar series “Clean Energy and the Media” tackled this question with prominent science and technology reporters from across the media. Organized by **Cristine Russell**, senior fellow with the Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP), the series examined current media coverage of wind power, electric cars and nuclear power.

Boston Globe journalist **Beth Daley** joined **Elisabeth Rosenthal**, environment writer for the *New York Times*, and ENRP director **Henry Lee**, in discussing “Wind Energy: Which Way Does the Media Wind Blow?” “The problem with these renewable energy and larger environment stories,” said Rosenthal, “is there are all these different lenses and newspapers tend to be Balkanized. There’s the business perspective; there’s the science perspective; there’s the foreign perspective and the metro perspective.” Shorenstein director **Alex Jones** moderated the panel.

“The Long Road to Electric Cars: Green Hope or Media Hype?” was discussed by **Alan Boyle**, science editor for MSNBC.com, **Bryan Walsh**, *Time Magazine* senior writer, and **Venky Narayanamurti**, director of Belfer’s

Science, Technology and Public Policy Program, with moderator Lee. Reporting about the possibilities of new technologies can be especially problematic, said Walsh, describing the “pitchroom bias” journalists confront when it comes to clean-tech reporting. “When you’re a writer and you’re facing a skeptical editor, and when you’re trying to pitch the story, you may unconsciously hype it,” he said.

“The Seesaw Media Coverage of Japan’s Nuclear Crisis,” a discussion of media coverage of the disaster in Japan, was a timely conclusion to the three-part seminar series. In the concluding seminar on the coverage of Japan’s nuclear crisis, **Matthew Bunn**, co-director of the Center’s Project on Managing the Atom, joined *New York Times*’ **Matthew L. Wald**, and ABC’s **Ned Potter** in a discussion of the challenges of covering nuclear energy. Russell, the moderator, pointed out the irony of nuclear power as a green energy. “Because nuclear power does not release greenhouse gases, it has been seen as clean in terms of the climate. At the moment it’s an ironic term, because it doesn’t sound so clean in terms of radiation release. So it’s clean relative to what?” she said.

Belfer Center International Global Affairs student fellow **Carolyn McGourty** assisted in organizing the series. 🌐

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Do Democracies Win Their Wars?

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

The MIT Press (Forthcoming June 2011)



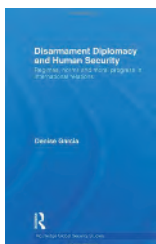
In recent years, a new wave of scholarship has argued that democracies have unique advantages that enable them to compete vigorously in international politics. Challenging long-held beliefs—some of which go back to

Thucydides' account of the clash between democratic Athens and authoritarian Sparta—that democracy is a liability in the harsh world of international affairs, many scholars now claim that democracies win most of their wars. Critics counter that democracy itself makes little difference in war and that other factors, such as overall power, determine whether a country tastes victory or defeat. In some cases, such as the Vietnam War, democracy may even have contributed to defeat.

Disarmament Diplomacy and Human Security: Regimes, Norms, and Moral Progress in International Relations

By Denise Garcia, former Research Fellow and Associate, International Security Program/Intrastate Conflict Program;
Routledge Global Security Studies

Routledge (February 2011)



Disarmament Diplomacy and Human Security looks at three cases of the development of international norms in this arena. First, it traces how new international normative understandings have shaped the evolution of and support for an Arms Trade Treaty (the supply side of the arms trade); second, it examines the small arms international regime and examines a multilateral initiative that aims to address the demand side (by the Geneva Declaration); and, third, it examines the evolution of two processes to ban and regulate cluster munitions.

The formation of international norms in these areas is a remarkable development, as it means that a domain that was previously thought to be the exclusive purview of states, i.e. how they procure and manage arms, has been penetrated by multiple influences from worldwide civil society. As a result, norms and treaties are being established to address the domain of arms, and states will have more

multilateral restriction over their arms and less sovereignty in this domain.

Withdrawing Under Fire: Lessons Learned from Islamist Insurgencies

By Joshua L. Gleis, former Research Fellow and Associate, International Security Program

Potomac Books (April 2011)



The post-9/11 world has witnessed a rebirth of irregular and asymmetrical warfare, which, in turn, has led to an increase in conflicts between conventional armies and non-state armed groups. In their haste to respond to the threat from insurgencies, states often fail to plan effectively not only for combat operations but also for withdrawal, which is inevitable, win or lose. In order to answer the question of how to withdraw from engagement with an insurgency, Gleis examines how insurgencies are conducted and what, if anything, is unique about an Islamist insurgency. He then proposes ways to combat these groups successfully and to disentangle one's military forces from the war once strategic objectives have been met—or once it is clear that they cannot be.

“...[B]reaks new ground for the professional literature on insurgency and counterinsurgency.”

The author analyzes six counterinsurgency operations that have taken place in the past, with the intention of gleanings from them as many lessons as possible to better prepare for future withdrawals.

“This study breaks new ground for the professional literature on insurgency and counterinsurgency. Joshua Gleis is the first to examine these issues within the context of the literature on war termination. It is an important book for the academic security studies community.”

—Professor Richard Shultz, Director of the International Security Studies Program, Fletcher School, Tufts University

Shall the Religious Inherit the Earth? Demography and Politics in the Twenty-First Century

By Eric Kaufmann, former Research Fellow, Initiative on Religion in International Affairs/International Security Program
Profile Books (2010)

Richard Dawkins and Christopher Hitchens have convinced many western intellectuals that secularism is the way forward, but most people don't read their books before deciding



whether to be religious. Instead, they inherit their faith from their parents, who often inoculate them against the elegant arguments of secularists. And what no one has noticed is that far from declining, the religious are

expanding their share of the population; in fact, the more religious people are, the more children they have. The cumulative effect of immigration from religious countries and religious fertility will be to reverse the secularization process in the West. Not only will the religious eventually triumph over the non-religious, but it is those who are the most extreme in their beliefs who have the largest families.

“...[C]ontroversial, highly informative, and thought provoking.”

Eric Kaufmann examines the implications of the decline in liberal secularism as religious conservatism rises—and what this means for the future of western modernity.

“Kaufmann is controversial, highly informative, and thought provoking. A not-to-be-missed contribution to one of the most pressing and complex debates of modern time.”

—Michal Boncza, *Morning Star*

Our Own Worst Enemy? Institutional Interests and the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Expertise

By Sharon Weiner; Belfer Center Studies in International Security

The MIT Press (Forthcoming Summer 2011)

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, many observers feared that terrorists and rogue states would obtain weapons of mass destruction (WMD) or knowledge about how to build them from the vast Soviet nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons complex. The United States launched a major effort to prevent former Soviet WMD experts, suddenly without salaries, from peddling their secrets. In *Our Own Worst Enemy*, Sharon Weiner chronicles the design, implementation, and evolution of four U.S. programs that were central to this nonproliferation policy and assesses their successes and failures.

Weiner explains why—despite unprecedented cooperation between the former Cold War adversaries—U.S. nonproliferation programs did not succeed at redirecting or converting to civilian uses significant parts of the former Soviet weapons complex.

Compiled by Susan Lynch ISP/STPP

Conference Probes Revolution, Reform in the Middle East

More than 250 people joined experts from around the world in April for “Revolution & Reform: The Historic Transition in the Middle East,” a conference sponsored by the Belfer Center’s Dubai Initiative (DI). Leading scholars assessed the political, economic, and legal aspects of the turmoil engulfing the region this spring.

In his keynote presentation, **Tarek Masoud**, assistant professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School and a Center affiliate, declared his faith in the future of elections and democracy in Egypt despite the splits among the political parties vying for power.

The Dubai Initiative’s **Mehrangiz Kar** and **Djavad Salehi-Isfahani** moderated a lively discussion of “Generation in Revolt: What do Middle East Youth Want?” Panelists agreed that a key ingredient to youth disillusion is unemployment, which is tied closely to education, marriage, and social mobility. Young people want the ability to compete for existing jobs, an education system that offers global skills, a youth-friendly economic system, and the ability to be productive and creative. Panelist

Eshan Moghaddasi, a Boston University student activist in the Iranian diaspora, noted that the youth movement needs “time and support” to change the current situation. Salehi-Isfahani asked whether the uprisings will bring to power those who can respond to youth demands.

David Mednicoff, professor of public policy at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, moderated a discussion of the rule of law in the Arab world while **Diana Buttu**, former Palestinian Liberation Organization spokesperson, asked her panel: “What’s next for the Arab world?” Panelist **Stephen Walt** of the Harvard Kennedy School drew from the revolutions of 1848 for parallels to these unprecedented events and recognized the need for vast economic and infrastructure development in transitional democracies.

Karam Dana, professor of history at Tufts University, discussed political transformation in the Arab world. Panelist **Tamim Al-Barghouti** of Georgetown University argued that the United States and other world powers must be prepared to reckon with democracy and



Looking Forward: The Dubai Initiative’s **Mehrangiz Kar** (left) and **Djavad Salehi-Isfahani** moderate a discussion on “Generation in Revolt: What do Middle East Youth Want?”

socialism, and not just the official state structures that used to monopolize political capital in the Arab world.

The emerging field of study of urbanization, within the context of revolution, was discussed by scholars of architecture, urban planning, and political science. Convened by Dubai Initiative fellow **Hussam Salama**, the panel weighed the role of cities in shaping the future of the Middle East and their capacity to deal with the new regional and global order. 🌐

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“Graceful Decline? The Surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment”

Paul K. MacDonald and Joseph M. Parent

In recent years, the relative power of the United States has been eroding. For great powers facing relative decline, retrenchment—retracting grand strategic commitments—has never been seen as a viable response: it shows weakness and is difficult to implement domestically. A comparison of eighteen cases of acute relative decline since 1870, however, demonstrates that retrenchment has occurred more often and has been more effective than is generally perceived. Retrenchment neither invites attack nor requires aggression; instead it allows states to maximize security given their available means, and many states—especially hegemonic powers—often regain their prominence.

“Europe’s Troubles: Power Politics and the State of the European Project”

Sebastian Rosato

In the 1990s, the European project—economic, political, and military integration—seemed destined for success. During the Cold War, the rise of the Soviet Union spurred the creation of the European Community and economic integration, and analysts predicted that political and military integration would soon follow. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, however, Europe lacked a compelling geostrategic reason to pursue full integration. Unless the balance of power changes and the health of the economy improves, Europeans have no incentive either to integrate further or to preserve their economic community, and the European Community’s future is uncertain.

“The Right to Be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision”

Peter D. Feaver

Civil-military relations theory encompasses a debate between professional supremacists and civilian supremacists over how much to defer to the military on wartime decisions. In the case of the 2006 Iraq surge decision, President George W. Bush’s top military commanders opposed the decision, whereas civilian supremacists pressed for its early implementation. Instead

of following the dictates of one school over the other, however, Bush pursued a civil-military hybrid model that gave the surge a chance to work. Compromise, then, might be the best way to reconcile differences on wartime decisions between professional and civilian supremacist groups.

“The Security Curve and the Structure of International Politics: A Neorealist Synthesis”

Davide Fiammenghi

The question of how much power a state needs to maximize its security is at the core of realist theory. The “security curve,” a modified parabolic relationship between relative power and security, synthesizes multiple realist theories into a single framework: as a state moves along the power continuum, its security increases along with its power until it reaches the security threshold (i.e., offensive realist theory), at which point its security decreases as opponents balance against it (defensive realist theory), and finally increases again as states are forced to bandwagon with it (hegemonic stability theory). The security curve is useful for analyzing the respective positions of China, which is approaching the security threshold, and the United States, which is too powerful for states to balance but unable to unify the system.

“Preventing Enemy Coalitions: How Wedge Strategies Shape Power Politics”

Timothy W. Crawford

Wedge strategies—or states’ attempts to prevent or break up threatening or blocking alliances—can trigger significant power shifts in international politics. The most successful wedge strategies include selective accommodation (e.g., concessions and compensation) to detach and neutralize potential adversaries. Examples include Great Britain’s use of defensive wedge strategies to accommodate Italy in the 1930s and Germany’s offensive efforts to accommodate the Soviet Union in 1939. Wedge strategies have important implications for balance of power politics in general and, in particular, for U.S. alliances in Asia, which could be fractured by a rising China.

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BELFER IN BRIEF

Getting to Zero

Rolf Mowatt-Larssen, senior fellow at the Belfer Center, took part in a panel on “Nuclear Dangers” at the Global Zero convention for students and young professionals in Washington, D.C. in April. Other panelists included **Bruce Blair**, **Pervez Hoodbhoy**, and **Valerie Plame Wilson**, who—along with Mowatt-Larssen and the Center’s **Graham Allison** and **Matthew Bunn**—were featured in the 2010 documentary *Countdown to Zero* about nuclear dangers. “The Global Zero student movement,” Mowatt-Larssen said, “is about young people organizing themselves in a common cause to rid the world of nuclear weapons. They are determined to move beyond fear and tackle this menace head on. What can be more inspirational than that?”

Exploring Muslim Views of America

“Islam and Muslim Societies: An Analytical Examination” was the focus of a conference in April organized by the Belfer Center’s **Middle East Initiative**. The conference focused on subjects like Muslim views of America and how they differ across the Arab world, connections between Islam and financial markets, and the relationship between Islam and political violence. Participants from institutions in the U.S. and Europe presented and discussed current research. The conference was organized by HKS professors **Tarek Masoud** and **Asim Khwaja**, and funded in part by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and Outreach Center at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

Nuclear Energy and the Climate Challenge

Laura Diaz Anadon, director of the Center’s Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group, and **Matthew Bunn**, associate professor of public policy, traveled to Venice in April for a workshop they organized with European colleagues on the role of R&D and policy in the contribution of nuclear power to meeting climate challenges. Presenters included senior leaders from industry, national labs, and academia from the United States and various EU countries. The group also discussed the impact of the Japan accident and the benefits of international cooperation.

Belfer Center Breaks Records

The Belfer Center’s website broke two records for traffic in March. The site had 221,000 pageviews, only the second time the Center’s monthly number has exceeded 200,000. And the site drew 101,000 unique visitors for the month, the first time ever above 100,000. The website, managed by Sam Foreman, featured the Center’s expertise on the Middle East and on nuclear issues following the Fukushima crisis. The new Power & Policy blog also gave Belfer Center experts a new channel to reach readers quickly on the twin crises.

Staff on the Move

Congratulations to Belfer Center staffers who are completing advanced degrees and/or moving on to new adventures. **Sarah Donahue**, events administrator for the Center, is graduating in May from Boston College with a M.A. in Higher Education Administration. **Greg Durham**, project coordinator with the Agricultural Innovation in Africa Project, will graduate in May with an ALM in government from the Harvard Extension School, and will head to William and Mary Law in the fall to earn his J.D.



Greg Durham and Sarah Donahue