



Belfer Center Deepens Impact on Defense Policy in D.C. Ashton B. Carter and Eric Rosenbach Get Senior Pentagon Posts



Securing the Nation: Ashton B. Carter (left) is sworn in as the 31st deputy secretary of defense by Jeh C. Johnson, Department of Defense general counsel, while Carter's wife, Stephanie, holds the Bible.



Cyber Shield: Eric Rosenbach (left), former executive director for research at the Belfer Center, was appointed deputy assistant secretary of defense for cyber policy on September 26, 2011. In this position, he leads efforts to improve Department of Defense capability to operate in cyberspace.

The Belfer Center is keeping up its impressive track record of sending Center affiliates to take up senior positions in the federal government. This fall, two Center veterans were tapped for jobs that are among the most challenging in the Department of Defense.

Ashton B. Carter was sworn in on October 6 as deputy secretary of defense, the second highest-ranking official in the Pentagon. Unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate for the position, Carter had served since 2009 as under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology and logistics. Previously, he was co-director of the Belfer Center's Preventive Defense Project and he was director of the Center from 1990–93. He is on leave from the Belfer Center Board of Directors.

In September, **Eric Rosenbach**, who served as executive director for research in the Belfer Center from 2007 to 2010 and taught cyber terrorism classes at Harvard Kennedy School, was appointed deputy assistant secretary of defense for cyber policy. Rosenbach, a veteran Army intelligence officer who served on the staff of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, was most recently in a senior position with Good Harbor Consulting, a leading consulting firm on cybersecurity and related issues founded by **Richard Clarke**—himself a former top White House official

who lectures at the Kennedy School and is a Belfer Center faculty affiliate.

Ash has been in the middle of the toughest calls about the future of the greatest military in the world... [H]e's the right man for the right job at the right time.

—Graham Allison

In his new role, Carter's responsibilities include identifying and carrying out billions of dollars in defense cuts mandated by Congress in a budget deal agreed upon this summer to reduce the projected federal deficit. Rosenbach, working within the Office of the

Assistant Secretary of Defense for Global Strategic Affairs, is tasked with overseeing efforts to develop and install cyber-related policies, strategies, and plans.

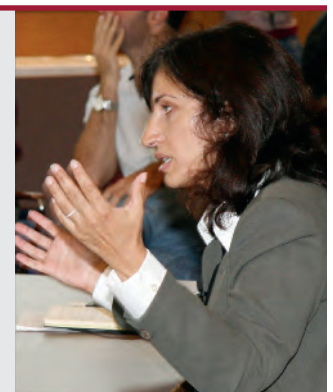
Commenting on Carter's appointment, Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** said, "As under secretary for acquisition, Ash has been in the middle of the toughest calls about the future of the greatest military in the world. With budgets shrinking, his challenges will be even more severe. But he's the right man for the right job at the right time."

Regarding Rosenbach, Allison said, "Eric is a tremendous leader who brings extensive cybersecurity policy and technical experience to his new job as DASD for cyber policy. At a time when our country's cybersecurity challenges demand great leadership, Eric will be a major asset to DoD and the national security community."

See page 6 for a Q&A with Ashton B. Carter. A listing of Belfer Center affiliates serving in government is on page 4.

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Diana Buttu on Palestinian bid.



FROM THE DIRECTOR

Andrea Allison

During the Cold War, one of the signal contributions of scholars at the Harvard Kennedy School was to encourage communication between Soviet and American scientists seeking to reduce the threat of a nuclear Armageddon. The work of

Paul Doty, John Holdren, and many others in the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs was rightly acknowledged with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995 to the Pugwash Conferences.

As we approach the 20th anniversary of the collapse of the Soviet Union on Christmas Day 1991, we can note with some satisfaction the ongoing role of the Belfer Center in addressing what Presidents **George W. Bush** and **Barack Obama** both called “the single largest threat to American national security.”

Two decades later, three strategic nuclear arsenals (Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus) have been zeroed out, 14,000 tactical nuclear weapons (left in the 14 former Soviet republics) have been eliminated, and not a single nuclear weapon has been found loose in international arms bazaars or another country.

The Belfer Center is staying relevant and involved as the challenges shift from Cold War strategic nuclear weapons to ... terrorist drones and dirty bombs.

This summer, specialists from the Belfer Center published the first-ever joint threat assessment by U.S. and Russian experts on the threat of nuclear terrorism. The report’s recommendations have been closely studied in Washington and Moscow. This effort was led by senior fellow **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen**, Associate Professor **Matt Bunn**, senior fellow **Will Tobey**, fellow **Simon Saradzhyan**, and Executive Director for Research **Kevin Ryan**, working with experts from the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies in Moscow.

Tobey, a former senior official in the National Nuclear Security Administration, is director of our U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism. That project is an important conduit for cooperation.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Head of State: Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton** (right) meets with the State Department’s International Security Advisory Board, which includes the Belfer Center’s **Graham Allison** and **William Tobey** (far end of table, left and right).

This fall, former Kennedy School Associate Dean **Robert Blackwill** and I co-chaired a new report examining why Russia still matters crucially to the United States—especially with **Vladimir Putin** now poised to return to the presidency next year. This report was produced jointly by the Belfer Center and the Center for the National Interest in Washington, with whom we have worked on U.S.-Russian relations for more than a decade.

It is with pride that we applaud **Ash Carter** as he begins work as deputy secretary of defense. President Obama chose him for this position on the basis of his outstanding work as under secretary for acquisitions and logistics in the first two years of the Obama administration.

Other Belfer alumni with whom Ash will be working at the Defense Department include Under Secretary for Policy **Michèle Flournoy**, Deputy Under Secretary **Jim Miller** and now **Eric Rosenbach**, executive director for research from 2007 to 2010, who recently became deputy assistant secretary of defense for cybersecurity. This is a field where the Belfer Center is deepening its expertise thanks in part to **Venky Narayanamurti** and **Joe Nye**, who are building up the new Explorations in International Cyber Relations project.

In these ways, the Belfer Center is staying relevant and involved as the challenges shift from Cold War strategic nuclear weapons to contending with the threats of terrorist drones and dirty bombs. 🌐

Belfer Faculty Member Lucas Papademos Named Prime Minister of Greece

Lucas Papademos, the Minos A. Zombanakis Professor at Harvard Kennedy School, has been named prime minister of Greece following the resignation of PM **George Papandreou**. Papademos will lead an interim government of national unity until elections in just over three months.

Papademos is a former vice-president of the European Central Bank and was governor of the Bank of Greece from 1994 to 2002.



New Greek Prime Minister **Lucas Papademos** (left) with **Minos A. Zombanakis**, Belfer Center International Council member.

“The course will not be easy,” Papademos was quoted in news reports. “But the problems, I’m convinced, will be solved. They will be solved faster, with a smaller cost and in an efficient way, if there is unity, agreement and prudence.”

Papademos is a visiting professor at Harvard Kennedy School, a professor of economics at the University of Athens, and senior fellow at the Center for Financial Studies, Goethe University, Frankfurt. At Harvard,

Papademos has taught courses on “Macroeconomic and Financial Policy in the Global Economy,” and “The Global Financial Crisis: Policy Responses and Challenges.”

Papademos was named Zombanakis Professor in April 2011. The professorship, which is based at the Belfer Center, was established last year with a \$4 million endowment honoring **Minos Zombanakis**, a Harvard alumnus and member of the Belfer Center’s International Council. Zombanakis earned Harvard degrees in economics and public administration and has spent his career in banking. He is recognized for founding roles in the Euroloan markets, the syndicated loan market, and the creation of the London Interbank Offered Rate, or LIBOR.

“I am very pleased to have a man of the stature of Lucas Papademos as the first person to occupy the Zombanakis chair,” Zombanakis said when the professorship was announced. “These are trying times for international markets, and I’m hopeful that Professor Papademos’ research will help enhance the understanding of the global financial system and identify ways in which we might improve it.”

Papademos addressed a dinner of the Belfer Center International Council’s annual meeting in April, describing Europe’s economic crisis and the prospects for getting through it without severe damage. 🌐

Scholars Weigh Info-Tech Policy Challenges

- How do you transform an invention into an innovation that changes society?
- Why does the transition to a new Internet protocol amount to a “brain transplant?”
- How can schools use technology as more than just as a hood ornament?

These were some of the questions tackled by industry and academic experts from Harvard, MIT, and other Boston-area universities at a three-day conference in September, convened by the Belfer Center’s project in Information and Communications Technology and Public Policy. The event examined policy choices facing the fast-changing field of information and communications technology.

Professor **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayana-murti**, faculty chair and director of Belfer’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy program (STPP), challenged the audience of technology executives to build organizations able to translate inventions into innovations over the long haul. “It might be a radical invention like a light bulb: It’s complex, it’s interactive, and you need to understand that both science and engineering are involved in innovation,” said Narayanamurti, the founding dean of Harvard’s School of Engineering and Applied Sciences. “You need leaders who understand and provide insulation because it cannot be done in the short term.”

The Belfer Center’s STPP Program launched the info-tech policy project in 2010 to suggest new policies to address these challenges. Many of the speakers’ presentations are posted online on the project’s new webpage <http://belfercenter.org/ICTP/>.

Calestous Juma, director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Globalization project, delivered a luncheon address

that triggered a lively discussion on the intersection of information and communications technology and public policy/global economic development.

Key challenges ahead for Internet governance include a new Internet Protocol, likened to a brain transplant for the Internet.

The conference heard **Peter Bol**, the Charles H. Carswell Professor of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, describe the project he directs with partners at Fudan University in Shanghai to create a geospatial information system covering 2,000 years of Chinese history, just one example of the transition from passive, static mapping to interactive geospatial mapping.

“It has to be more than a really cool map,” Bol said.

Belfer Center fellow **Tolu Odomuso** warned of key challenges ahead for Internet governance, including the transition to a new Internet Protocol known as “version six” that he likened to a brain transplant for the Internet. MIT Professor **Nazli Choucri** and Belfer Fellow **Aadya Shukla** said improved performance on cybersecurity requires fundamental agreements on the language used to describe cyber events.

Tom Vallely, director of the Vietnam Program at Harvard Kennedy School, described the explosive growth of cell phone use throughout Southeast Asia, and how that is transforming economies and creating opportunities for investors.

Ethan Zuckerman, director of the Center for Civic Media at MIT, challenged technology companies working in autocratic countries to



Connecting the Dots: Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) Professor **Archon Fung** examines the intersection of technology and politics. Fung is a professor of public policy at HKS.

use “constructive defiance” to keep governments from crushing free speech with Internet censorship.

Chris Dede, Timothy E. Wirth Professor in Learning Technologies at Harvard’s Graduate School of Education, described the innovative thinking behind the 2010 National Education Technology Plan. A key lesson, he said, is to stop thinking first about the technological devices and focus instead on student-centric teaching and learning models, using concepts such as “intelligence amplification” and “distributed education.”

The Ash Center’s **Archon Fung**, Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Citizenship at the Kennedy School, examined the intersection of technology and politics. He said he doubted there would or even could be a killer app in politics like those transforming the economy, production, and social relations.

The Shorenstein Center’s **Nicco Mele**, a veteran of the earliest Internet campaigns, regaled participants with war stories and a succession of “Wow. Huh?” moments, from the earliest days of Internet campaigning to what lies ahead. 🌐

—James F. Smith

Juma Lauded for Role in First Innovation Advisory Council in Africa

“Cities that fail to harness the power of innovation will eventually become the customers of those that do,” said **Babatunde Fashola**, governor of Lagos, in announcing the creation of the Lagos Innovation Advisory Council in September.

The Council—the first of its kind in Africa and possibly in the developing world—was an outgrowth of a Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) executive program in Lagos in 2010 led by the Belfer Center’s **Calestous Juma**, director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization Project.

The HKS training program, Juma said, “was put together to help the state government of Lagos reposition itself as a leader in innovation in the region.” A year later, what began as a program to ease new cabinet members and ministers into government, had reinvented itself into the 19-member Innovation Council

that would “advise the governor in identifying new investment areas that could help the economy grow and generate new jobs.”

Several participants in the executive program were named to the Council.

Our government owes [Juma] a debt of gratitude for his inspirational and motivational role in bringing us this far and keeping our dream alive.

—Governor Fashola, Lagos

“Our road to this day started in October 2010,” said Governor Fashola during the inauguration of the Council, “when the Lagos State Government in a partnership with the Harvard Kennedy School convened a high-level executive program attended by 50 participants.” It was “chaired by Professor Calestous

Juma . . . [whose] voice is one of the most respected on our planet . . . [O]ur government owes a debt of gratitude for his inspirational and motivational role in bringing us this far and keeping our dream alive.” 🌐

—Dominic Contreras



Innovative Counsel: **Calestous Juma** speaks at the info-tech conference about technology, innovation, and global policy development.

On the Job in Washington D.C.

Dozens of members of the Belfer Center community are currently serving or have until recently served in positions within the United States government. The group's experience and expertise span many of the international challenges confronting the nation today.

Paul Anastas: Assistant Administrator, Office of Research and Development; Science Advisor to the Environmental Protection Agency
Position while at Belfer Center: Senior Associate, Environment and Natural Resources Program

Rand Beers: Under Secretary for the National Protection and Programs Directorate
Position while at Belfer Center: Faculty Affiliate

Jennifer C. Bulkeley: Strategist, Office of the Secretary of Defense
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, International Security Program; Research Assistant, Belfer Center/Stanford Preventive Defense Project

Kurt Campbell: Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Position while at Belfer Center: Assistant Director; Research Fellow, International Security Program

Ashton B. Carter: Deputy Secretary of Defense; Previously, Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics
Positions while at Belfer Center: Director; Co-director, Belfer Center/Stanford Preventive Defense Project; Member, Board of Directors (on leave)

Ivo Daalder: United States Permanent Representative, Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, International Security Program

Paul De Sa: Chief of Strategic Planning and Policy Analysis, Federal Communications Commission
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program

Martin Feldstein: Former Member, White House Economic Recovery Advisory Board
Current position with Belfer Center: Member, Board of Directors

Steve Fetter: Assistant Director, White House Office of Science and Technology Policy
Position while at Belfer Center: Associate, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program

Michèle Flournoy: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, International Security Program

John P. Holdren: Assistant to the President for Science and Technology; Director, White House Office of Science and Technology Policy
Position while at Belfer Center: Director, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program; Member, Board of Directors (on leave)

Laura Holgate: Senior Director, WMD Terrorism & Threat Reduction, National Security Council
Position while at Belfer Center: Staff Assistant, International Security Program

Bonnie Jenkins: State Department Coordinator for Threat Reduction Programs in the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, Project on Managing the Atom/International Security Program

Juliette Kayyem: Former Assistant Secretary of Homeland Security for Intergovernmental Programs
Current position with Belfer Center: Lecturer in Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; Member, Board of Directors

Matthew Kroenig: Former Special Advisor in the Office of the Secretary of Defense
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, Project on Managing the Atom/International Security Program

James N. Miller, Jr.: Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, International Security Program

Michael Nacht: Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Global Strategic Affairs
Position while at Belfer Center: Assistant Director, Center for Science and International Affairs (now Belfer Center)

Daniel Poneman: Deputy Secretary of Energy
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, International Security Program



Michèle Flournoy, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

Samantha Power: Senior Director for Multilateral Affairs, National Security Council
Position while at Belfer Center: Director, Belfer Center Human Rights Initiative

Liz Sherwood Randall: Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs, National Security Council
Position while at Belfer Center: Founding Senior Adviser, Belfer Center/Stanford Preventive Defense Project

Eric Rosenbach: Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Cyber Policy, Department of Defense
Position while at Belfer Center: Executive Director for Research

Dennis Ross: Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for the Central Region
Current position with Belfer Center: Member, Belfer Center International Council

Benjamin Runkle: Professional Staff Member, House Armed Services Committee
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, International Security Program

Gary Samore: Coordinator for Arms Control and Weapons of Mass Destruction, Proliferation, and Terrorism, National Security Council
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, International Security Program

James A. Schear: Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Partnership Strategy and Stability Operations
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, International Security Program

Matthew Sharp: State Department Fellow, American Institute of Physics, Washington D.C.
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, Project on Managing the Atom/International Security Program

Maria J. Stephan: Strategic Planner, Department of State's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization
Position while at Belfer Center: Research Fellow, Intrastate Conflict Program/International Security Program

Lawrence Summers: Former Director, White House National Economic Council
Current position with Belfer Center: Member, Board of Directors

Paul Volcker: Former Chair, White House Economic Recovery Advisory Board
Current position with Belfer Center: Member, International Council

Science in Focus: Assistant to the President for Science and Technology **John P. Holdren** (left) makes a point to President **Barack Obama** (right) at a meeting of the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST). Holdren is co-chair of PCAST and serves also as director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy. He is the former director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program and is a member (on leave) of the Center's board of directors.



PCAST

U.S. and Russian Experts Assess Threat of Nuclear Terror

Researchers from the United States and Russia issued in June a joint assessment of the global threat of nuclear terrorism, warning of a persistent danger that terrorists could obtain or make a nuclear device and use it with catastrophic consequences.

The first joint threat assessment by experts from the world's two major nuclear powers concludes: "If current approaches toward eliminating the threat are not replaced with a sense of urgency and resolve, the question will become not if but when, and on what scale, the first act of nuclear terrorism occurs."

The study recommends measures to tighten security over existing nuclear weapons and the nuclear materials terrorists would need to make a crude nuclear bomb, along with expanded police and intelligence cooperation to interdict nuclear smuggling and stop terrorist nuclear plots. The report also calls for improved protection of nuclear facilities that might be sabotaged, and of radiological materials that might be used in a dirty bomb.

The report, titled "The U.S.-Russia Joint Threat Assessment on Nuclear Terrorism,"

released on June 6, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in Moscow, resulted from a nearly year-long partnership between nuclear security experts from the Belfer Center and The Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies in Moscow, a leading Russian research center.

This [document] can now be used as a basis for driving action in both governments.

—Rolf Mowatt-Larssen

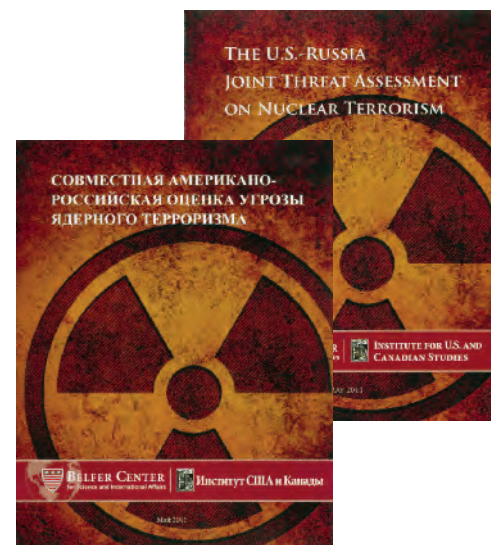
The lead U.S. and Russian authors are **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen**, a senior fellow in the Belfer Center and a former director of intelligence and counter-intelligence at the U.S. Department of Energy, and **Pavel S. Zolotarev**, a retired army general who is deputy director of Moscow's Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies, at the Russian Academy of Sciences, and former head of the Information and Analysis Center of the Russian Ministry of Defense.

"The United States and Russia had never produced a document that could be said to represent a common understanding of the nuclear terrorism threat," said Mowatt-Larssen. "This can now be used as a basis for driving action in both governments."


The threat of nuclear terrorism is increasing. Our response should anticipate the dynamics of the threat rather than lag behind it.

—Pavel S. Zolotarev

The researchers' joint assessment was reviewed and endorsed by a group of retired U.S. and Russian senior military and intelligence officers, led by General **Anatoliy S.**



Kulikov (former Minister of Interior) and General **Eugene E. Habiger** (former STRATCOM commander). This "Elbe Group" was established by **Kevin Ryan**, the Belfer Center's executive director for research, in October 2010 to create an informal communication channel on security issues of concern to both the United States and Russia.

The Joint Threat Assessment was coordinated by the Kennedy School's U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism directed by **William Tobey**, a senior fellow in the Belfer Center and former top official in the National Nuclear Security Administration. The assessment project was supported by the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a non-profit organization in Washington that works to reduce threats from nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. 

See full report at: <http://belfercenter.org/USRussiaJTA/>

KEVIN RYAN



Dual Endorsement: The "Elbe Group," a gathering of retired U.S. and Russian senior military and intelligence officers, reviews the joint threat assessment during a meeting in Cascais, Portugal, in June.


Task Force Prescribes Steps to Strengthen U.S. Policy on Russia

How will Vladimir Putin's return to the Kremlin impact American national interests? Should the U.S. allow Georgia to block Russia's entry into the World Trade Organization? How can the U.S. engage Russia to reach further cuts in nuclear arsenals and reduce the global threat of nuclear terrorism?

These thorny policy questions and others are tackled in a new report by the Task Force on Russia and U.S. National Interests, a group of business leaders and former military officers, senior government officials, and diplomats.

The task force report assesses Russia from the perspective of American national interests and offers prescriptions for coherent, realistic management of the U.S.-Russia relationship as the two nations approach the 20th anniversary of the Soviet Union collapse on Dec. 25, 1991.

The study also makes the case that Russia remains one of a handful of countries in the world that deeply affect American economic and security interests, demanding constant U.S. attention. While recognizing that the Obama administration's reset policy has led to significant improvements in U.S.-Russia relations, the report warns that relations remain fragile—and that an undertow of mutual distrust is more at fault than specific disputes.

The task force was co-chaired by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and **Robert D. Blackwill**, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. The project director was **Dimi K. Simes**, president of the Center for the National Interest. The Center's Executive Director **Paul J. Saunders** served as editor for the report. 



Powers That Be: Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) and former Ambassador **Robert D. Blackwill** discuss the report "Russia and U.S. National Interests: Why Should Americans Care?" during an event co-sponsored by the Belfer Center and the Center for the National Interest (CNI) in Washington, D.C.

Q&A Ashton B. Carter

Ashton B. Carter, a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors (on leave), is a former director of the Belfer Center and was co-director of the Center's Preventive Defense Project until leaving in 2009 to serve as under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology and logistics. Following his recent selection as deputy secretary of defense, we asked Carter about the challenges and opportunities of his new position.

Q What do you see as your major challenges as deputy secretary of defense?

We are still a nation at war, and one of my foremost responsibilities as deputy is to help Secretary [Leon] Panetta prosecute current operations around the world: against al Qaeda and its affiliated groups, in Iraq and Afghanistan, Libya, and elsewhere.

But we also are turning a strategic corner, as we prepare to wind down two long wars and enter a new era of defense spending in response to the country's fiscal situation. In this unprecedented budgetary environment, one of my principal managerial challenges will be to find savings—in efficiencies, personnel costs, force structure, and modernization—that are driven by strategy and a vision of the future, and not just by expediency. We have botched previous drawdowns after major wars in our history, and this time we need to do it right.

Q Having just completed two and a half grueling years as under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology and logistics (AT&L), what would you identify as two or three accomplishments of which you're proudest?

When former Secretary of Defense Gates offered me the under secretary job, he said, "The troops are at war and the Pentagon is not, and especially AT&L." He made absolutely clear he wanted that to change, and I am most proud that we have been able to set a faster tempo of support to our troops around the world. As under secretary, I would wake up every morning and ask myself what my office could do that day to accelerate the delivery of equipment and material to theater: whether it be Mine Resistant Ambush Protected All-Terrain Vehicles and bomb-sniffing dogs to protect our troops against the

threat of Improvised Explosive Devices, better intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities, or better logistical support. This effort remains one of my highest priorities as deputy.

I also insisted that we deliver better value to the taxpayer and warfighter for each defense dollar we spend. In September 2010, Secretary Gates and I issued guidance to our acquisition workforce, entitled "Better Buying Power," which identified the principal changes we felt were necessary to improve the way the Department of Defense does business—for example, making more appropriate use of contract type, insisting on paying what our products and services should cost rather than fatalistically accepting what budget estimators forecast they will cost without managerial intervention, leveraging real competition as opposed to settling for a series of directed buys, mandating affordability as a requirement for the acquisition of future weapon systems, and improving our tradecraft in contracting for services. These reforms would be important to apply in any budget environment, but they take on added significance given the defense budget cuts we face. The days when ever-rising budgets could cover poor program management are gone.

These changes are already showing results in such big-ticket programs as the KC-46 Tanker (where an unprotected contract award ended a many-year drama and obtained a great deal for the Air Force), and our largest tactical aircraft, shipbuilding, and satellite programs.

Q What about frustrations in that job, or items still on the not-yet-completed list?

I remain concerned that we have yet to establish a so-called "fast lane" for support to contingency acquisitions and, more generally, to

respond to rapidly changing global threats. As former Secretary Gates famously asked in a 2009 *Foreign Affairs* article, "Why [is] it necessary to bypass existing institutions and procedures to get the capabilities needed to protect U.S. troops and fight ongoing wars?" In my own experience as under secretary of AT&L, I have had to cut through reams of bureaucratic red tape to deliver the capabilities our warfighters need on their timetable, and not on the timetable of the Pentagon's ponderous acquisition and budgeting processes. Fixing this problem will be a priority of mine as deputy.

I also believe that we must continue to deliver better value to the taxpayer and warfighter for our defense dollars. Our business performance, in my view, is still not acceptable, and our relentless pursuit of value must continue to expand in scope, with important advances still needed in our approaches to services acquisition, cyber, information technology, control of total life-cycle costs, iteration with the requirements process, engagement of small and innovative business partners, the industrial base, and other areas.

Q Having spent most of the prior quarter century at Harvard's Kennedy School as a professor, director of the Belfer Center, and founding chair of the International and Global Affairs concentration, in what ways did that experience prepare you for your job as under secretary and now deputy secretary?

The Kennedy School's output is everywhere in national security circles—in Washington and around the world. The seminal strategic ideas of giants like Schelling, Nye, Allison, and others underlie every policy or crisis discussion. Secretary Panetta's special assistant and my special assistant are both former students of mine—just two of so many alumni who make our government and world better. When I visited the Japanese Ministry of Defense a while back, the minister surprised me with a roomful of Kennedy School alumni who work there. What a wonderful institution to be associated with! 🇺🇸



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE



Terrain Tough: Ashton B. Carter speaks during a presentation in 2009 of the MRAP All-Terrain Vehicle. Then under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology, and logistics, Carter noted that bigger tires were added to the shorter body size of the vehicles, which are also lighter than their predecessors but with the same size engine. These characteristics, he explained, make it easier for the vehicles to navigate Afghanistan's difficult mountainous terrain. The M-ATVs are used by all military branches.

AP PHOTO/MANUEL BALCE CENETA

SPOTLIGHT

James Schlesinger

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** spearheaded the campaign to create a Harvard professorship in honor of **James Schlesinger** to honor his lifetime of extraordinary achievement and his service as a model public servant. Schlesinger's long list of responsibilities includes his current role as chairman of the Belfer Center International Council. Here Allison reflects on Schlesinger the man, and on how an institution like Harvard comes to honor him.

Why will there now be in perpetuity a **James R. Schlesinger Professorship of Energy, National Security, and Foreign Policy** at Harvard? There was no such position last year, or a decade or one hundred years ago. But there will be one hundred years hence.

Why does Harvard have no Franklin Roosevelt Professorship of Government? No Theodore Roosevelt Professorship?

The inconvenient truth is that the reason why—and the only reason why—is that donors gave Harvard money to establish the one, and not the others.

Most students and faculty members at the University take for granted the opportunities Harvard provides. Few stop to ask why there is the greatest private library in the world (named Widener), a home for a Kennedy School of Government (named Littauer), or classrooms and conference spaces (like the Malkin Penthouse and Wiener Auditorium).

Nature did not create these structures. Harvard presidents, deans, and bureaucrats did not create these learning environments with their own resources. Specific donations of dollars from the donors for whom these buildings, professorships, and scholarships are named made possible these benefits faculty and students enjoy.

To return to the main storyline: the creation of the James R. Schlesinger Professorship of Energy, National Security, and Foreign Policy.

Who is Jim Schlesinger? As I noted at a dinner in October celebrating Schlesinger and the donors whose generosity made it possible to create this chair, Jim is a “great American; a great son of Harvard; a great patriotic American,” in the vocabulary of Gilbert and Sullivan, “the very model of a modern public servant.”

At that dinner, I described Jim's impact: “Jim Schlesinger has the unique distinction as the only individual who has served the United States as Secretary of Defense, Director of CIA, and Secretary of Energy. What better symbol of a commitment to apply the best of the mind to the most difficult challenges of energy, national security, and foreign policy?”

I also pointed out that “in perpetuity” at Harvard means a long time. Harvard was founded 150 years before the United States became an independent country. It is the oldest continuous human institution on the territory of the North American continent today. The first endowed professorship in America was established at Harvard in 1721, the Hollis Professorship of Theology. For almost 300 years, holders of that professorship have been conducting research and teaching. “In perpetuity,” means that a decade from now, and a century from now—assuming the world continues in something like its current form—at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government there will be a James R. Schlesinger Professorship of Energy, National Security, and Foreign Policy, advancing the frontiers of policy-relevant knowledge about these critical issues.

John F. Kennedy's line about success having “a thousand fathers and mothers” is certainly true in the case of the creation of the Schlesinger professorship. A project initiated more than a decade ago languished until several years ago when **Mary Beth Pearlberg** (director of development at Harvard's Kennedy School), **Fred Glimp** (former director of development at Harvard), and I, along with several others, were stirred by an individual sometimes called the “Chinese wind.” That refers to **MeiLi Hefner**, the Chinese-born wife of **Robert Hefner** (an outstanding energy entrepreneur and great admirer of Schlesinger). MeiLi, Robert, and the others energized each other in a determination to move the campaign across the goal line. **Les Goldman** (an associate of Schlesinger's from Schlesinger's days at the Energy Department), who had been present at the beginnings, joined the effort. An



early gift from **Frank Cilluffo** that had grown over the years thanks to the prudent investments of Harvard Management Company meant that the amount to be raised to meet the \$4 million required was much smaller than it would otherwise have been. A number of major supporters of the Belfer Center stepped up in response to a call for “seven stalwarts” who each gave \$100,000 to finish the effort. These include **Louis Appell**, **Robert Belfer**, **Les Goldman**, **Peter Peterson**, **Alfred and Robert Taubman**, **Herbert Winokur** (and myself).

The celebratory dinner in Washington included many highlights. Jim Schlesinger told a wonderful story about the encounter between **Pat Moynihan** (then a Senator, formerly Harvard professor) and **Danny Rostenkowski** (a Chicago-based chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee) that cannot be recounted in print. Robert Hefner related a number of personal stories summarized aptly by his conclusion that Jim is for him, as for so many of those who have been inspired by him, a “hero.” Les Goldman offered a menu of adjectives that he suggested applied to the Jim he knew, each of which struck responsive chords with most members of the audience.

Ash Carter (a former director of the Belfer Center), who had just come from his swearing in ceremony to become deputy secretary of defense, offered a toast to Jim as his mentor and model in the application of “an objective, analytic mind to the most difficult challenges of public policy.”

After dinner, in an unscripted initiative, one of Jim's daughters reminded the group that he had often serenaded his children with verses of “Fair Harvard” and urged Jim to rise for this occasion. While he remained sitting, he did his own version of the verse that concludes, “Till the stock of the Puritans die.”

—**Graham Allison**

Academic Honors: James Schlesinger (center) with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) and Deputy Secretary of Defense **Ashton B. Carter** during Harvard Kennedy School's celebration in October of the new James Schlesinger Professorship.



STEVE BARRETT PHOTOGRAPHY

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.

BELFERC Faculty, Fellows, Staff,

Featured Fellows—Focus on Research

YVONNE YEW seeks better understanding of the Non-Aligned Movement in Nuclear Global Order

Yew is a research fellow with the Project on Managing the Atom and International Security Program

Since the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) emerged 50 years ago to counter the dominant power blocs of the Northern Hemisphere, a new global order has taken shape. In her June 2011 discussion paper, “Diplomacy and Nuclear Non-Proliferation: Navigating the Non-Aligned Movement,” Belfer Center fellow **Yvonne Yew** argues that developing countries now stand at a pivotal moment for nuclear engagement.

While the Obama administration continues to push a cooperative approach to stemming the spread of nuclear weapons, Iran is positioned to become NAM Chair in 2012. Because such an appointment is likely to further complicate nuclear cooperation, Yew argues the importance of understanding that NAM positions do not always cohere to NAM members’ actions.

The differences between the NAM and the Western world frame the nuclear non-proliferation discourse.

—Yvonne Yew

“A few key actors have played an active role in . . . creating a false perception of homogeneity of the 120 members to outside actors,” writes Yew. “The reality is much more complicated.”

Yew, therefore, calls for the need to “understand why moves to strengthen non-proliferation measures have been opposed by the NAM as unfair, unnecessary, and burdensome to developing countries.”

She explains that the behavior of NAM’s individual members falls into three categories: “leaders,” like South Africa or Egypt, which utilize NAM to assert their stewardship in the developing world; “spoilers,” notably Iran, which seek to promote a divisive, anti-American agenda through NAM’s platform; and “others”—the majority of NAM members—comprised of smaller states with less clout and resources to significantly influence nuclear dialogue.

Yew, a past fellow with the Future of Diplomacy Project and current joint fellow with the Belfer Center’s Project on Managing the Atom/International Security Program, occupies a unique vantage point for distinguishing the complexity of NAM’s non-proliferation positions. She was Singapore’s representative to the IAEA in Vienna, Austria, where she served on the agency’s Board of Governors from 2004 to 2006. As a former diplomat, she brings a practitioner’s insights into the complex machinations of NAM discussions.

“The differences between the NAM and the Western world frame the nuclear non-proliferation discourse,” she says.

As much of the projected growth in nuclear energy use is expected to take place in the developing world, Yew says, the path taken by key developing countries will play an important role in shaping the future nuclear order. 🌐

—Joseph Leahy



Yvonne Yew

HANNE HAGTVEDT VIK Studies Human Rights and Implementation of Protective Laws

Vik is a research fellow with the International Security Program

Hanne Hagtvedt Vik, a professor of international history at the University of Oslo and Belfer Center research fellow, has spent much of her career studying human rights and the implementation of international laws and treaties to protect oppressed and indigenous peoples. Vik said the driving force behind her work is the exact opposite of the racism that motivated a fellow Norwegian citizen to carry out the terrorist attacks in Oslo on July 22 this year.

“It was a tremendous shock to everyone when the bomb went off,” Vik said in a recent interview. “Most thought it was Muslim extremists who were behind it, so it was kind of a relief when we got to know it was a white, middle-class male in Oslo who was behind everything.”

Norway has not always been the peaceful utopia some journalists describe. Vik traces her own interest in international history and politics back to a surge of neo-Nazism during her teens.

“It was a small group, but they were so frightening in their ideas,” Vik said. “I believed it was really important for everyone to stand up against racism and such ideas, and my interest eventually evolved into more international issues with foreign aid, security politics, and human rights.”

Her roles as a student activist, government officer, and now researcher have given Vik a myriad of angles through which to view her postdoctoral work, most specifically on the struggle of the Sami people, the most prominent group of indigenous peoples living in Norway. This

research led to a recent paper, which explores how constitutional law severely limits the United States when it comes to ratifying human rights treaties.

When we talk about ratification of human rights treaties . . . we must not conflate ratification with practice.

—Hanne Hagtvedt Vik

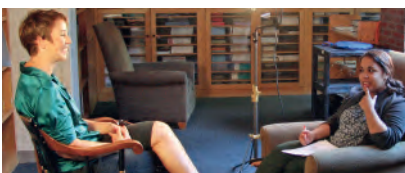
“One thing that’s very important to remember when we talk about ratification of human rights treaties is that we must not conflate ratification with practice,” Vik said, “Many states that are parties to human rights treaties never had any intention of changing their domestic laws and practices to better live up to the ideals of the human rights treaties.” She lists the U.S. among those who have not ratified many human rights treaties, but have used national and state law to show a commitment to protecting human rights.

Vik’s unique work has found a welcome home at the Belfer Center and she has enjoyed interacting with other fellows and colleagues.

“The Belfer Center in the Kennedy School is doing a wonderful job of bringing people together from different sectors of society,” she said. “They come from literally all over the world, so it’s a place where you can come and meet others who have had very different experiences in their lives that color their views on important issues.”

At the end of her fellowship, Vik will return to her teaching post at the University of Oslo and continue her work in the fields of human and indigenous rights and the history of international organizations. 🌐

—Meredith Blake



Human Rights and Wrongs: Hanne Hagtvedt Vik (left) is interviewed by **Meredith Blake**, Belfer Center communications intern.

Terrorist Threat Demands Creative Intelligence

Rolf Mowatt-Larssen, a former director of intelligence and counterintelligence at the Department of Energy, argues that despite not falling victim to a major terrorist event in the last 10 years, the United States must not be complacent in its counter-terrorism efforts.

Mowatt-Larssen said in a Belfer Center seminar in September that he believes the possibility of a major attack is higher in the next 10 years than in the preceding decade.

Hosted by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, Mowatt-Larssen's talk centered largely on what the former Central Intelligence Agency officer perceives is a deficit in creative thinking regarding counter-terrorism and nuclear security.

"What we need most of all is ideas," he said. "We need *new* ideas. We're living in a world where everything is in tremendous dynamic change, and by simply reflexively applying old methodologies, whether they are defense or intelligence or counter-proliferation . . . we are sure to fail."

Mowatt-Larssen, a senior fellow in the Belfer Center, said that creative thinking and the exploitation of dynamic opportunities can allow small groups of focused individuals—like al Qaeda and alleged anthrax attack perpetrator **Bruce Ivins**—to accomplish that which was previously the domain of states and militaries. Rather than relying on military contingents and weapons of mass destruction, which are easier to track and regulate, terrorists seek what Mowatt-Larssen termed "weapons of mass effect,"

such as airplanes or inconspicuous chemical substances. This has forced those in the intelligence and national security community to cast aside 60 years of state-to-state-based security thinking and replace it with a new state-to-non-state-actor paradigm.

Mowatt-Larssen believes the possibility of a major attack is higher in the next ten years than in the preceding decade.

According to Mowatt-Larssen, effectively combating this threat requires a multilateral approach in which information sharing and cooperation within and among governments are the cornerstone in successful counter-terrorism and counter-proliferation policies. Using this approach, the U.S. and its allies "probably stopped . . . at least a half dozen or more specific terrorist attacks . . . in the 2002–2003 timeline because of the way we shared information," he said. "No country is an island. . . . [and] if you did give everything to everybody you couldn't stop anything."

He said the belief in the efficacy of intelligence sharing was so strong, especially in the aftermath of 9/11, that in 2003 a decision was made by the U.S. to share, through an intermediary, sensitive information with the Iranian government that a terrorist attack was possibly being planned within its borders. The exact details of this incident remain classified.

Mowatt-Larssen suggested the creation of what he called a global intelligence capacity.

"It's outrageous that we have an IAEA that's got no intelligence capacity, what I call genuine analytical capacity, much less a collection capability," he said, referencing shortcomings in the global institution charged with regulating and safeguarding nuclear material and programs. Unfortunately, he said, "I suspect it will take the next big attack to stimulate this kind of thinking."

We're living in a world where everything is in tremendous dynamic change, and by simply reflexively applying old methodologies . . . we are sure to fail.

—Rolf Mowatt-Larssen

Mowatt-Larssen suggested a "strategic reorientation of how we think of threats and how we think of actors, [and] how we think of risk management." He emphasized the need to move away from an *ad-hoc*, reactionary approach to combating terrorism, and move toward a more doctrinal based approach, akin to that used by the U.S. military in Iraq and Afghanistan. For the intelligence community, this lack of a long-term, doctrinal approach "is one of our worst shortcomings."

That said, the United States and its allies have seen tangible and measurable successes in their fight against extremism, Mowatt-Larssen said. Even before the May 2 raid that killed former al-Qaeda leader **Osama Bin Laden**, the group's popularity and effectiveness in the region had been steadily declining. "They're on the run," he said. "Their narrative is not as appealing in the Middle East because other things [like the Arab Spring] have transcended it or superseded it."

Effectively dealing with terrorism demands "new solutions, new thinking, imagination, and most of all taking it seriously as being part of a body of things, not some isolated threat that you have to believe in or not believe in." 🌐

—Dominic Contreras

See Rolf Mowatt-Larssen's report with a timeline illustrating terrorists' efforts to acquire WMD at <http://AlQaedaTimeline/>.



Creative Security: Rolf Mowatt-Larssen (right), a Belfer Center senior fellow, discusses the threat of "weapons of mass effect" at a Belfer Center seminar. Stephen Palmer (left) of Raytheon took part in the discussion.



Distinguished Service: **Richard N. Haass** (right), president of the Council on Foreign Relations, discusses his views on diplomacy, policy, and leadership with the Belfer Center's **Meghan O'Sullivan** (left), Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs, at the JFK Jr. Forum. Haass, a former assistant to President George H.W. Bush and one-time director of policy planning for the State Department, has authored 12 books and numerous articles on critical global issues.



Nuclear Power Principles: **Ariel Levite** (left), a non-resident senior associate with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, speaks on "Nuclear Power Plant Exporters Principles of Conduct: Evolution, Status and Prospects," at a Project on Managing the Atom seminar. Levite is a former deputy national security advisor and head of the Bureau of International Security in the Israeli Ministry of Defense. **Steven E. Miller** (right), director of the Belfer Center's International Security Program, took part in the discussion.



Offense and Defense: **Eric Schmitt** (center) and **Thom Shanker** (left), award winning journalists with the *New York Times*, discuss their new book, *Counterstrike: The Untold Story of America's Secret Campaign against Al Qaeda*, during a Belfer Center seminar in October. In *Counterstrike*, Schmitt and Shanker tell the story of how, after 9/11, analysts within the military, intelligence, and law enforcement agencies fashioned an innovative and effective new strategy to fight terrorism. Belfer Center Communications Director **James F. Smith**, who organized the visit, is pictured on right.



More from Less: **RA Mashelkar**, chair of the National Innovation Foundation in India, discusses innovation with Harvard Kennedy School students in classes taught by the Belfer Center's **Calestous Juma**. A leading advocate of inclusive innovation for economic development and India's top science and technology policy

architect, Mashelkar is a member of 30 leading scientific and engineering academies around the world. He has received over 50 prestigious medals and awards as well as 25 honorary degrees in recognition of his outstanding contributions to advancing science, technology, and innovation worldwide.



Diplomacy and Development: Former Congressman and U.S. Ambassador to India **Timothy Roemer** (right) discusses U.S.-India relations with students, faculty, and fellows during a Belfer Center seminar. Roemer served as U.S. ambassador to India during a period in which U.S.-Indian cooperation greatly increased on a host of issues. Prior to becoming ambassador, Roemer served as a member of the 9/11 Commission. **Eben Harrell**, research associate with the Project on Managing the Atom and a former journalist with *Time* magazine, took part in the discussions.



Tops in Science: **Cherry Murray** (right), dean of the Harvard School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, discusses technology and public policy during a Belfer Center Board of Directors' lunch. Named by *Discovery Magazine* as one of the 50 most important women in science, Murray has led a distinguished career in both academia and the professional world. Also pictured is Harvard Kennedy School's **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti**, director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program and founding dean of Harvard's engineering school.

SPEAKERS



Game Changer: **Amos Yadlin** (left), former chief of intelligence for Israel, discusses the Arab uprisings at a Center event with **Richard Rosecrance** (center) and **Matthew Bunn**. A Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) Wexner Fellow ('93-'94), Yadlin has noted that his HKS experience convinced him to remain in the military and to change his leadership style from giving commands to providing a vision, mobilizing support, and bringing others on board through persuasion. Subsequently, he sent his junior officers to the HKS for leadership training.

Words and Deeds: **Jacqueline (Jill) Hazelton**, a former research fellow with the International Security Program, speaks to faculty and fellows about "Compellence and Accommodation in Counterinsurgency Warfare," at an International Security Program brown bag lunch. Currently a visiting assistant professor at the University of Rochester, Hazelton's work focuses on international security, counterinsurgency, terrorism, and U.S. foreign policy and military power.



China Transformed: **Ezra F. Vogel** (right), professor emeritus of social sciences at Harvard, speaks about his new book *Deng and the Transformation of China*, at a Center Board of Directors' Lunch. Vogel is a leading expert on East Asian affairs and has published numerous articles, reviews, and books on the subject. Harvard's **James Sebenius** (left), director of the Project on Negotiation, and the Belfer Center's **Richard Rosecrance**, director of Harvard Kennedy School's Project on U.S.-China Relations, took part in the discussion.



TOM FITZSIMMONS

Safer Today? **Juliette Kayyem** (mid-left), former assistant secretary for intergovernmental affairs at the Department of Homeland Security, makes a point during a JFK Jr. Forum titled "9/11 Ten Years On: Experts Urge Greater Diplomacy." Moderated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left), the panel included **Nicholas Burns** (far-right), faculty chair of the Center's Future of Diplomacy Project, and **Michael Leiter**, former director of the National Counterterrorism Center.



Prevention and Protection: **John Brennan** (center), chief counterterrorism advisor to President **Barack Obama**, discusses terrorism and counterterrorism issues with faculty and fellows at the Center. Brennan is responsible for overseeing plans for protecting the country from terrorist attacks. Among those taking part in the discussion were Belfer Center senior fellows **David Sanger** (left) and **Olli Heinonen** (right).



West Greet East: China's Ambassador to the United States, **Zhang Yesui** (right), answers questions during a presentation on "U.S.-China Relations and China's Role in the World." He was introduced by **Nicholas Burns** (left), Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Politics and faculty chair of the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy project. Yesui is a career diplomat who has also held positions as vice-minister in the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Malfrid Braut-Hegghammer, assistant professor at the Norwegian Defence University College and former research fellow with the International Security Program and Project on Managing the Atom, received the annual Michael Nicholson Thesis Prize from the British International Studies Association for her dissertation, *Nuclear Entrepreneurs: Drivers of Nuclear Proliferation*.



Thomas Hegghammer's book, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia*, was awarded the Silver Medal for the 2011 Arthur Ross Book Award from the Council on Foreign Relations. Hegghammer is a senior research fellow at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment and a former research fellow and associate with the Initiative on Religion in International Affairs and International Security Program.



In May 2011 **Ben Heineman**, a Belfer Center senior fellow, was elected to the prestigious American Philosophical Society. America's first learned society, it was founded in 1743 by Benjamin Franklin and continues to promote useful knowledge in the sciences and humanities "through excellence in scholarly research, professional meetings, publications, library resources, and community outreach."



Juliette Kayyem, lecturer in public policy with the Belfer Center and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, has been asked to serve on the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on the United States 2011, which aims to consider U.S. responses to contemporary challenges through the examination of policy decisions and leadership.



Paul Staniland, former research fellow with the International Security Program and Intrastate Conflict Program, won the 2011 Kenneth N. Waltz Dissertation Award from the American Political Science Association's International Security and Arms Control section for best dissertation submitted during 2010: *Explaining Cohesion, Fragmentation, and Control in Insurgent Groups*. He is currently assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago.



Moshik Temkin, assistant professor of public policy and Belfer Center faculty affiliate, was named to the Big Think Delphi Fellows, a group of top academics, intellectuals, and other thought leaders committed to informing the public of the "biggest trends and changes" in their fields today.



Journalist and author **Fareed Zakaria**, host of CNN's *Fareed Zakaria GPS* and a former Belfer Center International Security Program research fellow, has been selected as Harvard's 2012 Commencement speaker.

Impact of the Palestinian Bid for Statehood

Michal Ben-Josef Hirsch

Associate, International Security Program;
Fellow, Schusterman Center for Israel Studies,
Brandeis University

Prior to the September Palestinian request for full membership at the United Nations, many warned about a diplomatic train wreck at the international level and violence—even a third intifada—at the local level. Others made the case that a move to the UN would add a sense of urgency that could spur the much needed push for peace talks. In reality not much of the above has materialized. The referral to the Security Council's admission committee bought time and averted at least for now any potential international showdown. Locally, beyond some rallies and a handful of clashes there was relatively little violence. And judging by how both sides stall their responses to the Quartet's request to draft their proposal for negotiation there seems to be no new sense of urgency. As it stands, the expected lengthy procedure at the UN is unlikely to help turn the Palestinian bid for statehood into a real or even a symbolic game-changer.

(Comments for this article, October 2011)

Nicholas Burns

Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and
International Politics

"It's a diplomatic trainwreck for all concerned. I think every country involved in this in a principal way is going to lose. The Palestinians are going to end up with a relationship with the United States that's fraying, if not worse. The Israelis, already isolated by the Arab revolutions, will be further isolated. . . . [The U.S.] did not want to be put in the position of essentially vetoing statehood for the Palestinians. . . . Most of the world is going to be supportive of this bid. In practical terms, it does not bring us any closer to a resolution 63 years on from the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. I think it will actually bring us further away from that. It's a sad day, I think, whether you support the Palestinians or the Israelis, nobody gains from this."

(Comments from "Palestinian leaders seek full recognition at the United Nations," *Greater Boston with Emily Rooney*, September 22, 2011)

Diana Buttu

Fellow, Middle East Initiative

"I think the old negotiations process has completely run its tired course. You've got countries around the world recognizing that you can't just have this process of endless negotiations with



Peace proposal? **Diana Buttu**, fellow with the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative (MEI), discusses the Palestinian bid for statehood at a Harvard Kennedy School event hosted by MEI Director **Hilary Rantisi** (left).

d: Views from Center Scholars

the so-called honest broker who's not so honest at all. This has put the final nail in the coffin of the United States being the honest broker. Now it's being seen for what it actually is, which is Israel's lawyer. The next step depends on what Abbas does. Is he going to continue to pander to the Americans? Or is he really going to try to build up an international coalition that will deal with this in a very different way to how it's been dealt with in the past?"

(Quoted in "Palestinian statehood goes to UN in key moment for peace process," *The Guardian*, September 23, 2011)

Shai Feldman

*Member, Belfer Center Board of Directors;
Director, Crown Center for Middle East Studies,
Brandeis University*

"I think from [the Palestinians'] standpoint, it's really an act of frustration. They, in a way, have been seeking a negotiated resolution of this conflict. That does not mean they did not make mistakes. I think conditioning the negotiations with this Israeli government on a total construction freeze in the settlements was a mistake. The Palestinian demands should have been focused on trying to get the Israeli government to agree to resume negotiations from where the negotiations ended at the end of the Bush administration and the end of the Olmert government. In a way, all three parties—the Israelis, the Palestinians, the Americans—all got sidetracked. . . . I do not think the real drama is at the UN—I think the real drama is what happens on the street."

(Comments from "Palestinian leaders seek full recognition at the United Nations," *Greater Boston with Emily Rooney*, September 22, 2011)

Chuck Freilich

Senior Fellow, International Security Program

The Palestinian bid for recognition in the UN will provide them with a significant diplomatic achievement, but will not bring them one inch closer to statehood. For that to happen the West Bank and Gaza must reunite and the Palestinians have to agree to return to negotiations. A negotiated two-state solution is the only means to a Palestinian state. There are no shortcuts. The UN bid is, unfortunately, another among many Palestinian efforts to avoid the painful concessions a negotiated settlement requires. It is infinitely easier to turn to the UN, where an automatic anti-Israeli majority is assured, than

to negotiate. If the Palestinians doubt Netanyahu's commitment to negotiations let them put him to the test. Having already rejected two dramatic Israeli peace proposals, in 2000 and 2008, it is time to learn how to say yes to less than 100% of their demands. Make believe UN resolutions are not the answer.

(Comments for this article, October 2011)

Rami G. Khouri

Associate, Dubai Initiative

"In the end, all we can judge are the words of the various parties, because the past week has been a festival of rhetoric above all else. Nobody has made any substantive moves on the ground, with even the Palestinian request for UN recognition being words on paper that signal intent rather than any tangible accomplishment. The intent that Abbas has signaled, though, is potentially a game-changer, if he sticks to his position and refuses to resume the diplomatic game according to the old rules . . . If Abbas persists in refusing to resume negotiations while the Israelis continue their settlement building, this would turn out to be the dramatic change that could have far-reaching consequences—but only if several things were to happen in the coming months and years."

(Comments from "After the Festival of Rhetoric," *Agence Global*, September 28, 2011)

James K. Sebenius

*Belfer Center Faculty Affiliate; Professor,
Harvard Business School; Director, Harvard
Negotiation Project*

Although the statehood bid can be seen as an alternative route to independence, it is also a Palestinian negotiating tactic to pressure Israel. It could add legitimacy to the Palestinian statehood cause and boost prospects for Palestinians to bring actions against Israelis in the International Criminal Court. And since a U.S. Security Council veto would be deeply unpopular in today's Arab world, the U.S. urgently seeks to avoid it by pressing Israel to be more forthcoming in direct Palestinian talks.

If these pressures mount, the Palestinian leadership must judge the point of maximum value to "trade" it—by suspending the bid—for real movement in direct talks with Israel. But there are risks. The pressures may prove insufficient. The bid may take on a political life of its own, "tradeable" only at unacceptable domestic costs to the Palestinian leadership. And if the



Beyond Kumbaya: Michal Ben-Josef Hirsch, associate with the Center's International Security Program (ISP), speaks at an ISP brown bag lunch, on the use of symbolic reparations in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process.

UN legally "upgrades" the Palestinian territories, this new status won't change anything on the ground—increasing Palestinian despair and the chances of violence.

(Comments for this article, October 2011)

Stephen M. Walt

*Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of
International Affairs*

"[T]he problem with our 'unwavering' support for the policies of the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government is that it rests on a questionable assumption: that the Palestinians represent the main obstacle to peace today. The Palestinians' and the rest of the Arab World's unwillingness to recognize the Jewish state may have been the primary roadblock to peace in the past. But since the Arab League's March 2002 Beirut Declaration offering recognition of Israel in exchange for a Palestinian state and the coming to power in the West Bank of a moderate and effective government under President Mahmoud Abbas and Prime Minister Fayyad Salam, Israel now has... real partners for peace. Indeed, had the Palestinians focused their struggle for self-determination in the UN 40 years ago, we all would have been thrilled."

(Comments from "Swim against the tide: Recognize Palestine at the U.N.," *A Realist in an Ideological Age*, *Foreign Policy*, September 14, 2011)

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Compiled by Susan Lynch ISP/STPP

Militarizing Men: Gender, Conscription, and War in Post-Soviet Russia

By Maya Eichler, former Research Fellow, International Security Program/Women and Public Policy Program

Stanford University Press (Autumn 2011)



A state's ability to maintain mandatory conscription and wage war rests on the idea that a "real man" is one who has served in the military. Yet masculinity has no inherent ties to militarism. The link between men and the military, argues Maya Eichler, must be produced and reproduced in order to fill the ranks, engage in combat, and mobilize the population behind war.

In the context of Russia's post-communist transition and the Chechen wars, men's militarization has been challenged and reinforced. Eichler uncovers the challenges by exploring widespread draft evasion and desertion, anti-draft and anti-war activism led by soldiers' mothers, and the general lack of popular support for the Chechen wars. However, the book also identifies channels through which militarized gender identities have been reproduced. Eichler's empirical and theoretical study of masculinities in international relations applies for the first time the concept of "militarized masculinity," developed by feminist international relations scholars, to the case of Russia.

"...[F]ills a gap in our understanding of masculinity and regime legitimization strategies."

"This important and engaging piece of scholarship neatly fills a gap in our understanding of masculinity and regime legitimization strategies. Eichler's thoroughly researched, multi-methodological study reveals the contested nature of militarized masculinity and its political ramifications."

—Valerie Sperling, Clark University

Carbon Coalitions: Business, Climate Politics, and the Rise of Emissions Trading

By Jonas Meckling, Research Fellow, Geopolitics of Energy Project

The MIT Press (October 2011)



Over the past decade, carbon trading has emerged as the industrialized world's primary policy response to global climate change despite considerable controversy. With carbon markets worth \$144 billion in 2009, carbon trading represents the largest manifestation of the trend toward market-based environmental governance. In *Carbon Coalitions*, Jonas Meckling

presents the first comprehensive study on the rise of carbon trading and the role business played in making this policy instrument a central pillar of global climate governance.

"...[T]he author's goal is not to explain climate change outcomes per se, but to explain the conditions under which business influence made a difference to those outcomes."

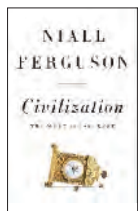
"What we gain from reading this book is a clearer understanding of business influence—the author's goal is not to explain climate change outcomes per se, but to explain the conditions under which business influence made a difference to those outcomes."

—Virginia Haufler, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland

Civilization: The West and the Rest

By Niall Ferguson, Member, Belfer Center Board of Directors

The Penguin Press (November 2011)



In *Civilization: The West and the Rest*, Niall Ferguson argues that, beginning in the fifteenth century, the West developed six powerful new concepts that the Rest lacked: competition, science, the rule of law, consumerism, modern medicine, and the work ethic. These were the "killer applications" that allowed the West to leap ahead of the Rest. Yet now, he argues, the days of Western predominance are numbered because the Rest have now downloaded the six killer apps we once monopolized—while the West has literally lost faith in itself.

Political Demography: How Population Changes Are Reshaping International Security and National Politics

Edited by Jack A. Goldstone, Eric P. Kaufmann, former Research Fellow, Initiative on Religion in International Affairs/International Security Program, and Monica Duffy Toft, Associate Professor of Public Policy

Paradigm (November 2011)



The field of political demography—the politics of population change—is dramatically under-represented in political science. At a time when demographic changes—aging in the rich world, youth bulges in the developing world, ethnic and religious shifts, migration, and urbanization—are waxing as never before, this neglect is especially glaring and starkly contrasts with the

enormous interest coming from policymakers and the media.

Demography is the most predictable of the social sciences: children born in the last five years will be the new workers, voters, soldiers, and potential insurgents of 2025 and the political elites of the 2050s. Whether in the West or the developing world, political scientists urgently need to understand the tectonics of demography in order to grasp the full context of today's political developments.

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 (October 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 examines the parlous state of the former Soviet nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons complex, the contentious domestic political debate within the United States, and most critically, the institutional interests and dynamics of the Defense, State, and Energy departments, which were charged with preventing the spread of WMD expertise. She 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.

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—Cindy Williams, principal research scientist, Security Studies Program, MIT

MacArthur Grant Enriches Managing the Atom Fellowships

The Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA) has received a major grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation to support a fellowship and training program aimed at helping to prepare the next generation of nuclear policy leaders.

The four-year \$2.2 million grant extends and expands the MTA fellowship program, open to experts from around the world and across the academic disciplines. The fellows conduct policy research and receive training focused on reducing the risks from nuclear and radiological terrorism, stopping nuclear proliferation and reducing nuclear arsenals, and lowering the barriers to safe and secure nuclear energy use.

"Effective policy making depends on people who are comfortable grappling with both the technical and political challenges associated with nuclear energy, nuclear weapons, and connections between the two," said Associate Professor **Matthew Bunn**, the MTA project's lead principal investigator. "The need is growing for more effective management of nuclear technologies and materials in almost

every setting where they are used. The number of individuals capable of providing sound ideas for improving policies is not keeping pace," Bunn said.


In addition to pursuing their own research during their stay at Harvard, MTA fellows participate in seminars, issue-focused working groups, and professional training sessions. They also have an opportunity to interact with high-level policy makers and other experts visiting the Belfer Center and Kennedy School.

"After their time at Belfer, some of our fellows will lead aspects of the development of their government's nuclear policies. Others will provide much-needed independent policy analysis in non-governmental settings," said MTA Executive Director **Martin Malin**. "This support from the MacArthur Foundation provides the time and space for talented people from around the world to learn from one another while they sharpen ideas, research, and policy proposals for improving national and international security."

Established in 1996, the Project on Managing the Atom is the Harvard Kennedy



High Value: **Robert L. Brown**, Stanton Nuclear Security Junior Faculty Fellow with the Project on Managing the Atom/International Security Program (MTA/ISP), discusses with Belfer Center faculty and fellows attributes that make the International Atomic Energy Agency a valuable agent for producing, collecting, and disseminating information on nuclear nonproliferation. MTA Executive Director **Martin Malin** (right) and ISP/MTA fellow **Sungyeol Choi** took part.

School's principal research group and fellows program focused on nuclear policy issues. **John P. Holdren** established the project and led the group until 2009, when he accepted the position of White House science advisor. The project is affiliated with the Belfer Center's programs on Science, Technology, and Public Policy and International Security. 

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"Muslim 'Homegrown' Terrorism in the United States: How Serious Is the Threat?"

Risa A. Brooks

Despite a surge of arrests in 2009, evidence suggests that Muslim American terrorist activity—a phenomenon sometimes referred to as "homegrown" terrorism—is not on the rise. The 2009 arrest count is likely a combination of more aggressive law enforcement and an accident of data: several long-term plots led to arrests in 2009, and many of the plots involved groups, increasing the number of arrests per incident. In addition, many plots have been detected with the help of inside informants. It is therefore crucial not to overreact to statistics in a way that could alienate the Muslim community.

"States in Mind: Evolution, Coalitional Psychology, and International Politics"

Anthony C. Lopez, Rose McDermott, and Michael Bang Peterson

Viewing coalitions through the lens of evolutionary psychology leads to several hypotheses that can help generate important predictions about group behavior. For example, studies show that humans represent coalitions as a special category of relatively unreliable individual, which has implications for theories on conflict and cooperation among states. The study of psychological mechanisms also indicates that factors such as a man's strength, whether or not a woman has children, and the size of a coalition can help predict whether or not an individual will support an aggressive foreign policy.

"The Collapse of North Korea: Military Missions and Requirements"

Bruce W. Bennett and Jennifer Lind

The upcoming transition in North Korea's leadership will not inevitably bring about a collapse of government, but the potential consequences of such an event necessitate advance and combined planning. It is imperative that China, South Korea, and the United States develop a coordinated response, as each of these countries could take destabilizing action to protect their individual interests. A relatively benign collapse could require 260,000 to 400,000 troops to gain control of North Korea's nuclear weapons,

prevent humanitarian disaster, manage regional refugees, and ensure stable U.S.-Chinese relations. Civil war or war on the peninsula would only increase these requirements.

"India's Nuclear Odyssey: Implicit Umbrellas, Diplomatic Disappointments, and the Bomb"

Andrew B. Kennedy

After decades of flirting with nuclear weapons, India finally emerged as a nuclear power in the 1990s. New evidence suggests that India was able to hold off in part because it was able to secure protection through an alternate method: implicit "umbrellas" from superpowers. In the late 1970s, however, U.S. support for India waned as it began to improve its relations with Pakistan, and India lost its other major backer with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. By the late 1980s, India could no longer protect itself through diplomatic means, and acquisition of the bomb became an inevitable response to its security needs.

"Veto Players, Nuclear Energy, and Nonproliferation: Domestic Institutional Barriers to a Japanese Bomb"

Jacques E.C. Hymans

Although Japanese politicians have expressed interest in the bomb in the past, the country's veto players make acquisition unlikely. Early research viewed proliferation exclusively as a response to security needs. Since the 1980s, most models have included domestic factors, but they have focused exclusively on a single actor whose influence can be negated if veto power is widely enough dispersed. Thus, despite Japan's intimidating plutonium supply, and its persistence in building a complete fuel cycle, the country's large and growing number of veto players suggests the continuation of a rigid nuclear weapons policy. As this analysis indicates, historical institutional analysis is crucial to understanding a state's propensity for proliferation and should be considered alongside other contributing factors.

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***The Robert and Renée Belfer Center for
Science and International Affairs***

Graham Allison, Director
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
Tel: 617-495-1400 • Fax: 617-495-8963
www.belfercenter.org

Belfer Center Newsletter

Editor: Sharon Wilke, Associate Director,
Communications, sharon_wilke@harvard.edu
James Smith, Director, Communications
james_smith@harvard.edu
Traci Farrell, Communications Assistant
traci_farrell@harvard.edu

The Communications Office was assisted in production
of this newsletter by Meredith Blake, Dominic Contreras,
Emily Hough, Joseph Leahy, and Susan Lynch.

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The Belfer Center has a 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.

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BELFER IN BRIEF

Harvard Service and Honors

Sean Lynn-Jones, editor of the Belfer Center's *International Security Journal*, was honored at a Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) event in June for 20 years of service to Harvard and the Belfer Center; **Katherine (Katie) Gordon**, project coordinator for Agricultural Innovation in Africa, and **Zachary Tumin**, special project assistant with the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, were recognized for five years of service.

Neal Doyle, former program coordinator for the project on Managing the Atom (MTA), received the Dean's Award for his outstanding contributions to HKS and MTA. **Lovita Strain**, Belfer Center financial associate, received a Kennedy School All Star Award for her outstanding assistance and support to Belfer Center International Global Affairs (IGA) student fellows.

Tolu Odumosu, research fellow with the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, was honored in October with a Harvard University Certificate of Distinction in Teaching award for his "excellent" teaching of an "Introduction to Technology and Society" class last spring.

Leading Edge

Ali Wyne, a Belfer Center research assistant, delivered the welcome address at this year's St. Gallen Symposium in Switzerland. The Symposium is a leading global platform for dialogue on key issues in management, the entrepreneurial environment and interfaces between business, politics, and civil society.

New Arrival

Congratulations to **Michael Sechrist**, project manager with the Explorations in Cyber International Relations initiative, and his wife, **Diana**, on the recent arrival of daughter **Genevieve Sechrist**.

Research and Policy

Laura Diaz Anadon, director of the Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group, presented on "Changing Roles of Government and Research" at a plenary session of the U.S. Association of Energy Economics conference in Washington, D.C. in October.

Focus on Cyber

Joseph S. Nye, Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor, co-chaired with former National Security Advisor **Brent Scowcroft** a summer study of cyber security at the Aspen Strategy Group in Colorado.



Center Congratulations: Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) hosted a reception to celebrate the recent marriage of **Niall Ferguson** (right), a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, and **Ayaan Hirsi Ali** (2nd from right). Harvard Law School Professor **Charles Freid** (2nd from left) joined in the celebration.



Public Service in Action: The Belfer Center's **Courtney Anderson** (left) and **Sarah Kneezle** took part in a weekend of service in Vermont to help with flood recovery in the aftermath of Hurricane Irene. Organized by Harvard Kennedy School's Student Public Service Collaborative, the Center ambassadors presented Vermont towns with the Belfer Center's guidebook "Lessons from Katrina" with suggestions for a community's post-disaster redevelopment based on the successful recovery efforts of New Orleans' Broadmoor neighborhood.