



Center Helps Shape Debate on National and Global Security

Belfer Center scholars traveled to South Korea this spring to help influence the second Nuclear Security Summit. They joined an overflow public forum in Cambridge with **Henry Kissinger** to reflect on past American foreign policy choices. And they brainstormed with Gen. **Martin Dempsey**, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on how the United States should face future security challenges.

With these events and many others packed into just a few weeks this spring, the Belfer Center seemed to be at the heart of an intense election-year debate on the right strategies for national and global security.

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** was among the Center's nuclear experts who went to Seoul to prepare for the nuclear summit in late March. He was one of 15 members of the Eminent Persons Group set up by President **Lee Myung-bak** to strategize for the summit. Lee hosted a working lunch with Allison, Kissinger, and former Russian Foreign Minister **Igor Ivanov** just 10 days before the summit opened.

The Belfer Center's Professor **Matthew Bunn** and senior fellows **Olli Heinonen** and **William Tobey** also took part in summit preparations, writing a wide-ranging set of background papers for delegations and others who deal with the issues of nuclear terrorism

and security. The Center created a special website, called the Nuclear Summit Dossier (www.nuclearsummit.org), to aggregate all the new content, along with recent relevant papers from Center researchers. The site, overseen by the Center's Project on Managing the Atom and the U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism, earned praise from officials in Seoul as a valuable resource.

In Seoul, Allison delivered the keynote address at the main preparatory session for nuclear industry and non-governmental groups. Heinonen addressed another preparatory meeting in Busan. Bunn, Tobey, and research fellow **John Park** briefed diplomats in Washington, D.C., at the U.S. Institute of Peace and addressed a press conference at the National Press Club. The Center's experts were quoted frequently by reporters covering the summit. Bunn was featured in a post-summit video explaining what was achieved and what remains to be done.

Back in Cambridge, Allison served as moderator for the Harvard homecoming for Kissinger, who earned his three degrees at Harvard and taught here for 15 years before going into government in 1969. At a packed Sanders Theatre event, **Joseph S. Nye**, a former



Eminent Advisors: South Korean President **Lee Myung-bak** (right) at a meeting in Seoul with former Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** (center) and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left), prior to the 2012 Seoul Nuclear Security Summit.

Kennedy School dean and a Belfer Center board member, joined Harvard Kennedy School doctoral student **Jessica Blankshain**, in a roundtable discussion with Kissinger (see Director's Note, p. 2).

The same week, Chairman Dempsey addressed students at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum—and Dempsey stayed overnight in Cambridge so that he could brainstorm with Harvard thinkers including economist **Martin Feldstein**, a Belfer Center board member. Allison hosted an off-the-record working lunch with Dempsey in the Belfer Center library, attended by international politics and security specialists from across Harvard. 🌐

STEPHANIE B. MITCHELL



Powerful Listener: General **Martin Dempsey**, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, gestures during a small brainstorming meeting at the Belfer Center to discuss a range of security issues. Hosted by Center Director **Graham Allison** (not pictured), participants included **Meghan O'Sullivan** (pictured), professor of international affairs at Harvard Kennedy School and a member of the Belfer Center's board of directors.

Harvard Reunion: Former Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** and Harvard University President **Drew Faust** listen as Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** makes a point. Kissinger's return marked his first trip back to Harvard in more than 40 years after leaving the university for a post in the Nixon White House.



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FROM THE DIRECTOR

Graham Allison

In the space of just over a year, Harvard President **Drew Faust** righted two old wrongs. In March 2011, she engineered the return of the Reserve Officers Training Corps to Harvard, after Congress agreed to repeal the Don't Ask, Don't Tell law.

Then, last month, Faust ended the 40-year estrangement of **Henry Kissinger** from Harvard.

The former national security adviser and secretary of state in the Nixon and Ford administrations had not returned to the campus for a public event in four decades. A rift that had remained between Kissinger and the Harvard faculty and students who had protested his policies during the Vietnam War left many scars.

With two decisive gestures, Faust has in effect declared the end of the Vietnam War at Harvard University—nearly 40 years after the last American troops withdrew in 1973. She called Kissinger one of Harvard's legendary alumni.

I was honored to play a small role in this détente, moderating a roundtable discussion with Kissinger at Sanders Theatre on April 11. We were joined by **Joe Nye**, my colleague and former Kennedy School dean, and **Jessica Blankshain**, a Kennedy School doctoral student.

A couple of gray-haired protesters still wanted to put Kissinger on trial. But I was struck by the rock-star reception Kissinger received from the overflow audience, mainly Harvard undergrads for whom Vietnam is a history lesson. The students questioned Kissinger, who is now 88 years old, firmly but politely, and afterwards crowded toward the stage to have him autograph his new book about China, recalling the breakthrough Kissinger achieved with China in 1971–72.

Several members of the Belfer Center International Council were in the audience, our annual meeting having just concluded that day. Also attending was Professor **Niall Ferguson**, Belfer Center board member who is Kissinger's biographer. We are pleased to welcome Ferguson's wife, **Ayaan Hirsi Ali**, a prominent Somali-Dutch scholar and politician, who joins the Center as a fellow this spring.

In March, Kissinger and I were in Seoul as guests of South Korean President **Lee Myung-bak**, who asked us to a "long lunch" to discuss plans for the second Nuclear Security Summit. The Belfer Center



Ambassadorial Briefing: **Matthew Bunn** (center left), co-principal investigator of the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom, discusses the threat of nuclear terrorism at a briefing in Washington, D.C., prior to the 2012 Seoul Nuclear Security Summit. Sponsored by the Belfer Center and the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), the event was organized by **John Park**, Center research fellow and senior program officer at USIP.

assembled an impressive body of research and policy proposals for summit-goers on nuclear security and nuclear terrorism. **Matthew Bunn**, **William Tobey**, **Olli Heinonen**, **Marty Malin**, **Simon Saradzhyan**, **Eben Harrell**, and **Ben Rhode** took the lead on this effort, which we featured on a new website called the Nuclear Security Summit Dossier.

Spring also brought European political experts to the Center. **Nicholas Burns'** Future of Diplomacy Project hosted former NATO Secretary General **Javier Solana** and former British Foreign Secretary **David Miliband** at the Kennedy School as Fisher Family Fellows. They shared the stage at a JFK Jr. Forum and gave master classes. Nick also hosted the Great Negotiator Award with **Jim Sebenius** of Harvard Business School, a Belfer Center faculty member. The award went to **James Baker**, the former secretary of state who brokered so many agreements in his career.

With all this intense work on past and present foreign policy challenges—including an off-the-record briefing for General **Martin Dempsey**, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—the Belfer Center remains actively engaged in the debate about the U.S. role in the world. 🌐

Kissinger's Return to Harvard Draws Enthusiastic Crowd

Harvard President **Drew Faust** called him "one of Harvard's most legendary graduates" as she welcomed **Henry Kissinger** back to campus as part of the university's 375th anniversary celebration. And the overflow crowd that gathered to hear him speak at Sanders Theatre on April 11 was testimony to that legend.

After his round-table discussion with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye**, and Kennedy School doctoral student **Jessica Blankshain**, the 88-year-old Kissinger mingled with students who crowded the stage to have him sign copies of his latest book, *On China*.

There were a few echoes of the anti-Vietnam War protests that dogged Kissinger when he served as national security adviser and then secretary of state under Presidents Nixon and Ford from 1969 to 1977. Kissinger responded to one critical question by saying: "No one had a bigger interest in ending the war than the people who were in office."

Kissinger described the stark contrast he encountered when he joined the government after 15 years as a Harvard professor of government. He said an academic scholar "can pick his topic. He can work



Henry Kissinger (2nd from left) discusses decision-making during "A Conversation with Henry Kissinger" at Harvard's Sanders Theatre in April. Moderated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (3rd from left), panelists included Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye** (left) and **Jessica Blankshain**, a doctoral student in politics and government at Harvard Kennedy School.

on it for as long as he wants. He can choose the best possible vision of it, and he has the option of changing his mind. None of these options exist for the statesman. Issues present themselves and have to be dealt with in a finite period of time." 🌐

Graham Allison in *TIME*: Inside Story of Bin Laden's Last Days

When Barack Obama became president, the trail to Osama bin Laden had long gone cold. "I can only speak with authority through February 15, 2009," said Michael Hayden, who ran the CIA under George W. Bush. "But at that point, when people would ask, 'when's the last time you really knew where he was?' my answer was Tora Bora in 2001."

So begins Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison's** dramatic cover story in *Time* Magazine on May 7. Allison offers readers a behind-the-scenes account of how President **Barack Obama** made the most fateful decision of his presidency—whether to launch the Special Forces assault on **Osama bin Laden's** hideout in Pakistan in April 2011.

Allison puts readers in the president's Oval Office chair as Obama weighed the risks of the several options he faced as evidence emerged that bin Laden was in the compound in Abbottabad. It was never certain right up to the day of the raid that bin Laden was even inside the building. And even members of Obama's own inner circle, including Vice President **Joseph Biden**, voted against launching the helicopter-borne assault.

With echoes of his prize-winning 1971 book, *Essence of Decision*, on President John F.

Kennedy's decision-making during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Allison traced Obama's handling of the hunt for bin Laden from the early days of his presidency up to the decision to go for a boots-on-the-ground assault rather than an airstrike or joint operation with Pakistan.

Allison concluded that the national security decision-making in the bin Laden case could offer important lessons for future foreign policy challenges. "Summarized in a single line, the takeaway from the bin Laden operation is that American government worked," Allison wrote.

Allison ascribed the success in part to new capabilities of U.S. intelligence and military agencies in the decade since 9/11, as well as to Obama's improved national security decision-making process, developed after his rocky first year in office.



The president "had the confidence and determination to slow the clock long enough to aim carefully before he pulled the trigger," Allison said. That required unprecedented secrecy. Most members of the National Security Council didn't even know of the planned raid until hours before it occurred. 🌐

Paul Volcker and Mike Murphy Talk Politics and Economy

It's not the economy, stupid. It's the public's perceptions about the economy that will decide the 2012 presidential election.

That was the bipartisan analysis shared by veteran Republican political consultant **Mike Murphy** and a Democratic expert on the economy—no less than **Paul Volcker**, former chairman of the Federal Reserve and former adviser to **President Obama**.

Murphy and Volcker assessed the campaign during a roundtable discussion at the Kennedy School moderated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. Several members of the Belfer Center International Council

attended the session, which took place on the eve of the annual council meeting.

Volcker, a member of the international council, said the recovery from the 2008 financial crisis remains painfully slow, but added, "it's funny how the public mood has changed, even though there's not much going on . . . The psychology has moved a lot more than the economy."

"The only truism about the ticket-splitters in the middle is that they change their minds a lot, with a lot of enthusiasm, based on what they perceive is going on in the economy."

—Mike Murphy

Murphy, who is not advising any presidential candidate in this race, said the race is "all about perception, and it's all about perception in the last 60 days."

He said that swing voters are especially prone to changes in mood. "The only truism about the ticket-splitters in the middle is that they change their minds a lot, with a lot of enthusiasm, based on what they perceive is going on in the economy."

Volcker said he expected that in a second term, President Obama would have a better chance of brokering a grand bargain with both



Center Namesakes: **Robert** (left) and **Renée Belfer** at the annual meeting of the Belfer Center International Council in April.

parties on the huge problems of the debt and deficit, Social Security, the tax code, and health care. Murphy, however, worried that Democratic leaders would be looking to the next Congressional mid-term two years away and would shy away from any painful concessions.

The main campaign risk for presumptive GOP nominee **Mitt Romney**, Murphy said, is simply the nation's changing demographics, with greater numbers of young and Hispanic voters who trend Democratic. In turn, he said, Democrats are upset that working-class and rural whites are Republican diehards.

"Democrats have a class model for politics," Murphy said. "They don't understand that the real fault line is culture. And we tend to win the cultural questions." 🌐

—James F. Smith



Dollars and Sense: **Paul Volcker** (left), a member of the Belfer Center International Council and former chair of President Obama's Economic Recovery Advisory Board, joined Center Director **Graham Allison** (center) and Republican political consultant **Mike Murphy** in a discussion of "The Economy and Politics of the American Presidential Election."

Energy and Environment

The Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP), Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group, and Geopolitics of Energy Project have had a busy semester researching, discussing, and sharing ideas related to a range of energy and environment issues from natural gas reserves and mountain top removal to the future of energy technologies and energy-economic models. The programs and projects hosted conferences, workshops, and film screenings, in addition to providing internships and organizing case competitions for students.

Intensive Workshops Examine Energy Technologies, Future of Oil and Gas Reserves

A group of American and European academics working on understanding the future prospects of energy technologies and the role of governments shaping these prospects gathered at Harvard Kennedy School in April. Hosted by **Laura Diaz Anadon**, director of the Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group as part of the Technology Elicitations and Modeling (TEaM) Project, the group discussed the need to incorporate uncertainty around technical change, the



Technology Change Agents: **Laura Diaz Anadon**, director of the Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group, raises a question at an ETIP conference with American and European academics working on understanding the future prospects of energy technologies and the role of governments shaping these prospects. Participants pictured (left to right): **Venkatesh Narayanamurti**, director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, incoming ETIP research fellow **Gabe Chan**, and former visiting scholar **Greg Nemet** from the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

challenges of utilizing expert elicitations to inform policy decisions using models, and future collaborative work combining different expert elicitations and different energy-economic models.

One of the main inputs to the TEaM project was ETIP's recently completed three-year project to gather information about the future of energy technologies and use this information to assess the impact of different energy R&D investments in an energy-economic model. This project, known as ERD3 (Energy Research Development, Demonstration, and Deployment), resulted in a report in late 2011 titled *Transforming U.S. Energy Innovation*.

The Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP) hosted a two-session workshop in May on U.S. oil and gas reserves, during which academics and other industry experts examined the forecasts and barriers for these resources. The participants—from universities, think tanks, and companies—came together to discuss how these North American resources could affect the global oil supply and to make projections for the future of the industry. The participants also discussed implications for U.S. energy policy, specifically including concerns about oil security, natural gas technology, and cap-and-trade programs. Participants included **William Hogan**, Raymond Plank Professor of Global Energy Policy; **Henry Lee**, director of the Environment and Natural Resources Program; **Leonardo Maugeri**, research fellow with the Geopolitics of Energy Project; and **Meghan O'Sullivan**, faculty chair of the Geopolitics of Energy Project. The ENRP will produce a report on the workshop. 🌐

Case Competition Encourages Student Involvement, Real-World Problem-Solving

The Belfer Center's Geopolitics of Energy Project challenged students across the Harvard and MIT communities to develop a strategy to solve the case "New Finds of Energy in the Eastern Mediterranean: Cause for Conflict or Cooperation?" as part of the project's second annual energy policy case competition held at the Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) on April 19.

The winners were **José Ramón Morales Arilla** and **Sergio Guerra** who won \$250 and will visit the U.S. Department of State next month to brief Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Energy Diplomacy **Amos J. Hochstein** on their proposal. 🌐



Sufficient Supplies? **Leonardo Maugeri** (speaking), research fellow at the Belfer Center, speaks about the North American petroleum base during an Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP) workshop. The panel, "Oil and Gas Resources: Forecasts and Barriers," also featured **Daniel Ahn** (not pictured), an adjunct fellow for energy at the Council on Foreign Relations. The session was chaired by **Daniel Schrag** (2nd from left), director of Harvard University Center for the Environment. The workshop was organized by ENRP Director **Henry Lee** (far left).

Future Energy Leaders: Winners of the Geopolitics of Energy Case Competition, **Sergio Guerra** and **Jose Ramon Morales Arilla** (3rd and 4th from left), are honored at the conclusion of the event that included entries from 23 teams. Judges included (left to right): **Georges Sassine**, GE Energy; **Meghan O'Sullivan**, Belfer Center's Geopolitics of Energy; **Leonardo Maugeri**, Geopolitics of Energy; **Nusret Comert**, Royal Dutch Shell Group; and **Shai Feldman**, Brandeis University's Crown Center.

Events Take Center Stage

Roy Family Supports Student Engagement in Environmental Efforts

The Roy Family Summer Environmental Internship Program supports returning Harvard Kennedy School students interested in specific internships for public, private, or non-profit organizations abroad or in the United States. These paid scholarships allow students to participate in innovative summer projects that would ordinarily not offer a salary. The four award recipients for 2012 each received a \$6,500 stipend to work with organizations that are not able to pay an intern.

Nick Bayard will work at the Liberian Ministry of Agriculture, where he will assist on projects to increase agriculture production and food security. Leora Falk will intern with the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental Science at the U.S. Department of State to ensure that adaptation remains a central part of climate change policies. At the Environment Directorate in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris, Jasdeep Randhawa will develop case studies on economic

approaches to water security. Ami Jean Valdemoro will develop a multi-year strategic sustainability plan for the My Shelter Foundation in the Philippines, which shows residents how to create inexpensive solar lightbulbs.



Lighting Someone's World: My Shelter Foundation display in the Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) courtyard. The foundation, established by HKS student **Illac Diaz** (MPA/Mason Fellow 2012), teaches rural villagers in the Philippines to bring light into their homes by building "solar lightbulbs" made of discarded soda bottles and water.



Film Series Promotes Environmental Activism

Organized by Environment and Natural Resources Assistant Director **Amanda Sardonis** and senior fellow **Cristine Russell**, ENRP kicked off its 2012 Environmental Film Series in March with a screening of "The Last Mountain," a documentary about citizens fighting to prevent large coal companies from practicing mountain top removal in their town. The director, **Bill Haney**, a former ENRP fellow, discussed the film after the screening.



Bridge Builder: **Robert Hefner**, member of the Belfer Center International Council, discusses the documentary "The Grand Energy Transition: Natural Gas—The Bridge Fuel to Our Sustainable Future," based on his book of a similar title. The Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program hosted a screening and discussion of the documentary in April.

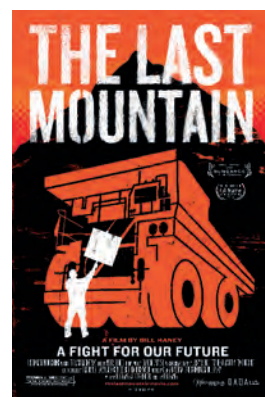
"The Last Mountain," which premiered at the Sundance Film Festival, focuses on a small group of people in Coal River Valley in West Virginia who are trying to keep big coal corporations like Massey Energy from removing mountain tops to mine coal. The citizens argue the practice spreads pollution to other states and causes serious health complications.

The second documentary in the series, "A Fierce Green Fire: The Battle for a Living Planet," highlights major environmental movements from the last 50 years. The film, directed and produced by Mark Kitchell, also premiered at the 2012 Sundance Film Festival. Each of five sections tells an essential story in environmental history, with a compelling group of main characters to personalize the era.

ENRP also hosted a screening and discussion of **Robert A. Hefner's** latest project, a documentary titled "The Grand Energy Transition: Natural Gas—The Bridge To Our Sustainable Future," at HKS on April 9, which was followed by a discussion with Hefner, **Leonardo Maugeri**, a research fellow with the Belfer Center's Geopolitics of Energy Project, and **Rasmus Myklebust**, a graduate student from Norway in the HKS Master of Public Administration program.

Hefner, founder and owner of the GHK Companies and a member of the Belfer Center's International Council, has been called the "father of deep natural gas" for his work in the field. Trained as a geologist and petroleum engineer, Hefner has pioneered many of the deep-well technologies used by the U.S. natural gas industry today.

—Traci Farrell



Worth 1000 Words:

Poster publicizing the documentary "The Last Mountain" by filmmaker **Bill Haney**, former Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP) research fellow. The film about the impact of coal mining was screened and discussed by Haney as part of the ENRP Film Series. Haney said

about the film: "The central front in the battle for America's energy future, with enormous consequences for the health and economic prospects of every citizen, is the fight for Appalachian coal. [T]he coal industry ... [is] shredding timeless landscape to bring coal wealth to a few, and leaving devastated communities and poisoned water to many."



Q&A John Park

John S. Park is a research fellow with the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom and International Security Program. He also is a senior research associate at the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington, D.C., where he focuses on Northeast Asian security, economic, and energy issues. Prior to joining USIP, Park worked in Goldman Sachs's public finance group.

Q You were involved in the planning that led up to the recent Seoul Nuclear Summit and also contributed significantly to the Belfer Center's Summit efforts. What was your primary role in the lead-up to the summit and what do you think were the summit's main successes and shortcomings?

I'm currently cross-appointed at the Belfer Center as a research fellow and at the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), where I direct Northeast Asia Track 1.5 projects. When I was based at USIP in the fall of 2010, I worked with colleagues at Belfer's Managing the Atom Project (MTA) to put together a consortium of research centers and think tanks to directly engage South Korean policymakers who were preparing to host the 2012 Seoul Nuclear Security Summit. . . .

In the lead-up to the summit, I worked with the Belfer Center team consisting of **Graham Allison, Matthew Bunn, Martin Malin, William Tobey, Kevin Ryan, Ben Rhode, James Smith, and Sharon Wilke** to develop the Nuclear Security Summit Dossier (www.nuclearsecurity.org). We effectively used the dossier at a briefing at USIP, which we tailored to the ambassadors of the countries whose head of state was confirmed to participate in the 2012 Seoul Nuclear Security Summit. We highlighted recent analyses on nuclear security that the Belfer Center team had conducted on cooperative measures to combat the threat of nuclear terrorism, protection of nuclear materials and related facilities, and prevention of illicit trafficking of nuclear materials.

Q Does the recent change of leadership raise any opportunities for improved relations with the U.S.?

Following the death of **Kim Jong-il** in late December 2011, the new collective leadership group headed by **Kim Jong-eun** has been consolidating its power. During this process the key question in Washington was whether there was continuity or change in Pyongyang under Kim Jong-eun. The "Leap Day" agreement that the U.S. and North Korea concluded on February 29 was largely interpreted as a sign that there was continuity given the fact that the deal was basically in place and awaiting completion when Kim Jong-il suddenly died on December 17. . . . Unfortunately, North

Korea's March 16 announcement of its plan to conduct a "satellite launch" and eventual test on April 13 led to the collapse of the "Leap Day" agreement. The U.S. had expended the last of its North Korea-focused political capital on this deal. It's unlikely there will be any more diplomatic overtures coming from Washington until after the presidential elections in November at the earliest.

Q Is Kim Jong-eun really in charge or more of a figurehead?

While Kim Jong-eun now holds titles that officially designate him as the functional head of the Workers' Party of Korea and the military, his power is closely tied to a small group of senior generals that his father personally selected as a cocoon to envelop him as he built up more leadership capabilities and consolidated his own power base. There's currently a great deal of speculation about who really exercises authority and the viability of this collective leadership structure going forward. In the midst of this conjecture, there's one indisputable fact. Irrespective of being the third son of Kim Jong-il, if Kim Jong-eun is not able to effectively manage the web of state trading companies that comprise "North Korea, Inc." and generate recurring revenues—as his father had done during his 17-year reign—the young Kim's grip on power will wane leading to instability in this new regime.

Q How have your various work experiences in the financial, academic, and government sectors helped you in conducting primary research and policy analysis?

With respect to my research work on North Korea, I've been drawing on the combination of these experiences to develop new frameworks of analysis to better understand the impact of complex internal transformations on the stability of the post-Kim Jong-il collective leadership regime. As interviews with defectors who previously worked in these state trading companies indicate, the regime

is able to derive funds from North Korea, Inc. to maintain the loyalty of the elites and to provide a mechanism through which different bureaucratic organizations can generate funds for operating budgets.

While North Korea remains an opaque country, we now have greater access to these unique defectors. Applying financial and commercial analysis to the activities of North Korean state trading companies has yielded early insights that I've used in government briefings in Washington and Asian capitals on how to design new or calibrate existing policy tools to deal with the evolving North Korean regime.

Q Next year you will be heading to MIT to take up an appointment as a Junior Faculty Fellow with the Stanton Nuclear Security Fellowship Program. What collaborative research projects will you be working on this upcoming year?

During my prior appointment at the Belfer Center as a postdoctoral fellow in the mid-2000s, I had the opportunity to work with colleagues to launch and run the North Korea Analysis Group (NKAG). The goal of NKAG was to engage Washington-based officials working on different facets of North Korea issues.

We'll be organizing additional NKAG activities in the 2012–2013 academic year. One specific area of collaboration will be consulting with former U.S. policymakers at the Belfer Center on the unintended consequences of North Korea-centered financial sanctions—the focus of my Stanton Fellowship work at MIT. The primary objectives of this funded research project are to analyze the different types and applications of financial sanctions that are geared toward countering proliferation, assess the main intended and unintended effects of these measures on North Korea, and examine policy implications for Washington going forward. 🌐

Vital Views: **John Park** (speaking on left) provides a briefing on North Korean provocations to Admiral **Jonathan W. Greenert**, the new chief of Naval Operations. Greenert, named to this position in 2011, is a former submariner who previously served as the 36th Vice Chief of Naval Operations and as Commander, U.S. Fleet Forces Command.



SPOTLIGHT

William Tobey

William H. Tobey is a senior fellow in the Belfer Center, and is director of the Center's U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism. He joined the Belfer Center in 2009 after serving in senior counterproliferation roles in the George W. Bush Administration. In March, Tobey was named chairman of the board of directors of the World Institute for Nuclear Security.



William Tobey was working happily and profitably as a bond trader when the 9/11 terror attacks struck the United States. Soon he was drawn back into the world of counterproliferation and nuclear security, where he had begun his career as a National Security Council staffer in 1986.

Tobey spent seven more years overseeing and executing U.S. government policies on some of the highest-stakes nuclear security issues of our era, first as director of counterproliferation strategy for the National Security Council in the White House, and then as the deputy administrator for defense nuclear nonproliferation at the National Nuclear Security Administration.

In 2009, Tobey joined the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs as a senior fellow, giving him the chance to step back and analyze some of the policy challenges that he had grappled with first-hand in government. He also kept up an active role in the World Institute of Nuclear Security (WINS), which he had helped found in 2008 while serving in the **George W. Bush** Administration.

At the second Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul, South Korea, in late March, Tobey was named chairman of the WINS board of directors, giving him oversight of an organization charged with developing and sharing best practices for those accountable for nuclear security—to keep fissile material out of the hands of thieves and terrorists.

Tobey also serves on Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton's** International Security

Advisory Board, along with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**.

Tobey's WINS chairmanship will allow him to put to use the financial skills he learned in nearly a decade in finance as well as his 15 years of nuclear security experience. His first objective, Tobey said, is to get WINS onto a stronger financial footing. "They've done tremendous substantive work, and I want to make sure they have the resources to continue those efforts."

His work at WINS also fits well with his primary role in the Belfer Center. He is the director of the Center's U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism, which coordinated the first-ever "U.S.-Russia Joint Threat Assessment of Nuclear Terrorism." That study, produced in June 2011, flowed from a year-long partnership with counterparts from the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies, a leading Russian research center in Moscow.

That partnership no doubt reminds Tobey of the evolving U.S.-Russian relationship, much changed since his Cold War days on the NSC staff in the 1980s during the Reagan Administration.

Fresh from earning his Master of Public Policy Degree at the Kennedy School in 1984, Tobey plunged into his work as an adviser to the U.S. delegation to the nuclear and space talks with the Soviet Union, held in Geneva.

Tobey is the director of the Center's U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism, which coordinated the first-ever "U.S.-Russia Joint Threat Assessment of Nuclear Terrorism."

From 1986 to 1993, he was director of defense programs and arms control on the NSC staff, developing and implementing U.S. policy on ballistic missile defense and verification and compliance with arms control agreements.

When the first Bush Administration handed off to the Clinton team, Tobey moved into the investment world.

Comparing the two roles, Tobey recalled that with the arms control work in the Reagan and first Bush presidencies, "until the end of the Cold War, the progress was glacial, even if there was no doubt that it was extremely important. On Wall Street, you knew at the end of the day if you had made money or not. But it clearly wasn't as important."

He traded securities and worked in venture capital, and became head of a sales division for Wachovia Securities near his home in New Canaan, Connecticut, where he lives with his wife, **Elizabeth**, and daughters **Emma** and **Beatrix**.

Tobey wrote the first draft of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540, which called on nations to criminalize the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

But the 9/11 attacks changed his life once again. He rejoined the NSC staff in the George W. Bush Administration as director of counterproliferation strategy. He helped manage the U.S. program to dismantle Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi's nuclear weapons program.

In 2006 Tobey was appointed deputy administrator for nuclear nonproliferation at the National Nuclear Security Administration in the Department of Energy. He needed Senate confirmation for a job that ran a \$2 billion program to prevent proliferation and nuclear terrorism. He ran a team of 400 employees, working with more than 100 countries.

His team administered the Bratislava Initiative to complete physical security upgrades on Russian nuclear weapons and facilities by 2008—which were completed on schedule. Other work included closing Russian plutonium production reactors, preventing the production of a ton and a half of weapons-usable plutonium each year.

Tobey also oversaw the construction of a \$4.8 billion project at Savannah River—the largest construction project in the Southeast United States—to convert weapons-grade plutonium to enough civil reactor fuel to power 1 million American homes for 50 years.

At the Belfer Center, he is working on a follow-up to the Joint Threat Assessment with policy prescriptions and is working on a report on "transcending mutual deterrence." He has launched a series of nonproliferation practitioners seminars and co-teaches a course on nonproliferation with **Matthew Bunn**.

"I'm always being amazed by the number of smart people who work here and pass through," Tobey said. "It's a way to continue working on issues I care about, with the advantages of perspective afforded by some distance from Washington."

—James F. Smith



Dedicated Directors: William Tobey (right), newly named chairman of the World Institute of Nuclear Security (WINS) Board of Directors, with outgoing chairman **Charles Curtis**. Curtis, a former deputy secretary of energy, is president emeritus of the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

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,

Fellows Enrich Belfer Center and Harvard

Several times each week, the Belfer Center library is filled with students, faculty, and fellows eager to listen, challenge, and exchange information and ideas triggered by the day's presentation. Many of these talks are by one of the Center's more than 70 research and senior fellows.

These dynamic sessions enrich presenter and participants. They provide opportunities for Belfer Center fellows to learn, test rationales, theories, and conclusions, and to hone their research and presentation skills with an audience of peers and veteran academics, practitioners, and experts in their fields and related areas. The fellows

contribute significantly to the breadth and depth of dialogue that makes the Belfer Center thrive.

The fellowship program has been an integral part of the Belfer Center since its founding in 1973. As envisioned by Center founder **Paul Doty**, the program helps prepare future generations of leaders in international security and other critical fields where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect. It is an essential component of the Center's mission to advance policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges in these arenas.

Research Fellows Contribute Depth and Breadth to Issue and Policy Debates

This year, the Center is hosting nearly 60 pre- and post-doctoral research fellows who hail from more than 17 countries and have worked in government, academia, and business. Selected through a highly competitive process, the fellows stay at the Center for one or two years. Fellows work within one of the following Center programs or projects: International Security Program (ISP), Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP), Environment and Natural Resource Program (ENRP), Energy and Technology Innovation Policy research group (ETIP), Project on Managing the Atom (MTA), the Initiative on Religion in International Affairs (RIIA), Broadmoor Project, Middle East Initiative (MEI), Future of Diplomacy Project (FDP), and the Geopolitics of Energy Project.

Most research fellows conduct their own research during their tenure at the Center, often completing dissertations and books or switching gears to a new focus. Other research fellows join Center teams working on grant-funded projects. Following are a few of the Center's many talented research fellows:

Trevor Findlay, a joint research fellow with ISP and MTA, drew a large crowd at the library recently with his presentation "The IAEA and Fukushima: Best Laid Plans, Reality Checks, and Doing it Better Next Time." A former Australian diplomat and current director of the Canadian Centre for Treaty Compliance at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, Findlay is working on a project to strengthen the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Jonas Meckling, a research fellow with the Geopolitics of Energy project, specializes in global energy and climate politics. Originally from Germany, he worked in international environmental policymaking with the European Commission. He recently published a book titled *Carbon Coalitions: Business, Climate Politics, and the Rise of Emissions Trading*.

Annie Tracy Samuel, an ISP research fellow who holds dual citizenship in the U.S. and Israel, is completing her dissertation on the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps and the Iran-Iraq War. Her research interests include Iranian security and foreign policy, the role of Islam in military and foreign policy, and U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Mansour Salsabili, a joint research fellow with ISP and MTA, is a senior political expert on leave from Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A disarmament expert whose previous work at the United Nations included reforms to the Non-Aligned Movement, his current research is on nuclear non-proliferation.

Arani Kajenthira, a research fellow with STPP who completed her doctorate at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, is a biological



Water Rights and Wrongs: Arani Kajenthira, research fellow with the Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, shares a light moment with other fellows, students, and faculty prior to discussing her recent work on the water-energy-food nexus and implications for agricultural policymaking in the Middle East.



Planning Ahead: Trevor Findlay, a research fellow with the Project on Managing the Atom/International Security Program, discusses the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) response to Japan's Fukushima Daiichi nuclear accident in early 2011 and ways in which the agency and responses to future crises could be strengthened.

Belfer Center Programs and Projects: *International Security Program; Science, Technology, and Public Policy; Environment and Natural Resources Program; Energy Technology Innovation Policy; Managing the Atom; Science, Technology, and Globalization Project; Broadmoor Project; Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements; Initiative on Religion in International Affairs; Agricultural Innovation in Africa; U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism; Middle East Initiative; Future of Diplomacy Project; India and South Asia Program; Information and Communications Technology and Public Policy; Geopolitics of Energy*

Kennedy School with Vital Research, Dialogue

engineer working with the ETIP research group on the role of public policy in management and distribution of water resources, particularly in light of climate change.

Some fellows are selected to conduct research through specific Center fellowships. These include **Ernest May Fellows in History and Policy** and **Stanton Nuclear Security Fellows** who generally are in residence for a year at the Center. **Fisher Family Fellows** are selected by the Future of Diplomacy Project to spend a week or two each semester making presentations, teaching classes, and meeting with students.

Senior Fellows Share Real-World Experience, Insight

In addition to research fellows, the Center community includes several senior fellows. These highly experienced and respected specialists in their fields come to the Center for a year or more, bringing insight and expertise that they share with the greater Harvard community. Current senior fellows include **Olli Heinonen**, **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen**, and **William Tobey**, whose research focuses on nuclear issues. **Richard Rosecrance** is an expert on U.S.-China relations, **Ben Heineman** on corporate governance and policy, and **Chuck Freilich** on security and governance in the Middle East. **Cristine Russell** focuses on environmental/media issues and **Rami Khouri** on the Middle East.

International and Global Affairs Student Fellows Prepare for Leadership, Service

The Belfer Center provides funding for **International and Global Affairs (IGA)** student fellows, known as Belfer IGA (BIGA) fellows. The BIGA Fellowship Program prepares a community of high-achieving Harvard Kennedy School students with strong analytical, research, and leadership skills, and awareness of the importance of service in the international and global arena.

Center Alumni Serve in Government, Academia, NGOs

Since its founding in 1973, the Belfer Center has produced more than 500 alumni. Former fellows make up a who's who in the fields of international security and arms control, science and technology, environmental affairs, and diplomacy.

"There's not a single major graduate training program in the country and, to some extent, in the world, that does not have one, and often multiple, alumni of our center on their faculties," according to **Steven Miller**, director of the ISP and one of the Center's earliest fellows. A number of Center alums, he pointed out, are serving in government in the United States and elsewhere.

"The Belfer Center is, at its heart, people," said **Kevin Ryan**, the Center's executive director for research. "The fellows who come to the center refine their ideas and then proliferate them through discussions and debates with faculty academics, students, and policymakers and shapers who come from Washington and other capitals around the globe to hear new ways of thinking about vexing problems."

—Sharon Wilke

Additional information about Belfer Center fellowships can be found at <http://belfercenter.org/fellowships/>.



STEFANIE LE

Nuke-Free? Mansour Salsibili (left), ISP/MTA research fellow, responds to questions related to his presentation on the "Feasibility of the Persian Gulf as a Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) Free Zone?" Among those taking part in the seminar were senior fellow **Olli Heinonen** (2nd from left), former deputy director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency; **Martin Malin**, executive director of the Project on Managing the Atom; and **Steven Miller**, director of the International Security Program.



Cyber Power: Eric Rosenbach (right), the deputy assistant secretary of defense for cyber policy, speaks to students at a Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) seminar entitled "Careers in Public Policy." Rosenbach, former executive director for research at the Belfer Center, previously served as a national security advisor to former Sen. **Chuck Hagel** and as a professional staff member on the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Students taking part in the event included Belfer IGA student fellow **Francisco Aguilar** (left) and **Kyle Siebolt**, MPA student at HKS.



Cyber, Security, Surveillance: **Susan Landau** speaks to the Belfer Center's Explorations in Cyber International Relations working group on cybersecurity policy issues. A 2012 Guggenheim fellow, Landau is currently a visiting scholar in the Department of Computer Science at Harvard University, working on cybersecurity issues. Landau's publications include *Surveillance or Security? The Risks Posed by New Wiretapping Technologies* and *Privacy on the Line: The Politics of Wiretapping and Encryption*.



Soldier Statesman: **Karl W. Eikenberry**, U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan from 2009–2011 and commander of the American-led coalition forces in Afghanistan from 2005–2007, speaks to members of the Belfer Center Board of Directors on "Challenges in Transitioning to Afghan Leadership." Eikenberry noted that success or failure of a decade plus of war in Afghanistan will largely be decided over the next 24 months. Among those taking part in the discussion were (left to right) the Belfer Center's **Meghan O'Sullivan**, **Juliette Kayyem**, and **Matthew Bunn**.



Momentous Re-Start: **Rose Gottemoeller**, acting under secretary of state for arms control and international security, discusses U.S.-Russian relations and diplomatic challenges. She was the chief negotiator for the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) with the Russian Federation, an historic success in arms control ratified by the Senate in December 2010. **David Nusbaum**, research fellow with the Project on Managing the Atom and International Security Program, was among the participants in the discussion at the Belfer Center in April.



Advance Preparation: Retired Admiral **Mary Landry**, U.S. Coast Guard (2nd from left), speaks during the JFK Jr. Forum "The Military's Role from Japan to the Gulf" in April. **Herman "Dutch" Leonard** (left), George F. Baker Jr. Professor of Public Management at Harvard Kennedy School (HKS), moderated the panel with General **Craig McKinley**, National Guard bureau chief (3rd from left), and Brigadier General **Julie Bentz**, National Security Council. The panelists attended an HKS Homeland Security Executive Seminar with National Guard generals and others charged with preparedness.



Elevating Threat Prevention: **Bradley H. Roberts**, deputy assistant secretary of defense, nuclear and missile defense policy with the Department of Defense, discusses "Implementing the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review" at a Belfer Center directors' lunch. The 2010 Nuclear Posture Review is a ground-breaking policy statement which for the first time made the prevention of nuclear terrorism a goal equal to the traditional objectives of preventing both state-led nuclear weapon development and usage. From 2003 to 2009, Roberts served as a member of the DoD's Threat Reduction Advisory Committee and before that as a special adviser to the STRATCOM Strategic Advisory Group.



Challenging Proliferation: **Thomas Countryman** (left), assistant secretary of state for international security and nonproliferation, and **Bonnie Jenkins** (right), coordinator for threat reduction programs and a former fellow at the Belfer Center, discuss challenges to security and nonproliferation with faculty and fellows at a Belfer Center directors' seminar.

SPEAKERS

TOM FITZSIMMONS



Friendly Face-Off: Former NATO Secretary-General **Javier Solana** (right) makes a point during a JFK Jr. Forum in April on the future of transatlantic relations. Titled “Iran, Afghanistan and Transatlantic Relations: A Conversation with **David Miliband** and Javier Solana,” the lively discussion between Solana and UK Foreign Secretary Miliband (center), was moderated by Future of Diplomacy Director **Nicholas Burns**, former U.S. under secretary of state for political affairs.



The Honorable: President of Estonia **Toomas Ilves** (3rd from left), visited the Belfer Center in April and spoke to Harvard Kennedy School students. His visit was organized by Belfer Center International Security Program research fellow **Lucas Kello** (2nd from left). Pictured here also are **Vivek Mohan** (left), research fellow with the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy program and Information and Communications Technology and Public Policy Project, and **Jack Goldsmith**, professor at Harvard Law School.



Cool War: **Noah Feldman**, the Bemis Professor of International Law at Harvard Law School, speaks to the Belfer Center Board of Directors about what he has termed an ongoing “cool war” between the United States and China as each vies for global dominance. Feldman, who has authored five books, is a senior fellow of the Society of Fellows and a contributing writer for the *New York Times* and *Bloomberg View*.

Nuclear Guardian: **Siegfried S. Hecker**, co-director of the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University and an expert on North Korea, speaks at a Belfer Center seminar titled “North Korea—What’s Next?” Hecker, emeritus director of Los Alamos National Laboratory, discussed the current situation in North Korea and steps he believes the new North Korean leadership might take with regard to their nuclear program.



Mitigating Cyber Threats: **Melissa Hathaway**, senior advisor with the Belfer Center’s Explorations in Cyber International Relations project and former senior director for cyberspace at the National Security Council, speaks about pressing challenges to cyber security and ways to mitigate them during a Belfer Center seminar. The Center’s cyber initiative, known as Project Minerva, is a joint effort by the Department of Defense, M.I.T and Harvard University to explore solutions to cyber security challenges. Hathaway served under both Presidents **Bush** and **Obama** and in 2009 she led President Obama’s 60-Day Cyberspace Policy Review.



General Advice: Lieutenant General **Douglas E. Lute**, assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor, speaks at a Belfer Center directors’ lunch on “Lessons Learned in 56 Months of Policymaking.” Since 2007, he has been the so-called “war czar” for Iraq and Afghanistan to both Presidents Bush and Obama. He helped craft policy for the two wars and, according to **Bob Woodward’s** book, *Obama’s Wars*, was a key player in deciding strategy. Among those taking part in the discussion were (left to right) Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye**, HKS professor **Meghan O’Sullivan**, and retired four-star General **John P. Abizaid**.



Nicholas Burns, professor of the practice of diplomacy and international politics and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, has been elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Burns will be a member of the Public Affairs, Business, and Administration class.



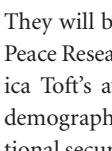
Azeem Ibrahim, research fellow with the International Security Program from 2008–2010, has been appointed as a strategic policy adviser to Imran Khan, head of the Pakistani political party Tehreek-e-Insaf (Movement for Justice) and potential next prime minister. Ibrahim is tasked with creating policies to be implemented if Khan is elected.



Calestous Juma, professor of the practice of international development and director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization Project, will serve as a judge for the new Queen Elizabeth Prize for Engineering. The £1million prize recognizes outstanding advances in engineering that have changed the world and benefited humanity. Juma will serve on a panel of 15 judges, and the first winner will be announced in the spring of 2012.



Monica Duffy Toft, associate professor of public policy and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, and **Ivan Arreguin-Toft**, assistant professor of international relations at Boston University and former research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, have received Fulbright Scholarships for 2012–13.



They will be hosted at PIRO, the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo, Norway. Monica Toft's award will support her research on demography, conflict dynamics, and international security. Arreguin-Toft's research focuses on the utility of barbarism—the systematic or deliberate harm of noncombatants in pursuit of a military objective—as a strategy in war.



Paul Volcker, former member of President Obama's Economic Recovery Advisory Board and a member of the Belfer Center International Council, will be the recipient of the 2012 **Daniel Patrick Moynihan Prize**, recognizing him for his use of evidence and social research in advancing the public good. The Moynihan Prize is awarded annually to an individual whose career demonstrates the value of informed judgment and the use of social research in shaping public policy.

Commentary and Critique: North Korea

Olli Heinonen

Senior Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

"On March 22, 2011, North Korea's official news agency, KCNA, portrayed Libya's decision to give up its nuclear weapons as a mistake that opened the country to NATO intervention following its domestic Arab Spring uprising. Such conclusions drawn by North Korea make an already difficult case to engage North Korea to give up its nuclear weapon deterrence that much harder."

("The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime Challenged," *Pacific Basin Conference*. March 22, 2012)

John Park

Research Fellow, International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom

"The U.S., South Korea and Japan are likely to expand the development of their missile defense capabilities as a result of North Korea's missile launch. North Korea's 1998 long-range missile test sparked a significant increase in Japanese military spending on missile defense. It was also the key event that cleared the way in the U.S. Senate for deploying the national missile defense system we have today. Going forward, there will be more joint military exercises and coordination among U.S. allies to prepare for future North Korean missile tests."

("What Does North Korea's Ballistic Missile Test Tell Us About The Reclusive Country?" *United States Institute of Peace*. April 2012)

Graham Allison

Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

"Recently, the U.S. and North Korea came to an agreement on the temporary suspension of North Korea's uranium enrichment program in exchange for 240,000 metric tons of nutritional aid. But the U.S. has constantly expressed that it

'won't buy the same horse twice.' . . . Personally, I am not opposed to buying the same horse twice. Rather, I support it. North Korea is a failed state with extortionist and extremist tendencies. When dealing with that kind of opponent, it's right to buy the same horse twice in order to avoid crises."

("Gold Standard for Nuclear Security," *Korea JoongAng Daily*. March 21, 2012)

Steven E. Miller

Director, International Security Program

"Today the NPT regime is widely regarded as a system in distress. It is commonly described as troubled, jeopardized, derailed, unraveling—eroding under the pressure of unresolved compliance crises, inadequate enforcement, diplomatic friction and distrust, spreading nuclear technology, and member-state dissatisfaction . . . This set of concerns is not merely hypothetical or conceptual but is given life by protracted and unsuccessful efforts to cope with the nuclear programs of North Korea and Iran."

("Nuclear Collisions: Discord, Reform & the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Academy of Arts and Sciences*. April 2012)

David Nusbaum

Research Fellow, International Security Program, Project on Managing the Atom

"In talks with the United States late in February, North Korea agreed to suspend its uranium enrichment in a specific facility at Yongbyon and to initiate a moratorium on nuclear and long-range missile tests." Dealing with, and avoiding proliferation risks from, suspended nuclear enrichment facilities will be an important part of international nonproliferation efforts in upcoming months—not only in North Korea, but in Iran and possibly elsewhere."

("Is Suspension the Solution?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. April 12, 2012)



Nuclear Safeguards: **Olli Heinonen** (right), senior fellow with the Belfer Center and former deputy director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, discusses nuclear challenges and safeguards at a Belfer Center seminar. At the IAEA, Heinonen led efforts to identify and dismantle nuclear proliferation networks and oversaw the Agency's efforts to monitor and contain Iran and North Korea's respective nuclear programs. Also pictured (left to right) are Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Kevin Ryan** and senior fellow **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen**.

Insight and Analysis: Iran

Graham Allison

Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

“The mounting confrontation between the United States and Iran is like a Cuban Missile Crisis in slow motion. Events are moving, seemingly inexorably, toward a showdown at which point President Obama will have to choose to either attack Iran’s nuclear facilities or acquiesce in an Iranian nuclear bomb.”

(“Will Iran Be Obama’s Cuban Missile Crisis?” *Washington Post*. March 8, 2012)

Nicholas Burns

Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Politics

“Obama, like President Bush before him, has threatened Iran with sanctions and force with one goal in mind—to persuade its recalcitrant leaders to accept diplomacy and a possible negotiated outcome short of war. Lost in our increasingly shrill national debate about whether to bomb Iran is bipartisan consensus to at least try negotiating with Iran’s mullahs before we decide to fight them.”

(“Diplomacy Returns to U.S. Arsenal,” *Boston Globe*. March 2, 2012)

Chuck Freilich

Senior Fellow, International Security Program

“The simple fact is that Iran has rejected all efforts to reach a negotiated solution to date. . . and has used the passing time to further develop its nuclear capabilities. We can hope that the punishing oil and financial sanctions now in place will finally change the Iranian calculus.”

(“The Bitter Truth About Iran,” *Jerusalem Post*. April 15, 2012)

Olli Heinonen

Senior Fellow, Belfer Center

“As governments . . . assess how to deal with North Korea . . . the message that everyone should remain mindful of is that the DPRK’s nuclear program has transitioned from solely relying on the production of plutonium to adding a new feature, the growing production of enriched uranium. Transitioning away from this . . . through a slowdown, suspension and gradual turnaround will be the ultimate test of a true transition that will eventually integrate North Korea back to the international community.”

(“The North Korean Nuclear Program in Transition,” *38 North*. April 26, 2012)

Steven E. Miller

Director, International Security Program; Editor-in-Chief, International Security

“As Iranian nuclear negotiator Naseri commented in 2005, ‘The moves towards restrictions on nuclear fuel production under the pretext of non-proliferation are bound to make the developing countries dependent on an exclusive cartel of nuclear fuel suppliers—a cartel that has a manifest record of denials and restrictions for political and commercial reasons.’ It is not surprising that Iran would feel this way considering that it has been largely (not not entirely) cut off from the legitimate nuclear marketplace over a period of several decades.”

(“Nuclear Collisions: Discord, Reform & the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime,” *American Academy of Arts & Sciences*. April 2012)

Dennis Ross

International Council Member, Belfer Center

“Because Israel is the only country that Iran has repeatedly threatened to ‘wipe off the map,’ it is reasonable for it to have some input into the objectives of diplomacy and the timetable for progress in negotiations.”

(“The U.S. Can Meet Israel Halfway on Iran,” *Washington Post*. March 30, 2012)

Mansour Salsabili

Research Fellow, International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom

“The opportunity for a compromise on nuclear and other regional issues between Iran and the United States has never been so ripe as now. . . [and] The desire for progress on both sides of the table is observable.”

(“Iran Talks: Why Time Is Right For Compromise,” *Christian Science Monitor*. April 16, 2012)

Stephen M. Walt

Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs

“After all, Israel has its own nuclear arsenal, and could obliterate Iran if attacked. U.S. intelligence is also confident Tehran has not yet decided to build nuclear weapons. Indeed, U.S. leaders worry that, no matter who does it, an attack would convince Iran it needs its own nuclear deterrent. They are correct.”

(“Mr. Obama Must Take a Stand Against Israel Over Iran,” *Financial Times*. March 5, 2012)



Perceptions and Narratives: Annie Tracy Samuel (left), research fellow with the International Security Program (ISP), speaks on “The Iranian Revolutionary Guards and the Lessons of the Iran-Iraq War” during an ISP brown bag presentation. Professor Stephen Walt took part in the discussion.

Annie Tracy Samuel

Research Fellow, International Security Program

“Though it has miscalculated the effects of and reactions to its policies, as well as adopted violence as a tool to achieve its strategic goals, Iran’s policies have generally been conceived with rational security objectives in mind. The hypothetical development of a nuclear weapons capability would not fundamentally alter Iran’s overriding foreign policy objective—regime security.”

(“Ask the Experts: What Would Iran Do with a Bomb?” Council on Foreign Relations. February 21, 2012)

William H. Tobey

Senior Fellow, Belfer Center

“Iran’s nuclear program presents an immense challenge with no obvious solution. Iranian intentions—if not their progress on uranium enrichment—remain unclear to the West. The only certainties are that the problem will grow a great deal more difficult and dangerous should Tehran obtain a nuclear weapon, and it is making steady progress toward that point.”

(“The Latest On Iran’s Nuclear Program,” *Foreign Policy*. February 27, 2012)

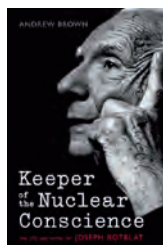
For additional analysis of Iranian nuclear issues by Belfer Center scholars, see <http://belfercenter.org/IranPerspectives/>.

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Keeper of the Nuclear Conscience: The Life and Work of Joseph Rotblat

By Andrew Brown, Associate, Project on Managing the Atom

Oxford University Press (February 2012)



Joseph Rotblat was the Jewish nuclear scientist whose disillusionment with nuclear weapons encouraged him to become one of the prime architects of the anti-nuclear movement, and resulted in his lifelong efforts to promote social responsibility in science. His founding of Pugwash and his humanitarian work ultimately led to his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Andrew Brown's biography sets out a life whose work poses deep and important questions about science and society. This compelling account draws on full access to Rotblat's archives and presents the full scope of his life: his childhood overcoming poverty and anti-Semitism, his efforts to become a scientist in Warsaw, his work on Britain's nuclear program, his lifelong dedication to peaceful causes, and his determination to uphold the ethical application of science. Ultimately, we discover a great man whose profound conscience shaped his life and work, and the legacy he leaves today.

"... [A] fine work that lucidly depicts the challenges faced by Rotblat and his Pugwash colleagues as they relentlessly pursued a more peaceful world."

"Brown's use of numerous interviews, including one with Rotblat himself, make for compelling reading. Overall, Keeper of the Nuclear Conscience is a fine work that lucidly depicts the challenges faced by Rotblat and his Pugwash colleagues as they relentlessly pursued a more peaceful world."

—Edwin Lyman, *New Scientist*

"Radiation oncologist Andrew Brown's fine biography, Keeper of the Nuclear Conscience, chronicles a life spanning almost the entire twentieth century and moulded by its turmoil and horrors. . . . Brown's balanced and comprehensive biography is welcome. Rotblat's inspiring life—against a backdrop of tragedy and hardship, with idealism but without illusions—deserves to be better known."

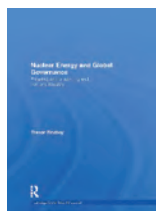
—Martin Rees, *Nature*

Nuclear Energy and Global Governance: Ensuring Safety, Security and Non-proliferation

By Trevor Findlay, Research Fellow, International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom

Routledge Global Security Studies (Paperback Edition)

Routledge (March 2012)



The threat of global warming, the energy demands of China, India, and other emerging economic powerhouses and the challenges facing traditional and alternative energy sources led many in the past decade to suggest that the early twentieth century would see a 'renaissance' in the use of nuclear energy for generating electricity. In response to the nuclear disaster at Fukushima, Japan, following the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami, many countries that were previously excited about the prospect of nuclear energy have now begun to reconsider.

"... [E]ssential reading for those wishing to comprehend the politics and policies behind nuclear technology."

This timely book examines comprehensively the drivers of and constraints on a prospective nuclear revival and its likely nature and scope. Of special interest are developing countries which aspire to have nuclear energy and which currently lack the infrastructure, experience, and regulatory structures to successfully manage such a major industrial enterprise. The Fukushima disaster has made such considerations even more pertinent: if a technologically sophisticated country like Japan has difficulties dealing with nuclear safety and security how much harder would it be for a newcomer to the technology.

"A truly unique and excellent work exploring the international governance architecture needed for nuclear power to flourish. Cutting across issues of nonproliferation, security, safety, and reliability, Nuclear Energy and Global Governance is essential reading for those wishing to comprehend the politics and policies behind nuclear technology."

—Benjamin K. Sovacool, author of *The National Politics of Nuclear Power*

Desert Dreams: The Quest for Arab Integration from the Arab Revolt to the Gulf Cooperation Council

By Justin Dargin, Former Associate and Research Fellow, Dubai Initiative

International Studies Library Republic of Letters (2011)

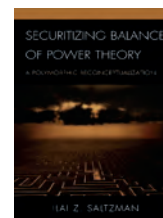


This book discusses the history of Arab integration attempts from the late Ottoman period to the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Although there is significant scholarship on the history of pan-Arab nationalism and the drive for disparate Arab nations to integrate, there is precious little literature that seeks to understand the development of closer integration in the Gulf in the context of the long history amongst Arabs of the awareness that a common cultural and social nation exists that should politically and economically collaborate. This book reassesses the history of Arab integration, and argues convincingly, that while the more politically charged "unionist" attempts of Arab political integration may have failed, instead what we can anticipate, based on the illustration of the GCC, is deeper and closer economic, financial, political, and social coordination amongst various Arab countries.

Securitizing Balance of Power Theory: A Polymorphic Reconceptualization

By Ilai Saltzman, Former Research Fellow, International Security Program

Lexington Books (December 2011)



Securitizing Balance of Power Theory: A Polymorphic Reconceptualization examines different reactions to changes in the balance of power and the way different states formulate their grand strategies in order to engage these changes. Saltzman offers a neoclassical realist interpretation of the balance of power theory, making the case for a more inclusive theory which considers balance of security as well. The text empirically examines this new theory using two sets of historical cases: the British and Soviet responses to Nazi Germany, and the American and Chinese responses to the rise of Imperialist Japan, both during the interwar period. The second set of cases considers the Russian, North Korean, Chinese, and European Union's response to post-Cold War America.

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP

James Baker Honored as 2012 Great Negotiator

In late March, Harvard's Program on Negotiation (PON) and the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy Project (FDP) jointly honored former U.S. Secretary of State **James A. Baker III** with the 2012 Great Negotiator Award.

The Great Negotiator Award was created twelve years ago by PON to reward "individuals whose lifetime achievements in the field of negotiation and dispute resolution have had a significant and lasting impact." Since 2011, the award has been co-sponsored by the Future of Diplomacy Project, which aims to explore the importance of diplomacy in a globalized world.

The event examined three of Secretary Baker's greatest negotiation successes: German reunification after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the Madrid Conference, and the preparations for the first Iraq War. The three cases will be used to teach future generations of students at the Kennedy School, the Law School and Harvard Business School.

Baker was awarded the 2012 Great Negotiator Award for his work in the administration of **George H. W. Bush**. Among additional challenges he faced as secretary of state in the Bush Administration were complications after the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

During a program at Harvard Law School to receive his award, Baker discussed his diplomatic challenges with **James K. Sebenius**, cochair of the Great Negotiator Award Committee, and Future of Diplomacy Project Director **R. Nicholas Burns**.

"You need a president who will support you, and defend you, and protect you even when you are wrong. I had that wonderful relationship with [George H. W. Bush]," said Baker, who served as secretary of state from 1989 to 1992. "Nobody was going to get between me and my president." (Quote reported in *Harvard Gazette*)

—Stefanie Le

Round Up of Middle East Initiative Spring Events

A year after the sparks of revolution began in the Arab World, the Middle East Initiative (MEI) focused its spring events on the implications of the region's tumultuous transition. Two back-to-back forum events in February commemorated the revolution in Egypt, and two public events on Tunisia provided insight into the emerging democracy's efforts to write a new constitution. In a panel discussion organized with the American University

of Beirut (AUB), faculty from both institutions addressed the lessons learned from the Arab uprisings and analyzed prospects for democratic transition. A multi-part series organized by MEI fellow **Diana Buttu**, featured five different experts' take on the future of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Additional seminars addressed current affairs in Libya, Yemen, Iran, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states.



Insiders Issues: Middle East Initiative fellow **Diana Buttu** talks with **Robert Malley**, program director for the Middle East and North Africa at International Crisis Group, following his lecture at Harvard Kennedy School.

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"Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism"

Bryan C. Price

Despite the conventional wisdom that leadership decapitation is ineffective at best and counterproductive at worst, new evidence suggests that states featuring the tactic prominently in their counterinsurgency strategy, including the United States and Israel, may be on the right track. Terrorist leaders are more susceptible to targeting than other group leaders, such as drug lords and heads of state, because they lead violent, clandestine, and values-based organizations. Terrorist groups are also especially vulnerable if successful decapitation occurs early in a group's lifespan, so resources should be concentrated on targeting the leaders of relatively young groups.

"Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns"

Patrick B. Johnston

A recent, data-driven study suggests that leadership targeting in counterinsurgency campaigns is a surprisingly effective tactic. Successful leadership decapitation can decrease campaign length, improve campaign success rate, and lessen the intensity of conflict and the number of terrorist attacks. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that possible negative effects, such as the "martyrdom effect" and decentralization, outweigh the benefits of successful decapitation. Although leadership decapitation is not a silver bullet, it is an effective technique that should be considered carefully in counterinsurgency strategy.

"Barriers to Bioweapons: Intangible Obstacles to Proliferation"

Sonia Ben Ouagrahm-Gormley

Bioweapons knowledge may be less transferable than many scholars and analysts have thought. A new look at past weapons programs reveals that intangible factors, such as work organization, program management, struc-

tural organization, and social environment, can affect a program's success rate. Because these intangible factors are especially restrictive for clandestine organizations such as terrorist groups, they should be considered carefully both in terms of threat assessment and the development of more effective counterproliferation strategies.

"Trading on Preconceptions: Why World War I Was Not a Failure of Economic Interdependence"

Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu

A close look at the events leading up to World War I reveals that the war was not a failure of economic integration as many scholars have claimed. The conflict began in a weakly integrated portion of Europe, and the more integrated powers were roped in through their alliances. Before the war, the interdependent powers were able to resolve crises without bloodshed, but they were also incentivized to increase their commitment to the less interdependent powers. Had globalization pervaded Eastern Europe, or if the rest of Europe had been less locked into events in the east, Europe might have avoided a "Great War."

"Confronting Soviet Power: U.S. Policy during the Early Cold War"

Paul C. Avey

U.S. policy during the early Cold War is better explained by balance of power logic than ideology. Not only did the United States initially seek to cooperate with the Soviet Union, shifting toward a confrontational approach only when the balance of power tilted in the Soviet Union's favor, but it later sought to engage communist groups that promised to undermine Soviet power. Given the vast differences between U.S. and Soviet ideology, the United States' willingness to put ideology aside in these instances suggests that relative power concerns are more important in generating and shaping confrontational foreign policies than is ideology.

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BELFER IN BRIEF



Arielle Dworkin

A New Digital Conductor for the Belfer Center

The Belfer Center has a new digital communications manager. **Arielle Dworkin** joined the Center in March from Quest Media Group, where she worked as a web producer handling websites for numerous clients. A Boston University graduate, Dworkin brings an unusually wide array of digital communications skills to the Center. She can handle technical website issues, she is creative in shaping web content, including video and multimedia, and she understands digital marketing. In her first weeks on the job, she quickly introduced several innovations.

Elbe Group Calls for Greater Cooperation Between U.S. and Russia

At a time when rhetoric from the United States and Russia has become increasingly combative, a statement by retired U.S. and Russian military and intelligence leaders is especially significant. The Elbe Group, organized by BG (ret.) **Kevin Ryan**, the Center's executive director for research, said in April: "Unlike the Cold War era, our mutual desire to achieve strategic stability today can be realized with less emphasis on the use of military force. The use of any force today, let alone nuclear weapons, is disproportionate to the existing or potential issues in U.S.-Russia relations. This concept should be reflected in the military strategies and doctrines of both our countries." See <http://belfercenter.org/ElbeMeeting/>.

Yea or Nay: A Second Term for President Obama?

On April 26, **Elaine Kamarck**, lecturer in public policy at the Kennedy School, served as a team leader at a debate at the storied Oxford Union, Oxford University. The two teams, Kamarck's and **Andrew Rosindell's**, a British MP and vice-chairman of the Conservative Party, debated the merits of whether or not President **Barack Obama** deserves a second term, with Kamarck arguing the affirmative and Rosindell arguing against. The debates are a long-standing tradition at Oxford, having been held continuously since 1823 when the Union was first founded. The Oxford Union has been called "the world's most prestigious debating society," and in past years has hosted the **Dalai Lama**, **Henry Kissinger**, and **Winston Churchill**. Kamarck's side won by a landslide, 178 to 89.

Elaine Kamarck (3rd from left) at Oxford Union.



Memorial for Founder Paul Doty

Paul Doty, who founded the Belfer Center in 1973, passed away on December 5, 2011, at 91 years old. On May 4, a memorial service honoring Doty was held at Memorial Church in Harvard Yard. Attended by family, friends, and colleagues of Paul, the service paid tribute to his memory and many achievements, which included founding Harvard University's Biochemistry Department as well as the Belfer Center and the quarterly journal *International Security*, helping prevent nuclear war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and mentoring numerous students, many of whom now hold senior positions in government and academia.