



# HARVARD Kennedy School BELFER CENTER for Science and International Affairs

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[www.belfercenter.org](http://www.belfercenter.org)

## Still Learning Fresh Lessons from the Cuban Missile Crisis Belfer Center's 50th Anniversary Events Focus on Ideas for Today's Crises

By Sharon Wilke

Fifty years ago this October, as the Cuban Missile Crisis intensified, the world stood on the brink of a nuclear war. During 13 terrifying days in October 1962, people around the globe watched as **President Kennedy** and **Soviet Premier Khrushchev** searched for a way to move their countries—and the world—away from the nuclear cliff.

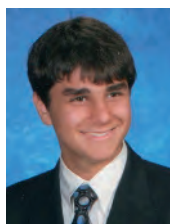
The Belfer Center commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis in October by encouraging fresh thinking on lessons learned from that dangerous confrontation—and how those lessons can be applied to crises encountered today.

**"The Cuban Missile Crisis taught the United States what containment feels like."**

—Zachary Elias  
(Contest Winner, General Public)

Through a special Cuban Missile Crisis website ([www.cubanmissilecrisis.org](http://www.cubanmissilecrisis.org)), a lessons-learned contest, a conference of U.S. and Russian experts, a student-organized crisis simulation, and several other events, the Belfer Center provided background on the Crisis and asked policymakers and the public to think about what we can learn from it.

Hundreds of people from around the world submitted essays in response to the lessons-learned contest co-sponsored by the Belfer Center and *Foreign Policy* magazine. (See Lessons Contest, p. 4.)



**Learning and Applying:** Contest Winners (clockwise from left): **Edén Rose Niles**, Colorado Academy High School, Denver; **Zachary Elias**, Dartmouth College undergraduate; and **Reid Pauly**, Stanford University research assistant.


"Our purpose in commemorating the most dangerous moment in human history with a special website and related events was to get people thinking and reflecting on lessons from that event that can inform choices about current challenges," said **Graham Allison**, director of the Belfer Center. "We invited teenagers, the general public, graduate students, and security professionals to connect the dots between those 13 days in 1962 and today. We are pleased that we got so many thoughtful, imaginative responses from around the country and around the globe."

**"During a crisis, when military action is viable as a first response, the morality of using weapons to reach a resolution must be considered in order to prevent a catalyst for greater conflict and subsequent death."**

—Eden Rose Niles  
(Contest Winner, Grades 6–12)

The Center's special website provides extensive background on the Crisis and also offers tools to understand how it can inform contemporary policy. Visitors can find key facts about the events of the 13 days along with original historic documents, such as audio recordings of President Kennedy's telephone conversation with former President Eisenhower discussing ways to deal with the crisis, and a phone conversation in which General Curtis LeMay tells Kennedy, "You're in a pretty bad fix." (<http://whitehousetapes.net/lemay/>)

**"Multilateralism is key."**  
—Reid Pauly  
(Contest Winner, Professionals, Scholars)

The site explores the most important lessons drawn from the Crisis by leaders and scholars over the past 50 years, provides teaching materials, and includes information about the nuclear threats facing the world today. 

(See more on Cuban Missile Crisis, p. 4.)



**Hot Button Issue:** Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (right) and Future of Diplomacy Project Director **Nicholas Burns** lead a conversation about the Cuban Missile Crisis and its lessons at a JFK Jr. Forum during the 50th anniversary of the crisis in October.

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# FROM THE DIRECTOR

*Graham Allison*

As in October 1962, this fall's 50th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis unfolded against the backdrop of a national election. The electoral stakes were even higher this year with the presidency in play, not just midterm Congressional races. So it seemed appropriate for the Belfer Center to take the anniversary as a learning moment for politicians and policy-makers, not just for students and scholars.

We examined parallels with the decisions facing today's world leaders and reflected on fateful choices made in 1962 by President **John F. Kennedy** and Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev**. With *Foreign Policy* magazine, we sponsored a contest that drew hundreds of entries, in categories for students, the public, and foreign policy professionals. The winning entries make for inspiring reading on our website, not least from the 16-year-old Coloradoan who won the Grade 6–12 category.

Having cut my own scholarly teeth on the missile crisis a few years back, I enjoyed the chance to revisit these themes in many diverse forums—some of which no one could have faintly imagined in 1962. For example, the Belfer Center's research assistants and communications team built an interactive website, [www.cubanmissilecrisis.org](http://www.cubanmissilecrisis.org), which had attracted 76,000 page views by late October.

We convened a private gathering of scholars, including **Philip Zelikow**, my co-author on the revised edition of *Essence of Decision* and a former HKS professor, and Russian scholar **Andrei Kokoshin**, and weighed unanswered questions about the Crisis. At an event at the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston, I joined a panel moderated by the Center's **Juliette Kayyem** with **Nicholas Burns**, head of our Center's Future of Diplomacy Project, who reminded us that negotiating with Iran poses challenges not unlike the Missile Crisis—although unlike 1962, we now don't even talk to Iran's leaders.

All the while the campaign was steaming ahead. The Center sponsored a poll of voters in battleground states Ohio and Florida that explored likely voters' interest and knowledge of foreign policy issues, with surprising results. People know more than you think, and want to

**Crisis Remembered:** Belfer Center's Cuban Missile Crisis website, ([www.cubanmissilecrisis.org](http://www.cubanmissilecrisis.org)), was created to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Crisis that took place over 13 days in October 1962. The site includes extensive information about, and lessons from, the confrontation that put the world on the brink of nuclear war.

The site also offers a number of tools for teachers, such as lesson plans, worksheets, and simulation ideas, and it provides historic source material, reading lists, videos, and much more.



know more. We conducted the poll with an assist from **Mike Murphy**, the famed GOP consultant. He is just one of several extraordinary new senior fellows who have joined the Belfer Center since the summer: **Michèle Flournoy**, former under secretary of defense; **Robert Zoellick**, fresh from the presidency of the World Bank; and Gen. **James Cartwright**, until recently deputy chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

We have also welcomed former MIT President **Susan Hockfield**, who is spending a sabbatical year based in the Center. She already is enriching our discussions on the intersection of science and policy. (See Spotlight, p. 16.) We also welcomed new faculty members **Carmen Reinhart** and **Dara Cohen** to the Belfer Center community.

Center faculty and fellows were actively engaged as advisers to both Presidential campaigns. The Romney campaign's energy policy cited two recent Belfer Center research reports on energy.

The next administration can count on a wealth of ideas from the Center's extraordinary and steadily growing team of faculty and fellows. We count ourselves fortunate to live in a nation in which ideas count. 🌐

## Kuwait Foundation Gift Enhances Kennedy School Middle East Initiative

On July 9, the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative (MEI) formalized a new five-year agreement with Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences (KFAS). The \$8.1 million gift to Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) ensures the continuation of the MEI's Kuwait Program at Harvard, and will support a number of initiatives, including a visiting scholars program, degree fellowships for students from the Gulf and wider Mideast region, faculty research, customized executive education programs, and executive education fellowships in existing programs.

**Hillary Rantisi**, director of the Middle East Initiative, notes that since the program began in 2001, it has provided support for a number of faculty research projects, hosted visiting specialists on the Gulf region, delivered customized executive education programs, and provided executive education fellowships. The program is designed to complement and reinforce Kuwait's independent efforts and progress toward meeting the global and regional policy needs facing the state of Kuwait, the Gulf, and the wider Arab world.

The agreement was reached in a meeting hosted by Harvard President **Drew Faust** that included HKS Dean **David Ellwood**, Middle East Initiative Faculty Chair **Nicholas Burns**, and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**.



Members of Harvard University and the Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences (KFAS), following formalization of a new agreement. Included (from left): **Khaled Al-Muhailan**, director of the office of international programs at KFAS; **David Ellwood**, dean of the Harvard Kennedy School; **Adnan Shihab-Eldin**, director general of KFAS; and **Nicholas Burns**, faculty chair of the Middle East Initiative.

"This generous gift," said Burns, "will broaden our capacity to engage in research, executive education, and teaching on the Middle East and to bring leaders from throughout the region to our School. We hope it will also promote a much more intensive exchange among our students and the young people of the Middle East at a time of reform and hope in the region." 🌐




# Belfer Center Poll: Americans Have Strong Interest in Global Affairs

Voters in the pivotal battleground states of Ohio and Florida have a strong interest in global security issues, and wanted to hear the presidential candidates' views on defense, Iran, and terrorism, according to a poll conducted jointly by leading Democratic and Republican pollsters for the Belfer Center.

Conducted between October 3–7, the poll confirmed conventional wisdom that the

economy was the number one issue in the presidential race, but found that national security was a key issue for many voters in both states—almost as decisive a factor as the federal deficit and more important than taxes.

As the candidates headed into the critical debate on foreign policy on Monday, October 22, the poll showed voters have mixed views on U.S. global engagement and are split almost down the middle on isolationism. Many are worried about the impact of the Arab Spring on U.S. interests.

The bipartisan survey tested opinion on foreign policy issues among 600 active voters in Ohio and 603 voters in Florida. The survey was conducted for the Belfer Center by two of the nation's leading pollsters, the Mellman Group, a Democratic polling firm, and Hill Research Consultants, a Republican firm, with assistance from GOP consultant and Belfer Center senior fellow **Mike Murphy**. For complete poll information, see <http://belfercenter.org/poll/>. 



## Post Fukushima, Nuclear Experts Discuss Nuclear Power Legislation in China


By Christopher Wand

Given new urgency by last year's Fukushima accident, China is considering new legislation that will help determine the role that nuclear plants will play in powering one of the biggest and fastest-growing economies in the world. This summer, the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA) hosted a workshop that brought together experts from Peking University's Nuclear Policy and Law Center with American nuclear experts both from within and outside the Belfer Center. MTA Project co-principal investigator **Matthew Bunn** chaired the meeting. The visitors from Peking University, who are engaged in helping to draft the new nuclear law, included professors **Wang Jin**, **Wang Yugang**, and **Tang Yingmao**.

The meeting tackled the critical decisions facing Chinese policymakers with regard to reforming China's nuclear regulatory structure. Lessons from the U.S. and international experience were provided by outside experts, including **Margaret Doane**, director of the Office of International Programs at the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission; **George Frampton**, former chairman of the White

House Council on Environmental Quality; **David Lochbaum**, director of UCS's nuclear safety program; and **Carlton Stoiber**, author of the IAEA *Handbook on Nuclear Law*. MTA's Executive Director **Martin Malin** and Senior Research Associate **Hui Zhang**, who organized the meeting, also participated.

Participants discussed a variety of issues, including whether the proposed law ought to be a unified and comprehensive piece of legislation on the model of the United States Atomic Energy Act. The discussion also focused on how and by whom the law ought to be enforced, how to balance safety, security, and economic development, what role public participation has to play in decision making about nuclear power, and what legal liability regime ought to be put into place.

Stoiber, who in addition to being an expert on nuclear law is a gifted cartoonist, drew a cartoon for the occasion, questioning whether the American "umbrella law" model is as comprehensive as it seems. The workshop was supported with funds from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. 



Nuclear experts with the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom and other American nuclear specialists listen to China experts, including **Tang Ying Mao** of Peking University School of Law (3rd from left), during a workshop on nuclear power legislation for China. The Belfer Center's **Hui Zhang** is at left, and **Christopher Wand** and **Matthew Bunn** are second and third from right.

## Center Affiliates Named Most Influential in Foreign Policy

In September, *Foreign Policy* published lists of 50 Democrats and 50 Republicans whom FP believes have had the greatest influence on their party's foreign policy. Both lists include several current and former Belfer Center affiliates.

Most influential from both parties (in alphabetical order):

- **Kurt Campbell** "has overseen a historic and surprising warming of ties [in Asian hotspots]."
- **Ashton Carter** "may very well be the least known, most powerful man in Washington."
- **Paula Dobriansky** [has] "foreign-policy experience [ranging] from directing European and Soviet affairs . . . to a top position at the . . . U.S. Information Agency."
- **Michèle Flournoy** "provided much of the thinking behind Obama's revision of George W. Bush's Iraq and Afghanistan policies."
- **Jim Miller** "argues that the United States can safely do with significantly fewer nuclear weapons."
- **Vali Nasr** "argued in 2009 that a growing middle class across the Middle East could prompt a groundswell of opposition to the region's authoritarian leaders."
- **Samantha Power** is "the 'foremost voice for human rights within the White House.'"
- **Meghan O'Sullivan** "was credited [during the Bush administration] as one of the architects behind the 'surge.'"
- **Dennis Ross** "has played a [large] role in setting American policy toward the Middle East."
- **Robert Zoellick** is "respected by members of both parties [and] likely to continue to influence the economic debate from his new posts at Harvard and the Peterson Institute."

# Cuban Missile Crisis Events Highlight Decision-Making



**What We Don't Know:** Philip Zelikow (left) speaks during a Belfer Center conference of U.S. and Russian Cuban Missile Crisis experts to investigate unanswered questions about the Crisis.

During October 2012, the Belfer Center remembered the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 with a series of events that highlighted the threat and lessons that leaders can take from the most dangerous moment in human history.

A number of high-level American and Russian experts on the Cuban Missile Crisis came together for a conference in early October to consider unanswered questions about the Crisis. Among the participants were **Andrei Kokoshin**, sixth secretary of the Russian Security Council, and **Philip Zelikow**, who co-authored with Center Director **Graham Allison** a revised edition of *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*.

In a JFK Jr. Forum at Harvard Kennedy School titled “Lessons from the Cuban Missile Crisis, Then and Now,” Allison and **Nicholas Burns**, director of the Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project, explored the historical significance of the Crisis and topics ranging from governmental transparency to the security implications of nuclear weaponries in Iran. See Forum video at <http://forum.iop.harvard.edu>.

Burns and Allison, joined by Belfer Center lecturer **Juliette Kayyem**, also took part in a special 50th Anniversary Retrospective at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library with a discussion titled “Lessons Learned: The Nuclear Threat 50 Years After Cuba.”

A surprising display at the Kennedy Library during the Retrospective was a Picasso painting titled *Rape of the Sabine Women*, on loan from the Museum of Fine Arts. In a story brought to light for many by Belfer Center International Council member Malcolm Wiener, Picasso was in his farmhouse in France in 1962 when President Kennedy addressed the nation and world about the confrontation with the Soviet Union. Picasso responded to the fear and uncertainty with one of his last paintings. (For more details, see <http://belfercenter.org/Picasso/>.)

## Contest Challenges Thinking Around the World

The Belfer Center and *Foreign Policy* magazine posed the question: “What can statesmen learn from the most dangerous confrontation in human history to better address challenges of war and peace today?” Contestants in three categories—grades 6–12, general public, and foreign policy professionals and scholars—had to boil down lessons into a one-sentence summary backed up with an essay of no more than 300 words. Creative lessons came from countries as diverse as Ethiopia, China, Russia, Australia, Colombia, Macedonia, Pakistan, and India.

The winning entries . . .

- **Zachary Elias**, undergraduate, Dartmouth College: *The Cuban Missile Crisis taught the United States what containment feels like.*
- **Eden Rose Niles**, high-school junior, Denver, Colorado: *During a crisis, when military action is viable as a first response, the morality of using weapons to reach a resolution must be considered in order to prevent a catalyst for greater conflict and subsequent death.*
- **Reid Pauly**, research assistant, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University: *Multilateralism is key.*

Congratulations to the winners and runners-up and to all contestants who took the time to think through a challenging question and submit many valuable, thoughtful lessons. Read complete lessons and essays by the winners and two runners-up in each category at [www.cubanmissilecrisis.org/lessons/contest/](http://www.cubanmissilecrisis.org/lessons/contest/) and [www.foreignpolicy.com/cubanmissilecrisis/](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/cubanmissilecrisis/).



**On the Brink:** Nicholas Burns (left), Juliette Kayyem, and Graham Allison discuss lessons from the Cuban Missile Crisis at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library’s Cuban Missile Crisis Retrospective.

## Inside the Situation Room: A National Security Crisis Simulation

Harvard Kennedy School students convened at the School on October 27 to simulate a meeting of the National Security Council to resolve a modern-day crisis. The simulation, developed entirely by a team of HKS students coordinated by **Leon Ratz** (MPP 13), was co-sponsored by the Belfer Center and HKS’s Center for Public Leadership.

Two groups of students, playing roles of U.S. Cabinet officials and advisers, were unaware of the nature of the crisis until they arrived at the simulation. They had two hours to respond to a scenario that focused on the possibility that Iran was about to test a nuclear weapon and might trigger an attack by Israel. Playing the role of President of the United States, Belfer Center faculty member **Elaine Kamarck** challenged her team with tough questions and demands for creative thinking and decision as they discussed a response to the crisis in “real time.”

Several of the student participants—from the U.S., Italy, Australia, Germany, Canada, Armenia, and Iran—said in the debriefing afterwards that they had rarely experienced as much stress in real life—that this had been a highlight in their HKS education. For more details, see <http://belfercenter.org/simulation/>.



**Decisions that Matter:** Harvard Kennedy School students simulate a National Security Council meeting on a potential nuclear crisis from the Situation Room with “President” **Elaine Kamarck** (HKS lecturer) and “Secretary of State” **Ben Goldsmith**. “UN Ambassador” **Victoria Tan** makes a point.



# On Tap at Belfer Center: Oil and Water

## Study Shows Oil Production Capacity Much Greater Than Expected

Oil production capacity is surging in the United States and several other countries at such a fast pace that global oil output capacity is likely to grow by nearly 20 percent by 2020—possibly prompting a plunge or even a collapse in oil prices.

This was the conclusion reached by Belfer Center researcher **Leonardo Maugeri** following his field-by-field analysis of the world's major oil formations and exploration projects.

Maugeri, a Roy Family Fellow with the Belfer Center's Geopolitics of Energy Project and former senior executive vice president of the Eni oil company in his native Italy, explained his findings in "Oil: The Next Revolution," a paper released by the Belfer Center over the summer.

Maugeri's findings have provoked significant interest and questions from energy and environment leaders and media from around the world. He is currently completing a paper responding to questions raised.

Contrary to some predictions that world oil production has peaked or will soon do so, Maugeri projects that output should grow from the current 93 million barrels per day to 110 million barrels per day by 2020, the biggest jump in any decade since the 1980s. What's more, he says, this increase represents less than 40 percent of the new oil production under development globally. These increases, Maugeri writes, are projected to be greatest in the United States, Canada, Venezuela, and Brazil. The Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. hosted an event to release the study.

**Revolutionary Report: Leonardo Maugeri** discusses findings from his study "Oil: The Next Revolution" at a New York City Harvard Club event. The Belfer Center's **Meghan O'Sullivan** (center) participated in the discussion.



"Leonardo's conclusions are not only startling, but his paper provides a transparent explanation for how he reaches them—something lacking in many studies," said **Meghan L. O'Sullivan**, director of the Geopolitics of Energy Project. "His findings have major implications for geopolitics, suggesting important shifts in how countries interact and wield influence." For more details, see <http://belfercenter.org/maugeri>.

## Center Team Advances Vital Research at Intersection of Water and Energy

By Sharon Wilke

Two years ago, **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti** and **Laura Diaz Anadon**, director and associate director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, set the stage for the Center's energy research team to zero in on the challenges facing energy and the natural resource essential to it in many countries around the world—water.

"Water is critical for energy and energy is critical for water," said Anadon, who directs the Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy research team. She and Narayanamurti determined that ETIP's goal for the Water/Energy Nexus (WEN) project would be "to quantify challenges posed by the coupling between water and energy systems in key areas around the world and to determine

what technology, government structures, and policies can address these challenges."

With a team that has grown to five engineers, a political scientist, and an architect, ETIP is focusing its efforts on three geographic areas: the Middle East-North Africa (MENA) countries, China, and the United States. The two central issues for each of these areas is the availability of sufficient water for various energy, industrial, and residential needs, and the environmental impacts of using that water.

In the effort to obtain more water, one dilemma facing a number of countries is the trade-off between desalination and water reuse. Many countries in MENA, for example, use desalination as a way to increase the water supply. A recent paper from the team found that it would make more sense (economically and environmentally) for some countries to increase their reliance on treated municipal and industrial water, a method that has proven

effective and much less energy intensive than desalination.

In China, water resources are scarce in the North, where most energy development takes place. The WEN team, working in China jointly with the Sustainability Science Program, is looking at quantifying the impact on water availability of energy development plans and also the impact of different water allocation structures at the central and provincial government levels.

In the United States, hydraulic fracturing for natural gas extraction has presented a new set of challenges at the water/energy nexus. In water scarce regions, the growing demand for frac fluids is putting pressure on existing water supplies. ETIP researchers are working to assess the water-related impacts of hydraulic fracturing, assess the emerging technologies and drilling practices to mitigate these impacts, and identify company behaviors that encourage adoption of these technologies. Additionally, the team has investigated the regional water implications of alternative formulations of the Renewable Fuel Standard.



**Making the Connections:** The Water/Energy Nexus team (from left): **Chao Zhang** (standing); **Laura Diaz-Anadon**, **Afreen Siddiqi**, **Meagan Mauter**, **Scott Moore** (standing), and **Arani Kajenthira**. Not pictured: Consulting architect **Jade Salhab**, and alumni **Sarah Jordaán** and **Erik Mielke**.



## Q&A David Keith

*David Keith is Gordon McKay Professor of Applied Physics at Harvard's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences and Professor of Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School. The award-winning scientist, who was named one of TIME magazine's Heroes of the Environment in 2009, has worked near the interface of climate science, energy technology, and public policy for twenty years. He divides his time between Boston and Calgary, where he serves as president of Carbon Engineering—a start-up company developing industrial-scale technologies for capture of CO<sub>2</sub> from ambient air. Here, Keith answers questions about his research and ideas for reducing climate change using innovative and sometimes controversial methods.*

**Q** TED describes you as a “wildly original thinker [who] challenges us to look at climate solutions that may seem daring, sometimes even shocking.” What are some of your favorite, daring ideas to reduce climate change?

My favorite idea is pedestrian: put a price on carbon emissions to discourage use of the atmosphere as a free waste dump. This idea is at once commonplace and radical. A price on emissions such as a tax is admission that government does not know exactly which methods will prove most effective in reducing emissions so the best way to make progress is to build the cost of emissions into prices across the economy and let firms and individuals figure it out in a distributed way. Most carbon-related policy to date has focused on promoting particular technologies such as solar on rooftops. While some of this has been useful, the net effect has been to spend very large amounts of money (the world now spends more than \$200 billion per year on clean energy) on things that are relatively cost-ineffective as measured by their short-term ability to restrain emissions.

**Q** You gave a talk at Harvard recently titled “The Risks and Efficacy of Solar Engineering.” Solar engineering involves injecting a substance into the upper atmosphere that will reflect some sunlight back into space in order to cool the earth. What are the main benefits of this method and do the benefits outweigh the risks?



The benefit is that solar geoengineering may enable us to reduce the risk of climate change from emissions that have already occurred. While we will ultimately have to cut emissions to nearly zero to stabilize the climate, “ultimately” is a long way off, and near-term emissions reductions do very little to reduce near-term climate risks such as temperature extremes that may cause crop losses whose impacts will fall on the most vulnerable populations over the next half century. Solar geoengineering offers the prospect of materially reducing climate risk for current generations and of slowing large-scale climatic change such as the loss of Arctic sea ice. While it sounds hyperbolic and promotional, there is literally no other method we know to achieve this.

The enormous power of solar geoengineering—the leverage that enables small low-cost inputs to create profound climate changes—presents novel and serious risks. The greatest challenges are not technical but rather the development of effective governance. Solar geoengineering cannot be localized, so implementations by one country will affect others in ways that could—in the worst-case—be profoundly damaging. We require governance systems that can manage near-term research in a way that balances the benefits of knowledge against risks, and manages decisions about deployment in a way that is able to achieve some measure of democratic legitimacy in a multipolar world.

**Q** How can you be confident that working on solar geoengineering will not reduce popular and political will for reducing greenhouse gas emissions?

I can't be. On the contrary, I think there is a real prospect that if solar geoengineering is found to be effective it will reduce political will to cut emissions compared to what it would be otherwise. Current political will to cut emissions is low so that may not make things materially worse. If one is optimistic, one might hope that the injection of this new technology into climate policy will energize the topic, breaking the static trench warfare that now characterizes much of the debate about climate and perhaps producing a better outcome. But, that is a wish, not a prediction.

**David Keith** on the summit of “The President” in Yoho National Park, British Columbia, Canada.

**Q** Why have humans failed so spectacularly to curb greenhouse gas emissions so far—and is there a no-turning-back deadline regarding global warming?

I don't know. One answer may lie in the fact that language of environmental advocacy has become increasingly technocratic. Calls for action often stress quantitative measures and self-interest. We are urged to protect the natural environments because of the “ecosystem services” they yield. These arguments have merit, but I suspect they obscure much of what actually drives people's choices. If we are protecting a rain forest because it stores carbon or yields wonder drugs, then we should be happy to cut down the forest if some carbon storage machine or molecular biotech lab can better provide these services. The utilitarian benefits of the natural world are real, but for me they are a grossly insufficient measure of its value. While I may be an extreme, I think I am not alone, and I suspect that a more directly value-driven conversation about climate might be more effective than the current debate.

Our climate choices would be easy if we really were facing an imminent existential threat. A true emergency justifies extreme measures, a narrow focus on a single problem and suspension of democratic due process. Imagine how the world might collaborate if we discovered a massive asteroid inbound for a 2050 impact. But, this is not what we face. Claims that climate change threatens a similarly sharp catastrophe are a rhetorical device to avoid an honest debate about the trade-offs at the heart of climate policy and about the values that drive our choices.

**Q** Outside the office, you are an avid hiker and have adventured through the Canadian wilderness, the high Arctic, and the Himalayas. Have these experiences shaped your approach to your work on the environment and climate?

I have been unusually lucky in getting a chance to experience big wilderness, to go on multi-week expeditionary trips away from other people in places like the Canadian high Arctic. This is certainly related to my work on exploring non-utilitarian justifications for climate action, though I don't think much about work when I am outside. 🌍



# SPOTLIGHT

Susan Hockfield

*Susan Hockfield is the Marie Curie Visiting Professor at Harvard Kennedy School. After almost eight years as president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, she is spending a sabbatical year based at the Kennedy School's Belfer Center.*

## Susan Hockfield and the Magic of the Laboratory

By James F. Smith



While working toward a doctoral degree in anatomy at Georgetown University's School of Medicine, Susan Hockfield plunged into professional life in a neurobiology lab at the National Institutes of Health, working on the riddle of how pain signals get from the skin to the brain.

A solitary scientific pursuit? Hardly, says Hockfield. She remembers being part of a cross-cutting team of experts, including neurophysiologists, pharmacologists, psychologists and medical doctors.

"I loved everything about working in the lab—the technology, the mental processes, the social dynamics," Hockfield recalled. "But the thing I came to love most was the magic that on a good day would happen at a lab meeting, where a group of very intelligent people, all deeply versed in their area of study, would together puzzle over someone's problem. And out of that collaborative thinking would emerge a solution that no one would have reached on his or her own."

Hockfield is spending a sabbatical year at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center after an acclaimed almost eight-year stint as president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

She didn't imagine a career in university administration.

She was always fascinated by the science of living things; she got her first microscope in the fifth grade. After her doctoral research at NIH and a postdoctoral year at the University of California at San Francisco, she was hired by DNA pioneer James Watson to become an investigator at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory (not far from Chappaqua, New York, where she went to high school). In 1985 she joined the faculty of Yale Medical School as a professor of neurobiology, and built a lab that conducted complex brain research, focusing in part on a deadly form of brain cancer.

She accepted a request to become dean of the Yale Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 1998 because she felt she could help grad students have more effective educational

experiences. She planned to stay only a couple of years.

"What I discovered was that in academic leadership, that magic of collaborative thinking is what the job is about—bringing people together to puzzle through problems, to overcome impediments," said Hockfield.

She became provost of Yale, the chief academic and chief administrative officer, in 2002, and then moved to MIT in December 2004 as its first woman president, and the first life scientist to lead MIT.

**"The convergence of life sciences and engineering, I think, is going to be the story of the 21st century..."**

—Susan Hockfield

Hockfield brought along her belief in the power of converging disciplines and cross-cutting expertise. In many ways it defined her leadership at MIT, just as it had at Yale.

Consider these initiatives under her leadership:

- The MIT Energy Initiative, or MITEI, deploys multidisciplinary research and education across the Institute, involving scientists, economists, architects, engineers, policy thinkers and urban planners, leading to hundreds of sustainable energy projects.
- Hockfield co-chairs President Obama's Advanced Manufacturing Partnership, which brings together government agencies, the academy and industry to chart a path toward high-end manufacturing, and the educational systems to sustain it at the boundary of policy and science.
- She pushed the frontier of education with edX, the effort to make interactive on-line education accessible and practical for students across the world. Hockfield and Harvard President Drew Faust jointly launched edX last year.

But Hockfield's leadership in the convergence of life sciences and engineering—an outgrowth of her early lab days—may define her principal contribution to education and American competitiveness.

"The convergence of life sciences and engineering, I think, is going to be the story of the 21st century, much as the convergence of the physical sciences and engineering was the story of the 20th century," she said in an interview.

During the early 20th century, "physicists decoded the fundamental elements of the

physical universe. They were essentially understanding the parts list of the physical world—the structure of atoms, how electrons travel," she said. Engineers seized this 'parts list,' and began to experiment with how to make them useful.

By the 1950s, scientists including James Watson were elucidating the structure of DNA, and "the biological sciences began to assemble a parts list for the biological universe. And engineers, in a very similar way, as they saw the 'parts list' evolving, picked up those parts and incorporated them into applications."

The obvious applications are in biomedicine, booming all around the Boston area, including on the MIT campus in Kendall Square. "But the applications extend well beyond that. A group of biologically oriented MIT engineers have demonstrated that they can design viruses that make batteries and make solar cells, combining biological approaches with engineering approaches."

At MIT, Hockfield put that transformation to work. She led initiatives including the Ragon Institute, which is working on an AIDS vaccine; the Broad Institute, which is using genomics and biological sciences to understand and treat disease; and the Koch Institute, which combines biological research with engineering technology to revolutionize the diagnosis and treatment of cancer.

Any one of those alone would be a worthy legacy. Playing a motivating role in all three earns, well, a sabbatical.

This year at the Kennedy School and the Belfer Center gives the soft-spoken Hockfield some breathing space, and more time to get to her beloved Boston Symphony Orchestra's concerts. (She is a BSO overseer). "I am doing more listening than speaking," she said. "The luxury for me to be able to stay at a seminar and hear a speaker for the entire hour is just sheer delight."

So what will her focus be going forward? She's not yet ready to choose. She does allow that "I am quite interested in academic leadership, and the challenges of developing effective leadership in the academy."

And it's no surprise that her vision of leadership combines individual excellence with collaboration and collegiality. "One of the important roles of an academic leader is to recognize common themes, and create conditions where people's own ideas and ambitions can be advanced beyond what they could do on their own." 🌐



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

# BELFER

## Faculty, Fellows, Staff,

### Saradzhyan Brings Insight, Experience to Center's U.S.-Russian Research

**Simon Saradzhyan is a Belfer Center Fellow** By Dominic Contreras



Simon Saradzhyan

The English reporter and columnist A.N. Wilson once mused that, “If you imagine writing 1,000 words a day, which most journalists do, that would be a very long book.” Not only would it be a long book, it would likely cover a multitude of subjects, themes, and ideas.

If **Simon Saradzhyan**, current fellow and former Russian journalist, were to write it, it would encompass everything from state and local politics in Russia and the Caucasus to issues of international security, nuclear terrorism, and diplomacy.

Between 1993 and 1999, Saradzhyan worked as a journalist, then as editor of the *Moscow Times*. Writing in both his native Russian and English, he contributed scores of articles and analysis for that and other publications, including the *Times of London*, *Defense News*, and *Space News*.

“As my portfolio expanded, I realized I had accumulated enough knowledge, experience, and skills to look beyond current headlines,” Saradzhyan said, “and I began looking for opportunities where I could translate that accumulated knowledge into some kind of product.”

In 2000, Saradzhyan enrolled at Harvard Kennedy School where his professors included the Belfer Center’s **Graham Allison**, **Ashton Carter**, and the late **Ernest May**. Being at the Kennedy School “immensely enhanced my understanding of how to approach a problem and how to propose solutions,” Saradzhyan said.

After graduating in 2002 with a master’s in public administration, Saradzhyan used his newly sharpened analytic skills as a consultant with the World Bank and United Nations, focusing on the North Caucasus. In 2008, at the invitation of Allison, Saradzhyan returned to the Kennedy School, where he joined the Belfer Center as a research fellow.

At the Center, Saradzhyan played a central role in one of the Center’s landmark projects, the 2011 “*U.S.-Russia Joint Threat Assessment of Nuclear Terrorism*,” which brought together senior Russian and U.S. intelligence and military officials to assess the ongoing threat of nuclear terrorism, a project he proposed. A follow-up paper is expected sometime next year.

Though no longer a full-time journalist, Saradzhyan continues to write prolifically. He regularly pens opinion and analyses pieces for both foreign and domestic publications and is co-writing a book chapter on Sino-Russian relations.

Asked to reflect on what kind of an impact institutes like the Belfer Center have on policy, Saradzhyan said that they have the “resources, intellectual fire-power, and freedom to propose ideas that impact trends that are of vital importance to nations and to the international community as a whole.”

### Renshon Investigates Impact of Status Concerns on States and Individuals

**Jonathan Renshon is a former research fellow with the International Security Program** By Stefanie Le

For **Jonathan Renshon**, interest in political psychology began at a young age from the influence of his father, Stanley Renshon, a political psychologist and professor of political science at The City University of New York.

“[My work] is close to the area he works in, so I grew up around a lot of this stuff,” said Renshon, who recently left the Belfer Center for a post-doctoral fellowship at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California.

Renshon’s work takes a close look at the psychology of judgment and decision-making on an experimental level. “I’m interested, in particular, in how status concerns affect not just states but individual leaders as well,” said Renshon, whose undergraduate and graduate studies at Wesleyan University and the London School of Economics, respectively, steered him toward a more empirical approach to political psychology.

Renshon’s work focuses on three different facets: the centerpiece—a quantitative study of international politics and status concerns; the empirical aspect—analyzing cases during WWI to observe how status concerns affected decision-making in the historical record; and the experimental aspect, where Renshon was able to have members of the Senior Executive Fellow Program at HKS serve as his subjects.

“This is a kind of elite executive education program. So unlike a lot of experimental studies of decision-making and of leadership, I had real political and military leaders to examine,” said Renshon.

“What I found is that the threat of losing status does impact the psychology of judgment and decision-making,” said Renshon. “It leads to a greater tendency to take risks and escalate in bargaining situations, but that having power—feeling powerful—actually buffers against that.”

“For psychologists, this is an interesting result because power has differential effects depending on how you’re looking at it and what kind of outcome you’re looking at,” said Renshon. “In a lot of cases, it leads to much worse decision-making, and this is an interesting example of power actually greatly helping decision-making, buffering against these really detrimental effects of the social threat of losing status.”

In the fall of 2013, Renshon will move to the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where he will be the Thrice Faculty Scholar and Assistant Professor of Political Science.



Jonathan Renshon



## Why a Fellowship at the Belfer Center?

During an event in September to inform National Defense University (NDU) International Fellows about research taking place at the Belfer Center, one NDU participant asked the panelists—all Center fellows—why they chose a fellowship at the Belfer Center in Cambridge rather than at a research center in Washington, D.C.

**Noora Lori**, research fellow with the International Security Program

“As a researcher, the Belfer Center provides me with something that is distinct from working in either a strictly academic or government institution—the freedom and resources of one of the world’s top academic institutions with a direct line to key policymakers. In addition to bringing world leaders to campus frequently, the Kennedy School offers so many different kinds of programs to engage with. For me, that includes working with fellows in the International Security Program, where I am based, but also the Carr Center for Human Rights, and the Middle East Initiative, which enables me to expand the breadth of my research.”

**Vivek Mohan**, research fellow with the Science, Technology, Public Policy Program and Information and Communications Technology and Public Policy Project

“I joined the Belfer Center from Microsoft’s DC office, where I was working as an attorney on cybersecurity policy. A professor from Columbia originally pointed me to the Belfer Center, and when I received a call inviting me to apply for a fellowship, I jumped at the opportunity. Working in D.C. leads to a deep appreciation of the importance of “being there” to impact policy, but the caliber of the research community at the Belfer Center means that the brightest stars in cyber inevitably pass through Cambridge. Here, I’ve had the opportunity to zoom out and understand the issues from a high level, all while connecting with the thought leaders and policymakers that are making these decisions every day.”

**Simon Saradzhyan**, fellow with the Belfer Center

“I chose to apply for a fellowship at the Belfer Center not only because it’s a top university-affiliated think tank, but also because it employs some of America’s finest scholars of the U.S.-Russian relations. And these scholars do not just study nuances of this complex relationship, but they also craft concrete recommendations on how to advance it and then engage policymakers to implement them. Not a month goes by



**Policy and Practice:** Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Kevin Ryan** (standing) welcomes National Defense University (NDU) International Fellows and introduces them to a panel of Belfer Center fellows. Center panelists included (left to right) **Noora Lori**, **Vivek Mohan**, **Simon Saradzhyan**, and **William Tobey**.

without a senior policymaker visiting the Belfer Center to share his or her views, and also to learn from the faculty and staff.”

**William Tobey**, senior fellow with the Belfer Center

“I was happy to return to the Kennedy School, where I had received an MPP degree 25 years earlier. Harvard, in general, and the Belfer Center, in particular, are places where there are lots of very smart people with interesting ideas. We are also fortunate to have a constant stream of fascinating visitors. One day last year, I believe we hosted four of the U.S. Combatant Commanders, all for separate events. I doubt that happens very often outside the Pentagon. As a practitioner, I am particularly attracted by the Belfer Center’s mission of providing policy-relevant information at the intersection between science and national security. In short, the Belfer Center is a great place to think and write about the practical application of ideas to address important problems in national security.”

## Sletteland Studies Influence of Narratives on Political Discourse By Stefanie Le

**Anja Sletteland** is a Ph.D. candidate in human geography from the University of Oslo. Her research deals with how the diverging narratives of the Israel-Palestine conflict play out in and shape political discourse.

“There are many perspectives on what the Israel-Palestine conflict is really about,” Sletteland says, “but people tend to avoid dealing with perceptions counter to their own. What really matters are the narratives of the actors involved, since they’re the ones making the decisions.”

Sletteland says she started thinking about this research topic when she was working as a strategic communications advisor in Norway. “From that job I often experienced how difficult it is to change someone’s opinion if they have already made up their mind. Generally, instead of trying to convince people that they’re wrong, you have to change the conversation so that the issue appears in a different light.”

In order to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict, Sletteland argues that the discourse in the international community needs to change. “It is widely recognized that Israelis and Palestinians interpret the situation differently. What is less acknowledged is how their international alliances contribute to widening the distance between them. Both parties have strong international support for their claims. The problem is that those claims are warranted in mutually exclusive narratives.”



**Anja Sletteland**





**Economic Security:** **Robert B. Zoellick**, former president of the World Bank and senior fellow at the Belfer Center, speaks about the relationship between economics and security in American foreign policy at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum. Zoellick, who was the 11th president of the World Bank until July 2012, served in President Bush's cabinet as U.S. trade representative, worked in both the Treasury and State departments, and was the lead U.S. official tasked with facilitating German reunification. He is a graduate of the Harvard Law School and the Kennedy School of Government.



**Just the Facts:** **Gillian Tett**, markets and finance commentator for the *Financial Times*, discusses with Belfer Center faculty and fellows the need for journalists and academics to rely less on preconceptions and more on objective analysis when assessing the dangers of the financial world. Tett detailed these ideas in a 2010 paper, for which she received several honors, including UK Speechwriters' Guild Business Communicator of the Year 2012. In 2011, she was awarded The British Academy President's Medal 2011 for service to the cause of the humanities and social sciences.

In a November 1 *Financial Times* article, Tett argued that banking may be losing some of its allure for the best and brightest students, who may instead begin to lean toward other fields such as manufacturing or medicine, possibly creating "a place where finance finally starts to look more 'normal,' compared to everything else."



**Military Brain Power:** General **James Cartwright**, Belfer Center senior fellow and former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, discusses national security and military issues at a Belfer Center director's seminar. Cartwright is widely respected as one of the boldest and most creative thinkers of his generation of American military leaders. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps in November 1971 and rose to eventually become the eighth vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the nation's second highest ranking military officer.



**Korean Questions:** The Honorable **Y.J. Choi**, Republic of Korea ambassador to the United States, discusses the shifting nature of the U.S.- Korea alliance from military to a comprehensive relationship-based economic affiliation. He also observed that regional military conflict is unlikely due to high levels of economic cooperation and dependency. Choi has served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in South Korea since 1972, where he

has held many ambassadorships, including ambassador to the U.N. He has also served as assistant secretary-general for Peacekeeping Operations at the United Nations.



**Innovative Africa:** **Chimwemwe Chamdimba**, policy and program officer with the African Union's high-level New Partnership for Africa's Development Agency (NEPAD), speaks to a group of Kennedy School students and faculty about her work with host professor **Calestous Juma**, founder of the African Centre for Technology Studies, on "Science, Technology, and Innovation for Africa's Economic Development: Revising the Strategy." She was joined in the discussion by her colleague Professor **Aggrey Ambali**, director of policy alignment and program development directorate and head of NEPAD's Office of Science and Technology.



**Russia Today:** **Andrei Kokoshin**, dean of faculty of world politics at Moscow State University, delivers the Corliss Lamont Lecture, providing a Russian perspective on the current dynamic changes in the global political environment. Kokoshin, former secretary of the Russian Security Council, former chairman of the state Duma Committee, and member of the Russian Security Council's Scientific Council, founded the Institute of International Security Problems at the Russian Academy of Sciences where he now serves as director.



# SPEAKERS



**Saudi Uncertainty:** **Karen Elliot House**, former Belfer Center senior fellow and former publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*, speaks during a special board of directors' lunch about her new book, *On Saudi Arabia: Its People, Past, Religion, Fault Lines—and Future*. She explained how Saudi Arabia is not immune from the turmoil and uncertainty engulfing neighboring nations and may be near its own "crisis point." Harvard's **James Sebenius** is next to House.



**U.S. in the Midst:** **Michèle Flournoy**, former undersecretary of defense in the Obama administration and now senior fellow with the Belfer Center, listens to a question from **Nicholas Burns**, moderator of a JFK Jr. Forum titled "The Middle East: U.S. and Israeli Perspectives."

Flournoy is co-founder of the non-partisan think tank Center for New American Security, and while undersecretary acted as the principal adviser to the secretary of defense in the formulation of national security and defense policy. She was joined in the October Forum event by **Amos Yadlin**, **Tzipi Livni**, and **Stephen Hadley**.



**Seeing as a Saudi:** **Nawaf Obaid**, a visiting fellow with the Belfer Center, speaks to faculty and fellows at a Center seminar titled "Saudi Perspective on the Middle East: the View from Riyadh." Obaid is a senior fellow at King Faisal Center for Research & Islamic Studies as well as a private counselor to Prince **Turki Al Faisal**. **Tad Oelstrom**, who directs the Kennedy School's National Security Fellows program, is also pictured.



**Iran, Today and Tomorrow:** **Abbas Maleki**, a senior associate with the International Security Program and former Iranian diplomat, discusses the future of Iranian foreign policy at a Belfer Center seminar. Between 1988 and 1998, Maleki served as deputy foreign minister for Iran and was involved in the negotiations that ended the 10-year Iran-Iraq War. Maleki is currently the Robert Wilhelm Fellow at MIT's Center for International Studies and an associate professor of energy policy at Sharif University of Technology, Tehran.



**Israel-Iran Quandary:** Major General **Ido Nehushtan**, former commander in chief of the Israeli Air Force, speaks at a Belfer Center lunch about threats facing Israel, including Iran's nuclear program. In a 2008 paper for the Jerusalem Center for Public Policy, Nehushtan wrote that the three primary generators of Middle East radicalism and extremism are Iran's "Shia Crescent," the Muslim Brotherhood, and the global jihad.



**Nuclear Security Guard:** **Gary Samore**, White House coordinator for arms control and weapons of mass destruction, proliferation, and terrorism, discusses the security issues and challenges facing the country with Belfer Center International Security Program (ISP) Director **Steven Miller** (left) and others at a directors' lunch. Samore, a former fellow with the Center's ISP, is responsible for directing the effort to carry out President Obama's goal of securing "all vulnerable nuclear material around the world within four years." He played a lead role in organizing the first Nuclear Security Summit that brought nearly 50 heads of state to Washington, D.C. in 2010.





**R. Nicholas Burns**, professor of the practice of diplomacy and international politics, was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in October 2012. Founded in 1780, the American Academy is an independent research center and one of the nation's oldest and most prestigious learned societies.



**Paula Dobriansky**, Belfer Center senior fellow, received the prestigious Foreign Policy Association Medal, which is awarded annually by the Foreign Policy Association (FPA) to leading practitioners and academics who work in the field of U.S. foreign policy. The FPA was founded in 1918 to promote a broad public understanding of American foreign policy and both the challenges and opportunities that confront the nation abroad.



**Evelyn Hsieh**, former faculty and communications assistant at the Belfer Center, is now a speechwriter for White House Senior Advisor **Valerie Jarrett**. Prior to that, she was a speechwriter at the Department of Energy, writing primarily for Deputy Secretary **Daniel Poneman**, former Center fellow. Before that, she was a White House speechwriting intern.



**Azeem Ibrahim**, former International Security Program research fellow (2008–2010), has founded the Scotland Institute, where he serves as executive chairman. The Scotland Institute aims to conduct high-quality research to find innovative ways of developing a sustainable, competitive economy where wealth is fairly distributed and issues of social exclusion and deprivation can be tackled.



**Calestous Juma**, director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization Project, and principal investigator for the Agricultural Innovation in Africa project, has been appointed co-chair of the African Union High Level Panel on Science, Technology, and Innovation, which will guide the AU on reviewing Africa's Science and Technology Consolidated Plan of Action. Juma is also the recipient of a prestigious 50th anniversary fellowship from the University of Sussex.



**Juliette Kayyem**, lecturer in public policy and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, has been appointed to the International Centre for Sport Security (ICSS) advisory board, which brings together foremost experts in security to provide training, research, and tailored consultancy, facilitating the advancement and sharing of knowledge in sport security.

## Center Welcomes New Faculty, Senior Fellows, and Associates

*The Belfer Center is pleased to welcome new faculty members and senior fellows this year. They bring breadth and depth in experience and expertise to the Center, with backgrounds ranging from geoengineering and cyber warfare to international financial crises. Their arrival brings a new dimension of thoughtful discussion, research, and teaching to the Belfer Center community.*

### James Cartwright



General **James Cartwright**, former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, will work with Belfer Center colleagues on national security policy issues. Cartwright brings over 40 years of service in the Marines, hands-on experience, and innovative thinking to the Belfer Center where he will join the cyber and China working groups. A leading thinker on cyber warfare, Cartwright will assist the cyber group in exploring ways to incorporate cyber issues and security policy. He will also co-chair the China working group with **Lawrence Summers** and **Graham Allison**.

### Dara Kay Cohen



**Dara Kay Cohen** has joined the Harvard Kennedy School and Belfer Center as assistant professor of public policy with a research focus on civil war and violence during conflict, and gender and international relations. Cohen's current book project examines the variation in use of sexual violence during recent civil conflicts, including Sierra Leone, East Timor, and El Salvador, where she interviewed numerous ex-combatants and new combatants. Her work has appeared in several publications, including a piece co-authored in *Foreign Affairs* titled "Rape Reporting During War," on how researchers and politicians get and present their numbers to the public.

### Michèle A. Flournoy



**Michèle Flournoy** has joined the Belfer Center as a senior fellow after stepping down from her position as U.S. under secretary of defense for policy. As a non-resident senior fellow, Flournoy will visit HKS several times a semester to work with faculty, fellows, and students on international security policy matters. Flournoy was a research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program from 1989–'93 with a focus on nuclear proliferation and defense policy issues. In 2007, she co-founded the Center for a New American Security with **Kurt Campbell**, another Belfer Center alumnus.

### Susan J. Hockfield



**Susan J. Hockfield**, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) from 2004–2012, has joined the Belfer Center and HKS as the Marie Curie Visiting Professor for the 2012–'13 academic year. Hockfield will contribute to the Belfer Center's work on science and technology policy and sustainable energy practices. While she will not be teaching any classes at HKS, Hockfield will maintain an office on campus and attend Belfer Center and HKS events. She also continues to hold a faculty appointment as professor of neuroscience at MIT.



David Ignatius



**David Ignatius**, author and foreign affairs columnist for the *Washington Post*, has joined the Belfer Center as a senior fellow with the Future of Diplomacy Project. Ignatius was previously a Center Fisher Family Fellow and a visiting faculty member. He observed and assessed the Belfer Center's 2010 simulation game of the evolution of the Iranian nuclear crisis. In addition to journalistic work covering the Middle East, global politics, and international affairs, Ignatius has written several successful novels.

David Keith



**David Keith** has come to the Belfer Center with a focus on geoengineering—the deliberate large-scale manipulation of the Earth's climate that might be used to offset the climate risks caused by greenhouse gas emissions—and works to improve understanding of options for governance of geoengineering. Keith, who is the Gordon McKay Professor of Applied Physics at Harvard's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (SEAS), currently divides his time between Cambridge and Calgary, Canada.

Mike Murphy



**Mike Murphy**, Republican political consultant, has joined the Belfer Center as a senior fellow. He has handled strategy and advertising for more than 26 successful gubernatorial and Senatorial campaigns. Murphy's most recent work includes assisting with the Center's poll of Ohio and Florida voters to ascertain their interest in global affairs

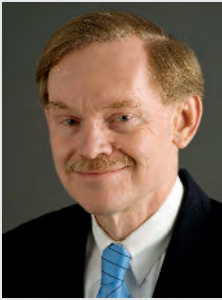
leading up to the election. As a non-resident senior fellow, he is a frequent visitor to the Center and earlier this year discussed politics and the economy at a Center-sponsored event with Director **Graham Allison** and International Council member **Paul Volcker**.

Carmen M. Reinhart



The international finance expert **Carmen Reinhart** joined the Kennedy School in July as Minos A. Zombanakis Professor of the International Financial System. Reinhart was previously the Dennis Weatherstone Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics and professor of economics and director of the Center for International Economics at the University of Maryland. She co-wrote, with Harvard Professor **Kenneth Rogoff**, the best-selling book *This Time is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*. Their work examined more than a dozen financial crises in both developed and developing countries.

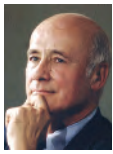
Robert B. Zoellick



**Robert B. Zoellick** joined the Belfer Center as a senior fellow in July 2012, at the end of his five-year term as 11th president of the World Bank. Since joining the Belfer Center, Zoellick has delivered an address at the JFK Jr. Forum titled "Economics & Security in American Foreign Policy: Back to the Future?" Zoellick was a research fellow with the Center's International Security Program from 1999–2000, focusing on key themes of American foreign policy in the 20th century through the experiences of secretaries of state. Zoellick concurrently holds a distinguished visiting fellowship at the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington, D.C.



**Jonas Meckling**, former research fellow with the Belfer Center's Geopolitics of Energy Project and Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group, has been named senior advisor to the German government on Transatlantic Cooperation on Energy and Climate Change.



**Joseph S. Nye**, **John Ruggie**, and **Stephen M. Walt** have all been ranked as influential international relations scholars by the College of William and Mary's Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations. The Institute's Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) report ranked scholars who have produced the best work and had the greatest influence in the IR field in the last 20 years. Harvard Kennedy School was ranked #1 as the best place to pursue a policy career in international relations.



**Timothy Sandole** is the first Campus Wikipedian and an associate at the Belfer Center. His primary task is to author and edit international security-related Wikipedia articles with the goal of improving their scholastic content and accuracy. He also leads seminars for the HKS community on various Wikipedia editing methods.



**Carola Weil**, former Belfer Center International Security Program fellow, has been named dean of American University's new School of Professional Extended Studies.



**Sharon K. Weiner**, associate professor at American University's School of International Service, has won the National Academy of Public Administration's 2012 Louis Brownlow Book Award for her book *Our Own Worst Enemy? Institutional Interests and the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Expertise*. The book was published in 2011 as part of the Belfer Center Studies in International Security book series.



**Ali Wyne**, former Belfer Center research assistant, has been selected for the "Top 99 Under 33" list of foreign policy leaders by *The Diplomatic Courier*. Wyne is included in the "Influencers" category, which includes people who help mobilize the foreign policy community with bold new ideas.

# HOT OFF THE PRESSES

## ***Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy***

By Charles D. Freilich, Senior Fellow,  
International Security Program

Cornell Studies in Security Affairs

Cornell University Press (November 2012)



In *Zion's Dilemmas*, a former deputy national security adviser to the State of Israel details the history and, in many cases, the chronic inadequacies in the making of Israeli national security policy. The author uses his insider understanding and substantial archival and interview research to describe how Israel has made strategic decisions and to present a first-of-its-kind model of national security decision-making in Israel. The book concludes with cogent and timely recommendations for reform.

**"[E]ssential reading for all interested in Israeli statecraft ... of profound significance for the comparative study of national security policies."**

"... Synthesizing unusual personal knowledge with theoretical originality, Charles D. Freilich identifies and shows five main pathologies of Israeli security decision-making in seven case studies of critical Israeli choices. On this basis a series of important improvement proposals are developed. *Zion's Dilemmas* is essential reading for all interested in Israeli statecraft, and also of profound significance for the comparative study of national security policies."

—Yehezkel Dror, author of *Israeli Statecraft: National Security Challenges and Responses*

## ***Containing Iran: Strategies for Addressing the Iranian Nuclear Challenge***

By Robert J. Reardon, Research Fellow,  
International Security Program/Project on  
Managing the Atom

RAND Corporation (September 2012)



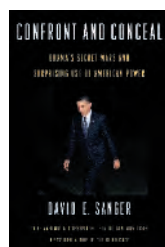
This study assesses current U.S. policy options on the Iranian nuclear question. It suggests that U.S. goals can be met through patient and forward-looking policymaking. Specifically, the United States can begin to lay the groundwork for an effective containment policy while continuing efforts to forestall Iranian weaponization. A successful containment policy will promote long-term positive

political change in Iran while avoiding counterproductive provocation.

## ***Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power***

By David E. Sanger, Senior Fellow, Belfer  
Center for Science and International Affairs

Random House (June 2012)



Inside the White House Situation Room, the newly elected Barack Obama immerses himself in the details of a remarkable new American capability to launch cyberwar against Iran—and escalates covert operations to delay the day when the mullahs could obtain a nuclear weapon. Over the next three years, Obama accelerates drone attacks as an alternative to putting troops on the ground in Pakistan, and becomes increasingly reliant on the Special Forces, whose hunting of al-Qaeda illuminates the path out of an unwinnable war in Afghanistan.

*Confront and Conceal* provides readers with a picture of an administration that came to office with the world on fire. It takes them into the Situation Room debate over how to undermine Iran's program while simultaneously trying to prevent Israel from taking military action that could plunge the region into another war. It dissects how the bin Laden raid worsened the dysfunctional relationship with Pakistan. And it traces how Obama's early idealism about fighting "a war of necessity" in Afghanistan quickly turned to fatigue and frustration. Yet the president has also pivoted American foreign policy away from the attritional wars of the past decade, attempting to preserve America's influence with a lighter, defter touch—all while focusing on a new era of diplomacy in Asia and reconfiguring America's role during a time of economic turmoil and austerity.

**"[A] timely, gripping read that offers insights into some of the most surprising, most closely guarded dimensions of the Obama presidency."**

"The book is a timely, gripping read that offers insights into some of the most surprising, most closely guarded dimensions of the Obama presidency. ... *Confront and Conceal* is a jam-packed with news, gripping anecdotes, stories of triumph, and stories of hubris."

—David Rothkopf, *Foreign Policy*

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP

## ***Liberating Kosovo: Coercive Diplomacy and U.S. Intervention***

By David L. Phillips, Former Non-Resident  
Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Project

Belfer Center Studies in International  
Security

MIT Press (September 2012)

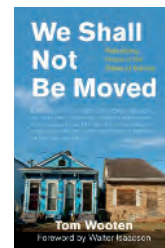


In *Liberating Kosovo*, David Phillips offers a compelling account of the negotiations and military actions that culminated in Kosovo's independence. Drawing on his own participation in the diplomatic process and interviews with leading participants, Phillips chronicles Slobodan Milosevic's rise to power, the sufferings of the Kosovars, and the events that led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. He analyzes how NATO, the United Nations, and the United States employed diplomacy, aerial bombing, and peacekeeping forces to set in motion the process that led to independence for Kosovo. He also offers important insights into a critical issue in contemporary international politics: how and when the United States, other nations, and NGOs should act to prevent ethnic cleansing and severe human-rights abuses.

## ***We Shall Not Be Moved: Rebuilding Home in the Wake of Katrina***

By Tom Wooten, Former Research Fellow,  
Broadmoor Project: New Orleans

Beacon Press (August 2012)



As floodwaters drained in the weeks following Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans residents came to a difficult realization. Their city was about to undertake the largest disaster recovery in American history, yet they faced a profound leadership vacuum: members of every tier of government, from the municipal to the federal level, had fallen down on the job. *We Shall Not Be Moved* tells the absorbing story of the community leaders who stepped into this void to rebuild the city they loved.

"Mr. Wooten meticulously tracks the work of civic groups in five parts of New Orleans as they labored to prove that their neighborhoods were worth saving, underscoring the importance of fostering such groups long before a catastrophe hits."

—Carla Main, *Wall Street Journal*



# Center's Cyber Efforts Cross Disciplines and Schools

The challenge of cybersecurity has risen to the top of the nation's agenda. In 2010, in collaboration with MIT and with funding from the U.S. Department of Defense, the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program launched its "Explorations in Cyber International Relations" (ECIR) initiative.

Touching as it does the disciplines of law, organization strategy, engineering, international relations, and public policy, the challenge of cybersecurity requires a cross-disciplinary approach and cross-trained researchers. Professor **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti**, co-principal investigator of the ECIR initiative, brought ECIR under the umbrella of the Belfer Center's Information and Communication Technology and Public

Policy project (ICTPP), where he has fostered collaboration crossing schools and disciplines—most notably with HKS professors **Joseph Nye** and **Jonathan Zittrain**, HLS professor **Jack Goldsmith**, and Harvard's CTO and SEAS professor **Jim Waldo**.

This effort to build linkages is best represented by the four ICTPP Fellows whose work is supported by ECIR and by its leadership team. **Lucas Kello**, who is trained as a political scientist and is a Belfer Center International Security Program Fellow, melds the disciplines of international security and cyber. **Vivek Mohan**, who is trained as an attorney, is collaborating with the Berkman Center for Internet Policy. **Aadya Shukla**, who is trained as a computer scientist, is collaborating with MIT in the policy arena. **Ryan Ellis** specializes in infrastructure issues and cyber, and is collaborating with HKS centers and projects focused on infrastructure policy and regulation.

As faculty chair and director, Narayanamurti exemplifies this same cross-boundary approach, as he serves to both Harvard's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (SEAS) and HKS, bringing the disciplines of engineering and policy to bear on a range of complex problems, among them cybersecurity. **Zach Tumin**, Harvard's ECIR program manager, trained at the Kennedy School—which gives ICTPP a head start on melding all these disciplines with a strong focus on strategic management.

Examples of collaboration include Vivek Mohan's work with Goldsmith and Berkman staff on papers, the production of a cyber wiki, and development of model cyber course modules. Following former Center Executive Director **Eric Rosenbach's** successful 2010 J-Term course on cybersecurity (with **Richard Clarke**), in 2012 Goldsmith offered HKS's first full-semester cybersecurity course, assisted by ICTPP fellows. In 2013, Waldo will teach a new HKS J-Term cybersecurity course, "Technology, Security, and Conflict in the Cyber Age."

An MIT/Harvard workshop on cybersecurity in November brought together a select group of policy leaders from diverse perspectives to explore the key challenges facing this emerging interdisciplinary field. 🌐



**Cyber Commander:** General **Keith B. Alexander** (left), director of the National Security Agency, discusses cyber-security in the Internet age with the Belfer Center's cyber working group, including **Zachary Tumin** (center) and **Joseph S. Nye** (right). Formerly Army deputy chief of staff for Intelligence, Alexander is currently in charge of protecting the U.S. military from cyber attacks.

## International Security

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### "Two Concepts of Liberty: U.S. Cold War Grand Strategies and the Liberal Tradition"

*Brendan Rittenhouse Green*

Contrary to conventional accounts, the United States did not immediately adopt a balancing strategy against the Soviet Union after World War II. Rather, the Eisenhower administration sought U.S. withdrawal from Western Europe by pursuing a buck-passing strategy. Only under the Kennedy administration did the United States begin to make permanent commitments to the defense of Europe. A new theory analyzes this shift in policy, defining those who sought to withdraw from Europe as "negative liberals" and those who sought firmer balancing commitments as "positive liberals."

### "Just War Moral Philosophy and the 2008–09 Israeli Campaign in Gaza"

*Jerome Slater*

The controversial 2008–09 Israeli campaign in Gaza violated just war principles on three main accounts: it did not discriminate in its targets, there was no just cause, and it did not exhaust nonviolent alternatives. Human rights organizations have criticized Israel for its methods during the campaign, but its claim that the attack was an act of self-defense and was therefore justifiable is still widely accepted. The campaign's primary purpose, however, was to crush resistance to Israel's repression of Gaza—an indefensible cause by just war standards. Moreover, Israel did not fully explore political alternatives before launching the attack.

### "Israel's War in Gaza: A Paradigm of Effective Military Learning and Adaptation"

*Benjamin S. Lambeth*

The United States and its allies have long sought to learn from major combat encounters and to assimilate their learning into military doctrine, force development, and operating procedures. Israel's successful campaign in Gaza in 2008–09 is evidence that the Israel Defense Forces learned from

their mistakes in the Lebanon War two years earlier and incorporated that learning into their combat repertoire. Israel's achievement in this area should be studied as an exemplar of military lessons learned and assimilated.

### "The Psychology of Threat in Intergroup Conflict: Emotions, Rationality, and Opportunity in the Rwandan Genocide"

*Omar Shahabudin McDoom*

Group emotions, fear in particular, play an important role in how security threats polarize social groups. The case of the Rwandan genocide demonstrates that four psychosocial mechanisms—boundary activation, outgroup derogation, outgroup homogenization, and ingroup cohesion—play an important role in group polarization, and that fear is a crucial driver of these mechanisms. A more thorough understanding of how security threats activate group polarization could help policymakers to minimize intergroup conflict.

### "China's Fear of Contagion: Tiananmen Square and the Power of the European Example"

*M.E. Sarotte*

Obsession with the democratic changes sweeping Europe in the late 1980s and a concomitant desire to keep these changes from spreading to China may have played a critical role in the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP's) decision to take violent action against the Tiananmen Square protesters in 1989. New sources, released during the 2009 to 2011 anniversaries of the events that ended the Cold War, cite the CCP's determination to prevent the spread of democracy as one of its primary motivating factors. These sources also suggest that the CCP did not fear reprisals by the United States, which it predicted would take "no real countermeasures."

**Compiled by International Security staff.**

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**Photographs:** All photos courtesy of the Belfer Center unless  
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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.

Visit our website at [www.belfercenter.org](http://www.belfercenter.org) to learn more about the Belfer Center.

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## BELFER IN BRIEF

### Lecture Series Honors David Hamburg

Carnegie Corporation of New York has announced a \$200,000 grant to the Foreign Policy Association to help establish the Andrew Carnegie Distinguished Lecture in honor of former Corporation President **David Hamburg**, a member of the Belfer Center International Council. The annual lecture series will honor and continue Hamburg's efforts on elimination of war.

### Former Research Fellows Contribute Extraordinary Talents in U.S., Canada

Congratulations to: **Aisha Ahmad** (Initiative on Religion in International Affairs/International Security Program): now Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Toronto. **Michael Beckley** (ISP): currently Postdoctoral Fellow, Dickey Center for International Understanding, Dartmouth University. **Malfrid Braut-Hegghammer** (ISP/MTA): currently Stanton Nuclear Security Junior Faculty Fellow, CISAC, Stanford. **Sarah S. Bush** (ISP): now Assistant Professor, Political Science, Temple University. **Ahsan I. Butt** (ISP): currently Assistant Professor of Government and Politics, George Mason University. **Jennifer M. Dixon** (ISP): now Assistant Professor, Political Science, Villanova University. **Jennifer M. Keister** (former ISP and Intrastate Conflict Program): now Visiting Research Fellow, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame. **Erik Linstrum** (Ernest May Fellow in History and Policy/ISP): currently Assistant Professor, Department of History and Postdoctoral Scholar, Society of Fellows, University of Michigan. **Hassan Malik** (Ernest May Fellow/ISP): now Fellow, Program on Global Society and Security Fellow, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. **John Park** (Associate, Project on Managing the Atom): currently Stanton Nuclear Security Junior Faculty Fellow at MIT. **James Platte** (former Stanton Nuclear Security Predoctoral Fellow): now International Affairs Fellow in Japan, Council on Foreign Relations. **Courtney Richardson** (ISP): currently Princeton-Harvard China and the World Fellow, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University. **Melissa Willard-Foster** (ISP): currently Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Vermont.

### Center Hails Newest Community Members

Congratulations to the newest Belferites: **Nico** and **Carmen**, twins of **Laura Diaz Anadon** and her husband **Jeff**; **Alvida**, daughter of **Amanda Sardonis** and her husband **Elias**; and **Emma**, daughter of **John Park** and his wife **Pam**, and sister to brother **Eliot**.



OSTP PHOTO

**John P. Holdren Makes a Mark on Mars:** In addition to bringing valuable information to Earth, the rover Curiosity took something to the Red Planet: a plaque that bears signatures of President Obama, Vice President Biden, and the Belfer Center's very own **John P. Holdren**, member of the Center's board now on leave to direct the Office of Science and Technology and President Obama's science advisor.



**Sharing the Honors:** **Calestous Juma**, director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology and Globalization Project, with **Margaret Kamar**, Kenyan Minister for Higher Education, Science and Technology. Juma was in Nairobi to receive an honorary doctorate from Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology and to address the University's 2012 graduating class.