



# HARVARD Kennedy School

## BELFER CENTER

for Science and International Affairs

Winter 2013–2014

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

## New Colleagues Advance Center's Research Agenda

Fresh from the front lines of service in government, a number of outstanding leaders in thought and action have joined the Belfer Center and are engaging faculty, fellows, and students to advance policy-relevant analysis of challenges from American competitiveness to denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, China, and Iran.

### David Petraeus

#### Senior Fellow

CIA Director (2011–12); Ret. four-star Army General: Commanded U.S., international forces, Afghanistan and Iraq.

**Belfer focus:** Technology revolutions enhancing North American competitiveness.



### Thomas Donilon

#### Senior Fellow

National Security Advisor (2010–13).

**Belfer focus:** Strategic rebalance to Asia: genesis, execution, assessment, and way forward.

### Stephen Bosworth

#### Senior Fellow

Dean, Fletcher School at Tufts University (2001–13); State Dept. Special Rep. for North Korean Policy (2009–11).

**Belfer focus:** Security and diplomacy in North Korea and East Asia.

### Michael Morell

#### Senior Fellow

Deputy CIA Director (2010–13); Led hunt for Osama bin Laden.

**Belfer focus:** Lessons learned in Intelligence.

### Dan Meridor

#### Lamont Lecturer

Deputy Prime Minister of Israel and head of intelligence (2009–13); Central player in Israeli politics.

**Belfer focus:** Combating Iran's nuclear challenge.

### Stephen Krasner

#### Senior Fellow

Professor of International Relations, Stanford University; Director of Policy Planning at State Dept. (2005–07).

**Belfer focus:** U.S. foreign policy toward weak states.

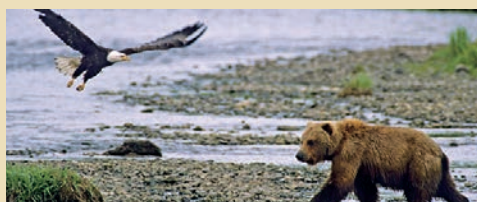
## See Inside:



### HarvardX Arrives @HKS

Graham Allison and *New York Times* journalist David Sanger launch free, online MOOC (massive online open course) on national security challenges.

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### U.S.-Russia Cooperation

In two new reports, Russian and American generals, officials, and scholars jointly recommend actions to reduce nuclear threats.

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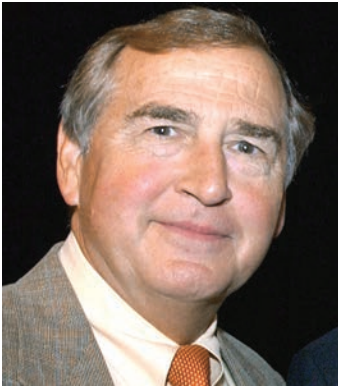
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# FROM THE DIRECTOR

*Graham Allison*

The tributes have been pouring in for our friend and colleague **Ash Carter**, who has recently announced his decision to step down from a grueling but, by every measure, enormously successful tenure as deputy secretary of defense. Carter stayed longer than

most in this toughest of jobs, in effect the day-to-day boss of a \$700 billion organization. He had to cope with the ravages of the mindless sequester, even as he managed the complex and dangerous logistics of drawing down our forces in Iraq and then Afghanistan. And he did it all with class—grace under pressure.

Carter preceded me as director of the Belfer Center in the early 1990s, when the Center generated groundbreaking ideas to confront dangers posed by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the peril of loose nukes there. Later, after another of his many stints in government, Carter returned to the Center as faculty chair for international relations, security, and science, and also was co-founder with **Bill Perry** of the influential Preventive Defense Project, a joint venture with Stanford.

Ash Carter is one of many Belfer Center people whom we celebrate in this issue for their public service. He is a living, breathing role model for the students and research fellows now learning at the Belfer Center. He is a powerful example of what it means to serve.

As our cover on this issue demonstrates, Carter is not alone. In recent months, we have recruited six new practitioner-scholars, including **David Petraeus**, **Tom Donilon**, **Michael Morell**, **Stephen Krasner**, **Stephen Bosworth**, and **Dan Meridor**. Fresh from the front lines in government, these proven leaders in thought and action are engaging faculty, fellows, and students at Harvard to analyze



DEPT. OF DEFENSE

**With the Troops:** Outgoing Deputy Secretary of Defense **Ashton B. Carter** speaks with soldiers guarding a Patriot missile battery at a Turkish army base in Feb. 2013.

issues from American competitiveness to the China Challenge to the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

As U.S. military action loomed over chemical weapons use by the Assad regime, a Center research team created an innovative Syria Project page that drew thousands of visitors seeking quality, independent information. We also became part of an experiment with education itself. This fall, with **David Sanger** of the *New York Times*, I have co-taught the Kennedy School's first edX course, as part of the new online consortium founded by Harvard and MIT last year. This was an exhausting and sometimes frustrating experiment with new technology and high-end video production. In addition to the usual 50 students in the Kennedy School classroom, we selected 500 students for the online classroom; about 10,000 others are auditing the course. For an overview of the online course, see our HarvardX website at <http://harvardx.harvard.edu>.

## Allison/Sanger Course Reaches Thousands of Learners Online—For Free

Imagine you are an aide to President Obama, making recommendations about what he should do to confront the toughest foreign policy crises on the agenda: how to prevent Iran from getting nuclear weapons; what to do about Syria; how to minimize the damage from NSA surveillance leaks.

Making such hard choices has long been the core of the oversubscribed Harvard Kennedy School Course IGA-211: "Central Challenges of American National Security, Strategy, and the Press" that Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and *New York Times*

Chief Washington Correspondent **David Sanger** are teaching this fall. Harvard graduate students, playing the roles of senior White House advisers, write and then defend strategy memos on how the U.S. should act in these cases.

**About 10,000 people worldwide are auditing the course for free.**

This fall, thanks to edX, the non-profit online education enterprise founded by Harvard and MIT, about 10,000 people from around the world are auditing—for free—an online version of this course, called HKS211.1x. Auditors have access to relevant writings, video lessons from the instructors and special guests, and weekly assignments. They can also engage with fellow students in the discussion forums. Auditors can do as much or as little as they want—on their own time.

In addition, 500 applicants were selected to take part in a more demanding version of the course in order to receive a HarvardX certificate—also for free. To receive the certificate, they are required to participate in sections led by Harvard teaching fellows, to contribute to moderated discussion forums with other students online and in the Harvard classroom, and to complete all of the reading and assignments—including submission of three strategic options memos.



**Open to All:** Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) and Center Senior Fellow and *New York Times* Chief Washington Correspondent **David Sanger** tape a session of their HarvardX (online) course "Central Challenges in American National Security, Strategy, and the Press."

**More information about edX and "Central Challenges of American National Security, Strategy and the Press" (HKS211.1x) is available at:**

[belfercenter.org/HKS211/](http://belfercenter.org/HKS211/)



# Putting a Price on Nature

## Roy Award Honors Dow Chemical and Nature Conservancy Collaboration

by Cristine Russell

Planting a forest to improve air quality may prove to be as cost-effective as expensive new pollution control equipment, according to preliminary results from a novel experiment at a Freeport, Texas chemical plant. Officials involved in the study say this innovative approach could become a test case before the federal Environmental Protection Agency, which has identified reforestation as a potential air quality improvement strategy.

Leaders of an unusual collaboration between The Nature Conservancy, the world's largest conservation group, and the Dow Chemical Company, a Fortune 100 corporation, told a Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) audience on October 7 that they were encouraged by initial findings validating a dollars-and-cents approach to valuing nature that may help businesses with their bottom line while improving the environment in local communities.

The two organizations were recipients of the prestigious 2013 Roy Family Award

for Environmental Partnership, an HKS prize administered by the Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP) at the school's Belfer Center.

"We uncovered material benefit from reforestation as an air quality control," said **Glenn T. Prickett**, the Washington-based chief external affairs officer for The Nature Conservancy (TNC). The pilot project at Dow's Texas manufacturing plant on the Gulf Coast of Mexico also examined how marshlands can help protect against intensifying storm surges and what interventions might help save a vital river crucial to plant cooling operations that is suffering the effects of drought and increasing water demand.

"This project asks how do you make the economics of ecological systems work hand-in-glove with business decision-making," said **Neil C. Hawkins**, Dow's vice president for global environment, health and safety, and sustainability at its Midland, Michigan headquarters. The ultimate goal is a company-wide effort to make nature a part of doing business at its 188 sites in 36 countries and to serve as a model that can be adopted by other companies, government, and non-profit groups, said Hawkins.

HKS professor **William C. Clark**, an environmental scientist who moderated a



**A Win-Win:** 2013 Roy Family Award recipients **Neil C. Hawkins** (left) of The Dow Chemical Company and **Glenn T. Prickett** (right) of The Nature Conservancy with **Ellen Roy** and **Henry Lee**.

panel discussion with the winners and served on the Roy Award selection committee, lauded the Dow/TNC collaboration as "an amazingly rich" experiment with the potential for "finding ways society can value the benefits we get from ecosystem services that are not normally incorporated into the marketplace." But, he cautioned, such projects are "really hard to do," and over the long run "the number of failures exceed the successes."

Supported by an HKS gift from the Boston-based Roy family, the environmental partnership award is given every two years. ENRP Director **Henry Lee** said the key element is "transferability. Will it make a difference? The idea is to encourage public and private entities to work together for a common purpose." The 2013 recipient was selected from 25 global entries in an 18-month process led by ENRP Assistant Director **Amanda Sardonis**.

**A longer version of this article is available at:**  
[belfercenter.org/RoyAward13/](http://belfercenter.org/RoyAward13/)



**Showing the Way:** HKS Professor **William C. Clark** (right) moderates a panel with Roy Award winners.

## UN Climate Change Director Encourages Technological Innovation

Days before the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released its long-awaited assessment on the state of the global climate, **Christiana Figueres**, executive secretary of the United

Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), discussed climate issues at Harvard Kennedy School.

Speaking at an open meeting to more than 120 students from Harvard and surrounding universities in late September, Figueres explored the potential of technological innovation to reduce the greenhouse-gas emissions that cause climate change. She said those innovations, which university students can develop and help implement, are the "good news on climate change."

The IPCC document stated more definitively than in the past that climate change has not stopped and that it is extremely likely (95 percent

probability) that humans are responsible.

**Robert Stavins**, director of the Harvard Project on Climate Agreements, welcomed Figueres to the Kennedy School. Stavins and his team have participated in five annual Conferences of the Parties (COPs) of the UNFCCC, leading panel presentations and meeting with numerous national negotiating delegations to present the research of the Harvard Project on options for a new international agreement to alleviate climate change. The Harvard Project will co-host another panel during the Nineteenth COP in Warsaw, Poland, in November.

The Harvard Project's mission is to help identify key design elements of a future international agreement on climate change.

**An audio recording of the public seminar and an HKS PolicyCast can be accessed at:**  
[belfercenter.org/Figueres/](http://belfercenter.org/Figueres/)



**No Time to Waste:** The Harvard Project on Climate Agreements hosted a presentation by **Christiana Figueres**, executive secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, for students at Harvard and other area universities.

# Center Prepares for Nuclear Summit

by Nickolas Roth

In preparation for next year's Nuclear Security Summit in the Netherlands, the Project on Managing the Atom (MTA) is rolling out a series of reports on strengthening international efforts to secure nuclear material around the world. **Matthew Bunn** and **William Tobey**, along with other Staff and fellows at the Belfer Center, have also begun briefing officials from key states attending the summit on priority steps for reducing nuclear security risks.

In August, MTA released the report "Plutonium Mountain: Inside the 17-Year Mission to Secure a Legacy of Soviet Nuclear Testing," described in detail on page 5 in this newsletter. The authors, **Eben Harrell** and **David Hoffman**, tell how scientists and engineers in three countries managed to secure a significant amount of weapons-grade plutonium in Kazakhstan.

In October, eight experts from MTA, the Belfer Center's International Security Program, and the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies collaborated to release "Steps to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism: Recommendations Based on the U.S.-Russia Joint Threat Assessment." This report, featured on the following page, analyzes the existing framework for preventing nuclear

terrorism, cites gaps and deficiencies, and makes recommendations for improvement.

In the coming months, MTA will release two additional reports of relevance to the upcoming summit. The first will report the results of a survey in which MTA asked security experts in key countries to describe the security practices they employ and the factors that have caused them to change what they do. Early in 2014, MTA will release a report that assesses progress toward securing all highly enriched uranium and plutonium around the world to the highest practicable standard, identifies the most urgent remaining gaps, and recommends measures for filling those gaps.

**MTA [will assess] progress toward securing all highly enriched uranium and plutonium around the world.**

MTA and Belfer Center personnel will discuss their ideas with diplomatic delegations attending the summit and will also participate in the international NGO-based Nuclear Knowledge Summit in Amsterdam, in parallel to the Nuclear Security Summit.

**For Nuclear Summit resources, see:**  
<http://nuclearsummit.org/>



**Summit Prep:** **Matthew Bunn** (2nd from right) and **William Tobey** (right), discuss nuclear terrorism at a UN General Assembly event with (left to right) Ambassadors **Piet de Klerk**, Dutch sherpa for the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit and **Karel van Oosterom**, Dutch permanent representative to the UN.

## New Research Aims to Strengthen Nuclear Watchdog

The Project on Managing the Atom (MTA) is launching an initiative aimed at strengthening the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency. This work, which is supported by a new grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, will focus on four main issues.

Although the agency has an excellent record of verifying states' compliance with their nonproliferation obligations at declared nuclear facilities, its capacity for identifying undeclared sites and activities is relatively

weak. Managing the Atom will generate recommendations for improving the IAEA's ability to discover clandestine proliferation.

Second, the project will address ways of creating and strengthening a culture of non-proliferation both within the IAEA and in the countries and facilities the agency monitors.

Third, drawing on lessons from the recent experiences with Iran, Iraq, and other difficult cases, the project will propose new processes for dealing with states found to be in noncompliance with their nonproliferation obligations.

Finally, the MTA project will propose principles and means for getting the IAEA the resources it needs. Each of these issues is a priority for the IAEA and the recommendations will aim at ways of making progress within the next two years.

**Trevor Findlay**, MTA senior research fellow, will play a leading role in the project. Nearly all of

the activities will involve collaborative work with various individuals and stakeholders concerned with the Agency's advancement. Work on these issues will benefit from the critical mass of scholars at the MTA and elsewhere in the Belfer Center, in particular **Graham Allison**, **Matthew Bunn**, **Olli Heinonen**, **Gary Samore**, and **William Tobey**. It will also take advantage of the many fellows and staff members working on nuclear issues at the Center and the constant stream of guest presenters from academia, government, international organizations, and civil society.

**Managing the Atom will generate recommendations for improving the IAEA's ability to discover clandestine proliferation.**

Much of the planned work extends recommendations that Findlay developed while in residence as a fellow with the MTA in 2012–2013 while he finished a major report titled "Unleashing the Nuclear Watchdog." The results of that study, which focused on strengthening the IAEA, are available on the Centre for International Governance Innovation website, [www.cigionline.org](http://www.cigionline.org).

**For more on MTA's efforts, see:**  
[belfercenter.org/MTA/](http://belfercenter.org/MTA/)



**Global Goals:** **Yukiya Amano**, director general of the IAEA, speaks at a Belfer Center Director's Lunch on "IAEA and Atoms for Peace." He described the Agency's efforts to bring the benefits of peaceful nuclear technology to the world while preventing the spread of nuclear weapons.



# U.S., Russia Cooperate to Reduce Nuclear Threats

## Two Studies Recommend Steps to Transcend Mutual Deterrence, Prevent Terrorism

Continuing its long-standing tradition of encouraging U.S.-Russia collaboration to reduce nuclear arms threats, the Belfer Center released two reports this fall produced jointly with the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies (ISKRAN).

Authored by nuclear arms experts—high-ranking U.S. and Russian former government officials, retired military officers, and academics—the reports recommend steps to move the countries beyond the doctrine of mutual deterrence with nuclear weapons and measures to prevent nuclear terrorism worldwide. Published in English and Russian, the studies have been shared with government officials in both countries.

While U.S.-Russian relations have vastly improved since 1990, the authors write in “Transcending Mutual Deterrence in the U.S.-Russian Relationship” that the healthier relationship has not resulted in corresponding easing back from the threat of mutual nuclear annihilation. The report lays out a path for the two countries to put nuclear weapons in a context appropriate to the post-Cold War relationship.

The authors propose improving political, intelligence, and economic cooperation in non-nuclear areas and changing both countries' nuclear posture and defense.



**In It Together:** Major General **Pavel Zolotarev** (retired Russian Armed Forces), a co-author of the report “Steps to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism,” discusses the recommendations for preventing nuclear terrorism proposed by the Russian and American authors of the report. Other authors pictured: **Simon Saradzhyan** (far left), **Matthew Bunn** and **William Tobey** (far right).

They also suggest steps to build trust and cooperation, including a mutual agreement to give political leaders “hours or days, rather than minutes, to make nuclear decisions that could mean life or death for millions.”

The second report recognizes that nuclear terrorism remains a real and urgent threat, requiring relentless attention and actions by the United States, Russia and other responsible nations.

The report “Steps to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism: Recommendations Based on the U.S.-Russia Joint Threat Assessment” outlines concrete actions for the United States and Russia to take in leading

international efforts to combat the threat of nuclear terrorism. The report follows up a groundbreaking Belfer Center-ISKRAN 2011 study titled “U.S.-Russia Joint Threat Assessment on Nuclear Terrorism.”

The new study argues that the U.S. and Russia, working with other countries, should take steps in nuclear security, intelligence, law enforcement, emergency response, and other areas to improve their ability to detect, prevent, disrupt, and recover from acts of nuclear terrorism.

**The reports are available at:**  
[belfercenter.org/Deterrence/](http://belfercenter.org/Deterrence/) and  
[belfercenter.org/PreventSteps/](http://belfercenter.org/PreventSteps/)

## 17-Year Collaboration Secures Dangerous Soviet Nuclear Site

### Center's Report Details Story of Close Call at “Plutonium Mountain” in Kazakhstan

by Sharon Wilke

In October 2012, at the foot of a rocky hillside in eastern Kazakhstan, a group of American, Russian, and Kazakh nuclear scientists and engineers gathered for a ceremony marking the completion of a

secret 17-year, \$150 million operation to secure plutonium in the tunnels of Degelen Mountain—an abandoned site of Soviet underground nuclear testing.

The Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA) released a report in August titled “Plutonium Mountain: Inside the 17-Year Mission to Secure a Dangerous Legacy of Soviet Nuclear Testing.” The report, by **Eben Harrell**, associate with MTA, and Pulitzer Prize-winning author and *Washington Post* reporter **David E. Hoffman**, provides details of one of the largest nuclear security operations of the post-Cold War years. It is a story of how dedicated scientists and engineers in three countries overcame suspicions, secrecy, bureaucracy, and logistical obstacles to secure more than a dozen bombs' worth of plutonium that had been left behind at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in Kazakhstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Based on documents and interviews in the U.S. and Kazakhstan with scientists and officials, Harrell and Hoffman tell how

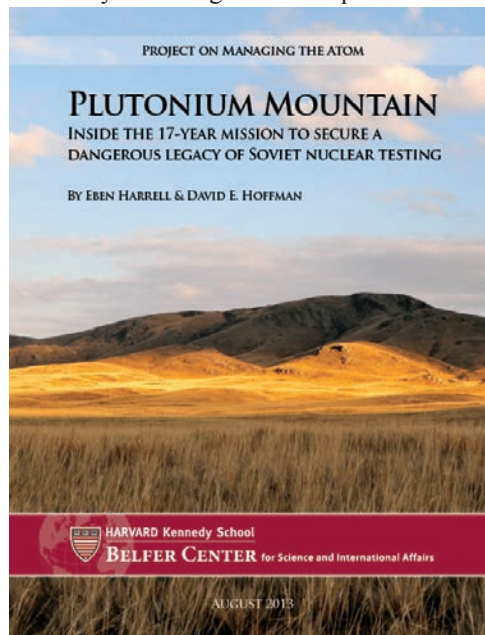
American nuclear experts learned of the unsecured test site and discovered that large-scale scrap-metal scavenging operations were coming within yards of plutonium that could be stolen and sold for nuclear devices.

The authors suggest that the operation's success was a “very close call.”

**Read more on this project, including the authors' learning points, at:**  
[belfercenter.org/PlutoniumMountain/](http://belfercenter.org/PlutoniumMountain/)

### Senator Richard Lugar, Co-sponsor of Nunn-Lugar Initiative, Praises “Plutonium Mountain”

In a letter to **Graham Allison**, former Sen. **Richard Lugar** wrote, “I have just completed reading a truly remarkable report entitled ‘Plutonium Mountain: Inside the 17-Year Mission to Secure a Dangerous Legacy of Soviet Nuclear Testing’ ... I simply write to congratulate you and your associates, once again, for another vital contribution to non-proliferation scholarship.”





## Q&A Gary Samore

*Dr. Gary Samore is the executive director for research at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Prior to that, he served for four years as President Obama's White House Coordinator for Arms Control and Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism, including as U.S. sherpa for the 2010 Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, D.C. and the 2012 Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul, Korea. We asked him about prospects for breakthroughs with Iran and Syria, and his goals for the Belfer Center.*

**Q** Suddenly it feels as if there is a chance for progress on Iran's nuclear program, with a new Iranian president who is more open to dialogue. How do you assess chances for a breakthrough?

We have the best chance for a nuclear deal we've had in years because the economic sanctions are putting tremendous pressure on Iran, and the new Iranian **President Rouhani** was elected with a mandate to improve the economy by lifting sanctions, which means coming to an agreement with the U.S. on the nuclear issue. However, the U.S. and Iran are very far apart on the terms of a comprehensive agreement. In particular, Iran has not offered to accept the kind of far-reaching limits on its nuclear activities and international monitoring that the U.S. will demand as a condition for lifting the most significant sanctions. Therefore, I think it's unlikely we'll see a breakthrough in the near future on a comprehensive agreement.

Nonetheless, the two sides may be able to agree on interim measures that would impose some limits on nuclear activities in exchange for some easing of sanctions, while setting a deadline for negotiating a final agreement. The critical thing for the U.S. in any interim agreement is to maintain the existing sanctions on Iranian finances and oil exports because we'll need the leverage in the endgame negotiations, which will be very difficult.

**Q** The Syrian regime's use of chemical weapons almost triggered a U.S. military strike. Does the U.S.-Russia agreement open a new path toward eliminating chemical weapons? If this works, can it set a precedent?

The agreement to eliminate Syria's chemical weapons appears to be working, despite the security complications presented by the civil war. Inspectors from the OPCW (Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons) have inspected nearly all the facilities declared by the Syrian government; they've completed destruction of production, mixing, and filling equipment and seem to be on track to dispose or remove the agents and precursors themselves by the mid-2014 deadline. Of course, there are still many things that could go wrong, but so far so good. Assuming the agreement is successfully completed, I think it will help reinforce U.S. and Russian cooperation to deal with the Iranian nuclear issue, where both Moscow and Washington have a common interest in achieving a negotiated agreement that avoids war and prevents Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.

**Q** If the WMD threat is eliminated, should the United States still stay involved in the Syrian conflict by arming the rebels?

Even if Syria's chemical weapons are eliminated, it doesn't solve the underlying problem of Syria's civil war, which seems likely to continue for years, notwithstanding U.S. and Russian efforts to arrange a peaceful settlement. At the same time, President Obama is determined to stay out of the Syrian civil war as much as possible. We may provide some very limited training and arming of the Syrian opposition, but probably not enough to make a significant difference on the

battlefield. If other countries in the region want to provide military assistance to the opposition, they are going to have to take the lead themselves.

**Q** The Belfer Center has played a role in preparing for both previous nuclear summits, which you organized for the White House. How can the Belfer Center play a role in the upcoming Summit in The Hague in the spring?

Several of us—**Graham Allison, Will Tobey, Matt Bunn, Ollie Heinonen**, and myself—have been working directly with the Dutch hosts and other governments to help prepare for the March 2014 Nuclear Security Summit in The Hague. For example, Matt and Will recently presented a briefing at the UN on the threat of nuclear terrorism. We've also worked directly with the IAEA on how it can strengthen its programs to assist members with nuclear security. At the Summit itself, we'll be participating in the so-called "Knowledge Summit" of outside experts and NGOs seeking to increase public awareness and support for stronger measures to prevent nuclear terrorism, and Belfer has established a special website on the Nuclear Security Summit for people who are interested in learning more about this issue.

**Q** As Executive Director for Research here, what plans do you have to grow the Center's research output, and what areas need strengthening?

We've been very fortunate to add some great new senior fellows to the Belfer roster—**Tom Donilon, Michael Morell, General Petraeus, Ambassador Bosworth**—which will strengthen our teaching and research. I'd like to see the Center expand its work in two areas. First, we can do more on Asia, including U.S.-China relations and managing security issues on the Korean Peninsula. Second, I see cyber as an important growth area for Belfer, where we can bring together the same kind of synthesis of policy expertise and technological expertise that we've done for nuclear issues.

**See Gary Samore's profile at:**  
<http://belfercenter.org/Samore>

AP / MUSTAFA QURAISHI



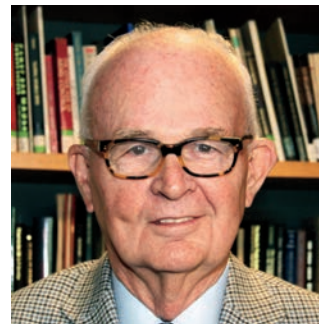
**Sherpa Strategy:** White House Arms Control and WMD Terrorism Coordinator **Gary Samore** (right) with South Korea's Dep. Foreign Minister **Kim Bong-Hyun** and Indian Foreign Secretary **Ranjan Mathai** at 2012 Nuclear Security Summit planning meeting.



# SPOTLIGHT

## Stephen Bosworth

**Ambassador Stephen Bosworth** is a senior fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Prior to joining the Belfer Center, he transformed Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy during his 12 years as dean. At The Fletcher School, Bosworth introduced three new degree programs and expanded the faculty. At the Belfer Center, he is leading a team exploring security and diplomacy in North Korea and East Asia.



by James F. Smith

As an American diplomat, **Stephen Bosworth** stared down dictators (**Ferdinand Marcos** in the Philippines) and cajoled repressive regimes (North Korea). Then he had a second career as dean of Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. But he wasn't able to retreat to the quiet halls of academia. **President Obama** appointed him the U.S. special envoy on North Korea, a role he filled from 2009 to 2011, even while he was leading the Fletcher School.

After retiring from Fletcher in June after 12 years as dean, Bosworth still refused to rest on his considerable laurels. Instead, he joined the Belfer Center as a resident senior fellow. He has already set up the Center's new Korea Working Group, which is dissecting strategic issues in Northeast Asia and considering policy options for one of the world's most dangerous neighborhoods.

Bosworth is the ideal person to zoom in on one of the gravest challenges in the Belfer Center's core policy research fields of nuclear security and diplomacy: how to confront North Korea over its renegade nuclear weapons program. Bosworth has been a leading American government actor dealing with North Korea for nearly 20 years.

In 1995, Bosworth became director of a governmental organization set up to create non-nuclear energy alternatives for North Korea, which helped slow the regime's nuclear ambitions. He then served as U.S. ambassador to South Korea from 1997 to 2001. Since then, North Korea has shrugged off world pressure and sanctions; the regime detonated its first nuclear test in 2006, and two more have followed. Negotiations have repeatedly broken down.

**"If you're not talking, they are just running free, as the North Koreans are doing now."**

—Stephen Bosworth

Bosworth is under no illusions about the North's intransigence. He cites several "stupid" acts that undermined progress: the North fired missiles, shelled a South Korean island, and sank a South Korean patrol boat. Then it launched a satellite, widely regarded as a ballistic missile test, right after winning U.S. concessions on the basis that it would not launch such a test.

Still, he argues, "It's better to talk than

not talk. The likelihood of them actually completing denuclearization absent changes in the current situation is remote. That doesn't mean we shouldn't continue to try, and urge them not to do it. But we ought to be realistic about it. That said, I still think it's better to talk to them than not talk to them."

"If you're not talking, otherwise they are just running free, as the North Koreans are doing now. They are continuing their nuclear program, continuing their missile program. The only constraint that would be placed on them is if we are talking to them."

**"Bosworth is one of the most influential experts in the world on Korean policy."**

—Graham Allison

Running Fletcher was a natural second act after a diplomatic career that included ambassadorships in Tunisia from 1979 to 1981 and the Philippines from 1984 to 1987, where he famously persuaded Ferdinand Marcos to abandon the presidency and go into exile at the height of the People Power revolution. In 1987, Bosworth was awarded the Diplomat of the Year prize for that work.

During his tenure at the Fletcher School, Bosworth created three new degree programs, renovated the campus, and led a capital campaign that raised \$100 million. When Bosworth announced that he would retire, Tufts President **Anthony Monaco** called Bosworth "a consummate institution builder, having overseen an extraordinary period of growth and vitality at the Fletcher School."

Settling in Boston has allowed Bosworth and his wife, **Christine**, to indulge their cultural passions. They both recently joined the advisory board of the Museum of Fine Arts, and they are avid theater-goers, especially to Boston University's Huntington Theater.

But the fall baseball season brought a personal challenge even for a diplomat as seasoned as Bosworth. He was born on a small farm in western Michigan and grew up an avid Detroit Tigers fan, but in Boston he became part of Red Sox Nation. Asked whether he rooted for the Tigers or the Sox during their showdown that ended in a Boston victory and a World Series trip, Bosworth said sagely, "Actually, my attitude was, I can't lose."

A Dartmouth graduate, Bosworth has

taught courses at Columbia University and Hamilton College. He was Dartmouth's chairman of the board from 1996 to 1999. He is co-author of *Chasing the Sun: Rethinking East Asia Policy*. Bosworth wrote the book with his friend and fellow American diplomat, **Morton Abramowitz**. In a *Boston Globe* profile of Bosworth, Abramowitz cautioned others not to be fooled by his friend's soft-spoken, understated style.

"He's not afraid to speak out," said Abramowitz. "The fact that he's reserved does not mean that he's shy or that he holds back. He's judicious, but he says what's necessary."

In appointing Bosworth a senior fellow, Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** said the Kennedy School was fortunate to be able to take advantage of the experience of "one of the most influential experts in the world on Korean policy."

Bosworth is reveling in the array of seminars and events at the Center and the Kennedy School, and in renewing relationships with longtime colleagues including **Gary Samore** and **Nicholas Burns**.

"It's just a very congenial place for me to be," Bosworth said. "As I tell my wife, every day is like a visit to the candy store."



**Korean Connections:** Then U.S. Special Envoy on North Korea **Stephen Bosworth** is surrounded by reporters after holding the first meeting with North Korean Vice Minister **Kim Kyu Gwan** in New York on July 28, 2011.

# FEATURED FELLOWS

In this issue, the Belfer Center is pleased to feature three Center fellows: **Annie Tracy Samuel**, International Security Program (ISP) research fellow, **Robert Reardon**, postdoctoral fellow with the Project on Managing the Atom / ISP, and **Jieun Baek**, Belfer Center International and Global Affairs student fellow.

## Tehran via Tel Aviv: Annie Tracy Samuel's Academic Journey

by Ramiro Gonzalez Lorca



**Grasping the Past:** Annie Tracy Samuel speaks at an International Security Program seminar on "The Open Door and U.S. Policy in Iraq between the World Wars."

Research Fellow **Annie Tracy Samuel's** passion for the Middle East was born from a love of history. As a history major at Columbia, her coursework stoked a particular curiosity for the region. "Learning about the breakup of these multi-national, multi-ethnic empires that was going on during World War I got me very interested in other parts

of the world," she said, "and particularly the period following the First World War in the Middle East." This nascent interest in the region steered her academic journey in some new directions, leading to her expertise in the history and politics of the Middle East and Iran, and a fellowship with the Belfer Center.

While finishing her senior thesis, Tracy

Samuel's determination to further study the Middle East culminated in a last-minute application to Tel Aviv University's master's program in Middle Eastern History. The self-described "girl who was never going to leave the island of Manhattan" soon announced to friends and family her departure for Israel in six weeks—right before the outbreak of the

2006 Lebanon War. Undaunted, she went ahead. Her first weeks in Israel were marked by the realities of the conflict: fighter jets flew over the beaches while the university's dorms took in refugees from the north. As her studies progressed, she discovered the university's Center for Iranian Studies and, with it, her own interest in Iran. Its founding director encouraged her to remain at Tel Aviv for her PhD and to become part of the center.

Delving into Iran's foreign policy led her to the event that forged the character of today's Islamic Republic: the Iran-Iraq War. She also found missing pieces of the war's history. "I found volumes of sources about the war written by the Revolutionary Guards," said Tracy Samuel. The gaps she discovered in the mainstream histories of the war—filled in by these new sources—would form the basis of her doctoral dissertation.

Regarding today's Iran, Tracy Samuel urges cautious optimism following the election of **Hassan Rouhani**.

**For more on Annie Tracy Samuel, see:**  
<http://belfercenter.org/ATS>

## Robert Reardon: Sanctions, Inducements, and How to Handle Iran

by Alexandra Van Dine

As the United States and Iran approach a historic moment in their relations (or lack thereof), smart diplomatic interaction has never been more important. Belfer Center postdoctoral fellow **Robert Reardon** highlights the communications trap into which many policymakers fall when trying to explain this issue to the American public.

Reardon points to two factors that stymie public understanding of the highly nuanced issue of Iran's nuclear program: the dual-use nature of Iran's nuclear technology and domestic efforts to confine the discussion to a "good guys vs. bad guys" narrative.

"I think the dual-use aspect of nuclear technology is a problem when you're explaining this to the general public," he says. Iran's clandestine efforts to develop its program suggest illegal weaponization, not legal development of peaceful nuclear technology to which it is entitled under the Non-Proliferation Treaty. As a result, the American public focuses solely on the specter of an Iranian bomb, making any Iranian development of nuclear technology

politically dead in the water in the United States. This hinders diplomatic engagement, as peaceful development becomes a more problematic bargaining chip.

The tendency to squish the Iranian nuclear program into a right vs. wrong narrative further complicates the issue. Reardon explains, "You run into this problem where saying something like 'You need to understand their point of view' or trying to explain that there's a lot of nuance is interpreted as defending or agreeing with [Iran.]"

He argues that this practice has a negative impact on American policymaking. "A critical piece of information is better understanding how your adversaries view the world. That should be a priority in our government, hiring people capable of doing that and getting deci-

sion-makers to understand how the other side thinks."

As the United States faces a critical diplomatic moment with Iran, Robert Reardon's research on sanctions and positive inducements is more relevant than ever.

**For more on Robert Reardon, see:**  
<http://belfercenter.org/Reardon>



**Policy Pitfalls?** Robert Reardon presents on "Containing Iran" at an International Security Program seminar. Also at the table: **Stephen Walt** (left) and **Steven Miller**.



# Jieun Baek on North Korea and Giving Back

by Catalina Gaitan

Belfer Center International and Global Affairs Student Fellow **Jieun Baek** has had a busy two years. Since leaving a prestigious job with Google to pursue her masters at Harvard Kennedy School, Baek has worked on a project with Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Director **Graham Allison**, traveled the world, and has run a successful campaign for student body president. Along the way she has kept a blog, “Inalienable,” which catalogues her travels and ongoing work on North Korea.

“It was phenomenal to gain a lot of personal experiences that are nearly impossible to gain from merely reading and watching the news,” said Baek, 26, whose blog followed her through various countries such as Turkey, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, and China.

Baek was born in Los Angeles to Korean-American parents and received her degree in government and international relations from Harvard in 2010. Prior to graduating, however, she took a year off to intern for the U.S. State Department in Austria and Germany, where she gained firsthand experience of Middle Eastern conflict, including multiple civilian-led protests in Istanbul and Bahrain.



**Bridging Gaps:** Jieun Baek discusses “Divided Families,” a documentary she’s producing on Korean families separated after the Korean War.

**“I was standing in front of the flesh and blood that was the result of a divided country, 60 years later, in human form. My father could have easily been born in North Korea, but was born 35 miles south of the DMZ, and his fate could not have been more different than the man I was standing in front of.”**

—From Jieun Baek’s North Korea blog on a conversation with a soldier

Baek furthered these travels in August, when she co-led a group of students on a weeklong trip to North Korea. “I didn’t really know what to expect,” said Baek, who was the first in her family to have contact with North Korean soil since 1948. “I thought I was going to be condemned, that people would shun me or think I was the child of a traitor. But people approached me with sheer curiosity.”

Since returning to the Kennedy School in 2012 for her masters in public policy, Baek has used her traveling experiences to help in her work as a returning research fellow for Graham Allison.

Her primary focus is strategies for improved U.S.-North Korea relations.

She is also starting her term as the Kennedy School’s student body president. She and her vice president campaigned for “One School, One Community, One Network” to bring students in the Kennedy School together. “It’s a relatively small school, only about 900 students, and it’s probably one of the most interesting student bodies in the world, but after a few weeks of school it becomes a very siloed community.”

As has become evident to her professors and peers, a common theme with Baek’s work, whether it is developing strategies for improved international relations or helping her peers develop lasting friendships, is serving others. “The biggest teaching I’ve internalized is the importance of using higher education to serve society. I think I’ve learned from college and especially at the Kennedy School to use my knowledge for others,” said Baek, who hopes to serve in U.S. government after college. “I’ve gained so much from a personal and a professional standpoint, and for my academic career, and I know I have a duty to give back.”



**Shrouded in Secrecy:** Jieun Baek with a North Korean soldier. She blurred the photo to protect his identity.

## Fellows on the Move

- **Hassan Abbas** (former ISP fellow and Center senior adviser) is now director of the South and Central Asia program at National Defense University.
- **May Al-Dabbagh**, Dubai Initiative fellow/associate (2006–11) is currently a research fellow with the Kennedy School’s Women and Public Policy Program. She is assistant professor of social research and public policy, New York University, Abu Dhabi.
- **Khalid Alsweilem**, former chief counselor and director general of investment at the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency, has been appointed a Belfer Center non-resident fellow.
- **Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen** (STPP research fellow 2006–08 and Dubai Initiative fellow 2008–09) is assistant professor in the Department of Culture and Global Studies at Aalborg University, Denmark.
- **Chuck Freilich** (ISP senior fellow) is serving on the U.S. Special Operations Commander’s International Senior Steering Group.
- **Jacqueline Hazelton** (ISP fellow 2009–11) has been named assistant professor in the Department of Strategy and Policy at the U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI.
- **Alan J. Kuperman** (ISP fellow 2000–01) is a 2013–14 Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow at the U.S. Inst. of Peace, Washington, D.C.
- **Assaf Moghadam** (ISP/Initiative on Religion in International Affairs fellow 2004–10) has been promoted to associate professor with tenure at International Institute for Counter-Terrorism Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel.
- **Scott Moore** (Giorgio Ruffolo Post-doctoral Research Fellow, Sustainability Science Program/ETIP research group 2013–14) received his DPhil in Politics from Oxford University this fall.
- **Aaron Rapport** (ISP research fellow 2009–10) is a lecturer in the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Cambridge.
- **Anand Toprani** (Ernest May Fellow 2012–13) is assistant professor of strategy and policy at the Naval War College in Newport.
- **Matt Waldman** (ISP fellow) has been named associate fellow of Chatham House, working with their ‘Opportunity in Crisis’ project on sustainable peace in Afghanistan.

**For more on Jieun Baek, see:**  
<http://belfercenter.org/Baek>



# BELFER S



**Rights for All:** Former Regional Representative for the Middle East of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights **Fateh Azzam** speaks at a Middle East Initiative seminar. Azzam discussed human rights issues raised at the Universal Periodic Review of 10 Arab States and their acceptance and rejection of recommendations made by the Human Rights Council.



MARTHA STEWART

**Tense Times:** Belfer Center Senior Fellows **Dan Meridor** (left), deputy prime minister of Israel (2009–13) and **Robert Zoellick**, head of the World Bank (2007–12), exchange thoughts at a JFK Jr. Forum on the U.S.-Israeli relationship and whether the two countries are “On the Same Page Regarding Regional Challenges.” Not pictured: **Meghan O’Sullivan**, **Michèle Flournoy** and Major General (ret.) **Amos Yadlin**.



**Disarmaments Discussion:** Baroness **Shirley Williams**, long-time leader in the UK Parliament and member of the International Commission on Nuclear Disarmament and Proliferation, speaks at the Belfer Center about “The Future for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament.” Williams, who serves on the Center’s board of directors, is joined by former Mexico President **Felipe Calderón** and professor **William Hogan**.



**Strategies on Security:** Armenian Foreign Minister **Edward Nalbandian** speaks at a Belfer Center Director’s Lunch on “The Security Component in Armenian Foreign Policy.” Prior to becoming foreign minister, Nalbandian was ambassador to Egypt, Morocco, and Oman, and later helped develop Armenian-French interstate relations in his position as ambassador to France.



**Defense for All:** Colonel **David Hamilton**, U.S. Army (left), a Weatherhead Fellow at Harvard, makes a point during a gathering of the Harvard group For the Common Defense. Also pictured, on right, is National Security Fellow Lieutenant Colonel **Mike McNealy**, U.S. Army. For the Common Defense is a Kennedy School-based study group that discusses American military affairs.



**Portrait of Putin:** **Fiona Hill**, director of the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution, and former associate director of the Belfer Center’s Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, speaks to faculty and fellows about her book, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. From 2006–2009, Hill was the National Intelligence Officer for Russia and Eurasia at The National Intelligence Council.



# PEAKERS

MARTHA STEWART



**Home and Abroad:** **Richard Haass**, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, discusses “American Foreign Policy: Does It Begin at Home?” at a JFK Jr. Forum in September. The conversation with Haass, moderated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, focused on the crisis in Syria as well as other foreign policy challenges. Haass is currently chairing a peace and reconciliation effort in N. Ireland.



**Hunger Is Not a Game:** Vice Chairman of the World Economic Forum **Josette Sheeran**, a former Fisher Family Fellow with the Future of Diplomacy program, speaks at a Future of Diplomacy event on “Leading in a Flat World—Lessons from the Frontlines of World Hunger.” Sheeran previously served as the eleventh executive director of the UN World Food Programme.



**U.S.-India Intentions:** Indian Foreign Minister **Salman Khurshid** speaks about the relationship between India and the United States in a presentation to students, fellows, and faculty at Harvard Kennedy School. Sponsored by the Belfer Center’s India and South Asia Program, the presentation was followed by a conversation with **Nicholas Burns**, faculty director of the program.



**Afghan Actions:** Ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) **Douglas E. Lute** speaks at a Belfer Center Director’s Lunch on challenges ahead for NATO and Afghanistan. Lute served under **Presidents Bush and Obama** as assistant to the president, deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, and deputy assistant to the president focusing on Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India.

KRIS SNIBBE



**Veterans Affairs:** The Belfer Center’s **Meghan O’Sullivan**, Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School (HKS), greets Harvard’s military veterans and active-duty service members to Harvard’s traditional fall welcome. Speakers at the event included Harvard President **Drew Faust** and Army General (ret.) **Stanley McChrystal**.



**Coming Together:** **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti** (left), director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, and Assistant Professor of Public Policy **Laura Diaz Anadon** discuss collaboration ideas with Professor **Su Jun** (center right), director of the Science, Technology, and Education Policy program at Tsinghua University, and ETIP fellows **Yue Guo** (right) and **Xia Di** (3rd from right).



# Khoury Adds Perspective to Middle East Turmoil

by James F. Smith

**Rami G. Khouri**, a veteran Middle East journalist and scholar, captured the intense drama of the nearly three-year-old Arab Spring with one statistic: while many recall the self-immolation by Tunisian activist **Mohamed Bouazizi** on Dec. 17, 2010, as the spark for the uprisings, Khouri noted that no fewer than 65 Arabs set themselves ablaze in the months following Bouazizi's act to draw attention to grievances across the region.

Khoury, a senior fellow of the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative, said at a seminar in October that those personal acts of protest underscore the unprecedented pace and intensity of the Arab uprisings against authoritarian regimes.

**The barbarism [in Syria] is so extreme because those involved see this as an existential battle between "two gladiators fighting in a pit, where one will die and one will live."**

Khoury, who is also director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut, said Arabs are trying to compress into a couple of years a process of state-building that has taken two centuries in the United States and elsewhere. What's more, Khouri said, Arabs are trying to achieve this transformation amid severe economic threats, existential environmental challenges, and complex foreign intervention.

Khoury cited several drastic changes in the Arab world since December 2010:

- Entire citizenries now feel a sense of empowerment and citizenship.
- The protests have led to the birth of new



**Regional Turbulence:** Middle East Initiative Senior Fellow **Rami Khouri** speaks at a Middle East Initiative seminar on "Revolutions, Constitutions, and Counter-Revolutions: A Middle East Update." The Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative Director **Hilary Rantisi** introduced Khouri.

"public political spheres" where people can compete and debate (even if the rules change almost week to week on what can be discussed).

- People are engaged in a "heroic struggle to shape a new social contract" as citizens and authorities in each nation work to find a way to work together that responds to citizens' rights and expectations.
- The uprisings have achieved a form of populist legitimacy, anchored in the rule of law but with new forms of governance emerging.

For example, Khouri said, the government of Oman recently made concessions to striking school teachers, which would have been unthinkable a few years ago.

But in many places nationalism is now caught in a fierce struggle with sub-national identities, Khouri said, especially in the form of sectarian divides. The result is that "these state structures are still thin" because they have never been validated by their own peoples.

Khoury, who lives in Beirut and is a contributing editor to *The Daily Star* newspaper there, called the Syrian war "the greatest proxy war of all time." He said the barbarism there is so extreme because those involved see this as an existential battle between "two gladiators fighting in a pit, where one will die and one will live."

He said the arc across Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon has become a single ideological unit that is now also "the world's greatest driver of Salafist terrorism."

Khoury said the region is living through a spellbinding process that seeks to drive Arab nations toward legitimate constitutions and functioning states that respect the social contract with citizens for the first time. He said he expects that process to succeed in some countries, especially Tunisia where the uprising began. But he said it may fail elsewhere, or sputter along through years of uncertainty.



**Facing Choices:** **Djavad Salehi**, visiting scholar with the Middle East Initiative, speaks to faculty, fellows and students on "The Politics and Economics of Transitions in the Middle East."

## MEI Invites Debate on Choices Facing Middle East

As part of its mission to encourage deeper engagement with the people and cultures of the Middle East, the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative (MEI) is offering a rich series of seminars that examine the complex transitions taking place, particularly in relation to politics, economics, and the humanitarian crisis in Syria and surrounding countries.

**Djavad Salehi-Isfahani**, professor of Economics at Virginia Tech and Fall 2013 Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar with MEI, is leading seminars to illuminate the politics and economics of choices facing countries throughout the Middle East as well as the experience of actual transitions in Egypt and Tunisia.

"Countries in the Middle East that have experienced uprisings and revolutions confront serious economic challenges—

old ones inherited from the past and new ones created by the uprising itself," Salehi-Isfahani said. "They face the need to stabilize their economies at a time when revolutions have raised expectations for redistribution and jobs. At the same time they have to deal with the almost contradictory demands for radical change to economic structures that had given rise to inequality, unemployment and poverty, the very circumstances that had brought the revolutions in the first place."

A separate series focuses on the plight of Syrian refugees and the escalating humanitarian crisis in Syria and its neighboring countries.

**For more information on the Middle East Initiative's activities, see:**  
[www.belfercenter.org/middleeast](http://www.belfercenter.org/middleeast)



# Under Rouhani, New Opportunities or Same Policies?

During Iranian President **Hassan Rouhani's** September visit to New York to address the United Nations General Assembly, he met with a select group of scholars and journalists that included several Iranian/nuclear experts from the Belfer Center. These included **Graham Allison, Gary Samore, Olli Heinonen, David Sanger, and David Ignatius.**

Below, David Ignatius, *Washington Post* columnist and a senior fellow with the Center's Future of Diplomacy Program, summarizes his takeaways from the meeting with President Rouhani. His thoughts are followed by commentary from other Belfer Center Iranian experts:

- Rouhani stressed that he is “fully empowered to finalize the nuclear talks” by Iran’s supreme leader, Ali Khamenei, a claim confirmed by Western intelligence reports.
- The Iranian president wants to move very quickly to resolve the nuclear issue, through negotiations. Rouhani said his choice would be a three-month timetable, and that six months would still be “good.”
- Rouhani said he was prepared to offer extensive “transparency” measures to reassure the West that Iran doesn’t intend to build a bomb.
- He didn’t discuss the level of uranium enrichment that Iran would adopt...but a knowledgeable Iranian source said...he might be willing to cap enrichment at 5 percent.
- Rouhani said Iran wants to join a new round of Geneva negotiations for a political transition in Syria so long as there are no preconditions on Iranian participation.
- He stressed his desire to first resolve the nuclear issue, where he has the most expertise and authority from Khamenei. After that, he said, the United States and Iran can discuss broader issues of normalization.

Compiled by Catalina Gaitan

## More perspectives on Iran:

**Graham Allison, Belfer Center Director**

*“Anyone who believes that there is a 20 percent chance that Iran could either get a bomb or be bombed within the next year should recognize that the consequences of either outcome drive this issue to the top of the foreign policy agenda, not only for Israel but for the United States.”*

(*The Atlantic*, “Will Iran Get a Bomb—or Be Bombed Itself—This Year,” Aug. 1, 2013)

**Olli Heinonen, Belfer Center Senior Fellow and former Deputy Director General of the IAEA**

*“Iran continues to stall in providing substantial answers,” and “what remains to be seen is whether a more moderate language leads to concrete results.”*

(*Bloomberg*, “Nuclear Nuts & Bolts, Politics Loom Over Iran Talks,” Sept. 28, 2013)

**Gary Samore, Belfer Center Executive Director for Research and former White House Coordinator for Arms Control and WMD Terrorism**

*“Nobody is fooled by the charm offense; everybody understands the supreme leader is seeking nuclear weapons. No matter how many times Rouhani smiles doesn’t change the basic objective of the program.”*

(*Foreign Policy*, “Iran’s Charm Offensive Has Diplomats Asking Themselves: Is It Real?” Sept. 23, 2013)

**David Sanger, New York Times Chief Washington Correspondent and Belfer Center Senior Fellow and Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy**

*“While it is possible to monitor a country’s known enrichment sites, weapons labs are hard to find, and the knowledge of how to build a bomb impossible to erase.”*

(*New York Times*, “Big Challenges Remain Despite Progress on Iran,” Sept. 28, 2013)

For more expert analysis on Iran, see:  
[www.belfercenter.org/IranPerspectives](http://www.belfercenter.org/IranPerspectives)

## Experts on Syrian Crisis: How to End the Bloodshed

by Ramiro Gonzalez Lorca

On September 24, the Belfer Center and the Institute of Politics co-sponsored a discussion on the state of the ongoing crisis in Syria. “The Syrian Tragedy: Ending the Bloodshed” was moderated by Kennedy School Professor **Meghan O’Sullivan** and featured **Frederic Hof**, senior fellow at The Atlantic Council’s Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East, **Joseph Bahout**, professor of Middle Eastern studies at Sciences Po Paris, and **Mona Yacoubian**, senior advisor on the Middle East at the Stimson Center.

As pointed out early in the discussion by Yacoubian, the two-year civil war has seen 110,000 people killed and one third of the country’s population displaced. According to Yacoubian, the situation on the ground is one of stalemate, and will remain so for years.

Hof described Assad’s chemical attack as the “tip of the iceberg” in what is really a deliberate program by the regime to use its military apparatus against civilian population centers that it can no longer control. Furthermore, added Hof, the flooding of our regional allies with displaced Syrians could

be detrimental to the U.S. national security interests.

Aiming to view the conflict in terms of its broader political implications, Bahout referred to the ongoing war as a “regional and maybe quasi-planetary crisis”—a proxy war between Iran on the one hand, and Turkey, the Gulf States, and the West on the other.

Yacoubian pointed out that the diplomatic progress made so far in having the Syrian regime surrender its chemical arms is notable, and that negotiations with Iran and Russia should not be discarded as tools to shift the paradigm on the ground in Syria.

The event concluded with a lively question-and-answer session, where Hof called attention to an International Independent Commission of Inquiry report that placed the blame for civilian attacks on the Assad regime alongside three al-Qaeda affiliated groups. “Let’s not make the error of using the same brush to tar the regime and the opposition,” Hof said.

Watch two Syria forums at:  
<http://forum.iop.harvard.edu>

## Harvard-Belfer on Syria

The Belfer Center’s Harvard-Belfer on Syria website provides a one-stop shop to assist policymakers and policyshapers as they seek to answer questions relating to the crisis in Syria. From this site, visitors can access facts, statements from world leaders, analytic arguments, and key considerations such as international and domestic law, deterrence, and accountability.

For facts and analysis on Syria, see:  
<http://belfercenter.org/HarvardBelferOnSyria>



# HOT OFF THE PRESSES

## ***A Case for Climate Engineering***

By **David Keith**,  
Professor of Public Policy  
Boston Review Books  
MIT Press (October 2013)

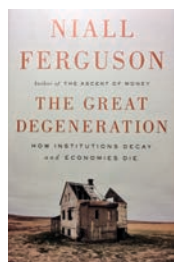


Climate engineering—which could slow the pace of global warming by injecting reflective particles into the upper atmosphere—has emerged in recent years as an extremely controversial technology. And for good reason: it carries unknown risks and it may undermine commitments to conserving energy. Some critics also view it as an immoral human breach of the natural world. The latter objection, David Keith argues is groundless; we have been using technology to alter our environment for years.

A leading scientist long concerned about climate change, Keith offers no naïve proposal for an easy fix to what is perhaps the most challenging question of our time; climate engineering is no silver bullet. But he argues that after decades during which very little progress has been made in reducing carbon emissions we must put this technology on the table and consider it responsibly. That doesn't mean we will deploy it, and it doesn't mean that we can abandon efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. But we must understand fully what research needs to be done and how the technology might be designed and used.

## ***The Great Degeneration: How Institutions Decay and Economies Die***

By **Niall Ferguson**, Board Member, Belfer Center  
Penguin Press (June 2013)



Symptoms of decline are all around us today: slowing growth, crushing debts, increasing inequality, aging populations, antisocial behavior. But what exactly has gone wrong? The answer, Niall Ferguson argues, is that our institutions—the intricate frameworks within which a society can flourish or fail—are degenerating.

*The Great Degeneration* is an incisive indictment of an era of negligence and complacency. While the Arab world struggles to adopt democracy and China struggles to move from economic liberalization to the rule of law, our society is squandering the institutional inheritance of centuries. To arrest the breakdown of our civilization, Ferguson warns, will take heroic leadership and radical reform.

## ***No Use: Nuclear Weapons and U.S. National Security***

By **Thomas M. Nichols**,  
Former Research Fellow,  
International Security  
Program/Project on  
Managing the Atom  
Haney Foundation Series  
University of Pennsylvania Press  
(December 2013)



In *No Use*, national security scholar Thomas M. Nichols offers a lucid, accessible reexamination of the role of nuclear weapons and their prominence in U.S. security strategy. Nichols explains why strategies built for the Cold War have survived into the twenty-first century, and he illustrates how America's nearly unshakable belief in the utility of nuclear arms has hindered U.S. and international attempts to slow the nuclear programs of volatile regimes in North Korea and Iran. From a solid historical foundation, Nichols makes the compelling argument that to end the danger of worldwide nuclear holocaust, the United States must take the lead in abandoning unrealistic threats of nuclear force and then create a new and more stable approach to deterrence for the twenty-first century.

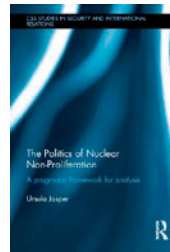
**“... [A] convincing case for ... relying on conventional deterrence and compellence to deal with nuclear proliferators.”**

*“A succinct and well-written account of an important and much-debated national security issue. Nichols makes a convincing case for abandoning nuclear threats and relying on conventional deterrence and compellence to deal with nuclear proliferators.”*

—**T.V. Paul, McGill University**

## ***The Politics of Nuclear Non-Proliferation: A Pragmatist Framework for Analysis***

By **Ursula Jasper**,  
Former Research Fellow,  
International Security  
Program/Project on Managing the Atom  
CSS Studies in Security and International Relations  
Routledge (October 2013)



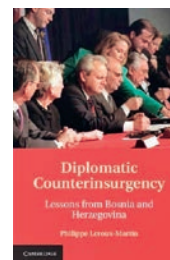
Drawing upon the philosophical and social-theoretical insights of American pragmatism, *The Politics of Nuclear Non-Proliferation*

provides a theoretically innovative and practically useful framework for the analysis of states' nuclear proliferation policies. Rather than recounting a parsimonious, lean account of proliferation, the framework allows for the incorporation of multiple paradigms in order to depict the complex political contestation underlying states' proliferation decisions. This pragmatist framework of analysis offers ways of overcoming long-standing metatheoretical gridlocks in the IR discipline and encourages scholars to reorient their efforts towards imminent “real-world” challenges.

## ***Diplomatic Counterinsurgency: Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina***

By **Philippe Leroux-Martin**, Former Fellow,  
Future of Diplomacy  
Project

Cambridge University Press (January 2014)



War does not stop when the armed conflict ends. This compelling eyewitness account of a key political crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2007 demonstrates how interventions from foreign powers to end armed conflict can create new forms of conflict that are not only as determined and resilient, but can lead groups to challenge the power of fragile states through political and legal means. Countering such challenges is an integral but often ignored part of peace processes. How do these nonviolent wars evolve? How can the power of fragile states be challenged through nonviolent means in the aftermath of armed conflict? And what is the role of diplomacy in countering such challenges? This book offers key insights for policy makers dealing with fragile states who seek answers to such questions.

**“... [A] most useful and original contribution to one of the most pressing foreign affairs questions...”**

*“This book makes a most useful and original contribution to one of the most pressing foreign affairs questions of our time. How can the international community be wiser and more successful in preventing war and creating peace after conflict....”*

—**Lord Paddy Ashdown, former High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina**



# NEWSMAKERS



The **Graham Allison, Robert Blackwill** book *Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States, and the World* has been “highly recommended” by Chinese President **Xi Jinping**. The book about the Singapore visionary has been translated into Chinese.



**Ashton B. Carter**, outgoing deputy secretary of the Department of Defense and former director of the Belfer Center, has won the 2013 Ronald Reagan Missile Defense Award and the National Defense Industrial Association's annual Dwight D. Eisenhower Award for support of a strong defense.



**Paula Dobriansky**, senior fellow with the Future of Diplomacy Project, has received the Walter Judd Freedom Award, presented annually by The Fund for American Studies to recognize individuals “who have advanced the cause of freedom in the United States and abroad.” Past recipients include President Ronald Reagan.



The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has elected Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program Director **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti**, to the Academy's Board of Directors, and International Security Program Director **Steven E. Miller**, to the Academy Council. Established by the Massachusetts legislature in 1780, the Academy recognizes achievement in the natural sciences, social sciences, arts, and humanities.



**Meghan O'Sullivan** is vice-chair of an All Party Group commissioned by the government of Northern Ireland to look at peace and reconciliation issues. She is working with Richard Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, who is chairing the effort. The panel is charged with presenting a set of recommendations supported by all of the parties before the end of the year.



**Samantha Power**, former project director of the Belfer Center's Human Rights Initiative, has been named U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Previously, she served as special assistant to President Obama and was senior director of the Office of Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights in the National Security Council.



**Fotini Christia**, former International Security Program research fellow, has received the 2013 Luebbert Best Book Award for *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. This award, given by the APSA's Comparative Politics section, is for the best book in comparative politics published in the past two years. Her book has also been awarded the 2013 Lepgold prize for best book on international relations.



**Teresa Cravo**, former International Security Program fellow and associate, was awarded the “Best PhD Student Paper 2013” by the European International Studies Association. Cravo's paper was titled “The Construction of Mozambique's Success” and was on a chapter from her PhD thesis.

## International Security

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### The Meaning of the Cyber Revolution: Perils to Theory and Statecraft

Lucas Kello

While decisionmakers warn about the cyber threat constantly, there is little systematic analysis of the issue from an international security studies perspective. Cyberweapons are expanding the range of possible harm between the concepts of war and peace, and give rise to enormous defense complications and dangers to strategic stability. It is detrimental to the intellectual progress and policy relevance of the security studies field to continue to avoid the cyber revolution's central questions.

### Fueling the Fire: Pathways from Oil to War

Jeff D. Colgan

While the threat of “resource wars” over possession of oil reserves is often exaggerated, between one-quarter and one-half of interstate wars since 1973 have been connected to one or more of eight distinct oil-related causal mechanisms. Understanding these mechanisms can help policymakers design grand strategy and allocate military resources.

### How Oil Influences U.S. National Security

Charles L. Glaser

U.S. scholars and policymakers commonly worry that a lack of “energy security” hurts U.S. national security, yet few have analyzed the links between states' energy requirements and the probability of military conflict. An investigation of these links identifies threats to the U.S. national security flowing from other countries' consumption of oil, rather than just U.S. consumption. Furthermore, while many of the security threats associated with Persian Gulf oil have decreased, new oil-driven dangers are emerging in Northeast Asia.

### Legitimizing Power:

#### The Domestic Politics of U.S. International Hierarchy

David A. Lake

An examination of U.S. indirect rule over Europe and Central America during the past century suggests that international hierarchy is compatible with democracy and rendered legitimate only when it creates large gains or when subordinate societies share policy preferences similar to those of the United States. In the contemporary Middle East, these conditions are absent, implying that the United States is better off retrenching “East of Suez.”

### The Myth of Cyberwar:

#### Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth

Erik Gartzke

Cyberwar has been described as a revolution in military affairs capable of overturning the prevailing world order. By itself, however, cyberwar can achieve neither conquest nor, in most cases, coercion. Conflict over the Internet is much more likely to serve as an adjunct to, rather than a substitute for, existing modes of terrestrial force, and to augment the advantages of status quo powers rather than threatening existing political hierarchies.



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The Belfer Center has a dual mission: (1) to provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect, and (2) to prepare future generations of leaders for these arenas.

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# BELFER IN BRIEF

COURTESY KATHERINE GORDON



At the top: **Katherine (Katie) Gordon**, project coordinator with the Center's Agricultural Innovation in Africa project, at the summit of Tanzania's Mt. Kilimanjaro.



BRITISH CEREMONIAL ARTS

Judge Juma: Professor **Calestous Juma** meets with **Queen Elizabeth** at Buckingham Palace to celebrate the first Queen Elizabeth prize for Engineering.



Coffee Shop Talk: **Nicholas Burns** (center), director of the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy Project, and **Charles Ogletree** (right), Jesse Climenko Professor at Harvard Law School, are interviewed about Syria by MSNBC's **Chuck Todd** (left) in Harvard Square's Crema Café.



Look of the Future: 2013 Belfer International Global Affairs (IGA) Student Fellows: First row (left to right): **Graham Allison**, Belfer Center director; **Gretchen Bartlett**, IGA area manager; **Heather Dennehy** (MPP2); **Zeina Shuhaibar** (MPP2); **Mark Dlugash** (MPP2); **Olivia Zetter** (MPP1); **Amelia Mitchell** (MPP1); **Jieun Baek** (MPP2), and **Gary Samore**, Belfer Center Executive Director. Second row (left to right): **William Clark**, IGA area chair, **Roy Dalton** (MPP2); **Michele Golabek-Goldman** (MPP2); **Iranga Kahangama** (MPP2); **Farzin Mirshahi** (MPP2); **Frank Broomell** (MPP1); **Jonathan Hillman** (MPP2); and **Charles Warren** (MPP1). Not pictured: **Julia Stern** (MPP1)