



HARVARD Kennedy School

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Center Deepens Engagement with China

Australia's Kevin Rudd to Enhance China Research as Senior Fellow



China Challenges: Former Australian Prime Minister **Kevin Rudd** (left), **William C. Kirby** (center), director of Harvard's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies from 2006–2013, and **William Tobey**, Belfer Center senior fellow, discuss a new type of power relationship between China and the U.S. at a Belfer Center director's lunch.

In a move that will add depth and breadth to ongoing collaboration between the Belfer Center and Harvard Kennedy School's Ash Center on critical issues related to China, former Australian Prime Minister **Kevin Rudd** joined the Belfer Center in February as a resident senior fellow.

Rudd, who was prime minister of Australia from 2007 to 2010 and again in 2013, and is also a Chinese history and language scholar, will explore possibilities and impacts of a new strategic China-U.S. relationship. Rudd will also be a fellow with the HKS Institute of Politics. (See announcement: <http://belfercenter.org/Rudd>.)

"We are extremely pleased to have Kevin Rudd join the Belfer Center and Kennedy School," Center Director **Graham Allison** said. "His expertise on China, combined with his strategic perspective, will advance our collaborative work with **Tony Saich** and the Ash Center."

See highlights of Kennedy School engagement with China **on page 13**



Reaching Out: Harvard Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph Nye** receives an honorary doctorate from Shandong University President **Zhang Rong**.



Invited to Speak: Ash Center Director **Tony Saich** (right) in Nanjing, China, with host **Li Yuanchao**, vice president of the People's Republic of China.

See Inside:



Why Iran Matters

Excerpts from *Iran Matters*, the Belfer Center's one-stop shop for topics on the Iran nuclear agreement, co-chaired by **Graham Allison** and **Gary Samore**.

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FROM THE DIRECTOR

Indira Alli

The recent announcement that the Belfer Center has been ranked the “best university-affiliated research center” in the United States was gratifying. While efforts to rank institutions of this kind face serious methodological obstacles, the fact that the University of

Pennsylvania’s Think Tank and Civil Societies program and its director **James McGann** reviewed 6,825 think tanks around the world and engaged 2,000 scholars, journalists, policymakers, and government officials in the assessment process gives the selection some standing.

When Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman **Mike Mullen** was asked what he judged the greatest threat to American National Security, he did not answer Al Qaeda, Iran, or Pakistan. Instead, he said the greatest threats to the U.S. are uncontrolled deficits and unsustainable national debt. The necessary prerequisite of the projection of power abroad is a sound economic foundation at home. In the years ahead, the strength of the American economy relative to our competitors, specifically China, will be a decisive factor in determining our ability to remain a leading force in the world.

The Belfer Center is fortunate that our reflections on international challenges are informed by insights from a remarkable group of political economists among our faculty, fellows, and members of our International Council. Not surprisingly, they often disagree, as this issue’s summary of competing views on current challenges to the American economy suggest. But to have **Larry Summers, Bob Zoellick, Marty Feldstein, Niall Ferguson, Paul Volcker, Carmen Reinhardt, Jeff Frankel, Robert Lawrence, David Petraeus**, and many others engaged with the rest of us is exhilarating and illuminating.

On the China front, the Center has also been widening our



Distinguished Dialogue: Participants in a recent Belfer Center/Crown Center Israel Track II Dialogue included Belfer Center senior fellows **David Ignatius** (left), **Robert Zoellick** (2nd from right), and **Thomas Donilon** (right), and **Lester Crown**, of Brandeis’ Crown Center for Middle East Studies.

collaboration and deepening our inquiries. In cooperation with Tony Saich, director of the Ash Center, a working group that includes **Hoss Cartwright, Kevin Rudd, Richard Rosecrance, Joe Nye, Nick Burns, Tom Donilon, Meghan O’Sullivan, Henry Lee, Kelly Gallagher**, and others, is analyzing issues from economic reforms to Thucydides’ Trap, from energy and climate to cyber security.

A new website—Iran Matters—created by our Communication Team and Executive Director **Gary Samore** provides a one-stop shop for what we believe is the “best analysis and best facts” on the Iranian nuclear challenge. Gary, **Arielle Dworkin** (our Digital Communications Manager), **Andrew Wojtanik**, and others are aggregating and curating best analyses from all sources. We are fortunate to have a top in-house team working nuclear issues, including Professor **Matt Bunn** and Senior Fellows **Will Tobey** and **Olli Heinonen**. As the Obama administration seeks to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear agreement that verifiably denies Iran an exercisable nuclear weapons option, and a major Senate initiative to impose further sanctions on Iran now advances, the need for sound, impartial analysis has never been greater.

Experts Brief Nuclear Summit Planners on Terrorism Threats, Security



NUCLEAR SECURITY MATTERS
Analysis and Facts in Support of the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit from Harvard’s Belfer Center

Check out the new Nuclear Security Summit website at:
www.nuclearsummit.org

In preparation for the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) set for March 24–25 in The Netherlands, Belfer Center nuclear experts have been consulting with Dutch planners and briefing Summit organizers (Sherpas) from participating countries on the continuing threat of nuclear terrorism. In addition, the Center has developed a website devoted entirely to the Summit and issues related to nuclear security and terrorism (www.nuclearsummit.org).

Beginning soon after the 2012 nuclear summit in Seoul, the Center’s **Matthew Bunn, Gary Samore, and William Tobey** began meeting with Dutch organizer **Piet de Klerk** on various aspects of the planning. Along with de Klerk, Bunn and Tobey have presented nuclear threat briefings to various audiences, including Japanese policymakers

and the UN First Committee in New York.

This fall, Tobey presented a paper on how to measure Summit success to policymakers in Washington and diplomats accredited to the IAEA in Vienna. In January, he briefed a Sherpas meeting in Thailand on the “U.S. Russian Joint Threat Assessment on Nuclear Terrorism,” developed by the Belfer Center and Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies.

The Center’s new Nuclear Security Summit website presents numerous new reports and papers, including:

- A pre-summit report on progress toward securing nuclear weapons and the materials around the world.
- A revised and updated briefing on the continuing threat of nuclear terrorism.
- Results of a survey of nuclear security experts in many countries on what

factors drive efforts to strengthen nuclear security.

- A paper on the IAEA’s possible expanded future role in nuclear security.
- A joint paper with Chinese colleagues on nuclear terrorism and security in China.
- A paper on coping with insider threats, with 10 “worst practices” to avoid.

The site also provides easy access to Belfer Center publications such as: “Planning for Success at the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit;” “Steps to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism,” a joint U.S.-Russian paper; “Plutonium Mountain: Inside the 17-Year Mission to Secure a Legacy of Soviet Nuclear Testing;” and “Strengthening Global Approaches to Nuclear Security.”

Center Multidisciplinary Team Tackles Energy and Water Challenges

Researchers Focus on U.S., China, MENA

With a team of scientists, engineers, and political scientists, the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP) and Energy Technology Innovation Policy group (ETIP) are tackling critical global issues related to energy challenges and water-energy connections. During the past few months, STPP/ETIP faculty, fellows, and visiting scholars have conducted research, made presentations, and held high-level discussions in the U.S., China, and the Gulf region. The work is a joint effort of STPP and the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP) along with Harvard Kennedy School's Sustainability Science Program.

Laura Diaz Anadon, assistant professor of public policy, STPP associate director, and co-principal investigator of STPP's ETIP research group, summarized aspects of the group's research on U.S. energy challenges in a presentation at the National Academy of Engineering's 2013 U.S. Frontiers of Engineering Symposium this fall. She spoke on the U.S. challenges of dependence on fossil fuels and highlighted the key role government policies could have on accelerating technology innovation; e.g., by increasing R&D investments and policy stability and coordination.

Water/Energy Nexus

This is the third year of STPP/ETIP's Water/Energy Nexus (WEN) project, which quantifies challenges posed by the interlinkages between water and energy systems in areas already suffering acute water scarcity, focusing on the U.S., China, and the Middle East-North Africa (MENA). Issues in these regions include challenges of procuring water for various power, fuel, industrial, and

residential needs, and environmental impacts of using the water. The WEN project was initiated by Anadon and STPP Director **Narayanamurti**.

The Water/Energy Nexus project researches energy impact in water-scarce regions.

In U.S., Implications of Fossil and Biofuels

The U.S. is currently confronting choices related to the controversial Renewable Fuel Standard (RFS) and the regional water use implications of reducing oil imports under the RFS when compared to six other scenarios: shale oil, coal-to-liquids, shale gas to liquids, corn ethanol, and cellulosic ethanol from switchgrass. A paper by Anadon, former ETIP fellows **Sarah Jordaan** and **Erik Mielke**, and Harvard professor **Dan Schrag** concludes that there may be considerable water and land impacts associated with meeting energy security goals through biofuels and demonstrates a method for integrating federal policies with regional planning.

China's Water Dilemma

Along these lines, postdoctoral research fellows **Chao Zhang** and **Scott Moore**, who work jointly with the Sustainability Science Program and ETIP, have explored the challenges in China. Anadon and ETIP associate Zhang have shown that Chinese energy production is responsible for significant water use, with most environmental damage in the arid North. Moore, working with ENRP Director **Henry Lee**, spent several months in China this fall



In Jordan: **Afreen Siddiqi** (3rd from left) visits a self-contained solar powered hydroponic system that grows vegetables, breeds fish, and supplies energy for heating.

researching Water Rights Trading and the South-North Water Transfer Project. He is exploring best solutions to the scarcity of water in the North where most development is taking place.

Gulf Agriculture, Energy, and Water

WEN team members **Afreen Siddiqi**, STPP visiting scholar, and postdoctoral fellow **Mattijs van Maasakkers** traveled to the Gulf region recently to meet with high level government and private sector officials and local community leaders and farmers to assess critical interactions between the water and energy sectors in the region.

Siddiqi was in Jordan to study current policies and technologies being used to manage water and energy resources. She is developing a framework for assessing future water availability by identifying local supply options and salient factors used by key decision-makers in the water, energy, and agricultural sectors. Van Maasakkers is working on water technology in the agricultural sector, which requires intense water use in the Middle East. He was in Abu Dhabi and Oman in December to conduct interviews looking at which technologies are available in the region to make agriculture more efficient and sustainable, bringing together technological and socio-political considerations.

Publications by author are available at:
www.belfercenter.org/stpp

FROM EVENT VIDEO



Expert Elicitations: **Laura Diaz Anadon** presents on the future of energy technologies at the Research Synthesis Methods workshop sponsored by Harvard Center for Risk Analysis.



Agricultural Impact: **Mattijs van Maasakkers** and **Ismail Ali Al Hosani** (center) and engineers at Abu Dhabi Farm Services Center, with a map of a farming region.

WHY **IRAN** MATTERS

Harvard's *Iran Matters* is an online one-stop shop for best analysis and best facts about the core issues of the Iranian nuclear challenge. A panel of experts at the Belfer Center, co-chaired by **Graham Allison** and **Gary Samore**, provides regular updates identifying what the panel judges the best analyses for competing answers to core questions.

Israel

"The nuclear deal signed with Iran is good for Israel. It is not perfect, such is the nature of compromise agreements; but unless one seeks a knockout blow, as does Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, it is a potentially historic first step toward a final agreement. Netanyahu is not wrong to seek an agreement that puts a complete end to any possibility of an Iranian military nuclear program; indeed, this was the U.S., EU and even UN Security Council position until recent days. The United States and European powers involved in the talks, however, like many independent analysts, have concluded that this objective simply cannot be achieved in practice, desirable as it may be."

Chuck Freilich, "The Other Iranian Breakthrough"
December 3, 2013

Saudi Arabia

"Saudi Arabia finds itself in a completely changed political environment in the region and beyond, having essentially been left alone to maintain stability in the Arab world and check Iranian influence. Given the pressures of this predicament, the fundamental basis of the new Saudi foreign policy doctrine is about radically altering course from being protected by others to protecting itself and its allies. The Saudis know they need to restructure their foreign policy and national security establishment to increase their capacity to handle themselves internationally on par with the political, economic, and religious significance and influence the kingdom holds."

Nawaf Obaid, "The Iran deal: a view from Saudi Arabia"
December 3, 2013

Turkey

"In an attempt to overcome its trade isolation and international sanctions, the government of Iran deliberately and strategically expanded its economic relations with Turkey over the last decade and positioned itself as the second leading supplier of natural gas to that country. Bilateral trade relations between the two countries have experienced many ups and downs as a result of geopolitical differences and U.S. pressure on the Turkish government, but until 2011 they enjoyed a general uptrend."

Nader Habibi, "The Iranian connection in Turkey's corruption scandal"
January 6, 2014

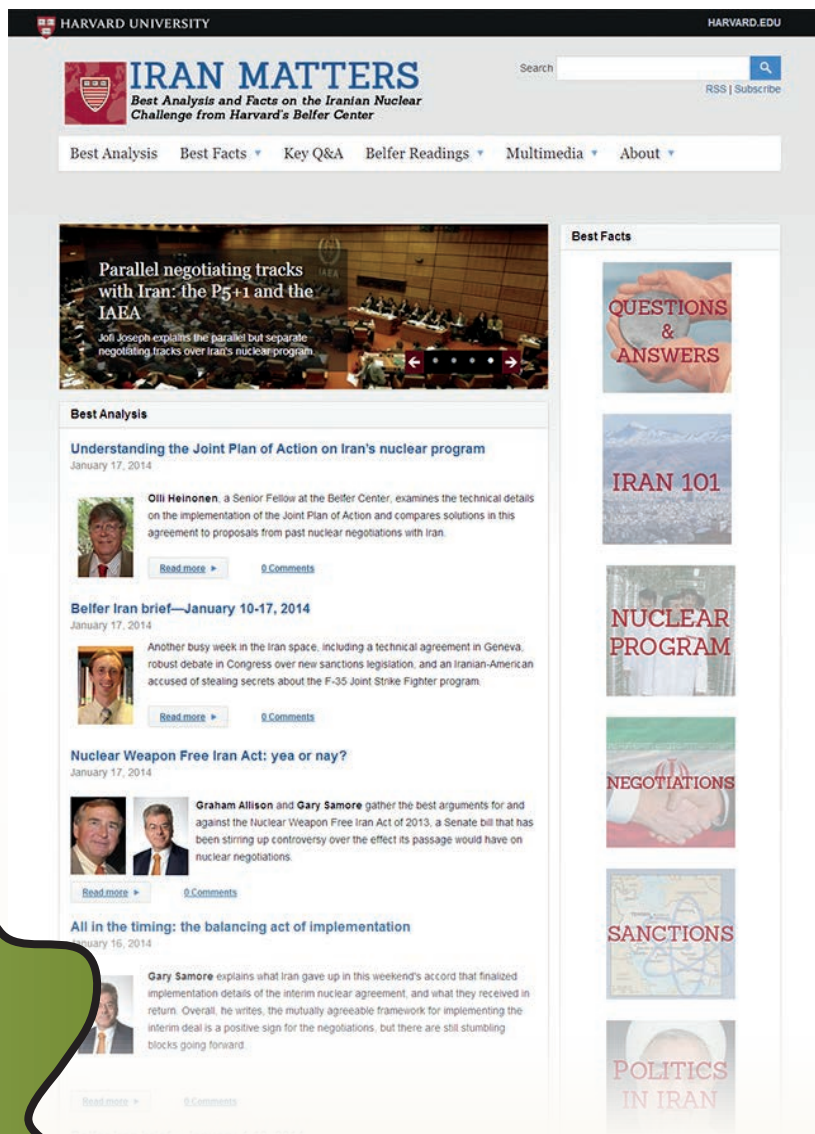
United States

"Of course, this is just an initial step—most of the difficult negotiating lies ahead. A huge fraction of the sanctions relief Iran wanted is not in this initial deal, and a major fraction of the restraints on Iran's program the United States and the Europeans wanted are left for the final deal as well. The tug-of-war between the U.S. and European desire to keep Iran's path to the bomb as lengthy and detectable as possible and Iran's desire to avoid a humiliating scale of roll-back of what it has already accomplished could still scuttle a final deal."

Matthew Bunn, "The Iran deal—a summary and interpretation"
November 27, 2013

"This process serves as a confidence building measure, where Iran as well as the P5+1 will be tested on their undertakings as well as their ability to reach a final accord. The most difficult parts, however, lie ahead: agreement on the scope of uranium enrichment and heavy water program, and Iran's seriousness in addressing questions and concerns related to its nuclear program's military dimension, which go well beyond access to one particular building at Parchin."

Olli Heinonen, "Understanding the Joint Plan of Action on Iran's nuclear program"
December 3, 2013



Analyzing Iran: The *Iran Matters* website provides original posts, facts, Q&A, relevant readings, and multimedia related to the Iranian nuclear challenge. Contributors offer a range of perspectives on proposed agreements from the point of view of the United States, Israel, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and other regional players. A "Best Facts" section includes a wealth of details on Iran's nuclear program, negotiations, sanctions, and political issues that impact agreement progress.

For the latest
from *Iran Matters*, visit:
iranmatters.belfercenter.org

Iran

"For the time being, Rouhani will move cautiously yet adamantly down the path of limited reform. The interim agreement will enable the president to do so, thus reserving the possibility of more significant reforms in the future if a final deal is achieved. The interim agreement is therefore significant not only because of its potential to change Iran's role in the Middle East but also to instigate domestic reform within the Islamic Republic as well."

Payam Mohseni,

"The domestic implications of the interim deal for Iran"
December 6, 2013

"Rouhani and his team understand that in order to keep the Iranian people on board...nationalism is their best tool. As the interim deal implemented and the P5+1 and Iran move onto the next stages of negotiations, it is crucial for the West to...appreciate the difficult task Rouhani and his team are facing...Allowing Western hardliners to undermine Rouhani's efforts would translate into empowering Iranian hardliners, which could 'kill'...any deal."

Ariane Tabatabai,

"Iran's Evolving Nuclear Narrative"
February 7, 2014



VIEWPOINT

Samantha Power

Samantha Power is the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations and a member of President Obama's Cabinet. Prior to being named UN ambassador, Power served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights on the National Security Staff at the White House. Before joining the government, Ambassador Power was the Anna Lindh Professor of the Practice of Global Leadership and Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School. She came to the Kennedy School via the Belfer Center, where, in 1998, she was hired as project director for the Center's then-new Human Rights Initiative. That initiative morphed into the Kennedy School's Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, where she was the founding executive director.

We are pleased to highlight Samantha Power's views on some critical issues she confronts as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

ON HUMAN RIGHTS and Citizen Involvement

<http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/217309.htm>
November 6, 2013

"As a teenager, my idea of human rights was breaking curfew. I loved sports, above all, and might well have ended up as a sideline analyst during March Madness, or part of **Ted Turner's** other empire, back in the day with the Atlanta Braves. But in college, I was stopped cold by the televised image of a young man standing in front of a tank in Tiananmen Square; it made me think: What is this all about? How did it happen? How did a person so alone simultaneously come to stand for the rights and aspirations of millions—and why are so many people around the world compelled to risk their lives just to obtain freedoms that most of us here just get to take for granted?"

...We cannot allow the enemies of civil society to win; we have to fight back with all [our] persuasive powers and organizational skills...and we must persist until the space where people seek to exercise freedom is a safe space.

...On the global stage, in just the past few decades, civil society has helped to end apartheid, extend democracy on every continent, fight back against human trafficking, raise awareness about global warming, and curb the trade in dirty diamonds.

The world today is not enmeshed in a clash of civilizations, but we do face a battle of ideas—and the idea that civil society is an essential contributor to human progress must be defended when and wherever it is in peril."

ON WAR and Accountability

<http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/220750.htm>
January 29, 2014

"We know that the opposite of 'war' is not 'peace.' The opposite of war is 'not war.' And we have to remain alert to the chasm between a mere suspension of hostilities and the creation of lasting reconciliation based on the acceptance of a shared historical narrative.

...To move from 'not war' to 'peace,' communities need to be able to know who did what, how, and why—to move from blaming

AP PHOTO / EVAN VUCCI



Power Walk: President **Barack Obama** outside the White House after announcing his nomination of **Samantha Power** (right) as UN Ambassador and **Susan Rice** (center), as National Security Adviser, June 5, 2013. Also pictured: then-National Security Adviser **Tom Donilon**, now a senior fellow at the Belfer Center.



'Christians' or 'Muslims,' 'Hutu' or 'Tutsi,' 'Shia' or 'Sunni,' 'Dinka' or 'Nuer'—communities must begin holding not whole races or religions responsible for their pain, but individuals.

...Crimes against humanity are committed by individuals, including...those who give these orders and then stand back while underlings shed innocent blood. That is why historical records matter. They provide the evidence that can be used to establish personal accountability. And unlike allegations of collective guilt, individual accountability can heal wounds without opening new ones."

ON DEMOCRACY and the Middle East

<http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/218584.htm>
December 10, 2013

"Let's start with...whether it is democracy that fuels instability. In Libya, after 40 years in which **Qaddafi** banned even the most elementary forms of free expression... is it democracy that we should blame for the lawlessness we see today? In Egypt, after decades in which political power was concentrated in the hands of an elite few.... should we hold democracy accountable for the current polarization? In Syria, is it democracy that caused **Assad** to use SCUDS and sarin gas against civilians sleeping in their beds?"



...[W]hat we are witnessing in the Middle East actually strengthens, rather than weakens, the case for more open government. The bloodshed today is a toxic outcome not of too much democracy; it is an outcome of decades in which democracy was absent.

We are working to mobilize a multilateral response to the global crackdown on civil society, which is as urgent as anything happening in the world today....The Middle East is no exception. In Iran, as we explore the potential for a diplomatic solution to the nuclear issue, we continue to press for the right of the Iranian people to express themselves freely.

...In Egypt, we have withheld some forms of military assistance—an unprecedented step in our bilateral relationship—because we honor the right of Egyptians—all Egyptians—to express their views peacefully.

...As change comes to the Arab world, it will express itself in ways that reflect Arab perceptions and hopes. Democracy will not bring about some magical convergence of opinions and interests. But it lays the foundation for open and inclusive debate....[T]he process is one we will recognize, for it is how our own country evolved from its earliest beginnings to where we are today."

SPOTLIGHT

Michael Morell

Michael Morell is a non-resident senior fellow at the Belfer Center. Prior to joining the Center in September 2013, he served 33 years with the Central Intelligence Agency, the last three-and-a-half as Deputy Director, a position from which he ran the day-to-day operations of the Agency. Within the CIA, Morell also served as the Director for Intelligence, Executive Director, and twice as Acting Director. Currently, he is a member of President Obama's Review Group on Intelligence and Communications Technology.

by James F. Smith

Michael Morell spent the first 17 years of his career at the Central Intelligence Agency quietly analyzing the economies of countries in East Asia. Then he suddenly found himself in the fury of the counter-terrorism storm.

This occurred when Morell became executive assistant to then CIA Director **George Tenet** in 2008 and later the daily CIA briefer to then President **George W. Bush** in 2001. He briefed Bush in August 2001 on the now famous President's Daily Brief titled "Bin Ladin Determined to Strike in U.S.," and he was with Bush on Sept. 11, 2001.

Morell became head of the Directorate for Intelligence in 2008, and then deputy director of the CIA in 2010. He was with **President Obama** in May 2011 during the U.S. raid that killed **Osama bin Laden**. He twice served as acting CIA director.

As soon as Morell retired after a 33-year CIA career last August, he became a non-resident senior fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School.

"Intelligence is all about reducing uncertainty for decision makers on national security and foreign policy."

Morell says a top priority now is to think about lessons learned during the 15 years he spent in the behind-the-scenes struggle against international terrorism. He is writing a book that will outline these lessons and explore what he calls the "touch points" he has personally had with the fight against Al Qaeda.

Michael Morell is hardly a household name in the United States, and he says that he has always preferred it that way. Despite his prominence in American intelligence, Morell merits only a half-page entry in Wikipedia. But now he is trying to get used to life in the spotlight. He is speaking publicly, and he has become a national security correspondent for CBS News. He was a prominent member of President Obama's panel that investigated the National Security Agency leaks by contractor **Edward Snowden**.

Soft-spoken and slender, Morell brings a surprising sense of humility to his thinking about intelligence. Some of that comes from hard experience.

"Intelligence is all about reducing

uncertainty for decision makers on national security and foreign policy," Morell said. "That's what the objective of the business is. If you do it well, you reduce that uncertainty, but you cannot eliminate it." He added, "You realize, after having been in this business for a long time, that the picture you've painted of a particular situation is probably not complete and probably not 100 percent right."

Morell added, "Then it is still harder to ask, 'Okay, where are we going? What is this issue going to look like a year from now or two years from now? So now you've just multiplied the uncertainty tremendously.'"

Morell described several developments in the work of CIA analysts in recent decades that sought to make the analysis more relevant.

One major transformation followed the CIA's failure to provide accurate intelligence on whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction before the U.S. invasion in 2003. Morell said the key lesson was that analysts not only needed to provide judgments to policymakers on key issues but that they also needed to offer "confidence levels" for those judgments.

Analysts now routinely provide confidence levels of low, medium, or high, along with their judgments.

"The old approach was to come to your judgment and then make the best case you could for that judgment, so you in essence become a prosecuting attorney for the case you've made," Morell said, "as opposed

to when you are forced to think about the confidence level, you come at it in a more balanced way."

Morell is now testing many of the premises in his forthcoming book with faculty, fellows, and students during his visits to the Belfer Center. He meets individually with students, offers seminars, and debates issues such as Syria, Iran, and the future of NSA collection.

"In this post-CIA life, I do many things, and I'll tell you, nothing comes close to how intellectually stimulating this is."

Morell said that while he was in the CIA, he frequently met with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. "I always, always, always, walked away from conversations with Graham with a better understanding of the world."

Morell said that when Allison offered the senior fellowship, "I didn't hesitate in saying yes because I knew the value of what I got out of conversations with Graham, and I figured there were a lot of people at the Center like him. This is a great place to test and sharpen your ideas and a great place to give back to young people who want to serve their country."

"And it is intellectually stimulating," he added. "In this post-CIA life, I do many things, and I'll tell you, nothing comes close to how intellectually stimulating this is."



Intelligence Assessments: Former Deputy CIA Director and Center senior fellow **Michael Morell** (left) responds to a point by **Joseph Nye** during Morell's presentation to the Belfer Center Board of Directors on intelligence issues.

FEATURED FELLOWS

In this issue, the Belfer Center is pleased to feature two Belfer Center fellows: **Andrew Parker**, Science, Technology, and Public Policy (STPP) research fellow, and **Matt Waldman**, International Security Program (ISP) research fellow.

Andrew Parker: Uncertainties and Implications of Geoengineering

by Abigail Collins

“It’s more than just a theory,” says Science, Technology, and Public Policy Research Fellow **Andrew (Andy) Parker**, “we know from natural analogues that geoengineering could work to cool the planet.”

Geoengineering, a deliberate intervention in the planet’s climate, is a technology that could counteract climate change.

“When a large volcano erupts, it blasts sulfates up into the stratosphere and the tiny little reflective aerosols circulate the planet and cools it down for a year or two,” says Parker, explaining the process that scientists are trying to replicate through geoengineering. “The big question is what the political and physical side effects of deployment might be.”

In 2009, Parker was working at the Royal Society Science Policy Center when he was put in charge of the production of a report called *Geoengineering the Climate*.

The report was followed by the SRM Governance Initiative, a project Parker is still working on. It seeks to increase international cooperation over geoengineering research

and governance, in particular by bringing in new voices from developing countries.

Now, Parker is at the Belfer Center, an environment that allows him to do his own research and set his own priorities. He works with **David Keith**, a Belfer-based professor who has been researching and writing about geoengineering for over two decades.

Geoengineering is controversial however. “Some people say that if you research the idea that there’s an alternative out there it will draw people’s attention away from what we need to do, which is stop emitting greenhouse gases,” says Parker.

Because of these underlying dangers, Parker says if it were to work, geoengineering would have to be an international, co-operative project. Research continues amid skepticism from environmentalists, his peers, and himself.

“The idea of intervening in a climate’s system that’s so complicated is fairly horrible,” he says, adding that some question whether it should be researched at all. However, says Parker, the effects of not



ASA MATHAT FOR TECHNOLOGY MEDIA

Atmospheric Alignment: Andrew Parker speaks at the Technonomy 2012 conference in Tucson, Arizona.

researching and therefore not knowing what the consequences of geoengineering are could be just as dangerous.

For more on Andy Parker, see:
<http://belfercenter.org/Parker>

Matt Waldman: Seeing Through the Fog of War in Afghanistan

by Ramiro Gonzalez Lorca

“We need to understand not just how mistakes were made, but why”, International Security fellow **Matt Waldman** says about his research on a conflict that has



Improving Policy: Matt Waldman discusses U.S. policymaking in Afghanistan at an International Security Program lunch.

beleaguered U.S. foreign policymakers for over twelve years: the war in Afghanistan. Waldman offers his insights into the underlying factors that have clouded policymaking judgment through the course of America’s longest war.

Waldman points to psychological and strategic cultural factors, which led American policymakers to believe the Taliban was acting purely out of an innate hostility to the United States. “American officials began to realize that was a caricature,” Waldman explains, “it was not an accurate representation of the movement. The simple fact is this: a majority of Taliban fighters believed that their country was invaded.” It was this misperception of invasion, reinforced by the coalition’s heavy-handed military operations and empowerment of warlords, which allowed the Taliban to continually replenish their ranks with fighters.

He also points to organizational factors, like the staffing of diplomatic missions in Kabul with officials who lacked expertise in Afghanistan, and whose short terms in

the country barely allowed them to begin grasping the complexities of its society. “Diplomats would often serve for just ten to twelve months and then leave,” Waldman says. “Establishing trusting relationships, which are crucial both to acquiring genuine information and influencing, is almost impossible to do in the space of year.”

Through his research on the underlying causes of policymaking errors in Afghanistan, Waldman stresses the importance of “cognitive empathy,” which he describes as the ability to grasp the perspective and thinking of one’s adversaries and other actors; as he puts it, “to get inside their minds.” By addressing the failure of Western leaders to empathize with, and thus truly understand, their opponents, Waldman espouses a return to one of strategy’s most basic precepts—to know one’s enemy—to help decision-makers see their way through the fog of war.

For more on Matt Waldman, see:
<http://belfercenter.org/Waldman>

American Economy and American Security: Stuck in Secular Stagnation?

In a major two-part op-ed in the *Financial Times* in January, **Lawrence Summers** presents his judgment that in the aftermath of the Great Recession, the U.S. economy appears to be stuck in “secular stagnation.” By “secular stagnation,” he means the coincidence of sluggish output and GDP growth, less than 2% since the start of this century, employment levels below potential, and problematically low real interest rates. To escape what he foresees is likely otherwise to be a long period of very slow growth, he proposes a set of policies to spur demand: ending the trend toward reduced government spending, leveraging low interest rates to make investments building infrastructure, and boosting private spending in the energy sector. (In his New Year’s Day op-ed, “2014: Good Year for a Great War?” in *National Interest*, **Graham Allison** noted that there is another option, the one that finally rescued the U.S. from the Great Depression, but cautioned against going there.) For a recent elaboration of Summers’ argument, see <http://forum.iop.harvard.edu/content/state-economy>.

Robert Zoellick opined in the *Wall Street Journal* that President Obama is “moving in the right direction” on the trade agenda. The president is now seeking Trade Promotion Authority to smooth congressional passage of major trade deals, including the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, which would benefit our economy. According to Zoellick, “on average, in the first five years of a new free-trade agreement, U.S. exports grew three to four times as rapidly as U.S. exports to others. The U.S. has a trade surplus with its 20 free-trade partners—in manufacturing, agriculture, and services—instead of the large deficit it runs with the world.”

Niall Ferguson wrote for *Project Syndicate* that 2013 was “the year of Winehouse economics. As the late English chanteuse Amy Winehouse sang: ‘They tried to make me go to rehab, but I said ‘No, no, no.’” Last summer, the world’s most important central banks, the Fed and the People’s Bank of China, signaled their intention to normalize monetary policy, then backed off when markets reacted. Ferguson warns, “after years of stimulus, rehab is just not that easy.”

In a more hopeful forecast for 2014, **Martin Feldstein** summarized his view in *Project Syndicate*: “The near-term outlook for the U.S. economy has improved, owing to the sharp increase in household wealth in 2013, together with the end of the fiscal drag caused by the increase in tax rates in 2012. The United States now has a chance to raise real (inflation-adjusted) per capita GDP faster than the feeble 1.7% average rate recorded during the four years since growth resumed in the summer of 2009.” Having been more bearish than the consensus for the past six years, Feldstein’s current emphasis on the economic tailwinds rather than the headwinds is notable.

In a new CFR report on the impact of the energy revolution, **Robert Lawrence** predicted that the oil boom will not shrink the U.S. trade deficit. Lawrence argues that “the decline in net imports of oil and energy-intensive manufactured goods is likely to be offset by greater net imports in other goods and services. In the long run, the changes in oil and non-oil trade balances could well cancel each other, leading to little or no change in the overall U.S. trade deficit.”



Economic Climate: Former Treasury Secretary **Lawrence Summers**, a member of the Belfer Center’s board of directors, speaks about the global economic outlook at a joint Harvard Kennedy School/Tufts Fletcher School symposium on energy, security, and climate policy. The November event, sponsored by BP, focused on the geopolitics of energy, and brought together participants from industry and academia to engage in high-level discussions.



Money Matters: **Martin Feldstein** (left), of Harvard University, walks with **Jens Weidmann**, president of Germany’s Deutsche Bundesbank, during the lunch break at the Jackson Hole Economic Symposium, August 2012.

In a study presented at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association in January, **Carmen Reinhart** and **Kenneth Rogoff** found that the U.S. economy is performing reasonably well compared to recoveries following past major financial crises. Evidence from 100 systemic banking crises reveals that “on average it takes about eight years to reach the pre-crisis level of income; the median is about 6 ½ years. Five to six years after the onset of the current crisis only Germany and the U.S. (out of 12 systemic crises cases) have reached their 2007–2008 peaks in per capita income.”

Jeffrey Frankel’s prognosis in *Politico Magazine* is that “something important will get better in 2014: fiscal policy will stop hurting the economy. The results should show up as expansion in such service sectors as health, education and construction.” He explains that “the biggest impediment to economic expansion over the last three years has been destructive budget policy coming out of the Congress,” which has likely subtracted “well over a percentage point from U.S. growth in each of the last three years.”

BELFER S



Nuclear Peace: International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Director General **Yukiya Amano** speaks at a Belfer Center director's lunch on the IAEA's role in bringing about the benefits of peaceful nuclear technology to all parts of the globe and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. Amano served as Japan's representative to the Agency from 2005 until his election as director general in 2009.



Olympic Politics: Belfer Center Fellow **Simon Saradzhyan** responds to a question at a JFK Jr. Forum event titled "Russian Politics: From Snowden to Sochi." Moderated by Shorenstein Center fellow **Jill Dougherty**, the panel included **Kevin Ryan**, director of the Belfer Center's Defense & Intelligence Projects, and **Alexandra Vacroux**, executive director of Harvard's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies.



Positive Influence: Assistant Secretary of State **Thomas Countryman** (left), gets a laugh at a Belfer Center seminar where he discussed his career with faculty, students, and fellows. Countryman, who is responsible for leading U.S. efforts to eliminate Syria's chemical weapons, said, "In 31 years in the Foreign Service, I have never had a boring day and never had a bad boss." Also pictured is **Matthew Bunn**.



Cyber Readiness: **Melissa Hathaway**, senior advisor to the Belfer Center's Project on Technology, Security, and Conflict in the Cyber Age, speaks at a Harvard/MIT-sponsored Explorations in Cyber International Relations (ECIR) Minerva Roundtable. Her topic was the Cyber Readiness Index. The Belfer Center's ECIR project is sponsored by the Minerva Initiative, funded by the Department of Defense.



Iran Perspectives: A panel of experts discusses "The Long-Term Implications of a Comprehensive Deal with Iran" at a Center event in December. Panelists included (left to right) Belfer Center fellow **Nawaf Obaid**, Crown Center Director **Shai Feldman**, Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, National Iranian American Council President **Trita Parsi**, and Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Gary Samore**.



Intelligence in Practice: **Bernard Bajolet**, director general for external security (DGSE) in France, speaks at a Belfer Center "Future of Intelligence" lunch for students, fellows, and faculty. Bajolet, who was French ambassador to Afghanistan from 2011 to April 2013, spoke about the use of intelligence in policymaking in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Middle East. He also met separately with the Recanat-Kaplan fellows.

PEAKERS



Seoul Insight: His Excellency **Ahn Ho-young** (right), ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States, presents to the Belfer Center Korea Working Group on “The View from Seoul.” He discussed the regional security environment, including North Korea’s nuclear challenge, China’s rise, and the ROK’s relations with Japan. Consul General **Kang-Ho Park** (left) also took part in the discussion.



Ensuring Defense: Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy **Michèle Flournoy** discusses “Defense in an Era of Challenge and Austerity” at a Center board of director’s lunch. At the DoD, Flournoy was principal adviser to the secretary of defense in the formulation of national security and defense policy. A former senior fellow with the Belfer Center, Flournoy is currently senior advisor with Boston Consulting Group.



Triumphs and Travails: Journalist **Ari Shavit** speaks at a Middle East Initiative (MEI) seminar about his new best-selling book *My Promised Land: The Triumph and Tragedy of Israel* in an event moderated by **Nicholas Burns**, faculty chair of MEI. A leading Israeli columnist and writer, Shavit is former chair of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and serves on the editorial board of Haaretz.



Nuclear Narratives: Using Iran and Pakistan as examples, Stanton Nuclear Security Predoctoral Fellow **Ariane Tabatabai** speaks at an International Security Program seminar on how religious and national identities shape nuclear narratives in the Muslim world. Tabatabai is a member of the Middle East Next Generation Network, which hopes to promote a better understanding of arms control issues.



Intelligence from Within: Global intelligence directors from large companies are joined by government officials that support them in a discussion of the growing use of intelligence by private sector companies to support their global operations. Panelists in the groundbreaking conference organized by the Belfer Center’s Intelligence and Defense Projects included (left to right): **Sean Doherty**, HKS student; **Linda Reid**, director of global intelligence for The Walt Disney Co.; **Robert Dannenberg**, chief security officer for Goldman Sachs; **Paul Kolbe**, director of international security at BP; **Van Wilberding**, senior manager with the Coca-Cola Company; **Elena Kim Mitchell**, with the Office of Director of National Intelligence, **Sharon Halstead**, of the Domestic Security Alliance Council, and **Gregory Wahl** of the Department of State’s Overseas Security Advisory Council.

Competing on a Global Scale in the 21st Century

David Petraeus, Graham Allison Head Project Analyzing U.S. Competitiveness

David H. Petraeus, retired four-star Army general and former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, has joined with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** in launching a project to analyze dynamics that are spurring renewed competitiveness by the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The project is called “The Coming North American Decades.”

Petraeus, a non-resident senior fellow at the Belfer Center, is co-leading with Allison the exploration of major technological, scientific, and economic dynamics, looking in particular at impacts of the ongoing energy, information technology, advanced manufacturing, and life sciences revolutions. The project also will analyze potential policy choices that could slow or enhance these transformations in ways that advance American interests.

“The more our group looks around the world, the more convinced we become that North America is poised to define the decades ahead,” Petraeus said. “There is no other country or grouping of countries with stronger tailwinds behind it: it is a market of nearly 500 million people that is highly integrated, with good demographics, mostly secure borders, and shared democratic values. In addition, the United States is leading the manufacturing, energy, IT, and life sciences revolutions that are going to transform the world in the years ahead.”

A high-level advisory committee for the project includes **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti**, chair of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program and former dean of Harvard’s School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, **Susan Hockfield**, former president of MIT, **Mary**

Boies, counsel at Boies & McInnis LLP, and **Meghan O’Sullivan**, Jeanne Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs and director of the Geopolitics of Energy Project at the Kennedy School.

The Center project complements a Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on North America that Petraeus is co-chairing with former World Bank president **Robert Zoellick**, who is also a Belfer Center senior fellow.

“We count ourselves fortunate,” Allison said, “to have David Petraeus making a major intellectual investment in issues so central to a Center whose mission is to advance policy-relevant knowledge about the most significant international challenges. He has an inquiring mind, strategic orientation, intellectual fearlessness, and appreciation of the academy that will make this a productive partnership.”



American Advantages: David Petraeus (left) discusses factors involved in American competitiveness at a Belfer Center board of director’s lunch. Participants included MIT professor **John Deutch** and Belfer Center Asst. Professor **Laura Diaz Anadon**.



Informed Advice: David Petraeus (right) makes a point during a meeting with the advisory committee for his project to analyze dynamics spurring renewed competitiveness in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico.

Goodman Family Professorship Expands Reach of Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project

Thanks to an endowment by the family of **Roy M. Goodman**, former New York state senator and CEO of the United Nations Development Corporation, Harvard Kennedy School has a new professorship focused on the role of diplomacy in international relations. The Roy and Barbara Goodman Family Professorship of Diplomacy and International Relations will be held by a prominent member of the faculty or an international leader with demonstrated academic scholarship or exceptional professional experience.

The person named in the next year to hold the professorship will work with the Belfer Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project. Directed by **Nicholas Burns**, the project promotes the study and understanding of diplomacy, negotiation, and statecraft in an increasingly complex and globalized world. The professorship will expand the Kennedy School’s reach in this growing area of focus, which currently includes more than 200

Harvard Kennedy School students.

Burns, the Sultan of Oman Professor of the Practice of International Relations, expressed the Kennedy School’s gratitude to the Goodman family. “We are grateful that the Goodman family has endowed this professorship,” said Burns. “This generous and visionary gift will help the Kennedy School achieve its mission to be a leading global center for scholarship, research, and teaching on the central role of diplomacy in the 21st century.”

“I have high hopes,” said Senator Goodman, “that by creating this professorship, Kennedy School students will be exposed to a skilled individual who has mastered the practice of consensus building, collaborative problem solving, negotiation techniques, and diplomacy. These students will have a multiplier effect in passing on these skills as they fulfill their roles as world leaders and public servants.”



Advancing Diplomacy: Former Senator **Roy Goodman** and his children, **Randy**, **Leslie** and **Claire**, with Future of Diplomacy faculty chair **Nicholas Burns** at the announcement of the Goodman family professorship in November 2014. Senator Goodman holds a card with Harvard Kennedy School’s campaign slogan.

HKS Expands Research, Collaboration with China

by Sharon Wilke

During the past year, the Belfer Center and Harvard Kennedy School's Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation have continued building on their years of work aimed at improving U.S.-China cooperation and exploring opportunities and challenges related to China.

In March, the Ash and Belfer Centers will co-host a forum to mark the 35th anniversary of the normalization of U.S.-China diplomatic relations. Led by Ash Center Director **Tony Saich**, the Kennedy School is collaborating with the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries to facilitate an off-the-record discussion on the current and future state of U.S.-China relations. The objective is to discuss global issues that affect the bilateral relationship—such as changing global institutions, finance and trade, and cooperation in science and technology—and to explore specific research possibilities for future targeted workshops and policy papers.

Power and Security

The Belfer Center's **Richard Rosecrance**, who heads Harvard's U.S.-China Relations Program, worked with **Huang Ping** of the American Studies Program of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to stage a U.S.-China conference in Beijing in January. The conference was the ninth in a series of meetings designed to explore challenges in U.S.-Chinese relations. The conference participants, scholars, and former officials from China and the United States, explored models of cooperation and the possibilities of disagreement between the two states. Harvard participants included Rosecrance, Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Gary Samore**, Senior Fellow **William Tobey**, and Harvard professor **Ezra Vogel**.

Also in December, Harvard Kennedy School's **Joseph S. Nye**, a member of the

Belfer Center's board of directors, received an honorary doctorate from China's Shandong University. Nye has written extensively on U.S.-China dominance issues and on China's relations with the U.S. and its neighbors. In January, Nye spoke at the World Economic Forum on U.S., China, and Japan relations.

The Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA) has ongoing projects with China. MTA's Professor of Practice **Matthew Bunn**, Senior Research Associate **Hui Zhang**, and others in MTA focus primarily on China's nuclear security policies and practices and on China's plans for dealing with its spent nuclear fuel as its nuclear energy sector grows.

Several Belfer Center research fellows—**Tong Zhao**, **Adam Liff**, **Jeehye Kim**, and **Nina Silove**—explore a range of issues related to security and power issues.

Energy and Environment

The Belfer Center has worked with China on a range of energy and environmental issues for nearly a decade. Currently, the Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP), Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP), and Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group (ETIP)—along with Harvard Kennedy School's Sustainability Science Program—are partnering with a number of Chinese institutions. ENRP and Tsinghua University, are planning a workshop on using market mechanisms to further development goals.

Kelly Sims Gallagher, senior research associate and Center board member, is working on a collaborative project with the Belfer Center and Tsinghua University called "Cooperate or Compete? (CoC)." The CoC examines the innovation capacities and strategies of the U.S. and China to identify how it is appropriate for the countries to collaborate, and when it is better to compete.

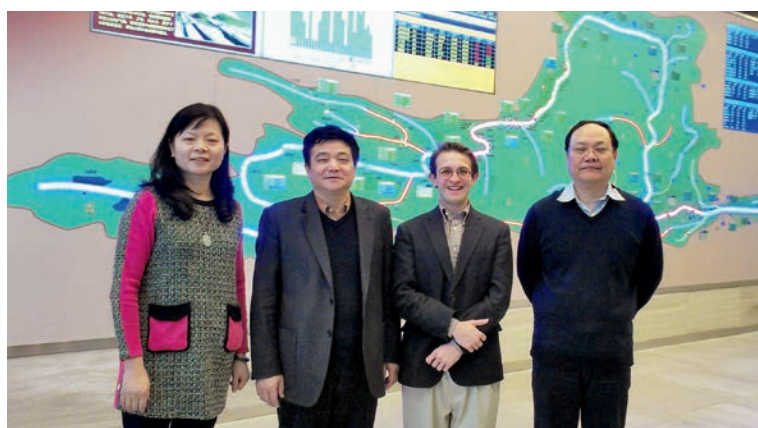


Researching Renewables: Research fellow **Di Xia** conducting research at a Chinese photovoltaic company in Xu Zhou, Jiang Su Province.

She recently published *The Globalization of Clean Energy Technology: Lessons from China* and is working on a new book on climate policy in both countries.

Five Belfer Center research fellows, **Zhu Liu**, **Xiaoqi Xu**, **Di Xia**, and **Scott Moore**, along with Harvard Ph.D. student **Sabrina Howell**, have been in China this year researching issues that include building efficiency, renewable energy options, water reforms, and efficient motor vehicles. A team of five students is partnering with the Institute of Urban Environment on developing a low carbon strategy for Shanghai that may become a model for other cities across China. ETIP's Water/Energy Nexus (WEN) project is researching links between water and energy systems in China.

For more on water/energy research, see **page 3**.



Balancing Resources: **Scott Moore** (2nd from right), Sustainability Science and ETIP fellow, with Chinese colleagues at the Yellow River Conservancy Commission in Zhengzhou City, China.

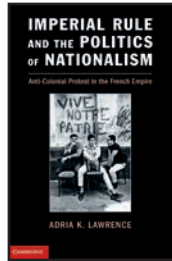


Looking Ahead: Belfer Center's **Richard Rosecrance** (left) at the January 2014 Harvard-Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) Conference in Beijing with **Gu Guoliang**, director of the Center for Arms Control and Nonproliferation Studies at CASS.

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire

By **Adria K. Lawrence**,
Former ISP/Intrastate
Conflict Program Research
Fellow



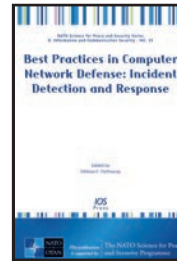
Cambridge Univ. Press (September 2013)

Why did colonial subjects mobilize for national independence from the French empire? This question has rarely been posed because the answer appears obvious: in the modern era, nationalism was bound to confront colonialism. This book argues against taking nationalist mobilization for granted. Contrary to conventional accounts, it shows that nationalism was not the only or even the primary form of anti-colonialism. Drawing on archival sources, comparative historical analysis, and case studies, Lawrence examines the movements for political equality that emerged in the French empire during the first half of the twentieth century. Within twenty years, they had been replaced by movements for national independence in the majority of French colonies, protectorates, and mandates.

“...Historians who feel that political scientists enter the historical field only to fetch a few examples to prove their pet theories will find in Lawrence a political scientist who, when she delves into history, does so as a historian would and actively contributes to the historical understanding of nationalism in the Middle East.” —Nathan J. Brown, George Washington University

Best Practices in Computer Network Defense: Incident Detection and Response

Edited By **Melissa Hathaway**, Senior
Advisor, The Cyber Project



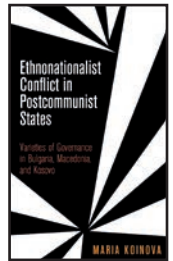
NATO Science for Peace and
Security Series—D: Information and
Communication Security
IOS Press (February 2014)

The cyber security of vital infrastructure and services has become a major concern for countries worldwide. The members of NATO are no exception, and they share a responsibility to help the global community to strengthen its cyber defenses against malicious cyber activity. The book identifies the state-of-the-art tools and processes being used for cyber defense and highlights gaps in the technology. It presents the best practice of industry and government for incident detection and response and examines indicators and metrics for progress along the security continuum. This book shows what is possible and available today for computer network defense and for incident detection and response.

For more on Belfer
Center books and other
publications, see:
belfercenter.org/books/

Ethnonationalist Conflict in Postcommunist States: Varieties of Governance in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo

By **Maria Koinova**; Former
Research Fellow, Intrastate
Conflict Program



National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century
University of Pennsylvania Press (2013)

This book investigates why some Eastern European states transitioned to new forms of governance with minimal violence while others broke into civil war. In this comparative study, Maria Koinova applies historical institutionalism to conflict analysis, tracing ethnonationalist violence in postcommunist states to a volatile, formative period between 1987 and 1992. In this era of instability, the incidents that brought majorities and minorities into dispute had a profound impact and a cumulative effect, as did the interventions of international agents and kin states. The result is a compelling account of the underlying causal mechanisms of conflict perpetuation and change that will shed light on broader patterns of ethnic violence.

“A conceptually sophisticated and empirically rich study. . . . Koinova’s excellent book is an essential read for anyone interested in the Balkans, ethnic conflict and the study of politics more generally.” —Richard Ned Lebow, King’s College London

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP

Arabs and Israelis: Conflict and Peacemaking in the Middle East

The Arab-Israeli conflict is one of the most complex and protracted of modern times. For the past several years, three scholars—one Israeli, one Palestinian, and one Egyptian—have been writing a textbook that explores

the history of the conflict and peacemaking efforts from the perspective of each of their varied backgrounds.

The result is an innovative, fascinating book that encourages a balanced approach to understanding the Arab-Israeli conflict and its pivotal role in the Middle East. *Arabs and Israelis: Conflict and Peacemaking in the Middle East* is the first university textbook on the Middle East conflict to have been written from a Palestinian, Israeli, and broader Arab perspective.

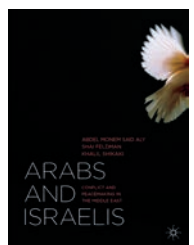
The authors include **Shai Feldman**, professor of politics at Brandeis University and director of Brandeis’ Crown Center for Middle East Studies. Feldman is a senior fellow and member of the board of directors of the

Belfer Center and serves as co-chair of the Crown-Belfer Middle East Project. **Abdel Monem Said Aly** is director of the Regional Center for Strategic Studies in Cairo and a former research fellow with the Belfer Center. **Khalil Shikaki** is director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in Ramallah, and a senior fellow at Brandeis’ Crown Center.

Authors video:

Watch the authors discuss their new book, as well as the prospects of the current efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

<http://brandeis.edu/crown/events/2013/november-22.html>



Prominent Perspectives: **Shai Feldman** (center) and co-authors **Abdel Monem Said Aly** (left) and **Khalil Shikaki** discuss their new book at a Belfer Center luncheon.

NEWSMAKERS



Erica Chenoweth

Former International Security Program research fellow Erica Chenoweth was named one of *Foreign Policy*'s "Top 100 FP Thinkers" for 2013 for her research on means of political change. Her dataset, *Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes 2.0*, is the first to provide quantitative comparisons between violent and nonviolent uprisings.



Abbas Maleki

Abbas Maleki, associate with the International Security Program and a professor at Sharif University of Technology in Tehran, was appointed deputy of international studies at the Center for Strategic Research, the Iranian think tank formerly helmed by Iranian President Hassan Rouhani.



Calestous Juma

Calestous Juma, director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization Project, was named one of *Standard Digital*'s "Top 50 Kenyans" as well as *Lo Spazio della Politica*'s "Top Global Thinkers of 2013" for his pioneering work in researching technology for building agricultural infrastructure in Africa.



Paul Volcker

International Council Member and former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Paul Volcker received the Eliot L. Richardson Prize for Excellence in Public Service, an award given by National Academy of Public Administration. Volcker was most recently chairman of the Economic Recovery Advisory Board under President Obama.



Rosenbach Nominated for Key Administration Role

President **Barack Obama** has nominated former Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Eric Rosenbach** as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense in the Department of Defense. Rosenbach is currently the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Cyber Policy at the Department of Defense.

Rosenbach's principal duty in this position will be the overall supervision of Defense Department homeland defense activities, reporting to the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.

In his statement regarding the pending nomination of Rosenbach and another nominee, President Obama said, "I am proud that such experienced and committed individuals have agreed to serve the American people in these important roles. I look forward to working with them in the months and years ahead."

International Security

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International Security is America's leading journal of security affairs. It provides sophisticated analyses of contemporary security issues and discusses their conceptual and historical foundations. The journal is edited at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center and published quarterly by the MIT Press. Questions may be directed to IS@Harvard.edu.

The Structure of Success:

How the Internal Distribution of Power Drives Armed Group Behavior and National Movement Effectiveness

Peter Krause

When and why do national movements succeed? What explains variation in the use and effectiveness of political violence employed by nationalist groups? Analysis of seventeen campaigns involving sixteen groups within the Palestinian and Algerian national movements suggests that hegemonic movements with one significant group are most likely to succeed.

Primacy or World Order? The United States and China's Rise —A Review Essay

Yuen Foong Khong

How should the United States respond to China's rise? What are China's strategic goals? What are the implications of U.S.-China strategic interactions for world order? This review essay examines the answers provided by three recent works—Aaron Friedberg's *A Contest for Supremacy*, Hugh White's *The China Choice*, and Yan Xuetong's *Ancient Chinese Political Thought, Modern Chinese Power*.

Strong Armies, Slow Adaptation:

Civil-Military Relations and the Diffusion of Military Power

Burak Kadercan

Why did the great powers of Europe adapt to the so-called military revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries while the Ottoman Empire failed to do so? This puzzle is best explained by two factors: civil-military relations and historical timing. The Ottoman standing army was able to block reforms that it believed challenged its interests. Absent a similar challenge, European rulers motivated officers and military entrepreneurs to participate in military reforms.

Grounds for War: The Evolution of Territorial Conflict

Dominic D.P. Johnson and Monica Duffy Toft

International relations theory has thus far failed to account for the recurrence and severity of territorial conflict, especially over land with little or no value. Evolutionary biology offers a unique explanation for this behavior. An examination of territoriality across the animal kingdom as well as evolutionary game theory that deals with territorial behavior generates novel predictions about when territorial conflict is likely to occur.

Expert Knowledge in Intelligence Assessments: Bird Flu and Bioterrorism

Kathleen M. Vogel

A study of the 2011 controversy surrounding publication of Ron Fouchier and Yoshihiro Kawaoka's H5N1 avian influenza experiments reveals that U.S. intelligence analysts do not have adequate resources to evaluate dual-use scientific experiments, or to navigate the politics that characterize the use of technical expertise in biosecurity issues.

Compiled by *International Security* staff

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All photos courtesy of Belfer Center unless otherwise noted.

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 to learn more about the Belfer Center.

BELFER IN BRIEF

Belfer Center Named Number-1 University-Affiliated Think Tank



Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs has regained its ranking as the best university-affiliated research center in the world.

The annual rankings by the University of Pennsylvania's Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program were issued in January at an event in Washington. For 2013, the Belfer Center improved from No. 2 in 2012

to the top spot in the "best university-affiliated think tanks" category. The Belfer Center also was rated No. 1 in 2011.

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** said, "We are proud that the work of the remarkable community of policy-relevant scholars at the Center has been recognized by the Penn survey because it focuses on the impact of think tanks in informing and influencing policy, which is the lifeblood of the Belfer Center. We appreciate the work of the Penn team in pursuing this assessment so diligently year after year."

Belfer Baby Boom!

*The Belfer Center family happily welcomes three new little Belferites. Congratulations to: Assistant Professor **Dara Kay Cohen** and her husband **Barry Wohl** on the birth of their daughter, Layla; ISP fellow **Jill Goldenziel** and her husband **Michael Pine** on the arrival of little Lev; **Adam Liff** and his wife **Kaeko** on the birth of their son Kai; and STPP fellow **Mattijs van Maasakkers** and his wife **Sarah Kelly** on their son Frederik Robert (Frits)!*



Nuclear Safety: Laura Rockwood speaks at the Belfer Center about her work drafting, negotiating, and advising on IAEA safeguards agreements and protocols.

IAEA's Laura Rockwood Joins Managing the Atom Project

Laura Rockwood, former section head for Non-Proliferation and Policy Making at the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA's) Office of Legal Affairs, has joined the Belfer Center as a resident senior research fellow with the Project on Managing the Atom (MTA).

At the Belfer Center, Rockwood will work with MTA faculty, staff, and fellows on projects related to strengthening the IAEA.

Rockwood has been involved in all aspects of the negotiation, interpretation, and implementation of IAEA safeguards for over 27 years. Prior to working for the IAEA, she was employed by the U.S. Department of Energy as a trial attorney in radiation injury cases, and as counsel in general legal matters. Before that, she was an attorney with the U.S. General Accounting Office.

"Laura Rockwood brings to the Managing the Atom project a vast knowledge of IAEA safeguards and a wealth of practical ideas for reducing the risk of nuclear proliferation," said **Martin Malin**, MTA executive director. "We are thrilled she is joining us as a senior research fellow."