



Center Advances Nuclear Security

“We must ensure that terrorists never acquire a nuclear weapon. This is the most immediate and extreme threat to global security...So today I am announcing a new international effort to secure all vulnerable nuclear material around the world within four years...And we should start by having a Global Summit on Nuclear Security.”

— **President Barack Obama**,
 Prague, Czech Republic, April 5, 2009

Since President Obama’s Prague Speech, three nuclear security summits have taken place, with Belfer Center experts contributing significantly to each. In preparation for the March 2014 Nuclear Security Summit in the Netherlands, Center efforts included planning assistance, briefings, reports on nuclear security progress and vulnerabilities, and *Nuclear Security Matters*, a website of key resources on nuclear security.

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OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO / PETE SOUZA

At the Summit: President **Barack Obama** in The Hague with his U.S. Nuclear Security Summit planning team (from left): Sherpa **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall**, coordinator for Defense Policy, Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction, and Arms Control; **Melissa Krupa**, NSC director for Threat Reduction; and Sous-Sherpa **Laura Holgate**, senior director for WMD Terrorism and Threat Reduction. Sherwood-Randall and Holgate are Belfer Center alumnae.

Analyzing the Ukraine Conflict

In 1991, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union imminent, international security scholars at the then Center for Science and International Affairs began preparing a plan of action for addressing the Soviet Union’s nuclear arsenal that was scattered among the soon-to-be-independent republics. The Center experts’ aim was to ensure that nuclear weapons and materials in Ukraine and other territories not make their way into the hands of terrorists.

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MARTHA STEWART

Ukrainian Upheaval: **Nicholas Burns** (left), director of the Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project, moderates a JFK Jr. Forum on “Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: Prospects for the Upcoming Summit” with panelists (left to right) Ukrainian History Professor **Serhi Plokhii**, Belfer Center Research Fellow **Eugene Kogan** and Defense and Intelligence Projects Director **Kevin Ryan**.

See Inside:



AP

Ukraine in Turmoil

A timeline of events and Belfer Center analysis of the evolving situation in Ukraine, 1994-2014.

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FROM THE *Allison* DIRECTOR

With attention focused on the mostly bad news coming from Ukraine, the good news is that nuclear weapons are not part of the story. In 1993, Ukraine had 2,000 strategic nuclear warheads aimed at targets in America. Today,

Ukraine has zero. Four years ago, there remained at risk in Ukraine enough highly enriched uranium for 15 nuclear weapons. The amount today? None. And there's another bit of good news. As U.S.-Russian relations chilled significantly in March, a group of high-level retired intelligence and military officials from both countries met and issued a statement that the crisis "should not interrupt the joint efforts of the U.S. and Russian Federation to protect our shared strategic interests." The Elbe Group, established in 2010 by our own **Kevin Ryan**, is keeping priorities straight. Read more on page 8 of this newsletter.

A number of researchers at the Belfer Center played a role in the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit that took place in The Hague in March. See more on the Summit and Center involvement on pages 4-5. And check out our website, *Nuclear Security Matters*, at www.nuclearsecuritymatters.org.

The Summit and Ukraine figured prominently in discussions at our annual International Council meeting in April. The meeting began on a bittersweet note as we remembered our longtime colleague and International Council Chairman **James Schlesinger**, who passed away in March. My tribute to Jim is on page 7.

During two intellectually energizing days, scholars from the Center engaged with International Council members on critical issues ranging from Ukraine and China to the U.S. economic recovery and political dysfunction in Washington. Senior fellow **David Petraeus** argued that

Challenging conventional wisdom, David Petraeus made the case to International Council members that four major technological transformers will give North America a substantial advantage in global competition.



Power Point: General (ret.) **James Cartwright**, a Belfer Center senior fellow, makes a point at the Center's annual International Council meeting. Also pictured: AT&T Federal President and Council member **Kay Kapoor** (left) and former MIT President **Susan Hockfield**.

four major technological transformers—an energy surplus, the next wave of IT, advanced manufacturing, and the convergence of biology and engineering—will give North America a substantial advantage in global competition. Earlier, he and former Mossad chief **Meir Dagan** kicked off the meeting with a JFK Jr. Forum on prospects for peace in the Middle East.

The relationship between the U.S. and China was the focus of a stimulating conference in March that we co-hosted with the Ash Center. **Kevin Rudd**, former PM of Australia and now senior fellow here, gave the keynote speech. See page 9 for more on the conference and page

6 for a Q&A with Kevin.

And finally, I am very pleased to welcome our new Communications and Outreach Director **Josh Burek**. Josh is a former *Christian Science Monitor* journalist who joined us from the American Enterprise Institute. We're looking forward to his innovative leadership.

Josh Burek Joins Belfer Center as Communications Director

Josh Burek, former executive director for marketing and communications at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., and previously the opinion editor at *The Christian Science Monitor*, has been appointed Director of Communications and Outreach for the Belfer Center.

"Josh Burek is a gifted communications professional," said Center Director **Graham Allison**. "His background as an award-winning editor, strong policy experience in Washington, and proven record of innovation is exactly what the Belfer Center needs to raise our communications to the next level."

At AEI, Burek supported the work of over 60 scholars while leading the organization's editorial, marketing, design, digital, social, video, and outreach efforts. He reset AEI's digital strategy, launched several new products, and drove substantial gains in key performance indicators.

"The Belfer Center occupies a special

place in the world of ideas and leadership development," said Burek. "It's an honor to join this esteemed community, and I look forward to working with Belfer's experts to amplify their impact."

"His proven record of innovation is exactly what the Belfer Center needs to raise our communications to the next level."

—Graham Allison

Before working for AEI, Burek spent more than a decade at *The Christian Science Monitor*, editing on the paper's foreign and domestic desks before running the commentary section, where he published the work of several Belfer Center and other Harvard Kennedy School experts.

Josh Burek's appointment at Harvard represents a homecoming for him. He graduated from Harvard Divinity School



Communications and Outreach Director **Josh Burek**

with a Masters in Theological Studies in 2004, and subsequently gave several guest lectures in policy communications at the Kennedy School.

The Great Negotiator: Ambassador Tommy Koh

Koh Receives Award for Successes in Large-Scale Diplomacy

Ambassador **Tommy Koh**, recipient of the 2014 Great Negotiator Award, discussed “Multi-party Deals: The Law of the Sea, the Rio Earth Summit, and the Future of Large Conference Negotiations” during an event in April honoring him for his many successful efforts in large-scale diplomacy. Koh, of Singapore, is the eleventh recipient

of the Award, awarded jointly in 2014 by Harvard’s Program on Negotiation (PON) and the Belfer Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project at Harvard Kennedy School.

Nicholas Burns, director of the Future of Diplomacy Project, took part in the discussion with Koh along with **James Sebenius**, professor at Harvard Business School and member of the PON executive committee, and **Susan Hackley**, managing director of the PON based at Harvard Law School.

The award honors Koh for his work as the chief negotiator for the U.S.-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, the UN Rio Earth Summit, and other large-scale negotiations.

In a joint statement announcing the award, Sebenius and Burns said: “In honoring Ambassador Koh, we have the unique opportunity to learn from one of the world’s leaders in the practice of large-scale, multi-party conference diplomacy—a complex form of negotiation that will be increasingly needed to forge effective collective responses to a range of global problems.”

“The chairman of [a large-scale diplomacy] conference is both a choreographer and the conductor of an orchestra.”

—Tommy Koh

Of his success in complex multi-party conference negotiations, Koh said, “The chairman of the conference is both a choreographer and the conductor of an orchestra. You are a choreographer because you have to design a conference structure and then you must marshal the complexity of issues, and determine—like a conductor—who can lead various structures within.”

TOM FITZSIMMONS



Diplomatic Attention: 2014 Great Negotiator Award recipient Ambassador **Tommy Koh** (2nd from left) shares a laugh with (from left) Harvard Business School’s **James Sebenius**, Harvard Kennedy School’s **Nicholas Burns**, and Harvard Law School’s **Robert Mnookin**, chair of Harvard’s Program on Negotiation, which launched the Award in 2000.

Center Teams with Executive Education in Summer Cybersecurity Program

Harvard Kennedy School’s newest Executive Education program, “Cybersecurity: The Intersection of Policy and Technology,” is set to launch this summer. A collaboration of the Belfer Center and Executive Education, this will be the first of the executive education offerings to focus on cyber issues, using policy and technology to address cyber threats.

Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) Executive Education offers one- to two-week courses on a range of subjects to help leaders and officials in government, military, academia, and the public sector around the world address critical issues facing people, communities, and nations.

The cybersecurity executive education program will take place at HKS July 27 through Aug. 1. Its launch comes as the impact of network-based intrusions on critical infrastructure and international security is more widely recognized along with a heightened awareness of vulnerability to cybersecurity threats. The weeklong course aims at developing a deeper understanding of the components of cyberspace, exploring the nature of current and future threats, evaluating strategies and policy responses to threats,

and building professional skills in group work and scenario assessment.

“Cybersecurity: The Intersection of Policy and Technology” is an extension of the Belfer Center’s Project on Technology, Security, and Conflict in the Cyber Age. The Center’s cyber project, headed by Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti**, investigates the impacts and consequences of new information and communications technologies for international security, political and economic development, and social welfare. The project is a collaboration of research fellows, senior advisors, and associates of different

academic backgrounds working to shape national policy, organization strategy, and leadership capacity for the cyber age.

“This summer’s cybersecurity executive education program provides an opportunity for cyber experts to share their knowledge and insights into this serious issue and at the same time to learn from individuals in the government, military, and private sectors who work with cyber challenges and opportunities every day,” said Narayanamurti. “The Belfer

“This...provides an opportunity for cyber experts to share their knowledge and insights...and at the same time to learn from individuals in the government, military and private sectors.”



Cybersecurity Instruction: Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program Director **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti** (left) and Harvard Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph Nye** prepare for a videotaped discussion of the first HKS Executive Education program on cybersecurity.

Center is pleased to join Executive Education in offering what we’re sure will be a dynamic and instructive course.”

For more information on the course, see www.belfercenter.org/EEcyber

Coming Together *for* **NUCLEAR SECURITY**

by Sharon Wilke

President Obama's 2009 announcement of a new international effort to prevent nuclear terrorism highlighted an issue that has long been central to Belfer Center concerns and actions. The Center has played a critical role in supporting the aims of the 2010, 2012, and 2014 nuclear security summits to improve the security of nuclear weapons and materials.

"The Summit creates a moment in which countries want to come together and say, 'We've done things; this is meaningful.'"

—Laura Holgate

Senior Dir., WMD Terrorism and Threat Reduction
(JFK Jr. Forum "Preventing Nuclear Terrorism")

Center Executive Director for Research and former fellow **Gary Samore** was the lead organizer for the 2010 Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, D.C. as the then White House coordinator for WMD counter-terrorism and arms control. Samore worked on the 2010 and 2012 summits with another Belfer Center alumnus **Laura Holgate**, senior director for WMD terrorism and threat-reduction. **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall**, also a Center alumna and coordinator for defense policy, countering WMD, and arms control, led the U.S. planning efforts for the 2014 summit, working with Holgate.

For each of the three summits, Belfer Center experts helped with planning, briefed policy-makers, sherpas, and others, made presentations and took part in panels, and provided extensive assessments of progress and vulnerabilities through reports and analysis.

In support of these efforts, researchers at the Belfer Center developed a special website for each summit with a wealth of facts, key documents, analysis, and other resources devoted to the summits and issues related to nuclear security.

2014 Nuclear Security Summit

Beginning soon after the 2012 nuclear summit in Seoul, Belfer Center nuclear experts **Matthew Bunn**, **Gary Samore**, and **William Tobey** began meeting with Dutch Summit organizer **Piet de Klerk** on various aspects of the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit. In the months leading up to the Summit, **Graham Allison** and **Trevor Findlay**, along with Samore, Bunn, and Tobey, conducted briefings in the U.S. and around the globe to help prepare for the 2014 Summit and follow-on steps.

Nine Belfer Center nuclear experts—Allison, Bunn, Findlay, Samore, Tobey, **Martin Malin**, **Steven Miller**, **Nickolas Roth**, and **Hui Zhang**—traveled to the Netherlands in February and March to take part in and to provide analysis of various aspects of the Summit. Samore and Miller spoke at side events of the Summit, looking at progress and next steps. Findlay met with officials to discuss the possibility of the IAEA continuing summit goals after 2016.

Nuclear Security Matters Website

Key resources and commentary on the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit and security issues are available at *Nuclear Security Matters*, a Belfer Center website developed by the Project on Managing the Atom with the Center's Communications team.

See nuclearsecuritymatters.org

New Reports on Nuclear Security from Project on Managing the Atom

Advancing Nuclear Security: Evaluating Progress and Setting New Goals

A comprehensive report assessing progress made in the four-year effort to secure nuclear materials.

The Nuclear Terrorism Threat

A detailed review of the current threat of nuclear and radiological terrorism.

Threat Perceptions and Drivers of Change in Nuclear Security Around the World

A first-of-its-kind survey, identifying factors causing changes in nuclear security.

Beyond Nuclear Summity: The Role of the IAEA in Nuclear Security Diplomacy After 2016

A look at whether the IAEA might continue nuclear summit goals after the final summit in 2016.

Steps to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism: Recommendations Based on the U.S.-Russia Joint Threat Assessment

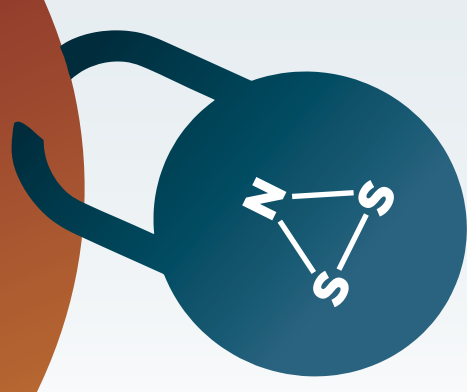
Concrete steps the U.S. and Russia should take in leading efforts against nuclear terrorism.

Securing China's Nuclear Future

In-depth analysis of Chinese perceptions of nuclear terrorism and security.

A Worst Practices Guide to Insider Threats

Examines worst practices in dealing with insider threats and looks at lessons to be learned.



For more on nuclear security and the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit, including key Belfer Center perspectives and publications, see www.nuclearsecuritymatters.org

Summit Takeaways and Next Steps

The 2014 Nuclear Security Summit was attended by more than 50 heads of government and representatives. Summit successes included Japan's announcement that it would ship to the U.S. and UK 50-70 bombs-worth of HEU and plutonium, and a pledge by 35 countries to adhere to nuclear security standards recommended by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Belfer Center commentary and analysis of the Summit and the best next steps are available at *Nuclear Security Matters*. See some Belfer Center perspectives below.

Graham Allison, Director

"What is the single most significant takeaway from the Nuclear Security Summit in The Hague? It is that contrary to business as usual in government, President Obama and his colleagues were able to distinguish between the urgent and the important.

When asked by reporters at The Hague how, with Russia's action in Crimea, he and the others there could be talking about nuclear security, President Obama said aptly, 'Russia is a problem. A nuclear weapon exploding in Manhattan would be a catastrophe.'"

Matthew Bunn, Professor of Practice

"Despite being overshadowed by Ukraine, the third nuclear security summit delivered the goods, including a broad commitment by the majority of participants to follow IAEA recommendations and accept periodic reviews of their nuclear security arrangements; a Japanese pledge to eliminate some of the most dangerous nuclear material that existed in any non-nuclear-weapon-state; and a new initiative to improve security for radioactive sources. Leaders' desire to have something to announce again created a much-needed forcing function."



Global Security: Belfer Center Senior Fellow **William Tobey** (center) in The Hague, Netherlands, is interviewed by Dutch television host **Charles Groenhuijsen** (right) about nuclear security goals of the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit. Also interviewed were (left to right) **Deepti Choubey**, Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), **Anita Nilsson**, formerly with International Atomic Energy Agency, and **Corey Hinderstein**, NTI.

"The team at the Belfer Center has been a source of terrific ideas and analysis in support of President Obama's high priority goal to improve global nuclear security—and we are all safer for it. We look forward to continuing our collaboration as we begin preparations for the Nuclear Security Summit that the President will host in the United States in 2016."

—Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall,
Coordinator for Defense Policy, Countering WMD, and Arms Control

Gary Samore, Executive Director

"Like Washington in 2010 and Seoul in 2012, the 2014 Hague Nuclear Security Summit provided a useful mechanism to focus attention on the threat of nuclear terrorism and mobilize efforts to strengthen nuclear security in the form of the Summit Communiqué, collective commitments by coalitions of countries, and actions by individual states. The big challenge now—as President Obama identified—is how to intensify international efforts in the run up to 2016, which is likely to be the final summit."

William Tobey, Senior Fellow

"The 2014 Nuclear Security Summit recorded important accomplishments. Japan's decision to relinquish hundreds of kilograms of plutonium and highly enriched uranium will ensure that this material will be invulnerable to theft. The joint commitment by 35 nations to strengthened nuclear security was significant, although it also highlighted the refusal to subscribe by other nations holding half the world's stocks of nuclear weapons and weapons-usable material—including Russia, China, India, Pakistan, Belarus, and South Africa. We must do better."



Looking Ahead: Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Gary Samore** at the Nuclear Knowledge Summit, an official side event of the 2014 Nuclear Summit.



Advancing Security: Professor of Practice **Matthew Bunn** asks a question following a panel presentation at the Nuclear Knowledge Summit in the Netherlands.



Q&A Kevin Rudd

Kevin Rudd, former Prime Minister of Australia, is a Senior Fellow at the Belfer Center and a Visiting Fellow with Harvard's Institute of Politics. At the Belfer Center, Rudd leads a major research effort on possibilities and impacts of a new strategic relationship between China and the United States. He also is engaged in a range of international challenges including global economic management, climate change, and sustainable development. He is internationally recognized as one of the founders of the G20, which drove the global response to the economic crisis. We asked him to share some of his leadership experiences and advice for future leaders.

Q Of the many issues and crises that confront heads of state and government, how did you determine priorities when you were Prime Minister?

The core challenge for any Head of Government is to balance the relative priorities between domestic policy and foreign policy. This in turn will be shaped by pre-election commitments. In my own case as Prime Minister, that meant determining the right priorities concerning the Global Financial Crisis as well as more classical foreign policy challenges within our region. The number one international policy challenge for my Government was dealing with the worst global financial economic crisis since the Great Depression. It obviously was not anticipated before an election but it had to take priority over everything else for the simple reason that in the absence of an effectively functioning financial system and robust economy, all other priorities of the Government would have been significantly undermined.

Beyond that immediate crisis, our foreign policy challenges were determined by our geographical and global circumstances. Australia saw itself as a middle power with both regional and global interests. Within our own region, priorities had to be attached to our relationship with the South West Pacific and South East Asia, and also with our principal economic partners in North East Asia and India. Australia also worked hard to secure expansion of the East Asia Summit to include the United States and Russia so that

all the principal powers of East Asia were assembled around a common table with an open agenda to discuss the region's future.

"The number one international policy challenge for my Government was dealing with the worst global financial economic crisis since the Great Depression."

Globally, Australia has always been committed to a properly functioning UN multilateral system. One of our priorities was to contest a non-permanent vacancy for the UN Security Council. That decision was taken immediately upon being elected. After a three- or four-year campaign, the Government succeeded in being elected to the Council, in the position which it still holds.

Q What advice would you give Harvard students and other aspiring public leaders to help them prepare for leadership positions in government?

The core challenge is to identify what you believe in, why you believe it, and what you want to do about it. This is the standard advice that I've given young people throughout Australia and the world over the last decade. Anyone engaged in public life must understand their guiding mission in order to effectively navigate their own public and political career, consistent with that mission, rather than simply pursuing a career for its own purpose.

Furthermore, acquiring the practical skills necessary to give effect to a person's underlying philosophical mission in public life is equally important. That's why the skills acquired, for example at the Harvard Kennedy School, are so relevant. Skills, however, are no substitute for clearly working out the values and purpose attached to a public or political policy career.

Q You recently had a major success when the International Court of Justice ruled that Japan must stop whaling. What lessons can others learn from this experience?

Use diplomacy to try and resolve a problem first. We did this in the case of Japan and over nearly two years worked with our Japanese friends to identify a diplomatic solution to bring about the gradual phasing out of Japanese whaling. However, this ended in an impasse.

We also tried to use the International Whaling Commission, the appropriate multilateral body, to negotiate such an outcome with Japan. Once again, over a two-year period, we weren't able to bring about any effective long-term phase out to Japanese whaling.

"I believe that it has also been done in a manner with minimal impact on the Australia-Japan bilateral relationship."

Third, having exhausted both bilateral and multilateral negotiating forums, we then elected, consistent with our commitments prior to the previous Australian election, to take Japan to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Having done so, the key challenge was to organise the most robust legal team and legal case possible to establish that so-called 'scientific whaling' was simply commercial whaling disguised as something else.

I'm gratified that Australia succeeded in this action. I believe that it has also been done in a manner with minimal impact on the Australia-Japan bilateral relationship—more conducted as a disagreement between friends. An international dispute mechanism was used between two consenting parties who, prior to the matter being determined by the ICJ, indicated they would accept the jurisdiction of the courts.



Outback Outreach: Then Australian Prime Minister **Kevin Rudd** meets with local elders to discuss the Ord River Dam at Lake Argyle in Western Australia. As PM, Rudd issued Australia's first public apology to Indigenous Australians.

REMEMBERING James Schlesinger

James Schlesinger, longtime Chairman of the Belfer Center International Council, passed away in March at age 85. Schlesinger's service in government began in 1969, when he joined the Nixon administration as Assistant Director and later Deputy Director of what became the Office of Management and Budget. In 1971, President Nixon appointed him Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, then in 1973 named him Director of the CIA, and later Secretary of Defense. In 1976, President Carter named Schlesinger the first Director of the new Department of Energy.

by Graham Allison

- *B.A., Harvard, summa cum laude, 1950*
- *PhD., Harvard, 1956*
- *Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget*
- *Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission*
- *Director, Central Intelligence Agency*
- *Secretary of Defense*
- *Secretary of Energy*
- *Board of Overseers, Harvard, and Chair of HKS Visiting Committee*
- *Chair, International Council, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*

Jim Schlesinger was a pillar in the pantheon of American national security. A proud son of Harvard, he was both red, white, and blue, and crimson to the core.

Jim has the unique distinction of having been the only individual ever to have served as Secretary of Defense, Director of CIA, and Secretary of Energy. After coming to Washington in 1971 to become Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, he went on to chair the Atomic Energy Commission, and to head three major national security agencies. For four decades he stood as a shining symbol of an unalterable commitment to apply the best of the mind to the most difficult challenges of energy, national security, and foreign policy. For many at the Belfer Center, including **Al Carnesale, Ash Carter, John Deutch**, and me, he was not only a model, but a mentor.

"Jim Schlesinger was a pillar in the pantheon of American national security."

A graduate from Harvard in the class of 1950 (in which **Henry Kissinger** was a classmate), and later earning a Harvard PhD, Jim was at his core an "action intellectual." For him, thought was prelude to action. The point of having a position in government was not to be something, but to do something.

In his canon, challenges of public policy require objective, unblinkered analysis. Rigorous analysis often leads to conclusions that contradict conventional wisdom. He enjoyed vigorous debate with those who disagreed and never shrank from unorthodox or uncomfortable results.

As the Soviet nuclear arsenal grew to

match the U.S., he led the Defense Department to shift nuclear strategy from targeting cities to focusing on Soviet military targets in the hope of constraining escalation. At CIA during the Watergate era, when he learned that agents had illegally spied on Americans, he was outraged and ordered a sweeping investigation of the Agency's prior operations that uncovered an array of illegal practices and led Congress to create additional checks and balances. As the only Republican in **President Carter's** Cabinet, he developed the plan that merged 50 agencies in a new Department of Energy of which he became the first head. With President Carter, he took the lead in highlighting risks of American dependence on Middle Eastern oil, eliminated price controls on natural gas, encouraged nuclear power, and promoted conservation.

Actress **Jane Fonda** and California governor **Jerry Brown** organized a rally in Washington targeting Schlesinger, at which Fonda told the crowd of 65,000 that "putting Schlesinger in charge of nuclear power is like putting Dracula in charge of a blood bank." Jim responded dismissively, noting that these were "the same people who cheered for Ho Chi Minh."

In the summer of 1974, just prior to his resignation, there were serious questions about **President Nixon's** state of mind. In an act that risked violating his oath of office, Jim instructed the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff not to execute any order from the President, especially relating to nuclear

weapons, without first clearing it with the Secretary of Defense.

"Who could better symbolize the University's long-term commitment to analyze and teach about the most difficult challenges of national security, energy, and foreign policy?"

Harvard's pride in this public servant was reflected in the creation two years ago of the James R. Schlesinger Professorship of Energy, National Security, and Foreign Policy. Who could better symbolize the University's long-term commitment to analyze and teach about the most difficult challenges of national security, energy, and foreign policy?

Responding to that honor, Jim said that he was "humbled" by the thought of a professorship "in perpetuity," since at Harvard that could mean for a very long time. Always a student of history, he reminded us that the first endowed professorship at Harvard had been established in 1721 for the Hollis Professorship of Theology. And with a twinkle, he noted that whatever the views of many faculty at Harvard today, the Hollis Professorship was continuing this pursuit—which, as a committed Lutheran, he applauded.

At the conclusion of that celebration, one of Jim's daughters had the final word. She recalled that her father often amused his children by singing all the verses of "Fair Harvard"—concluding with "till the stock of the Puritans die."



Power in Place: James Schlesinger (2nd from right), with (left to right) Robert Belfer, Paul Volcker, and Graham Allison following the annual meeting of the Belfer Center International Council, in April 2010.

Understanding the Turmoil in Ukraine

“To those of us familiar with nuclear weapons...and with the looming revolution about to sweep the then-Soviet Union, it was plain that a new and unprecedented danger to international security was emerging....Safety could only be sought through new policies emphasizing cooperative engagement with the new states...” wrote **Graham Allison, Ashton Carter, Steven Miller, and Philip Zelikow** in their 1993 book *Cooperative Denuclearization: From Pledges to Deeds*.

Among the steps proposed by the Center’s nuclear experts for the U.S. and other nations was the removal of strategic nuclear warheads from the new republics to safe and secure storage sites in Russia; the dismantling of U.S. and Russian Cold War weapons; and the placing of plutonium and enriched uranium from dismantled weapons into safeguarded storage.

In 1994, through the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances, Ukraine gave up thousands of nuclear weapons in return for a promise by the U.S. and Russia not to use force against this post-Soviet republic as well as to respect its sovereignty within its existing borders.

The following timeline highlights some significant events in Ukraine, along with Belfer Center analysis.

See more analysis on our website,
belfercenter.org/Ukraine2014



Continuing Communications: Russian Elbe Group generals huddle at the Elbe Group meeting in Morocco in March to discuss Ukraine and Crimea with American counterparts.

Elbe Group Facilitates U.S.-Russia Discussion

by Kevin Ryan

In March, as Washington and Moscow traded lists of people banned from traveling to their countries, a select group of U.S. and Russian retired generals met quietly in Morocco to discuss the looming crisis in Ukraine and its effect on U.S. and Russian strategic interests. The Elbe Group, organized by the Belfer Center at Harvard Kennedy School, has been meeting since 2010 to discuss sensitive bilateral issues. The members of the Elbe Group are senior retired military and intelligence flag officers, including three- and four-star veterans from the FSB, GRU, CIA, DIA, Ministry of Defense and Department of Defense, all with strong connections into their respective governments.

The group met in Marrakesh in March and issued the following joint statement to

the two governments: “The current crisis connected with the situation in Ukraine and Crimea should not interrupt the joint efforts of the United States and the Russian Federation to protect our shared strategic interests....Failure to overcome this obstacle can lead to a vacuum in the efforts to provide long term security for our nations.”

The group’s agenda in Morocco addressed nuclear terrorism, Islamic extremism, Syria, Iran, and Afghanistan, but the crisis in Ukraine and Crimea hung over every discussion. Even in private talks between veteran officers within the Elbe Group, the disagreements over “the facts on the ground” in Ukraine were profound. The only point of agreement was that neither side wanted to see a civil war in Ukraine.

Timeline of events and Belfer Center analysis on the turmoil in Ukraine

January 1994

“Once the nuclear weapons are gone, Russia will interpret the economic grievances of ethnic Russians in Eastern Ukraine as violations of human rights. The US must convince Ukraine that in giving up its weapons, it will not be relegated to second-class status and fed to the Russian Federation.”

Fiona Hill & Pamela Jewett

“Back in the USSR: Russian Intervention in the Internal Affairs of the Former Soviet Republics...” Belfer Center Occasional Paper

June 2009

“Western discussion of the inclusion of Ukraine in NATO is, at this point, needlessly provocative and is void of strategic logic but rich in raw material for cynical Russian nationalists.”

Tom Nichols

“Improving Russia-U.S. Relations: The Next Steps” Belfer Center Policy Memo

November 2013

The Euromaidan protests flare in Kiev and spread across Ukraine after President Yanukovich suspends preparations for signing association and free trade agreements with the European Union.

1990s

2000s

2010s

December 1994

Russia, the UK, and the U.S. sign the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances, transferring Ukraine’s nuclear arsenal to Russia in exchange for a guarantee of Ukraine’s territorial integrity.

December 2000

“Ukraine has found it impossible to chart a clearly Western course. Its future foreign policy is likely to be one of balancing the desire to join Western institutions against the need to maintain good ties with its large eastern neighbor.”

Caspian Studies Policy Brief

Tomas Valasiek, “Military Cooperation within GUAAM...” Belfer Center Policy Brief

July 2009

“No matter who provokes violence in the Crimea, the consequences of an armed conflict would be in no one’s interests. Russia might as well forget about its hopes for a friendlier Ukraine, and Ukraine, apart from losing part of its territory for good, would be pushed years back.”

Simon Saradzhyan

“Stirring Things Up in the Crimea” International Relations and Security Network

U.S.-China: What's Next?

The Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation and the Belfer Center joined together in March to host the China Public Policy Forum on the current and future state of U.S.-China relations.

"[T]he important takeaway from the conference was that the U.S. and China...face strikingly similar challenges."

The forum, co-hosted by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, was an opportunity for the academic community, policymakers, and others to discuss key topics on the future of the U.S.-China relationship. Participants took part in discussions on the role of the U.S. and China in shaping the future global architecture, trade, and financial relationships.

Tony Saich, director of the Ash Center said, "I think the important takeaway from the conference was that the U.S. and China...face strikingly similar challenges on the global security, financial, and environmental fronts. The future of architecture of the global community will have a large imprint from Beijing, and I think it wise that we work to find common solutions to many of these challenges facing us in the future."

"It was an honor to co-host this conference with the Ash Center and the Chinese People's Association to mark the 35th anniversary of normalized U.S.-China relations with



Coming Together: Li Xiaolin (center), president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, with Ash Center Director **Tony Saich** (left) and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** prior to the conference they co-sponsored on China-U.S. relations.

our Chinese colleagues," said Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. "In addition to discussing challenges facing both countries, this was an excellent opportunity to explore opportunities for collaboration on issues ranging from security to the environment."

Al-Ississ Examines Factors Sustaining Arab Spring Efforts



Evolution and Revolution: **Mohamad Al-Ississ**, Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar with the Middle East Initiative (MEI), speaks at an MEI seminar on "Anatomy of the Arab Spring and Ensuing Winter."

Mohamad Al-Ississ is the spring 2014 Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar at the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative (MEI). He joined MEI from the American University in Cairo, where he is assistant professor in the School of Business and School of Global Affairs and Public Policy. At MEI, Al-Ississ is analyzing with Professor **Ishac Diwan** the determinants of democracy preferences of people in the Middle East. He examines how these preferences evolved after the Arab Spring, when security collapsed and uncertainty increased.

Al-Ississ has reached surprising findings about the drivers of the Arab Spring and factors that have sustained the protests and turbulence. For example, what began as

protests by Arab youth for better economic opportunities has evolved into demands from all echelons of Egyptian society for their competing needs and wants.

In addition to his research, Al-Ississ has recorded lectures for the first online course (MOOC) to be conducted entirely in Arabic as part of Edraak, an initiative of Harvard and MIT's EdX and the Queen Rania Foundation. Of Edraak, Al-Ississ says, "There is an extremely urgent need to increase the access Arab youth have to a world-class education, so that they are prepared to address the multitude of contemporary challenges in the Middle East."

For more about Dr. Al-Ississ' work, see:
<http://belfercenter.org/middleeast>

timeline by Andrew Facini

March 2014

"Those now coping with the current crisis should remember actions taken over the past two decades that prevented this from becoming a nuclear crisis. And they should not forget commitments we made as part of the price for denuclearization."

Graham Allison

"Good News from Ukraine: It Doesn't Have Nukes"
The National Interest

March-April 2014

As Russian troops secure Crimea and bring a formal vote for its annexation into Russia, "local militias" foment pro-Russia uprisings in Eastern Ukraine, namely in Kharkiv, Donetsk, and Luhansk.

April 2014

"By most accounts, Russian President Vladimir Putin has been the winner in the Ukraine crisis, at least so far. His annexation of Crimea has been widely applauded at home, and he has largely shrugged off Western governments' responses. But, from a longer-term perspective, Putin's victory is not quite so certain."

Joseph Nye

"Putin's Calculus"
New Europe

February 2014

"One thing is certain—Russian President Vladimir Putin will not easily accept Ukraine's separation from Moscow. He will push back hard to keep Ukraine within the Kremlin's orbit."

Nicholas Burns

"Cold War Passions in Ukraine"
The Boston Globe

February 2014

The protests turn into revolution as Yanukovich and his government are expelled from Ukraine. In response, Russia refuses to recognize the new Kiev government and sends troops to capture Crimea.

March 2014

"What happens in Crimea, Ukraine, or any other European country cannot be solved by the Pentagon. This is the first lesson for the West in the Ukrainian situation and one it must accept. U.S. and Western diplomats must come to the negotiating table without their trump card—the world superpower's military."

Kevin Ryan

"Putin's Audacity Fueled By U.S. Military Decline"
The Moscow Times

April 2014

Despite a tentative truce via the "Geneva Statement" of April 17, pro-Russian militants continue to foment unrest in Ukraine's eastern cities. Kiev's "antiterror" operations to end the armed occupations continue with mixed results.



Secrecy and Security: Jane Harman, president and CEO of the Woodrow Wilson Center and former member of the U.S. House of Representatives, gestures as she speaks at a JFK Jr. Forum event on “NSA Secrecy and National Security.” The event was moderated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (left). Panelists not pictured: **John Deutch, Joseph Nye, David Sanger, and Dina Temple-Raston.**

BELFER S



Asian Relations: Japanese Ambassador to the United States **Kenichiro Sasae** speaks on “Japan, U.S., and the Future of Asia-Pacific” at a Future of Diplomacy seminar. Before becoming ambassador, Sasae served as vice minister of foreign affairs, the highest level civil service position in the Japanese Foreign Ministry. He also served as director-general of the Economic Affairs Bureau.



Economic Upturn? Charles W. Eliot University Professor and president emeritus of Harvard University **Lawrence Summers**, a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, discusses “The U.S. Economy: Long or Short?” during the annual meeting of the Center’s International Council. Summers has served in senior policy positions, including as secretary of the Treasury and director of the National Economic Council.



International Input: **Robert Zoellick**, chairman of Goldman Sachs’ board of international advisers and former head of the World Bank, gestures during his comments at the Belfer Center’s annual meeting of the International Council in April. Zoellick, senior fellow at the Belfer Center, is also a member of the board of the Congressionally created National Endowment for Democracy.



End of an Era? **Soli Ozel**, a former Fisher Family Fellow with the Belfer Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project, speaks on “Politics in the Religious Republic: Path to Democracy or Despotism?” and discussed Turkey at the end of the Erdogan era. Ozel, Kadir Has University Professor of International Relations, is a columnist and chairman of the Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association.



Climate Facts and Fantasy: Director of the Yale Project on Climate Change Communication **Anthony Leiserowitz** speaks at an Environment and Natural Resources Project seminar on “Climate Change in the American Mind.” The talk delved into recent trends in Americans’ global warming knowledge, attitudes, policy support, and behavior.

PEAKERS



International Energy: **Maria Van Der Hoeven**, executive director of the International Energy Agency, speaks on international energy policy and global energy trends to Harvard Kennedy School students and faculty during a visit to Boston in February. She was hosted by **Henry Lee** (left), director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program.



MARTHA STEWART

Syrian Situation: **Farah Pandithf**, Institute of Politics resident fellow and former State Department special representative to Muslim communities, makes a point to **Nicholas Burns**, director of the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy Project, during a JFK Jr. Forum on "The Syrian Crisis: Its Impact on the U.S., the Middle East, and the Next Generation." Panelists **Elliott Abrams** and **Avshalom Vilan** are not pictured.



Two at the Top: **Hutham Olayan**, principal, director and senior executive of The Olayan Group, and head of the Group's U.S. presence, talks with **Stuart Rabin**, co-founder, president, CEO, and CIO of Nine Thirty Capital, during the opening reception of the 2014 annual meeting of the Belfer Center International Council. Olayan and Rabin are both members of the Council.



MARTHA STEWART

Intelligence Discourse: **Meir Dagan** (left), former director of the Mossad, Israel's national intelligence agency, emphasizes a point to former Central Intelligence Agency Director **David Petraeus**, retired four-star general and a Belfer Center senior fellow, during a discussion of "Israel, Iran, and the Arab Revolution" at a JFK Jr. Forum event in April. The event was moderated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**.



Senatorial Service: Rhode Island Senator **Jack Reed** speaks at a Belfer Center director's seminar titled "A Conversation with Sen. Jack Reed." A Harvard Kennedy School and Harvard Law School alumnus, Reed served three terms in the House of Representatives before being elected to the Senate in 1997. He currently serves on the Appropriations Committee, the Armed Services Committee, and others.



Identity Issues: **Aisha Ahmad**, assistant professor of political science at the University of Toronto, discusses ideological extremism and Islamist in-fighting in the Somali civil war. Ahmad suggested that intra-Islamist fighting within a civil war context is an important determinant in those groups' decisions on whether to adopt a transnational identity.

FEATURED FELLOWS, FA

In this issue, the Belfer Center is pleased to feature two Belfer Center fellows: **Jill Goldenziel**, International Security Program research fellow, and **Ariane Tabatabai**, Stanton Nuclear Security Predoctoral Fellow, International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom.

Jill Goldenziel: International Law Must Protect Refugees' Rights

by Abigail Collins

At the end of 2012 there were 15.4 million refugees worldwide, a number that continues to grow.

"The international refugee system is in a perpetual state of crisis," says International Security Program Research Fellow **Jill Goldenziel**.

Before joining the Belfer Center last summer, Goldenziel studied international law and international relations as a doctoral student at Harvard. She also holds a law degree from NYU. Goldenziel recently published an article, "Regulating Human Rights: International Organizations, Flexible Standards, and International Refugee Law," in the *Chicago Journal of International Law*. Now she's working on a book about international refugee law and U.S. foreign policy.

"International refugee law wasn't designed for the types of refugee crises that have occurred as the result of civil conflicts and state failure."

"Refugee flows are one of the greatest human rights issues of our time," says Goldenziel, adding that current international refugee law is rather dated.

"International refugee law wasn't designed for the types of refugee crises that have occurred as the result of civil conflicts and state failure since the end of the Cold War," she says. The law should allow states to share the burden of managing refugees, while ensuring human rights, she believes.

"International law is understood very differently in different regions of the world," Goldenziel says, emphasizing the importance of refugee needs and their legal predicaments in the countries to which they flee.

Her recent article explains how international organizations can improve human rights, even in rogue states where human rights treaties have failed. She argues that international organizations can do so by using their authority to interpret international law, providing legal cover for state actions, and by linking human rights improvements to economic incentives and development programs. Goldenziel's fieldwork focused on finding better solutions to the current refugee crisis.

From 2007 to 2010, Goldenziel's work in Jordan, Syria, and Egypt brought her face-to-face with refugees.

"There's really nothing like talking to refugees and listening to their stories," she says.



Before Bombing: International Security Program Research Fellow **Jill Goldenziel** during fieldwork in Aleppo, Syria, in 2009.

"To learn how to help refugees, one needs to understand what they've been through and how they interact with an international legal system that wasn't initially designed to provide the types of assistance they now need."

For more on Jill Goldenziel, see
<http://belfercenter.org/Goldenziel>

Building a Network of Young Arms Control Experts

by Ariane Tabatabai

The Middle East Network of Arms Control Specialists (MENACS) aims to bring together young professionals who work on arms control and regional security issues from the Middle East to promote a better understanding of arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament in the

region, and to facilitate indigenous processes and expertise. The network was the idea of **Chen Zak**, the Middle East project manager at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, and a former research fellow with the Belfer Center.

Since October, our group has presented its work in the EU next generation nonproliferation consortium conference in Brussels, as well as in Washington, D.C. We also have written a number of articles together, and we conducted a simulation on the Middle East weapons of mass destruction-free zone conference.

We are currently working on a free arms control course portal in the four major regional languages: Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, and Turkish, as well as English.

Most recently, my Israeli colleague and I co-authored a piece in which we offered recommendations to our respective governments on constructive steps that can be taken by each government to influence and change the dynamics between them, and to reduce tension, the risk of a military strike, and miscalculation.

MENACS has provided a platform for young experts from the region to engage with one another and to have substantial and constructive dialogue. We try to work creatively to propose solutions to ongoing arms control and regional security challenges in the Middle East as well as trying to expand the Network and the scope of its work.

The Network presented at the 2014 NPT PrepCom in New York in March in cooperation with the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, the Nuclear Threat Initiative, and the Böll Foundation.

For more on Ariane Tabatabai, see
<http://belfercenter.org/Tabatabai>



Enhancing Expertise: Stanton Nuclear Security Predoctoral Fellow **Ariane Tabatabai** (center) works with other members of the Middle East Network of Arms Control Specialists, a group of young non-proliferation professionals.

CULTY, AND AFFILIATES

Juma Named to Prestigious Positions at Harvard, MIT

Named Mason Program Faculty Chair, Harvard; Martin Luther King Visiting Professor, MIT

Calestous Juma, professor of the practice of international development at Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) and director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization project, will have a dual role during the 2014-15 academic year. Juma has been appointed faculty chair of the Edward S. Mason Program at HKS and Dr. Martin Luther King Visiting Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Department of Urban Studies and Planning.

As faculty chair of the Mason Program—HKS's flagship international program—Juma will work with around 90 leaders from developing, newly industrialized, and transitional economy countries for a one-year master's degree program designed to prepare them to address the world's most compelling development challenges.

A current Mason Fellow, **Unny Sankar**, administrative and diplomatic officer from the Government of Malaysia, said, "Prof. Juma's appointment will immensely benefit

HKS. His thoughts and vision will shape policy-making processes among leaders at this school. His passion on science, technology, and environment captivates his listeners and encourages thinking from new dimensions."

At MIT, Juma will conduct research and advance MIT's work in the area of science, technology, and sustainable development. He also will teach freshman and doctoral seminars on innovation, entrepreneurship, and development, based on his forthcoming book on the topic.

Juma is internationally recognized for his work on science and technology in sustainable development. A former executive secretary of the UN Convention on Biological Diversity and director of the African Centre for Technology Studies (Nairobi), Juma



Advancing Leaders: Calestous Juma (center) with Mason Fellows (left to right): Ifueko Okauru, Nigeria; Unny Sankar, Malaysia; Sonia Hasbun Flamengo, El Salvador; Redha Alhaidar, Saudi Arabia; Elzat Mamutalieva, Kyrgyzstan; and Mukundi Wachira, Kenya.

also directs HKS's Agricultural Innovation in Africa Project, funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. He has been elected to several prestigious academies, including the Royal Society of London and the World Academy of Sciences.

He is on the jury of the £1 million Queen Elizabeth Prize for Engineering and the Africa Prize for Engineering Innovation.

 Follow Calestous Juma on Twitter: **@Calestous**

Susan Hockfield Challenges Students, Universities to "Invent the Future" by Blending Biology and Engineering

Susan Hockfield, former president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, delivered the 2014 Edwin L. Godkin Lecture in March on the role universities can play in shaping the future.

In her lecture at Harvard Kennedy School's JFK Jr. Forum, "The 21st Century's Technology Story: The Convergence of Biology with Engineering and the Physical Sciences," Hockfield discussed how convergence of these disciplines can revolutionize technology and the 21st century. For that revolution to be successful, she said, we need a national movement that supports innovation and the advancement of American technology.

To illustrate the possibilities created by blending the life sciences, physical sciences, and engineering, Hockfield gave examples of MIT research involving convergence. One example was the use of nanoparticles that can diagnose a specific disease or attack

cancer cells when injected into a patient. Another was the use of a virus to synthesize a lithium-ion battery that will enable electric cars to travel greater distances.

"The possibilities of the convergence are truly beyond our imaginations."

Students are "wildly enthusiastic" about using convergence to solve great problems, Hockfield said. The question for universities and for the nation is, "Can we expand from a one-by-one approach to a full-throttle attack on these problems?"

"The possibilities of the convergence," she said, "are truly beyond our imaginations."

Hockfield was introduced by Harvard President **Drew Gilpin Faust** who called her a "lifelong experimenter" and a leader "who continues to inspire me and so many others in her deep commitment to the highest ideals of higher education."

KRISTYN ULANDAY

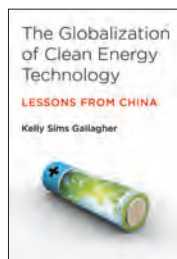


Presidential Duo: Harvard President **Drew Gilpin Faust** (left) with former MIT President **Susan Hockfield** before Hockfield's 2014 Godkin Lecture at Harvard Kennedy School.

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

The Globalization of Clean Energy Technology: Lessons from China

By **Kelly Sims Gallagher**,
Energy Technology Innovation
Policy research group Senior
Associate; Belfer Center Board
Member



The MIT Press (April 2014)

The development and deployment of cleaner energy technologies have become globalized phenomena. Yet despite the fact that energy-related goods account for more than 10 percent of international trade, policymakers, academics, and the business community perceive barriers to the global diffusion of these emerging technologies. In this book, Kelly Gallagher uses analysis and case studies from China's solar photovoltaic, gas turbine, advanced battery, and coal gasification industries to examine both barriers and incentives in clean energy technology transfer.

"Thank you to Kelly Sims Gallagher for this important contribution to the literature on technology transfer, clean energy, and China."

Gallagher finds that the barriers are not as daunting as many assume; these technologies already cross borders through foreign direct investment, licensing, joint R&D, and other channels. She finds that financing does present an obstacle, especially when new cleaner technologies compete with entrenched, polluting, and often government-subsidized traditional technologies. But the biggest single barrier, she finds, is the failure of government to provide sensible policy incentives.

"Thank you to Kelly Sims Gallagher for this important contribution to the literature on technology transfer, clean energy, and China. Her thorough research, thoughtful analysis, and clear writing make this a must-read for anyone working on these topics."

—**David Sandalow**, Inaugural Fellow,
Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia
University; author of *Freedom from Oil*.

For more on Belfer
Center books and other
publications, see
[**belfercenter.org/books/**](http://belfercenter.org/books/)

Indecision Points: George W. Bush and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

By **Daniel E. Zoughbie**,
Former International Security
Program Research Fellow
Belfer Center Studies in International Security



The MIT Press (June 2014)

In this book, Daniel Zoughbie writes that although George W. Bush memorably declared "I'm the decider," he, as president, was remarkably indecisive when it came to U.S. policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Through the years, the administration erratically adopted and discarded successive approaches to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Zoughbie says that the results of this irresolution included the stunning triumph of Hamas in the 2006 Palestinian elections, Israel's 2006 invasion of Lebanon, the 2008–2009 clash between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, and, in the end, virtually no diplomatic progress toward lasting peace.

In *Indecision Points*, Daniel Zoughbie examines the major assumptions underpinning U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East during the Bush years. Drawing on the author's own interviews with 45 global leaders, *Indecision Points* provides the first comprehensive history of the Bush administration's attempt to reshape political order in a "New Middle East."

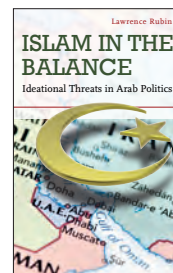
"Zoughbie provides a detailed history...This book offers deep insight into how the Bush foreign policy machine operated, insights that will be of interest far beyond the Levant."

"Daniel Zoughbie's book is essential reading for those who want to understand the policies of the George W. Bush administration toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Drawing on rich interviews with participants, Zoughbie provides a detailed history that reveals much about key internal debates, the disagreements of leading officials, and the beliefs that guided U.S. policies. This book offers deep insight into how the Bush foreign policy machine operated, insights that will be of interest far beyond the Levant."

—**Jeremy Pressman**, associate professor of political science and director of Middle East studies, University of Connecticut, and author of *Warring Friends: Alliance Restraint in International Politics*.

Islam in the Balance: Ideational Threats in Arab Politics

By **Lawrence Rubin**,
Former Research Fellow,
Dubai Initiative



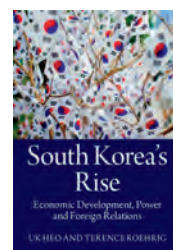
Stanford University Press
(May 2014)

Islam in the Balance: Ideational Threats in Arab Politics is an analysis of how ideas, or political ideology, can threaten states and how states react to ideational threats.

It examines the threat perception and policies of two Arab, Muslim majority states, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, in response to the rise and activities of two revolutionary "Islamic states," established in Iran (1979) and Sudan (1989). Using these comparative case studies the book provides important insight about the role of religious ideology for the international and domestic politics of the Middle East.

South Korea's Rise: Economic Development, Power and Foreign Relations

By **Uk Heo** and
Terence Roehrig,
International Security Program/
Project on Managing the Atom Research Fellow



Cambridge University Press (July 2014)

South Korea's phenomenal rise has been studied extensively by political scientists and economists both in terms of its impact on democratization and as a role model for economic development.

In *South Korea's Rise*, Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig propose a new theoretical framework to illustrate how an increase in a country's economic prosperity can bring about change to its foreign policy, prompting greater involvement in the international system, the transition to democracy, an expanded set of interests, and increased tools to pursue its foreign policy goals.

This is essential reading for all students and scholars with an interest in Asia, foreign policy, and global economics.

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP

NEWSMAKERS



Graham Allison

Belfer Center Director Graham Allison has been named to the 2014 class of The American Academy of Arts and Sciences. One of the nation's most prestigious honorary societies, the Academy is also a leading center for independent policy research. The new class will be inducted at a ceremony on October 11, 2014.



Lewis Branscomb

Lewis Branscomb, director emeritus of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, HKS Professor Emeritus, and Belfer Center board member, won the American Association for the Advancement of Science's *Philip Hauge Abelson Award* for his career in science, technology, innovation, and policy.



Albert Carnesale

Albert Carnesale, member of the Belfer Center International Council, was named chairman of the Task Force on Nuclear Nonproliferation with the Secretary of Energy Advisory Board. The task force includes **Matthew Bunn** and **Gary Samore** and will advise the Department of Energy on future areas of emphasis for nonproliferation activities.



Paula Dobriansky

Future of Diplomacy Project Senior Fellow Paula Dobriansky has been selected to deliver this spring's commencement address at American University's School of International Service. She will also be presented with an honorary degree in international relations from American University.



Chuck Freilich

Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy, a new book by International Security Program Senior Fellow Chuck Freilich, was awarded the 2014 *Book Award* by the Institute for National Security Studies. Freilich is currently working on a new book related to Israel's national security strategy.



Sean Misko

Sean Misko, a member of the State Department's policy planning staff and former teaching assistant to Graham Allison, was selected as one of the Center for a New American Security's 2014 *Next Generation National Security Leaders*. He will take part in discussions with influential national security figures throughout the year.

International Security

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Attacking the Leader, Missing the Mark: Why Terrorist Groups Survive Decapitation Strikes

Jenna Jordan

Many academics and policymakers argue that the removal of leaders is an effective strategy in combating terrorism. Leadership decapitation is not always successful, however. A theory of organizational resilience explains why some terrorist organizations survive decapitation. Application of this theoretical model to the case of al-Qaida reveals that the deaths of Osama bin Laden and other high level al-Qaida operatives are unlikely to cause significant organizational decline.

The Nonproliferation Emperor Has No Clothes: The Gas Centrifuge, Supply-Side Controls, and the Future of Nuclear Proliferation

R. Scott Kemp

Policymakers have long focused on preventing nuclear weapons proliferation by controlling technology. Even developing countries, however, may now possess the technical ability to create nuclear weapons. The history of gas centrifuge development in twenty countries supports this perspective. To reduce the demand for nuclear weapons, policymakers will have to look toward the cultural, normative, and political organization of the world.

Contested Primacy in the Western Pacific: China's Rise and the Future of U.S. Power Projection

Evan Braden Montgomery

Despite their disagreements, proponents of deep engagement and offshore balancing share an optimistic but unrealistic assessment regarding the durability of U.S. military dominance. China's anti-access/area denial strategy and conventional precision-strike capabilities are already undermining the United States' military dominance in East Asia. The United States will need to adapt its military to meet this challenge.

New Delhi's Long Nuclear Journey: How Secrecy and Institutional Roadblocks Delayed India's Weaponization

Gaurav Kampani

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, many international observers came to perceive India as a de facto nuclear power. New evidence shows, however, that India lacked the technical means to deliver nuclear weapons reliably until 1994–95. Further, political leaders did not render the weapons militarily operational until 1999. These deficiencies can be traced to a regime of secrecy stemming from Indian decisionmakers' fear of international pressures for nuclear rollback.

Help Wanted? The Mixed Record of Foreign Fighters in Domestic Insurgencies

Kristin M. Bakke

Existing scholarship assumes that transnational insurgents strengthen domestic rebels. Analysis of transnational insurgents' participation in the Chechen wars, however, reveals that foreign fighters can weaken a domestic opposition movement by introducing goals and tactics that divide the movement and alienate the local community. To avoid this outcome, domestic resistance leaders must adapt the foreigners' ideas to the local context.

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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.

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BELFER IN BRIEF



Caspian Cooperation: Belfer Center International Council member **Jahangir Hajiyeu** speaks at the Caspian Corridor Conference in London.

Caspian Region Stability

In March, Belfer Center Executive Director for Research **Gary Samore** and International Council member **Jahangir Hajiyeu** took part in the Caspian Corridor Conference in London.

The conference, sponsored by the London Stock Exchange, International Bank of Azerbaijan, and other organizations, brought together global leaders of government, business, academia, and media “to examine the path ahead for the Caspian Corridor countries, with a view to identifying the key policy recommendation and best business practices for the region.”

The goal is to enable the countries to diversify their economies away from a reliance on oil and gas and to build strong regional economic cooperation and stability.

Eugene Kogan Meets Former Secretary of State George Schultz

Postdoctoral Research Fellow **Eugene Kogan** recently had the opportunity to meet with former Secretary of State **George P. Schultz** to discuss Kogan’s research on U.S. nonproliferation efforts with its Cold War allies. Kogan had a brief discussion about his research with another former secretary of state—Henry Kissinger—on the same day.

Peter Bacon Receives HKS Scholarship

Harvard’s Institute of Politics has awarded Research Assistant **Peter Bacon** a full scholarship to Harvard Kennedy School’s Master of Public Policy (MPP) program beginning fall 2014.

Aadya Shukla Receives DoD Grant for Cyber Research

Aadya Shukla, associate at the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program/Project on Technology, Security, and Conflict in the Cyber Age, has received a grant from the Department of Defense to work as a research scientist at MIT’s Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Lab on cyber issues that include functional norms across various layers of cyberspace during both war and peacetime.

Jeffrey Frankel to Latvia for International Seminar on Economics

Jeffrey Frankel, James W. Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Growth, will head to Latvia this summer for the annual meeting of the International Seminar on Macroeconomics, which he organizes on behalf of the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER). Frankel is director of the NBER program in International Finance and Macroeconomics.