



HARVARD Kennedy School

BELFER CENTER

for Foreign and International Affairs

Spring 2017

www.belfercenter.org



**Ash Carter,
Eric Rosenbach to
Succeed Graham
Allison in Leading
the Belfer Center**

See page 3

Passing the Belfer Baton

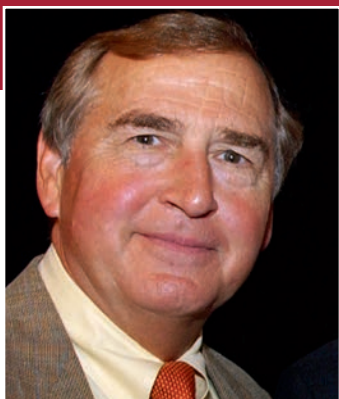


Serving the Nation In and Out of Government

See pages
4-5



www.belfercenter.org



AP PHOTO / SUSAN WALSH

From the Director



Then Army Lt. Gen. **H.R. McMaster** (left) talks to President **Donald Trump** at Trump's Mar-a-Lago estate where Trump announced McMaster as the new National Security Advisor on Feb. 20, 2017

As this newsletter went to press, we had cause to celebrate: Former Secretary of Defense **Ash Carter** is coming home to Harvard to lead the Belfer Center. I am thrilled to pass the Director's baton to such a towering scholar, strategist, and public servant. Ash exemplifies the Center's commitment to build a more secure, peaceful world.

"Ash exemplifies the Center's commitment to build a more secure, peaceful world."

Together with his new Co-Director, **Eric Rosenbach**—a Center alumnus and a leading cyber security and defense official—a great center is set to become even greater. As one of Ash's conditions for taking the job, I promised to stay actively involved in the Center: teaching, researching, and writing. **Bob Belfer** and **Doug Elmendorf** went above and beyond in helping me triple-team Ash. Thanks to their tenacity, a center dedicated to scholarship and practice is now led by the ultimate scholar and practitioner. With renewed leadership, we are ready to climb the next mountain.

♦ ♦ ♦

A week before he was asked by President Trump to become his new National Security Advisor, **H.R. McMaster** spent an hour in my office. He was set to retire this summer after 33 years in the Army. We both expected he would join us. Harvard's loss is America's huge gain. H.R. has earned a reputation as a brilliant and courageous subordinate. His bestselling book, *Dereliction of Duty*, indicted America's political and military leaders (including my hero, JFK) for their disastrous decisions in the Vietnam War. Ever since, he has repeatedly spoken uncomfortable truths to his superiors—and not only survived but thrived.

Like America's saltwater corridors, much of Harvard is stuck somewhere in the five stages of grief over the election. Center experts ground their work in facts and analysis. So while many urge resistance or resignation, we embrace the maxim to deal with the world as it is—in order to try to make it the world we would like it to be.

On a globe that seems to spin ever faster toward a new international disorder, our mission has never been more relevant: Capture the key facts,

We embrace the maxim to deal with the world as it is—in order to try to make it the world we would like it to be.

clarify analysis, and identify more effective ways to cope with a rising China and resurgent Russia; contain Iran's nuclear ambitions; reduce carbon emissions while meeting energy demands; secure nuclear materials; accelerate innovation in Africa; protect the homeland; manage deadly pathogens; enhance cybersecurity; map the future of diplomacy, and more. All this makes our talented scholars, staff, and students eager to get to work.

Our community has been enriched by the addition of a number of former high-ranking government officials as faculty, senior fellows, and associates. We are especially pleased to welcome back the longest-serving White House Science Advisor in history, **John Holdren**, who will co-direct the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program. In addition, **Kelly Ayotte**, **Ehud Barak**, **Alan Bersin**, **John Carlin**, **Jim Clapper**, **Laura Holgate**, **Ray Mabus**, **Lisa Monaco**, **Ernie Moniz**, **Mike Rogers**, **Jake Sullivan**, and **Jon Wolfsthal** will be joining us.

Our mission has never been more relevant.

Earlier this year, the University of Pennsylvania announced its annual ranking of the world's nearly 7,000 think tanks. For the fourth year in a row, the Belfer Center was named the world's No. 1 university-affiliated think tank. Such reviews have limits, but we are heartened to be recognized by our peers at a time when the marketplace of ideas has never been more competitive.

Andrew Allie



Ash Carter (right), joined by Eric Rosenbach (left) and Doug Elmendorf, praises Graham Allison as a “living legend” for his extraordinary accomplishments and contributions to the nation, the Kennedy School, and the Belfer Center

Allison Hands Belfer Baton to Ash Carter and Eric Rosenbach

Harvard Kennedy School Dean **Douglas Elmendorf** announced on March 28 that Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** will step down as Director of the Center at the end of the academic year and will be succeeded by former Secretary of Defense **Ash Carter** and Carter’s former Chief of Staff **Eric Rosenbach**. Both Carter and Rosenbach are alumni of the Belfer Center.

Carter will join Harvard Kennedy School as the Belfer Center Director and the Belfer Professor of Technology and Global Affairs, a new professorship established by a gift from **Robert** and **Renée Belfer**. As Secretary of Defense, Carter, a physicist, became known for pushing the Pentagon to “think outside its five-sided box.” At Harvard, he will focus his scholarship on the role of innovation and technology in addressing challenges at home and around the world.

Eric Rosenbach will serve as Co-Director and as Lecturer in Public Policy at the Kennedy School. Rosenbach served as Carter’s Chief of Staff at the Pentagon, the first principal cyber advisor to the Secretary of Defense, and Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense and Global Security. A Kennedy School graduate, Rosenbach

“It is impossible to overestimate Graham’s vision and energy in making the Belfer Center the successful and influential organization it is today.”

—Douglas Elmendorf

was Executive Director for Research at the Belfer Center before entering government.

Allison has directed the Belfer Center since 1995, building a dynamic research center that is the hub of Harvard Kennedy School’s research, teaching, and training in international security and diplomacy, environmental and resource issues, and science and technology policy. For the past four years, the Belfer Center has been named the top-ranked university-affiliated research center in the world according to the Global Go-To Think Tank Index at the University of Pennsylvania. Allison, who was the Founding Dean of the modern Kennedy School, will remain at the School as the Douglas Dillon Professor of Government.

“It is impossible to overestimate Graham’s vision and energy in making the Belfer Center the successful and influential organization it is today,” Elmendorf said in his announcement.

“I have been proud to lead the Belfer Center for over two decades,” Allison said, “and I am grateful to hand the baton to my good friend Ash Carter to lead the institution we love into the future. I appreciate and applaud the extraordinary efforts of Bob Belfer and Doug Elmendorf that have made this happen.”

“I look forward to leading this vital Center and helping develop the next generation of global leaders,” said Carter. “Technology has a fundamental role to play in solving some of our nation’s and other nations’ most complex problems, and I look forward to working with the Kennedy School’s world-class scholars and students to explore how innovation can advance the public good.”

Harvard President **Drew Faust** said, “I am delighted to welcome Ash Carter back to Harvard. His career has been one of great academic accomplishment and distinguished government service, most recently as Secretary of Defense. His knowledge, experience, and commitment to the future of public service and public policy will be of great benefit to our students and scholars and to the world well beyond our walls.”

“I am grateful to hand the baton to my good friend Ash Carter to lead the institution we love into the future.”

—Graham Allison



Ash Carter and Eric Rosenbach chat with the Center’s research team during the welcoming reception.

Advancing a More Secure and Sustainable World

WHITE HOUSE PHOTO



Science advisor **John Holdren** with **President Obama** on the South Lawn of the White House.

John P. Holdren

Director, White House Office of Science and Technology Policy; Sr. Advisor to President Obama (2009–2017)

The longest-serving science advisor, Holdren was praised by Pres. Obama for his passion and persistence on climate threats

CURRENT: Professor; Co-director, Science, Technology, and Public Policy

AP PHOTO / J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE



Director of National Intelligence **James Clapper** with Sen. **John McCain** on Capitol Hill.

James Clapper

National Intelligence Director (2010–2017)

A decorated veteran, Clapper has had five decades of distinguished service in the intelligence community

CURRENT: Belfer Center Senior Fellow

Also at the Belfer Center

Ehud Barak

Prime Minister of Israel (1999–2001)

CURRENT: Belfer Center Senior Fellow

AP PHOTO / RON EDWARDS



Then Prime Minister **Ehud Barak** (left) with **President Clinton** and Palestinian Authority Chairman **Yasser Arafat** at the 2000 Camp David Summit.

Kelly Ayotte

U.S. Senator, New Hampshire (2011–2017)

CURRENT: Belfer Center Visiting Fellow

Ray Mabus

Secretary of Navy (2009–2017)

CURRENT: Belfer Center Visiting Fellow

Mike Rogers

U.S. Representative, Michigan (2001–2015)

CURRENT: Belfer Center Senior Fellow

Jake Sullivan

Nat'l Security Advisor to the Vice Pres.; Key State Dept. negotiator for Iran nuclear deal (2008–2016)

CURRENT: Senior Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Project

Jon Wolfsthal

Spec. Asst. to the President and Sr. Dir. for Arms Control & Nonproliferation (2014–2017)

CURRENT: Associate, Project on Managing the Atom

WHITE HOUSE PHOTO



President **Obama** with **Jon Wolfsthal** and daughter.

Homeland Security Fellows

Lisa Monaco

Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism (2013–2017)

CURRENT: Senior Fellow, Homeland Security Project

John Carlin

Assistant Attorney General for National Security, Department of Justice (2014–2016)

CURRENT: Fellow, Homeland Security Project / Cyber Security Project

Alan Bersin

Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Homeland Security (2009–2017)

CURRENT: Senior Fellow, Homeland Security Project

In a time of intense political change, one thing is constant: the Belfer Center's continuing commitment to providing independent, policy-relevant knowledge at the nexus of science, technology, and international security. The Center had

alumni in senior posts during the Obama administration and has alumni serving the nation now during the Trump administration. All of the new faces in our midst—including Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and Internationals—help the Center to

build bridges across aisles and oceans. Their experience and expertise is essential to our work confronting today's most pressing global challenges.

WHITE HOUSE PHOTO



Laura Holgate (right) with **President Obama**, **Melissa Krupa**, and **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall** at the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit.

Laura Holgate

Amb. and U.S. Rep. to UN-Vienna and IAEA (2016–17);
Special Assistant to President Obama (2009–15) [SEE PAGE 11](#)

Holgate, who implemented Nunn-Lugar in Russia, played a major role in planning all four Nuclear Security Summits

CURRENT: Belfer Center Senior Fellow

AP PHOTO / CARLOS BARRIA



Secretary of Energy **Ernest Moniz** (right) with **Ali Akbar Salehi**, head of the Iranian Atomic Energy Organization during negotiations over Iran's nuclear program.

Ernest Moniz

Secretary of Energy (2013–2017)

A nuclear physicist and diplomat, Moniz was instrumental in negotiating the Iran nuclear deal

CURRENT: Belfer Center Senior Fellow

Alumni currently serving in government

1ST LT. MARK LAZANE/US AIR FORCE

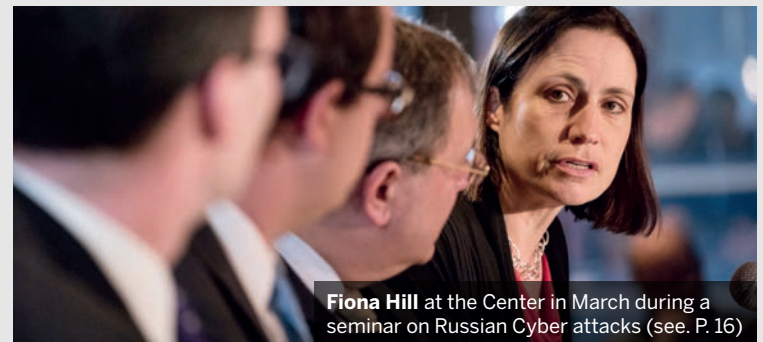


Maj. Gen. **Charles Hooper**, shown here in Liberia, expressed gratitude to the Belfer Center during a recent presentation for "making me who I am."

Charles Hooper

U.S. Defense Attache, Egypt

Hooper is a Harvard Kennedy School alumnus.



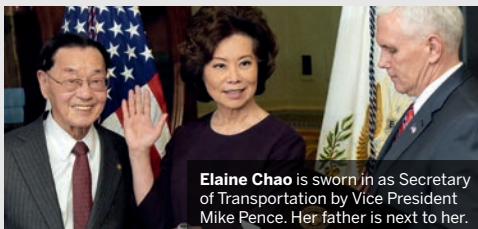
Fiona Hill at the Center in March during a seminar on Russian Cyber attacks (see. P. 16)

Fiona Hill

Senior Director for Europe and Asia, National Security Council

Hill is a Belfer Center alumna.

AP PHOTO / SUSAN WALSH



Elaine Chao is sworn in as Secretary of Transportation by Vice President Mike Pence. Her father is next to her.

Elaine Chao

Secretary of Transportation

Chao is a Sr. Advisory Board Member, Institute of Politics.

AP PHOTO / FRANK ROBICHON



Admiral **Harry Harris** with Japanese Prime Minister **Shinzo Abe**.

Harry Harris

Commander, U.S. Pacific Command

Harris is a Harvard Kennedy School alumnus.



Sasha Baker, former deputy chief of staff for Sec. of Defense **Ashton Carter** and Chief of Staff **Eric Rosenbach**.

Sasha Baker

National Security Advisor to Sen. Elizabeth Warren

Baker is a Belfer Center alumna.

Alumni Govern, Educate, Analyze Around the World

In late 2016, former Belfer Center research fellow **Chrystia Freeland** was named Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada. Iran Project associate **Hussein Kalout** was tapped as Special Secretary for Strategic Affairs for Brazil. They join a long list of Center alumni notable for their service in high levels of government, international and regional organizations, and academia who are serving the interests of their nations and people in tackling the world's most critical challenges. Here we list just a few. We thank them all for their service.

AP PHOTO/ANDREW HARNIK



Canadian Foreign Minister **Chrystia Freeland** with U.S. Secretary of State **Rex Tillerson**.

Chrystia Freeland 
Canada

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Belfer Center's International Security Program 1999–2001



Brazilian Special Secretary for Strategic Affairs **Hussein Kalout**.

Hussein Kalout 
Brazil

Special Secretary for Strategic Affairs

Belfer Center's Iran Project 2016–2017

Fiona Adamson 
United Kingdom

Senior Lecturer in International Relations, SOAS,
University of London

International Security 2001–2002

Fen Hampson 
Canada

Distinguished Fellow; Director, Global Security
& Politics Program at CIGI; Co-director, Global
Commission on Internet Governance

International Security 1980–1986

Omar McDoom 
United Kingdom

Assistant Professor in Comparative Economics,
London School of Economics

International Security / Intrastate Conflict 2004–2008

Alexei Arbatov 
Russia

Head, Center for International Security, Institute of
Primakov National Research Institute

Belfer Center Visiting Fellow 1996–1997

Frauke Hoss 
European Union

Policy Officer, European Commission
Environment Directorate-General

Science, Technology, and Public Policy /
Cyber Project 2014–2016

Assaf Moghadam 
Israel

Director of Academic Affairs, International Institute
for Counter-Terrorism, Interdisciplinary Center

International Security 2004–2010

Kayhan Barzegar 
Iran

Director, Institute for Middle East Strategic
Studies, Tehran

Managing the Atom / International Security 2007–2011

Erin Jenne 
Hungary

Professor, Department of International Relations,
Central European University, Budapest

International Security / Intrastate Conflict 2000–2002

David Nusbaum 
Israel

Deputy Director of Policy,
Israeli Atomic Energy Commission

Managing the Atom / International Security 2011–2016

Trevor Findlay 
United Nations

Chair, UN SecGen Advisory Board on
Disarmament Matters and UN Institute for
Disarmament Research Trustees

Associate, Managing the Atom (current)

Mustafa Kibaroglu 
Turkey

Chair, Department of Political Science and
International Relations, MEF University Istanbul

Managing the Atom / Science, Technology, and Public
Policy / International Security 2004–2005

Kalman Robertson 
Japan

Researcher and instructor, Integrated Support
Center for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Nuclear
Security, Japan Atomic Energy Agency

International Security / Managing the Atom 2015–2016



Harvard President **Drew Faust** (right) with Laurence D. Belfer Professor of International Affairs **Fredrik Logevall** (left), Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, and **Anne Karalekas**, associate with the Applied History Project, which hosted President Faust at a special working group dinner.

Harvard President Faust Links History and Leadership

by Arjun Kapur

In Harvard's traditional Morning Prayers ushering in the current academic year, Harvard President **Drew Gilpin Faust** reflected on "a curious question" posed to her in 2007 after her appointment as president was announced: What did being a historian have to do with being president of Harvard? Faust recalled being surprised by the question "not just because historians have been successful presidents of lots of things, including Harvard—but because studying history seemed to me to be in many ways the ideal training for leadership."

This was the same message she carried on January 30 when she joined the Belfer Center's Applied History Project Faculty Working Group for dinner. Faust, who regularly cites her training in history as her "professional identity" and her "field of scholarly inquiry for many decades," asks herself a recurrent question: "I don't know if I became a historian because I think the way

I do, or if I think the way I do because I became a historian." Whatever the answer, Faust felt at home in a room full of historians at the dinner. She participated in order to learn about the Project's mission—the explicit attempt to illuminate current choices and challenges by analyzing precedents and analogues—and to discuss the value of history in life and leadership more generally.

Nearly a decade into her presidency, Faust continues to shine as a historian's historian. Having written award-winning histories of Civil War-era

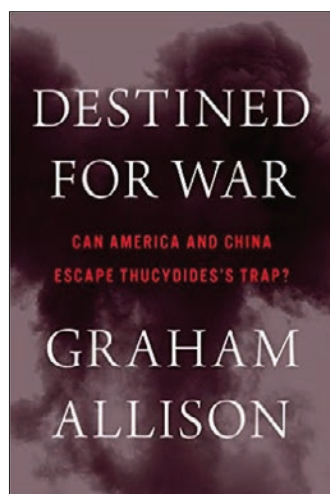
"A conflict in the present...is so shaped by where it came from."

—Drew Faust

America, she now applies historical insights to leading America's oldest university. At the dinner, Faust reinforced the argument she set forth in her Morning Prayers from August: "History, like leadership, is about change, about understanding what makes change happen, about who embraces change and why, and about who resists it and how."

"When someone presents me a problem," Faust said, "I want to know: Where did it come from? What's the history of it? How did this originate? What's the backstory?" Subscribing to the historian's view that almost nothing is new under the sun, she said, "I always feel that a conflict in the present, an opportunity in the present, is so shaped by where it came from. I operate very much as a historian, recognizing that issues don't just drop out of the sky."

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN HARCOURT



Thucydides's Trap: A Clue from History to Escape War with China?

China and America are heading toward a war neither wants. That's the premise of **Graham Allison**'s forthcoming book, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?*

Thucydides's Trap refers to one of history's deadliest patterns: when a rising power threatens to displace a ruling one, the most likely outcome is war. About the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides explained that "it was the rise of Athens and the fear that this instilled in Sparta that made war inevitable."

Heads of state, military leaders, and policy experts are increasingly turning to the Thucydides Trap lens to assess U.S.-China relations. During the confirmation hearing for Gen. **James Mattis**, former Secretary of Defense **William Cohen** introduced Mattis by declaring that he was the only man in the room who could define Thucydides's Trap. Mattis himself referred to a related idea from Thucydides: that conflict derives from fear, honor, or interest.

For more, see www.thucydidestrap.org

New Belfer Center Initiatives

Homeland Security Project Focuses on Immigration and Borders, Threats and Resiliency

Led by Belfer Lecturer in International Security and former Department of Homeland Security Assistant Secretary **Juliette Kayyem**, the Belfer Center's new **Homeland Security Project** focuses on the unique challenges and choices around protecting the United States. The project provides a forum for academic and public policy pursuits related to immigration and borders, American resiliency issues, and the future of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).

"From terror to natural disaster to pandemics, homeland security is at the intersection of all evolving threats and hazards with the traditional governmental and civil responsibilities of emergency response, law enforcement, customs, border control, and immigration," Kayyem said.

The project's inaugural fellows include **Lisa Monaco**, former assistant to President Obama for homeland security and counterterrorism; **Alan Bersin**, former assistant secretary for international affairs and chief diplomatic officer with DHS, and former commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection; and **John Carlin**, former assistant attorney general for national security.

"These talented individuals, who have been working at the center of our nation's security, will provide experience and insight into exploring the challenges connected with keeping our nation safe," Kayyem said. "I look forward to their contributions as we tackle these issues with our faculty, staff, and students."



Juliette Kayyem with Dean Douglas Elmendorf before a JFK Jr. Forum on President Trump's executive orders on immigration.

Gift Expands Iran Project's Cutting-Edge Research

The Belfer Center's **Iran Project** has received funding from the Universal Muslim Association of America, a non-governmental organization that works on social, political, religious, and humanitarian issues.

"The primary aim of this initiative is to bring together leading voices from across Shi'a and Sunni communities."

—Payam Mohseni

This funding will allow the Iran Project to further its cutting-edge research on Iranian politics and its role in the larger Middle East and world affairs, said Iran Project Director **Payam Mohseni**. The gift will assist the project in launching a research initiative on the future of Shi'ism, sectarianism, and conflict resolution in the Middle East.

"The primary aim of this initiative is to bring together leading voices from across

Shi'a and Sunni communities and to explore strategies for sectarian de-escalation in the Middle East," Mohseni said.

The goal of the Iran Project is to increase understanding of Iran and contemporary Iranian affairs, from its nuclear program to Iranian state and society more broadly. The project also supports the efforts of Iranian students and those involved in Iranian studies at Harvard University and aims to become a diplomatic bridge to engage Iran and Iranian universities and research institutes.

belfercenter.org/theIranProject

Center Establishes Project on Saudi and Gulf Security

The Belfer Center has announced a new initiative—**The Project on Saudi and Gulf Cooperation Council Security**—that will focus on defense, security, and intelligence issues related to the Gulf states.

Expanding the already extensive work done by the Belfer Center through its Middle East Initiative and Iran Project, the new project will examine regional tensions, rivalries, and conflicts that confront the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states—Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman, and Qatar—with a special emphasis on military and intelligence aspects. The project is made possible by a gift from **Prince Turki bin Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud**.

The project will be directed by Defense and Intelligence Project Director BG **Kevin Ryan** (U.S. Army ret.).

"Maintaining peace and security in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula is essential for a range of international interests," said Belfer Center Director of Research **Gary Samore**. "We are deeply grateful to Prince Turki for his generous gift, which will allow us to focus attention on this critical set of issues."

"Maintaining peace and security in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula is essential."

—Gary Samore



New *Russia Matters* Website Highlights Facts, Dispels Myths

by **Natasha Yefimova-Trilling**

In describing Russia, many people quote Winston Churchill, who called the country “a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.” Few, however, have heard Churchill’s wise observation in full: “I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key: That key is Russian national interest.”

Russia once again dominates headlines, but U.S. expertise on the country is in demonstrable decline.

The new **Russia Matters** website (RussiaMatters.org), based at the Belfer Center, attempts to shed light on Russia and U.S.-Russian relations through

the lens hinted at by Churchill: Which U.S. national interests are critically impacted by Russia? How much do U.S. policies toward Russia reflect these interests? What are the drivers shaping the two countries’ policies toward one another? What data exist to support answers to these and related questions?

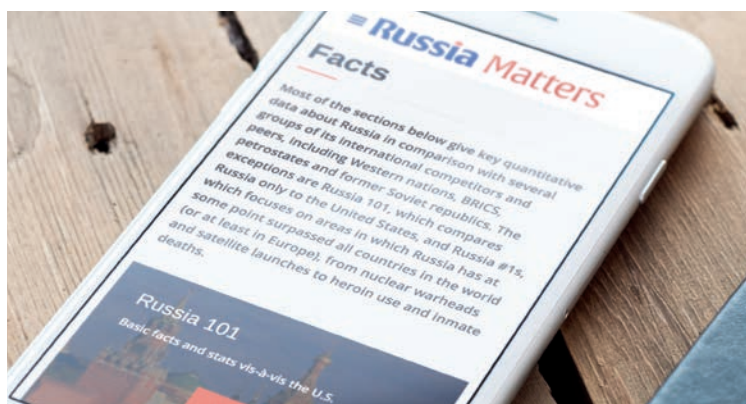
The website, which was launched in November 2016 with support from Carnegie Corporation of New York, offers top-notch analysis, user-friendly factual data, interviews with well-informed foreign-policy practitioners, news digests, and a fact-checking section that welcomes requests for contestable claims to verify. The *Russia Matters* project works closely with several dozen eminent partners, including some of America’s best experts on Russia, and features a curated selection of analysis initially published elsewhere.

The need for such a resource now seems particularly strong: Russia once again dominates headlines, but U.S. expertise on the country is in demonstrable decline. The *Russia Matters* project aims to reverse this trend—in part through its

own offerings, in part through actively engaging up-and-coming young scholars interested in the region. The website also includes an events calendar and hosts on- and off-the-record talks on pertinent topics.

The concept of *Russia Matters* was developed by the Belfer Center’s **Simon Saradzhyan** under the guidance of the Center’s director, **Graham Allison**, and its executive director for research, **Gary Samore**. In addition to Saradzhyan, who directs the project, the RM staff includes editor **Natasha Yefimova-Trilling**, assistant **Angelina Flood** and rotating student associates from Harvard and other universities. Allison and Samore continue to provide guidance for RM along with several of the Center’s other lead experts, including Director of Defense and Intelligence Projects **Kevin Ryan** and Director of the U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism **William Tobey**.

visit **RussiaMatters.org**



Simon Saradzhyan and Natasha Yefimova-Trilling interview former Australian Prime Minister **Kevin Rudd** about Russia and its relationship with Australia.

Q&A Immigration and Terrorism

In response to the Trump administration's rollout of aggressive policies on immigration and travel, **Farah Pandith** and **Ayaan Hirsi Ali**—both senior fellows with the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy Project—have shared their contrasting views in media interviews. See excerpts below.



Farah Pandith

“The United States won’t soon repair the damage done by Trump to its image among Muslims. We’ve spent billions since 9/11 trying to convey a clear picture of who we are as Americans and to convince Muslims that the United States is not ‘at war’ with them.” (*Al-Araby* 1/31/17)

“[The Trump executive orders] will not keep America safer.” (*Al-Araby*)

“We have to look at the reality of how people have gotten radicalized. The thing we must do is to puncture the us-versus-them narrative. Instead, [the ban] allows it to bloom.” (*Al-Araby*)

“[Trump’s order] doesn’t have any intellectual rigor behind it in terms of what will actually keep America safe. It shows a misfire in understanding what the actual problem is.” (*Al-Araby*)

“I have little doubt that **the Islamic State and other groups will recruit more Muslim youths, thanks to Trump’s anti-Muslim tirades...**The terrorists explicitly appeal to supporters and potential recruits by touting the war they are fighting against an America resolutely hostile to Muslims.” (*Washington Post* 2/2/17)

“The United States won’t soon repair the damage done by Trump to its image among Muslims.”

“Ideas have no borders and you can’t build an idea wall. You can’t ban all of the countries in the world where these bad ideas are sprouting.” (*CNN State of the Nation* 1/29/17)

“I think the measure of success and seriousness of the Trump doctrine on terrorism really will be on **how serious they are with regard to Saudi Arabia** where [radical Wahhabi] ideas have been sprouting for decades.” (*CNN*)

“We need to have Muslims around the world working with us to stop recruitment and the way to do that is engage them. [Without] trust in the government, you can’t engage them.” (*CNN*)



Ayaan Hirsi Ali

“[President Trump’s focus on Countering Islamic Extremism] is a huge step in the right direction....**We are not only fighting the side-effects of Islamic extremism but Islamic extremism itself as an ideology.**” (*Australian Broadcasting Company* 2/3/17)

“President [Barack] Obama, and before him President [George W.] Bush, stood before us on world platforms and said, ‘Islam is a religion of peace.’ **Excuse my language, but that’s bull—.**” (*Jewish Journal* 11/22/16)

“ISIS and other extremists will recruit regardless of what we do and what we say. It’s just who they are and what they do.” (*ABC*)

“[The executive order] was clumsy.... Its poor execution was a gift to the president’s critics.” (*Huffington Post* 2/2/17)

“The problem of Islamist terrorism will not be solved by immigration controls and extreme vetting alone. That’s because the problem is already inside our borders.” (*Huffington Post*)

“American citizens... must be protected from that ideology and the violence that [radical Islam] promotes.”

“The threat posed by [what Trump called] ‘the hateful ideology of radical Islam’ needs to be countered. American citizens—including immigrants—must be protected from that ideology and the violence that it promotes.” (*Huffington Post*)

“As an immigrant of Somali origin, I have no objection to other people coming to America to seek a better life.... **My concern is with the attitudes many of these new Muslim Americans will bring with them.**” (*Huffington Post*)

“Trump was right to argue...for a commission of some kind—I would favor congressional hearings—to establish the full magnitude and nature of the threat....what is needed is cool, comprehensive legislation.” (*Huffington Post*)

Among the architects of Trump’s immigration orders is **Sebastian Gorka**, deputy adviser on national security, a Harvard Kennedy School alumnus.

Countering Proliferation, Advancing Center's Mission

by Josh Burek



As director of the effort to implement the ambitious Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program to secure the former Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal, **Laura Holgate** visited remote weapons sites across Russia in the 1990s. Some of her foreign counterparts—not accustomed to seeing women in leadership roles—initially mistook her position. “They often misunderstood me as the accountant instead of the leader of the delegation,” she says. “So it took a little bit of time and repetition—and some gentle reminders from my male colleagues!”

Holgate helped develop the Center report that informed the Nunn-Lugar legislation.

No one would mistake Holgate's leadership today. The former Ambassador and U.S. Representative to United Nations Vienna offices and International Atomic Energy Agency is coming full circle, returning as a senior fellow to the Belfer Center where she began her career

as a staff member in 1990. At the Center, she will examine how multilateral institutions like the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, and the World Health Organization can reduce threats from nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and materials.

Among the Center's signature contributions to public policy, few have had as much impact on global security as the timely research that helped keep the disintegrating Soviet Union's stocks of nuclear weapons from falling into the wrong hands. Working with then Kennedy School professor and recent Defense Secretary **Ashton B. Carter** in the months that followed the Soviet Union's breakup, Holgate helped develop the Center report that informed the Nunn-Lugar legislation. “In my view, this is one of the best examples of the collaboration between the academy and the government,” Holgate says.

Putting her research into action, Holgate moved to the Pentagon where she served as policy director for the Nunn-Lugar program. Its central insight, she recalls, was that the best way to address this historic WMD threat was through cooperation, not confrontation.

Holgate's high-level service to the government includes seven years as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for WMD Terrorism and Threat Reduction on the National Security Council staff. At the White House, she played a major role in planning all four Nuclear Security Summits and co-led the effort to advance President Obama's Global Health Security Agenda. Drawing on what former National Security Advisor **Susan Rice** called her “wisdom, talent, and exceptional leadership,” Holgate directed the global effort to destroy Syria's declared chemical weapons stockpile and led America's work to remove and secure excess highly enriched uranium and plutonium—the raw ingredients of nuclear weapons.

“I really owe my career to the Belfer Center.”

Although few people better exemplify the Center's purpose to build a more secure, peaceful world, Holgate—with typical modesty—credits serendipity in shaping her professional journey. “I really owe my career to the Belfer Center,” she says.

DEPT. OF STATE



U.S. Secretary of State **John Kerry** shakes hands with the U.S. Representative to the Vienna Office of the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency Ambassador **Laura Holgate** on July 22, 2016, after arriving at Vienna International Airport in Vienna, Austria, to attend a meeting aimed at amending the Montreal Protocol climate change agreement.



Decisive Times: Former U.S. Ambassador to the UN **Samantha Power** makes a point during a lighter moment of a JFK Jr. Forum titled “Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides’s Trap?” Panelists included **Graham Allison** (left), **Niall Ferguson**, and **Arne Westad** (not pictured).



2016 Election Redux: **Mike Murphy** (right), Republican strategist and Belfer Center senior fellow, reflects on the 2016 presidential election and gets a laugh from Harvard Business School professor **James Sebenius** during a Belfer Center Director’s Seminar in November.



Risk and Instability: **Ian Bremmer**, an American foreign policy expert and president of Eurasia Group, makes a point to **Nicholas Burns**, director of the Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project, during a project-sponsored seminar on managing risk in an unstable world.



Environmental Health and Justice: **Julia Liou**, planning and development director of Asian Health Services, discusses the impact of the Healthy Nail Salon Collaborative, winner of the 2016 Roy Family Award for Environmental Partnership, during a discussion moderated by HKS’s **Marshall Ganz**.



Preparing for the Next Zika: **Kendall Hoyt**, assistant professor at Dartmouth’s School of Medicine and Belfer Center alumna, discusses how an international coalition for vaccine development can work during a Managing the Microbe seminar hosted by **Andrew Weber** (center), Center senior fellow.



Media and National Security: General and former CIA Director **David Petraeus**, center, is interviewed by journalists, including Bloomberg’s **Michael Wadhams** (left), during the Belfer Center’s conference for Washington-based media “Lurking Crises, Hidden Opportunities.”

er in Action



Cyber Insecurities: **Mike Rogers**, former U.S. representative from Michigan and chair of the House Intelligence Committee, speaks about the growing problem of cybersecurity during a Belfer Center Board Lunch. Former Homeland Security official **Juliette Kayyem** is also pictured.



Africa and Independence: **Graham Allison** (left) greets Rwandan President **Paul Kagame** at Harvard Kennedy School in March prior to Pres. Kagame's discussion with HKS professor **Lant Pritchett** about the African Union's decision to seek self-financing and be less dependent on donors.



U.S.-Israel Track II Dialogue: Former Israeli Defense Minister **Moshe Yaalon** (left) and former IDF Chief of Intelligence **Amos Yadlin** listen to former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense **Mary Beth Long** during a panel discussion on the Middle East in the era of Trump and Putin.



Securing the Nation: Former Deputy Secretary of Energy **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall** discusses perspectives on national security in the Obama administration during a Belfer Center Director's Seminar. Sherwood-Randall is an alumna of the Belfer Center.



Nobel Advocate: **Tawakkol Karman**, a Yemeni activist and 2011 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, talks about "Advocacy in Contested Times" during a Future of Diplomacy Project seminar. She was known as "The Mother of the Revolution" in her native Yemen for her organizing and peacebuilding efforts.



ISIS and Intervention: **Michèle Flournoy**, former under secretary of defense for policy and a Belfer Center senior fellow, speaks with students following her conversation with **Graham Allison** during a JFK Jr. Forum in October about American defense and security policy.

Featured Fellows



Ernest May Fellow

Calder Walton: History Is More Interesting Than “007”

by Josh Coe

Ernest May Fellow in History and Policy **Calder Walton** has had a lot to write about since starting his fellowship this year. An expert in intelligence history and implications for intelligence communities and policymakers today, Walton has written several articles that connect his research with recent headlines on Russia’s interference in U.S. elections. “From my perspective,” says Walton, “The more someone studies intelligence history, the more one sees echoes from the past.”

Walton has had an interest in intelligence history since reading histories of Cold War espionage by the world’s leading intelligence historian, Christopher Andrew. While working on his Ph.D. at Trinity College, Cambridge, Andrew offered Walton the opportunity to help him research the official history of the British Security Service, MI5. It took him “about a nanosecond” to accept.

“This is an exciting area where one can do a lot of original research, because new records are always being released,” says Walton. What he found, however, was not the intense action of a James Bond novel.

“There was no such thing as a ‘license to kill,’ for example,” says Walton. “Fleming invented Bond as a sort of escape from the monotonous reality of filing and looking up information and so on, which he experienced working in British intelligence.”

But the declassified British and American intelligence records available are, to Walton, “really much better than any spy novel or James Bond story.” For Walton, the interest also lies in what these records can tell us about the uncertainties of the present. This, he says, is exemplified by the recent focus on ties between Russia and members of the Trump team.

“This isn’t actually the first time that U.S. intercepts have revealed the Kremlin’s meddling and penetration of the White House,” says Walton. He cites the Venona decrypts, which revealed an astonishing level of infiltration by the Soviets into the U.S. government. Among those implicated, were two high-ranking officials appointed by FDR’s Administration.

Still, Walton cautions against taking these parallels at face value. “We need to be careful about making broad analogies,” he says. “But helping policymakers understand these similarities is an incredibly important role for historians to play.”

“This isn’t the first time that U.S. intercepts have revealed the Kremlin’s meddling.”



International Security Program

Kate Cronin-Furman: Holding Mass Atrocity Offenders Accountable

by Bret Hauff

Whether she was fighting for justice in Cambodia or advocating for victims in Sri Lanka, International Security Program research fellow **Kate Cronin-Furman** has always sought accountability in tragedy.

“Why sometimes do we see efforts to pursue justice and other times the authors of mass atrocities go unpunished?” Cronin-Furman said.

That question has led this fellow in her research about how offenders of mass atrocities are held accountable for their crimes in the international arena. Cronin-Furman said her passion sprouted during her work as an international lawyer focusing on transitional justice: a field of law rooted in redress for the victims of state-sponsored violence and systemic human rights violations.

Through her fight to find reprise for oppressed and violated people, Cronin-Furman began to question the methods of seeking justice for human rights violators and whether these systems actually cultivate peace and hold offenders of mass atrocities accountable.

“I started looking for research,” she said, “but there was nothing.”

That’s when her career as a researcher began.

In her doctoral work at Columbia University, Cronin-Furman studied the politics of accountability and why—in the post-atrocity societies of Sri Lanka and Democratic Republic of the Congo—do governments establish accountability systems that often fail to deliver justice.

“As much as the Ph.D. seems like a shift [from practicing law], for me it was kind of a natural,” Cronin-Furman said. “I was doing the work I was interested in, and I began to have questions about the value of that work and how we could do that work better.”

Cronin-Furman said she came to the Belfer Center to be a part of a community that instigates change, one she feels is at the forefront of academic work in international relations and national security.

“My academic research is very important. But I was a human rights lawyer and I came to this work out of a concern about the victim, so I do not separate the academic from the activist or the advocate,” Cronin-Furman said. “I don’t think I could if I tried.”

“I do not separate the academic from the activist or the advocate.”



Morgan Kaplan (left) with **Kamal Kirkuki** (center), a senior member of KDP Polit Bureau and Head of KDP Public Relations, and members of his command during a briefing on the security situation around Kirkuk, Iraq, in June 2015.

Looking at Insurgent Groups and How They Use International Diplomacy to Gain Support

by Sharon Wilke

Morgan Kaplan, a research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, researches the international politics of rebellion with a focus on how insurgent groups use international diplomacy to solicit third-party support.

Kaplan researches the international politics of rebellion.

In March, Kaplan traveled to Iraqi Kurdistan to continue his research on international diplomacy of armed non-state actors. He has conducted fieldwork in the area for the past three years examining the diverse diplomatic strategies used by

the Iraqi-Kurdish movement to gain third-party support from the 1960s through the 1990s. On his most recent trip, Kaplan interviewed Kurdish leaders and officials who played key roles in crafting, directing, and executing that diplomacy.

In addition to his interviews in March, Kaplan took part in the Fifth Annual Sulaimani Forum, hosted by the Institute of Regional and International Studies at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani, where participants discussed the most important political, military, social, and economic issues facing the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and the broader Middle East.

Kaplan's fieldwork has also taken place in the West Bank, where he has interviewed current and former Palestinian diplomats and officials to better

understand the international diplomatic strategies of the Palestinian national movement toward the end of the 20th century. His research will culminate in a book about the international diplomatic strategies of the Iraqi-Kurdistan and Palestinian national movements to gain third-party support through the late 1990s. It is tentatively titled *Persuading Power: Insurgent Diplomacy and the International Politics of Rebellion*.

Kaplan interviewed Kurdish leaders and officials who played key roles in crafting, directing, and executing diplomacy.

Maugeri: A New Prediction on Global Oil Prices

In June 2012, when pundits were talking about "peak oil" and oil prices were hovering around \$90 a barrel, energy analyst and Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Leonardo Maugeri** made a bold prediction that defied conventional wisdom. "Oil supply capacity," he wrote, "is growing worldwide at such an unprecedented level that it might outpace consumption. This could lead to a glut of overproduction and a steep dip in oil prices." Those who heeded his forecast made stunning profits, as oil prices began plummeting in 2014.

The secret to Maugeri's analysis? An original, bottom-up, field-by-field analysis of most of the world's oil exploration and development projects.

Today, a similarly rigorous analysis of supply and demand leads Maugeri to another contrarian conclusion. In his latest policy brief (belfercenter.org/Maugeri2017), Maugeri argues that in spite of recent OPEC cuts, oil production remains well ahead of global demand. "OPEC production cuts (which notably fall short of the original target envisaged by the organization)," he writes, "appear to serve mainly as a psychological support to oil prices." Barring record oil demand growth, he expects that prices could be headed for another substantial fall in 2017.



Leonardo Maugeri (center) discusses oil production and prices at a Belfer Center seminar.

Download the Policy Brief at
belfercenter.org/Maugeri2017

Featured Events and Research



An overflow crowd listens to a panel discussion on the background and impact of Russian cyber attacks.

FEATURED EVENT: “Russian Cyber Operations: 2017 and Beyond” February 1, 2017, Harvard Kennedy School | belfercenter.org/RussiaCyber17

Russian Cyber Operations 2017

As Russia’s alleged cyber-intrusions into U.S. affairs continue to grab headlines, the Belfer Center’s **Cyber Security Project** convened a panel of experts in February to discuss Russia, cyber security, and the intersection of the two.

Speakers at the event included experts and authors **David Sanger**, chief Washington correspondent for *The New York Times* and senior fellow at the Belfer Center, **Fiona Hill**, named in March as NSC senior director for Europe and Asia and a Center alumna, and **Ben Buchanan**, fellow at the Belfer Center’s Cyber Security Project. **Michael Sulmeyer**, director of the Cyber Project, moderated the overflow event. Following are paraphrased comments:

What do we know about Russian hacking?

Ben Buchanan: Russian cyber hacking goes back a long way, to the “Moonlight Maze” case in the 1990s....The Russians recognize the power of cyber operations, not just to steal information but also to attack.

Fiona Hill: What is unusual is the backdrop of an American election process with unprecedented efforts by Russia to have influence in it.... With a few taps of computer keys, rather than physical action, you can start to shape events.

David Sanger: Timing of the leaks seemed strategic: The first public release of the hacked information came just before the DNC national convention and resulted in a high-level resignation; the next release came within hours after the news about then-candidate Donald Trump saying some fairly crude things. These leaks first came

over two channels that we believe the Russians themselves set up and, when those weren’t getting enough clicks, the materials went to WikiLeaks.

“Putin...extols the virtues of the techniques he mastered in the KGB.”

—Fiona Hill

BB: Cyber operations intersect quite neatly with information operations, propaganda and what the KGB called “active measures,” including false information.

FH: Putin is a former KGB operative...and extols the virtues of the techniques he mastered in the KGB, and their application to politics.

DS: In Putin’s mind...Hillary Clinton interfered in Russian elections in 2011-12.

Should the U.S. have reacted differently?

DS: The intelligence community could have offered up more information and ratified much of what had already been brought to light by private companies.

BB: This is a dilemma for the intelligence community: When should they piggyback on the private sector and when should they fear what it will say?

FH: When it comes to a “proportional response,” you have to tread very carefully.

DS: Had we called out Russia and applied sanctions right in October, it would have invited them to come in and mess around with the election infrastructure... on Election Day. So the U.S. didn’t want to go up the escalation ladder.

“These leaks first came over two channels that...the Russians themselves set up and, when those weren’t getting enough clicks, the materials went to WikiLeaks.”

—Fiona Hill

Will Russia continue its cyber attacks on the U.S. and elsewhere?

FH: I think we will see more cyberattacks as agencies in Russia try to prove their worth. Russia also has a presidential election coming up, in 2018, and Putin has to put himself up for “relegitimation.”

BB: Russian attempts at cyber-interventions in other countries’ elections are not likely to stop. Europeans are concerned, especially in countries where elections are coming up....The question is: What are they going to do about it?....This story is not going away.



Cyber Security Project Director **Michael Sulmeyer** (left) with co-authors **Ben Buchanan** (center) and **Scott Shackelford**.

FEATURED PUBLICATION: “**Making Democracy Harder to Hack**” *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* | Forthcoming 2017

Elections = Critical Infrastructure

In response to a request from the *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, the Belfer Center’s **Cyber Security Project** team wrote “Making Democracy Harder to Hack: Should Elections Be Classified as ‘Critical Infrastructure?’” an article to be published in 2017. Their article, summarized here, began with the idea that we should care at least as much about the integrity of our election systems as we do about the security of our power grid. If we can agree on that, they thought, then it makes sense to designate core election infrastructure (such as voting machines) as critical infrastructure, the same way we treat vital utilities, telecommunications, finance, and healthcare.

We should care at least as much about the integrity of our election systems as we do about the security of our power grid.

The Cyber Security Project team, comprised of Director **Michael Sulmeyer** and research fellows **Scott Shackelford**, **Bruce Schneier**, **Anne Boustead**, **Ben Buchanan**, **Trey Herr**, and **Jessica Malekos Smith**, reviewed areas of vulnerability within the U.S. election system and suggested policy options for mitigating the impact of hackers who are probing and compromising the election machinery upon which U.S. democratic society is built. The United States, they write, has

the potential to help lead this conversation, but also to learn from what has—and has not—worked in other democracies.

Vulnerabilities in the U.S. include: (1) foreign interference in shaping public perceptions of political parties and candidates, such as the 2016 DNC hack; (2) the manipulation of poll books; (3) voting machines; (4) tabulation mechanisms that aggregate votes; (5) dissemination of news during an election that could impact turnout; (6) critical infrastructure; and (7) Internet of Things exploits to crash targeted websites, such as those showing poll locations.

They recommend the following policy actions:

- **Keep the designation of elections as critical infrastructure** as recommended by former Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Secretary Jeh Johnson in January 2017.
- **Add federal funding for new, more secure machines** as part of a Race to the Top initiative with incentives for states to include post-election auditing and paper trail requirements.
- **Unplug from the public internet** as much election infrastructure as possible.

The recommendations were based in part on the authors’ study of steps taken around the world. Germany and Brazil, e.g., returned to paper ballots after experimenting with voting machines. India boasts a nationwide system of electronic voting machines that, while not tamperproof, possess

When we pull a lever, or touch a screen, we expect our vote to be recorded accurately.

significant security features and a court-mandated paper trail. The team stresses the importance of working with other nations to engage in cybersecurity norm-building, especially in the critical infrastructure context.

“When we flip a switch, we expect the lights to come on,” the authors write. “When we pull a lever, or touch a screen, we expect our vote to be recorded accurately. And when we debate who should be the next U.S. president, we expect that dialogue to be free of foreign entanglements.”

“A first step in realizing these goals—and ensuring that the 2016 DNC hack, or worse, is not repeated in 2020 or 2024—is recognizing our democratic machinery as being at least as important as our industrial machinery. We recommend that the U.S. voting system—in particular the IT backbone of election administration that includes voting machines and tabulation mechanisms—continue to be classified as critical infrastructure, and that this classification be the beginning of the process to secure U.S. elections, not the end.”

The article upon which this summary is based will be available later this year at mjl.org

Hot off the Presses



The Cybersecurity Dilemma: Hacking, Trust, and Fear Between Nations

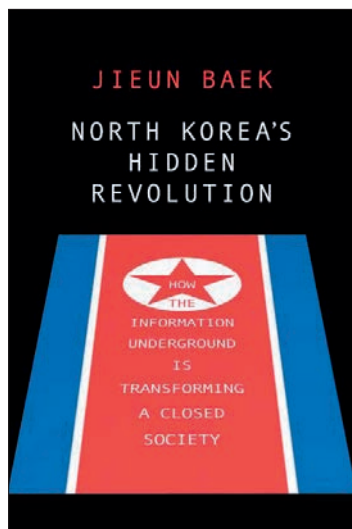
By **Ben Buchanan**, Postdoctoral Fellow, Cyber Security Project

Oxford University Press
(January 2017)

Why do nations break into one another's most important computer networks? This book draws on often-overlooked documents leaked by Edward Snowden, real-world case studies of cyber operations, and policymaker perspectives to show that intruding into other countries' networks has enormous defensive value as well. This general problem, in which a nation's means of securing itself threatens the security of others and risks escalating tension, is a bedrock concept in international relations called the "security dilemma." This book shows not only that the security dilemma applies to cyber operations, but also that the particular characteristics of the digital domain mean that the effects are deeply pronounced. The cybersecurity dilemma is both a vital concern of modern statecraft and a means of accessibly understanding the essential components of cyber operations.

"Buchanan cuts to the core of the issues and offers well-grounded ideas for how to reduce the looming danger of great but potentially avoidable conflict..."

—**Robert Jervis**
Columbia University



North Korea's Hidden Revolution: How the Information Underground Is Transforming a Closed Society

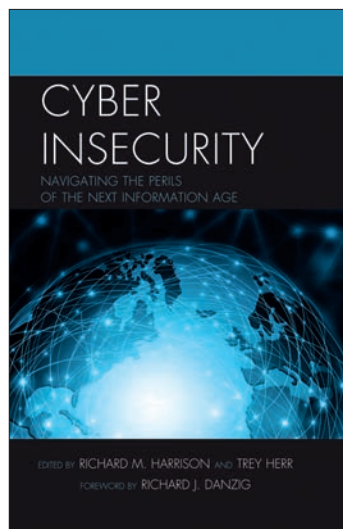
By **Jieun Baek**, Former Research Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

Yale University Press
(November 2016)

One of the least understood countries in the world, North Korea has long been known for its repressive regime. Yet it is far from being an impenetrable black box. Media flows covertly into the country, and fault lines are appearing in the government's sealed informational borders. Drawing on deeply personal interviews with North Korean defectors from all walks of life, ranging from propaganda artists to diplomats, Jieun Baek tells the story of North Korea's information underground—the network of citizens who take extraordinary risks by circulating illicit content such as foreign films, television shows, soap operas, books, and encyclopedias. By fostering an awareness of life outside North Korea and enhancing cultural knowledge, the materials these citizens disseminate are affecting the social and political consciousness of a people.

"This insightful, well-written and disturbing book adds depth and texture to what we think life inside North Korea must be like."

—Amb. **Robert Gallucci**



Cyber Insecurity: Navigating the Perils of the Next Information Age

Edited by **Richard Harrison** and **Trey Herr**, Postdoctoral Fellow, Cyber Security Project

Rowman & Littlefield Publishers
(October 2016)

Growing dependence on cyberspace for commerce, communication, governance, and military operations has left society vulnerable to a multitude of security threats. Mitigating the inherent risks associated with the use of cyberspace poses a series of thorny public policy problems. In this volume, academics, practitioners from both private sector and government, along with former service members come together to highlight sixteen of the most pressing contemporary challenges in cybersecurity, and to offer recommendations for the future.

"Cyber Insecurity identifies the risks and threats to the system upon which we become more dependent every day and the means to overcome them."

—**Tom Ridge**
First Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security



Insider Threats

Edited by **Matthew Bunn**, Professor of Practice, Harvard Kennedy School and **Scott D. Sagan**, Former International Security Program Research Fellow

Hatchette Book Group
(June 2016)

High-security organizations around the world face devastating threats from insiders—trusted employees with access to sensitive information, facilities, and materials. From Edward Snowden to the Fort Hood shooter to the theft of nuclear materials, the threat from insiders is on the front page and at the top of the policy agenda. *Insider Threats* offers detailed case studies of insider disasters across a range of different types of institutions, from biological research laboratories, to nuclear power plants, to the U.S. Army. Matthew Bunn and Scott D. Sagan outline cognitive and organizational biases that lead organizations to downplay the insider threat, and they synthesize "worst practices" from these past mistakes, offering lessons that will be valuable for any organization with high security and a lot to lose.

"This compendium of research on insider threats is essential reading for all personnel with accountabilitys for security..."

—**Roger Howsley**
Executive Director, World Institute for Nuclear Security

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP

Encouraging Invention and Discovery in China

Benjamin Peirce Research Professor of Technology and Public Policy **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti** presented China Science Prize winner **Qikun Xue** with a copy of his recent book *Cycles of Invention and Discovery* following Narayanamurti's comments in Janusary regarding Xue's breakthrough scientific discovery of the Quantum Anomalous Hall Effect (QAHE). His comments concluded the award ceremonies at Tsinghua University. In a recent paper, Narayanamurti and his co-authors analyzed the QAHE discovery process with a focus on the emerging research culture in post-Cultural-Revolution China. (See belfercenter.org/QAHE)



Global Commission to Develop Cyberspace Security Norms

Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye** and Belfer Center International Council member **Michael Chertoff** took part in a discussion of the goals of the new Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace (GCSC) during its launch in Munich in February. Nye has been named an inaugural commissioner and Chertoff a co-chair of this first organization of its kind dedicated to developing norms and policies to improve cyberspace stability and security. An initiative of the Netherlands, The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS) and the EastWest Institute (EWI), the Commission is comprised of distinguished cyber experts from 15 countries.



International Security

Vol. 41 No. 3
Winter 2016-17

International Security is America's leading journal of security affairs.

The *International Security* 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.

Is Chinese Nationalism Rising? Evidence from Beijing

Alastair Iain Johnston

Many commentators claim that rising Chinese nationalism has pushed China's leadership toward aggressive foreign policies. Responses to the Beijing Area Study survey from 1998 to 2015, however, undermine this claim. Factors such as elite opinion, security dilemma dynamics, and organizational interests better explain China's bellicose behaviors.

What Is the Cyber Offense-Defense Balance? Conceptions, Causes, and Assessment

Rebecca Slayton

Does cyberspace favor the offense, as many analysts and policymakers claim? Three factors undermine cyber offensive advantage. A cyber operation's value, not just its cost, affects the offense-defense balance. Second, defenders can shift the balance in their favor by improving organizational capabilities. Third, attacking physical infrastructure is far more challenging than targeting information networks.

Learning to Deter: Deterrence Failure and Success in the Israel-Hezbollah Conflict, 2006-16

Daniel Sobelman

Israel and Hezbollah's interactions before and after the 2006 Lebanon War highlight the sources of deterrence stability. Israel and Hezbollah have learned to apply rational deterrence theory, carefully communicating capabilities and resolve. This history also illustrates how a weak actor can deter a stronger adversary by minimizing its own vulnerability and maximizing that of its opponent.

Deterrence and Dissuasion in Cyberspace

Joseph S. Nye

Can states deter adversaries in cyberspace? Analogies drawn from nuclear deterrence mislead; nuclear deterrence aims for total prevention, whereas states cannot prevent every cyberattack. Additionally, even though identifying the source of a cyberattack can be difficult, attribution problems do not hinder three major forms of cyber deterrence: denial, entanglement, and normative taboos.

Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation: How States Pursue the Bomb

Vipin Narang

Which nuclear proliferation strategies are available, and how can they be thwarted? States' proliferation efforts—particularly India's—show how proliferators choose among four possible strategies: hedging, sprinting, hiding, and sheltered pursuit. Each strategy has flaws that can be exploited to prevent proliferation.

Follow us on Twitter
[@journal_is](https://twitter.com/journal_is)

Compiled by *International Security* staff

***The Robert and Renée Belfer Center for
Science and International Affairs***

Graham Allison, Director
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
Tel: 617-495-1400
www.belfercenter.org

Belfer Center Newsletter, Spring 2017

Editor: Sharon Wilke, Assoc. Director, Communications
sharon_wilke@hks.harvard.edu

Designer: Andrew Facini, Publications & Design Coordinator
andrew_facini@hks.harvard.edu

Josh Burek, Director, Global Communications and Strategy
josh_burek@hks.harvard.edu

Arielle Dworkin, Digital Communications Manager
arielle_dworkin@hks.harvard.edu

Bennett Craig, Photographer/Multimedia Producer
bennett_craig@hks.harvard.edu

The Communications Office was assisted with this newsletter by
Monica Achen, **Josh Coe**, **Bret Hauff**, **Alison Hillegeist**, **Susan
Lynch**, and **Scott Shackelford**.

All photos by 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.

Subscribe to Belfer Center publications at belfercenter.org/subscribe

Follow us on our various
social media channels:



@BelferCenter

Snapshot **American Secretaries of State Project** March 3, 2017 | Cambridge



Former Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton**, at Harvard in March for an interview with Harvard's American Secretaries of State Project, speaks with the professors who head the project: Harvard Kennedy School's **Nicholas Burns** (2nd from left), Harvard Business School's **James Sebenius**, and Harvard Law School's **Robert Mnookin**. The Secretaries of State Project aims to interview all former secretaries of state about their most critical diplomatic experiences. (Photo by Tom Fitzsimmons)