



How should President Obama balance priorities?

Obama Taps into Belfer Center Community for Key Policy Posts What Insights, Views Will Key Appointees Contribute to Policy?

"High office teaches decision making, not substance," Henry Kissinger once said. "It consumes intellectual capital; it does not create it. Most high officials leave office with the perceptions and insights with which they entered."

BELFER CENTER



John P. Holdren

The Belfer Center is both proud and humbled that a number of its members have been asked to serve in the Obama administration. The group's experience and expertise span many of the international challenges confronting the nation today.

John P. Holdren (Director, Belfer Center Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program)

Now: Assistant to the President for Science and Technology; Director, White House Office of Science and Technology Policy; Co-chair, President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST)

[Holdren] has been one of the most passionate and persistent voices of our time about . . . climate change.
—President-elect Obama

"None of the great interlinked challenges of our time—the economy, energy, environment, health, security, and the particular vulnerabilities of the poor to shortfalls in all of these—can be solved without insights and advances from the physical sciences, the life sciences, and engineering."

—John P. Holdren ("Harvard Kennedy School's John P. Holdren to be Named Obama's Science Advisor," Belfer Center press release, December 19, 2008)

Ashton B. Carter (Co-director, Harvard Belfer Center/Stanford Preventive Defense Project)

Now: Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics

Together, I am confident that we will be able to tackle the challenges of our time. —President Obama

"Strategic clarity—what kind of military does the United States need and why?—must make a return to the Pentagon after a period when ever-growing budgets and single-minded preoccupation with Iraq have caused it to fall out of practice."

—Ashton B. Carter ("Defense Strategy and Budget in the Post-Bush Era," Aspen Strategy Group paper, August 5, 2008)



President-elect **Barack Obama** names **Lawrence Summers** (left) director of National Economic Council.

Lawrence Summers (Member, Belfer Center Board of Directors)

Now: Director, National Economic Council

[Summers'] thinking, writing and speaking have set the terms of the debate. —President-elect Obama

"In this crisis, doing too little poses a greater threat than doing too much. Any sound economic strategy in the current context must be directed at both creating the jobs that Americans need and doing the work that our economy requires."

—Lawrence Summers ("Obama's Down Payment," *Washington Post*, December 29, 2008)



Ashton B. Carter

Paul Volcker (Member, Belfer Center International Council)

Now: Chair, Economic Recovery Advisory Board

[Volcker has a] deep understanding of financial markets, extensive experience managing economic crises . . . —President-elect Obama

"Keep [banks] small, so that any failure won't have systematic importance."

—Paul Volcker

- Improve quality and effectiveness of prudential regulation and supervision
- Strengthen institutional policies, standards
- Increase transparency of markets, products

("Obama Adviser Urges More Rigorous Global Financial Regulation," *Washington Post*, January 16, 2009)



Paul Volcker

BELFER CENTER



FROM THE DIRECTOR

Graham Allison

That President **Barack Obama** (Harvard Law School '91) enters office at a "hinge of history" is now a cliché, but no less true for having been often stated. Not only does the Great Recession look ever more depressing, but we simultaneously face daunting security challenges—from Iran's advancing nuclear program to increasing fragility of Pakistan.

For a Center committed to advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important international challenges, the fact that members of our Belfer Center family have been called upon to serve in the Obama administration is a source of both pride and humility.

As our Belfer Center colleagues **Larry Summers**, International Council member **Paul Volcker**, and Board of Directors member **Martin Feldstein** try to overcome the worst economic disaster since the Great Depression, I ask myself: whom would I rather have addressing this challenge? As director of the National Economic Council, chair of the Economic Recovery Advisory Board, and a member of that board, Larry, Paul, Marty, and their colleagues stand in the midst of the storm.

As he stressed in his inaugural address, President Obama intends to give new emphasis to science in making policy. His selection of **John Holdren**, director of our Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, as his science advisor, is not surprising. John has rightly been called "the very model of a policy-relevant scientist." As Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics, **Ash Carter** is uniquely qualified to help the Defense Department meet our 21st-century needs. And **Dennis Ross** will provide the Secretary of State with strategic advice and perspective on the Gulf and Southwest Asia.

The fact that members of the Belfer Center family have been called upon to serve . . . is a source of both pride and humility.

Others from the Center joining the new administration include **Rand Beers**, **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall**, and **Michèle Flournoy**. Additional members of the Center's family who have not yet been announced will also be joining the administration. Beyond those who take fulltime positions, many others are advising the



MARTHA STEWART

Celebratory Assembly: Secretary-General **Ban Ki-moon** (left) with **Caroline Kennedy** and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** at the 50th anniversary celebration of the Harvard Kennedy School's Mason Fellows Program.

new administration about issues from nuclear security to climate policy.

To support the Center in building new intellectual capital, International Council members have provided a generous grant to launch a new initiative assessing options for revitalizing the global nuclear order. Continuing work begun by a Commission of Eminent Persons launched last year by IAEA Director General **Mohamed ElBaradei**, this initiative will be enlivened by the arrival of **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen**, former director of the Office of Intelligence and Counterintelligence at the Energy Department and **Will Tobey**, deputy administrator for the National Nuclear Security Administration's Office of Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation. Along with former Under Secretary of State for Policy **Nick Burns**, who joined us in September, we are proud that Harvard has attracted some of the most talented people leaving the U.S. government. 🌐

Rolf Mowatt-Larssen and William Tobey Named Senior Fellows

by Sharon Wilke

Rolf Mowatt-Larssen, former director of the Office of Intelligence and Counterintelligence at the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) and former head of the Central Intelligence Agency's WMD and terrorism efforts, has joined the Belfer Center as a senior fellow along with **William H. Tobey**, who was until recently the deputy administrator for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation at the DOE's National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA).

As director of intelligence and counterintelligence with DOE until January, Mowatt-Larssen with his 600 person organization was responsible for the areas of nuclear terrorism, nuclear proliferation, science and technology, energy security, and counterintelligence. His primary focus was preventing a nuclear terrorism attack on the United States by working to keep nuclear



Rolf Mowatt-Larssen

weapons and weapons materials out of the hands of terrorists.

They have contributed extensively to the intelligence and formation of policies necessary to prevent nuclear proliferation and terrorism.
—Graham Allison

Tobey, a Harvard Kennedy School graduate (MPP '84) who served as DOE deputy administrator for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation from 2006 to 2009, led a team of 400 employees, managed NNSA's \$2.1 billion budget, and worked with more than 100 countries to prevent nuclear proliferation and terrorism by detecting, securing, and disposing of dangerous nuclear materials.

At the Belfer Center, Mowatt-Larssen and Tobey will work with the Center's nuclear team on an initiative to reduce the dangers

posed by the current unraveling of the global nuclear order. Along with the Belfer Center's **Graham Allison**, **Matthew Bunn**, **Ashton Carter**, **Steven Miller** and others, they will help advance work

begun by a Commission of Eminent Persons (launched earlier this year by International Atomic Energy Association Director General **Mohamed ElBaradei**) to find ways to maximize contributions of nuclear technologies to human well-being while minimizing risks of nuclear weapons proliferation and nuclear terrorist attacks.

"We are extremely pleased to have Rolf and Will join the Belfer Center as senior fellows," said Allison. "In their respective careers, they have contributed extensively to the intelligence and formation of policies necessary to prevent nuclear proliferation and terrorism. They will bring tremendous insights and expertise to the efforts of our nuclear team and to Harvard." 🌐



William H. Tobey

Center Members Head to Washington

(continued from page 1)

Additional members of the Belfer Center community have been called on to serve in the Obama administration. These include the following persons (listed alphabetically).



Rand Beers (Faculty Affiliate, Belfer Center)

Now: Counselor to the Secretary of Homeland Security; Acting Deputy Secretary, DHS

"Instead of listening to the nation's 16 intelligence agencies and refocusing resources to where they were most needed, the administration clung to Iraq as the central front in the fight against terrorism. As a result, the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan deteriorated further, with a resurgent al-Qaeda and resurrected Taliban now threatening both the region and American homeland itself."

—Rand Beers

("Don't Need Faked Letter to Indict Bush Team," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 14, 2008)



Martin Feldstein (Member, Belfer Center Board of Directors; former Chair, Council of Economic Advisers, Reagan Administration)

Now: Member, White House Economic Recovery Advisory Board

"Regardless of what is done to provide a fiscal stimulus, governments around the world must act to fix dysfunctional credit markets. Otherwise, credit will not flow and growth will not resume. In the United States, reviving the credit markets requires stopping the mortgage defaults driven by negative equity."

—Martin Feldstein

("The Case for Fiscal Stimulus in U.S.," *Korea Herald*, February 3, 2009)



Michèle Flournoy (Former Research Fellow, Belfer Center International Security Program)

Now: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

"As supplemental war funding decreases and pressures on the defense budget increase, we must continue to fund the recovery and expansion of the Army, Marine Corps and Special Operations Forces."

—Michèle Flournoy

("The State of the U.S. Ground Forces,"

Center for a New American Security Factsheet, August 25, 2008)



Patricia McLaughlin (Project Coordinator, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program)

Now: Confidential Assistant to John P. Holdren, named Assistant to the President for Science and Technology;

Director, White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, Co-chair, President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST)

"While I will miss the Belfer Center while we are on leave, I am greatly honored to be offered the opportunity to continue to work with John in his new position at the White House."

—Patricia McLaughlin



Dennis Ross (Member, Belfer Center International Council)

Now: Special Advisor to the Secretary of State for The Gulf and Southwest Asia

"If history tells us anything, it is that forging an effective strategy toward Iran is no easy task. And, yet, it has probably never been more important."

—Dennis Ross

("Diplomatic Strategies for Dealing with Iran," Chapter 2 in *Iran: Assessing U.S. Strategic Options*, Center for a New American Security, September 2008)



Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall (Adviser and Founding Senior Adviser, Belfer Center Preventive Defense Project)

Now: Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs

"Among European populations, there is a growing lack of enthusiasm for defense spending and far-flung military commitments. . . . Looking ahead, the next American administration will need to work overtime to achieve consensus on what this [NATO] alliance actually does and why NATO matters to its citizenry."

—Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall

("Is NATO Dead or Alive?" *Huffington Post*, April 1, 2008)

For a list of Center appointments to government, including those announced after press time, see <http://belfercenter.org/governmentappointments>

Faculty, Alumni Called on to Review U.S. Agencies

A number of Belfer Center faculty, affiliates, and alumni led or served on transition teams that reviewed U.S. agencies for the incoming Obama administration. The reviews provided the president-elect, vice president-elect, and key advisors with information needed to make strategic policy, budgetary, and personnel decisions prior to the inauguration.

In addition to those below (listed alphabetically), **Rand Beers** led the Department of Homeland Security Review Team, **Michèle Flournoy** was deputy lead of the Department of Defense Review Team, and **Ashton B. Carter** and **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall** served as members of the Department of Defense Review Team.



Kurt Campbell (Former Belfer Center Assistant Director and Research Fellow)

Served as: Member, Department of Defense Review Team



Ivo Daalder (Former Research Fellow, Belfer Center International Security Program)

Served as: Co-lead, National Security Council Review Team



Juliette Kayyem (Member, Belfer Center Board of Directors)

Served as: Member, Homeland Security Review Team



Samantha Power (Former Executive Director, Belfer Center Human Rights Initiative)

Served as: Member, Department of State Review Team



John P. White (Faculty Co-chair, Belfer Center Dubai Initiative)

Served as: Lead, Department of Defense Review Team

Center Hosts Al Gore and Top Energy/Climate Experts in Climate Solutions Summit

by Sharon Wilke

BELFER CENTER



Confronting Climate Crisis: Former Vice President **Al Gore** (right) makes a point at a Belfer Center “Climate Solutions Summit” to explore solutions to energy/climate challenges. Center Director **Graham Allison** (left) co-hosted the October meeting with Gore.

The Belfer Center hosted former Vice President and Nobel Laureate **Al Gore** and 30 of the United States’ top energy and climate experts in October for a solutions summit on the climate challenge. Moderated by Gore and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, the participants brainstormed concrete solutions to producing carbon-free electricity, using Gore’s July 2008 Generational

Challenge to Repower America as a starting point. The challenge calls on the nation to produce 100 percent of America’s electricity from renewable energy and truly clean carbon-free sources within ten years.

The U.S.—which has the largest economy, uses the most energy, and makes the largest cumulative contribution to CO₂ in the atmosphere—must lead the world in energy-technology innovation.
—John P. Holdren

“There are times in the history of our nation when our very way of life depends upon dispelling illusions and awakening to the challenge of a present danger. . . . This is such a moment,” Gore said on July 17, 2008 when he made his “Repower America” challenge.

The Summit discussion attempted to generate practical steps toward the design and implementation of initiatives that could


achieve this objective. While the “Climate Solutions Summit” was off the record, a number of participants proposed possible solutions developed in previous research and analysis.

Kelly Sims Gallagher, director of the Belfer Center’s Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group—The United States and China have the unique ability to make or break the climate change threat. A price on CO₂ emissions is the most important first step for the United States.

William Hogan, Raymond Plank Professor of Global Energy Policy and research director of the Harvard Electricity Policy Group—A key challenge for electricity market design and regulation is to support efficient infrastructure investment.

John P. Holdren, director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, now science advisor to President Obama—The U.S., which has the largest economy, uses the most energy, and makes the largest cumulative contribution to CO₂ in the atmosphere, must lead the world in energy-technology innovation.

Henry Lee, director of the Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program—Reducing oil imports requires more efficient modes of moving goods and people, alternative fuels, and reductions in vehicle miles traveled.

Dan Schrag, director of the Harvard University Center for the Environment—An essential component of any carbon reduction strategy for the U.S. and the world is the demonstration and deployment of technologies to capture carbon dioxide from large stationary sources and store the waste CO₂ in geological formations. 

Climate Team Suggests Alternatives to Kyoto

by Sasha Talcott


A new report from the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements outlines several promising ideas for successors to the Kyoto Protocol. The report also provides guidance on the most intractable challenges facing global climate negotiators, including participation by developing countries, how to reduce deforestation, and how to prevent a “collision” between climate policy and international trade law.

The report—an interim document produced for global climate negotiators who convened in December in Poznan, Poland, for the 14th Conference of the Parties of the Frame-

work Convention on Climate Change—addresses some of the key issues that negotiators must tackle before reaching a global deal to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, the cause of climate change.

[The report] highlights four credible approaches that could succeed the Kyoto Protocol.

The Harvard Project report synthesizes the work of 26 research teams from around the world. It highlights four credible approaches that could succeed the Kyoto Protocol, ranging from a top-down agreement similar to the Kyoto Protocol, but both stronger and more flexible, to a more decentralized framework that links national cap-and-trade systems. The project also examines an international system of national carbon taxes and a system of parallel international agreements that separately address different sectors and gases, as well as key issues such as adaptation, technology R&D, and remedies like geoengineering.

The team’s presentations can be downloaded on the Belfer Center website: <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18690/>. 

ROB STOWE



Laying Foundations: **Robert Stavins** (center), director of the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements, **Carlo Carraro** (left) of Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, and **Jing Cao** (right) of Tsinghua University, discuss global climate policy at a Conference of the Parties side event in Poznan, Poland, in December.



Expert Overview: **Carole Browner**, now White House coordinator of energy and climate policy, at Al Gore’s “Climate Solutions Summit” in October. Browner is a former administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

BELFER CENTER



Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: Agenda for the President's Opening Weeks in Office

This article is adapted from "Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: An Agenda for the Next President" (November 2008) by **Matthew**

Bunn and Andrew Newman. For full text, see <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/118673>.

President **Barack Obama** took office in a world where the danger that terrorists could get and use a nuclear bomb remains very real. Al-Qaeda is reconstituting its ability to carry out complex operations. Despite remarkable progress in improving nuclear security in Russia, serious risks of nuclear theft remain in that country. Pakistan's heavily-guarded stockpile faces severe threats from both al-Qaeda attackers and from insiders linked to violent Islamic extremists. Some 130 research reactors in 30 countries continue to use highly enriched uranium (HEU) as their fuel—in some cases, with no more security than a night watchman and a chain-link fence.

Steps for the Opening Weeks

President Obama should take some key steps in the first weeks of his administration:

- Appoint a full-time senior official for efforts to prevent nuclear terrorism.
- Issue a directive making clear that preventing nuclear terrorism will be a top priority for U.S. national security policy and diplomacy.
- Invite leaders to a summit on preventing nuclear terrorism. This should be an early initiative, to communicate the priority he places on this effort. (Obama has pledged to do this.)

With a sensible strategy, adequate resources, and sustained leadership, the risk of nuclear terrorism can be dramatically reduced during the new president's first term.

- Establish interagency "tiger teams" to develop approaches to overcoming the obstacles to progress for each major country with stockpiles to secure—and for developing global nuclear security standards.
- Seek an appropriation in the range of \$500 million, to be available until expended, that can be spent flexibly on high-priority actions to reduce the risk of nuclear theft. Congress will have to pass a new budget for the remainder of FY 2009 by March 6, when the current continuing resolution expires, and the new president should seek to include this funding in that new budget.
- The fundamental key to success will be convincing political leaders and nuclear managers around the world that nuclear terrorism is a real and urgent threat to *their* countries' security, worthy of a substantial investment of their time and money—something many of them do not believe today.

With a sensible strategy, adequate resources, and sustained leadership, the risk of nuclear terrorism can be dramatically reduced during the new president's first term. 🌐

Schlesinger Reports Call Attention to Nuclear Mission and Deterrence

by **Beth Maclin**

Two groups focusing on nuclear weapons—both chaired by **James Schlesinger**, former secretary of energy, defense, and central intelligence and member of the Belfer Center International Council—recently released reports detailing threats and challenges relating to the United States' nuclear stockpile and policy.

The Task Force on the Department of Defense (DoD) Nuclear Weapons Management released its Phase II report, "Review of the DoD Nuclear Mission," in January. The Task Force found a "distressing" and "widespread" inattention to the nuclear mission and

nuclear deterrence throughout the DoD. It argues that, "while the nation's dependence on nuclear weapons has been reduced, nuclear weapons nevertheless remain fundamental to deterrence."

Moreover, the report notes, "The Task Force found widespread fragmentation, dispersal of responsibility, and weakening of authorities in the Office of the Secretary of Defense's (OSD) management of the nuclear mission and the nuclear weapons mission area. The decline in management attention to nuclear matters is evidenced by a dramatically reduced workforce, fragmentation of nuclear policy and guidance responsibility across the office, dilution of organizational focus because of proliferating missions, and relegation of nuclear-focused organizations to positions of lower authority. The remaining workforce lacks both depth and breadth of nuclear expertise."

Among other recommendations, the report calls for an assistant secretary of defense (ASD) for deterrence in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (OUSDP). It notes: "All existing OUSDP offices that deal with nuclear, chemical, biological, and missile defense issues should be realigned under the new ASD."

The Task Force found widespread fragmentation, dispersal of responsibility, and weakening of authorities in the ... management of the nuclear mission ...

This report follows the Phase I report, "The Air Force's Nuclear Mission," which was released last September.

The second group—the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture, which Schlesinger co-chairs with **William Perry**, co-director of the Belfer Center/Stanford Preventive Defense Project—released its interim report in December and will release the final report in April 2009.

The interim report found that nuclear terrorism poses a growing nuclear threat to the nation. It offers four security imperatives to defend against nuclear terrorism: (1) reduce and provide better protection for existing nuclear stockpiles of weapons and fissile material; (2) keep new nations from going nuclear; (3) provide effective protection for the fissile material generated by enrichment, reprocessing, and commercial nuclear reactors; and (4) improve our tools to detect clandestine delivery of nuclear weapons and defend against them. 🌐

BELFER CENTER



Powerful Pair: **James Schlesinger** (right), a member of the Belfer Center International Council, makes a point to Nobel Laureate **Roy L. Glauber** at a Center seminar in which Schlesinger spoke on the role of oil in national security.

Panel Calls on President and Congress to Address WMD Proliferation

by Sasha Talcott

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** served on the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism, which released its report in December. The congressionally appointed Commission called on then President-elect **Barack Obama** and Congress to immediately initiate several concrete actions, unilaterally and with the international community, to address the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction that pose the greatest peril: nuclear and biological weapons.

The commissioners briefed Vice President-elect **Joseph Biden**, then President **George W. Bush**, and congressional leaders on the report's findings in December. The Commission centered its findings on several areas where it determined the risks to the United States are increasing: the crossroads of terrorism and proliferation in the poorly governed parts of Pakistan; the prevention of biological and nuclear terrorism; and the potential erosion of international nuclear security, treaties, and norms as we enter a nuclear energy renaissance.

The Commission was chaired by former Senator **Bob Graham**, a Belfer Center affiliate and former senior fellow.

It is likely that a weapon of mass destruction will be used in a terrorist attack somewhere in the world by the end of 2013.
—**Bob Graham**

"Ours remains a world at risk and our margin of safety is shrinking, not growing," said Graham. "The Commission believes that unless the world community acts decisively and with great urgency, it is likely that a weapon of mass destruction will be used in a terrorist attack somewhere in the world by the end of 2013." He said the Commission reached this sobering conclusion following six months of deliberations, site visits, and interviews with more than 250 government officials



Preventing the Worst: Former Senator **Bob Graham** (left), at a Center seminar, discusses recommendations of the report "World at Risk" by the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism, which he chaired. Also pictured: **Tad Oelstrom**, director of Harvard Kennedy School's National Security Program.

and nongovernmental experts in the United States and abroad.

In addition to Graham and Allison, other commissioners included: former Senator **Jim Talent**, the Commission's vice chairman; **Robin Cleveland**, former counselor to the president of the World Bank; Ambassador **Wendy R. Sherman**; **Henry D. Sokolski**, executive director of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center; **Stephen G. Rademaker**, U.S. representative on the U.N. Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters; former U.S. Representative **Timothy J. Roemer**; and **Richard Verma**, former senior national security advisor to the Senate majority leader.

The WMD report also details concrete recommendations to ensure a more efficient and effective domestic policy coordination structure, oversight reform, and enhanced cooperation among appropriate law-enforcement and counterterrorism communities. 🌐

Intrastate Conflict Program Advises on Governance in Africa

by Beth Maclin



Grading Governance: **Robert Rotberg** (left), director of the Belfer Center's Intrastate Conflict Program (ICP), discusses the program's Index of African Governance at a Center seminar with ICP's **Rachel Gisselquist**, Index research director.

The Belfer Center's Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution (ICP) traveled to meet with leaders and officials in Rwanda and Malawi in January to discuss the 2008 Index of African Governance.

ICP Director **Robert I. Rotberg** and **Rachel Gisselquist**, research director for the Index of African Governance, first met with government officials in Rwanda. The government of Rwanda initiated and organized a large seminar in Kigali, Rwanda's capital, for officials, NGO leaders, and donors to explore how the Index of African Governance could

most effectively be used to strengthen governmental performance and improve everyday life in impoverished Rwanda.

The Index of African Governance is an annual report that ranks 48 sub-Saharan African nations on governance according to 57 different variables, from safety and security through rule of law to various health and educational attainments. The Index was first published in 2007, and the 2008 report appears as a web document and in book form under the title *Strengthening African Governance*.

The Index is structured so that countries can clearly see areas they might improve.

Rwanda, which ranked eighteenth in the most recent Index, wants to improve its score and better the lives of its inhabitants and attract foreign investment, Rotberg said. The Index is structured so that countries can clearly see areas they might improve.

"In Kigali, the eighty or so Rwandans at the all-day seminar were interested in the Index's many messages for their future," Rotberg said.

In Malawi, where ICP Program Manager **Katie Naeve** and Editorial Associate **Emily**

Wood joined them, Rotberg and Gisselquist met with the Index African Advisory Council over two days. The Council is made up of African academics and practitioners who oversee the Index quality. Rotberg and Gisselquist also met with parliamentarians in Lilongwe, Malawi's capital, and showed how Malawi, which ranked eleventh, might improve its scores by strengthening governance and reducing poverty.

"The Women's Caucus of Parliament invited us to present the Index results, specifically those related to gender," Gisselquist said. "We talked a lot about education, health care, and clean water, and about the particular challenges of communities in peri-urban areas."

Rotberg and Gisselquist also met with the World Bank country director for Malawi and his governance team on their last day. They discussed how the Index works, how it differs from the World Bank's own methodology on governance, and how the diagnostic qualities of the Index could be used by donors, including the World Bank. 🌐

Preliminary Policy Recommendations for Enhancing Energy Innovation in the U.S.

This article is adapted from the executive summary of the Belfer Center Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group (ETIP) report, "Tackling U.S. Energy Challenges and Opportunities," by Laura Diaz Anadon, Kelly Sims Gallagher, Matthew Bunn, and Charles Jones. The full executive summary and report are available at <http://belfercenter.org/energychallenges>.

The Obama administration and the 111th Congress face enormous challenges and opportunities in tackling the pressing security, economic, and environmental problems posed by the energy sector in the United States and worldwide. Improving the technologies of energy supply and end-use is a prerequisite for surmounting these challenges in a timely and cost-effective way.

Accelerating the development and deployment of advanced energy-supply and end-use technologies will require a comprehensive strategy integrating efforts from invention to deployment, including strong leadership, alignment of policy incentives, consistency of policies, and a long-term view. In the following sections we outline our preliminary recommendations for near-term actions to strengthen the U.S. effort to develop and deploy advanced energy technologies. Our analysis is continuing, and we will be publishing long-term policy recommendations later this year. The budget recommendations in this paper are only for fiscal year (FY) 2010. They represent minimum levels based on ramping up from FY 2008 levels where such increases are most needed. They do not take into account the amounts provided in the recently approved economic recovery package.

Increase the Department of Energy (DOE) budget for energy research, development, and demonstration to \$6,060 million in FY 2010 (from \$4,173 million in FY 2008), distributed as follows:

Basic Energy Sciences **\$1,500 million**
Progress in basic energy sciences is essential to developing new energy technologies.

Fossil Energy **\$1,700 million**
Carbon capture and storage (CCS) has been identified by most analysts as an essential component of any comprehensive plan to reduce carbon dioxide emissions worldwide. This level of funding is required to begin a series of commercial-scale CCS demonstrations in various conditions.

Electric Transmission and Distribution **\$220 million**
Smart grid technologies are needed to ensure reliable and efficient electricity delivery. There should be both a smart grid R&D program and regional demonstration projects.

Energy Efficiency **\$770 million**
Significant opportunities to improve energy performance exist in vehicle technologies, building technologies, and energy storage.

Renewable Energy **\$850 million**
Opportunities in the portfolio of renewable energy technologies—wind, geothermal, solar, and biomass—justify a substantial investment increase over FY 2008 levels.

Hydrogen **\$220 million**
There are more opportunities in fuel cell technology than are being explored, justifying a modest increase in the hydrogen programs.

Nuclear Fission **\$350 million**
Nuclear fission RD&D should focus on improving the factors that have limited nuclear power's potential as an energy option—cost, safety, security, proliferation-resistance, and waste management.

Nuclear Fusion **\$450 million**
Fusion is a long term prospect that also advances basic science. The U.S. must meet its commitments to ITER and maintain other fusion work.

Develop, publish, and implement a comprehensive U.S. energy innovation strategy
The United States urgently needs a comprehensive energy innovation strategy that integrates the full range of policy tools throughout the innovation chain—from basic research through widespread diffusion—in order to maximize the efficiency and outputs of the U.S. energy innovation system.

The Obama administration should establish expanded information-sharing between different energy-innovation efforts.

Strengthen DOE's capacity to manage an expanded, integrated federal energy RD&D enterprise

DOE should pursue a portfolio approach with a broad set of technologies at every stage of technological development. The Obama administration should establish expanded information-sharing between different energy-innovation efforts, more effective coordination of programs with the private sector, and full integration with the national strategy for energy technology innovation.

Create mechanisms for managing both demonstration projects and high-risk, high-potential R&D
Innovation at the pilot through commercialization stages requires procurement, funding, and



Acting in Time: Kelly Sims Gallagher (right) discusses energy challenges with newly elected U.S. Congressman Paul Tonko at the Kennedy School's annual orientation program for incoming members of the U.S. House of Representatives in December. Gallagher heads the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group.

decision rules more like that of private enterprise, to generate quality information about commercialized technology. In contrast, realizing opportunities for transformational technology requires stable, long-term funding, tolerance for risk, and the ability to learn from failure.

Encourage expanded private-sector investment in energy innovation


Entrepreneurs will react to new rules and laws by innovating. Setting a price on carbon will provoke development of innovative ways to reduce carbon emissions. Government must also elicit private-sector innovation through creating and managing effective public-private partnerships. The federal government should increase its support to private RD&D by making permanent and expanding the research and experimentation tax credit and by providing tax credits for U.S. companies building clean-energy demonstration projects at home and abroad.

Strengthen international cooperation in energy research

The United States should expand international cooperation in energy technologies to reduce the costs and risks of energy innovation, increase the pace of cost reductions through expanded learning and deployment, and encourage other countries to deploy the technologies developed.

Target and better coordinate incentives for large-scale deployment of energy technologies

The Obama administration should encourage deployment by setting a price on carbon and strengthening targeted incentives in particular sectors—and should integrate these incentives as one key element of the comprehensive energy innovation strategy recommended above.

The energy challenges facing the United States and the world are daunting. But with a comprehensive strategy for and investment in energy innovation, new approaches to managing the effort, and policies for moving new technology into the market, the United States can meet these challenges and seize the opportunity for leadership in energy technology. 



Meghan L. O'Sullivan

*Meghan L. O'Sullivan is a lecturer in public policy at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Previously, she was special assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan, a position she held from October 2005 to September 2007. She spent more than two years in Iraq, most recently in fall 2008 at the request of Ambassador **Ryan Crocker** and General **Raymond Odierno** to help conclude the security agreement and strategic framework agreement between the United States and Iraq.*

Q What is the greatest challenge facing President Barack Obama in Iraq?

One of the greatest challenges facing the new administration is how to divide limited resources between Iraq and Afghanistan. There is a general consensus, driven largely by the reality that Iraq appears to be stabilizing and Afghanistan deteriorating, that resources should flow from Iraq toward Afghanistan.

What no one wants is to find that resources removed from Iraq were critical in the difference between a stable and unstable Iraq.

Resources have already begun to move in that direction and, on the whole, this is sensible. The big question is really one of timing. Afghanistan is a vastly more complicated place, where prospects for success are probably considerably lower than in Iraq. What no one wants is to find that resources removed from Iraq were critical in the difference between a stable and unstable Iraq—only to discover that those resources are insufficient to change the trajectory in Afghanistan. In that case, the United States and the region would be in worse shape all around. The U.S. also needs to use its willingness to commit additional troops as leverage to convince the Afghan government to take actions only it can do to help the country succeed. Most importantly, the U.S. government

should seek new pledges from President Karzai to tackle Afghanistan's corruption more aggressively. Although not well known, the Bush Administration had serious conversations with the Iraqi government before committing the troops needed for "the surge." Only with a new Iraqi promise to pursue Shi'a militia that had largely operated with impunity did President Bush decide to send more U.S. troops to Iraq.

Q What is the significance of the Strategic Framework Agreement (SFA) and a security agreement concluded between the United States and Iraq in November 2008?

These two agreements lay the groundwork for a solid U.S.-Iraqi partnership over the coming years. The Strategic Framework Agreement (SFA) delineates a range of non-military areas for future U.S.-Iraqi cooperation. The security agreement provides the legal basis U.S. forces need to operate in Iraq, absolving Iraq and the United States from going to the United Nations every year for a renewal of the international mandate. At a higher level, but equally significant, the SFA and the security agreement provide a much needed, common vision to both Iraqis and Americans about the nature and duration of U.S. engagement in Iraq. Up until this time, this vision had been lacking—and the uncertainty surrounding the open-ended nature of the U.S. presence was a major preoccupation in both Iraqi and American politics.

The security agreement envisions a gradual, full departure of American forces over three years.


The security agreement tells Iraqis and Americans that U.S. forces are leaving Iraq, but not in large numbers immediately. The security agreement envisions a gradual, full departure of American forces over three years. And it acknowledges the primacy of Iraqi sovereignty—through the end of unilateral combat operations and the turning over of Iraqi detainees to the government of Iraq. Such actions make the overall arrangement more politically sustainable than the UN mandate, which gave greater authorities and immunities to coalition forces. Either the U.S. or Iraqi government could abrogate the security

agreement—or the Iraqis could vote it down in an anticipated referendum in July. But, in practice, both Washington and Baghdad will likely see it as in their interests to broadly adhere to the terms of the agreement. Hopefully, they can use the agreements to shift their domestic debates away from the divisive issue of troop presence and direct political energies toward the pressing matters of political reconciliation and institution building.

Q What elements of U.S. strategy toward Iraq will the Obama Administration change?

Today . . . Iraq has moved from a failed to fragile state.

Interestingly, the combination of the security agreement and the improvements in the security situation in Iraq over the past 18 months—which have allowed for the drawdown of U.S. combat brigades without a significant upswing in violence—diminishes the chances that the Obama Administration will dramatically refashion the U.S. military strategy in Iraq. The biggest difference between the Bush and Obama teams may be how they interact with the Iraqi political leadership. There has been a great deal of talk about how the Obama Administration will make better use of U.S. leverage with the Iraqis. And, in fact, the improved security situation has opened the door to the greater use of conditionality.

During much of the Bush Administration years, the weakness of the Iraqi state argued against hard threats to withdraw American support which, if made good on, could have pushed Iraq to conflict or collapse—harming both Iraqi and U.S. interests. Today, as U.S. military planners point out, Iraq has moved from a failed to fragile state. As a result, there are fewer single points of strategic failure. Iraq's strengthening political institutions give greater scope for the constructive use of conditionality. In making certain types of U.S. support conditional, the United States should first assess that Iraq has the capacity to meet American requests and that a withdrawal of American support would not destabilize Iraq irreversibly. I think the new administration will find the Iraqis better positioned to deliver and be an equal partner with the United States than in the past. 



Future of Forces: Meghan O'Sullivan, lecturer in public policy with the Belfer Center, speaks from Baghdad via teleconference with the Center's board of directors in November.

Providing Leadership . .

MARTHA STEWART



Confluence of Crises: **Ban Ki-moon** (right), secretary-general of the UN, delivers a call to action on global challenges during a John F. Kennedy, Jr. Forum in October. He commended Harvard for its sustainability initiative and warned that the world is facing a dangerous confluence of crises.

Investing in Common Sense: **Clark Winter**, Belfer Center International Council member, speaks on a way of thinking about the markets based on finding and assessing enough of the right information and using common sense. He discussed his recent book *The Either/Or Investor: How to Succeed at Global Investing, One Decision at a Time*. Winter, founder of Winter Capital International, an independent advisory firm, spoke at the Center in October. Also pictured is **Ernest May**, member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors.



BELFER CENTER

BELFER CENTER



Presidential Problems: **David Ignatius**, author and *Washington Post* columnist, discusses possible scenarios the Obama administration may confront with regard to al-Qaeda, the recession, and other critical issues. Ignatius examined a range of foreign policy challenges with the Belfer Center Board of Directors and noted suggestions he might give the incoming administration. Ignatius spoke at the Center in November.

EPA Afterthoughts: **Mary Gade**, president of Gade Environmental Group LLC and former Region 5 administrator for the Environmental Protection Agency, speaks at a Center seminar in November entitled "Back to the Future: EPA Revisited." Gade resigned her EPA position in May 2008 in a dispute with the agency's leadership over enforcement actions involving Dow Chemical Co. and dioxin contamination of a Michigan river system. She presented at the Center in November.



BELFER CENTER

BELFER CENTER



U.S.-Russian Engagement: **Tad Oelstrom** (right), director of Harvard Kennedy School's National Security Program (NSP), with Russian General **Alexander Shtukatur** (center) and **Rolf Mowatt-Larsen** (left), senior fellow with the Belfer Center, following a presentation at the NSP's annual U.S.-Russia Security Program. The program, organized by Oelstrom, took place at the school in February.



Congressional Hearing: **Dorothy Zinberg**, lecturer in public policy with the Belfer Center, speaks with Congressman **Aaron Schock** of Illinois at Harvard Kennedy School's annual orientation program for incoming members of Congress in December.

MARTHA STEWART

FER VISITORS

. Advancing Policy-Relevant Knowledge

MARTHA STEWART



Weapon-free World: Former U.S. Senator **Sam Nunn** (center), co-chairman and chief executive officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, with former Secretary of Defense **Robert S. McNamara** (left) and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, before Nunn's delivery of the first Robert S. McNamara Lecture on War and Peace at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in October.

Senatorial Session: Senator **John Kerry** (left) comments on Al Gore's Generational Challenge to Repower America during the Belfer Center solutions summit on the climate crisis in October. The summit, which brought together 30 experts in energy and climate change, was hosted by **Al Gore** (right) and Center Director **Graham Allison**. The participants brainstormed solutions to producing carbon-free electricity. (See page 4.)



BELFER CENTER

BELFER CENTER



Web Warrior: **James K. Glassman**, undersecretary for public diplomacy and public affairs in the George W. Bush administration, speaks about Internet technology to fight terrorism at a Center seminar in December. **Cristine Russell** (left), senior fellow with the Environment and Natural Resources Program at the Belfer Center, took part in the discussion.



BELFER CENTER

Situations of State: **Paula Dobriansky**, under secretary of state for democracy and global affairs in the George W. Bush administration, speaks in December about "Global Issues in the Current Context." Dobriansky was responsible for a broad range of foreign policy issues. Also pictured: **Joseph S. Nye**, member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors.

BELFER CENTER



Iranian Ire: Ambassador **Nicholas Burns** (left), professor of the practice of diplomacy and international politics and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, listens to a comment from fellow board member **Martin Feldstein** during a Center seminar in October on "Containing the Iran Threat."



BELFER CENTER

Intelligent Policy: **Hope LeBeau**, joint research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program and Intelligence and Policy Project, discusses the intelligence project with Center faculty and fellows. The aim is to provide new members of Congress with information and training on the Intelligence Community.

SPOTLIGHT

Niall Ferguson by Sasha Talcott

Niall Ferguson is the Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History at Harvard University and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors.

In early 2007, the investment industry was riding high. Industry newsletters trumpeted claims that market volatility was a thing of the past. Interest rates were low, encouraging borrowing.

In Las Vegas that year, hedge fund managers convened a conference to toast their successes. During one particularly glossy presentation, a hedge fund manager argued that there would never again be a U.S. recession.

Niall Ferguson, a Harvard Business School professor and a member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, stood up from the floor to challenge him. Later, the two decided to make it a bet.

"I said, 'Never is a very bad timeframe,'" Ferguson said. "Let's say five years."

There were powerful forces at work . . . History was just waiting to deliver a sucker punch.
—Niall Ferguson

The bet: \$14,000, with 7 to 1 odds. If there were no recession before 2012, Ferguson would pay the hedge fund manager \$14,000. If the economy went south, the hedge fund manager would owe Ferguson \$100,000.

"There were powerful forces at work," Ferguson said. "Not many people saw there would be a spectacular unraveling. History was just waiting to deliver a sucker punch."

Ferguson's caution was well-grounded in academic research. For years, he has studied

the unique role financial markets played in both the rise of the West and in precipitating periods of social upheaval. His newest book, *The Ascent of Money*, traces these themes in detail.

Ferguson . . . dubbed the financial crisis "The Great Depression."

When he struck the bet with the hedge fund manager, Ferguson had just completed a handful of papers examining signs of trouble in the American financial empire. In 2006, he researched the ramifications of a sudden liquidity crisis, tracing the way that an unexpected spark could make the entire system seize up. He also wrote in the *New York Times* that excessive American indebtedness would ultimately provoke a crisis.

Born in Glasgow in 1964, Ferguson rose rapidly in European academia, first as a Hanseatic Scholar in Hamburg and Berlin, and later as Fellow and Tutor in Modern History at Oxford's Jesus College. He came to Harvard in 2004 after a brief stint in New York University.

Ferguson, writing in the *Financial Times* in the fall, dubbed the financial crisis "The Great Depression"—both because the financial risk is comparable in scale to the 1930s, but also because governments are repressing the full extent of the damage through injecting liquidity into the banking system. "The Great Depression" also has a psychological connotation, Ferguson said: "We're all in some degree of denial about how bad it is."

Ferguson wrote in "An Imaginary Retrospective of 2009" for the *Financial Times* in December, in which he quoted a fictitious advisor to President Obama: "We assumed that we economists had learned how to combat this kind of crisis," the advisor admitted in late 2009, shortly after returning to academic life. "We thought that if the Fed injected enough liquidity into the financial system, we could avoid deflation. We thought if the government ran a big enough deficit, we could end a recession. It turned out we were wrong." So much for [John Maynard] Keynes. So much for [Milton] Friedman."

To Ferguson, the financial meltdown has geopolitical implications as well. Although some have argued that the crisis will accelerate America's decline, the same economic forces also have undermined the United States' geopolitical rivals—to some extent even worse



than in America. Thus, he notes, in relative terms the United States may not lose power.

Ferguson also argues that the current economic crisis highlights the dangers of being an indebted empire, especially as it comes to financing America's national debt with Asian savings.

The crisis "will reveal the fundamental vulnerability of the United States," Ferguson said. "We rely on foreign capital—and that's drying up fast."

One reason Ferguson has been able to make such timely—and accurate—predictions: He extrapolates the lessons of history and applies them judiciously to current events. When studying the lead-up to World War I, for example, Ferguson noted a mismatch between the wildly optimistic financial markets of the time and the darkening political clouds.

He extrapolates the lessons of history and applies them judiciously to current events.

"Until the last week of July, 1914 looked as if it would be another good financial year," Ferguson wrote in *TIME* magazine in January 2007. "The stock-market crash of seven years before had almost faded from memory. Inflation was under control, and interest rates had stabilized. Emerging markets were booming. On the back of sustained global growth, commodity prices were up. Best of all, volatility was as low as most investors could remember. Sound familiar?"

The 1914 analogy was one key reason Ferguson wrote in the same *TIME* article, aptly titled, "The Next Meltdown," "A stock-market shutdown in 2007? History warns us not to rule it out."

Although Ferguson has made his career out of studying financial institutions, getting rich has never been his top priority. Thus, it is easy to see why, when betting against the hedge fund manager in 2007, Ferguson made one crucial misstep: He agreed that neither side can collect their winnings until 2012.

"By which time, the dollar may be worthless or his fund may go out of business," Ferguson said. 🌐

BELFER CENTER



Past Applications: Niall Ferguson discusses lessons from past world crises with colleagues on the Belfer Center Board of Directors.

International Security • Environment and Natural Resources



Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** is the recipient of the 2009 National Academy of Sciences' Award for Behavioral Research Relevant to the Prevention of Nuclear War. He is being honored for illuminating alternative ways of thinking about political decision making with special relevance to crises, including nuclear crises, as demonstrated in his groundbreaking *Essence of Decision* and subsequent works. Former recipients include Nobel laureate and former Harvard Kennedy School Professor Thomas Schelling.



Ashton B. Carter, co-director of the Belfer Center's Preventive Defense Project, was invited to become a member of the American Academy of Diplomacy (AAD). Carter's invitation to AAD was based on his continued contributions to American diplomacy, particularly his work on denuclearization of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus, his negotiations with North Korea, and his chairmanship of the NATO High Level Group.



The New York Association for Business Economics (NYABE), an association of professionals who have an interest in business economics, presented its Annual Butler Award to **Martin Feldstein**, a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors and former chief economic advisor to President Ronald Reagan. Feldstein spoke about "Dealing with the Financial Crisis" at an award luncheon in October.



Ben Heineman, a senior fellow at the Belfer Center, was named one of most influential people in ethics and government by the anti-corruption and ethics magazine *Ethisphere* for his book, *High Performance with High Integrity*. In addition, Heineman served on an international advisory group evaluating the World Bank's global Governance and Anticorruption Strategy.



Karen E. House, adjunct senior fellow at the Belfer Center, was confirmed in October as a U.S. Representative to the 63rd Session of the U.N. General Assembly by the U.S. Senate. House was appointed to advance U.S. positions on international security issues.



Azeem Ibrahim, a research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, was appointed to the Prime Minister's Task Force Examining Social Mobility in the UK. The new commission was established to help people from disadvantaged backgrounds access career opportunities in key professions.

"THE ARCHITECTURE THAT HAS FOR FOUR DECADES held back powerful pressures for the proliferation of nuclear weapons is shaking. As the UN High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change warned, the Nonproliferation Treaty is eroding to the point of 'irreversibility' beyond which there could be a 'cascade of proliferation.'"

—**Graham Allison** and **Ernesto Zedillo**, "The Fragility of the Global Nuclear Order," *Boston Globe* (September 30, 2008)

"PREVENTING NUCLEAR TERRORISM must be a top priority of U.S. national security policy, and securing global stockpiles of nuclear weapons and materials is the most effective way to achieve this."

—**Matthew Bunn** and **Andrew Newman**, "A Working Relationship," *Baltimore Sun* (October 7, 2008)

"DEEP CUTS IN U.S. AND RUSSIAN NUCLEAR ARSENALS, when carried out responsibly, reduce the risk of accidents, weaken incentives for other states to arm, and enhance the credibility of U.S. pleas for tighter nonproliferation rules worldwide."

—**Martin Malin**, "U.S., Russia Must Unite to Lessen Nuclear Dangers," *Washington Times* (September 23, 2008)

"WE SAID WE WOULD NEVER LET IT HAPPEN AGAIN, but what have we done to live up to that pledge? We have not destroyed al-Qaeda, but our failures don't stop there."

—**Richard Clarke**, "9/11—We Said We'd Never Let It Happen Again, and Yet It Might," *US News and World Report* (September 11, 2008)

"INSPIRATION AND KNOW-HOW CAN BE DISSEMINATED, and plans formed, online between radicals who need not even have met. But the crucial difference is that any given terrorist can be replaced with another. That means any terrorist group cannot be conclusively defeated. This fact calls for a change in how Western governments address terror."

—**Azeem Ibrahim**, "Islamist Terrorism Goes Freelance," *Chicago Tribune* (December 3, 2008)

"A WIDE VARIETY OF STUDIES CONCLUDE that between 50 and 85 percent of the growth of the U.S. economy over the past half-century—and two-thirds of our productivity gains in recent decades—are directly attributable to scientific and technological advances. . . . [W]e must resist the temptation to reduce our investments in these foundations of our prosperity."

—Statement of **John P. Holdren**, director-designate, Office of Science and Technology Policy. Confirmation Hearing, U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation (February 12, 2009)

"THE FEATURES THAT CONGRESS ADDED to the initial treasury plan do nothing to achieve sustained confidence in the financial institutions. They provide Congressional oversight, delay the use of funds, create partial government equity ownership in some firms and do other things to protect taxpayers. But they do not address falling home prices."

—**Martin Feldstein**, "The Problem Is Still Falling House Prices," *Wall Street Journal* (October 4, 2008)

"CYBER THREATS AND POTENTIAL CYBER WARFARE illustrate the increased vulnerabilities and loss of control in modern societies. Governments have mainly been concerned about hacker attacks on their own bureaucracy's information technology infrastructure, but there are social vulnerabilities well beyond government computers."

—**Joseph Nye**, "Cyber Insecurity," *Daily News Egypt* (December 14, 2008)

"THE PRIORITY IS INFRASTRUCTURE. No country will progress far without public utilities such as power, telecommunications, water, sanitation, irrigation and waste disposal, without social infrastructure such as schools, housing and hospitals, without transport networks such as roads, railways, ports, waterways and airports, and without laboratories and other research facilities."

—**Calestous Juma**, "Learn to Earn," *Nature* (October 2008)

"BUT RISING CLIMATE-CHANGE CONCERNS HAVE PUSHED SOME scientists and policy experts out of their comfort zone, into stepped-up efforts to communicate with the press and the public. 'What is it going to take?' asked scientist Lonnie Thompson, who is concerned about not only the polar glaciers, but also the 'dying' tropical mountain glaciers that are crucial to water supplies from Peru to China."

—**Cristine Russell**, "Juggling Beats, Localizing Climate," *Columbia Journalism Review* (October 17, 2008)

"ANY CHANGE IN IRAN'S POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST will depend on the Obama administration's policy communicating a fundamental 'change' in recognizing Iran's key interests and accepting its role in the Persian Gulf and Iraq. Iran and the U.S. now regard the growth of each other's role in the region as contrary to their national interests and security. President Obama should change this new point of strategic difference."

—**Kayhan Barzegar**, "Iran and Obama: The Grand Bargain on Roles," *Tabnak* (December 8, 2008)

"WE HAVE PUT TOO MANY OF THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS on the shoulders of our generals and intelligence officers when diplomacy—our ability to persuade, cajole or threaten an opponent—is sometimes the better and more effective way to proceed. We need to trust our ability to outmaneuver dangerous regimes at the negotiating table and in the high court of international public opinion."

—**Nicholas Burns**, "We Should Talk to Our Enemies," *Newsweek* (October 25, 2008)

"ALTHOUGH THERE ARE NUMEROUS ISSUES ON THE US-IRAN AGENDA, such as Iran's support for terrorism, role in Iraq and opposition to the Middle East peace process, the nuclear issue is of such overwhelming importance that it should be given clear precedence and, if necessary, be treated as a stand-alone issue."

—**Chuck Freilich**, "Engaging Iran Effectively," *Bitter Lemons* (December 4, 2008)

"WASHINGTON CANNOT RESIST A RUSSIAN SPHERE of influence stretching from the Black Sea to Aral Mountains unless it plays the Iran card to its advantage. That means dropping its objection to the flow of Iranian gas to Europe, and engaging Iran in talks on security and stability of the Caucasus."

—**Vali Nasr**, "Obama is Right About Talking to Iran," *Wall Street Journal* (October 13, 2008)

"IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT THE ULTIMATE COST TO THE TREASURY of the bailout and the other commitments that financial authorities have made—this will depend primarily on the economy as well as the quality of execution and oversight."

—**Lawrence Summers**, "A Bailout is Just a Start," *Washington Post* (September 29, 2008)

"ISRAEL IS USING THE TWO ARSENALS it is most comfortable with—military force . . . and the equivalent political overkill to bludgeon the American political establishment into total submission."

—**Rami Khouri**, "Gaza's Impact on the Arab World," *Agence Global* (January 14, 2009)

"THE CHALLENGE IS TOUGH BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE. In the past decade, information technology has begun to transform anti-poverty efforts and bring to the poverty world some of the increases in productivity that have been common in the private sector. If Obama can expand on this, the chances for him to make good on a broad social justice agenda will increase in spite of the other challenges he faces."

—**Elaine Kamarck**, "Look to the Internet to Fight Poverty," *Boston Globe* (November 29, 2008)

"FORTUNATELY, THERE IS ALSO GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE that the means are now available to turn the tide. Financial authorities, in the United States and elsewhere, are now in a position to take needed and convincing action to stabilize markets and to restore trust."

—**Paul Volcker**, "We Have the Tools to Manage the Crisis," *Wall Street Journal* (October 10, 2008)

"THE ILLS OF TWO DECADES IN SOUTH ASIA can be attributed to the Afghan jihad years: the rise of the Taliban, the dominance of Pakistani-sponsored religious fanatics within the Kashmir freedom movement, and the eventual spread of sectarian conflict within Pakistan."

—**Hassan Abbas**, "South Asia at War," *Guatemala Times* (January 7, 2009)

"SADLY, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE BOARDS OF OUR MAJOR FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS did not understand the risks the entities were taking. It may be that the CEOs and top management didn't understand, either, but it is the board's job to press management."

—**Ben Heineman**, "Boards Fail—Again," *Business Week* (September 26, 2008)

"WHEN OBAMA ASSUMES OFFICE, THE POWER OF HIS ROOTS and his charisma may be able to persuade Africans to disbar Mugabe. But the end of January is too late. Zimbabwe needs political re-fashioning now, and not by telling Tsvangirai to take whatever he can get and somehow move forward from a point of palpable weakness, as suggested by former President Jimmy Carter and the elders. Mugabe cannot be trusted."

—**Robert Rotberg**, "Uniting Against Mugabe's Corrupt Regime," *Boston Globe* (December 13, 2008)

"LEADERSHIP TRANSITIONS ARE A PARTICULARLY CHALLENGING TIME for civil-military relations. Personal relationships are embryonic, and interactions can be rife with missteps and misunderstandings as new partners begin their work together. A significant joint program of orientation to build relationships and clarify expectations is critical."

—**Sarah Sewall** and **John White**, "The Civil-Military Challenge," *Boston Globe* (January 29, 2009)

(To read opeds in full, see Publications on the Belfer Center website: www.belfercenter.org)

—Compiled by Courtney Anderson and Beth Maclin



Erin Jenne, a former research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program (2000–02), received the annual Edgar S. Furniss Book Award for her book, *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment*. Past winners include John Mearsheimer, Barry Posen, and the Belfer Center's Stephen Walt.



Calestous Juma, a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors and director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization project, was appointed to the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress' Innovation, Comparative Advantages and Synergies Team (ICAST), which is part of CSPCI's new Strengthening America's Future Initiative project. The project steering committee briefed then President-elect Obama and is working with the new administration and Congress.



Viktor Mayer-Schönberger, a faculty affiliate of the Belfer Center, was named director of the new Information and Innovation Policy Research Center at the National University of Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. The Lee Kuan Yew School works closely with the Harvard Kennedy School.



Joseph S. Nye, Jr., a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, is chair of the North American group of the Trilateral Commission. In the position, Nye works with 120 members from Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. The Commission is a private organization founded in 1973 to foster closer cooperation between United States, Europe, and Japan.



Robert Stavins, member of the Center's board of directors, was named a 'Friends of the Saltire Prize' by the government of Scotland to help tackle climate change. Along with Mayor Richard Daley, Joseph Stiglitz, and John Fahey, Stavins will help raise awareness of the £10 million prize, Scotland's effort to "galvanise Scottish and international scientists to push the frontiers of innovation in clean, green marine renewable energy."



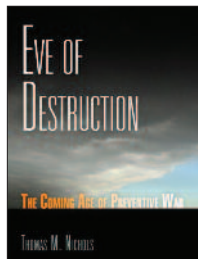
Astrid Tuminez, a former research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program (1990–91), has accepted the positions of assistant dean for executive education and director of research at the National University of Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

—Compiled by Beth Maclin

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Eve of Destruction: The Coming Age of Preventive War

By Thomas M. Nichols; University of Pennsylvania Press (2008)



In an age of new threats to international security, the old rules of war are rapidly being discarded. The great powers are moving toward norms less restrictive of intervention, pre-emption, and preventive war. This evolution is taking place not only in the United States but also in many of the world's most powerful nations, including Russia, France, and Japan, among others.

Eve of Destruction is a provocative contribution to a growing international debate over the acceptance of preventive military action. In the first work to identify the trends that have led to a coming age of preventive war, Thomas M. Nichols uses historical analysis as well as interviews with military officials from around the world to trace the anticipatory use of force from the early 1990s—when the international community responded to a string of humanitarian crises in Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo—to today's current and potential actions against rogue states and terrorists. He makes a case for a bold reform of U.S. foreign policy, and of the United Nations Security Council itself, in order to avert outright anarchy.

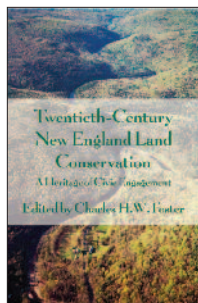
“... a smart, incisive, and important book.”

“Thomas Nichols transcends sterile debates about Iraq and the Bush Doctrine and points instead to the fundamental erosion in two long-standing international norms: the inviolability of state sovereignty and the unacceptability of preventive war. ... This is a smart, incisive, and important book.”

—Robert J. Lieber, Georgetown University

Twentieth-Century New England Land Conservation: A Heritage of Civic Engagement

Edited by Charles H.W. Foster; Harvard Forest (March 2009)



Written by and about New Englanders, this book is relevant to others attempting to address conservation problems on a regional basis. But above all, the account is one of hope for the future for, as the authors document, conditions at the turn of the 20th century were of a nature we would not tolerate today: cut

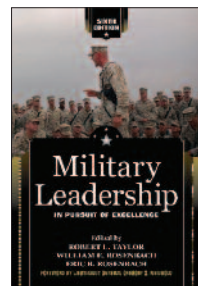
and burned-over forests, eroded topsoil, depleted farmlands, streams choked with refuse and pollution, and species at the very brink of extinction. The stories told here are of people using what they had, setting to work to remedy these conditions, and doing so successfully. At a time of growing concern for the environment both locally and globally, theirs is a story certain to inform and inspire the next generation of conservation leaders.

“This important work not only chronicles the long history of cooperation on preserving our natural places in New England, but also serves as a testimonial ... to our region's national leadership on conservation issues.”

—John F. Shea, director of policy and programs, New England Governors' Conference, Inc.

Military Leadership: In Pursuit of Excellence, Sixth Edition

Edited by Robert L. Taylor; William E. Rosenbach, and Eric B. Rosenbach; Westview Press (February 2009)



The sixth edition of this classic text continues its popular interdisciplinary approach to the topic of leadership by examining fundamental elements of military leadership: the “process” of leadership, the dynamic personal interactions between leader and followers, and the individual and

organizational values that foster effective military leadership. *Military Leadership* provides a thoroughly reconsidered and greatly expanded mix of classic and contemporary articles as well as original essays, with authors representing all of the services. Incisive introductory essays to each section highlight themes and connections. The essays of the sixth edition confront the kudos and criticisms that surround military leadership today, offer international viewpoints, and relate military leadership to contemporary leadership theory and approaches.

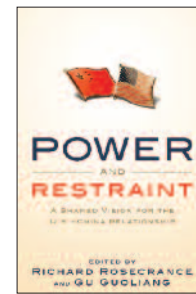
“The past several years have demonstrated the important role that military leaders play in both ensuring our national security and upholding the American values enshrined in the Constitution. This book not only captures those salient contemporary issues, but also provides a thoughtful and rich foundation ... for those looking to expand their understanding of military leadership.”

—Richard Clarke, Former Special Assistant to the President, National Coordinator for Security

“... a thoughtful and rich foundation ... for those looking to expand their understanding of military leadership.”

Power and Restraint: A Shared Vision for the U.S.–China Relationship

Edited by Richard Rosecrance and Guo Guoliang; Public Affairs (March 2009)



Over several years, some of the most distinguished Chinese and American scholars have engaged in a major research project, sponsored by the China–U.S. Exchange Foundation (USEF), to address the big bilateral and global issues the two countries face. Historically, the ascension of a great power has resulted in armed

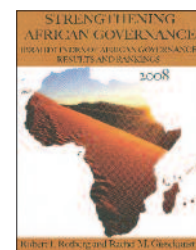
conflict. This group of scholars—experts in politics, economics, international security, and environmental studies—set out to establish consensus on potentially contentious issues and elaborate areas where the two nations can work together to achieve common goals. Featuring essays on global warming, trade relations, Taiwan, democratization, WMDs, and bilateral humanitarian intervention, *Power and Restraint* finds that China and the United States can exist side by side and establish mutual understanding to better cope with the common challenges they face.

This group of scholars ... set out to establish consensus on potentially contentious issues ... where the two nations can work together to achieve common goals.

Strengthening African Governance

Ibrahim Index of African Governance: Results and Rankings 2008

By Robert I. Rotberg and Rachel M. Gisselquist; Mo Ibrahim Foundation; Harvard Kennedy School; World Peace Foundation (October 2008)



All citizens of all countries desire to be governed well. Nation-states in the modern world are responsible for the delivery of essential political goods to their inhabitants. The essential political goods can be summarized and gathered under five categories: Safety

and Security; Rule of Law, Transparency, and Corruption; Participation and Human Rights; Sustainable Economic Opportunity; and Human Development.

This 2008 Index measures the degree to which each of these political goods is provided within the 48 sub-Saharan African countries. By comprehensively measuring the performance of government in this manner, the Index is able to offer a report card on the accomplishments of each government for the years being investigated—2000 and 2002 (for baseline indications) and 2005 and 2006 (the last years with reasonably complete available data for nearly all sub-Saharan African nation-states).

—Compiled by Susan Lynch, International Security Program and Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program

BELFER IN BRIEF

BELFER CENTER



Colleague Kudos: Sarah Donahue (left), events coordinator and staff assistant to the Center's executive directors, receives the annual Peggy Scannell Award for Excellence from Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** during the Center's holiday party in December. The award, in memory of longtime Center employee Peggy Scannell, was presented to Donahue "in recognition of her outstanding contributions to the Center and the environment in which we work."

Matthew Bunn, associate professor of public policy and co-principal investigator of the Center's Project on Managing the Atom, was featured in the *CBS 60 Minutes* program, "The Assault on Pelindaba," which describes a bold break-in of the Pelindaba nuclear reactor and research center in South Africa in November 2007.

Dorothy Zinberg, lecturer in public policy and faculty associate with the Belfer Center, delivered the plenary address at the International Seminar on the Future of Higher Education held at the University of Los Andes in Bogota, Colombia, in November.

Congratulations on the arrival of several new Belfer babies! Welcome to **Ella Eiran**, daughter of Ehud Eiran and his wife Margot; **Estelle Sims Gallagher**, daughter of Kelly Sims-Gallagher and her husband Kevin; **Naomi Leah**, daughter of Assaf Moghadam and his wife Yaara Steinhart; and **Jonathan Milo**, son of Keren Yarhi-Milo and her husband Ariel. 🌍



FUNGLIDE.ORG

Presidential Presence: Calestous Juma (right), director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization project, meets in January with H.E. Leonel Fernandez (left), president of the Dominican Republic, to discuss the important role universities must play in helping countries turn the global economic and financial crisis into development opportunities.

International Security

WINTER 2008/09
PRESS RELEASE

Vol. 33, No. 3

"The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States"

Valerie M. Hudson, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad F. Emmett

A multidisciplinary theoretical and empirical investigation of the "women and peace" thesis not only proves that the physical security and well being of women is directly linked to the security of the state, but it explains more of the variance in state peacefulness than do conventional measures such as level of democracy, level of wealth, and preponderance of Islamic civilization. Scholars and policy-makers would therefore do best to analyze the security of women when considering the linkage between state security and peacefulness.

"Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks"

Assaf Moghadam

The global proliferation of suicide missions in recent years is a phenomenon that the occupation and outbidding theses cannot fully explain. A comprehensive analysis of 1,857 suicide attacks from December 1981 to March 2008 shows that al-Qaida's evolution into a global terrorist actor and the growing appeal of its ideology, Salafi jihad, are interrelated factors that have contributed to the proliferation of suicide attacks. This is the first article to test the argument that many suicide attacks can be attributed to jihadist groups, creating a need

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

for states to rethink their counterterrorism efforts—and to better convey to moderate Muslims and nonviolent Salafists the importance of challenging these groups.

"Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process"

Wendy Pearlman

The explanation that peace processes fail in part because of spoilers who use violence to maximize gains vis-à-vis their external opponents ignores the crucial role that domestic politics play in constraining and motivating actors. Interested parties, for example, are more likely to negotiate or spoil when they lack a system of legitimate representation, and whether or not these internal pressures lead groups to negotiate or spoil depends on the actors' policy preferences and the balance of power in the community. Two eras in the history of the Palestine national movement demonstrate that actors were motivated as much by the conflict with Israel as by the internal dynamics of the Palestinian cause.

"Interested parties . . . are more likely to negotiate or spoil when they lack a system of legitimate representation."

"When Right Makes Might: How Prussia Overturned the European Balance of Power"

Stacie E. Goddard

Prussia fundamentally changed the balance of power and politics in nineteenth-century Europe by justifying

its expansion in a way that prevented a balancing coalition from forming: it signaled constraint, laid rhetorical traps, and demonstrated a need to secure its identity in international politics—arguments that none of the great powers could legitimately counter. Similarly, China has carefully framed its foreign policy strategy in a way that has prevented balancing against it thus far. The United States, on the other hand, only halfheartedly tried to justify the war in Iraq, which dramatically increased the cost of fighting the war. Legitimation theory, then, helps to explain why states fail to balance in seemingly predictable ways.

"Linkage Diplomacy: Economic and Security Bargaining in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902–23"

Christina L. Davis

The Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902–23 illustrates the importance of economic side payments as a method for forming and maintaining alliances. It also shows, however, the influence of domestic factors on constraining these types of payments. Security concerns often lead a nation to offer side payments to a potential ally, but domestic political constraints, partisanship, and changing strategic needs account for the variation in the economic-security linkage.

—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 • Fax: 617-495-8963
www.belfercenter.org

Belfer Center Newsletter

Editor: Sharon Wilke, Associate Director,
Communications, sharon_wilke@harvard.edu
Sasha Talcott, Director, Communications
sasha_talcott@harvard.edu

Beth Maclin, Communications Assistant
beth_maclin@harvard.edu

The Communications Office was assisted in production of this newsletter by: Courtney Anderson, Alyssa Arevalo, Katie Bartel, Matan Chorev, Joseph Costa, Susan Lynch, Lily Strauss-Matathia, Ruta Miniotas, and Emily Wood.



Belfer Center Mission: 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.

Visit our new website at www.belfercenter.org to learn more about the Belfer Center.

Nonprofit Org.
U. S. Postage
PAID
Nashua, NH
Permit No. 375



Tribute to Richard Darman—Public Servant, Counselor, Friend by Beth Maclin

Friends and colleagues filled the sanctuary of Harvard's Memorial Church in December to remember **Richard (Dick) Darman**, a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, valued colleague of the Harvard community, and star among the public and private sectors. Darman passed away earlier in the year.

**He was one of the most remarkable people I've known.
—Scott Harshbarger**

Among those in attendance were The Honorable **James A. Baker III**, who gave the tribute address, Darman's college roommate **Scott Harshbarger**, his colleague from the Carlyle Group **David Rubinstein**, and Belfer Center-Director **Graham Allison**.

Baker, who served in senior government positions under three presidents, said Darman "firmly believed that you could shape a better nation through monumental hard work, through love of country, and through a willingness to compromise with your fellow Americans."

"Dick Darman was a great public servant, wise counselor, great father, and wonderful friend," Allison said. "He will be mourned by more of us than he ever expected."

In the public sector, he served as director of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget in the George H.W. Bush administration, as deputy secretary of the U.S. Treasury in the

Reagan administration, as assistant secretary of commerce in the Ford administration, and in a succession of Cabinet departments at the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, Defense, and Justice in the Nixon administration. At Harvard Kennedy School, he was a public service professor and lecturer in public policy and management. Darman was a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Business School.

Harshbarger, Darman's Harvard College roommate, read from a letter that he wrote to Darman's three sons and wife. "He was one of the most remarkable people I've known—in intellect, discipline, focus, precise thoughts and analysis, and public achievement," said Harshbarger, the attorney general of Massachusetts from 1990–1999 and democratic gubernatorial candidate in 1998. "While of different political bents almost from day one, I always felt pretty good about my country's likelihood either of success—or to do less or no harm—as long as Dick was there—with Richardson, Reagan and Baker, or Bush One."

**Dick possessed a mind unlike any I had seen in decades of working with other talented individuals.
—David Rubenstein**

Rubenstein, founder of the Carlyle Group which Darman joined after leaving government and the Kennedy School, said, "I recruited Dick to join my firm fifteen years ago, and had the privilege—and honor—of



High Esteem: Richard Darman's son **William** (center) holds a plaque for the Kennedy School's new Richard G. Darman Seminar Room. Darman's sons **Emmet** (left) and **Jonathan** (second from right) joined the tribute for their father along with former Secretary of State **James Baker** (second from left) and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (right).

working closely with him. I realized that Dick possessed a mind unlike any I had seen in decades of working with other talented individuals. His ability to analyze a problem, develop a creative solution, and persuasively communicate that solution was truly the product of a unique and beautiful mind," he said.

"The Kennedy School had no better friend than Dick Darman, and no better role model for the many students he recruited, taught, or mentored," said Rubinstein, whose generous donation has made possible the Richard G. Darman Seminar Room at the school.

The site of the memorial service—Harvard's Memorial Church—was significant to Darman. It was there where he was married and where two of his sons had their Harvard welcoming service, where his father-in-law's name is inscribed, and where the memorial service was held for **Jeffrey Forbes**, a Harvard College roommate. 🌱