



HARVARD Kennedy School

BELFER CENTER

for Science and International Affairs

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BUILDING BRIDGES



WITH THE MIDDLE EAST

Center projects—led by the Middle East Initiative—develop leaders, connections, policy impact

PAGE 4

PLUS: The China Challenge • Digital Currency Wars • Securing 2020 Elections

From the Director



Josh Carter

The Belfer Center's commitment to the Middle East transcends study of a contentious part of the world. Our higher purpose is fostering real engagement with diverse populations. In a region where human connection—both between and within borders—remains wanting, the Center understands that there's no substitute for direct conversation with those who make the Middle East their home.

I was reminded of this in December, when I joined several colleagues—**Nick Burns**, **Liz Sherwood-Randall**, **Victoria Nuland**, and **Aditi Kumar**—for a Track II dialogue about



security issues in Israel. The Golan Heights was a prominent stop on our itinerary. Each time I visit, I recall a Mark Twain line: The difference between reading about and touring this area is like the difference between a lightning bug and a lightning bolt. Throughout, our scholars heard front-line perspectives, while our counterparts gained insight about strategic policy decisions.

“The Belfer Center’s special emphasis and expertise on science and technology helps distinguish our work on this region.”

The annual Track II dialogue is just one small piece of our work. The faculty chair of the Center's Middle East Initiative, **Tarek Masoud**, often leads overseas trips for students to learn about local politics, development economics, and human rights. He and his colleagues also convene world-class scholars, diplomats, and senior officials from the region to share their views on campus. Other Center projects, including the Future of Diplomacy, the Iran Working Group, Managing the Atom, Intelligence, and the Geopolitics of Energy, also make important contributions to this arena. Thanks to their efforts, our community has had the opportunity in recent months to:

- Talk with former Palestinian Prime Minister **Salam Fayyad** about governance.
- Hear from Israeli politician **Tzipi Livni** about the two-state peace process.
- Learn from the activists and artists behind the musical *We Live in Cairo*.
- Explore how a region defined by fossil fuels can transition to renewables.

The Center's emphasis and expertise on science and technology helps distinguish our research about this region. From chemical weapons to cyberattacks to climate change, our scholars are helping to shape timely policies at the intersection of science and regional security. No report better exemplified this distinction than the definitive analysis our experts produced about the Iran nuclear deal. Several of its contributors were called to testify before Congress, and both Republican and Democratic Senators praised it as the “gold standard” of research.

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We lost two very special colleagues recently. See our tributes to **Paul Volcker** and **Pat McLaughlin** on p. 14. We were also sad to learn of the passing of former Center Executive Director Brig. Gen. **John Reppert**. I got to know John when he was Director of the Onsite Inspection Agency, monitoring Russia's destruction of nuclear weapons. He was a man of great integrity who understood that service mattered more than self. We'll miss John, but we take comfort in thinking of all the young people he inspired to careers of public leadership.



STAFF SPOTLIGHT:

Julia Martin

To say that the Middle East Initiative (MEI) has shaped **Julia Martin**'s life would be an understatement. When she was a graduate student at Harvard Divinity School, Julia invited a friend to join her for an MEI film screening of *The Band's Visit*. Amr accepted. Before long, they became husband and wife, and they are now raising three children together.

Today, Julia serves as MEI's Assistant Director, managing its programs, budgets, and strategic planning. “Aside from incredibly talented colleagues, my favorite part of working at MEI is supporting the research community,” Julia says. “We foster an intellectual community and facilitate what can most aptly be described as a MENA ideas lab. Watching these brilliant minds support and engage with each other is truly captivating; hurdles and questions evolve into discussions generating new perspectives, ideas, and collaborations.”

Julia sees the impact that MEI has on students. For example, it brought former Tunisian Minister of Economic Infrastructure and Sustainable Development **Hedi Larbi** to lead a study group. He recruited student research assistants to draft a report; one was inspired to return to Tunisia after his MPA to focus on bolstering local technical and organizational capacity.

Outside the office, Julia maintains a deep love for art. She hopes to set up a mini home-studio where she can nurture this passion for her family. She also relishes opportunities to travel to the Middle East. While most of their time there is spent in Alexandria, the beautiful Mediterranean birthplace of her husband, she would love to visit Fez, Morocco. Fez is home to the University of Qarawiyyin, founded by Fatima Al-Fihri in the 9th century and recognized by many as the world's oldest university still operating to this day.

Reflecting on her own role in higher education, Julia says, “I am so privileged to support this community that is deepening our understanding of the region, and contributing to our shared repository of human knowledge.”

D3P Advances Election Security

Building Election Battle Staffs



State election officials take part in a D3P training to build their own "battle staff" operations centers.

Iowa Caucuses: Training & Learning



Iowa caucus leaders learn tips for defending against cyber and other attacks during a D3P training.

With the 2020 elections around the corner, we know that adversaries who seek to undermine democracy are preparing attacks—so states that run the elections must be ready. The Belfer Center's bipartisan Defending Digital Democracy Project (D3P) has been working with election officials across the country since 2017 to help them build defenses and better prepare for expected cyber and mis/disinformation attacks.

In December, the D3P team gathered near Washington, D.C. with 120 state and local election officials from 23 states and the District of Columbia. The team trained the officials to build their own operations centers and "battle staffs," a term derived from the military development of a headquarters team that optimizes decision-making, communication, and collaboration. This is a critical step, since in most locations across the U.S., election officials lack operations centers that can monitor data streams, track incidents, communicate across the state, and report timely information.

Through a full day of intensive training and crisis simulations, D3P provided officials with tools and concepts they can use to help preserve the integrity of future elections. This included a new D3P manual, *The Elections Battle Staff Playbook*, that gives election officials detailed guidance to build their own operations teams.

Reflecting concerns and input from officials across the United States, the *Battle Staff Playbook* offers practical guidance to address states' different election operations needs. A helpful "incident tracking tool" for officials will be released by D3P this spring along with additional programming to help them implement the Playbook's recommendations.

"Working with D3P and participating in the Battle Staff training has changed our mindset in how we're approaching incident tracking and communication during an election and on Election Day," said **Karen Brinson Bell**, Executive Director of the North Carolina State Board of Elections, who took part in the Battle Staff training. "We've taken the models and tools provided and made some initial application for our March 3 Primary. We also shared the Playbook and approach at our recent state conference through a session for our 100 counties' election offices, which we entitled 'Becoming a Battle Staff.'"

"Working with D3P and participating in the Battle Staff training has changed our mindset."

—KAREN BRINSON BELL

The Iowa Republican and Democratic parties began working with the Belfer Center's Defending Digital Democracy Project (D3P) in 2019 to learn how to better fortify their state's caucuses against cyber and information attacks.

During the spring and summer, D3P conducted an extensive cyber vulnerabilities assessment with caucus officials in both parties in Iowa to clarify their most important needs and potential issues. With that information in hand, and by looking at each party's procedures, the D3P team developed a customized training designed to tackle critical issues both party caucuses could face.

In November, the D3P team traveled to Iowa where they conducted a bipartisan training for Republicans and Democrats. A simulation exercise covered a range of topics from potential cyber and information attacks to operational threats that the parties could encounter prior to, during, or after the caucuses. Participants in the simulation fielded mock calls from reporters and caucus precincts, held press conferences, and practiced making operational changes within their teams.

On caucus night, challenges faced by each party were different. Ironically, D3P itself became the victim of mis/disinformation regarding the Iowa Democratic Party's app.

The morning following the caucuses, a massive amount of chatter on social media began claiming D3P had built the app. In fact, D3P had nothing to do with it, but the phony claim was amplified and in a short time was picked up and reported by some mainstream media. It took dozens of media interviews and a statement from D3P to clarify the facts and stop the false information.

There is no evidence that the claim was spread purposely to subvert the caucuses, D3P founder **Eric Rosenbach** said. However, he added, "it's a near perfect example of how misinformation, disinformation and a little bit of bad and irresponsible reporting turns into something that takes over parts of the Twittersphere in a way that then contributes to undermining trust in the caucuses and in democracy." (*The Washington Post*, "Cybersecurity 202," Feb. 5, 2020)

D3P plans to incorporate this experience into future trainings regarding misinformation and disinformation and how best to respond.

Middle East Initiative Develops Vital Links

The Middle East today is experiencing a profound transition—confronting political, demographic, and economic challenges and opportunities that will continue to have a tremendous impact on the region and the world.

Led by Professor **Tarek Masoud**, Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations, the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative (MEI) addresses these challenges using a multi-pronged approach. By convening the world's top academic and policy experts, fostering a community of scholars, and supporting research, MEI promotes a better understanding of the challenges and opportunities facing the region. By providing a range of opportunities for students and professionals, MEI develops and prepares the next generation of leaders to bring positive and lasting change to the area. The Initiative recruits and

awards scholarships for talented students from the Middle East and facilitates Middle East-based experiential learning, policy research, and internship opportunities for those interested in the region. MEI engages a broader audience through its public events and other creative efforts, such as its participation in last spring's world premiere of *We Live in Cairo*, a musical about the Egyptian revolution. Through these and other programs, MEI strives to promote the exchange of ideas, knowledge, and perspectives, and to realize its mission of advancing public policy in the Middle East.

Fellows and students, who are central to MEI's efforts to develop scholars and leaders, regularly credit the Initiative for having a major impact on their educational experiences and career paths. Following are a few examples.

Jamal Haidar, MEI Associate and former Research Fellow who is an

Assistant Professor of Economics at the American University in Cairo, works with many in the MEI community on international and development economics issues in the region. "MEI is making me a better researcher than I would have been otherwise," Haidar says. "It is facilitating my field work on diverse topics in the Middle East and is also helping me work more easily with the brightest minds."

MEI Research Fellow **Yuree Noh** is the lead researcher on MEI's Kuwait Public Policy Opinions Project, which is polling Kuwaiti citizens on a range of issues. Noh, who is profiled on page 12 of this newsletter, joined former MEI research fellows **Lihi Ben Shitrit**, **Hind Ahmed Zaki**, and **Lillian Frost** to convene a Middle East feminisms workshop—the first of

its kind—at Harvard Kennedy School in the spring of 2019, and she is currently coordinating the next iteration of the workshop. "I am extremely fortunate to be part of the MEI community," Noh says. "As a junior scholar, I have benefited immensely from MEI's large, diverse network

of colleagues and mentors, who not only provide intellectual stimulus but also new collaborations and close friendships."

Two Harvard Kennedy School students, **Rahaf Safi** and **Sarah Mousa**, spent this past winter term conducting research in the Middle East with travel funding they received from MEI. With this support, Safi said, "I was able to travel to Jordan to interview, in-person, actors working in Syria on the humanitarian response." Mousa, who also worked with Safi on a student-driven study group that brought together HKS students and experts to discuss social policy topics related to the Middle East and North Africa, added that "the most valuable resource was the faculty, fellows, and staff who are always generous in lending their time and expertise. MEI allows me to tailor my HKS experience to ensure that I am building the skillsets and knowledge areas that I came here to develop."



Harvard students relax on the Mediterranean following a January term course in Lebanon on how to negotiate with countries on policy issues related to Syrian refugees.

MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE

"As a junior scholar, I have benefited immensely from MEI's large, diverse network of colleagues and mentors."

—YUREE NOH



MEI's **Hind Ahmed Zaki** (center) makes a point during the feminisms workshop. Also pictured: **Yuree Noh** (left), and **Lihi Ben Shitrit** (right).

Learn more about MEI at
belfercenter.org/MEI »

Building Sustainable Relationships, Energy & Security

While the Middle East Initiative is focused entirely on the MENA region, several other Center programs are also working on issues related to the Middle East. We highlight a few of these initiatives here.



Members of the Belfer/U.S. delegation with INSS and Israeli counterparts, outside the Ben-Gurion House in Tel Aviv.

U.S.-Israel Strategic Dialogue

In December, the Belfer Center co-hosted the seventh annual U.S.-Israel Strategic Dialogue with the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Israel. Future of Diplomacy Project (FDP) Faculty Director **Nicholas Burns** and Belfer Center Director **Ash Carter** led a small United States delegation to Tel Aviv to meet with their counterparts at INSS, hosted by Executive Director Major General **Amos Yadlin**. The delegations discussed key issues facing the U.S. and Israel, and Yadlin moderated a public discussion on relationship challenges with Carter and Lt. Gen. **Gadi Eisenkot**, former Chief of General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces.

In addition to Carter and Burns, Belfer Center and other U.S. participants included Executive Director **Aditi Kumar**, Senior Fellows **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall** (former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Energy) and **Ambassador Victoria Nuland** (former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs), FDP's **Alison Hillegeist**, and *Foreign Affairs* Executive Editor **Daniel Kurtz-Phelan**.

GCC Energy Demands and Transitions

The Geopolitics of Energy Project (GEP) explores the intersection of energy, security, and international politics.

Green Ambitions, Brown Realities, a paper just completed by GEP Research Fellow **Juergen Braunstein**, focuses on Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries' ambitious restructuring plans for their carbon-driven economies, and the extent to which it makes sense for GCC states to invest aggressively in renewables.

Adnan Amin, a GEP Senior Fellow, is also exploring the advancement of renewable energy in the Middle East and the geopolitical implications of this global energy transition. (See p. 13 for more on Amin.)



Belfer Center Director **Ash Carter** (left) with INSS Executive Director **Amos Yadlin** (center) and Lt. General **Gadi Eisenkot** prior to their public discussion.

Iran and Security Concerns

In January, the Project on Managing the Atom joined with the Middle East Initiative to re-launch the Iran Working Group (IWG) with an expanded mission. The new IWG will focus not only on nuclear concerns that are once again increasing in the Middle East following the U.S. pullout from the Iran nuclear agreement, but also on a range of related issues such as the impact of the recent killing of Iran General Soleimani and increasing tensions throughout the Middle East.

Chaired by Project on Managing the Atom's **William Tobey** and **Matthew Bunn** and Middle East Initiative's **Tarek Masoud**, the Iran Working Group includes more than 20 members from different programs and disciplines throughout the Center and Harvard Kennedy School. A new IWG web page will consolidate Center-wide research and efforts related to Iran.



Belfer Center Senior Fellow **William Tobey** (left), Chairman of the Board of the World Institute for Nuclear Security (WINS), joins WINS Executive Director **Roger Howsley** (left center) and team in a meeting with IAEA Director General **Rafael Mariano Grossi** (right center) while in Vienna for the International Council on Nuclear Security 2020 in Vienna.



AP PHOTO / PENG PENG

A Chinese frigate cruises near the Paracel Islands, east of Sansha prefecture, Hainan province, September 14, 2014.

Facing the China Challenge with Policy Memos to Leadership

by Josh Tupler

Since publishing his book, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?*, three years ago, Harvard Kennedy School Professor **Graham Allison** has been searching for ways to escape the dangerous dynamic that could lead Washington and Beijing to stumble into a catastrophic conflict neither side wants. Convinced that there is no monopoly of strategic wisdom on either side of the Pacific, Allison decided to take a classroom assignment on crafting a grand strategy to meet the China challenge and open it to the public as a case competition. His office received dozens of valuable submissions from across the world.

The winner of the competition was **Robin Nataf**. Three additional entrants received honorable mentions: **Kazumi Hoshino-MacDonald**, **Patrick Kolesiak**, and **Jessica Robyn Jordan**.

"Each of their strategic options memos offers clues policymakers in Washington may find useful," said Allison.

Both Nataf and Hoshino-MacDonald's submissions included strategic options based on the concept of "rival partners." Nataf explained how the United States should "simultaneously compete and cooperate with China."

He recommended that the United States "create an Asian OSCE, launch joint initiatives (on terrorism, development, climate change), work toward new WTO norms, boost investment and restrict cooperation on strategic sectors (AI, cyber), re-launch TPP, and invest domestically on education and infrastructure."

The United States should "simultaneously compete and cooperate with China."

—Robin Nataf

Hoshino-MacDonald succinctly analyzed the challenge, stating, "since China's entry to the WTO, the U.S. policy of engagement has ostensibly failed to turn China into a 'responsible stakeholder.' China's growth (which surpassed the U.S. in 2014 in GDP PPP) is increasingly being translated into military modernization and expansion."

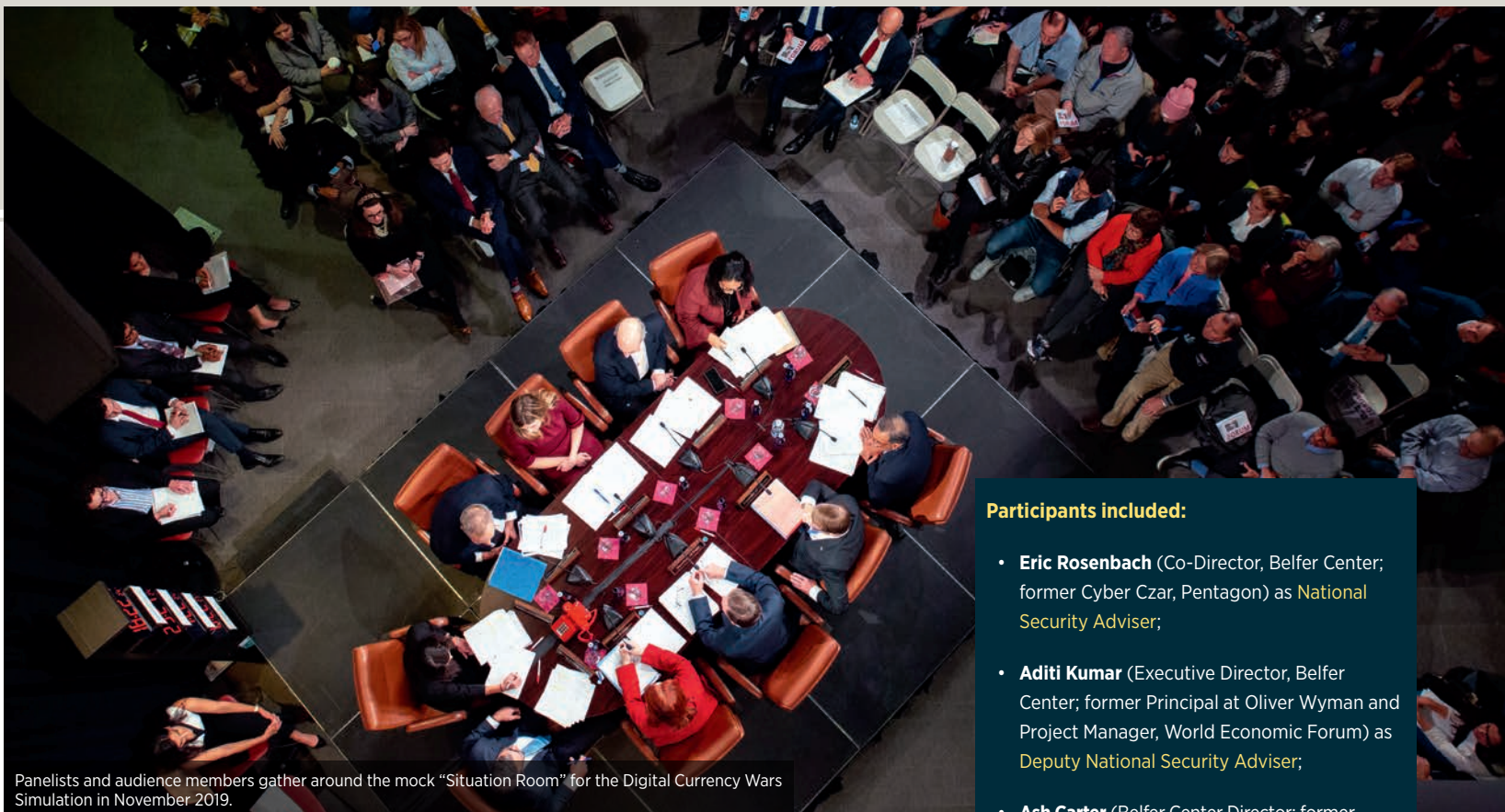
Kolesiak also recommended that the United States "coexist and compete," specifically calling

for the United States and China to "develop military protocols to deescalate military flashpoints while the U.S. still builds the ability to defeat China's A2/AD capabilities," and for the United States to work "with allies to direct investment and projects in developing nations (i.e., World Bank 2.0)."

Jordan reaffirmed the importance of basing policies on careful analysis from the intelligence community. She explained that "the most effective and efficiently realized U.S. policies regarding China will be born from a carefully managed relationship with the U.S. Intelligence Community," citing Robert Gates's advice that "policymakers ought not to 'dictate the line of march' they anticipate analysts to take."

The Belfer Center is grateful for all the submissions and congratulates the winners for their thoughtful entries.

To read the winning submissions, visit belfercenter.org/ChinaChallenge »



Panelists and audience members gather around the mock "Situation Room" for the Digital Currency Wars Simulation in November 2019.

Digital Currency Wars Simulation Tests New Economic Challenges

The scenario was based on real and rapid developments in digital currency technology.

Digital currencies are on the rise. More than a decade after bitcoin made cryptocurrency mainstream, countries and central banks are evaluating whether to issue their own digital cash. The Belfer Center's Economic Diplomacy Initiative (EDI) is exploring how policymakers should manage economic policy and the national security implications of this disruptive trend.

To illustrate the challenges posed by digital currency, EDI conducted a national security crisis simulation in Harvard Kennedy School's JFK Jr. Forum. The simulation featured Harvard and MIT faculty and former government officials portraying National Security Council (NSC) members.

Meeting in the "White House Situation Room," the participants debated how to respond to a North Korea missile test that demonstrated significant advancements in the country's

nuclear program. Those nuclear capabilities were funded using a Chinese digital currency, which U.S. authorities could not track.

While the scenario was fictionalized, it was based on the real and rapid developments in digital currency technology, led by China's efforts to launch a digital yuan and Facebook's proposed Libra coin.

The simulation facilitated a policy discussion on the potential role of digital currencies in the global economy and implications for U.S. national security. It showed how initiatives to develop alternative monetary systems affect the ability of the U.S. to implement sanctions, monitor illicit activities, and uphold data privacy standards.

Watch the simulation and read the recap at belfercenter.org/DCWrecap »

Participants included:

- **Eric Rosenbach** (Co-Director, Belfer Center; former Cyber Czar, Pentagon) as **National Security Adviser**;
- **Aditi Kumar** (Executive Director, Belfer Center; former Principal at Oliver Wyman and Project Manager, World Economic Forum) as **Deputy National Security Adviser**;
- **Ash Carter** (Belfer Center Director; former Secretary of Defense) as **Secretary of Defense**;
- **Nicholas Burns** (Founder of the Center's Future of Diplomacy Project; former Ambassador and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs) as **Secretary of State**;
- **Lawrence Summers** (Charles W. Eliot University Professor and President Emeritus of Harvard; former Secretary of the Treasury) as **Secretary of the Treasury**;
- **Meghan O'Sullivan** (Director of the Geopolitics of Energy Project; former Special Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan) as **Vice President**;
- **Jennifer Fowler** (Director, Brunswick Group, D.C.; former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Terrorist Financing and Financial Crimes in the Department of Treasury) as **Director of National Intelligence**;
- **Richard Verma** (Vice Chairman and Partner, Asia Group; former Ambassador and Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs) as **Ambassador to China**;
- **Gary Gensler** (Professor of Practice of Global Economics and Management, MIT School of Management; former Chairman of the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission) as **Assistant to the President for Economic Policy**;
- **Neha Narula** (Director of the Digital Currency Initiative, MIT Media Lab; former Senior Software Engineer, Google) as **Assistant to the President for Digital Currencies**.



Q&A: Amy Austin Holmes

Amy Austin Holmes is the Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar with the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative. An Associate Professor of Sociology at the American University in Cairo, she has lived and taught in the Middle East since 2008. She conducts extensive fieldwork on interdisciplinary issues related to Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Turkey, Tunisia, Bahrain, and Germany, and is an expert on minority groups such as Kurds, Syriac-Assyrian Christians, and Nubians. A former Fulbright Scholar, she is the author of the 2019 book *Coups and Revolutions: Mass Mobilization, the Egyptian Military, and the United States from Mubarak to Sisi*. Holmes publishes extensively and provides expert briefings to Congress and the House of Lords.

Q Between 2015 and 2019, you spent significant time in all six provinces of Northeast Syria, researching and conducting the first-ever field survey of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF). What did you learn?

My original survey data allowed me to show that the way everyone was describing the SDF was wrong. It's not a "Kurdish force" but a multi-ethnic and multi-religious force in which Arabs are now in the majority, and it includes the Syriac-Assyrian, Yezidi, and Turkmen minority as well. That's why it's also misleading to talk about the "Rojava Revolution," because it's expanded beyond the Kurdish regions to encompass one-third of Syria. Both Obama and Trump made counter-ISIS our primary objective in Syria. That meant everything else happening beyond the frontlines received less attention—including the creation of a decentralized form of self-rule that operates with autonomy from Damascus. The SDF is part of this experiment; it's not just a military force but also a window through which to understand the political project.

Q While you were in Syria last year, you produced 40 short videos that you posted on Twitter. Why did you choose to produce these?

I spent years working on a documentary film about U.S. overseas bases that grew out of my first book. But in Syria, I wanted to make short videos that I could post immediately. Back in 2015, many people were inspired by the YPG/YPJ when they liberated Kobane from ISIS. But after Trump's phone call with Erdogan in October, the U.S. along with the other 81 members of the Global Coalition abandoned those very same people. The SDF—and vulnerable Christian and Yezidi minorities they protect—are left to fend for themselves. They are expected to feed and house foreign ISIS detainees indefinitely with little outside support and zero political recognition. These are issues that impact at least all 82



Amy Austin Holmes with Syrian Democratic Forces members of the Syriac-Assyrian-Armenian minority, who are organized in the Syriac Military Council. The photo was taken while Holmes was conducting a survey of SDF members in a Christian village along the Syria-Turkey border—a region Turkey has repeatedly threatened to occupy.

“I came up with the notion of a ‘coup from below’ so that if there is ever a ... confluence of bottom-up protests and top-down intervention, we have a way of describing it.”

countries in the Coalition, so more than just a small academic audience.

Q In your new book, *Coups and Revolutions*, you develop the notion of a “coup from below” to explain the overthrow of former President Morsi in Egypt. What do you mean by that?

When Morsi was ousted in July 2013, the Obama administration decided not to publicly declare whether it was a coup. In part, this was because it didn't look like other military coups: civilians were in some ways the protagonists. But it was still a coup—which means we should have immediately suspended U.S. military aid to Egypt, as required by U.S. law. But we didn't do that. This was a mistake. If we had immediately suspended aid and condemned the coup, perhaps the Rabaa massacre could have been prevented. So I came up with this notion of a “coup from below” so that if there is ever a similar confluence of bottom-up protests and top-down

intervention, we have a way of describing it and could still recognize it as a coup. I further argue that the nature of the coup determined the nature of the crackdown that followed: because civilians were the source of instability, they were the first targets. This resulted in a return to the military-backed regime and ultimately, the triumph (until now) of the counterrevolution. I contrast the period from 2011–2018 with the “revolution from above,” carried out by Nasser and the Free Officers after 1952.

Q What made you decide to focus your studies and your career on the Middle East?

When I first saw a map of the global network of U.S. military bases, I asked myself why we never learned about this in school. That's what triggered my interest in the Middle East. Then the wave of mass protests across the region beginning in 2010—incorrectly referred to as the Arab Spring—is what kept me there.

SPOTLIGHT: Tarek Masoud

Tarek Masoud is a Professor of Public Policy and the Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations at Harvard Kennedy School. His research focuses on the political development in Arabic-speaking and Muslim-majority countries. He is the author of *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt*, the co-author of *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*, as well as several articles and book chapters. A former Carnegie Scholar, he is a trustee of the American University in Cairo, a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Democracy*.

by Josh Burek



When Tarek Masoud's family relocated from Michigan to Saudi Arabia in the mid-1980s, his parents told their children it was for their own good—and that the move was permanent. Masoud's parents were determined to raise their family in a devout environment free of the West's cultural decadence. But their thinking changed after the Persian Gulf War. "My parents realized that the social ills they tried to flee were everywhere," he recalls, and they insisted on first-rate schools. Soon thereafter, Masoud and his older brother were back in America, enrolled at Phillips Exeter Academy. It's fair to say the five sons took their studies seriously: four of them go by "Dr. Masoud" now.

Today, Masoud brings his personal experience in both the Midwest and the Middle East to help the Belfer Center and broader Harvard community build bridges across distance and difference. In his classes at Harvard Kennedy School, Masoud works hard to help students question their assumptions and correct misconceptions.

"Many students think that everyone in the Middle East is an Arab, a Muslim, oil rich, and oppressed by dictators," Masoud says. "Of course, that is not true. One thing I try to do in my teaching is awaken students to the tremendous diversity of the Middle East in religion, economics, and politics."

Another preconception students hold is that the region is in an almost perpetual state of decline. This is understandable, Masoud says, since the overwhelming majority of headlines about the Middle East in Western media are about conflict. Thinking of the region only in terms of oil and terrorism, Masoud says, is a profound mistake. "The Middle East is very complex, but it has pockets of innovation and progress." And there are important structural changes taking place. "Leaders in the region are learning how important it is to increase their government's capacity to deliver services that actually improve citizens' welfare."

"It becomes a lot harder for students to be hopeless about the Middle East when they've been there."

The most positive trend in recent years, Masoud says, is the rise of movements—some from above and some from below—all geared toward improving the state of the Arab world. The Middle East has long faced problems such as political accountability, he says, but now the region is beginning to face up to them.



Tarek Masoud meets with the Minister of Culture and Knowledge Development for the United Arab Emirates, H.E. Noura al-Kaabi.

Masoud is also helping Harvard students come face-to-face with the region through a field course called "Leadership and Social Transformation in the Arab World." It's intended to help students get a first-hand perspective on efforts Arab countries are making to break out of the grim dynamics that have held them back for a half century. "It becomes a lot harder for students to be hopeless about the Middle East when they've been there," Masoud says. When students break out of the caricatures—9/11, Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden—and meet real people trying to make change, they come away with energy and optimism about the region. They begin to see that the Arab World is a contributor to solving humanity's common problems.

"[MEI] is a bridge. My goal is to make it into a superhighway."

On weekends, Masoud often takes his teenage boys to Celtics games, plays folk songs on his guitar, or does odd jobs around the 120-year old house he owns with his wife, Kristin. But the majority of his time is dedicated to growing the Middle East Initiative. "This is one of the most important ways in which HKS and Harvard engages with the contemporary Middle East," he says. "It's a bridge. My goal is to make it into a superhighway."



Tarek Masoud (right) takes questions from the audience during an MEI event with brothers Daniel and Patrick Lazour, the writers and composers of the musical *We Live in Cairo*, for which Masoud was a project consultant.

Belfer Center in Action



TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY: Madame **Florence Parly**, Minister of the Armed Forces of France, speaks on the importance of the U.S.-France relationship during a Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship event moderated by Professor **Nicholas Burns**, Faculty Director of the Europe Project.



MICHAEL DESTEFANO

DIFFICULT DECISIONS: Belfer Center Co-Director **Eric Rosenbach** listens as former FBI Director **James Comey** discusses his career and the controversial decisions he had to make during the 2016 presidential election campaign. Rosenbach moderated the JFK Jr. Forum event “Conversation with James Comey” that was co-sponsored by the Belfer Center.



VOICES OF EXPERIENCE: **Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall** (right), former Deputy Secretary of Energy, and **Juliette Kayyem**, Director of the Homeland Security Project, discuss challenges at the nexus of energy and homeland security during a seminar held in conjunction with the Kennedy School’s Women in Defense, Diplomacy, and Development (W3D) student group.



USIC 101: Harvard Kennedy School mid-career student **Jeff Fields** (left), a Special Agent with the FBI who leads an inter-agency cyber network, comments on Intelligence Community challenges during an Intelligence Project panel discussion that included **Clarence Jones** (right), a Recanati-Kaplan Fellow who is a Senior Operations Officer with the National Intelligence Agency.



U.S. CONGRESS

GOVERNING EMERGING TECH: **Laura Manley**, Director of the Belfer Center’s Technology and Public Purpose Project, testifies before the U.S. House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology about “Congress’s Role in Governing Emerging Technologies.” The hearing was titled, *Experts Needed: Options for Improved Science and Technology Advice for Congress*.



FULL SERVICE: U.S. Representative **Elissa Slotkin** (MI), speaks to students about her career in national service. She has served in the CIA, the Pentagon, the White House, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence—and now Congress. Until January 2017, she was Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.



INFORMED EXCHANGE: **Eric Schmidt** (left), Chair of the Defense Innovation Board and former CEO of Google, talks with **Gen. Joseph Dunford** (ret.), former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and now a Belfer Center Senior Fellow, during the kickoff of a Harvard working group that is focusing on managing the U.S.-China rivalry.



DIPLOMACY PAID FORWARD: Former Secretary of State **John Kerry** (right) meets with Harvard students during a day of interviews and discussions with the American Secretaries of State Project led by Harvard Kennedy School's **Nicholas Burns** (pictured), Harvard Law School's **Robert Mnookin**, and Harvard Business School's **James Sebenius**.



UKRAINE DISARMED: **Mary Sarotte**, Professor of Historical Studies at John's Hopkins University, moderates a discussion on Ukraine's nuclear disarmament with a panel that included **James Timbie** (center), Distinguished Fellow with the Hoover Institution, and **Steven Pifer**, Senior Fellow with the Center for International Security and Cooperation.



VITAL ALLIANCES: **Philippe Étienne** (left), Ambassador of France to the United States, joins Belfer Center Director **Ash Carter** in a discussion with students and faculty about the Atlantic Alliance and the need for strong international relationships. Étienne, who has served around the world, is an expert on the EU and continental Europe.



SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: **Anne M. Finucane**, Bank of America's Vice Chairman, discusses her work with Harvard Kennedy School students. Earlier in the day, she spoke at a seminar on "Tackling Social Challenges Through Private Sector Leadership." She heads BoA's environmental, social and governance, sustainable finance, capital deployment, and public policy efforts.



RIVAL PARTNERS: *New York Times* Beijing Bureau Chief and Shorenstein Center Fellow **Jane Perlez** makes a point to Former Australian Prime Minister **Kevin Rudd**, a Belfer Center Senior Fellow, during a JFK Jr. Forum on the future of the U.S.-China strategic competition and world order. **Graham Allison** moderated the discussion.

MARTHA STEWART

Featured Fellows and Students



Jamaji C. Nwanaji-Enwerem

Relating Healthcare Practices to Public Policy

by Brilee Carey

When he was in middle school, Jamaji Nwanaji-Enwerem knew he wanted a career in medicine. He had a deep love for science, and even then wanted to find ways to combine science and human health. Family ties took him to Nigeria, where he saw severe healthcare disparities that would have a lasting impact on him.

With a Bachelor in Biology from Morehouse University, Nwanji-Enwerem went on to Harvard Medical School, taking a position at the Baccarelli lab to continue researching molecular biology in the new contexts of environmental factors and epidemiology.

Two years later, he took a break from his medical studies and began work toward a PhD in Biological Sciences. His dissertation idea was born from his lab work: how does long-term fine particle exposure affect the aging process? His goal was to find changes in DNA, or markers, that indicated early exposure to dangerous particles.

Hopefully, he said, these will be “markers that move us toward prevention rather than just letting us know when someone is exposed and...already sick.” With the question of how to turn research into policy fresh on his mind, he returned to Harvard Medical School, but still wanted to learn more.

“When you’re in the room speaking with someone one-on-one you’re very locked in, but you hope those...experiences can be used or transformed in ways that advise or inform a broader public,” said Nwanaji-Enwerem. Keeping this in mind, he began working toward a Master of Public Policy degree at Harvard Kennedy School—where he is also a Belfer International and Global Affairs Student Fellow.

“A lot of issues in medicine and in science have a public policy element that...I don’t think scientists or physicians always consider,” said Nwanaji-Enwerem. “I didn’t want to miss that gap.” He wants to see a world where people receive the comprehensive healthcare that they deserve.

“Health equity is a big thing,” he said, “and I think policy is one way that we can do that better.”

“Health equity is a big thing, and I think policy is one way that we can do that better.”



Yuree Noh

Bridging People’s Welfare in Government and Society

by Emily Cristobal

Yuree Noh moved to the United States from Seoul, Korea to further her education. Her plan was to then return to Korea to become a policy-maker who would build bridges between Korea and the Middle East.

Noh’s interest in the Middle East came from her longtime fascination with the Arabic language and with pyramids. This interest led her to spend a semester abroad at American University in Cairo during her undergraduate years at Washington University.

Today, in the U.S. as a Research Fellow with the Middle East Initiative, Noh co-leads the Kuwait Public Policy Opinion Project with Professor **Tarek Masoud**. They have given it the acronym K-PPOP, which she finds comical because she is Korean. Through surveys, Noh and Masoud gather opinions of Kuwaitis on a range of issues. Their first wave of surveys asked what would induce them to support taxes and in what situations they would give up their online privacy.

“This research is relevant not just for authoritarian countries in the Gulf, but also for countries like the U.S. currently having this debate,” she says. “We are hoping to make a contribution both theoretically and empirically by gathering data not available anywhere else.”

In addition to the Kuwait project, Noh is researching election practices in non-democracies and the use of gender quotas. She is also writing a book that examines international reputation and domestic social cohesion as two factors affecting the levels of election rigging.

Noh is grateful to be in an environment where she can engage in active research. “Cambridge is the best place in the world to do that,” she says, “especially because Middle East political science is such a niche area.”

When asked about her future, Noh says that she can see herself doing policymaking in Korea. She acknowledges, however, that she is very content with where she is at the moment.

Through surveys, Noh and Masoud gather opinions of Kuwaitis on a range of issues.



Welcome to New Senior Fellows

Adnan Amin

Geopolitics of Energy Project

The Geopolitics of Energy project is pleased to welcome Adnan Amin as a Senior Fellow this year.

Following a distinguished career at the United Nations, which included leading reform for system-wide coherence and heading the UN System Chief Executives Board Secretariat in New York, Amin was elected the first Director General of the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA). He served in that position for eight years.

IRENA is the first universal treaty-based multilateral organization. Headquartered in Abu Dhabi, the organization participates regularly in the work of institutions such as the G7, G20 and the United Nations. As the first Director General, Amin led the development of this new institution to support the international community in the transition to a sustainable energy future. He turned the agency into a leading player in the global energy transition based on its cutting edge analytical, technical, and advisory services to member countries.

"We're very fortunate to have Adnan join us at the Belfer Center," said Geopolitics of Energy Director **Meghan O'Sullivan**. "His insights from serving at the forefront of international efforts to advance renewable energy will be invaluable for our students, faculty, and fellows," she said, "as will his analysis of the geopolitical implications of the global energy transition."

Marcie Ries

Future of Diplomacy Project

Ambassador Marcie Ries, a career diplomat with nearly four decades of experience in the U.S. Foreign Service, served in Europe, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. She is a three-time Chief of Mission, serving as Head of the U.S. Office in Kosovo, U.S. Ambassador to Albania, and as U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria. Ries has extensive experience on UN, European, and security matters and was a senior member of the team that negotiated the 2011 New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) with the Russian Federation.

Ambassador Ries's experience also includes service as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs and as Minister-Counselor for Political-Military Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad during the 2007-08 "surge." Earlier, she served as Director of the State Department's Office of UN Political Affairs for the two years following the 9/11 attack. She currently serves as a senior mentor for U.S. ambassadors at the Foreign Service Institute.

"We are honored to have Ambassador Marcie Ries join the Future of Diplomacy Project," said **Nicholas Burns**, the Project faculty chair. "She brings years of experience in the U.S. Foreign Service and insights into diplomacy and its role in national security, and will be a tremendous resource for students, faculty, and fellows at the School." Ries will also play an executive role, Burns said, in developing a new important Kennedy School initiative: *The American Diplomacy Project: A Foreign Service for the 21st Century*.

Susan Gordon

Intelligence Project

Susan M. (Sue) Gordon was Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence until August 2019. A longtime member of the Intelligence Community, she has nearly three decades of intelligence experience. As PDDNI, she managed the Office of the Director of National Intelligence and focused on advancing intelligence integration across the Intelligence Community. Earlier, she was Deputy Director of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA) where she drove NGA's transformation to meet the challenges of a 21st century intelligence agency.

Gordon has worked in a variety of leadership roles spanning numerous intelligence organizations and disciplines. Prior to her assignment with NGA, she served for 27 years at the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), rising to senior executive positions in each of the Agency's four directorates: operations, analysis, science and technology, and support.

"It is an honor to have Sue Gordon join the Intelligence Project and the Belfer Center as a Senior Fellow," said **Paul Kolbe**, Director of the Intelligence Project. "Sue's expertise across all intelligence disciplines, and her particular focus on preparing the intelligence community to meet the demands of the 21st century digital environment, will be extremely valuable for our fellows and all of us at the Kennedy School. At the Belfer Center, she will apply her vision and energy to the critical transformations needed to meet new intelligence and national security challenges."

In Memoriam



Patricia McLaughlin

Patricia (Pat) McLaughlin, our beloved colleague and friend at the Center since 2001, passed away in February after a brief illness. Hired as Faculty Assistant to **John Holdren**, Co-Director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP) nearly 20 years ago, she continued to work with STPP and with John until her illness.

When John relocated to Washington, D.C. in 2009 to serve as President Obama's Science Advisor, Pat joined him for a year as his assistant in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy where she was as highly regarded and well liked as she was at the Center. Pat was, John said, "whip smart, computer savvy, deeply knowledgeable about and committed to public issues and environmental causes, with a great sense of humor and superb people skills. I will miss her terribly, as will all who knew and worked with her," he said.

Pat was named a *Harvard Hero* in 2008, a prestigious honor for "outstanding employees" at Harvard University. At the Belfer Center, she received the Peggy Scannell Award for Excellence, for her "outstanding contributions to the Center and to the environment in which we work." Around Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) and the Belfer Center, she was a delightful colleague much-loved by her fellow staff members, faculty, and others at the Kennedy School, and by the research fellows from around the world whom she mentored, befriended, and helped in many ways.

Since Pat's loss became known, those who knew her at Harvard and beyond have shared their stories of her special meaning to them. **Kaveri Iychettira**, one of the research fellows with whom Pat worked, expressed the feelings of many: "There was never a time when I left a meeting with her without a smile on my face—her warmth and kindness were pure sunshine to me." We all miss Pat greatly.

See more tributes to Patricia McLaughlin at
belfercenter.org/Pat »



Paul Volcker

Paul A. Volcker, an International Council member and longtime friend of the Belfer Center, passed away on December 8, 2019. He was 92 years old.

A giant of a man both physically and in his contributions to society, he helped shape the American economy under five different presidents.

Known for his independence and doing what was right for the economy despite political and popular pressures, Volcker is best known for ending a long period of high inflation after President Carter chose him as Fed chairman in 1979. In addition to fighting inflation, he worked during the 70s and 80s to limit the easing of financial regulations, noting that the rapidly increasing federal debt was a danger to the country's financial health.

From 2009-11, Volcker worked under President Obama as Chairman of the Economic Recovery Board that was formed in response to the 2008 financial crisis. In that role, he convinced policymakers to impose new restrictions on big banks—a move known as the "Volcker Rule."

One of Volcker's lesser known achievements was his success in helping families of Holocaust victims reclaim deposits that Swiss banks had failed to return. He also investigated corruption within the UN's Oil for Food program, prompting the President of the World Bank to ask him to lead a review of the Bank's anti-corruption program, which led to substantial reforms in World Bank procedures.

Belfer Center Director **Ash Carter** remembers Paul Volcker as a good man dedicated to his work. "Over a life spanning ten decades," Carter said, "Paul showed the rest of us that doing the right thing—and sticking with it in the face of resistance—can build a better world as nothing else can." Former Center Director **Graham Allison**, a friend of Volcker who also worked with him on the Center's International Council, called him "the very model of a modern public servant."

"Paul showed the rest of us that doing the right thing—and sticking with it in the face of resistance—can build a better world as nothing else can."

Brexit: What Now?

On January 31, the long-awaited or long-feared Brexit took place: The United Kingdom left the European Union. What does Brexit mean to the UK, EU, and the rest of the world? Brexit experts from the Belfer Center's Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship and Future of Diplomacy Project shared their thoughts on this major event. Read their remarks below.

Douglas Alexander, Senior Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Project; Visiting Professor, King's College, London; former UK Shadow Foreign Secretary:

"The EU without the UK will be smaller, poorer, and less influential on the international stage. The UK without the EU will soon discover the reality and the constraints of being a medium-sized power in a world increasingly shaped by rising regional powers."

Nicholas Burns, Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relations; Faculty Chair, Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship; former U.S. Ambassador to NATO:

"Brexit is a strategic mistake by Britain. The task now, however, is for the British people to implement it in such a way that does the least damage and that provides for an eventual rebirth of this still vital democratic country."

Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook, Executive Director, Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship; former Legislative Advisor, European Parliament and UK House of Commons:

"Despite its chagrin at Brexit, continental Europe needs the UK to succeed. In defense, in intelligence, for connected responses to the transnational challenges of the 21st century, the UK and its decisions going forward will matter enormously to its European neighbors. Even as it negotiates hard over the next eleven months, Brussels will be an odd ally in wanting the UK to hang together and prosper."

Lord Peter Ricketts, former Fisher Family Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Project; Life Peer, House of Lords, United Kingdom; former UK National Security Adviser 2010–2012:

"The EU must learn to live with an ex-member which is also the largest military power in the neighborhood. Success would be pragmatic alignment on defense and security, as is already happening on foreign policy. Failure would be rhetoric about strategic autonomy masking disagreement about the EU's global ambitions."

Amanda Sloat, Fellow, Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship; Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Brookings Institution:

"Externally, the UK must establish a new role within Europe and address changing dynamics in the transatlantic alliance. As London embarks on trade talks with Brussels and Washington, it will struggle to secure comprehensive deals with both partners and will need to choose between their regulatory models."

See more comments and reactions at
belfercenter.org/BrexitReactions »

Highlights compiled by *International Security* staff

Counterterrorism and Preventive Repression: China's Changing Strategy in Xinjiang

Sheena Chestnut Greitens, Myunghee Lee, and Emir Yazici

The Chinese Communist Party changed its internal security strategy in Xinjiang in early 2017 because of Beijing's changing perception of Uyghur involvement in transnational Islamic militancy abroad, which heightened perceived domestic vulnerability to terrorism.

Conceal or Reveal? Managing Clandestine Military Capabilities in Peacetime Competition

Brendan Rittenhouse Green and Austin Long

States are more likely to reveal secret military capabilities during peacetime competition when the effects of the asset in question can be substituted with another military advantage and when the adversary is not equipped with countermeasures.

Deterring Wartime Atrocities: Hard Lessons from the Yugoslav Tribunal

Jacqueline R. McAllister

International criminal tribunals are more likely to deter violence against civilians when they have prosecutorial support and when combatant groups are both centralized and supported by liberal constituencies.

Who Killed Détente? The Superpowers and the Cold War in the Middle East, 1969–77

Galen Jackson

In the Middle East, the demise of détente in the 1970s between the United States and Soviet Union can be attributed to U.S. actions, contrary to the conventional wisdom that the Soviet Union was responsible.

Presidents, Politics, and Military Strategy: Electoral Constraints during the Iraq War

Andrew Payne

Presidents will alter the timing and nature of military strategy in light of electoral constraints, delaying or weakening controversial courses of action.

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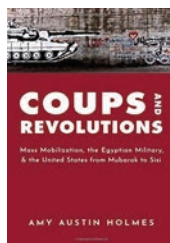
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Hot off the Presses

Coups and Revolutions: Mass Mobilization, the Egyptian Military, and the United States from Mubarak to Sisi

By **Amy Austin Holmes**, Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar,
Middle East Initiative
Oxford University Press (Sept. 2019)

In 2011, Egypt witnessed more protests than any other country in the world. Counter to the received narrative, Amy Austin Holmes argues that the ousting of Mubarak in 2011 did not represent the culmination of a revolution or the beginning of a transition period, but rather the beginning of a revolutionary process that would unfold in three waves, followed by two waves of counterrevolution. This book offers the first analysis of both the revolution and counterrevolution in Egypt from January 2011 until June 2018.



"...an empirically rich book on the Egyptian revolutionary uprising of 2011 and its aftermath.... Holmes offers a novel and provocative idea for comprehending the ouster of Mohamed Morsi: a coup from below."

—**Ellis Goldberg**, Professor Emeritus,
University of Washington

The Struggle for Power: U.S.-China Relations in the 21st Century

Foreword by **Joseph S. Nye**, Distinguished Service Professor, and Condoleezza Rice.

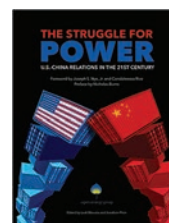
Preface by **Nicholas Burns**, Goodman Family Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relation.

Chapters by **Graham Allison**, **Kurt Campbell**, **Joseph S. Nye**, and **David E. Sanger**.

Edited by Leah Bitounis and Jonathon Price.

Aspen Institute (Jan. 2020)

The Struggle for Power: U.S.-China Relations in the 21st Century brings together preeminent experts to explore how to compete effectively with the military and technological rise of China and how to engage U.S. allies amidst this great-power rivalry. The book features essays commissioned for the 2019 Aspen Strategy Group Summer Workshop, a nonpartisan meeting of senior national security professionals, China experts, journalists, academics, and private sector leaders. This volume offers a broad range of proposals for the United States to adapt and respond to China's rapid ascent to global power.

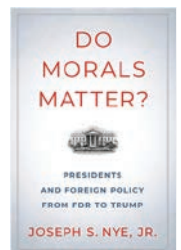


Do Morals Matter?

Presidents and Foreign Policy from
FDR to Trump

By **Joseph S. Nye**, Distinguished Service Professor
Oxford University Press (Jan. 2020)

In *Do Morals Matter?*, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., one of the world's leading scholars of international relations, provides a concise yet penetrating analysis of the role of ethics in U.S. foreign policy during the American era after 1945. Nye works through each presidency from FDR to Trump and scores their foreign policy on three ethical dimensions of their intentions, the means they used, and the consequences of their decisions.



"From the doyen of U.S. foreign policy thinkers, a powerful warning against domestic populist politics, which not only narrow our moral vision but defeat U.S. purposes around the world."

—**O.A. Westad**, Yale University