



Confronting Complex Cybersecurity Challenges

Harvard-MIT Team Explores Threats, Opportunities for Fast-Evolving Cyberworld

Even the name of the threat, “zero-day malware,” is eerily ominous, hinting at the cyber equivalent of a disease without a cure.

That is just one example of the Internet perils that researchers from Harvard Kennedy School’s Belfer Center and colleagues from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are jointly confronting as they imagine global ground rules for the fast-evolving cyberworld.

For the past four years, faculty and fellows from the neighboring institutions have partnered in a project called “Explorations in Cyber International Relations.” The ECIR project’s brief is “to explore alternative cyber developments, assess challenges and threats, and identify possibilities and opportunities in cyberspace for security and well-being.”

The co-principal investigators are Harvard Professor **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti**, director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, and MIT Political Science Professor **Nazli Choucri**, associate director of MIT’s Technology and Development Program.

Perhaps it’s a measure of the cross-cutting nature of the project that MIT, the nation’s leading technical institute, deployed a political scientist to coordinate the effort, while Harvard brought a physicist who founded the university’s School of Engineering and Applied Sciences.

MIT is the lead partner in the cyber project, which is funded by the Pentagon’s “Project Minerva,” a brainchild of former Defense Secretary **Robert Gates**, who sought to put the nation’s top academics to work thinking about the toughest strategic challenges of the 21st century.

**“Code can be a weapon
just like a bomb.”**

—**Venky Narayanamurti**

The \$10 million, five-year grant runs through early 2014, and Choucri and Narayanamurti are both determined to generate additional funding to extend the project’s reach well beyond then. There’s no shortage of cyber policy puzzles to solve.

Cyber Activity: Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Cyber Policy **Eric Rosenbach**, former executive director of the Belfer Center, discusses cyber challenges at a joint Harvard-MIT cyber security conference. Participants included (left to right): the Belfer Center’s **Zachary Tumin**, **Joseph S. Nye**, **Rosenbach**, **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti**, and MIT’s **Herbert Lin**.



Narayanamurti said the ECIR project is working to understand the crossroads of cyber issues in international relations, from governance to legal questions to privacy matters and security threats. The threats can range from cyberespionage of corporate as well as government secrets to cyber attacks aimed at damaging property—or worse.

The Belfer Center’s decades-old International Security Program has long focused on physical threats, Narayanamurti noted, “but code can be equally damaging—code can be a weapon just like a bomb.”

One of those threats being studied by fellows in the project is zero-day malware, so named because the computer code being used in a bug

(See more on Cyber, p. 4.)

North Korea: What’s Next for the Region?

As threats from North Korea intensified this spring, Korean Peninsula experts from the Belfer Center provided insight and analysis. A sampling:

In early April, **Nicholas Burns**, longtime diplomat and director of the Belfer Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project, presented his perspective on North Korean behavior in a PolicyCast for Harvard Kennedy School.

“It’s a bizarre, insular regime, but it’s not irrational,” Burns said. “They respond

to power. . . . [and] the country that holds the greatest measure of power in the Korean

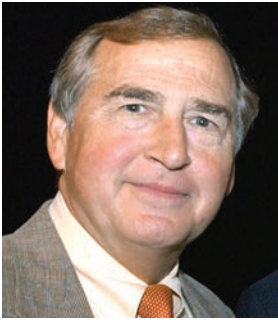
(See more on North Korea, p. 4.)



Korean Concerns: **Chung Moon Joon** (center), member of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea, speaks on “North Korea’s Nuclear Weapons: Perceptions, Reality, and Options” at a Belfer Center Director’s Lunch.

See Inside. . .

Afghan Conference Looks to the Future	3
Saudi Role in Arab Awakening	3
Research Paves Way for Energy Innovation	5
Q&A with Juliette Kayyem on Marathon Bombings	6
Spotlight on Laura Diaz Anadon	7
Iraq: 10 Years Later	12
Center’s New Orleans Effort Helping Chile Recover	13
Elbe Group Keeps U.S.-Russia Communication Open	15



FROM THE DIRECTOR

Graham Allison

The Boston Marathon is at the heart of a day rich in meaning for the Boston community: it is the oldest race of its kind in America; it occurs on Patriots Day, recalling the roots of our nation; it coincides with a Red Sox Day game; and the city celebrates the end of winter as hundreds of thousands support the runners along the route.

The marathon terror attack of April 15 cut into our community at its most vulnerable. That made the suffering of the victims even more intolerable for all Americans. And this was no doubt the intention of the attackers.

For decades, the Belfer Center has developed policy ideas to help prevent such terrorism, and, when it does occur, to mitigate its destructive impact. The Center's impact was evident in the week following the attack; our **Juliette Kayyem** was one of the leading national analysts interpreting what happened and why. (See Q&A, page 6.)

Kayyem has been part of the Kennedy School and the Belfer Center since 2001, as a lecturer and then as executive director of the Belfer Center. With colleagues **Richard Falkenrath** and **Dutch Leonard**, she led a project on how to prepare for terrorist attacks.

On the day of the marathon bombings, Kayyem was cited as one of three Pulitzer Prize finalists for commentary for her columns on national security for the *Boston Globe*. That national recognition underscores the quality of thinkers produced by the Belfer Center on these security issues.

The day after the suspects were identified, Belfer Fellow **Simon Saradzhyan** crafted an op-ed for the *Boston Globe* that explained the context of the North Caucasus insurgency. Drawing on his 15 years in Moscow analyzing these complex issues, Saradzhyan gave readers prescient insights.

Finishing the Race:

Boston Marathon runners, many of whom were unable to cross the finish line on April 15 because of the bombings, were welcomed by scores of volunteers the following day as they returned for their belongings. They were surprised with cheers and their medals



as they stepped over a symbolic "finish line." Among the volunteers was **Andrew Facini** (at left), the Belfer Center's communications assistant.

The Center has long studied risks of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons that can cause mass destruction. **Gary Samore**, new executive director for research, carries on this legacy: he served as President Obama's director for WMD counterterrorism for four years.

The Center's U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism further strengthens our reach, led by Senior Fellow **Will Tobey**. Former Executive Director for Research **Kevin Ryan**, now leading a new defense and intelligence project, has spearheaded the Elbe Group of retired senior Russian and American officials who seek ways to reduce the threat of nuclear terrorism.

In these ways and more, from local to national to global levels, the Center remains determined to combat terrorism in all its devastating forms. As the dramatic events unfolded in Boston, I was proud not only of the resilient response of our city, but also of the support the Belfer Center community was able to offer. 🌐

International Council Members Debate Critical Issues

The Belfer Center launched its annual International Council meeting on April 9 with an animated discussion of "America's Energy Revolutions," led by MIT professor and Council member **John Deutch** and the Center's **Leonardo Maugeri**, Roy Family Fellow with the Geopolitics of Energy Project and author of "Oil: The Next Revolution." Maugeri's study and Deutch's op-ed, "The U.S. Natural-Gas Boom Will Transform the World," elicited comments and questions from the international members taking part.

Council members also shared views and insights in discussions focused on several questions:

Are American Politics Dysfunctional? with **Mike Murphy**, political media consultant, and **David Sanger**, chief Washington correspondent for the *New York Times*—both Center senior fellows.



Common Concerns: International Council member **Richard Gerson** talks with *Washington Post* columnist **David Ignatius**, a Center senior fellow, during the annual meeting of the Council.

Is Economics the Foundation for National Security? with **Robert Zoellick**, former president of the World Bank and Center senior fellow.

Arab Spring or Winter Revolutions? with **David Ignatius**, foreign affairs columnist for the *Washington Post*, and also a senior fellow.

Is Cyber Security an Oxymoron? with **James Cartwright**, former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and a senior fellow.

Is the U.S. Economy Recovering? with **Carmen Reinhart**, Minos A. Zombanakis Professor of the International Financial System at Harvard Kennedy School, and a Center board member.

How Will We Like a World in Which China is Number 1? Ask Lee Kuan Yew, with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and **Robert Blackwill**, Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations and a Center board member.



Economic Expertise: International Council members **Karen Agustiawan** (left), and **Hutham S. Olayan** at the Council's annual meeting.

Afghanistan's Future Holds Promise, Danger, Experts Agree

Even as they acknowledged that potential dangers loom in Afghanistan over the next two years, experts at a Harvard conference pointed to some encouraging signs. One example: the number of schoolchildren has grown from 800,000 in 2001 to nearly nine million today—nearly 40% of whom are girls.

Speakers from Afghanistan and the West recognized that violence persists and problems such as endemic corruption still plague the country 12 years after the U.S. invasion toppled the Taliban government and routed Al Qaeda following the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

But they took solace from the work of Afghans themselves in building a credible national military force that has increasingly taken on the brunt of combat duties as U.S. and other Western troops withdraw to bases and transition to training and support roles.

The event brought together some of the key actors shaping Afghanistan's transition. Senior officials from the Afghan government, top U.S. diplomats and military figures, and leaders of non-governmental organizations debated prospects for stability, security and economic growth after 2014.

The conferees also lauded the work of Afghan non-profit groups such as Women for Afghan Women, represented by Executive Director **Manizha Naderi**, and the Afghanistan Women's Network, whose chairperson **Mahbouba Seraj** shared stories of courage and progress.

The two-day conference on April 4–5 was co-sponsored by the Belfer Center's projects on the Future of Diplomacy and South Asia, along with Harvard's South Asia Institute. Speakers included U.S. Ambassador **Marc Grossman**, the Obama administration's former special



Afghan Outlook: **Nicholas Burns** (center), director of the Center's Future of Diplomacy Project, moderates a panel on Afghanistan's future with Ambassador **Salahuddin Rabbani** (left), chair of the Afghan High Peace Council, and Ambassador **James Warlick**, current lead U.S. negotiator and deputy special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, who spoke on "The Diplomatic Campaign in Afghanistan and Pakistan," and Afghan Ambassador **Salahuddin Rabbani**, chair of the Afghan High Peace Council.

One Afghan speaker said the advances in his country since the U.S. invasion are all but irreversible.

Rabbani opened the conference Thursday night with a seminar moderated by Professor **Nicholas Burns**, director of the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy Project and South Asia Project, along with Ambassador **James Warlick**, the current lead U.S. negotiator and deputy special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The Friday session was held under the Chatham House Rule, which forbids disclosure of

who said what while allowing the content to be disclosed.

One Afghan speaker said the advances in his country since the U.S. invasion are all but irreversible, especially the progress in creating more learning opportunities for young people. He said the Afghan people would never tolerate seeing those gains reversed by hardliners.

At a separate seminar the following week, *Washington Post* journalist **Rajiv Chandrasekaran**, author of a new book on the Obama administration's surge in Afghanistan, cited what he called a series of mistakes by the U.S. military and State Department since 2009. He agreed that the Afghan Army was taking up the burden as U.S. and Western forces draw down, but said many questions remain to be answered about the country's fate in 2014 and beyond. 🌐

—James F. Smith

Conference Spotlights Saudi Arabia's Role in the Middle East

Saudi Arabia's Prince **Turki Al Faisal** told a standing-room only audience at Harvard Kennedy School in April that his nation is investing huge sums in solar, wind, and nuclear energy to reduce domestic reliance on its oil reserves. Prince Turki said Saudi Arabia's security depends on a healthy energy policy that uses oil to earn export revenues rather than for domestic consumption.



Saudi Standpoint: Prince **Turki Al Faisal** (center), former Saudi ambassador to the U.S., and Prince **Mohammed bin Nawaf** (2nd from right), Saudi ambassador to the UK, with (left to right) the Belfer Center's **Hilary Rantisi**, **Nawaf Obaid**, **Nicholas Burns**, and **Graham Allison** (far right).

Prince Turki spoke on "Saudi Arabia's Foreign Policy Doctrine after the Arab Awakening" at a conference on Saudi Arabia and its role in the Middle East, organized by the Belfer Center and its Middle East Initiative. The event was moderated by **Nicholas Burns**, faculty chair of the Middle East Initiative.

The goal of the conference was to better understand Saudi Arabia's role in the Middle

East in light of the Arab Awakening and to deepen the relationship between the Kingdom and Harvard Kennedy School.

Earlier in the day, a panel of Saudi experts discussed "Energy and the Arab Awakening" in a discussion moderated by **Henry Lee**, senior lecturer in public policy and director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program. A delegation of 14 Saudi royalty, government officials, academics, and businessmen took part in the conference, organized with assistance from Belfer Center Fellow **Nawaf Obaid**.

During the visit, the delegation also joined Burns, Lee, Middle East Initiative Director **Hilary Rantisi**, and others for an off-the-record brainstorming on the U.S.-Saudi relationship and challenges and opportunities facing Saudi Arabia. 🌐

Cyberspace Challenges (Continued from p. 1)

to attack or infiltrate a system has never been seen before—and therefore has no signature to make it recognizable by anti-virus programs.

Zachary Tumin, who manages the Harvard component of the Harvard/MIT collaboration, said ECIR fellows have developed a research thread to analyze the zero-day malware threat and the illicit global market that buys and sells these potentially destructive cyber tools. Researchers also have created four case studies that examine cybersecurity threats “through the lens of market economics, similar to studies of the illicit drugs and guns markets.”

Choucri, whose new book is titled *Cyberpolitics in International Relations*, said “cyberspace has become part of our lives much faster than we’ve really recognized. It has kind of oozed in, and we cannot imagine it not being in existence.”

She said many of the tools we have for global governance were “tailored for a world before cyber, and for a world dominated by a handful of countries, where non-state actors really didn’t matter.” Now all that has changed, she said; the new challenge is to determine who controls cyberspace in this matrix formed by the multi-layered Internet and the many levels of international politics.

“[W]e are at the stage with cyber that we were with nuclear policy in 1960.”

—Nye

In support of the ECIR program, Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye** hosts a biweekly Cyber Lunch for Harvard and MIT participants, at which some of the nation’s leading experts address aspects of cybersecurity. Nye devoted a chapter to “cyberpower” in his 2011 book, *The Future of Power*, and writes frequently about the emerging field.

“We are still in the early stage of trying to think this through,” Nye said. “We are adapting policies to deal with a new technology; we are at the stage with cyber that we were with nuclear policy in 1960. We haven’t got a doctrine, we haven’t thought through what is offense, what is defense, what is deterrence.”

The Belfer Center’s ECIR fellows bring an array of expertise to these questions. **Ryan Ellis** is doing post-doctoral research on homeland security and critical infrastructure protection; post-doc **Lucas Kello** is studying the implications of offensive cyber weapons for international relations and security; **Vivek Mohan** works on the private sector, focusing on surveillance, privacy, and Internet governance, post-doc Associate **Aadya Shukla** is building computational models to conceptualize cyberspace; and Fellow **Tolu Odumosu** focuses on telecommunications and Internet policy.



Col. William Churchwell (right), from the U.S. Army Signal Center of Excellence, makes a point during a discussion about military-related cyber challenges with members of the Belfer Center’s cyber working group. CW5 **Todd Boudreau** (center) from the Signal Team, took part in the discussion, along with Harvard Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye** of the Center’s cyber group.

Renowned experts are assisting the initiative. **Melissa Hathaway**, former National Security Council cyberspace director, is a senior advisor, and Harvard Law Professor **Jonathan Zittrain** is an affiliate. Another collaborator is **David Clark**, an engineering professor at MIT who has developed a framework for ECIR on how influence flows in cyber networks.

The Belfer Center’s cybersecurity expertise has deep roots: former Executive Director for Research **Eric Rosenbach**, who is now U.S. deputy assistant secretary of defense for cyberpolicy, developed the cyber partnership with MIT. He previously taught an HKS cybersecurity course with Belfer Center faculty affiliate **Richard Clarke**, who was special adviser to the president for cyber security and counter-terrorism.

The teaching mantle then passed to Harvard Law School Professor **Jack Goldsmith**, who taught the 2012 cybersecurity course at HKS, just one of many cross-campus partnerships. The ECIR project recently supported the Berkman Center’s development of cyber course modules and a cyber wiki.

This winter, SEAS Professor **James Waldo**, who is also chief technology officer for Harvard, taught an HKS course on “Technology, Security, and Conflict in the Cyber Age.” Belfer and HKS Executive Education are developing a formal cyber security offering, based on the courses taught over the past three years.

“Cyberspace is created by humans, and anyone can play,” Choucri said. “It’s pervasive. The identity of the actor is not always known. It crosses borders. . . . Now the governments are trying to catch up, to control the companies in cyberspace. It’s almost like a whodunit.”

—James F. Smith

North Korea (Continued from p.1)



Diplomatic Decisions: Ambassador **Glyn T. Davies** discusses the future of nuclear diplomacy with North Korea at a Belfer Center seminar in April with faculty, fellows, and students.

Peninsula is the United States . . .” The North Koreans are interested in one thing; they want their family to survive as leaders of North Korea.” He added that China is the only country that has a measure of influence in North Korea. “What’s frustrating about China,” Burns said, “is they don’t often use the influence they have to produce better North Korean behavior.”

John Park, associate with the Center’s Project on Managing the Atom and Stanton Nuclear Security Junior Faculty Fellow at MIT, weighed in on China’s role in North Korea in an April interview with “Before

It’s News.” In an immediate sense, Park said, China has a unique role to play. “It can leverage its diplomatic relations with both Koreas to fashion an indirect military hotline between North and South Korea. In order to deal with a potential accidental exchange of fire, China should initiate frequent independent communications with Pyongyang and Seoul. By establishing this regular interaction, China may be able to develop a nascent capability to engage both capitals during the early phase of an accidental escalation.”

(For more on North Korea from Center experts, see belfercenter.org/NK.)

Progress in Energy Innovation, Development, and Deployment

Investment in Research, Development Grows While Policy Changes Lag

TONY BROWN



Unleashing Innovation: Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti, director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program (left), discusses the new American Academy of Arts & Sciences report, "ARISE II, Unleashing America's Research & Innovation Enterprise," during a briefing at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on May 1. Narayanamurti was joined by his ARISE Committee Co-chair **Keith Yamamoto**, vice chancellor for research at UC San Francisco, and Committee member **Nancy Andrews**, dean of Duke University School of Medicine. The report proposes changes to the research system in order to meet twenty-first-century challenges.

As the financial and environmental costs of current-generation energy sources continue to mount, development and implementation of innovative new energy sources have become increasingly important. Belfer Center experts are putting their research to work to foster changes in government and industry alike to push forward these energy technologies.

In 2011, the Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group (ETIP) at the Belfer Center produced a seminal report entitled "Transforming U.S. Energy Innovation," which was geared toward influencing energy policy and practice around the world. The report, born of the Energy Research, Development, Demonstration & Deployment policy project (ERD3), had four primary findings:

- Increased investments of energy research, development, and demonstration—from \$5–10 billion a year—could produce great economic and environmental benefits to the United States.
- Energy prices have a very high influence on private sector energy investment and innovation.
- Major research institutions (like National Laboratories) could be more effective in producing innovation.
- The U.S. is finding stiffer competition in energy technology markets abroad.

The paper and its findings signaled change for national energy innovation programs around the world, as increasing costs and dwindling supply put pressure on traditional energy markets.

Armed with their findings, ETIP scholars have met with and advised governments on developing intelligent, long-term investment strategy for energy innovation. Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti** has been working with governments in India, China, and Africa through the National Academy of Engineering, while ETIP Director and STPP Associate Director **Laura Diaz Anadon** is providing innovation advice to Mexico.



Building Capacity: Romain Murenzi, executive director of the World Academy of Sciences (TWAS) and former mathematics instructor born in Rwanda and raised in Burundi, speaks at a Science, Technology, and Globalization (STG) Project seminar on the critical role that science, technology, and innovation play in tackling issues of sustainable economic growth, development, and poverty alleviation. He was hosted for two seminars in April by STG Director **Calestous Juma** and Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program Director **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti**.

Diaz Anadon recently returned from Mexico, where she advised the under secretary of energy and the technology director at the Mexican counterpart to the National Science Foundation on the creation of a fund to develop new technologies. The fund's managers used ETIP's findings to shape their investments.


"They are realizing that oil is not going to last forever, so they need to develop other ways of creating competitiveness and reducing environmental impact."

'Competitiveness' is becoming increasingly important over time, as other world players begin to make claims in the still-nascent alternative energies markets. Fossil fuel-dependent China, for example, has become a world leader in both production and deployment of wind and solar technologies, investing record-high amounts in domestic innovation programs which continue to reduce cost in the market at-large.

"They are realizing that oil is not going to last forever, so they need to develop other ways of creating competitiveness and reducing environmental impact."

In the U.S., increased investment in energy development has persevered against the stiff opponent of a stagnant economy and a tight federal budget. In the recent budget request, both ARPA-E and the Energy Innovation Hubs, two major institutional innovations created under former Energy Secretary **Stephen Chu**, have been expanded and allocated more funds.

"These programs seem to be gaining traction," said Diaz Anadon, while adding that there has been much less progress on the deployment of a demand-side policy, which would have the greatest effect in influencing the investments of the private sector.

"If coal and gas continue to be very cheap and don't represent the environmental cost of emissions, it will be harder for other technologies to compete. Given that it is cheaper to invest on the research and development side than in market-creation policies, I think that's where things will happen in the short-term." 

—Andrew Facini



Q&A Juliette Kayyem

Juliette Kayyem is a Lecturer in Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors. She served as Assistant Secretary for Intergovernmental Affairs at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security in the first Obama administration and headed homeland security efforts for Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick. Currently a columnist for the Boston Globe and analyst for CNN, she provided extensive analysis of the situation following the Boston Marathon bombings. We asked for her views on Boston's response to the attack.

Q We saw incredible images of spectators leaping over barriers and helping badly injured people after the bombings. Should we do more to teach emergency response to the general public?

There have been a lot of attempts in the past to do just that, including Red Cross and volunteer efforts, but since no one ever thinks they're going to be called upon to do this, the incentive is not very strong. For example, there is the "72 on you" effort to encourage people to have enough supplies in their home for 72 hours. This has been difficult to promote in areas that don't have hurricanes or tornadoes. Also, there's a constant tension between wanting the public to be engaged but also recognizing that what makes this country great is that we're not always worried about life or death issues. We just go on with our lives.

Q Knowing the results from the bombings, how well was Boston prepared for this kind of crisis?

Boston was very prepared for an event like this, and I think you saw that in the immediate response. This was a high-security event, so we had the benefit of having all the resources down there, having trained together and prepared, and having even done a table-top exercise with a bomb going off. So, they had envisioned this happening. The response worked well in several ways: first of all, for life-saving measures. Another was the ability of the police and others to get the remaining marathoners off Boylston Street, away from the bombing area, calmly placing them on Commonwealth Ave., and then spending a lot of effort on reunification with family members who had been at the finish line. I was there immediately after the blasts, and it was calm, which in many ways is comforting. They planned this response ahead of time. And doing this, they preserved the crime scene for what was inevitably going to be an investigation; and they portrayed competency, another important part of response. It's not just the immediate life and death issues; it's a portrayal of grip in the midst of crisis. That's hard to do, and I think they did that really successfully. I also believe that the leadership and tone of the key players, including Governor Patrick, were key in how the city felt in the days after.

Q Was social media a plus or a minus during the crisis?

I think it was both; but it has its flaws just like regular mainstream media. This was a very social event, with young men who grew up here to a certain extent, who were part of the community, attacking what was a social event for the community. Social media can bring communities together in ways that television can't, and I think that's important.

Where social media really failed, and every media to some extent, is where it tried to replace the police officers in finding out who the specific culprits were. Now, if social media had been successful in this, it might have changed the way law enforcement thinks about it. But because there is no filtering aspect to social media, it's like reading raw intelligence. It can help people get a sense of what's going on, but should always be taken in the context that it is not filtered.

Q Did the bombings change your thinking on the balance between security and liberty?

No. I know there's a lot of debate, and I think it's healthy, about the lockdown. With what they knew at that moment, it really was to me a no brainer. But, that doesn't mean that next time it has to be done that way. I know some people are complaining about it, but there's another way to look at this in terms of the civil liberties debate: the governor asked his community to voluntarily stay in place during a massive man hunt, and they did so, and that isn't so bad.

Emergency Evaluation:
Juliette Kayyem (left) with Boston Police Commissioner Ed Davis following a special JFK Jr. Forum at Harvard Kennedy School where they joined in a panel discussion of the Boston Marathon bombings and aftermath. The forum, hosted by Harvard Kennedy School Dean David Ellwood, also included Harvard's David N. Hempton, Massachusetts' homeland security head Kurt Schwartz, and WBZ's David Wade.

Q What should happen now?

We need to separate investigation from after-action. There's an investigation going on about the younger brother, and it's important to find out what happened and where these intelligence gaps were. But, that's different from what should be part of every major security event—going back and learning from everything—from pre-Marathon security to post-blast response and into the lockdown. In our litigious society, we tend to view that as a bad thing, the going back and finding culpability; but it's important. We're safer today because we've learned from mistakes made in the past, and if we're more secure in the future it will be because of lessons we've learned from this. I hope there will be an independent review of everything that happened. This is important not only for Boston, where we hope we don't have to utilize the information, but for every city and state in the country that hosts or will host major events.

I am so often reminded of the book *Columbine* by Dave Cullen—written by a journalist who was there, who wrote stories about covering this crisis; it took him 10 years to really unearth the pieces of what actually happened. That's why we should start a review process very soon, so that memories don't fade, evidence is still there, and people are still in a place to remember what happened.



MARTHA STEWART

SPOTLIGHT

Laura Diaz Anadon

Laura Diaz Anadon is Associate Director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, Director of the Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group, and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors. In May, she was named Assistant Professor of Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School.



While Laura Diaz Anadon was earning her doctorate in chemical engineering at Cambridge University in Britain, she was also diving across the floor. As a varsity volleyball player at Cambridge, “I was the fast one who could get across the court and get to the ball.”

That quick reaction time may help explain Diaz Anadon's remarkable ability to adapt and grow as she pursued a career path unlike that of her high school classmates in Oviedo, in northern Spain—culminating in her appointment in May as Harvard Kennedy School assistant professor of public policy.

Most Spanish students go to the local university and live at home. Even though both of her parents are science professors at the University of Oviedo, Diaz Anadon made her way to a joint program offered by the University of Manchester in Britain and the University of Stuttgart in Germany.

That combined bachelor's-master's degree program in chemical engineering posed the added challenge of requiring Diaz Anadon to take her courses and exams in English and German. She flourished nonetheless, earning the departmental prize at Manchester as “Best Graduate of 2003” out of all departments.

She worked summers at DuPont and at Bayer Pharmaceuticals. As one of the few female chemical engineering graduates, Diaz Anadon was primed for a high-flying career in industry.

But a summer program in Tanzania, tracking bird biodiversity in rainforests broken down by tea plantations, helped trigger some new

ideas. Diaz Anadon had always loved the outdoors, hiking with her parents and four younger brothers and sisters nearly every weekend in Spain, to the point that “I know the mountains in Asturias like the back of my hand.”

During her doctoral studies, she began to imagine ways she could put her chemical engineering training to use to reduce the impact of industrial development. “I wanted to make human and economic development more sustainable.”

Her Manchester adviser, Professor **Colin Webb**, told her that if she really wanted to effect change, she needed a Ph.D. So she applied to Cambridge, graduating in 2006, and plunged into theoretical as well as experimental work.

Her thesis: “Transient hydrodynamics and reaction in trickle-bed reactors using NMR and MRI.”

During her doctoral studies, she began to imagine ways she could put her chemical engineering training to use to reduce the impact of industrial development.

At Cambridge, through talks and conferences she participated in, she realized that the science and engineering developments she worked on depended on policies to enable them. She learned of Professor **John Holdren**'s work at Harvard; Holdren was then director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program; now he is President Obama's science adviser.

Diaz Anadon earned a prestigious Spanish scholarship, in addition to a U.K. Fulbright scholarship, to come to the Kennedy School to in 2007. She earned her Master's in Public Policy, and Holdren used a Doris Duke Foundation grant to hire her to run the Energy Research, Development, Demonstration, and Deployment Policy Project (ERD3 project for short).

Finally, Diaz Anadon was combining her extraordinary technical engineering skills with her larger goal of shaping national and global policies to enable clean-energy technologies to be developed and deployed. She played a main role in ETIP's three-year-long ERD3 project into how and why governments and businesses embrace energy innovations and create innovative cultures. She then also took on the direction of the Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP) in 2010, a

core effort in the Belfer Center to encourage research in innovation in more sustainable energy technologies.

While conducting her own in-depth research, Diaz Anadon also tried her hand at teaching at HKS in 2011–12. She found that she enjoyed it, and taught again this year.

At the same time, she works closely with about 10 research fellows working on energy, water, and other technology innovation policy issues. She has worked on projects with the World Bank and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, helping craft strategies to encourage clean production practices in developing countries and studying the role of intellectual property in the adoption of more sustainable technologies.

Working with **Venkatesh Narayanamurti**, who succeeded Holdren as director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, and **Henry Lee**, who directs the Environment and Natural Resources Program, Diaz Anadon has advised government officials in the United States, Mexico, China, and Europe on a pro-bono basis.

Amid all her career pressures, she gave birth to twins a year ago. She says she is lucky that the children are easy to manage. She lives in Cambridge and she and husband, **Jeff Skopek**, do not own a car, getting by with Zipcars so far. She plays classical guitar when she can. But she quotes her mentor Professor Colin Webb as warning her that the academic pressures will only grow more intense.

Finally, Diaz Anadon was combining her extraordinary technical engineering skills with her larger goal of shaping national and global policies to enable clean-energy technologies to be developed and deployed.

Webb has remained a close friend, and came to Oviedo for Diaz Anadon's wedding to Jeff in 2007. Webb describes Diaz Anadon this way: “Laura is a tremendously positive person who takes an avid interest in everything and everyone around her. She genuinely wants the world to be a better place and will dedicate herself to making it so. She has a brilliant mind capable of assimilating the most complex of concepts yet is wonderfully modest and exceptionally pleasant.”



Laura Diaz Anadon by the Perito Moreno Glacier in the Argentinian Patagonia.

BELFER CENTER

Featured Fellows

In this issue, the Belfer Center is pleased to feature four research fellows in the International Security Program: **Noora Lori**, **Marisa Porges**, **Yvonne Yew** (joint fellowship with Project on Managing the Atom), and **Nussaibah Younis**.

Nussaibah Younis: Foreign Policies of Weak States Matter

The invasion of Iraq prompted a deluge of work written on the country from a U.S. perspective, but **Nussaibah Younis** wants us to start considering Iraq as an actor in its own right. While at the Belfer Center, Younis is working on a project that seeks to understand internal Iraqi foreign policymaking dynamics since 2003.

Younis believes that the lack of interest in Iraq as a foreign policy actor is part of a wider problem in the field of international relations which focuses heavily on strong or powerful states. Such an approach underestimates the impact that weak and unstable states can have on international politics.

Despite its recurrent political crises, the way in which Iraq chooses to position itself will have an increasingly important impact on regional conflicts. Younis cautions us, for instance, to keep a close eye on the role that Iraq's communities are playing in the Syrian civil war.

When discussing the complexities of Iraqi foreign policymaking, Younis refers to

her recent trip to the Iraqi Kurdish cities of Erbil and Suleymaniya. She was astonished to find the extent to which Iraqi Kurdistan is functionally independent of Baghdad, and talked about the Iraqi Kurds having their own parallel foreign policy structures.

Younis graduated from Oxford University with a Joint Hons in Modern History and English, and was awarded an MSc with Distinction in Arab World Studies from the University of Durham. Currently working on her PhD, Younis also works closely with UK think tank Chatham House, recently organizing a conference with them to mark 10 years since the Iraq War.

Younis is a prolific commentator, publishing op-eds in the *New York Times* and *The Guardian* among others, and was recently interviewed by *Al-Jazeera* in a program on Iraq's Sunni protest movement. She also has experience in the private sector, including work with a start-up brand strategy consultancy. When she joined, the business had a



Nussaibah Younis discusses her research at an ISP seminar.

plan, a small amount of finance, and a single entrepreneur, and by the time she left, the business was thriving with a multi-million dollar turnover.

For her academic and private sector work, Younis has lived in Cairo, Amman, Beirut and Dubai. [G](#)

Marisa Porges' Journey from Naval Flight Officer to Counterterror Expert

Belfer Center Fellow **Marisa Porges'** career has already spanned the worlds of academia and policymaking, the government and the military. As an undergraduate at Harvard, Porges earned honors with a degree in geophysics and, during senior year, commanded her Navy Reserve Officer Training Corps unit. After graduation, she commissioned as a naval flight officer in the



Marisa Porges (center) with locals in the old city of Sana'a, Yemen.

U.S. Navy and managed the weapons systems aboard EA-6B Prowlers, a carrier-based electronic warfare jet. Upon leaving active duty, Porges became a counterterrorism policy adviser in the U.S. Departments of Defense and the Treasury. As a doctoral candidate in the Department of War Studies at King's College London and a research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, she now combines scholarship and practice.

Her latest research focuses on de-radicalization programs for terrorist detainees and whether they help decrease risk if the detainee is released.

Porges' work, in and out of government, covers a range of terrorism-related issues, from detention to terrorist financing. She says that it is critical to develop a diverse portfolio of counterterrorism tools, which should include both "hard" and "soft" tactics. Her latest research focuses on the latter by studying de-radicalization programs for terrorist detainees, a topic that became of interest while she was at the Pentagon.

In particular, Porges looks at how de-radicalization, more commonly called "rehabilitation for terrorists," is conducted around the world, especially in critical countries like Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. She aims to determine the impact of these programs, including whether they help decrease the risk posed if a detainee is released. Porges also investigates whether these programs have a positive effect on "efforts to combat radicalization amongst the wider public, including the friends and families who are looking at the prison systems and counterterrorism operations."

Throughout, she has built upon her years of military and government service. "That work influenced how I look at questions. I definitely keep in the back of my mind how my research is going to affect both policymakers and practitioners." Porges also noted the particular impact of her military experience. "I became interested in how the decisions I was being asked to implement were being made, and what national security policy and decision-making looked like." [G](#)

—Wesley Nord

Yvonne Yew Offers Insight into Crucial Asian Security Issues

“Researching Asian security issues has never been more topical,” Yvonne Yew said in discussing her work at the Belfer Center. Despite Asia’s economic growth, she said, “simmering tensions, territorial disputes, nuclear proliferation concerns, and military skirmishes serve to potentially undermine the region’s peace and prosperity.” As a former Singaporean diplomat and representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency, Yew is in a unique position to view security issues spurred by the momentous and ongoing rise of Asia.

“The shape and direction of the U.S.-China relationship are critical to the region.”

Yew’s diplomatic work covered a variety of regional and multilateral issues in Asia and Europe. Her last posting was in Austria, where she served, in the mid-2000s, as the alternate representative and governor to the IAEA during Singapore’s term on its board of governors.

Yew acknowledges the correlation in Asia between higher GDP’s and increased defense spending and modernization, and posits a

“clear need to situate these developments within a regional architecture that promotes stability.” She believes a critical feature impacting the region is the shape and direction of the relationship between the United States and China. “Given the complex and multi-dimensional nature of Sino-American ties, it is important to frame big-power relations in a manner that avoids a negative action-reaction cycle.” This will likely require a relationship, she said, that “accepts the reality of competition, the importance of cooperation, the fact that both are not mutually exclusive, and upsizing the positives.”

At two recent Harvard conferences on Asian International Relations and Business and Security matters, Yew argued that the intersection of security, economy, and the environment translates into the need to focus on structures that can incentivize cooperation between regional actors, rather than confrontation across sectors.

A number of dialogue mechanisms and forums of various combinations currently exist, she said, involving Asian and Pacific governments that “directly or indirectly address traditional as well as non-traditional security matters.” While these do not provide



Yvonne Yew

security in the same sense as bilateral alliance structures, Yew sees them as supplementing the traditional security architecture by “enhancing and expanding cooperation in a multilateral setting and promoting accepted norms of conduct.”

—Ramiro Gonzalez Lorca

Noora Lori Looks at Changing Nature of Immigration

The study of citizenship, what it means and what it entails, has always been a topic of considerable debate in international relations and political science. Discussions of citizenship usually occur from the perspective of those who are included within a particular

community, yet accelerated changes in global migration flows over the past 60 years have shifted the discussion into new waters. Noora Lori is among those attempting to understand this changing relationship between the state, the citizen, and the migrant.

With the spread of globalization and the breaking down of both material and immaterial boundaries between countries, domestic populations, particularly in the developing world, are increasingly comprised of foreign nationals who do not neatly fit the traditional conception of a citizen.

“[D]omestic populations, particularly in the developing world, are increasingly comprised of foreign nationals who do not neatly fit the traditional conception of a citizen.”

“Almost all major state-building projects over the past 200 years have had temporary worker programs,” Lori said in an interview. Faced with these changing demographics, the question of how it is determined “who gets included and who gets excluded and what kind of conduct makes them included or excluded,” drives her research.



Noora Lori

A Ph.D. candidate in political science at John’s Hopkins University in Baltimore, Lori is now completing her second year at the Kennedy School, where she was previously a fellow with the Belfer Center’s Dubai Initiative. Lori’s primary area of focus is the United Arab Emirates, where 96% of the population is comprised of foreign nationals. As a native Arabic speaker, Lori conducted 18 months of fieldwork for her dissertation, to be completed in May, and to teach comparative politics at the Dubai School of Government.

A desire to confront issues of human rights and security while retaining her intellectual freedom originally led Lori to a career in academia and later to the Belfer Center.

“If you want to do something different, if you’re more interested in the questions and you don’t necessarily want to go through the ranks of a government job then being a researcher lets you have the best of both worlds; I do research that has direct policy recommendations but also have the freedom to be able to produce work that is not necessarily in the strategic interest of one government or another,” she said.

—Dominic Contreras

BELFER SPEAKERS

MARTHA STEWART



Triple Header: Three former heads of state visited the Belfer Center recently to discuss insights they've gained and challenges they've encountered. Above, **Lucas Papademos**, former prime minister of Greece who led a unity government in the wake of the Greek debt crisis, talks with **Felipe Calderon**, president of Mexico until 2012. Both took part in the Belfer Center's International Council annual meeting.

Below, **Kevin Rudd**, former prime minister of Australia and minister of foreign affairs until 2012, enjoyed a laugh with Calderon (back to the camera) and Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye** at a Center seminar. Rudd discussed China's new leadership and what it could mean for possible political and economic reforms in the country.



Economic Futures: **Carmen Reinhart** (left), the Minos A. Zombankis Professor of the International Financial System at Harvard Kennedy School and a leading international economist, gestures during her presentation "Is the American Economy Recovering?" at the Center's International Council annual meeting. Reinhart was named by Bloomberg Markets as one of the 50 most influential people in finance in 2011. Also taking part in the discussion was **Jahangir Hajiyev** (right), member of the Center's International Council and former head of the Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.



EU and the World: **Reza Aslan** (left), internationally acclaimed writer and religious scholar, explores the future of the U.S., Israel, Iran relationship, and the possibilities of open conflict. **Tarek Masoud**, associate professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School, moderated the event organized by the Center's Middle East Initiative. Aslan wrote the international bestseller *No god but God: The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam*, which has been translated into 13 languages and named one of the 100 most important books of the last decade.

TOM FITZSIMMONS



Presidential Impact: Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye** (2nd from left) discusses presidential leadership and U.S. power during a panel discussion at the JFK Jr. Forum in April. Nye was joined by (left to right) moderator **David Gergen**, director of Harvard Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership, Harvard Business School professor **Nancy F. Koehn**, and Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**. Their discussion focused on Nye's new book *Presidential Leadership and the Creation of the American Era*.



Capitol Communications: **Tara D. Sonenshine**, under secretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs, discusses at a Future of Diplomacy Project event how public diplomacy under the Obama administration has evolved to reach critical audiences around the world. Sonenshine, former director of foreign policy planning and deputy director of communications for the National Security Council, also served previously as executive vice president of the United States Institute of Peace. She is the recipient of 10 Emmy News Awards.



Leading with Purpose: Serving and Retired General **Stanley McChrystal** stands with **Harvard ROTC students** who joined him at a veterans tribute in March co-sponsored by the Belfer Center and the Center for Public Leadership. McChrystal also spoke at a Belfer Center director's lunch on the topic of leadership titled "Shared Consciousness and Purpose." Speaking of effective and inspirational leadership, he noted that his time at Harvard Kennedy School as a national security scholar in the late 90s truly opened his mind.

Defensive Duties: Deputy Secretary of Defense **Ashton B. Carter**, head of the Center's Preventive Defense Project prior to joining the Obama administration in 2009, discusses the strategic and budgetary issues facing the Department of Defense at a JFK Jr. Forum in April. Carter, who was under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology, and logistics before being named deputy secretary, has been among the most vocal critics of the government sequester, testifying before Congress that across-the-board cuts to the Defense budget are serious and far-reaching. The event was moderated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**.



EU and the World: **Javier Solana**, a Fisher Family Fellow with the Belfer Center's Future of Diplomacy Project, discusses the role of the European Union in international affairs during a Belfer Center seminar. The former high representative for the common foreign and security policy for the European Union and former NATO secretary-general spoke to the question "Is the European Union a Credible Actor in World Affairs?"



Strategic Protection: Admiral **Samuel J. Locklear III**, commander of the United States Pacific Command, discusses U.S. military policy in the Pacific during a Belfer Center seminar in March. As head of Central Command, Adm. Locklear is responsible for U.S. forces in an area that includes Pakistan, North Korea, China, and Russia and encompasses roughly half of the world's population. He also spearheads implementation of the Obama administration's strategic pivot towards Asia and has coordinated U.S. response to threats from North Korea.



Forward Looking: **Mohamed Tawfik**, ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United States, speaks at a Middle East Initiative (MEI) seminar on "Egypt: A Look to the Future." Tawfik has served various postings in Egypt's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which he joined in 1983. He became ambassador to the United States on September 19, 2012, having previously served as ambassador to Lebanon, Australia, New Zealand, Western Samoa, and elsewhere. He was introduced by **Nicholas Burns** (right), faculty chair for the MEI.



Public-Private Power: Belfer Center Senior Fellow Ambassador **Paula Dobriansky** (center) gestures to former Secretary of the Treasury and Charles W. Eliot Professor **Lawrence Summers** (left) during a JFK Jr. Forum in April. The panelists, which also included Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Ben Heineman** (right), discussed public-private partnerships to bolster job creation and economic growth. The event was moderated by **Nina Easton** (not pictured), a columnist with *Fortune* and visiting fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy.

NEWSMAKERS

Views on Iraq: 10 Years Later

In March 2003 the United States invaded Iraq. This March, on the 10-year anniversary of the war's commencement, a number of Belfer Center faculty and affiliates reflected on the war and its legacy. Below is a sampling of those viewpoints.

David Ignatius, Belfer Center Senior Fellow

"Invading Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein a decade ago was one of the biggest strategic errors in modern American history. We'll never know whether the story might have been different if better planning had been done. . . . But the abiding truth is that America shouldn't have rolled the dice this way on a war of choice." ("The Painful Lessons of Iraq," *Washington Post*, March 20, 2013)

Stephen Walt, Robert & Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs

"The Iraq experience made the U.S. and its allies even more reluctant to go into places like Syria for precisely those reasons. We understand it's risky, but also, we're no longer confident that we can produce a better outcome by intervening." ("Iran is the Main Beneficiary of the Iraq War," *The European*, March 3, 2013)

Derwin Pereira, International Council member

"Another American achievement was to ensure Iraq's territorial integrity . . . It remains one country today because the democratic process has been able to defang all but the most extreme expressions of communal hostility." (Still Trying to Win the Peace in Iraq," *Straits Times*, March 19, 2013)

Juliette Kayyem, Lecturer in Public Policy

"Perhaps the greatest victory that regime change in Iraq has secured, from an international point of view, is that the country has not become an epicenter of terrorism, as many feared it would." ("A War's Misleading Anniversary," *Boston Globe*, March 18, 2013)

Meghan O'Sullivan, Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs

"It is plausible that Iraq, for all the pain and trouble it caused, will eventually come to be seen as a good investment. It is also equally and,



Decade in Iraq: Iraqi and American lawmakers discussed "Lessons and the Landscape Ahead" in a JFK Jr. Forum in April. Participants included (left to right) Belfer Center's **Meghan O'Sullivan**, National Security Advisor to Pres. George W. Bush **Stephen Hadley**, Iraq officials **Hanan Al-Fatlawi** and **Latif al-Rashid**, and **Samir al-Sumaidaie**, former Iraq ambassador to the U.S.

at this point, more conceivable, that continued strife and sectarianism in Iraq will add to the turbulence of the region." ("Was the Iraq War Worth It's Costs to the U.S.?" *Bloomberg*, March 19, 2013)

Joseph S. Nye, Distinguished Service Professor

"Even if fortuitous events lead to a better Middle East in another 10 years, future historians will criticize the way Bush made his decisions and distributed the risks and costs of his actions. It is one thing to guide people up a mountain; it is another to lead them to the edge of a cliff." ("History Will Judge Bush on the Iraq War," *Project Syndicate/China Daily*, March 13, 2013)

Rami Khouri, Senior Fellow, Middle East Initiative

"The massive destructive consequences of the American-initiated and -led Iraq war and occupation will reverberate around the region for many more years, yet very few voices are raised in the United States about whether anyone should be held accountable for all this." ("Dizzying and Exhilarating U.S. Middle East Policies," *Agence Global*, March 22, 2013)

Compiled by Dominic Contreras

Neustadt Award Honors Senators Nunn and Lugar for Nuclear Safety

Former Senator Sam Nunn, founder and CEO of the Nuclear Threat Initiative and a member of the Belfer Center's International Council, and former Senator **Richard Lugar** were scheduled to be jointly awarded the prestigious 2013 *Richard E. Neustadt Award* at Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) on May 2. HKS Dean **David Ellwood** noted that the award is bestowed annually to honor one or more individuals "for creating powerful solutions to public problems, drawing on research and intellectual ideas as appropriate."

The award honors Nunn and Lugar for their successes in eliminating and securing nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. In the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the two senators spearheaded bipartisan legislation that created the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program. The program provided funding for Russia and other former Soviet states to decommission and dismantle nuclear, biological, and chemical stockpiles.

"For those of us in the nuclear sphere, Sam Nunn is a genuine hero," said Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** in welcoming Nunn to a recent event at the Center. As the Soviet Union fell apart, Allison noted, Nunn and Lugar realized that even if a few of the thousands of nuclear weapons in the Soviet arsenal fell into the wrong hands, the result could be catastrophic. Because of the Nunn-Lugar program, the world is safer. 🌍

—Sharon Wilke



Global Hero: Former Senator **Sam Nunn** (right), member of the Center's International Council, speaks with former Senator **Tim Wirth** at the Council meeting in April.

From New Orleans to Chile: Broadmoor Model Aids Community Recovery



When Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans in 2005, then-Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Doug Ahlers**, a former resident of New Orleans, immediately realized that he and the Kennedy School could help. The result was Belfer Center's Broadmoor Project, a collaboration with the Broadmoor neighborhood, which the city initially planned to raze. Broadmoor is now a model of recovery, almost 90 percent rebuilt, with a new charter school, library, and community center. (For more about the Broadmoor Project, based in the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program headed by **Henry Lee**, see <http://belfercenter.org/Broadmoor>.)

With Ahlers vision and leadership, the Broadmoor Project has also helped other disaster-struck communities. Below, Ahlers describes how the Broadmoor model is currently assisting in the recovery of three Chilean communities nearly destroyed by the earthquake and tsunami of 2010.

The success of the Broadmoor Project gave us cause to believe that the Broadmoor model could be applied to other post-disaster or post-conflict situations. If it could work in a different cultural, economic, political, and social system, then the Broadmoor Project model might truly serve as a wider solution to recovering and rebuilding communities. Chile's disastrous 2010 earthquake and tsunami provided a test case for applying the Broadmoor model in another setting.

The opportunity presented itself at a meeting in Santiago, Chile in March of 2011 organized by Harvard's David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS) and attended by heads of ministries within the Chilean government and Harvard faculty and staff, including President Drew Faust and Harvard Kennedy School Dean David Ellwood. I presented our Broadmoor experience and recommended that the Chilean government adopt the community-based recovery model developed in the Broadmoor Project. It turned out that the government of President Piñera was looking for ways to decentralize government functions and build local capacity and capabilities. As a result, the Recupera Chile initiative was born.

"Chile's disastrous 2010 earthquake and tsunami provided a test case for applying the Broadmoor model in another setting."

The plan for Recupera Chile was to work closely with three hard-hit communities in Southern Chile. Like Broadmoor, we would focus our attention on only these communities and we would commit to a multi-year project so that energy and resources would be concentrated geographically, and projects, programs, interventions, training, and resources could be cumulative over time. While we have the approval and cooperation of the national, regional, and local governments, the communities themselves are our "clients."

Much of the coordination activity of the initiative is done through DRCLAS, as they have the in-country staff and knowledge to manage the project. I direct the project, and Harvard students work on projects in Chile through semester-long "client-based" class projects.

The three communities we are working with are Cobquecura, Dichato and Perales. Cobquecura was at the epicenter of the 8.8 magnitude earthquake. Perales and Dichato were almost completely destroyed by the tsunami that followed.

Perales is a small rural village based on subsistence living—algae and shellfish gathering. The tsunami waves damaged the marine ecosystem and left the land with high-salinity and eroded top soil. Plants and seed stock were lost, clam and oyster beds were destroyed, and family milk cows, chickens, pigs, and work oxen were swept out to sea.

Dichato is a summer beach resort (regional tourism), and the site of the largest earthquake displaced persons camp in the country. Child and adult mental health, the restoration of tourist amenities and jobs, and the rebuilding of housing in areas protected from future tsunamis have been the primary needs for Dichato's recovery.

Cobquecura is a more isolated farming and fishing village with tourism focused on surfing and the community's historic appearance. The challenge is to rebuild or repair historic buildings in a seismically safe way. Livelihood restoration through tourism is an important part of Cobquecura's recovery.

We work with the communities to solve their disaster recovery problems in the areas of physical recovery, cultural and heritage

recovery, economic and social recovery. And like the Broadmoor Project, our goal is not to come in and do things for the community, but rather to build the capabilities and capacity of the community itself—to empower them to effect their own recoveries.

"Like the Broadmoor Project, our goal is not to come in and do things for the community, but ... to empower them to effect their own recoveries."

The projects we work on are varied, from early childhood education and environmental damage remediation to mental-health interventions and livelihood restoration grants—plus many more.

While recovery of these three Chilean communities is far from complete, progress in these areas is highly visible.

Credit for the recovery of Broadmoor and these Chilean communities goes to the residents themselves, but the imprint of the Broadmoor Project is clear. It is gratifying to see from the Recupera Chile experience that the Broadmoor model can continue to have an impact far beyond the neighborhoods of New Orleans. 🌍

(More details at: belfercenter.org/recupera)

—Doug Ahlers



Before

Vital Alliance: The village of Cobquecura, Chile, before and after Recupera Chile's recovery assistance. Cobquecura was at the epicenter of the 8.8 magnitude earthquake.



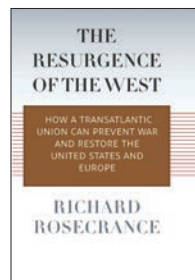
After

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

The Resurgence of the West: How a Transatlantic Union Can Prevent War and Restore the United States and Europe

By Richard Rosecrance, Director, Project on U.S.-China Relations

Yale University Press (June 2013)



After two centuries of ascent, the United States finds itself in economic decline. Some advise America to cure its woes alone. But the road to isolation leads inevitably to the end of U.S. leadership in the international system, warns Richard Rosecrance in this bold and novel book. Instead, Rosecrance calls for the United States to join forces with the European Union and create a transatlantic economic union. Such a U.S.-Europe community would unblock arteries of trade and investment, rejuvenate the West, and enable Western countries to deal with East Asian challenges from a position of unity and economic strength.

“...[A] searching meditation on international order, Western unity, and the imperatives of an American world role.”

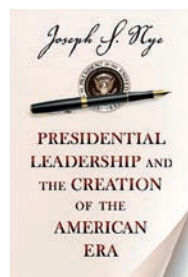
“Richard Rosecrance’s The Resurgence of the West is a searching meditation on international order, Western unity, and the imperatives of an American world role.”

—Henry Kissinger

Presidential Leadership and the Creation of the American Era

By Joseph S. Nye, Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor

Princeton University Press (May 2012)



This book examines the foreign policy decisions of the presidents who presided over the most critical phases of America’s rise to world primacy in the twentieth century, and assesses the effectiveness and ethics of their choices.

Joseph Nye reveals how some presidents tried with varying success to forge a new international order while others sought to manage America’s existing position.

The book shows how transformational presidents like Wilson and Reagan changed how America sees the world, but argues that transactional presidents like Eisenhower and the elder Bush were sometimes more effective and ethical. It also draws important lessons for today’s uncertain world, in which presidential decision making is more critical than ever.

“Utterly nonpartisan ... valuable for experts and general readers alike.”

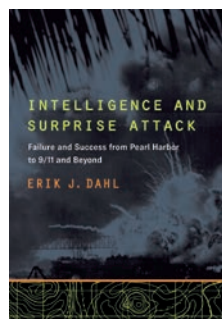
“A compelling study of the use and misuse of power in the modern age. Written by one of our country’s foremost scholars, the book examines America’s ascent through a White House lens. . . . Utterly nonpartisan . . . valuable for experts and general readers alike.”

—Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State

Intelligence and Surprise Attack: Failure and Success from Pearl Harbor to 9/11 and Beyond

By Erik J. Dahl; Former Research Fellow, International Security Program

Georgetown University Press (October 2013)



Intelligence and Surprise Attack examines why surprise attacks often succeed even though, in most cases, warnings had been available beforehand. Erik J. Dahl challenges the conventional wisdom about intelligence failure. Comparing cases of intelligence failure with intelligence success, Dahl finds that the key to success is not more imagination or better analysis, but better acquisition of precise, tactical-level intelligence combined with the presence of decision makers who are willing to listen to and act on the warnings they receive from their intelligence staff.

The book offers a new understanding of classic cases of conventional and terrorist attacks such as Pearl Harbor, the Battle of Midway, and the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The book also presents a comprehensive analysis of the intelligence picture before the 9/11 attacks, making use of new information available since the publication of the 9/11 Commission Report and challenging some of that report’s findings.

“...[R]eminding us that warnings will influence only those who are prepared to heed them.”

“... Dahl advances the study of surprise attack by looking at intelligence successes as well as failures, stressing the value of warnings that are precise enough to merit action, and reminding us that warnings will influence only those who are prepared to heed them. . . .”

—Robert Jervis,

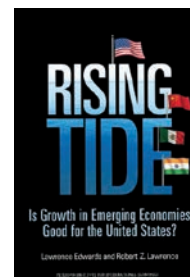
Adlai E. Stevenson Professor of Political Science, Columbia University

Rising Tide: Is Growth in Emerging Economies Good for the United States?

By Lawrence Edwards and Robert Z.

Lawrence, Board Member, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

Peterson Institute for International Economics (February 2013)



In 1963, U.S. President John F. Kennedy said that “a rising tide lifts all the boats. And a partnership, by definition, serves both parties, without domination or unfair advantage.” U.S. international economic policy since

World War II has been based on the premise that foreign economic growth is in America’s economic, as well as political and security, self-interest. The bursting of the speculative dot.com bubble, slowing U.S. growth, and the global financial crisis and its aftermath, however, have led to radical changes in Americans’ perceptions of the benefits of global trade.

In this study, Lawrence Edwards and Robert Z. Lawrence confront these fears through an extensive survey of the empirical literature and in-depth analyses of the evidence. They find considerable evidence that while adjusting to foreign economic growth does present America with challenges, growth in emerging-market economies is in America’s economic interest. It is hard, of course, for Americans to become used to a world in which the preponderance of economic activity is located in Asia. But one of America’s great strengths is its adaptability. And if it does adapt, the American economy can be buoyed by that rising tide.

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP

Elbe Group Facilitates U.S.-Russia Communication, Security

As U.S. and Soviet forces converged in Germany in the final days of WWII, both armies met at the River Elbe near Torgau. That meeting of comrades, united in the face of common threats, is the inspiration for the Belfer Center's "Elbe Group."

The purpose of the Elbe Group is to maintain an open and continuous channel of communication on sensitive issues of U.S.-Russian relations. In late March, the Elbe Group met in Jerusalem for its eighth meeting since its founding in 2010. The Elbe Group is an unprecedented gathering of three- and four-star veterans from the intelligence and military services: FSB, GRU, CIA, DIA, Ministry of Defense and Department of Defense. During the Jerusalem meeting, the Elbe Group focused attention on nuclear terrorism, Afghanistan, and the Middle East.

"General Anatoliy Kulikov proposed that the U.S. and Russia convene a working group of regional partners to assist in the post 2014 Afghan transition."

U.S. and Russian participants agreed that in the majority of cases (Syria and Iran for example), the two countries actually share broad strategic goals but differ on the tactics for achieving the goals. The Group does not consider existing differences to be an insurmountable obstacle to continued cooperation between the two countries.

As an example, General **Anatoliy Kulikov** has noted that Russia largely supports U.S. goals in Afghanistan and provides invaluable assistance by facilitating transport of Coalition supplies and troops through the so-called Northern Supply Route. In a speech by Elbe members at the George C. Marshall Center in Germany, Kulikov said that America must not repeat the mistakes of the Soviet Union in

transitioning control to the Afghans. During the Jerusalem meeting, he underscored his proposal for the U.S. and Russia to convene a working group of regional partners to assist in the post 2014 transition. According to Kulikov, his proposal is being considered in Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs for tabling with U.S. counterparts.

The Elbe Group has high level visibility in both the U.S. and Russian governments. President **Putin**, Prime Minister **Medvedev**, and Foreign Minister **Lavrov** have all been personally briefed on the group by senior Russian member Anatoliy Kulikov, former Minister of Interior. U.S. members likewise send feedback directly to the highest levels in Department of State, DIA, CIA and Defense Department.

For more information about the group's work and products, visit the Elbe Group webpage on the Belfer Center website. [B](#)

—Kevin Ryan



Russian representatives to the Elbe meeting were (left to right): Col. **Vladimir Goltsov**, Amb. **Anatoly Safonov**, Gen. **Valentin Korabelnikov**, Gen. **Anatoliy Kulikov**, Gen. **Vladimir Verkhovtsev**.

International Security

Vol. 37 No. 4
Spring 2013

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

How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?

Alastair Iain Johnston

A 2010 meme describing China's diplomacy as "newly assertive" has spread rapidly in U.S. pundit and academic circles, but it may both underestimate the complexity of key moments in China's recent diplomacy and overestimate the amount of change in its recent behavior. A thorough examination of seven cases of Chinese diplomacy at the heart of this meme shows that China's behavior was more assertive in only one of the seven cases—maritime disputes. The speed and extent to which the newly assertive meme has spread suggests that online media and the blogosphere play an important and understudied role in creating conventional wisdoms that could ultimately constrain policy debates.

First Things First: The Pressing Danger of Crisis Instability in U.S.-China Relations

Avery Goldstein

Much has been written about the potentially disruptive impact of China if it emerges as a great power rival to the United States, but a more immediate danger—that the United States and a weaker China will find themselves locked in a crisis that could escalate to open military conflict—has not been adequately considered. An examination of the current state of U.S.-China relations compared to key aspects of U.S.-Soviet relations during the Cold War indicates that a Sino-American crisis may be more likely than is expected. Escalation pressures in such a crisis could lead to military conflict, and these pressures would likely be highest early on, compressing the time frame for diplomacy.

Forced to Be Free? Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization

Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten

Is military intervention effective in spreading democracy? Past studies have been inconclusive, often employing overly broad definitions of intervention, failing to account for selection, and stressing interveners' actions while neglecting to consider preexisting conditions in target states. A statistical examination of 70 interventions during the twentieth century shows that interveners will meet with little success unless conditions in the target state are already favorable to democracy. Given that the targets for foreign-imposed regime change are usually poor, diverse states, policymakers should scale back their expectations.

Climate Change and Insecurity: Mapping Vulnerability in Africa

Joshua W. Busby, Todd G. Smith, Kaiba L. White, and Shawn M. Strange

Climate change is likely to exacerbate the severity and number of natural disasters in the near future, and poor and marginalized communities that lack the infrastructure and governance to prepare for and cope with such disasters will be particularly vulnerable. Given its dependence on rainfed agriculture and its low adaptive capacity, Africa is considered to be one of the most vulnerable continents to climate change. Mapping Africa's vulnerability to extreme weather events reveals the areas that are most at risk—this information could help policymakers to adapt relief strategies and to distribute scarce resources where they are needed most, minimizing the security consequences of climate change.

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

James Smith, Director, Communications
james_smith@harvard.edu

Andrew Facini, Communications Assistant
andrew_facini@harvard.edu

The Communications Office was assisted in
production of this newsletter by Doug Ahlers,
Gretchen Bartlett, Dominic Contreras, Ramiro
Gonzalez Lorca, Krysten Hartman, Emily Hough,
Susan Lynch, Jessica Salley, and Wesley Nord.

Photographs: All photos courtesy of the Belfer Center unless
otherwise noted.



The Belfer Center has a dual mission: (1) to provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect; and (2) to prepare future generations of leaders for these arenas.

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

BELFER IN BRIEF

Roy Family Honored for Environmental and Student Support

Since 1999, the Roy Family has been supporting environmental research and projects coordinated by the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP). In early May, ENRP gave special thanks to the Roy Family at a special reception where they also announced the most recent recipients of Roy Family internship and fellowship awards.

The resources made available through the Roy Family currently provide a two-year scholarship for an incoming master's degree student, a fellowship for an energy/environment practitioner, summer internship stipends for Harvard Kennedy School students and Harvard College undergraduates, and travel funding for January research for HKS students.

In addition, the family supports The Roy Family Award for Environmental Partnership, an award presented every two years to an outstanding public-private partnership project that enhances environmental quality through the use of novel and creative approaches. Winners have ranged from the Noel Kempff Climate Action Project to Hybrid Systems for Rural Electrification in Africa, and Refrigerants, Naturally.

Amanda Sardonis, ENRP assistant director, said, "The Roy Family Endowment and the Roy Family Student Support Fund at ENRP have benefitted the Harvard Kennedy School in myriad ways. The resources made available through these funds allow us to enhance our programs, broaden our reach, and prepare even more outstanding leaders to carry out our mission in the fields of energy and the environment."



Environmental Energizers: Henry Lee, director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (right) welcomes and expresses appreciation to the Roy family for their sustained commitment in supporting Harvard Kennedy School's student programs and annual Roy Family public/private environmental award. Peter Roy (left) and Beatrice Roy (center) are pictured.



Preparing Future Leaders: The 2012–13 Belfer Center International and Global Affairs (IGA) Student Fellows gather with Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) advisors. These student fellows, selected in a competitive process from among many HKS students concentrating in global affairs, learn innovation in international affairs and gain analytical leadership skills as they prepare for service in the international and global arenas.

Pictured (from left to right): 1st row: Jessica Brandt, MPP2; Jieun Baek, MPP1; Paulina Ponce de León Baridó; and 2nd row: Fuadi Pitsuwan, MPP2; Tiffany Ma, MPP2; Vivek Chilukuri, MPP2; Lauren Harrison, MPP2; Stephen Walt, IGA Area Chair; Hae Won Kim, MPP2; Graham Allison, Belfer Center Director; Farzin Mirshahi, MPP1; Gretchen Bartlett, IGA Area Manager; and Azum Ali, MPP2. Student fellows who weren't available for the picture are Mark Dlugash, MPP1; Matthew Joyce, MPP2; Jonathan Hillman, MPP1; and Pamela Sud MPP2.