



Center Community Informs Upcoming Global Nuclear Summit *by Sharon Wilke*

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Nuclear Reactions: **Matthew Bunn**, Harvard Kennedy School associate professor and co-principal investigator for the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom (MTA), makes a point about nuclear security at a MTA seminar. International Security Program Director **Steven Miller** is pictured at left.

"[W]e must ensure that terrorists never acquire a nuclear weapon. This is the most immediate and extreme threat to global security. . . . [T]oday I am announcing a new international effort to secure all vulnerable nuclear material around the world within four years."

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

In July, 2009, President Obama announced the first Global Nuclear Summit to "develop steps that can be taken together to secure vulnerable materials, combat nuclear smuggling and deter, detect, and disrupt attempts at nuclear terrorism." More than 40 heads of state are expected to take part in the summit in Washington, D.C. in April.

Because the goals and objectives of the summit mirror a long-time focus and effort of the Belfer Center, it is not surprising that a number of current and former Center experts are involved in various aspects of summit planning and nuclear terrorism prevention efforts.

Former International Security Program (ISP) fellow **Gary Samore**, coordinator for arms control and weapons of mass destruction, proliferation, and terrorism, is responsible for the United States' summit planning, and **Laura Holgate**, former ISP staff assistant and now senior director for weapons of mass destruction terrorism and threat reduction, is Samore's sous-sherpa for the summit. Other former ISP research fellows—**Michèle Flournoy**, under secretary of defense for policy, and **Daniel Poneman**, deputy secretary of energy—are also involved in the summit effort.

Former ISP fellow **James N. Miller**, now deputy under secretary of defense for policy, is working on the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review, which helps set the future course of U.S. defense policy. The review is expected to make prevention of nuclear terrorism a primary aim of strategic nuclear planning.

Matthew Bunn, co-principal investigator of the Belfer Center's Project on Managing the Atom, has been offering the administration a stream of suggestions on summit planning and President Obama's four-year nuclear security effort. With **Scott Sagan** of Stanford University and **Roger Howsley** of the World Institute for Nuclear Security (WINS), Bunn organized a workshop held in Vienna in November to make the case for stringent measures to protect all stocks of plutonium and highly enriched uranium, even in the safest countries. Bunn is currently developing a report with the Nuclear Threat Initiative detailing steps to secure all nuclear materials worldwide in four years.

A number of current and former Center experts are involved in various aspects of summit planning.

President Obama was considering dangers of nuclear terrorism in 2005 when then freshman Senator Obama traveled to Russia with Senator **Richard Lugar** to inspect nuclear weapons sites. En route to one site, Obama read Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**'s book *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*, according to a *Chicago Tribune* article. "He barely looked up as a barren soccer field, toppled statues of Soviet icons and closed factories passed by the tinted window." Obama returned from the trip committed to taking steps to secure nuclear material.

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Paul Volcker: Preventing Another Financial Crash

by Sasha Talcott

Former Federal Reserve Chairman **Paul Volcker**, a member of the Belfer Center International Council, has reached a stage of distinction in life in which he feels no compunction about telling the truth as he sees it—even uncomfortable truths. Though he serves as chair of President **Obama**'s Economic Recovery Advisory Board, Volcker spent the first year of the Obama administration as an evident outsider. Many of his provocative policy recommendations—such as prohibiting commercial banks from engaging in high-risk trading activities—did not get much traction.

I don't want my taxpayer money going to support somebody's proprietary trading.
 —**Paul Volcker**

All that changed in January when President Obama not only endorsed Volcker's recommendations about banks' proprietary trading, but even named it the "Volcker rule." Taking Volcker's advice, Obama threw his weight

behind prohibiting banks from owning, investing in, or sponsoring hedge funds or private equity funds. At the White House announcement of the new proposal, Obama said he "deeply appreciates" Volcker's counsel in dealing with a broad array of economic challenges.

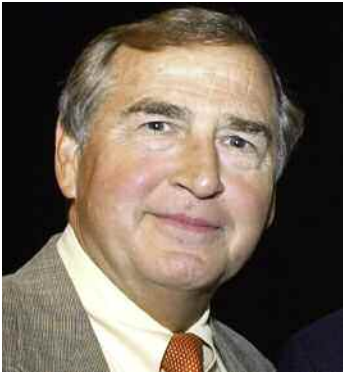
Volcker subsequently testified before the Senate Banking Committee on his proposal. He emphasized that it would affect only a handful of banks—four or five in the U.S., and "perhaps a couple of dozen worldwide."

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Volcker Rules: President **Barack Obama** meets with Economic Recovery Advisory Board Chair **Paul Volcker** in the Oval Office in January.

WHITE HOUSE PHOTO/PETE SOUZA



FROM THE DIRECTOR

Graham Allison

After a year of seriously seeking to engage Iran, the U.S. is now pursuing a new UN Security Council resolution that will ratchet up sanctions, targeting Iran's Revolutionary Guard. As many have observed, the results of Obama's kinder, gentler more sensitive approach to Iran are eerily similar to the Bush administration's opposite tack. Friendship or hostility, reassurance or threats—whatever—Iran continues enriching uranium at the rate of six pounds a day, accumulating another bomb's worth every eight months.

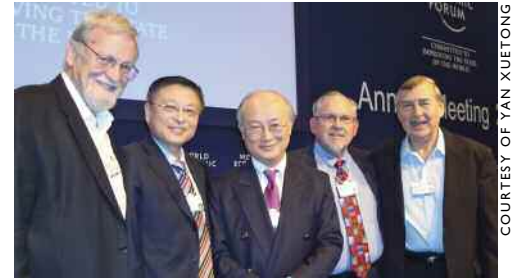
Looking to the year ahead, a simulation or war game hosted by the Belfer Center in November is suggestive. The purpose of the exercise was to illuminate the shape of the challenge and real policy alternatives for decision makers in the months ahead. Participants included some of the leading thinkers working on the Iran issue today: our own **Nicholas Burns**, the Bush administration's lead diplomat on Iran; Columbia University's **Gary Sick**; and **Dore Gold**, Israel's former permanent representative to the UN. Columnist **David Ignatius** observed the simulation and published his takeaways in a column for the *Washington Post*.

I summarized my own takeaway from the simulation in a poor-man's version of Yogi Berra: if the river is pushing your raft to where you don't want to go, if you just hang on, you'll get there. My second: if you don't want to go where the river is pushing your raft, you better get off.

The simulation demonstrated the pressing need for game-changing ideas on the Iran front. Iran, however, is only one of several nuclear-related issues that will be on the front page of the international agenda over the next several months. The Obama administration is hosting the first ever Nuclear Security Summit in April, where 42 heads of state will join him for two days focusing on one issue: how to secure all nuclear weapons and all weapons-usable material worldwide to a gold standard—beyond the reach of terrorists or thieves. Two Belfer alumni, **Gary Samore** and **Laura Holgate**, are the key National Security Council staff members preparing this event.

On the nuclear terrorism front, I am pleased that a recent Belfer Center report by **Rolf Mowatt-Larsen**, a former top CIA official and now a Belfer Center senior fellow, received extensive international attention. It details al Qaeda's sustained efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction—beginning more than a decade ago and continuing today. (Read it here: <http://belfercenter.org/publication/19852/>)

In a lead article in the January/February issue of *Foreign Affairs*, I asked whether the current global nuclear order could be as fragile



COURTESY OF YAN XUETONG

Getting to Zero: How to rid the world of 23,000 nuclear warheads and prevent new ones? A panel of nuclear experts discussed the challenge at the World Economic Forum in January. Panelists included Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (right), and (left to right) **Gareth Evans** (moderator), co-chair, International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament; **Yan Xuetong**, director, Institute of International Studies, Tsinghua University; **Yukiya Amano**, director-general, International Atomic Energy Agency; and **Lawrence B. Brilliant**, president, Skoll Global Threats Fund.

today as the global financial order was two years ago. Analyzing the facts on the ground in Iran, Pakistan, and North Korea, it is clear that trendlines are propelling us toward a "tipping point" for proliferation and nuclear terrorism. President Obama has undertaken the most substantial effort to bend these trendlines since JFK in the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis. As President Obama recently noted, "The next 12 months could be pivotal in determining whether [the nonproliferation regime] will be strengthened or slowly dissolve away." Folks at the Center will be providing all the ideas and support we can to what we hope will be a pivot in the right direction. 🌐

Career Diplomat Marc Grossman to be First Future of Diplomacy Fellow by Sharon Wilke

At a time when most major challenges facing the international community cannot be resolved by military force, nations will need to rely more on their ability to negotiate, communicate, and resolve differences through diplomacy. In response to this need, the Belfer Center is completing plans for a full-scale program—the Future of Diplomacy Project—that will make diplomacy a major focus of the School's teaching and research. This month, Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Politics **Nicholas Burns**, who will head the new

effort, announced Ambassador **Marc Grossman** as the first Future of Diplomacy Fellow.

[Marc Grossman] epitomizes the best of what diplomacy can achieve, and we plan to tap his vast wealth of experience and expertise.
—**Nicholas Burns**

"Diplomacy is a vital resource for the United States and other countries in our increasingly globalized world," Burns said. "I am honored that Marc has accepted our call to serve as the first Future of Diplomacy Fellow. He epitomizes the best of what diplomacy can achieve, and we plan to tap his vast wealth of experience and expertise."

Ambassador Grossman is a public policy scholar in-residence at the Woodrow Wilson Center for the first half of 2010. He will use his visits to Harvard in the spring 2010 semester to teach, meet with students, and to seek

contributions for a book on the utility of diplomacy in the modern world.

Grossman served as U.S. under secretary of state for political affairs, the State Department's third-ranking official, from 2001 to 2005. He also served as assistant secretary of state for European affairs from 1997 to 1999 and as ambassador to Turkey. In 2000, he was named director general of the U.S. Foreign Service. Grossman attained the Foreign Service's highest rank when then President **George Bush** appointed him to the rank of career ambassador in 2004.

Grossman will join other former leaders from around the world who will be recruited for the program during the coming months. Plans include expanding course offerings on diplomacy through visiting faculty and fellowships, organizing conferences on the importance of diplomacy in global politics, and establishing a joint project with other Harvard graduate schools to stimulate research, case studies, conferences, and speeches about the nexus between diplomacy and negotiations. 🌐



Diplomatic Designation: Ambassador **Marc Grossman** (right) discusses major foreign policy

challenges at a Belfer Center directors' lunch. Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph Nye** took part in the discussion with faculty, fellows, and students.

Iran Game Stimulates Policy Discussions with Sobering “What Ifs”

by Sharon Wilke

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Game Changer: *Washington Post* Columnist David Ignatius, an observer of the Iran simulation, gives his assessment at the wrap-up of the day-long event.

“How will the confrontation over Iran’s nuclear program evolve during the next year?” David Ignatius, *Washington Post* columnist, opened his December 6 column with this question. He went on to say, “If a simulation game played at Harvard last week is any guide, the situation won’t look pretty: Iran will be closer to having the bomb, and America will fail to obtain tough U.N. sanctions; diplomatic relations with Russia, China and Europe will be strained; and Israel will be threatening unilateral military action.” <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/12/04/AR2009120403074.html>

Ignatius played the role of an observer during the simulation organized and hosted by the Belfer Center in late November. The purpose of the exercise was to illuminate the possible evolution of the Iranian nuclear crisis over the next year based on policy choices made by concerned countries. Participants included current and former government officials and scholars who played heads of state or policy-makers in Iran, U.S., Israel, China, Russia, European Union and the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Several participants offered their takeaways from the exercise.

Graham Allison (Director, Belfer Center)

“My biggest takeaway is a poor-man’s version of Yogi Berra: if the river is pushing your raft to where you don’t want to go, if you just hang on, you’ll get there. My second: if you don’t want to go where the river is pushing your raft, you better get off.

Absent a game changer, a year from today, Iran will be that much closer to its nuclear goal line—which at a minimum is a nuclear weapons option.”

Dore Gold (Former Israeli Ambassador to United Nations)

“The game made it clear to me that the U.S. is going from a policy designed to prevent Iran from having nuclear weapons to an approach

that accepts the possibility that it will have nuclear weapons and to deter it from using them by means of containment. Israel continues to believe that Iran must be prevented from arming itself with nuclear weapons.” <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1134064.html>

Stephen Walt (Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs, Belfer Center)

“Participating in the game was an interesting experience, but my overwhelming impression as the game concluded was that one could draw no firm conclusions from the experience, and that it might even be dangerous to try.

The breakneck pace of the game, trying to simulate a full year of negotiations in six hours, allowed scant time for reflection or time to finish initiatives. Trying to simulate a complex multiparty negotiation with four or five-person ‘teams’ was problematic, particularly when some team members were unavoidably absent for up to a quarter of the game. For these reasons, it would be foolhardy to base real-world policy on this most unrealistic simulation.”

[The] U.S. . . . accepts the possibility that it [Iran] will have nuclear weapons . . . Israel continues to believe that Iran must be prevented from arming itself with nuclear weapons.

—Dore Gold

Nicholas Burns (Professor of Diplomacy and International Politics, Belfer Center)

“No simulation can replicate the real world of strategic competition between the U.S. and Iran over its nuclear weapons future. Yet the Harvard simulation was valuable in reminding us of the need for the U.S. to take a long-term view of this extraordinarily complex challenge. I believe the U.S. should focus on isolating the Iranian government through international sanctions and containment of its military power. We should avoid a U.S. or Israeli military strike and focus, instead, on patient application of pressure to turn back Iran’s nuclear ambitions. We should negotiate with Iran when we can, but be tough-minded in applying pressure.”

Gary Sick (Senior Research Scholar, Columbia University)

“It was probably realistic that no one challenged Iran’s right to enrich. . . . But there was no effort to test Iran on safeguards, inspections or other arrangements that might provide reliable intelligence on Iranian activities; neither did any player propose restrictions on specific key elements of the Iranian nuclear program, which would lengthen the time required to

break out into production of a nuclear device.” <http://garysick.tumblr.com/post/277533610/>

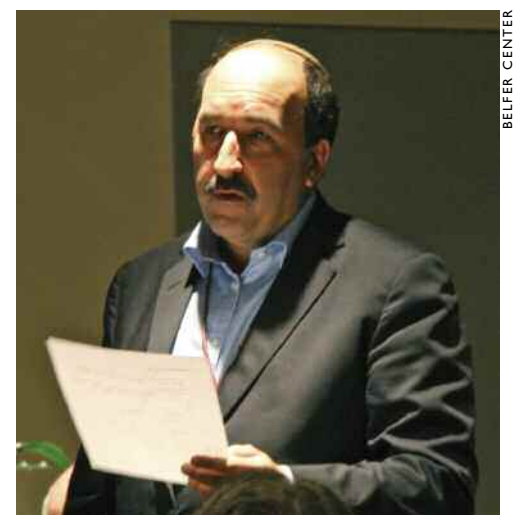
[Iran] was excluded from direct discussions, its proposals and initiatives went unanswered, and its interests were never investigated.
—Steven Miller

Steven Miller (Director, International Security Program, Belfer Center)

“Iran was universally regarded as the winner of the simulation. By the end of the game, it had forged useful connections with Russia and China while American policy had failed dismally: nothing meaningful had been done to slow or stop Iran’s nuclear enrichment program. U.S. relations with Israel were frayed, America’s European allies had been ignored and alienated. It was instructive to see how quickly the game devolved into a heated squabble among those Washington was attempting to herd into a coalition in support of stronger sanctions. It was also illuminating to experience how irrelevant Iran itself was to the diplomatic action: it was excluded from direct discussions, its proposals and initiatives went unanswered, and its interests were never investigated.”

David Ignatius offered these words of caution to the real-world players:

“Players aren’t always clear on what’s really happening; they misread or ignore signals sent by others; they take actions that have unintended and sometimes devastating consequences. . . . If the real players truly mean to contain Iran and stop it from getting the bomb, they need to avoid the snares that were so evident in the Harvard game.”



Dire Forecast: Dore Gold, former Israeli ambassador to the UN, discusses his reaction to the simulation as a member of the Israeli team.

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Scholars' Views Vary on Copenhagen Successes



Seeking Solutions: A participant (left) gets information at the interactive climate wall during the UN Climate Summit in Copenhagen.

Belfer Center participants in the 2009 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen (UNFCCC) agreed that while the summit did not produce the treaty most wanted, it did make some significant progress. They disagree, however, on how much. Professors **Jeffrey Frankel**, **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, and **Robert Stavins**, all members of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, offer their take-aways from the event.

Jeffrey Frankel (James W. Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Growth, Harvard Kennedy School)

The Copenhagen negotiations were doomed to fail because the positions of the parties were so far apart, particularly the United States versus developing countries. Matters were exacerbated by procedural chaos, in a way suggesting that important progress can only be made through small meetings of big countries. This principle

was illustrated by the lone bit of genuine progress at Copenhagen: the last-minute agreement between President Obama and a handful of other large emitters who have not yet accepted quantitative targets to move in that direction. The biggest question is whether the U.S. and major developing countries will be able, perhaps in G-20 meetings this year, to agree on specific numerical emission targets. I still believe that my formulas-based approach is the way to do this. <http://www.rff.org/Publications/WPC/Pages/A-Pragmatic-Global-Climate-Policy-Architecture.aspx>

Kelly Sims Gallagher (Associate Professor of Energy and Environmental Policy, The Fletcher School, Tufts University; Senior Associate, Belfer Center)

The U.S. needs to integrate across issues like trade and security to secure a lasting deal with China.
—Kelly Sims Gallagher

The Copenhagen Accord is no substitute for a real-deal treaty, but world leaders became personally acquainted with the tough issues, directly and seriously negotiating for the first time. In his hours in the Bella Center, President Obama quickly identified the core elements of the package—emission reductions, financing, and verification—but because the Senate still has not passed a bill, Obama could not put finance on the table, nor could he be

flexible about emission reduction targets or press the Chinese to do more. Everyone seemed surprised by Chinese reluctance to jump on board, but to put it plainly, what was in it for the Chinese? The U.S. needs to integrate across issues like trade and security to secure a lasting deal with China. Premier Wen and President Obama need to directly talk again, and soon, before frustrations harden into intransigence.

Robert Stavins (Albert Pratt Professor of Business and Government, Harvard Kennedy School; Director, Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements)

Going into Copenhagen, the challenge was great, because of fundamental economic and political realities. But at the final hour, the leaders of a small number of key countries—led by President Obama—worked to identify a politically feasible path forward. Their roadmap, despite its flaws, offers a possible foundation for progress.

The Copenhagen Accord commits each nation to abide by its domestic climate commitments, whether those are in the form of laws and regulations or multi-year development plans. Unlike Kyoto, this accord establishes a *framework* for involving key, rapidly growing developing countries, and giving attention to the long-term path of emissions. Whether the next step should be under the auspices of the UNFCCC or a smaller deliberative body is an important question and one on which we are focusing in the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements. <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/56/>

México City Metrobús System Wins 2009 Roy Award by Beth Maclin

The México City Metrobús, a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system that reduces air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions while improving the quality of life and transportation options in one of the largest cities in the world, received the biannual 2009 Roy Family Award for Environmental Partnership in September.

“This model is transferable to cities throughout the developing world—cities that are wrestling with the dual problem of moving people around in a highly congested area, while combating very high pollution levels,” said **Henry Lee**, director of the Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP), in announcing the winner.

The Metrobús system resulted from a partnership between EMBARQ—The World Resources Institute Center for Sustainable Transport—and CEIBA (a Mexican NGO) and the México City government, with funding and support from the Shell Foundation, Caterpillar Foundation, Hewlett Foundation, and the World Bank. Through this collaboration, EMBARQ, CEIBA and México City established the Center for Sustainable

Transport in México (CTS-México), which has provided ongoing technical assistance to the Metrobús system.

Metrobús has reduced carbon dioxide emissions from México City traffic by an estimated 80,000 tons a year. The new buses, which operate on clean-burning ultra-low sulfur diesel fuel, make more than 450,000 trips per day.

This model is transferable to cities throughout the developing world.
—Henry Lee

México City Mayor **Marcelo Ebrard** and CTS-México sponsored an event in November celebrating the Roy Family Award. At the ceremony, Ebrard confirmed the city’s commitment to improving public transportation by announcing that the city will build two additional Metrobús lines in 2010.

“Metrobús’ achievement in improving the local infrastructure and quality of life in

México City, its innovative approach to partnering with local stakeholders, and the commitment to address a combination of critical issues exemplify the mission of this award,” said **Amanda Swanson**, ENRP program administrator who attended the event. “We hope it catalyzes many other award-worthy projects in the years to come.”

EMBARQ and CTS-México also are now advising other cities in México on developing their own BRT systems. The organizations provided technical and financial support to help launch Guadalajara’s Macrobus, which opened in March 2009. <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/56/>



Green Team: Recipients of the 2009 Roy Family Award for the México City Metrobús System take part in a panel discussion about the project. **Cristine Russell** (second from right), Belfer Center Environment and Natural Resources Program senior fellow, moderated the discussion.

These pages feature a few of the talented women and men who are current and former faculty, fellows, staff, and associates of the Belfer Center whose work is making significant contributions in public and private sectors around the world.

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Faculty, Fellows,

Understanding the Path to Radicalization by Beth Maclin



Azeem Ibrahim



Nelly Lahoud



Michael Robbins



Lorenzo Vidino

As a space of recent terrorist plots—each originating from within the United States—has changed U.S. focus on how to respond to terrorism. In addition to attempting to dismantle a terrorist network in a distant country, the U.S. must also determine how to de-radicalize domestic threats. But before the U.S. can address de-radicalization, the following question must be answered: Why do individuals and communities radicalize? Several Belfer Center fellows and associates address this question in their research.

They read, listen to, and watch only material which stokes their view of the world and prepares them for action and, in some cases, the murder of innocents.
—Azeem Ibrahim

“What [former CIA case officer Marc Sageman] discovers is that terrorists are most likely to be motivated not by disadvantage but by a sense of moral disgust. . . . It is sparked when the individual reacts to stories of Muslim suffering around the world with moral outrage. Some of those who feel outraged will progress to the second stage, in which they interpret that suffering in the context of a wider Manichaean war between Islam and the West. Of those who take that view, a minority will progress to the third stage, in which their smoldering resentment will be fueled by bad personal experiences in western countries. . . . Of those who undergo these three stages, fewer undergo the fourth, in which the individual joins a circle of friends which becomes like a family closed to the outside world. . . . They read, listen to and watch only material which stokes their view of the world and prepares them for action and, in some cases, the murder of innocents.”

—Azeem Ibrahim (International Security Program fellow), “Tackling the Real Causes of Islamic Extremism,” *The Scotsman*, January 6, 2010

Jihadis rely on their own interpretation of Islamic teachings as a vehicle of self-empowerment.

—Nelly Lahoud

“The path to jihadism is the result of many factors, including political outrage against what the jihadis perceive to be the injustices of their own governments or the actions of distant governments against fellow Muslims, subjection to torture, peer pressure, economic deprivation, or even religious alienation. For jihadis, these invariably translate into a desire to affect political change by appealing to Islamic principles of social justice. They thus reject the nation-state and its secular processes, believing them to be a continuation of imperialism. They even reject the authority of the religious establishment, perceiving it to be an extension of the state apparatus. Instead, the jihadis rely on their own interpretation of Islamic teachings as a vehicle of self-empowerment and advocate that jihad is the individual duty of every believer. They believe that they are fighting a defensive war against their own regimes and the Western governments that support them.”

—Nelly Lahoud (ISP/Initiative on Religion in International Affairs associate)

“Despite living in very similar circumstances, some individuals become radicalized, while the vast majority of people living around them do not. As such, it is critical to focus on what factors lead to sympathy with the actions of radical groups which represents the first stage of radicalization. My research with Mark Tessler indicates that in the Arab world there are two strong predictors of passive support for terrorism, defined as individuals who approve of terrorist actions against the U.S.: having a negative judgment about their own government and a negative judgment about U.S. foreign policy. While the vast majority of these sympathizers will never carry out a terrorist

act, they comprise the pool of potential recruits for terrorist organizations and are the portion of the population that is more likely to offer indirect support to local terrorist groups.”

—Michael Robbins
(Dubai Initiative fellow)

“If we look at the people involved . . . in some of the plots you mentioned, their profiles are so diverse. . . . Researchers and governments are really struggling to find the common profile. Some of them come from very well-to-do families. Some come from very disenfranchised backgrounds. We have first and second-generation immigrants. We have people with Ph.D.’s. I think we are coming to the conclusion that it’s impossible to profile at this point in time. . . . [T]he common denominator for a lot of people is buying into this victimization and humiliation narrative. For very different reasons, very different people buy into this sort of narrative.”

—Lorenzo Vidino (ISP/RIAA fellow),
“Globally, Nations Grapple With Deradicalization,” NPR’s “Tell Me More,”
January 21, 2010

Broadmoor Success in New

When the Belfer Center’s Broadmoor Project launched in October 2006, a year after Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans’ Broadmoor neighborhood, it was difficult to imagine how much progress would be possible. But the project’s partnership between Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) students and the Broadmoor community has delivered impressive results and invaluable lessons to the neighborhood and beyond.

Doug Ahlers, director of the Broadmoor Project and an adjunct senior fellow at the Belfer Center, spent several weeks in New Orleans earlier this year supervising six Harvard Kennedy School and six Harvard Business



Local Goes Global: Rebecca Hummel (right) in the Khogyani District of Afghanistan’s Nangarhar Province.

Belfer Center Programs and Projects: *International Security Program (ISP); Science, Technology, and Public Policy (STPP); Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP); Program on Intrastate Conflict (ICP); Dubai Initiative (DI); Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group (ETIP); Project on Managing the Atom (MTA); Science, Technology, and Globalization Project (STG); Broadmoor Project; Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements; Initiative on Religion in International Affairs; Agricultural Innovation in Africa*

Pentagon Taps Belfer and Carr Centers for Af/Pak Expertise by Sharon Wilke

Belfer and Carr Center fellows and Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) students have been busy since fall supporting the work of the Joint Staff's Afghanistan-Pakistan Coordination Cell (PACC). The PACC, created by General **Stanley McChrystal** and directed by Brigadier General **John Nicholson**, plays a crucial role in supporting counterinsurgency efforts in Afghanistan.

The Harvard Kennedy School group provided nearly two dozen case studies on [a range of] issues in Afghanistan.

Coordinated by Belfer Center Executive Director of Research **Eric Rosenbach** and Belfer researcher **Matan Chorev**, a coterie of Belfer and Carr Center fellows and Kennedy School students have supported the PACC's efforts to achieve what the deputy chief of staff

for intelligence for the coalition calls a "rich contextual understanding" of the conflict's drivers. The HKS group provided nearly two dozen case studies on issues in Afghanistan such as capacity-building, the Taliban, geopolitics, rule of law and justice issues, legitimacy in governance, and the relationship between development and security.

Sabrina Roshan, an HKS student researcher (MPP 2010) with the Belfer Center, focused her case on the rural perspectives of the Taliban, specifically on residents of central Afghanistan's Wardak province. Roshan spent time over the summer in Kabul speaking to Wardakis who had relocated there following the Taliban's strengthening stronghold in their province. From her interviews, Roshan concluded that the main force behind apathy or support for the Taliban is neither ideology nor compensation, but rather the desire for transparent and efficient local administration.

Another case concentrated on factors that influence opium poppy cultivation. This case



Turning the Taliban: **Michael Semple**, a fellow with Harvard Kennedy School's Carr Center for Human Rights Policy and an expert on the Taliban and Pashtun tribes, discusses the Taliban and Afghan politics at a Belfer Center directors' lunch. Semple, who has worked in Afghanistan since 1989, has experience as a development worker, political officer, and conflict negotiator.

built on Carr Center fellow **David Mansfield's** decade-long experience collecting data and working in rural Afghanistan on drugs and development issues.

This is a fantastic opportunity for the Center to contribute to one of the most important challenges facing the nation right now.
—**Eric Rosenbach**

In addition to the cases, the HKS team helped inform the design of a National Intelligence Council regional war game, in which Rosenbach participated. In addition, Rosenbach and Chorev are regular participants in the Pakistan Afghanistan Federation Forum, a weekly video teleconference with Gen. McChrystal and the interagency representatives involved in the U.S. Afghanistan effort. Further, Rosenbach and Chorev helped chair a fall conference to inform the methodology of the "rich contextual understanding" effort, and hosted with Tufts University's Institute for Global Leadership an off-the-record workshop in February on the prospects for security and political reconciliation in Afghanistan.

"This is a fantastic opportunity for the Center to contribute to one of the most important challenges facing the nation right now," Rosenbach said. "The project has demonstrated true synergy of expertise from students, fellows, and faculty from across HKS." 🌐

Lindsay Hodges Anderson contributed to this article.

Orleans Offers Lessons for Afghanistan by Beth Maclin

school students. Through the drive and determination of its residents, and with the assistance of the students, 85 percent of structures are now rebuilt and a new school recently opened.

"While our work in Broadmoor is not complete, we are at the point where we can say that the Broadmoor Project has successfully orchestrated the post-disaster reconstruction of a community," Ahlers said. "The lessons learned from the Broadmoor Project are applicable to other post-disaster reconstructions, but also to post-conflict reconstruction projects."

Rebecca Hummel, HKS MPP '07, is one example of how the lessons from Broadmoor are being used elsewhere—this time in Afghanistan. Hummel participated in the Broadmoor Project from 2006–2007, working with community leaders to articulate and design a post-Katrina redevelopment plan. This experience shaped much of her post-Harvard Kennedy School work.

After working at the Department of State's Office of Iranian Affairs with a focus on counter-terrorism (2007–2009), Hummel returned to the type of work that captured her interest in New Orleans: local, community-driven approaches to solving problems and making communities stronger. She now looks

at global communities with USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives in Afghanistan. She is a field program manager for USAID's Afghanistan Stabilization Initiative, which has a community-based approach of targeted activities—designed in close collaboration with local stakeholders—in order to understand and mitigate the root causes of instability in those areas.

The lessons learned from the Broadmoor Project are applicable to other post-disaster reconstructions, but also to post-conflict reconstruction projects.
—**Doug Ahlers**

"Just as the approach for community redevelopment in New Orleans is based on specific dynamics on the ground in the Broadmoor neighborhood," Hummel said, "so is the stabilization programming approach with the Office of Transition Initiatives in Afghanistan developed and designed to meet the unique needs of each situation all the way down the district and village levels." 🌐

U.S.-Russia Initiative Aims to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism by Kevin Ryan

Kevin Ryan is director of the Belfer Center's U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism.

Terrorism is a threat that has been present throughout history, but the rise of highly effective terrorist organizations—combined with the accessibility of modern technology—has given dedicated terrorist groups an assortment of tools with which to threaten their enemies. The events of September 11 made clear that terrorists seek a new level of violence in the modern era. Some threats are more likely than others, but the most violent threat that terrorists could mount is the explosion of a nuclear device. A terrorist attack that produced a nuclear yield would impact not only those within the weapon's reach but our entire international system.

In his April 2009 speech in Prague, President Obama warned, "In a strange turn of history, the threat of global nuclear war has gone down, but the risk of a nuclear attack has gone up. We must ensure that terrorists never acquire a nuclear weapon. This is the most immediate and extreme threat to global security."

The goal of the Initiative is to contribute to improved joint U.S.-Russian assessment of the threat of nuclear terrorism, and concepts, strategy, and actions to prevent a successful nuclear attack by terrorists.

In an effort to address this threat, the Belfer Center has teamed with other United States and Russian partners to form the U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism. The goal of the Initiative is to contribute to

Principal Partners:
Sergei Rogov (left), director of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences, speaks on "Russian-American Reset, START and WMD" at a Belfer Center directors' seminar in the fall. Rogov is the author of numerous articles and books, including "The Search for a Balance of Interests in the Soviet-American Relations" and "The USSR and the USA: Problems of Mutual Security." **Kevin Ryan**, director of the U.S.-Russia Initiative, took part in the discussion.



improved joint U.S.-Russian assessment of the threat of nuclear terrorism and concepts, strategy, and actions to prevent a successful nuclear attack by terrorists.

Why is the Initiative focused on the U.S. and Russia? More than any other states, Russia and the U.S. have developed the technical expertise, security infrastructure, and safe practices necessary to exploit the peaceful use of nuclear materials without contributing to the risk of terrorists acquiring those materials. Having led the world in building nuclear weapons and superpower arsenals, and maintaining 95 percent of the world's nuclear weapons and materials, the U.S. and Russia must lead in assuring that all nuclear weapons and materials are secure—beyond the reach of terrorists. The Initiative's intent is to leverage that joint expertise to assist other countries in coordinating efforts to prevent nuclear terrorism.

How serious is the threat? The Russian Federation's Special Representative for

International Cooperation in Combating Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crime, **Anatoliy Safonov**, confided in an interview in 2007, "We have firm knowledge, which is based on evidence and facts, of steady interest and tasks assigned to terrorists to acquire in any form what is called nuclear weapons, nuclear components." Although acquiring a nuclear bomb or making a nuclear device is a difficult task for a terrorist group, it is not impossible.

Having led the world in building nuclear weapons and superpower arsenals, . . . the U.S. and Russia must lead in assuring that all nuclear weapons and materials are secure.

Nuclear Summit

(continued from page 1)

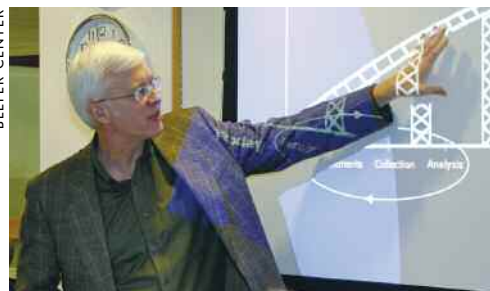
In a recent *Foreign Policy* article, "A Failure to Imagine the Worst," Allison wrote, "The countdown to a nuclear 9/11 can be stopped, but only by realistic recognition of the threat, a clear agenda for action, and relentless determination to pursue it." His article introduces

a timeline of al Qaeda's efforts to acquire WMD developed by Center Senior Fellow **Rolf Mowatt-Larsen**, former head of the CIA's terrorism and weapons-of-mass-destruction efforts.

En route, Obama read Graham Allison's book *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*.

The Center's new U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism is described in the article above.

A complete list of recent Belfer Center publications focusing on nuclear terrorism is available at <http://belfercenter.org/nuclearterrorismpublications>.



Securing Intelligence: Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Rolf Mowatt-Larsen** discusses responsibilities of the U.S. Department of Energy's Office of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, which he headed before coming to the Center.

The Initiative seeks to complement efforts already underway to address the problem of nuclear terrorism. Chief among existing efforts are the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, and the working groups within the U.S.-Russia Bilateral Presidential Commission. The Initiative builds on those efforts by focusing attention on the difficult task of achieving President Obama's ambitious standard of preventing the explosion of even one nuclear bomb.

By bringing together experts on nuclear weapons, nuclear energy, security, intelligence, and terrorism, the Initiative will facilitate shared understanding of the threat and generate ideas on how to counter it. The Belfer Center's principal partners in the Initiative are the USA Canada Institute, the PIR Center, and the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for World Economy and International Relations—all in Moscow—as well as the West Point Counter Terrorism Center, the Nuclear Threat Initiative, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in the United States.

Henry Lee and Kelly Sims Gallagher

As the U.S. debates an economy-wide CO₂ cap-and-trade policy, the transportation sector remains a significant oil security and climate change concern. A new Belfer Center study—"Analysis of Policies to Reduce Oil Consumption and Greenhouse Gas Emissions from the U.S. Transportation Sector"—concludes that significant reductions in these areas will require much stronger policy initiatives than are currently under consideration. Two of the authors answer questions about their report. Henry Lee is director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program and Kelly Sims Gallagher is senior associate of the Belfer Center and associate professor of energy and environmental policy at Fletcher School, Tufts University's graduate school of international affairs.



Kelly Sims Gallagher

Q Your study indicates that in order to make a significant reduction in greenhouse gases and oil consumption in the transportation sector, U.S. gasoline prices will need to be significantly increased and regulations strengthened. Did this result surprise you?

We modeled what would happen if you imposed a 50 cent/gallon levy, and increased it 10 percent per year through 2030. By 2030, the gas tax is \$3.36, and the overall cost of gasoline including this tax (using the Department of Energy's reference case scenario for the base price) is \$7.00/gallon in 2007 dollars. We were not terribly surprised to confirm that the price of gasoline influences people's decisions about how much to drive, but rather surprised that this tax level still was not high enough to dramatically reduce oil consumption or greenhouse-gas emissions from the transportation sector. Transport GHGs are only reduced eight percent below 2005 levels and oil imports are only reduced about three million barrels/day.

It is [critical] for us to "put the brakes" on the growth in vehicle-miles traveled.
—Kelly Sims Gallagher

We were much more surprised by the whopping costs of tax credits for advanced technology vehicles—equivalent to a U.S. auto industry bailout a year—and their relative ineffectiveness as a policy. Another important finding was how critical it is for us to "put the brakes" on the growth in vehicle-miles traveled (VMT). VMT is projected to grow 30 percent between 2005 and 2030, which means that, on average, people will drive 30 percent more each day in 2030. This growth renders all the policies we modeled less effective. The only policy we examined that reduced the growth in VMT was gas taxes, but even the gas taxes did not keep VMT from growing significantly.

Q You looked at five different scenarios to determine what would work best to reduce emissions and oil production. How did you decide what to examine and how to get the most accurate results?

Of the dozens of policy scenarios we examined during the course of our research, the five we

chose to concentrate on using the National Energy Modeling System (NEMS) model were the policies that are under consideration by Congress and the Obama administration. In every case, we made them more stringent in order to try to achieve significant reductions in GHG emissions and oil imports. We also hypothesized that individual policy measures implemented on their own would produce weak reductions in oil consumption and GHG emissions below current levels, but this was proved incorrect. Fuel taxes alone proved to be the most effective policy scenario. In the real world, however, CO₂ performance standards, or CAFE, provide an important complementary backstop policy against variation in fuel prices.

Henry Lee

Q Are there steps that might be taken to make higher gasoline prices more acceptable to the American public?

Americans have historically resisted even moderate increases in gasoline levies, and this resistance is likely to persist. Thus, achieving gasoline tax increases at the levels modeled in this study will be very difficult, even assuming payments to those parts of society hardest hit by the increases. If one looks at the high-price scenarios in the latest U.S. Energy Information Administration's projections, however, we may be looking at higher fuel prices, even if Congress rejects any change in gasoline taxes. Further, if we want to achieve the carbon reduction goals set by the Obama administration or the House of Representatives, we have no choice but to both raise fuel prices and set even stricter efficiency standards. In a world of 60 MPG vehicles, \$8.00 gasoline is quite manageable.

It is important to keep in mind that the purpose of the study is not to advocate for one policy scenario or another, but to provide policymakers with a better sense of the size and scope of the changes in prices, subsidies, or regulations that would be needed to make measurable decreases in carbon emissions and oil consumption in the light duty vehicle sector.

The purpose of the study is to provide policymakers with a better sense of the size and scope of changes needed ...

—Henry Lee

Q Congress has been working toward an energy bill. How might your study affect proposed legislation?

If one believes that it is imperative that the country reduces carbon emissions or that it is critical to reduce oil imports for our nation's security, the nation needs to reduce its consumption of gasoline. The message of this report is that if you want to maintain low energy prices, you will solve neither problem.

Q What are your main takeaways from this study?

1. The carbon reduction and oil security goals that we have set will require stronger policy initiatives than what we are now seeing coming out of Washington. It is not possible to have low oil prices and meaningful reductions in both carbon and oil imports.

Even in a [future] world of \$7–9 gasoline, the impact on GDP is minimal.

2. An economy-wide cap and trade program (or a carbon tax) will have a minor effect on CO₂ emissions from the transportation sector. Other policies will be needed: higher fuel prices are imperative, but it is highly unlikely that Congress will pass gasoline taxes along the lines that we suggest; hence, strong efficiency standards become equally important. In fact, one complements the other.
3. Performance tax credits may be a useful tool to jump start the penetration of new technologies, but do not rely on them to make cost-effective reductions in carbon emissions because they are expensive.
4. The U.S. economy is going to grow over the next 20 years. People will have higher per-capita incomes in 2030 than they do today. Without changes in technologies or prices, they will buy more cars, and they will drive those cars more miles. To change the technologies, as well as consumer behavior, will require significant government intervention into transportation markets.
5. Even in a world of \$7–9 gasoline, the impact on GDP is minimal.

This study is available at <http://belfercenter.org/ghgtransportation>.

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Providing Leadership . . .

COURTESY OF HASSAN ABBAS



Perspectives on Pakistan: Hassan Abbas, Quaid-i-Azam professor at Columbia University and senior advisor at the Belfer Center, with Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton** following Abbas' interview with her about Pakistan and U.S. relations with the Muslim world. The interview was published on his blog WATANDOST in December.

BELFER CENTER



European Outlook: Ana Palacio, senior vice-president for international affairs at AREVA, a multinational company with interests in nuclear and other forms of energy, and a former foreign minister of Spain, presents "Nuclear Proliferation, Energy Security, Iran and Afghanistan: A European Perspective" at a Belfer Center directors' lunch in December. Palacio was the first woman to serve as Spain's foreign minister and, at the time, held the most senior post ever filled by a woman in the Spanish government. She is also a former senior vice president and World Bank Group general counsel. A lawyer, she has held senior positions in the governing body of European lawyers (CCBE). Palacio is a frequent contributor to international politics journals and newspapers. She has been listed among the *Wall Street Journal's* top 75 "global opinion leaders."

BELFER CENTER



Counsel on Conflicts: Douglas Lute, President Barack Obama's deputy national security adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan, meets with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** at the Center in November.

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Time to Act: Rami Khouri, director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at American University of Beirut and editor-at-large of *The Daily Star*, presents "Nine months of Obama in the Middle East: Time to Deliver?" at a Belfer Center directors' seminar in late fall. Khouri, a senior fellow with the Center's Dubai Initiative, is a Palestinian-Jordanian and U.S. citizen whose family

resides in Beirut, Amman, and Nazareth. Khouri writes columns regularly for Agence Global website.

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Leading Lady: Shirley Williams, member of Parliament from 1964–1976 and now advisor on nuclear proliferation to Prime Minister **Gordon Brown**, discusses challenges facing women leaders at an event in November sponsored by Harvard Kennedy School's Women and Public Policy Program. Baroness Williams is a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors.

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Energizing Encounter: Daniel Poneman (center), deputy secretary of energy and former research fellow with the Belfer Center's International Security Program, speaks on U.S. nuclear issues at a Belfer Center directors' lunch in December. Poneman served from 1993–1996 as special assistant to the president and senior director for nonproliferation and export controls at the National Security Council. Listening to Poneman are **Joseph Nye** (left), distinguished service professor and member of the Belfer Center's board of directors, and **Henry Lee**, director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program.

SPEAKERS

Advancing Policy-Relevant Knowledge



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Russian Review: David Huizenga, assistant deputy administrator for the Office of International Material Protection and Cooperation at the National Security Administration of the U.S. Department of Energy, presents "Nuclear Material Security in Russia: A case study of the Bratislava Initiative" at a Belfer Center Managing the Atom Non-Proliferation Practitioners seminar. Huizenga's accomplishments include initiation of a program to enhance the safety and security of research reactors around the world. He also chaired a joint

U.S.-Russian experts group to develop proposals to reduce inventories of highly enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium.



MARCUS HALEVI

Arab Opportunities: Her Excellency Dr. Rima Khalaf, former assistant secretary-general and director of the Regional Bureau for Arab States at the United Nations Development Program and former deputy prime minister of Jordan, was a keynote speaker at Harvard Arab Weekend in

November. The Belfer Center's Dubai Initiative was one of the sponsors of the event, where the Center's Ambassador **Nicholas Burns** gave the Harvard keynote address. Born in Kuwait and a Jordanian citizen, Khalaf has held high ranking positions in Jordan, including as minister of industry and trade and minister of planning. During her tenure as head of the ministerial economic team, she succeeded in pushing forward the drive for economic reform and poverty alleviation.



BELFER CENTER

Rising Stars: National Security Fellows **Jeffrey Milhorn** and **Michael Hauser** were promoted to colonel in the U.S. Army in a ceremony at the Belfer Center in December. They took the oath from **Tad Oelstrom**, lieutenant general, USAF (retired), director of Harvard Kennedy School's National Security Program.

Preventing Proliferation: Kevin Veal, technical staff member in the Safeguards Science and Technology group at Los Alamos National Laboratory, presents "Nonproliferation and North Korea" at a Belfer Center Managing the Atom Non-Proliferation Practitioners seminar in late fall. Veal has worked at Los Alamos since 1999 and currently serves as the leading U.S. Department of Energy technical expert to the Six-Party talks seeking an end to North Korea's nuclear weapons program. A nuclear physicist, Veal was also a team leader for the U.S. government's disablement project in Yongbyon, North Korea.



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Afghan Intel: Henry (Hank) Crumpton (center), coordinator for counterterrorism at the U.S. Department of State from August 2005 to February 2007, discusses counterterrorism and U.S. challenges in Afghanistan at a Belfer Center directors' lunch in November. Earlier, Crumpton was deputy chief of the Central Intelligence Agency's Counterterrorism Center and led CIA's Afghanistan campaign. Belfer Center Senior Fellows **Paula Dobriansky** and **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen** participated in the discussion.



BELFER CENTER

Creed and Conflict: Michel Ben-Josef Hirsch, associate with the Belfer Center's International Security Program (ISP), presents "Until the Messiah Do Us Part: Israel, American Christian Zionists, and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process," at an ISP brown bag in January. Also pictured is **Kelly Greenhill**, joint research fellow with ISP and the Center's Intrastate Conflict Program.

SPOTLIGHT

Rolf Mowatt-Larssen by Sasha Talcott

Rolf Mowatt-Larssen spent more than two dozen years in intelligence, both in the CIA and U.S. Department of Energy. After the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, he led the U.S. government's efforts to determine whether al Qaeda had WMD capabilities and to prevent a nuclear terrorist attack on the United States. He is now a senior fellow at the Belfer Center. In January, Mowatt-Larssen published a timeline of al Qaeda's attempts to acquire WMD. See <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/19852/>.

By the time the summer of 2001 rolled around, **Rolf Mowatt-Larssen** arguably was at the top of his CIA career. He had recently returned from a posting as CIA station chief in Moscow—the “Broadway” of the spy world, as he jokingly called it—and was learning Chinese to gear up for his next challenge: chief of the CIA station in Beijing. Only a handful of spies had ever served in both capitals, and he was about to become one of them.

But the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks upended those plans. CIA Director **George Tenet** called Mowatt-Larssen back to headquarters and gave him a new assignment: assess whether al Qaeda had developed weapons of mass destruction.

The CIA's internal analysis, at that point, dismissed the idea that al Qaeda would attempt to acquire WMD.

It was more a precautionary measure than anything else; Mowatt-Larssen set out to prove that there was nothing to worry about. The CIA's internal analysis, at that point, dismissed the idea that al Qaeda would attempt to acquire WMD, and Mowatt-Larssen himself was skeptical.

“I was pretty convinced we'd determine that it hadn't gotten far down the road,” he said.

What happened over the next several months would change the very nature of the war on terror—as well as Mowatt-Larssen's own career. Always an iconoclast—he once was kicked out of Moscow for being on the wrong side of an internal CIA dispute, and brought back once the issue was resolved in his favor—Mowatt-Larssen brought the same habit of questioning the status quo to his new post.

The longer he stayed in the job, the more information piled up that al Qaeda was up to something even more dangerous than 9/11. Evidence mounted that al Qaeda had launched not one, but two separate anthrax programs for use in deadly attacks. The CIA also discovered that **Osama bin Laden** and his deputy, **Ayman al-Zawahiri**, had met personally with nuclear experts from a Pakistani NGO and discussed how they should build a nuclear device.

To Mowatt-Larssen, the incidents confirmed that bin Laden and Zawahiri themselves had placed a very high priority on developing nuclear and biological weapons.

We never found any information that al Qaeda's intent was a dirty bomb. Their intent was a Hiroshima bomb. —Rolf Mowatt-Larssen

“I was not prepared to discover they had that intent,” Mowatt-Larssen said. “It was a real stunner. We never found any information that al Qaeda's intent was a dirty bomb. Their intent was a Hiroshima bomb.”

As the discoveries mounted, Mowatt-Larssen and his team worked around the clock. He briefed Tenet and other key intelligence officials every day at 5:00 p.m., and Tenet passed the key findings to President **George Bush** the next morning.

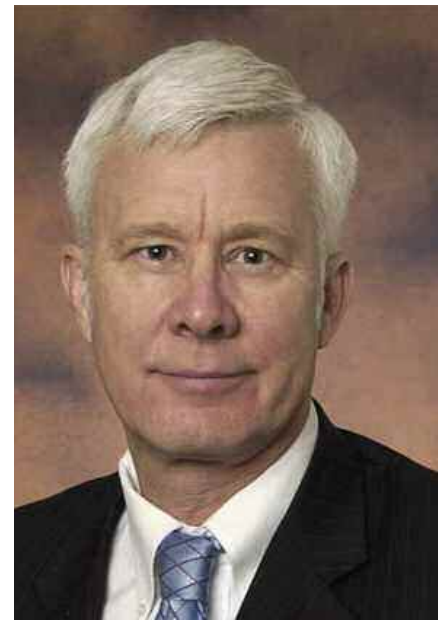
Pakistan became a particular cause for concern. Mowatt-Larssen and Tenet flew to Islamabad and met with then-President **Pervez Musharraf** to encourage him to crack down on extremist groups. (Musharraf's initial response: “Men in caves can't do this.”)

The WMD position capped a long and storied career for Mowatt-Larssen. After graduating from West Point and serving in the Army, Mowatt-Larssen joined the CIA at age 28. (He was fascinated by spy books, and he applied to the agency on a dare from his brother.)

“I wanted to be the classic espionage spy guy,” he said. “I wanted to go to Moscow and battle the KGB. I was lucky enough to get to do that.”

His first assignment: Stockholm, where he posed as a member of an arms control delegation. He went through the entire State Department orientation, and served as the ambassador's aide. That not only taught him about arms control, but also gave him perfect opening for his subsequent assignment to Russia, where he joined the political section of the American embassy.

When Mowatt-Larssen arrived in Moscow in the late 1980s, the battle between the KGB and the CIA was at its peak. Every room in his



home was bugged. His phones were tapped. He was followed everywhere. (The subsequent arrest of the mole **Aldrich Ames** helped explain how the KGB kept such good tabs on the CIA's movements.)

The great mole wars brought tremendous pressure to both sides. At one point, the KGB even offered one of its own agents to the CIA as a phony spy, and he carefully fed the CIA information as a way to ingratiate himself into the agency. The CIA was split as to whether he was real, with one group arguing that the KGB would never put one of its own in that position. (Much later, after successfully infiltrating the agency, the fake agent failed to show up to a rendezvous, confirming the doubters' suspicions.)

The essence of why people don't believe nuclear terrorism is a real threat is because it hasn't happened yet. That's exactly what caused the mole failure within the CIA. —Rolf Mowatt-Larssen

To Mowatt-Larssen, the incident—along with a handful of others—illustrated the disturbing way in which smart agents could examine the same information but draw completely different conclusions. He sees parallels between that and today's nuclear terrorism threat. At the CIA, as now, one of the primary challenges Mowatt-Larssen faced is that many simply did not believe that al Qaeda could pull off an attack of that magnitude.

“The essence of why people don't believe nuclear terrorism is a real threat is because it hasn't happened yet,” Mowatt-Larssen said. “That's exactly what caused the mole failure within the CIA. It's very eerie.”

International Security • Environment and Natural Resources



Hassan Abbas, a Belfer Center senior advisor, was named to the Quaid-i-Azam chair at Columbia University in November. He will hold this professorship jointly at Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) and South Asia Institute at the School of Arts and Science.



Ashton B. Carter, on leave from the Belfer Center's board of directors to serve as under secretary of defense for acquisition, technology, and logistics, was named in November by Secretary of Defense

William Gates to co-lead a special Pentagon task force with Lt. Gen. John Paxton that will look for new ways to counter the threat of homemade bombs in Afghanistan.



Paula Dobriansky, a Belfer Center adjunct senior fellow, was named senior vice president and head of government affairs for the Americas in February at Thomson Reuters' Markets Division, the financial and media operations of Thomson Reuters.



Belfer Center Board Member **Niall Ferguson's** book *The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World* was voted #1 in "The People's Choice: Carnegie Council's Top Ten for 2009." The book emphasizes that the economies of China and America "are so entwined that neither can afford to let the other fail." In addition, "Chimerica," a word coined by Ferguson and Moritz Schularik in late 2006, was named a buzzword of 2009 by the *New York Times*.



Azeem Ibrahim, an International Security Program research fellow, received in November both the St. Andrew's Society's Distinguished Citizens Award for 2009 and an honorary doctorate of letters from Glasgow Caledonian University. In the fall, he also received the Insider Elite International Executive of the Year Award and was commended by the UK Prime Minister for his work on the Social Mobility Task Force.



Ernest May, a member of the Belfer Center's board of directors until he passed away in June 2009, was named in *Newsweek's* list of "Noteworthy People Who Died in 2009."



Vali Nasr, a former senior fellow with the Dubai Initiative, was named a senior adviser to Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Nuclear

"IF NORTH KOREA AND IRAN BECOME ESTABLISHED NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES over the next several years, the nonproliferation regime will have been hollowed out. If Pakistan were to lose control of even one nuclear weapon that was ultimately used by terrorists, that would change the world."

—**Graham Allison**, "Nuclear Disorder," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2010)

"REALIZATION OF THE LIMITATION of the real utility of nuclear weapons as well as of the external and internal costs and risks associated with possessing these weapons should compel Russia to start walking along the path to Global Zero together with other nuclear powers."

—**Simon Saradzhyan**, "Nuclear Russia: 'Zero' Possibility," *International Relations and Security Network* (October 7, 2009)

"GIVEN HIS STATED BELIEF THAT IRANIAN DEVELOPMENT OF A NUCLEAR WEAPON IS UNACCEPTABLE, Obama may face further hard choices. But, our present course on Iran will surely fail. Iran has unclenched its fist to slap us in the face. It is time to wake up."

—**William H. Tobey**, "Iran Unfolds its Fist to Slap us in the Face," *Boston Globe* (February 4, 2010)

Af/Pak and South Asia

"AT EVERY STAGE OF THE LENGTHY CONFLICT that has brought the U.S. into the region, Pakistan has sought to limit Indian influence in Afghanistan. For both Pakistan and India, Afghanistan risks turning into a new disputed territory, like Kashmir, where conflict has damaged both countries for more than 60 years. In Afghanistan today, both countries have an opportunity to reject that precedent and act on their mutual interest in stability."

—**Hassan Abbas**, "Pakistan and India Should Consider Collaborating This Time," *Daily Star* (December 4, 2008)

"THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION IS RIGHT TO FOCUS ON FIXING a faltering war in Afghanistan and shoring up a weak and unstable Pakistan. But it has been less attentive to one of the most important bipartisan achievements of the Clinton and Bush years—the creation of a long-term U.S. friendship and partnership with India."

—**Nicholas Burns**, "Ways Obama Can Tend Bonds with India," *Boston Globe* (November 24, 2009)

"IN FACT, A SIGNIFICANTLY SMALLER U.S. PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN may paradoxically generate more anti-Americanism outside Afghanistan and ultimately more anti-Western terrorism than a more conventional military approach."

—**Thomas Hegghammer**, "The Big Impact of Small Footprints," *Foreign Policy* (November 11, 2009)

"... [T]HE KARZAI GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONS INVOLVED in Afghanistan have fallen into a cruel and dysfunctional arranged marriage that seems too often to lack common values, common projects, trust, and even patience. Each undermines the other's legitimacy."

—**Rory Stewart**, "Afghanistan: What Could Work," *New York Review of Books* (January 14, 2010)

"THE BOTTOM LINE: staying in Afghanistan will cost many more dead American soldiers—and, inevitably, Afghan civilians—and hundreds of billions of additional dollars."

—**Stephen Walt**, "High Cost, Low Odds," *Nation* (October 21, 2009)

Climate

"THE COPENHAGEN NEGOTIATIONS have essentially failed to include . . . the question of import tariffs or other trade penalties that individual countries apply against the products of other countries that they deem too carbon-intensive. . . . Properly designed, they could turn out to be the missing instrument needed to get each country to cut emissions. . . ."

—**Jeffrey Frankel**, "Border Measures Could Make Climate Policy Better or—More Likely—Worse," *Jeff Frankel's Weblog* (December 16, 2009)

"THE CRITICAL ASPECT OF USING A TAX SHIFT to address climate change is that it applies a known price to carbon, so companies can figure out how much they might earn by developing climate-friendly fuels and technologies. . . ."

—**Elaine Kamark**, "A Carbon Tax Would Provide a Sunnier Forecast," *Politico* (December 9, 2009)

Economy

"IN THIS NEW WORLD, THE DOLLAR HAS SHIFTED from being almost the sole 'reserve currency' of many countries to being the primary 'investment currency,' a role that it will continue to play far into the future."

—**Martin Feldstein**, "The Dollar's Fall Reflects a New Role for Reserves," *Financial Times* (December 10, 2009)

"THE CHIMERICAN ERA IS DRAWING TO A CLOSE. Given the bursting of the debt and housing bubbles, Americans will have to kick their addiction to cheap money and easy credit. The Chinese authorities understand that heavily indebted American consumers cannot be relied on to return as buyers of Chinese goods on the scale of the period up to 2007."

—**Niall Ferguson**, "The Great Wallop," *New York Times* (November 16, 2009)

"IF YOU LOOK AT TOTAL JOB CREATION OVER THE LAST DECADE, we created essentially no jobs. If you look at the total performance of the market, we created essentially no returns. If you look at the total performance of income, we produced very little real income growth for families. We as a country can do much . . . better than that. The basic objective of the president's policies is to unlock our potential, to do just that."

—**Lawrence Summers**, interview on "The Charlie Rose Show" (January 29, 2010)

Middle East

"THOSE JEWISH AMERICANS who share a deep concern for Israel's trials and travails have the right, even the duty, to express their criticism within the Jewish community, the public at large, pretty much anywhere—except before the administration and Congress. There, we have to present one voice—not 'pro' every Israeli policy, but united, unswerving support for Israel and a strong U.S.-Israel relationship."

—**Chuck Freilich**, "AIPAC, JStreet, or JDate?" *Jerusalem Post* (October 12, 2009)

"MAHMOUD ABBAS SHOULD CUT SHORT HIS SILLY LITTLE MELO-DRAMA, resign as he said he would, and pave the way for a needed revival of effective Palestinian national leadership."

—**Rami Khouri**, "Palestinians Need Change—Not Charades," *Agence Global* (November 16, 2009)

Extremism

"THE ALIENATION AND RAGE MANY MUSLIMS FEEL toward the West is a product of historical grievances but has been greatly aggravated by their exclusion from the global economy."

—**Vali Nasr**, "Economics Versus Extremism," *Newsweek* (November 2, 2009)

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

—Compiled by Courtney Anderson and Beth Maclin

"HAVING ACCEPTED THAT RADICALIZATION affects some small segments of the American Muslim population exactly like it affects some fringe pockets of the Muslim population of each European country, authorities have been looking for long-term solutions to the problem."

—**Lorenzo Vidino**, "Toward a Radical Solution," *Foreign Policy* (January 5, 2010)

Cybersecurity

"NO NATION IS AS DEPENDENT ON CYBER SYSTEMS and networks for the operation of its infrastructure, economy and military as the United States. Yet, few national governments have less control over what goes on in its cyberspace than Washington."

—**Richard Clarke**, "War from Cyberspace," *National Interest* (October 27, 2009)

"IN A TIME WHERE WE DISCUSS AND DEBATE BORDER PROTECTION from in-bound missiles or illegal immigrants, we fail to address the stark reality of the threat that transgresses our borders daily. This threat is present in the Internet. . . ."

—**Melissa Hathaway**, "A Safe Harbor for Our Foes," *Washington Times* (November 25, 2009)

East Asia

"WHEN PRESIDENT OBAMA DIDN'T MEET WITH THE DALAI LAMA during his October trip to Washington, it gave many the impression that human-rights promotion was not central to this administration's foreign policy. This impression needs to be promptly corrected."

—**Paula Dobriansky**, "The Realist Case for Tibetan Autonomy," *Wall Street Journal* (January 7, 2010)

"THE BEST GUARANTEE OF SECURITY in a region where China remains a long-term challenge and a nuclear North Korea poses a clear threat remains the presence of American troops, which Japan helps to maintain with generous host nation support."

—**Joseph S. Nye**, "An Alliance Larger Than One Issue," *New York Times* (January 7, 2010)

Piracy

"SHIPPING COMPANIES SHOULD EMPLOY THEIR SLOWER SHIPS elsewhere in the world, while guarding and hardening the others. These common sense measures, along with an international move to create jobs for Somalis, would help defeat the pirates."

—**Robert Rotberg**, "Fighting off the Somali Pirates," *Boston Globe* (December 16, 2009)



its Energy and National Security Program.



Robert Stavins, a member of the Belfer Center's board of directors and director of the Harvard Environmental Economics Program, was inducted as a fellow into the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists in January.



Stephen Walt, a member of the Belfer Center's board of directors, along with John Mearsheimer, ranked second on Pulse's "Top 20 Global Thinkers of 2009." Pulse said: "The impact that these two individuals have had in shifting the debate on the U.S. relationship with Israel in the past few years is palpable in the new, more focused, activism it has inspired, directly challenging the institutions responsible for sustaining Israeli rejectionism. Walt's blog is an essential daily stop for anyone with interest in U.S. foreign policy."



Eight current and former Belfer Center faculty and fellows were named in *Foreign Policy's* "Top 100 Global Thinkers," which it released in December. **Lawrence Summers** (top) ranked 14th for "being the brains behind Obama's economic policy."



Robert Zoellick (2nd from top) ranked number 33 with Dominique Strauss-Kahn for "using the crisis in service of a good cause: helping the world's poor."



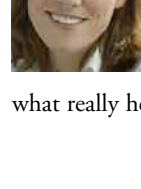
John P. Holdren (3rd from top) and Steven Chu were ranked number 34 for "putting cutting-edge science back into power."



Niall Ferguson ranked 56th for "his intelligent, incessant questioning of dogma." **Francis Fukuyama** was ranked number 65 for "creating a foreign-policy paradigm that has defined almost two decades of argument."



Samantha Power (4th from top) was ranked 80 for "moving from moral authority to government authority on human rights."

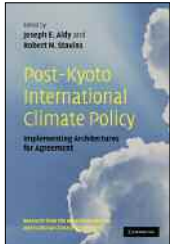


Peter Singer was ranked number 82 for "asking what happens when you remove the human element from war."

Emily Oster (5th from top) was named ninety-ninth for "her creative research into what really helps the poor."

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

Post-Kyoto International Climate Policy: Implementing Architectures for Agreement
Edited by Joseph E. Aldy and Robert N. Stavins;
Cambridge University Press (January 2010)



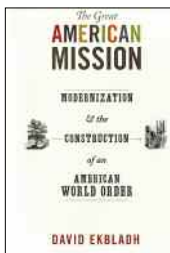
The Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements is a global, multi-disciplinary effort intended to help identify the key design elements of a scientifically sound, economically rational, and politically pragmatic post-2012 international policy architecture for addressing the threat of climate change. It has commissioned leading scholars to examine a uniquely wide range of core issues that must be addressed if the world is to reach an effective agreement on a successor regime to the Kyoto Protocol. The purpose of the project is not to become an advocate for any single policy but to present the best possible information and analysis on the full range of options concerning mitigation, adaptation, technology, and finance.

... [H]ighlights the essential challenges facing global leaders, and outlines possible paths to reach such an agreement.

“The world desperately needs a global climate change agreement, and this impressive collection of scholarly work highlights the essential challenges facing global leaders, and outlines possible paths to reach such an agreement.”

—Eileen Claussen, President,
Pew Center on Global Climate Change

The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order
By David Ekbladh; Princeton University Press
(November 2009)



The Great American Mission traces how America's global modernization efforts during the twentieth century were a means to remake the world in its own image. David Ekbladh shows that the emerging concept of modernization combined existing development ideas from the Depression. He describes how ambitious New Deal programs like the Tennessee Valley Authority became symbols of American liberalism's ability to marshal the social sciences, state planning, civil society, and technology to produce extensive social and economic change. For proponents, it became a valuable weapon to check the influence of menacing ideologies such as Fascism and Communism.

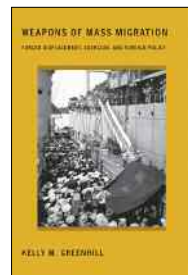
After World War II, modernization remained a means to contain the growing influence of the Soviet Union. However, a close connection to the Vietnam War and the upheavals of the 1960s would discredit modernization. The end of the Cold War further obscured modernization's mission, but many of its assumptions regained prominence after September 11 as the United States moved to contain new threats.

... [I]lluminates for the first time how the central characteristics of America's modernization project in the Cold War came together in the prewar period.

“The Great American Mission illuminates for the first time how the central characteristics of America's modernization project in the Cold War came together in the prewar period. Carefully tracing ideas, institutions, and individuals from the Depression to the heyday of development, Ekbladh offers new insights into the distinctive components of American modernization efforts abroad.”

—David C. Engerman, Brandeis University

Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy
By Kelly M. Greenhill; Cornell Studies in Security Affairs; Cornell University Press (Forthcoming April 2010)



At first glance, the U.S. decision to escalate the war in Vietnam in the mid-1960s, China's position on North Korea's nuclear program in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and the EU resolution to lift what remained of the arms embargo against Libya in the mid-2000s would appear to share little in common. Yet each of these seemingly unconnected and far-reaching foreign policy decisions resulted at least in part from the exercise of a unique kind of coercion, one predicated on the intentional creation, manipulation, and exploitation of real or threatened mass population movements. In *Weapons of Mass Migration*, Kelly M. Greenhill offers the first systematic examination of this widely deployed, but largely unrecognized, instrument of state influence.

Why and how do weak states increasingly deploy the threat or reality of 'strategic engineered migration' to achieve political goals that would otherwise be unattainable?

“This incisive book highlights an unconventional and nonmilitary method of state-to-state coercion—why and how weak states increasingly deploy the threat or reality of ‘strategic engineered migration’ to achieve political goals that would otherwise be unattainable.”

—Michael S. Teitelbaum, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and Harvard Law School

International Perspectives on the Goals of Universal Basic and Secondary Education
Edited by Joel E. Cohen and Martin B. Malin;
Routledge Research in Education. Routledge
(December 2009)

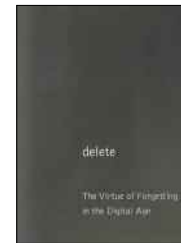


Although universal schooling has been adopted as a goal by international organizations, bilateral aid agencies, national governments, and non-profit organizations, little sustained international attention has been devoted to the purposes

or goals of universal education. What is universal primary and secondary education intended to accomplish? This book, which grew out of a project of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, offers views from Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, and South America on the purposes of universal education while considering diverse cultures, religions, and professions.

The digital realm remembers what is sometimes better forgotten ...

Delete: the Virtue of Forgetting in the Digital Age
By Viktor Mayer-Schönberger; Princeton University Press (2009)



Delete looks at the surprising phenomenon of perfect remembering in the digital age, and reveals why we must reintroduce our capacity to forget. Digital technology empowers us as never before, yet it has unforeseen consequences as

well. Potentially humiliating content on Facebook is enshrined in cyberspace for future employers to see. Google remembers everything we've searched for and when. The digital realm remembers what is sometimes better forgotten, and this has profound implications for us all.

In *Delete*, Viktor Mayer-Schönberger traces the important role that forgetting has played throughout human history, from the ability to make sound decisions unencumbered by the past to the possibility of second chances. He explains why information privacy rights and other fixes can't help us, and proposes an ingeniously simple solution—expiration dates on information—that may.

“In Delete, Viktor Mayer-Schönberger argues that we should be less troubled by the fleetingness of our digital records than by the way they can linger.”

—Adam Keiper, *Wall Street Journal*

—Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP

"Hedge funds, private equity funds, and trading activities unrelated to customer needs and continuing banking relationships should stand on their own, without the subsidies implied by public support for depository institutions," Volcker said.

Volcker has been a long-term advocate for financial reform and a clear-eyed observer of the Fed—of which he was the legendary chair.

He does not hesitate to speak his mind. Among his comments during the crisis:

- In support of a proprietary trading ban: "I don't want my taxpayer money going to support somebody's proprietary trading."
- To a group of bankers in London: "Wake up, gentlemen. Your response, I can only say, has been inadequate."
- On financial innovation: "I wish somebody would give me some shred of evidence linking financial innovation with a benefit to the economy."
- The only financial innovation that has improved society? The ATM.

Volcker is a highly regarded contributor to both Belfer Center and Harvard Kennedy School events. In the past year, Volcker has met several times with the Center community and made a candid public presentation at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum (see the video at www.iop.harvard.edu). At the Forum, Volcker encouraged students to consider other careers outside of financial services.

"I wish the business schools and others would somehow try to inculcate in students the challenge of a nonfinancial world," Volcker said. "Making things—taking that technology and producing something real—can be as much a challenge, or more, as making a million dollars in the financial market."



REUTERS/KEVIN LAMARQUE

Meeting of the Minds: U.S. President **Barack Obama** speaks about financial reform following his meeting with Presidential Economic Recovery Advisory Board Chair **Paul Volcker** (left) in January.

As the *Financial Times* tells it, there may be another reason for Congress to adopt the Volcker rule: at 6 feet 7 inches, Volcker is simply too big to fail. 🌐

International Security

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"Same As It Ever Was: Nuclear Alarmism, Proliferation, and the Cold War"

Francis J. Gavin

Nuclear alarmists argue that proliferation is the most dangerous threat facing the United States, but they largely ignore such past threats and overstate their claims. A better understanding of the history of nuclear proliferation and how the international community escaped calamity during a far more dangerous time—the Cold War—would lead to more effective U.S. nuclear nonproliferation policies than those currently proposed by the alarmists.

"Posturing for Peace? Pakistan's Nuclear Postures and South Asian Stability"

Vipin Narang

India and Pakistan are both nuclear-armed states, but their divergent nuclear postures have led to a stark difference in their deterrence capabilities. India has maintained an assured retaliation posture, but Pakistan has shifted from a catalytic to an asymmetric escalation posture, allowing it to pursue aggressive policies without significant fear of retaliation. Furthermore, to make its posture credible, Pakistan has had to relinquish some central control over the security of its nuclear arsenal. The implications for South Asian and international stability, therefore, are

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.

grim unless India and Pakistan can minimize the dangers of their current postures, and the United States can help Pakistan to better secure its nuclear arsenal.

"Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan"

Jacob N. Shapiro and C. Christine Fair

Western interest in Pakistan increased dramatically with the rise of the Taliban and other militant groups. Current U.S. policy toward Pakistan rests on four factors that purportedly explain Pakistani support for militancy: poverty; personal religiosity and approval of sharia law; support for legal Islamist political parties; and failure to support democracy. A survey of the sentiments of the Pakistani public, however, shows that these conventional wisdoms may be mistaken. To undermine support for militant groups, therefore, policymakers must pay greater attention to determining who supports militant organizations.

This theory explains Lyndon Johnson's decision to pursue a suboptimal counterinsurgency strategy in the Vietnam War.

"The Myth of Military Myopia: Democracy, Small Wars, and Vietnam"

Jonathan D. Caverley

The problems of fighting an insurgency with a firepower- and capital-intensive strategy are well

known, yet democracies have failed to adopt more effective strategies. Scholars have identified military bureaucracy and culture to explain this tendency, but it can also be attributed to a desire to shift the cost of war away from the less-wealthy voter, who is more apt to support less-effective, but less labor-intensive strategies, if they lower the cost of fighting. This theory explains Lyndon Johnson's decision to pursue a suboptimal counterinsurgency strategy in the Vietnam War.

"Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia"

Victor D. Cha

The United States generally prefers to pursue multilateral security alliances to support its national and international interests. In East Asia, however, it chose a different approach after World War II. Both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations cultivated a "hub-and-spokes" system of bilateral alliances with South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan based on a "powerplay" rationale: Washington wanted to contain the Soviet threat while preventing leaders of the so-called rogue allies from involving the United States in an unwanted war. The United States' bilateral alliances with South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan remain in place today.

—Compiled by *International Security* staff

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where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect.

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BELFER IN BRIEF

And the Winner Is ...

Belfer Center Web Manager **Sam Foreman** was the recipient of the Center's 2009 Peggy Scannell Award for Excellence. Center Director **Graham Allison** presented the annual award at the Center's holiday gathering "in recognition of Sam's outstanding contribution to the Center and the environment in which we work." The award honors the memory of longtime Belfer Center employee **Peggy Scannell**.

Dargin Helps Light Up Devastated Haiti

EarthSpark International, a nonprofit co-founded by Dubai Initiative Research Fellow **Justin Dargin**, is raising money to send solar lamps to Haiti to assist in disaster relief efforts.

Monica Toft Looks at Religion in Sudan Politics

Monica Toft, faculty director of the Belfer Center's Initiative on Religion in International Affairs, recently interviewed politicians, academics, and religious figures in Sudan in order to understand the importance of religion in the Sudanese political arena. She was especially interested in the government's adoption of Sharia law, considering a majority non-Muslim population. The interviews were part of her research for her next book: *Faith as Reason: The Role of Religion in Civil Wars*.

Center Members on Nuclear Future Commission

U.S. Secretary of Energy **Steven Chu** recently announced the appointment of Belfer Center members to a new Blue Ribbon Commission on America's Nuclear Future. Among those named to the commission to recommend solutions to the nation's used nuclear fuel and waste are **Albert Carnesale**, Center board member and UCLA chancellor emeritus, **Allison Macfarlane**, Project on Managing the Atom associate and associate professor at George Mason University, and former research fellow **Phil Sharp**, president of Resources for the Future.

—Compiled by **Lucía Córdón**

Asian Persuasion:

Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph S. Nye**, a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, meets with Prime Minister **Nguyen Tan Dung** during his visit to Vietnam earlier this month. Nye was invited by the Foreign Ministry to speak with government officials about the uses of "soft power" and the powerful emergence of China. He was also interviewed by former Shorenstein Center Fellow **Nguyen Anh Tuan**, chief editor of VietNamNet.



VIETNAMNET

Marking Milestones:

Mary Anne Baumgartner (second from left), faculty assistant to **William Clark**, acknowledges applause for her 15 years of Harvard service. Harvard Kennedy School Dean **David Ellwood** (left), along with Academic Dean **Mary Jo Bane** and Executive Dean **John Haigh**, presented Years of Service awards to Baumgartner and to the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Administrative Coordinator **Karin Vander Schaaf** (for 10 years), and Intrastate Conflict Program Coordinator **Emily Wood** and Center Staff Assistant **Simone O'Hanlon** (for five years).



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