



## Belfer Center Intensifies Focus on China

The Belfer Center's faculty and fellows are mounting a multi-pronged academic campaign on China, hoping to influence U.S. policy on how to deal with the rising Asian power. A dizzying array of initiatives is under way.

One effort builds on the U.S.-China Relations Project begun in 2006 by Belfer Center Adjunct Professor **Richard Rosecrance** and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to reduce potential conflict between a current and a rising power. Harvard Kennedy School Dean **David Ellwood**, Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, Professor **Joseph Nye**, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation Director **Tony Saich**, and a team of other Harvard notables journeyed with Rosecrance to Beijing for a conference in January with Chinese scholars and practitioners. The conference, co-sponsored with the Kennedy School's Ash Center, weighed policy recommendations to enhance the U.S.-China relationship and to expand bilateral cooperative research.

Also in January, a team from the Center's Project on Managing the Atom traveled to China to take part in workshops on nuclear energy planning and nuclear safety and security in China.

### China Working Group discusses U.S. strategy toward multiple China challenges.

On campus, the Belfer Center China Working Group hosts discussions among Harvard faculty members about all dimensions of



LAURA MA

To Collaboration and Cooperation: **CHEN Gang**, vice mayor of Beijing Municipal Government, raises a toast for Harvard guests in Beijing, including (from left seated) **Nicholas Burns**, **Joseph S. Nye**, and **Richard Rosecrance**.

U.S. strategy toward the China challenge—political, military, economic, and diplomatic. The group is co-chaired by Graham Allison, Center board member **Lawrence Summers**, and Belfer Center Senior Fellow Gen. (ret.) **James Cartwright**.

Cyber threats from China and elsewhere are being addressed through the Center's Explorations in Cyber International Relations initiative, which brings together experts in law, international relations, engineering, and other areas to study cyber issues.

visionary who is also considered the #1 China watcher. Lee, who has advised many Chinese and U.S. presidents, is a pithy analyst of U.S.-China power struggles. In *Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States, and the World*, Lee pulls no punches in expressing his views on China's future. Asked whether China is serious about replacing the U.S. as the number one power in Asia and the world, Lee said, "Of course. Why not?" (See more on China, page 4.)



**Moving Forward:** **Gary Samore** (left), former head of WMD counter-terrorism and arms control in the Obama administration, has been named executive director for research at the Belfer Center. (See Spotlight, page 7.) **Kevin Ryan**, former executive director of research, is now head of the Center's new Defense and Intelligence Projects. (See Kevin Ryan, page 2.)

### ETIP is exploring solutions to water problems in China.

The Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group is exploring solutions to water problems in China where water scarcity is a major problem in the North, the location of most of the country's energy development. ETIP and other Center research fellows also are contributing research findings and commentary on China's air quality problems and other environmental challenges.

In February, Graham Allison and **Robert Blackwill** published a new book about **Lee Kuan Yew**—the Singapore founder and

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# FROM THE DIRECTOR

*Graham Allison*

The strategic partnership between Harvard and China is unique among universities of the world. This relationship is reflected in decades of scholarship in Cambridge, tens of thousands of Chinese graduates of Harvard degree and executive programs, and the policies of both governments that have brought us to this point. Consider seven dimensions of this multi-faceted partnership.

First, before the U.S. was a nation, trading ships from Massachusetts sold American furs and ginseng and Spanish bullion in the cantons of China. Soon enough, Harvard students were employed by China's Imperial Maritime Customs Service; in 1879, a Chinese teacher was invited with his family to teach Chinese.

Second, the dean of modern Western studies of China was noted Harvard scholar **John Fairbank**. Fairbank joined the faculty in 1936 as Harvard's first full-time specialist on Chinese history. After working for the OSS in China during World War II, Fairbank returned to the United States, wrote the seminal *United States and China*, and founded Harvard's Center for East Asian Research.

## Harvard-China ties reach back to America's colonial days

Third, the architect of the rapprochement between the U.S. and China was Harvard's own **Henry Kissinger**. When first preparing to meet



**Visionary Views:** Center Director **Graham Allison** (right) and Ambassador **Robert D. Blackwill** (left) discuss their new book *Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States, and the World* at Harvard Kennedy School. The moderator was the Belfer Center's new Executive Director for Research **Gary Samore**.

with the Chinese government, Kissinger remarked that he knew "nothing" about China. He thus returned to Harvard to consult with John Fairbank and **Owen Lattimore** for a crash course in Sinology.

Fourth, Harvard has a long tradition of leadership in research on China, reflected in the work of scholars like **Ezra Vogel**, **Dwight Perkins**, **Roderick MacFarquar**, and **Alastair Iain Johnston**. It is no accident that Vogel is the major biographer of **Deng Xiaoping**, the Chinese leader who initiated China's march to modernization through adoption of a market economy.

## Expertise from Fairbank and Kissinger to Vogel and Saich

Fifth, Harvard has long had a connection with the quintessential Asian "tiger" state, Singapore, beginning with **Lee Kuan Yew**. While Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew was one of Harvard's Institute of Politics' first visiting fellows. I am pleased to have co-authored a new book on Lee Kuan Yew with former Belfer Center colleague **Bob Blackwill**, which allowed us to spend many hours interviewing the 89-year-old Sage of Singapore, who is indeed as *TIME* put it, "the man who saw the future." (See page 5.)

Sixth, graduates from Harvard Kennedy School programs are playing leading roles in China: **Li Yuanchao** just began a five-year term as vice president of China, and **Liu He**, a senior economic advisor to President **Xi Jinping**, has been called "China's Larry Summers." **Donald Tsang**, Hong Kong's chief executive from 2005 to 2012, and a majority of the Hong Kong cabinet are HKS graduates.

## HKS is training next generation of Chinese leaders

Seventh, thanks to the leadership of Professor **Tony Saich**, today Harvard Kennedy School is the principal training ground for next-generation leaders of China. For more than a decade, Saich has brought top politicians and public servants to training programs in Cambridge, among them Commerce Minister **Chen Deming** and Shaanxi Province Governor **Zhao Zhenyong**.

Drawing on this history, it is no surprise that the Belfer Center community is focusing ever more closely on the geostrategic challenge of the era: a challenge of Thucydidean proportions as a rising power and a ruling power seek to define a new, productive great power relationship. 🌐

## Kevin Ryan Heads New Defense and Intelligence Project

**Kevin Ryan**, the Belfer Center's former executive director for research, has been named director of the Center's Defense and Intelligence Project. The position gives Ryan lead responsibility for initiatives focused on defense and intelligence. He will also continue to lead the Elbe Group as part of the Preventing Nuclear Terrorism project and will remain a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors.

In announcing Ryan's new position, Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** said, "Kevin has done an outstanding job as executive director, and I am glad he has agreed to take the lead on this new project. His 30 years of service in the military, which included duties in missile defense, policymaking, and intelligence, make him ideal to lead this effort."

## Upcoming projects include ... improving relations between the U.S., Russian, and Chinese militaries.

The new initiative will link defense and intelligence agencies with Belfer researchers, faculty, and Kennedy School students to facilitate better policy-making in the field and enrich the education of fellows and students about defense and intelligence. Upcoming projects include exploring the relationship between civilian leaders and the uniformed military in the U.S. defense establishment and increasing understanding between the two, improving relations between the U.S., Russian, and Chinese militaries, and looking at the role of intelligence agencies in domestic and international policy-making. 🌐



**Military Matters:** **Kevin Ryan**, director of the Belfer Center's Defense and Intelligence Project, introduces students and faculty to a screening and discussion of the movie *Breaker Morant*, a film about the Boer War that confronts viewers with "moral and legal dilemmas in the military sphere."



# Breaking Down Walls Between Basic and Applied Research

Questions about the very nature of scientific discovery are being raised by Belfer Center experts **Venkatesh (Venky) Narayana-murti**, **Tolu Odumosu**, and **Lee Vinsel**.

Their new discussion paper, entitled “The Discovery-Invention Cycle: Bridging the Basic/Applied Dichotomy,” describes the longstanding paradigm that separates basic research and discovery from applied research and implementation—for example, separating the study of the DNA of a bacteria from the application of that knowledge to develop new drugs and compounds.

The authors make the case that both scientific discovery and technological deployment would be better off without a virtual wall. As they write in “Issues in Science and Technology,” “The switch from a basic/applied nomenclature to discovery-invention is not a

mere semantic refinement. It enables us to see the entire research enterprise in a new way.”

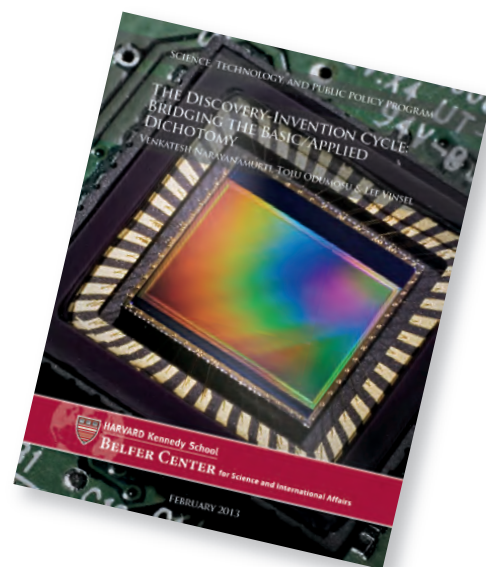
**Switching to ‘discovery-invention’ nomenclature enables us to see research in a new way.**

“This fresh view of the research enterprise can lead us to rethinking the design of research institutions to align with the principles of long timeframes, a premium on futuristic ideas, and the encouragement of interaction among different elements of the research ecosystem.”

It is the hope of the authors that such a change can reinvigorate government-led scientific endeavors, particularly in long-range fields like energy and medicine. 🌐

(See <http://belfercenter.org/Discovery/Invention>)

—Andrew Facini



## Climate Conference Moves Forward—Slowly

In December, the member nations of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change met in Doha, Qatar, for the Eighteenth Conference of the Parties (COP-18) to discuss climate change on a global level.

The Harvard Project on Climate Agreements co-hosted, with the government of Qatar, an event entitled “After Doha: Balancing Adaptation, Mitigation, and Economic Development.” **Robert Stavins**, Director of The Harvard Project on Climate Agreements and Belfer Center board member, represented the Project at the general conference—and gave the hosts high marks.

“There were three aspects to what we identified in advance as success, and [The Qataris] achieved all three, though maybe not to the degree or in the way that every country in the

world would have preferred,” Stavins said of the event.

**Doha successes: Kyoto extension, Durban progress, Long-term action track**

Stavins applauded the extension amendment to the Kyoto Protocol, the finalization of the Long-Term Cooperative Action track, and progress on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action—all components of climate policy that will be pivotal in the next COP meetings and agreements.

Stavins and the Harvard Project on Climate Agreements also hosted a side-event at COP-18, titled “Market Mechanisms in a Post-Durban International Climate Regime.”

Participants in this event assessed the design and potential role of “new market mechanisms” in the Kyoto Protocol second commitment period, among other topics. 🌐

—Robert Stowe



**Patience in Progress:** **Robert Stavins** (2nd from right), director of the Harvard Project, participates in a panel discussion with Chairman **Fahad Al-Attiya** of the Qatar National Food Security Program in Doha, and others.

## Climate Reporting from the Inside

Domestically, the issue of climate change is again heating up, following President Obama’s State of the Union speech, where he

surprised many by discussing the issue more openly and at greater length than anticipated.

**Executive action [on climate change] may take place ... this year.**

—Juliet Eilperin



**Hot Topic:** *Washington Post* reporter **Juliet Eilperin** speaking at Harvard Kennedy School.

An “insider’s viewpoint” of the political environment on climate change was presented by veteran *Washington Post* reporter **Juliet Eilperin** in January. In an event organized by **Cristine Russell**, senior fellow with the Environment and Natural Resources Program, Eilperin noted the changing attitude and rhetoric about climate change following Obama’s re-election.

“After a long time, Barack Obama is making news about climate change again,” Eilperin said to the audience of about fifty Kennedy School students and faculty members.

Considered one of the nation’s top environmental reporters, Eilperin has seen many well-intentioned efforts regarding climate become buried under political pressures, media exposure, and more distracting current events.

In her opinion, “Americans will see some progress on [climate] issues in the next four years. Congressional action is very unlikely, and executive action may instead take place, even by the end of this year.” 🌐

—Andrew Facini

# Belfer and Ash Centers Expand U.S.-China Bridge-Building

(continued from page 1)

Sponsored by the Institute for China-U.S. People-to-People Exchange and by Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer and Ash Centers, the "Challenge and Cooperation" conference at Peking University in January explored the implications of China's new leadership and President Obama's second term. Participants examined the roles the two countries should play in international security and in trade and investment issues. In addition to **Richard Rosecrance**, who launched the U.S.-China Relations Project in 2006, Belfer Center participants included Center Director **Graham Allison**, **Nicholas Burns**, **Joseph Nye**, **David Sanger**, **William Tobey**, and **Stephen Walt**, as well as International Council member **David Richards**.

## Rosecrance: The two countries have been "moving farther apart."

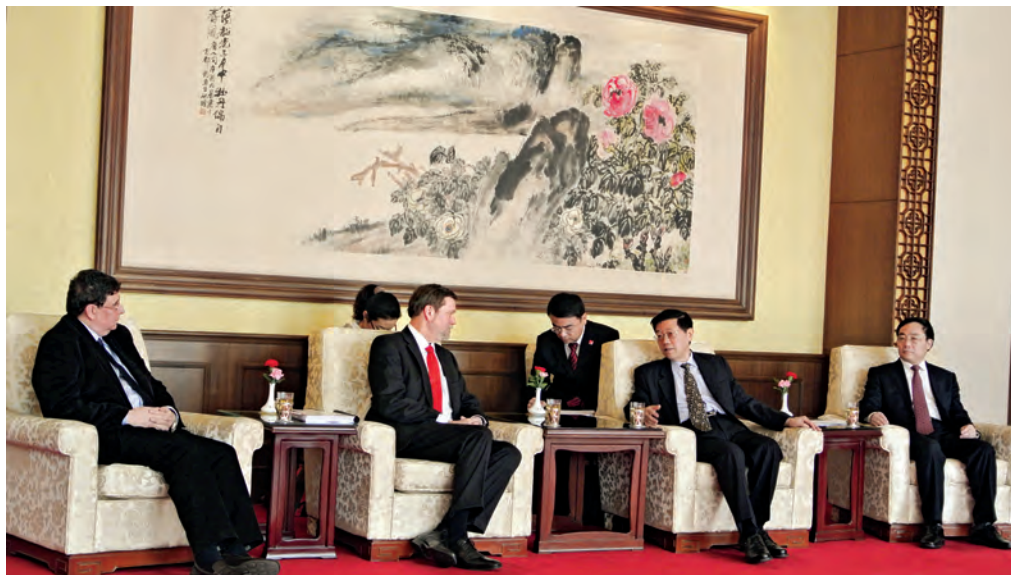
At the conclusion of the conference, Rosecrance noted that "despite the cordial personal relations on both sides, no agreements were reached on short- and long-term policy." He added that the two countries, have, in fact, been "moving farther apart" since the U.S.-China program began in 2006.

Points of divergence, Rosecrance said, included the Chinese representatives' declaration that the Obama administration's "pivot to Asia" had begun a policy of balancing against China. The Harvard group, led by Joseph Nye, observed that China was creating its own "self-containment" by insisting on territorial claims to island groups in East Asia, thus alienating Japan, the Philippines, Vietnam, and South Korea. At Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton's** request, Nye met in October with prime ministers of Japan and China to discuss the American position on their dispute over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. The United States had taken no position on these claims and was, if anything, encouraging China's rise and influence. It was, however, worried that popular nationalism in China was making these conflicts worse.

## Allison: Beware the "Thucydides' Trap"

Graham Allison noted that the "Thucydides' trap" suggests that status quo countries "fear the growing power" of rising claimants and react accordingly. No one could predict a peaceful outcome.

Rosecrance suggested that China and the U.S. might consider a "differentiation of function," as Bismarck and Disraeli did in the 1870s—with Germany the land power and Britain the sea power.



LAURA MA

**Stately Presence:** Harvard Kennedy School's **Tony Saich** (left) and Dean **David Ellwood** at a formal meeting with **Li Wei**, director of the Development Research Council, and **Wang Jingqing**, vice minister of the Organization Department of the Peoples Republic of China.

**JIA Qingguo**, the local conference host, claimed that China had two identities, one pacific (international) and one more assertive (domestic) and it needed American understanding to move to a more consistent position. **Tony Saich**, however, believed that domestic influences would become even more important in Chinese policy.

## Nye: The world's two largest economies have "much to gain" from cooperation.

In a *New York Times* op-ed published soon after the conference, Joseph Nye argued

that "the world's two largest economies have much to gain from cooperation on fighting climate change, pandemics, cyberterrorism, and nuclear proliferation."

At the end of the conference **Wang Jisi**, dean of International Studies at Beijing University, raised the conferees' sights by observing that the United States and China were more likely to reach a global deal than one limited to the Pacific and East Asia. 🌐

—Conference notes contributed by **Richard Rosecrance**

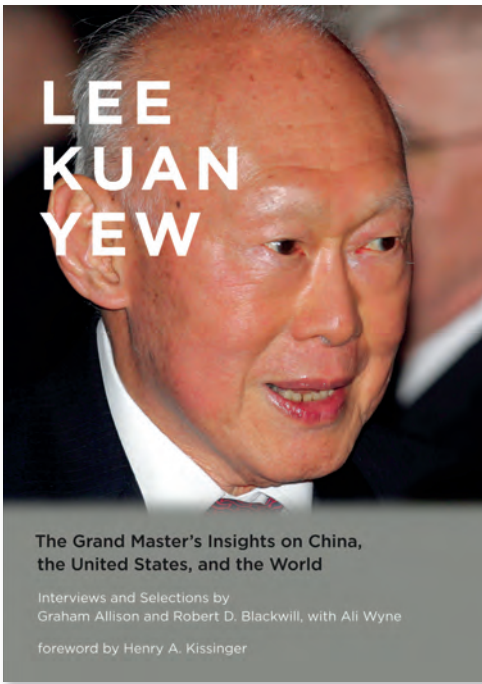
For complete Rosecrance summary, see <http://belfercenter.org/RosecranceChina/>.



**China Challenges:** General (ret.) **James E. Cartwright** (center), former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a senior fellow with the Belfer Center, discusses cyber security challenges relating to China during a meeting of the Belfer Center's China Working Group. Other members of the group pictured include (left to right): **Lawrence Summers**, **Ezra Vogel**, and **Richard Rosecrance**.



# Lee Kuan Yew: The Man and the Book



“tiger,” and noticed his growing influence throughout Asia. They later watched him mentor every Chinese leader since Deng Xiaoping, and counsel every U.S. president since Nixon.

**“If you are interested in the future of Asia, which means the future of the world, you’ve got to read this book.”**

—Fareed Zakaria

Allison, the Belfer Center’s director, and Blackwill, a former Harvard professor and now a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, with Belfer Center associate **Ali Wyne**, have written a new book that has people once again focusing on Lee, now 89 and as blunt as ever. *Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master’s Insights on China, the United States, and the World*, was published in February by MIT Press. Fareed Zakaria said on his weekly Sunday talk program on CNN: “This short book [is] packed with intelligence and insight. If you are interested in the future of Asia, which means the future of the world, you’ve got to read this book.”

Media interest in the book has been intense, in the U.S. and around the world. Allison and Blackwill appeared on “On Point with Tom Ashbrook,” the syndicated NPR program, and the book spawned numerous

excerpts and op-eds. The first printing sold out in days and Amazon and MIT Press both struggled to keep the book in stock.

**Lee Kuan Yew’s characteristics of a great leader: “self-confidence, breadth of mind, ability to see the wood for the trees, and to communicate.”**

Lee’s connections with Harvard run deep. During a one-day visit Lee made to Harvard Kennedy School in 1967, Professor **Richard Neustadt** invited him to return for a longer stay. Lee returned the next year and stayed for six weeks as a fellow of the Institute of Politics.

His legacy at the Kennedy School lives on in part through the Ash Center’s Lee Kuan Yew Fellows Program, which each year hosts 20 to 25 Asian mid-career students as fellows for one semester.

In October 2000, he spoke in the Kennedy School Forum at the invitation of then-Dean **Joseph Nye**. Lee’s description of the characteristics of leaders he admired could be equally applied to his own leadership: “The characteristics they had in common were self-confidence, breadth of mind, the ability to see the wood for the trees, and to communicate.” 🌐

(See Lee Kuan Yew book website at <http://belfer-center.org/LKY>.)

The *Harvard Crimson* was prescient in its profile of **Lee Kuan Yew** on October 23, 1967: Reporter **Joel R. Kramer** wrote: “Lee Kuan Yew, prime minister of the city-state of Singapore, is a mayor who talks as though he may one day be a world statesman.”

Those who took early notice of Lee included **Graham Allison** and **Robert Blackwill**. They watched Lee’s success in transforming his native Singapore into Asia’s first

## Ensuring Nuclear Safety and Security in China

Most of the global growth of nuclear power over the coming decade will occur in China. The safety and security policies guiding that growth are significant far beyond China, since an accident or act of terrorism would affect the use of nuclear energy around the world.

In January, the Managing the Atom Project (MTA) held a workshop in Shenzhen, China, to discuss safety and security at China’s nuclear power and fuel cycle facilities. The China Arms Control and Disarmament Association (CACDA), and Peking University’s Institute for Nuclear Science and Technology (INST) co-sponsored the workshop.

**The safety and security policies guiding China’s nuclear energy growth are significant far beyond China.**

Experts and policy officials discussed nuclear regulations in China, material accounting practices, physical protection measures at nuclear power plants, countering

insider threats, and preparations for the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit.

Belfer Center participants included **Matthew Bunn**, **Martin Malin**, **William Tobey**, and **Hui Zhang**. MTA fellow **Zhao Shangui**, who will return to China’s Ministry of Environmental Protection, discussed China’s safety and security regulations.

A number of senior Chinese technical experts and policy officials from China’s nuclear energy and regulatory agencies

attended, including **Deng Ge** (China Atomic Energy Authority), **Liu Daming** and **Gu Zhongmao** (China Institute of Atomic Energy), **Zhu Xuhui** (China National Nuclear Corporation), **Liu Tianshu** (China’s National Nuclear Safety Administration), **Liu Wei** (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), **Zhang Tuosheng** (China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies), **Li Hong** (CACDA), and **Tang Yingmao** (INST, Peking University). 🌐



**Managing Power:** The Managing the Atom team in front of a nuclear power plant in China. Left to right: **Martin Malin**, **Hui Zhang**, **William Tobey**, **Matthew Bunn**, and **Zhao Shangui**.



## Q&A Dara Kay Cohen

*Dara Kay Cohen is an assistant professor of public policy at the Harvard Kennedy School and a core faculty member of the International Security Program at the Belfer Center. Her current research examines variations in the use of sexual violence during recent conflicts and draws from fieldwork in Sierra Leone, East Timor, and El Salvador, where she interviewed more than 200 ex-combatants and noncombatants. Cohen received her PhD in political science from Stanford University and her AB from Brown University. An article on the causes of wartime rape is forthcoming in the American Political Science Review, and she recently co-authored a policy report for the United States Institute of Peace titled “Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications, and Ways Forward.”*

**Q** One of your primary areas of research is the practice of wartime rape, which has been getting increasing attention recently. Why is this issue in the spotlight now?

Wartime rape—and other forms of sexual violence—have received enormous attention in recent years. Since 2008, there have been four major Security Council Resolutions relating to wartime sexual violence. Currently, there are a number of prominent international campaigns, including one led by the Nobel Women’s Initiative, to prevent wartime sexual violence.

**We know more details about wartime violence ... and, increasingly, in real time.**

The issue is clearly experiencing a “policy moment,” although the problem of wartime rape is an old one, and scholars and human rights advocates have been researching this issue for years. The issue is in the spotlight now because of the culmination of combined efforts of activists, practitioners, and researchers, and an increased interest more generally in issues affecting women. The research community is also much better at detecting and reporting incidents of sexual violence than in the past, so we know more details about wartime violence than we used to—and increasingly, in real time.



**Fieldwork on Foot:** Dara Kay Cohen wades a river to reach her interview location in the Bonthe District in the Southern Province of Sierra Leone.

**Q** Is rape occurring more often in recent wars?

The honest answer is that we simply do not know. The data I’ve collected on rape during all recent civil wars show that reports of wartime rape over the last three decades have increased in both incidence and severity; that is, reports have become more numerous, and describe rape in increasingly dire terms. Some scholars have argued that these reports accurately reflect the underlying incidence, while others maintain that we are better at measuring and collecting reports of rape than we were in the past. The authors of the 2012 *Human Security Report* argued that because there are fewer wars than in the past, and these wars are less lethal, then it is likely that wartime rape has actually declined in recent years.

**Q** You have written that while there is a belief that rape takes place in every conflict, this is not the case. Why are there more rapes in some conflicts than others?

There is enormous variation in rape during wartime, both across and within conflicts. My research examines why some armed groups perpetrate rape on a massive scale but other armed groups do not—even within the context of the same war. Wartime rape is a phenomenon for which there are numerous conventional wisdoms about its causes, e.g., that rape is more likely during ethnic wars or more likely in countries with especially pronounced gender inequality. But I find that many of the common arguments are incomplete or not supported by evidence. For example, I’ve found no correlation between ethnic war and rape. Additionally, given a civil war has already started, variation in gender inequality does not explain variation in wartime rape.

**State and non-state armed groups that recruit by force ... use rape to create unit cohesion.**

So what does cause rape in wartime? The answer lies in the armed groups themselves. Drawing on both a cross-national dataset and fieldwork in three post-conflict countries, I’ve found evidence that the recruitment

mechanism an armed group uses can predict the occurrence of wartime rape. Specifically, state and non-state armed groups that recruit by force—through abduction or pressganging—use rape to create unit cohesion. This argument helps resolve important puzzles about the nature of rape during wartime, including why so much of the rape that occurs in wartime is gang rape, when gang rape is relatively rare in peacetime. I argue that the increase in gang rape is because rape is serving an important purpose for the armed group, namely, to increase social ties in groups where the fighters have been forcibly kidnapped, and have no foundation on which to base mutual trust or esteem.

**Q** Why do people rape in war situations when they wouldn’t in peacetime?

**Perpetrators of gang rape are ... more similar to those who perpetrate other forms of group violence.**

A common story about wartime rape is that conflict brings with it a chaos that allows perpetrators an opportunity to rape that wouldn’t be possible during peacetime. But most people—even during war—do not rape, despite ample opportunity. So any explanation of wartime rape has to move beyond a simple opportunity argument. Criminological researchers have found that perpetrators of gang rape are fundamentally different from those who perpetrate rape alone—they are less pathological, and more similar to those who perpetrate other forms of group violence. This sheds light on how ordinary people in the context of wartime can succumb to the pressure to perpetrate group violence, and especially forms of violence they might never commit alone. A surprising illustration of this logic is the participation of women in acts of wartime rape. When women are forcibly recruited to serve as fighters alongside men, they may also participate in acts of gang rape with their male peers. I interviewed female perpetrators of rape in Sierra Leone, but similar acts have been documented in Rwanda, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. 🌍



# SPOTLIGHT

## Gary Samore

Meet the Belfer Center's new Executive Director for Research—and former WMD “Czar.”



In the complex world of the United States government, it's rare for a lone White House official to oversee a real change in direction on a major policy issue.

**Gary Samore** not only helped reshape U.S. policy on one issue, he did so with two immense national security challenges during his four years as President Obama's Coordinator for Weapons of Mass Destruction Counter-Terrorism and Arms Control.

First, Samore worked with the President and his administration to make nuclear terrorism a central policy concern at the leadership level—to the extent that Obama convened a global summit of nearly 50 world leaders on the issue in Washington, D.C. in April 2010, the only single-issue summit during the president's first term. A follow-up summit took place in 2012 in Seoul, South Korea, with another planned for 2014 in The Hague, Netherlands.

Then Samore played a key role in negotiating a rigorous new nuclear weapons treaty with Russia, cutting deployed strategic nuclear warheads by a third and—perhaps even more important, in Samore's view—creating an ambitious new weapons inspection system through the New START Arms Control Treaty.

Those were signal achievements in a term that saw intense focus on nuclear security issues and WMD threats, not least combating Iran's nuclear ambitions and confronting North Korea's weapons program.

**Gary Samore has come home—to Harvard, to Boston, and to research.**

In February, Samore left the administration to become executive director for research in the Belfer Center. That brings the Brookline, Mass., native full circle in several respects. He returns to the Belfer Center, where he was an International Security Program fellow in

1980–81; and he returns to Harvard, where he earned his master's degree in 1978 and his PhD in 1984.

It also marks a return for Samore to the halls of academia and research. Between earlier stints in the State Department and National Security Council, Samore held senior positions at the Council on Foreign Relations, the MacArthur Foundation, and the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Whether in government or at a think tank, Samore has spent his entire career working to make the world safer from nuclear harm by combating nuclear proliferation. And from early on, he looked beyond the threat of the U.S.-Soviet showdown of the Cold War, even if still quite hot while he was a Belfer Center fellow. His earliest days in research whetted his appetite for that high-stakes nuclear policy work. After earning his doctoral degree at Harvard (with a dissertation on Saudi Arabia's royal family politics), Samore plunged into highly classified work at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Berkeley, working with nuclear scientists to assess nuclear programs in the Middle East and South Asia.

He joined the State Department in 1987 and spent the next 17 years in government positions of growing responsibility, dealing with issues including the nuclear showdown between India and Pakistan, Iraq's nuclear program before and after the first Gulf War, and the emerging North Korean threat. As deputy to Ambassador-at-large **Robert Gallucci**, he was responsible for negotiating many aspects of the 1994 U.S.-DPRK Agreed Framework.

**“The NSC is supposed to be the brain of the U.S. government.”**

In 1995, Samore moved to the National Security Council, a very different creature from the vast State Department.

“The NSC is supposed to be the brain of the U.S. government, to coordinate all the muscles at State, the Pentagon, and the CIA,” Samore said. “The strength of the NSC is that it is a very small, very flat bureaucratic structure. The NSC is more satisfying in that you have much more impact on key policies,” Samore said. “On issues of war and peace, you get more access to the principals.”

Samore's previous position in the Clinton administration was senior director for counter-proliferation. The position he held during the Obama administration was newly created, with broader reach over terrorism

threats from WMD as well as nuclear arms control and weapons proliferation.

Obama showed his commitment to address nuclear terrorism by convening the nuclear summit in April 2010 with more than 50 heads of state. Samore called the summit “really fun—you rarely do something entirely new in government,” and this was indeed new.

Governments set specific targets to meet before the summit and hurried to meet them. “Summits are a forcing event. They set a deadline,” Samore said. And unlike most summits that deal with a wide array of subjects, the nuclear terrorism summit stayed focused on a single issue.

The negotiations on the U.S.-Russian arms control treaty were very different, involving just two governments but confronting extremely sensitive concerns on both sides. Cutting the numbers of warheads proved less difficult than getting to yes on the details of inspections and monitoring.

**“Government policy is driven by next week's meeting.”**

Samore doesn't see his role at the Belfer Center as directly shaping day-to-day policy. “Government policy is driven by next week's meeting. It is very tactical, it's not strategic,” he said. “However, centers like Belfer can provide the big ideas and strategy to help direct government policy.”

He is eager to contribute to the Belfer Center's extraordinary array of research initiatives, and to helping train the next generation of policy-makers. He also hopes to stand back and take a broader look at nuclear proliferation over the past decade, certainly fodder for a book.

Samore is juggling lives in Cambridge and Washington through the summer, when his daughter graduates from high school and he can move north. He is a passionate tennis player and looks forward to having more time for the courts.

Samore marvels at the diversity among the Center's fellows now compared with the early 1980s. “Belfer has become much more international,” he said, allowing for impact far beyond just the U.S. government. “This influences the policy landscape in many countries around the world.”

—James F. Smith



**A Safe START:** President Obama raises a toast to **Gary Samore** and his team in the Oval Office following Senate ratification of the New START treaty on December 22, 2010.

### Odumosu: Seeking Improved Understanding and Use of Technology

Tolu Odumosu is a Science, Technology, and Public Policy Research Fellow



Tolu Odumosu wanted answers. Growing up in his native Nigeria, he was witness to ineffective and inefficient infrastructural systems, so while attending the University of Lagos he started asking about the reason for this. He knew that European phone lines were reliable, that power grids in Japan were consistent, but couldn't understand why his were not. Teachers gave him technical answers, but he knew there was more to it than that. He realized that engineering problems do not necessarily have engineering answers.

When pressed to explain the broad goal of his work, he says that the two-way symbiotic relationship of man and technology is fascinating, while also being misunderstood or even ignored altogether. Whether we are sleepwalking through a world which is being rapidly changed by our own inventions, or mischaracterizing the relationship of research to discovery, there are fundamental problems in how humans have come to perceive our mastery of technology.

**The way humans reflect on the changes in life wrought by our tools has led to passivity when it comes to assessing the impact of technologies on man.**

At the heart of Odumosu's work is the practical application and social interactions of technological research and innovation. He believes the way humans reflect on the changes in life wrought by our tools has led to passivity when it comes to assessing the impact of technologies on man, as well as the impact of different peoples on the same technologies.

Odumosu has recently authored a paper with Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director Venkatesh Narayanamurti and Lee Vinsel on innovation models, with the goal of changing the perception that scientific work of the head is superior to that of the hand. They have sought to demonstrate the damage such a view has when the government is seeking to invest in the scientific innovations of the future. Their goal is to introduce an innovation model, dubbed "the discovery-invention cycle," which facilitates an environment of theorists and practitioners in "deeper congress."

—Wesley Nord

### Krache Morris: U.S. Needs to Better Define Mexico's Drug Crisis

Evelyn Krache Morris is a research fellow with the International Security Program



The first question on Evelyn Krache Morris' mind when it comes to her research at the Belfer Center is: "Why aren't people talking about this?"

Krache Morris, who has many credits under her belt, including an MBA from Columbia University, a master's degree in history and international affairs from the University of Chicago, and PhD in history of U.S. foreign relations from Georgetown University just last year, has spent her time at the Kennedy School conducting a study on how the global illicit drug trade has influenced U.S. relations with Mexico.

"It's right on the United States border, there are very strong economic ties, very strong cultural ties, and a terrible problem with the drug trafficking organizations that in some places are undermining state function," said Krache Morris. "The gangs are incredibly violent, they are targeting areas of the country that had previously been thought safe, and have been doing considerable damage in Mexico."

Puzzled by the fact that Mexico is largely ignored in the public discourse concerning other areas like Syria and Mali, Krache Morris has been exploring why that is and the possible ramifications for not paying attention to U.S.-Mexico relations.

**How government defines a problem determines how you respond to it.**

"When I gave [my] presentation at the Belfer Center, the question of definition seemed to spark a lot of interest," said Krache Morris. "How do you define this problem? How you define it determines a lot of how you respond to it."

"There are so many different ways to define these organizations and their consequences—for example, the idea of 'spillover violence' is officially undefined, so it can't be uniformly tracked or measured," said Krache Morris. "On a larger scale, there's debate about what these organizations should even be called—cartels? DTOs? Violent Extremist Networks? What kind of a problem is this—law enforcement? military?"

A historian to her core, Krache Morris' previous work has touched on other eras of United States history in which she sees common thematic elements. Her dissertation at Georgetown was about the use of herbicides in the Vietnam War and she recently published an op-ed in the *Boston Globe* regarding the use of militarized drones and how the administration must be more transparent in their goals.

"I think the common thread is how things get defined by the government and what those definitions do . . . because at some point, the definition starts driving things—the definition becomes the independent variable."

—Stefanie Le



## Visiting Fellows Ponder What Works and What Fails

### Brazil's Foreign Minister Looks to U.S. for Science/Technology Advice



**Growing Pains:** Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, Brazil's minister of external relations, discusses the past, present, and future of Brazilian foreign policy.

*"The challenge for Brazil at this point—when we have achieved a measure of economic development with the sixth largest economy in the world, of social progress with a middle class of more than 100 million people—is really to become more competitive and to incorporate more scientific and technological content into our industrial production . . . and we look to the United States as a partner that can be of strategic value in this process."*

Future of Diplomacy Fellow **Antonio de Aguiar Patriota**, Brazil's minister of external relations, discussed the country's economic development and relationship with the United States in a presentation to faculty and students in February. A former Brazilian ambassador to the U.S., Patriota is a career diplomat who served in Switzerland, China, and Venezuela, and worked at the United Nations and as adviser to the president of Brazil. 🌐

### Are Drone Strikes Legal Under International Law?



**Drone Legalities:** John B. Bellinger III speaks to a Kennedy School audience about U.S. foreign policy and international law.

*"Drone strikes are becoming more and more controversial around the world, not only in the region in which they are used. . . . but among some of our close allies who are beginning to question whether these are legal under international law. . . ."*

*I think the Obama administration is in a difficult position right now."*

**John B. Bellinger III**, legal adviser to the U.S. Secretary of State and the National Security Council during the George W. Bush administration, discussed legal issues with HKS students

and faculty in February. Currently a partner at Arnold & Porter,

Bellinger directed more than 170 lawyers on matters affecting U.S. foreign relations. He has argued cases in The Hague and in U.S. federal courts, including the Supreme Court, in litigation involving international law issues. 🌐

### Europe Learns Lessons from Fiscal Crisis, Some from U.S.

*"In a crisis of this magnitude one has to act immediately, implement the toughest measures right away, and communicate openly with the public to sustain this support. One must pick goals that project national pride and increase social justice."*

**Anna Diamantopoulou**, a Future of Diplomacy Fisher Family Fellow and former EU commissioner, offered a sobering analysis of the origins of Europe's economic crisis and sketched a new narrative necessary to ensure European cohesion during a presentation at Harvard Kennedy School in late fall. She highlighted the lessons that Europe and her country, Greece, had learned from the crisis and pointed to new opportunities for growth.

Praising the U.S. for its handling of the 2007–2008 financial crisis, Diamantopoulou pointed to the lack of a banking and fiscal union in Europe, which made addressing the effects of the crisis in 2008 particularly difficult. 🌐



**Critical Concern:** Anna Diamantopoulou, former EU commissioner, discusses Europe's fiscal crisis.

### Understanding the Syrian Crisis

*"This is a microcosm of a broader battle to structure the future of the Middle East."*

*This battle does not end with the fall of Bashar Assad. Nor does it end with the creation of a system or the absence of a system that prevails after Assad leaves power. Instead . . . we are at the front end of a battle that will last a decade or more, trying to determine the outcome of Syria, in order to shape the broader outcome for the region—how revolutionary it is, how sectarian it is, how religious it is—which a whole diverse set of actors are trying to move forward. This struggle, this ongoing messiness in Syria, may emerge as the new normal in the Middle East."*

**Jon B. Alterman**, Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy, Center for Strategic and International Studies, addressed a Belfer Center seminar in December on the context of the Syrian crisis. 🌐



**As Syria Goes?** Jon B. Alterman (right) gives his assessment of the impact of Middle East turbulence at a seminar hosted by Middle East Initiative faculty chair and Future of Diplomacy Director **Nicholas Burns**.





**Strength in Numbers:** Michèle Flournoy, a Belfer Center senior fellow and former undersecretary of defense for policy, discusses “Defense Strategy and Spending Tradeoffs” at a Belfer Center seminar. In a recent *Foreign Affairs* article, Flournoy wrote that despite the tough economic times, now is not the time for a more modest U.S. foreign policy. “The United States’ ability to lead the international community is still invaluable and unmatched ... [but] ... will require revitalizing the American economy, the foundation of the nation’s power.”



**Armenian Authority:** Armenian Prime Minister **Tigran Sargsyan** offers his views of socio-political forces shaping Armenia and how regional dynamics involving Turkey, Russia, and Iran impact domestic policymaking. Prime Minister Sargsyan is well known for his staunch advocacy of domestic economic reforms and democratic transformations inside Armenia.



**Maintaining Might:** Admiral **Mike Mullen**, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, takes part in a discussion with Center faculty and fellows about U.S. military policy in a time of looming budget cuts. As chairman of the JCS, Mullen was the nation’s highest-ranking military officer and served as the principal military adviser to Presidents Bush and Obama.



**Nuclear Futures?** **Adnan Shihab-Eldin**, director-general of the Kuwait Foundation and former acting secretary general and director of research for OPEC, discusses with faculty and fellows issues related to “Drivers of the Nuclear Power Option in Oil Exporting Countries.” **Henry Lee**, director of the Environment and Natural Resources Program, moderated the Middle East Initiative event.



**Bipartisan Orientation:** Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** (right) and Harvard Distinguished Service Professor **Joseph Nye** (left) with Congressman-elect **Joseph Kennedy III** (MA) during the Institute of Politics’ Congressional Issues Conference for new members of Congress in December. Center faculty and senior fellows took part in offering information on a range of critical issues to the new congressional representatives.



**Public Predictions:** **Thomas Kaplan**, chairman and chief investment officer at the Electrum Group and a member of the Belfer Center’s International Council, discusses “Mining the Past for Profit: Applied History in Action” with Harvard professor and historian **Niall Ferguson**, a member of the Center’s board of directors. Kaplan, chairman of the 92nd Street Y among other activities, is known for his capacity to predict qualitative strategic shifts that can be used to inform public policy as well as to gain a relative advantage in the private sector.



# SPEAKERS



**Global Drivers:** Former Vice President **Al Gore** shares a light moment with the Belfer Center's **Laura Diaz Anadon**, Harvard's **James McCarthy** and the Kennedy School's **Iris Bohnet**. At the invitation of Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison**, Gore joined a small group in the Center library to brainstorm challenges related to climate change and issues he raises in his new book *The Future: Six Drivers of Global Change*. His six drivers are work, communications, power, demographics, biotechnology and climate change.

**Converging Disciplines:** Former MIT President **Susan Hockfield** leads a discussion at a Belfer Center board lunch on "The 21st century's emerging technology story: the convergence of biology and engineering." Hockfield, who is the first woman and the first life scientist to hold the title of president of MIT (2004–2012), is currently the Marie Curie Visiting Professor at the Harvard Kennedy School and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors. She continues to hold a faculty appointment at MIT as a professor of neuroscience.



MARTHA STEWART



**Innovative Leaders:** President of Senegal **Macky Sall** greets **Calestous Juma**, director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Globalization Project, following President Sall's address at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum on his main strategies for moving Senegal forward: building better political governance and greater social justice and creating durable wealth and prosperity in the country. He thanked Juma for his book, *The New Harvest: Agricultural Innovation in Africa*.



**On Origins:** **Francis Fukuyama**, Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute at Stanford and former International Security Program fellow, discusses the origins of the modern political order during a Belfer Center seminar. In his 2011 book, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, Fukuyama notes, "In the developed world, we take the existence of government so much for granted that we sometimes forget how difficult it was to create."



**Revolutionary Reflections:** **Esraa Abdel Fattah**, vice-chairman of the Egyptian Democratic Academy, gestures during a panel discussion following a Middle East Initiative screening of the documentary "A Whisper to a Roar," about democracy activists. Fattah was one of the co-founders of the April 6 Movement, a group that organized worker strikes in Egypt in 2008, and was a leading activist in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. "I am still optimistic, even with everything that has happened in our country," she said. "In Egypt, we are in the second wave of revolution and it is a healthy thing."



MARTHA STEWART

**Power, Prestige, and Politics:** U.S. National Security Advisor **Thomas E. Donilon** (right) takes questions from the audience following a discussion with Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** about a range of issues relating to policy and politics. Former Harvard President **Lawrence Summers** introduced Donilon at the JFK Jr. Forum. Donilon discussed efforts to reestablish U.S. power and prestige and responded to questions from the audience on topics including U.S.-Pakistan relations and regional responses to the conflict in Syria.





**Erica Chenoweth** (top), former International Security Program (ISP) associate, and **Maria Stephen** (bottom), former ISP/Intrastate Conflict Program research fellow, won the 2013 Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order for their book *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. The book also won the 2012 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award.



**Martin Feldstein**, a member of the Center's board of directors, received the SIEPR Prize for Contributions to Economic Policy from the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research. Feldstein is the second recipient of the biennial prize, following 2010 recipient Paul Volcker.



**Trevor Findlay**, Managing the Atom/International Security Program research fellow, was selected by UN Secretary-General **Ban Ki-moon** to join his Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. The first session of this Board took place in late February.



**Susan Hockfield**, Marie Curie Visiting Professor at Harvard Kennedy School, was awarded the 2013 Pinnacle Award for lifetime achievement from Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce. "The Pinnacle Awards pay tribute to some of the region's most accomplished female leaders."



**John P. Holdren**, Belfer Center board member (on leave), received the 2012 Siemens Foundation Founder's Award. The annual award recognizes outstanding individuals for encouraging students to engage in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics subjects.



**Calestous Juma**, professor of the practice of international development, was named one of the "100 Most Influential Africans in 2012" by *New African* magazine. He was credited for his extensive and tireless work in the field of development science.



**Elaine Kamarck**, former lecturer in public policy with the Belfer Center, has moved to Brookings where she is a senior fellow in the Governance Studies program and director of the Management and Leadership Initiative.



**Dennis Ross**, Belfer Center International Council member, received the Scholar-Statesman Award from The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. The Award highlights "outstanding leaders who exemplify the idea that sound scholarship and a discerning knowledge of history are essential to wise and effective policy in the Middle East."

## Serving the Nation

*Belfer Center "graduates" occupy some of the hottest seats in government as the second Obama administration confronts stressful policy choices in science and technology, national security, and domestic finances amid clashing party politics and volatile viewpoints.*

### John P. Holdren

Assistant to the President for Science and Technology



Science and Tech Talk: John Holdren with President Obama outside the White House.

In his State of the Union speech, President **Barack Obama** surprised many by discussing climate change more openly and at greater length than anticipated. He said that, failing bipartisan action in Congress, he would aggressively pursue executive actions "to reduce pollution, prepare our communities for the consequences of climate change, and speed the transition to more sustainable sources of energy."

**John P. Holdren**, director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy and assistant to the president for science and technology since 2009, has spearheaded efforts to increase understanding and insight on energy and climate change issues, including the risks from climate disruption.

Holdren, who previously led the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, recently issued the 2013 National

Climate Assessment (NCA), a 400-page document detailing scientific observations and findings from the past four years. Holdren wrote that the report—which concludes that real, damaging effects of climate change have begun, and both mitigation and adaptation measures are urgently needed—"is expected to be used widely by public and private stakeholders who need information about climate change in order to thrive—from farmers deciding which crops to grow, to city planners deciding the diameter of new storm sewers they are replacing, to electric utilities and regulators pondering how to protect the power grid."

**Damaging effects of climate change have begun, and both mitigation and adaptation measures are urgently needed.**

Holdren also issued a memo directing relevant government agencies to "develop plans to make the results of federally-funded research publicly available free of charge within 12 months after original publication." This change aims to greatly increase the public's access to federally-funded research and may begin a sea-change on all science writing—an industry which has been stubbornly entrenched in for-profit publishing, even with the ease of access brought by the Internet. 🌐

## More Belfer Alums in Public Service

**RAND BEERS**—Under Secretary for the National Protection and Programs Directorate (NPPD), U.S. Department of Homeland Security

**JENNIFER BULKELEY**—Strategist at Office of the Secretary of Defense

**IVO DAALDER**—U.S. Ambassador to NATO

**PAUL DE SA**—Chief of the Office of Strategic Planning and Policy Analysis, FCC

**STEVE FETTER**—Assistant Director at-Large, Office of Science and Technology Policy, White House

**LAURA HOLGATE**—Senior Director for Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism and Threat Reduction, National Security Council



On these pages, we feature Belfer Center alums **John P. Holdren** and **Ashton B. Carter** and their efforts on issues of special concern to the Center: climate change/energy policy and national security. Other Center “graduates” serving the nation also are noted here.

## Ashton B. Carter

Deputy Secretary of Defense



**Fact Finding:** Deputy Secretary of Defense **Ashton B. Carter** on tour of troops in Europe.

The automatic federal spending cuts brought about by sequestration hit the Pentagon especially hard, raising concerns about its effects on the strength, resilience, and readiness of the U.S. military.

**“If our employees are furloughed, I intend to give back to the Treasury the same portion of my salary.”**

Perhaps the most vocal official ahead of the March 1 deadline was **Ashton B. Carter**, the former Belfer Center director who is No. 2 in the Pentagon as Deputy Secretary of Defense. With the delayed confirmation of Chuck Hagel as Secretary of Defense, Carter took the lead in representing the concerns of the military branches as budget cuts loomed.

“Make no mistake, the troops are going to feel this very directly. Between now and the end of the year, we will need to sharply curtail training in all of the services,” Carter said in testimony to the Senate Appropriations Committee.

“Above all, sequester will cause a spike in program inefficiency by stretching out programs and driving up unit costs. So for the force—military, civilian, our industry—the consequences are very direct and devastating.”

**“The [sequestration] will cause a spike in inefficiency ... driving up unit costs.”**

Carter added that the sequester will force most services and defense agencies to institute civilian hiring freezes. “It is important to note that this freeze will disproportionately affect veterans, who make up 44 percent of the DoD civilian workforce,” he said. “Hiring freezes will also be felt across the nation, since 86 percent of DoD’s civilian jobs fall outside the Washington, D.C. metro area.”

Carter, on leave as a member of the Belfer Center board, made national headlines by declaring he would cut his own salary by the same amount faced by those civilians facing work furlough: “If our employees are furloughed, I intend to give back to the Treasury the same portion of my salary, and I encourage all of us—Executive Branch and Legislative Branch—to do the same.”

**BONNIE JENKINS**—Coordinator for Threat Reductions Programs (Ambassador)

**JAMES N. MILLER**—Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

**DAN PONEMAN**—Deputy Secretary of Energy

**JAMES A. SCHEAR**—Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Partnership Strategy and Stability Operations

**MATTHEW SHARP**—U.S. State Department Office of Multilateral Nuclear and Security Affairs, Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation

**MARIA STEPHAN**—Lead Foreign Affairs Officer, U.S. State Department’s Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations

## Eric Rosenbach

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Cyber Policy



**Securing Cyber:** **Eric Rosenbach**, deputy assistant secretary of defense for cyber policy and former executive director for research at the Belfer Center, speaks to Brigadier General **Robert Ferrell** during his visit to Africa Command, in Stuttgart, Germany.

## Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall

Coordinator for Defense Policy, Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction, and Arms Control



**Preventing Proliferation:** In March, the White House announced that Senior Director for European Affairs **Elizabeth (Liz) Sherwood-Randall** will fill the position of top nuclear advisor to President Obama held previously by **Gary Samore**, now executive director for research at the Belfer Center. Sherwood-Randall, former founding senior advisor to the Center’s Preventive Defense Project, will also coordinate defense policy.

## Allison Macfarlane

Chairman, Nuclear Regulatory Commission



**Powerful Oversight:** **Allison Macfarlane**, chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and former Center fellow, discusses the dynamics of nuclear regulation as they relate to the March 2011 Fukushima Daiichi disaster in Japan during a Future of Energy lecture sponsored by the Harvard University Center for the Environment.

# HOT OFF THE PRESSES

## **On Saudi Arabia: Its People, Past, Religion, Fault Lines—and Future**

By Karen Elliott House, Senior Fellow, Belfer Center for Science & International Affairs  
Random House (2012)



With extraordinary access to Saudis—from key religious leaders and dissident imams to women at university and impoverished widows, from government officials and political dissidents to young successful Saudis and those who chose the path of terrorism—Karen Elliott House argues that most Saudis do not want democracy but seek change nevertheless; they want a government that provides basic services without subjecting citizens to the indignity of begging princes for handouts; a government less corrupt and more transparent in how it spends hundreds of billions of annual oil revenue; a kingdom ruled by law, not royal whim.

**“... [E]loquent and timely... Presenting these issues in a readable yet serious book ... she should be commended for it.”**

*“... House’s depiction of Saudi Arabia—its people, its politics, and most of all its contradictions—is eloquent and timely. The dilemmas that Saudi Arabia is facing will not soon be resolved. ... Presenting these issues in a readable yet serious book is a rare feat indeed, and she should be commended for it.”*

—The New Republic

## **Captive Audience: The Telecom Industry and Monopoly Power in the New Gilded Age**

By Susan Crawford, Former Faculty Affiliate, Information and Communications Technology and Public Policy Project  
Yale University Press (January 2013)



This important book by leading telecommunications policy expert Susan Crawford explores why Americans are now paying much more but getting much less when it comes to high-speed Internet access. Using the 2011 merger between Comcast and NBC Universal as a lens, Crawford examines how we have created the biggest monopoly since the breakup

of Standard Oil a century ago. In the clearest terms, this book explores how telecommunications monopolies have affected the daily lives of consumers and America’s global economic standing.

*“Crawford’s book is the most important volume to be released in the last few years that describes the sad ... state of the U.S. telecommunications market.”*

—Time

## **Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master’s Insights on China, the United States, and the World**

By Graham Allison, Director, Belfer Center for Science & International Affairs; Robert D. Blackwill, International Council Member, Belfer Center for Science & International Affairs, with Ali Wyne, Associate, Belfer Center for Science & International Affairs  
Belfer Center Studies in International Security



MIT Press (February 2013)

When Lee Kuan Yew speaks, presidents, prime ministers, diplomats, and CEOs listen. Lee, the founding father of modern Singapore and its prime minister from 1959 to 1990, has honed his wisdom during more than fifty years on the world stage. Almost single-handedly responsible for transforming Singapore into a Western-style economic success, he offers a unique perspective on the geopolitics of East and West. This book gathers key insights from interviews, speeches, and Lee’s voluminous published writings and presents them in an engaging question and answer format.

**“This book helps expose, and explain, Beijing’s hardball mind-set.”**

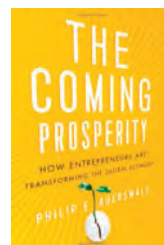
Lee offers his assessment of China’s future, asserting, among other things, that “China will want to share this century as co-equals with the U.S.” He affirms the United States’ position as the world’s sole superpower but expresses dismay at the vagaries of its political system. He offers strategic advice for dealing with China and goes on to discuss India’s future, Islamic terrorism, economic growth, geopolitics and globalization, and democracy. Lee does not pull his punches, offering his unvarnished opinions on multiculturalism, the welfare state, education, and the free market.

*“... [T]he book, and the adaptation here of the China chapter, reveal, Lee is as sharp, direct and prescient as ever. ... [It] helps expose, and explain, Beijing’s hardball mind-set.”*

—Zohar Abdoolcarim, *Time* magazine, Asia Edition

## **The Coming Prosperity: How Entrepreneurs Are Transforming the Global Economy**

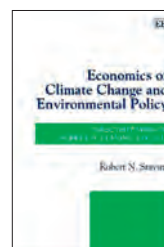
By Philip E. Auerswald, Associate, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program  
Oxford University Press (2012)



In *The Coming Prosperity*, Philip E. Auerswald argues that it is time to overcome the outdated narratives of fear that dominate public discourse and to grasp the powerful momentum of progress. Acknowledging the gravity of today’s greatest global challenges—like climate change, water scarcity, and rapid urbanization—Auerswald emphasizes that the choices we make today will determine the extent and reach of the coming prosperity. To make the most of this epochal transition, he writes, the key is entrepreneurship. The book’s deft analysis of economic trends is enlivened by stories of entrepreneurs making an outsize difference in their communities and the world.

## **Economics of Climate Change and Environmental Policy: Selected Papers of Robert N. Stavins, 2000–2011**

By Robert N. Stavins, Director, Harvard Project on Climate Agreements  
Edward Elgar (January 2013)



Robert N. Stavins has been one of the most influential voices in environmental economics and policy over the past two decades. The 26 essays in this book, written by Professor Stavins and his co-authors over the period 2000–2011, are collected here for the first time. Students, scholars, practitioners and policymakers will find this volume a valuable and very useful addition to their collection.

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP



## Center Expands Reach Through Social Media

With today's ever more digital methods of communication, it is essential that the Belfer Center exploit the vast and growing array of online platforms that enable us to cut through the noise and get our messages across.

The digital communication tools employed by the Belfer Center now extend far beyond just our website, [www.belfercenter.org](http://www.belfercenter.org).

Almost a year after becoming the Belfer Center's digital communications manager, I'd like to share some of the expanded online tools we have established, and more importantly, how you can join in and get involved with the Center's many conversations. These tools offer a range of ways to stay in touch with our research, op-eds, events, and multimedia.

### Facebook

The Belfer Center's Facebook page ([Facebook.com/HKS.BelferCenter](https://www.facebook.com/HKS.BelferCenter)) is a useful go-to for a roundup of news, media, events, and research coming from the Center. Throughout the day, several fresh posts are published, all of which are open to your comments and feedback so you can let us know what you like and offer your opinions.

### YouTube

Are you sometimes unable to attend events in-person at the Belfer Center? Then check out our YouTube channel, [YouTube.com/BelferCenter](https://www.youtube.com/BelferCenter), which features a steady stream of informative videos and video podcasts of notable interviews and high-profile events. At this time, our YouTube channel has more than 100 videos and podcasts, 4,650+ subscribers, and 54,000 total views and growing!

### Twitter

With more than 4,300 followers, [@BelferCenter](https://twitter.com/BelferCenter) has drastically increased its Twitter reach. On an average day we tweet up to half a dozen times, depending on what's new.

### Lee Kuan Yew Online

To build an online presence for the new book on Lee Kuan Yew by Center Director Graham Allison and Robert D. Blackwill with Ali Wyne, we created the official book website as well as its Facebook and Twitter pages. These are moderated with the help of Andrew Facini, our new communications assistant.

### E-Newsletters

Email is now considered the #1 communication tool. It is fitting then that the Belfer Center has grown our number of e-news subscribers to over 35,000. In 2012, the twice-



weekly Belfer in the News went through an overhaul to include more social media and multimedia links. To make sure you receive email updates catered to your interests, go to the "Subscribe" link, found at the top right of each page on the Belfer Center website ([belfercenter.org/subscribe.html](http://belfercenter.org/subscribe.html)).

### RSS

We offer several dozen RSS feeds that will give you tailored content based on your own interests. The full list of feeds is available at [belfercenter.org/RSS.html](http://belfercenter.org/RSS.html).

—Arielle Dworkin

## International Security

Vol. 37 No. 3  
Winter 2012/13

*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](mailto:IS@Harvard.edu).

### Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment

Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, William C. Wohlforth

Challenging the conventional wisdom that it is time for retrenchment, a new assessment recommends that the United States continue to pursue a strategy of global leadership. A systematic analysis shows that advocates of retrenchment tend to overestimate the costs and underestimate the benefits of deep engagement. Rather than reining in its global security commitments and limiting its efforts to promote a liberal international order, the United States should continue to maintain a strong presence abroad.

### Is a Nuclear Deal with Iran Possible? An Analytical Framework for the Iran Nuclear Negotiations

James K. Sebenius, Michael K. Singh

Applying a "negotiation analytic" framework to the Iran nuclear negotiations could help to determine if and how a deal could be struck. Given mainstream assumptions about Iran's interests, however, it appears that currently no such deal is possible through negotiation alone. The United States should thus work to open a zone of possible agreement, or ZOPA, by relentlessly worsening Iran's no-deal options while enhancing the value of a deal. If a ZOPA can be created, then sophisticated negotiation will be the key to reaching a worthwhile agreement.

### Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation: Examining the Linkage Argument

Jeffrey W. Knopf

Commentators have much debated whether there is a link between nuclear disarmament and the health of the nuclear nonproliferation regime, but there has been little research to support either side of this debate. A new analysis suggests that a demonstrated commitment to nuclear disarmament does in fact tend to enhance support for nonproliferation. Given the multitude of factors that affect state decision-making, however, progress on disarmament will not by itself address all the challenges to making the nonproliferation regime effective.

### The Long and Short of It: Cognitive Constraints on Leaders' Assessments of "Postwar" Iraq

Aaron Rapport

Why was the George W. Bush administration's assessment of the challenges posed by "postwar" Iraq so wide of the mark? Construal level theory, a psychological theory that describes how people mentally represent distant future actions, may be part of the explanation. Individuals tend to place more value on the desirability of actions that come at the end of a sequence of events relative to the feasibility of those actions. Decision makers are therefore more likely to underestimate the risks of—and thus under-prepare for—events that will occur in the distant future. Recognizing this tendency could help prevent such miscalculations in the future.

Compiled by *International Security* staff.

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

Graham Allison, Director  
79 John F. Kennedy Street  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
Tel: 617-495-1400 • Fax: 617-495-8963  
[www.belfercenter.org](http://www.belfercenter.org)

**Belfer Center Newsletter**

Editor: Sharon Wilke, Associate Director,  
Communications, [sharon\\_wilke@harvard.edu](mailto:sharon_wilke@harvard.edu)

James Smith, Director, Communications  
[james\\_smith@harvard.edu](mailto:james_smith@harvard.edu)

Andrew Facini, Communications Assistant  
[andrew\\_facini@harvard.edu](mailto:andrew_facini@harvard.edu)

The Communications Office was assisted in production of this newsletter by **Dominic Contreras**, **Paul Fraioli**, **Bryan Galcek**, **Krysten Hartman**, **Kate Hoagland**, **Emily Hough**, **Stefanie Le**, **Susan Lynch**, and **Wesley Nord**.

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



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# BELFER IN BRIEF

## Arab Spring and the Role of Civil Society

The Middle East Initiative (MEI) welcomed its first Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar in 2013 and supported a wide range of workshops and conferences, including a dynamic gathering on Civil Society in the Arab World.

Ellis Goldberg, a renowned scholar of Arab law and politics based at the University of Washington, was honored as the Initiative's first Kuwait Foundation scholar. In residence at Harvard Kennedy School for the spring 2013 semester, he is teaching a course titled, "Politics of the Arab Spring" and working closely with Harvard students and faculty.

MEI's Civil Society in the Arab World conference brought together leading academics and practitioners from the Arab world with scholars of civil society in other regions to explore the role of associational life in democratization processes around the world. Hosted by Harvard Kennedy School Professors **Tony Saich**, **Tarek Masoud**, and Hauser senior fellow **Steven Lawry**, the workshop was funded by the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

"One of the fascinating aspects of the discussions," wrote MEI Senior Fellow **Rami Khouri** following the event, "was whether we could accurately use a term like 'civil society' in the context of the current situation in Arab countries." He went on to say in an *Agence Global* op-ed, "I do not think we can." 🌐

—MEI



**On Class and Faith:** Assistant Professor of Public Policy **Tarek Masoud** at the Middle East Initiative's Civil Society in Arab World Conference.

## Student Alum's Tiny Invention Has Global Applications

First responders face various dangers each day—from house fires to earthquakes, bomb threats to hostage situations. But even with advanced rescue technologies, a low-cost option for visualizing and understanding these situations has remained elusive. And that is a big problem for those who put themselves in harm's way.

Harvard Kennedy School graduate and former Belfer Center International Global Affairs (IGA) Student Fellow **Francisco Aguilar** has an answer for just that: a cheap, disposable, sturdy sensor which can be tossed into dangerous unseen locations to provide instant video, audio, and even chemical or radiological sensing.

Aguilar's start-up, Bounce Imaging, is one of the fastest-growing hardware companies in New England. Bounce Imaging's first product has garnered early accolades, including the 2012 MassChallenge Gold Winner award and being named one of *Time* magazine's best inventions of 2012.

"We're working to develop a product with a low enough cost to the end user that it is essentially disposable if retrieval is too risky," Aguilar said.

Prototypes of the device will be field tested in early 2013 with several local groups, including the Haverhill, MA, police force and the MIT police. 🌐

—Andrew Facini



**Life Saver:** **Francisco Aguilar** with his powerful sphere.