

BCSIA News

THE ROBERT AND RENÉE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Blackwill Brainstorms Iraq and Middle East Strategies with Belfer Center Colleagues

Ambassador **Robert Blackwill**, Deputy Assistant to the President and Coordinator for Strategic Planning to National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, discussed the situation in Iraq with fellow Belfer Center Board members at a breakfast meeting in April. Blackwill brainstormed with colleagues on strategies to improve the reconstruction of Iraq and conditions in the Middle East.

“The objectives set by the President can be accomplished, despite setbacks.”

Recently back from one of many trips to Iraq, Blackwill told colleagues that “objectives set by the President for Iraq can be accomplished, despite setbacks along the way.”

Blackwill’s visit to the Kennedy School included an address at April’s annual Dean’s Conference, where he shared his view that Iraq

faces two possible futures: a country open to the world or a country run by armed extremists. President Bush’s vision, he said, is for the advancement of human freedom. He cautioned that reform “must be rooted in Iraq, not here, and will take years to achieve.”

Ambassador Blackwill said that ousting Saddam Hussein eliminated not only a serial aggressor and a leader who used weapons of mass destruction against his own people, but also rid the world of a safe haven for terrorists. Being rid of Hussein, Blackwill said, has “significantly improved the strategic situation for the US in the region.”

A member of the Belfer Center Board and the Center’s First Belfer Lecturer in International Security, Blackwill spent 1989–90 in the George H. W. Bush White House as Special



Blackwill Returns: Ambassador **Robert Blackwill** (right) with KSG Wiener Center’s **Malcolm Wiener** (left), his wife **Carolyn**, and Belfer Executive Director **Robert Orr**.

MARTHA STEWART

Assistant to the President for European and Soviet affairs. He previously served at the State Department under Secretaries Henry Kissinger, Alexander Haig, and George Shultz. From 2001 to 2003, he was Ambassador to India.

Ridge Explores Homeland Defense Issues with Center Experts

On Wednesday, February 11, Secretary of Homeland Security **Tom Ridge** came to the Belfer Center for a high-level strategy session with Center experts and selected public and private sector leaders. The two-hour discussion was designed to allow the Secretary to hear feedback and ideas regarding DHS’s progress and strategic priorities.

Secretary Ridge led off with brief remarks about areas where DHS has been able to

“With so many critical assets in private hands, DHS must make the case that good security is good business.”

improve operational coordination and some of the broad challenges still ahead. The discussion then moved through a range of critical subjects, drawing heavily on lessons from the Belfer Center’s Executive Session on Domestic Preparedness (ESDP), a working group of approximately 75 first responders, academics, and policymakers that ran from 1999–2002. One major focus was how to forge sensible working



Richard Clarke: War in Iraq Undermines War on Terror (see article, page 7).

TOM FITZSIMMONS



Meeting New Challenges: DHS Secretary **Tom Ridge** discusses strategy at Belfer Center.

TOM FITZSIMMONS

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From the Director

On May 5, Kennedy School students faced a decision: what to do if you are President of the United States and a threat is made to detonate a nuclear bomb in the city you are visiting. For their final class, students in **Richard Clarke** and **Rand Beers'** *Post Cold War Security* course took the roles of top government officials, and played out the crisis in "real" time.

It has been a busy spring semester at the Belfer Center. With the world's attention focused on the increasingly volatile situation in Iraq, the Center has continued to provide policymakers with analysis and recommendations on Iraq's reconstruction. At the same time, we are amplifying our warning to American and world leaders that actions must be taken to reduce risks of catastrophic terrorism from nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Just weeks ago, I completed a book I'm calling *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*. This is my call to arms: secure all nuclear weapons and materials before it's too late. (More about the book on page eight.)

During the past few months, we have traded ideas with a broad range of experts on national security and terrorism. Among our guests: Dept. of Homeland Security Secretary **Tom Ridge**, former Presidential Counter-terrorism Chief **Richard Clarke**, Deputy Assistant to the President Ambassador **Robert Blackwill**, Senators **Bob Graham** and **Sam Nunn**. **Zbigniew Brzezinski** shared with us his views on the critical need for international cooperation. **Robert McNamara** reminded us to learn from past mistakes.

We were honored to host Prime Minister **Recep Tayyip Erdogan**, who spoke in the Forum on the fundamental compatibility of Islam and democracy. The Prime Minister came to us not only as a distinguished head of state, but also as a Harvard father, and it was a pleasure to share dinner and ideas with him

and Mrs. Erdogan and their son **Balil**, a KSG student.

"This is my call to arms: secure all nuclear weapons and materials before it's too late."

The KSG Dean's Annual Conference in April brought together a range of experts to address the question: *What Is At Stake At Home and Abroad?* Presenters included Deputy Secretary of State **Richard Armitage**, Brookings Institution Sr. Fellow **Alice Rivlin**, **Robert Blackwill** and many other experts. I chaired a panel with the Center's **Stephen Walt** and **John White** on "National Security Policy: What Next?" and the Center's **Juliette Kayyem** and **Ash Carter** joined Sen. **Gary Hart** in discussing "Homeland Security: Do You Feel Safer?"



Moment of Decision: **Richard Clarke** and **Graham Allison** listen in as KSG student **Lala Qadir** and others in Clarke's "Post Cold War Security" class role-play a nuclear terror attack in the US. Clarke and Rand Beers, both former terrorism advisors in the Bush administration, taught the spring semester course.

The Dean's Conference was a fitting grand finale for our outgoing Dean **Joseph Nye**. In his nine years as head of the Kennedy School—years that have seen a world transformed—Joe has advanced the School mission to "train leaders to strengthen democratic governance at home and abroad" with tremendous zeal and success. He has provided extraordinary opportunities for future leaders to learn directly from policymakers and thinkers worldwide. This is education from the top and from the field, led by a world class teacher and leader.

In the next few months, we look forward to working with Dean-designate **David Ellwood** in his transition to KSG Dean. Now, we say thank you, Joe Nye, and look forward to future work with him as a member of our faculty and our Board. 🌐

John Allie



International Exchange: Belfer Center International Council member **John Deutch** (center) debates security questions with fellow members, including **James Schlesinger** (left) and **Robert Belfer**.

Juma's UN Millennium Task Force Identifies Technologies for Fighting Poverty

Meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set by the 2000 United Nations Millennium Summit will require a substantial reorientation of development policies, says the Belfer Center's **Calestous Juma**, Coordinator of the Task Force on Science, Technology and Innovation of the UN Millennium Project commissioned by UN Secretary General **Kofi Annan**. Charged with outlining approaches for the effective application of science, technology and innovation to achieving the MDGs, the Task Force released its Interim Report in February.

Juma, who heads the Belfer Center's Science, Technology and Globalization Project, recently presented the task force findings. Actions should be taken in developing countries, he said, to enhance science and technology advice, to build human capabilities in scientific, technical and engineering fields, and to promote small and medium business enterprises. "We are particularly interested in ensuring that heads of state and government create mechanisms that provide them with systematic advice on the role of science and technology in development," Juma said. 🌐



Better Living Through Technology: **Calestous Juma** discusses using technology for development with **Beatriz Fialho**, a PhD student from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

Senate and Administration Adopt Belfer Center Approach to Secure Nuclear Weapons from Terrorists



Matthew Bunn

On May 19, the U.S. Senate unanimously approved legislation developed with Managing the Atom Project Co-Director Matthew Bunn and Belfer Center colleagues to authorize a new effort to remove weapons-grade nuclear materials from highly vulnerable sites around the world. Less than a week later, Energy Secretary Abraham announced the administration would allocate \$450 million to launch a similar initiative.

The Belfer Center has long advocated this idea, which Bunn christened “global cleanout.” Bunn and Managing the Atom Project colleague Anthony Wier recently released a new report, “Securing the Bomb: An Agenda for Action,” which detailed the dimensions of the problem and the range of steps necessary to

address it. The report explains that a terrorist group could make a working nuclear weapon with highly enriched uranium taken from one of the many minimally secured sites found in more than 40 countries, and pointedly notes that fewer vulnerable nuclear materials were secured in the two years just after 9/11 than in the two previous years.

“This legislation will address one of the critical security issues in the post 9/11 world.”

The Senate legislation would establish a single integrated government task force to coordinate and strengthen current efforts and provide the authority to offer incentives to convince host nations to give up their nuclear materials. Bunn played a key role in conceiving and

drafting the legislation, which was co-sponsored by Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM), and a bipartisan group of senior members.

“This legislation,” said Sen. Feinstein, “will address one of the critical security issues in the post 9/11 world . . . Removing weapons-usable materials from facilities where it is susceptible to terrorist theft or diversion should be a top priority for U.S. national security policy.”

Secretary Abraham’s announcement is a marked reversal of the Bush administration’s position of just last year, when these vulnerable nuclear materials were considered not a priority. This reversal was greatly facilitated by the Belfer Center’s work, both in moving the issue in Congress, and by working directly with Department of Energy staff.

For more on the “Securing the Bomb” report and recent policy actions, see www.belfer-center.org.


Experts Identify Strategies for UN Leadership on Non-Proliferation

On April 5, the Belfer Center, together with the United Nations Foundation and the Nuclear Threat Initiative, convened a group of top nuclear arms control experts and leaders at the Kennedy School for a roundtable discussion to formulate recommendations on how the United Nations might take a renewed leadership role in nuclear nonproliferation. The session was held at the request of a high-level panel convened by UN Secretary General **Kofi Annan** to propose measures to counter threats to global peace and security.

The discussion, led by Belfer Center experts **Graham Allison, John Holdren, Ash Carter** and **Matt Bunn**, focused on the potential for terrorists to acquire and use weapons of mass destruction. Participants, including guests Senator **Sam Nunn** and **Ted Turner** and panel members **Gro Brundtland** and **Nafis Sadik**, expressed a variety of views on what measures should be prioritized to combat the threat of

nuclear proliferation and what role the UN could and should play.

The United Nations should take a lead role in getting countries to give up their nuclear materials.

Specific recommendations were proposed to address key proliferation threats, including “loose nukes” and unsecured weapons-grade materials, the rising trade in nuclear materials, and the production of weapons-grade materials. Chief among the recommendations were for the UN to take a lead role in encouraging countries to secure or divulge nuclear materials stockpiles and to agree to a revised non-proliferation treaty under which non-nuclear weapons states would return spent fuel from civilian reactors to supplier states for safekeeping. Other recommendations included creating a UN Special Rapporteur to focus exclusively on non-proliferation, providing more resources for IAEA inspection and monitoring work, building a database of all nuclear materials worldwide, rewarding states for reduction of nuclear materials, establishing a program to reward people for reporting nuclear weapons or materials theft, and setting up a high-level commission to investigate the A.Q. Khan smuggling network. 


Ridge Explores Homeland Defense Strategies with Center Experts

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partnerships between federal, state and local officials, most of whom already have other primary duties such as police and firefighters.

Participants also discussed how to engage private sector actors in planning for homeland security, drawing on several examples from the ESDP case files. The Secretary agreed that one of his challenges is to make the case to the private sector that good security is good business.

Participants in the session included The Belfer Center’s **Graham Allison, Juliette Kayyem, Robert Orr, Elaine Kamark, Ernest May, John White, Arnold Howitt, Steven Miller, Harold Hestnes, John Holdren** and **Peter Zimmerman**, as well as guests **Leigh Williams** of Fidelity and **Ed Flynn** from the Massachusetts Office of Public Safety.

The Secretary commented that he felt the session had been very helpful both in confirming his focus on certain priorities, and in raising others for further consideration. Secretary Ridge plans to return to the center for a second roundtable session this summer to follow up on several of the issues raised and discuss the progress of new DHS programs being introduced this spring. 



New Solutions for an Old Problem: Senator **Sam Nunn** discusses recommendations for a strengthened UN role in securing nuclear materials.

Clean Coal Proposal Promises Major Impact on Energy Independence, Global Warming

On February 11, the Belfer Center's Environment & Natural Resources Program (ENRP) hosted more than 70 top experts from federal and state government, academia, the electric power industry, and environmental NGOs to discuss an innovative financing proposal to bring revolutionary new clean coal technology known as "integrated gasification combined cycle" (IGCC) to the commercial marketplace.

The workshop opened with a presentation on the IGCC technology by **John Holdren**. IGCC is the cleanest coal-burning technology currently available, even offering the possibility of economically separating, capturing, and sequestering carbon dioxide, a key greenhouse gas. While it has been proven to work—several power plants are on-line—it is not yet commercially mature, and financiers are reluctant to support new projects. To address this issue, ENRP Fellow **William Rosenberg** presented the "Three-Party Covenant" financing plan, which he developed in conjunction with Belfer Center faculty, KSG's Center for Business and Government, and other outside experts. Under the proposal, the federal government and pub-

lic utility commissions would partner with investors to reduce financing costs on a few initial projects to prove the technology's value in the marketplace.

"If this technology becomes commercially viable, it's going to make a huge dent in industrial pollution."

"High natural gas prices, stringent requirements to reduce mercury and nitrogen oxide emissions, and the looming threat of global climate change provide a unique window of opportunity to pursue the commercialization of coal gasification technologies," ENRP Director Henry Lee remarked. "If this technology becomes commercially viable, it's going to make a huge dent in industrial pollution."

The proposal received strong endorsements at the workshop from both the Natural Resources Defense Council's **David Hawkins** and Cinergy CEO **James Rogers**. The research that led to the proposal and workshop is also



Partnering for Energy Innovation: Cinergy CEO **James Rogers** (left) and ENRP Fellow **William Rosenberg**.

being sponsored by a wide range of government agencies and NGOs. The proposal will be revised to reflect feedback from the workshop, and will be formally released this summer. 🌐

Sierra Club's Pope: Embattled Environmental Policies Affect Everyone

Sierra Club Executive Director Carl Pope says the Bush administration has spent the last three years dismantling America's environmental protections. In an address at Harvard Hall on April 30, "Restoring the American Environmental Dream," Pope discussed why he thinks this is being done. Sponsored by the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program and Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, Pope's talk was one of a series of center presentations that examine current issues in environmental policy from a variety of perspectives.



Restoring the Dream: Belfer Center STPP Director **John Holdren** (left) introduces Sierra Club Executive Director **Carl Pope**.

The administration has gone so far as to censor the results of environmental studies.

Pope's presentation was based on his recently-published book, *Strategic Ignorance: Why the Bush Administration Is Recklessly Destroying a Century of Environmental Progress*. Pope said the Bush administration views environmental quality as a commodity, not a right, and believes that each community should determine how clean its water or air should be. The administration claims that a regulatory approach to environmental integrity is "too clumsy," and that further progress requires greater "market efficiency."

In contrast, Pope said, most Americans believe that everyone should be entitled to the same protections—that "someone in one state or community is no less susceptible to mercury poisoning than someone in another."

In its efforts to eliminate the universality of environmental protections, Pope said, the Bush administration has gone so far as to censor results of environmental studies. 🌐

Thanks to Rob Stowe.

Carter Testifies on Counterproliferation

Preventive Defense Project Co-Director **Ashton B. Carter** appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Armed Services Committee on March 10 and 17 respectively as they conducted hearings on Weapons of Mass Destruction. Testifying with Carter were **Brent Scowcroft**, **Arnold Kanter**, and the Preventive Defense Project's other Co-Director, **William J. Perry**.

Carter made the point that while the US is waging a war on terrorists, it is not yet waging a comparable war on WMD. He proposed an overhaul of U.S. counterproliferation capabilities and policies in six key areas: alliances and security partnerships; creating a global coalition against WMD terrorism based on the Nunn-Lugar program; updating the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to make it serve the needs of the 21st century; making countering WMD use an integral part of the Pentagon's "transformation"; making countering WMD terrorism a priority in Homeland Security; and improving WMD intelligence to make it less likely to resort to "preemption." 🌐

Thanks to Gretchen Bartlett.

MARTHA STEWART



The Fog of War: **Robert McNamara** (right), Secretary of Defense for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, speaks to an overflow crowd in the Forum about the new film “The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons From the Life of Robert S. McNamara.” Moderated by Center Director **Graham Allison**, the event included clips from the award-winning documentary.

MARTHA STEWART



Leadership or Domination? **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, former National Security Advisor and Harvard Professor, addresses a Forum on “American Power and Global Security.” Brzezinski stressed the need for improved US-European relations and better understanding of the root causes of terrorism.

MARTHA STEWART



Liberty vs. Security: **Juliette Kayyem**, Adjunct Lecturer and Senior Belfer Center Fellow (center), moderates a Forum debate focusing on the USA Patriot Act entitled “Civil Liberties and National Security: Is There Common Ground?” The debaters were **Viet Dinh**, chief Patriot Act architect, and **Carol Rose**, Executive Director of the Massachusetts ACLU and an attorney in recent Supreme Court cases challenging the constitutionality of the Patriot Act.

“We Got It Very, Very Wrong.”

David Kay, former Chief US Weapons Inspector for Iraq, speaks on “Iraq and WMD: Lessons Learned and Unlearned.” Kay said, “The dots of 1991 behavior were connected to 2000 behavior and 2003 behavior. They became an explanation and picture of Iraq that didn’t exist.” Kay presented the Lamont Lecture at the Forum.

MARTHA STEWART



TOM FITZSIMMONS



Islam and Democracy: Prime Minister **Recep Tayyip Erdogan** fields questions from journalists during a Belfer Center press conference before speaking at the Forum.

TOM FITZSIMMONS



Not an Urgent Priority: **Richard Clarke** discusses the Bush Administration’s pre-9/11 counter-terrorism efforts in a crowded Forum.

Debating Critical Issues



MARTHA STEWART

Origins of the Uber-Conference: Klaus Schwab, Executive Director and founder of the World Economic Forum, discusses the creation of the WEF and its annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland at a seminar with KSG students and faculty. The Belfer Center hosted the seminar and a reception in Schwab's honor.



MARTHA STEWART

The View from State: Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage speaks at the "Decision 2004" Dean's Conference. Armitage said the US must accept its role as predominant superpower and project leadership through international cooperation.



MARTHA STEWART

Meet the Deans: NBC's Tom Brokaw (left) with (left to right) KSG Dean Joseph Nye, Dean-designate David Ellwood and former Dean Graham Allison at the 2004 Dean's Conference. Brokaw joined other journalists in a discussion of "The Media: Entertainment and Politics."



MARTHA STEWART

"The Middle East Imbroglio:" Shirley Williams, member of the Center's Board of Directors and Liberal Democrat member of the British House of Lords since 1993, addresses the Belfer Board on the urgent need to press for a new peace between Israel and the Palestinians.



MARTHA STEWART

What is at Stake at Home and Abroad? Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass discusses the complexity of "America's Role in the World" as part of a keynote panel with Dean Joseph Nye at the Dean's Conference.



MARTHA STEWART

Wanted: More Intelligence. Senator Bob Graham tells students at a Belfer Center seminar that US intelligence requires a massive investment in diverse sources of human intelligence, particularly Arab intelligence officers.

Voting on Security: Senator Gary Hart with the Center's Juliette Kayyem and Ashton Carter in a panel discussion entitled "Homeland Security: Do You Feel Safer?"



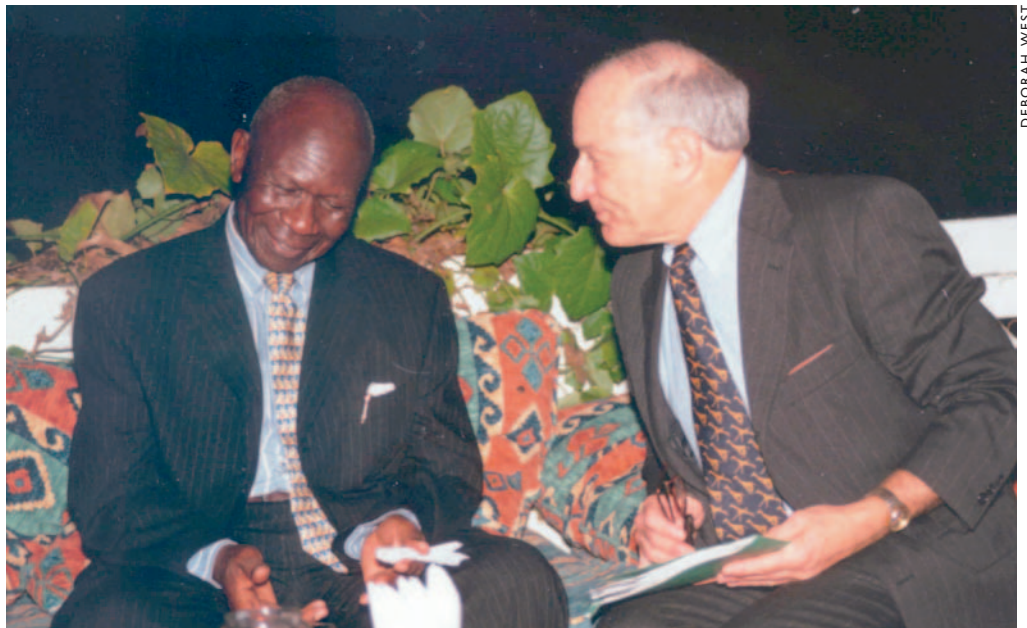
Rotberg Facilitates Landmark African Leadership Document

A landmark Code of African Leadership was unveiled in March by the African Leadership Council (ALC), a group of current and former African leaders. Belfer Center Program on Intrastate Conflict Director **Robert Rotberg**, who serves as the Council's Interim Executive Director, facilitated the development of the document.

The Leadership Code, called the 'Twenty-three Commandments of Leadership,' sets out the paradigms of good governance for African leaders. The Code forms the heart of the Mombasa Declaration, a statement released by the Leadership Council in Mombasa, Kenya, where the March meeting was hosted by Kenyan Vice President Mr. Moody Awori. The Mombasa Declaration, signed by 10 African leaders, urges current leaders to be open-minded and to learn from their predecessors and from good leadership globally.

The Code emphasizes respect for all human rights and civil liberties and promotion of democratic practices, the demand for peaceful and lawful transfer of power, and the elimination of corrupt practices. The Code also includes pledges to promote policies aimed at reducing poverty levels, strengthening and improving access to education and health care, and respecting the autonomy of judicial and legislative branches of government.

The ALC, chaired by former Botswana President Sir Ketumile Masire, plans to deliver the Mombasa Declaration with the Code of Leadership to the African Union (AU), the New Partnership of Africa's Development



Leadership Landmark: Kenyan Vice President **Mr. Moody Awori** confers with Belfer Center Director of Intrastate Conflict **Robert Rotberg** prior to the African Leadership Council's March meeting in Mombasa.

"This innovative endeavor is rare, [and] promising."

(NEPAD), and to heads of state in Africa. Future plans include recruiting senior women and other senior leaders from Africa. According to Mr. Masire, "We intend to be fully inclusive of Africa, and fully aware of Africa's

many positive advances as well as its critical leadership weaknesses."

"As a totally African response to immense needs as perceived by distinguished Africans," says Robert Rotberg, "the African Leadership Council's innovative endeavor is rare, promising, and unique in the annals of governance." 🌍

Clarke: War in Iraq Undermines War on Terror

Richard Clarke, former top terrorism advisor to President Bush and current Belfer Center Faculty Affiliate and Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy, told a JFK Jr. Forum audience on April 21 that the invasion of Iraq had played into al Qaeda's hands. It fulfilled bin Laden's prediction—that the US would invade and occupy an oil-producing Arabic country—and is using resources that should go toward the fight against terrorism. Iraq posed no threat to the US, Clarke told the overflow crowd.

"The invasion of Iraq played into al Qaeda's hands."

Responding to questions from moderator **Graham Allison** and the audience, Clarke repeated the charges he recently made before the 9/11 Commission and in his book, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror*.



Are We Winning the War on Terror? Former National Counterterrorism Coordinator **Richard Clarke** (right) fields questions from the audience during a Forum presentation moderated by Center Director **Graham Allison**.

Fighting terrorism, he said, was not an urgent priority in the Bush White House before the 9/11 attacks.

To win the "war on terror," the US must begin winning the hearts and minds of millions of Muslims who are providing various kinds of support to radical causes, Clarke said. He stressed that resolution of the Palestinian

issue is one essential step, but not enough. To make the US safer, the nation must also spend much more money to secure trains, container ships and other potential terrorist targets, he said.

Clarke also commented that he saw "nothing wrong" with the Patriot Act as it is now written, and suggested that it might have helped prevent 9/11 had it been in force a few years earlier.

Clarke helped shape policy in the US under President Reagan and the first President Bush, then remained at the White House to serve President Clinton and then the current President Bush as terrorism advisor. He served with President Bush until 2002. This spring, Clarke and another former member of the Bush administration, **Rand Beers**, taught a Kennedy School course entitled "Post Cold War Security." Beers was Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Combating Terrorism on the National Security Council staff from 2002–2003. 🌍



Q&A Graham Allison: Preventing Nuclear Terrorism

Graham Allison is the Director of the Belfer Center, “founding Dean” of the Kennedy School, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy and Plans with responsibility for developing strategy for Russia, Ukraine, and the former Soviet Union.

As a leading expert on terrorism, foreign policy, and nuclear weapons, he and center colleagues co-authored **Avoiding Nuclear Anarchy: Containing the Threat of Loose Russian Nuclear Weapons and Fissile Material** (1996), which paints the specter of a world of nuclear plenty where terrorists could easily obtain nuclear weapons and destroy American cities. Under Allison’s leadership over the past decade, the Belfer Center has been the nation’s leading think-tank for identifying threats of catastrophic terrorism and designing prevention strategies.

Dr. Allison’s new book, **Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe**, will be published by Times Books this summer.

Q President Bush has warned of “the world’s most dangerous people” attacking us with “the world’s most destructive technologies.” The threat that Saddam Hussein would arm terrorists with WMD was the main argument put forth for war against Iraq. Hasn’t this administration made preventing nuclear terrorism a top priority?

Allison: While the Bush administration has said the right words, they have unfortunately not followed through with actions. Indeed, if the U.S. government and others just keep doing what they are presently doing, nuclear terrorism is not just inevitable, but more likely than not in the decade ahead. While the Bush Administration has been distracted by war with Iraq, in Russia they have left 10,000 nuclear warheads and enough fissile material for 30,000 more weapons vulnerable to theft. No Global Cleanout campaign has been undertaken to remove weapons materials from vulnerable research reactor sites in more than 20 nations. North Korea is believed to have built as many as eight nuclear weapons, while the administration has maintained there is “no crisis.”

“No fissile material, no nuclear explosion, no nuclear terrorism. It is that simple.”

Q What policies should the Bush administration, or possibly after the election a Kerry administration, take to measurably reduce the risks of what you term a “nuclear 9/11?”

Allison: The centerpiece of a strategy must be to deny terrorists access to nuclear weapons and the materials needed to make them. Without fissile materials such as highly enriched uranium or plutonium, there can be no nuclear explosion. So, no fissile material, no

nuclear explosion, no nuclear terrorism. It is that simple. There is a vast, but not unlimited, amount of highly enriched uranium and weapons-grade plutonium in the world. Technologies for securing valuable or dangerous materials are well developed: the United States does not lose gold from Fort Knox. Moreover, producing new fissile material requires complex, conspicuous, and thus vulnerable facilities. A watchful world can interrupt such efforts. To do this, we must shape a new international security order to enforce a doctrine of the Three No’s: No loose nukes, No new nascent nukes, and No new nuclear states.

“If we just keep doing what we’re doing, nuclear terrorism is not just inevitable, but more likely than not in the decade ahead.”

Q Is it too late to prevent Iran from getting nuclear weapons, and to reverse North Korea’s suspected acquisition of them?

Allison: No, not if the U.S. would focus on the problem. In Iran’s case, a grand bargain can be struck: in return for renouncing all plans to enrich uranium or reprocess plutonium, we would sell them nuclear fuel for their civilian reactors at less than half the cost to produce it themselves, and remove the spent nuclear fuel after use. North Korea should be offered a long list of enticing carrots, economic and diplomatic, to convince it to give up its nuclear program. In both cases, stopping further nuclear proliferation must trump all other issues, including regime change. Credible carrots must be offered, and equally credible sticks must be brandished as a last resort. 🌐

Allison’s Nonlethal Weapons Task Force Finds NLWs Could Have Saved Lives in Iraq

The role of non-lethal weapons in the military should be substantially expanded, according to a recent report from an independent task force on “Non-Lethal Weapons and Capabilities.” Convened by the Council on Foreign Relations and co-chaired by **Graham Allison** and Marine Corps General **Paul X. Kelly** (ret.), the task force presented its report in March. Among its findings: nonlethal weapon use by US forces in Iraq could have saved lives and reduced damage from sabotage and looting.

Non-lethal weapons are an important part of transforming the military to meet the new challenges ahead.

Established in 1995, the task force examined the role of nonlethal weapons (NLW) in meeting the evolving challenges facing the US military, particularly in situations where friend and foe are not easily distinguished. “This issue,” says Co-chair Allison, “is an important part of the inquiry into how to transform the military to meet new challenges ahead.”

The task force recommended that the NLW budget should be expanded to support projects to (1) extend the range of incapacitating NLW to 100 meters, (2) operationalize the system that deters adversaries hundreds of meters away by heating their skin without permanent injury, and (3) develop other advanced concepts. 🌐

Spotlight

Danielle Lussier Research Associate 2001–2004

Ironically, an experience at the John F. Kennedy School in Enfield, Connecticut led Danielle Lussier to the John F. Kennedy School in Cambridge. As a student at Enfield's Kennedy Middle School in 1990, Lussier had the opportunity to take part in a class field trip to the Soviet Union. It was just months before the final collapse, and Lussier was struck by the nation's contrasts—the lack of visible poverty and the openness of Russian people alongside empty food shelves and lack of social vibrancy. “There was an enormous similarity and disparity with my own understanding of communism and multi-cultural relations,” she says. The trip started her on a career as an expert in Russian affairs.

“[At the Belfer Center] I’m in the thick of how policy is developed and decisions are made.”

Today, Danielle Lussier assists Center Director **Graham Allison** with Russia-related projects, focusing primarily on the US-Russian Nonproliferation Working Group, whose goal is to revive the nonproliferation consensus between the United States and Russian policy-making communities. Fluent in Russian, she monitors and researches Russian affairs and economic development and assists with the Kennedy School's many Russia-related programs and distinguished visitors. As an editor of the publications *Russia Watch* and *Russian Election Watch*, she has used her deep knowledge of the country to provide insight into new developments in Russia as they emerge.

Lussier's work at the Belfer Center began in November 2001 as a research assistant for the Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, which was established by Graham Allison to support the democratic and economic development of the former Soviet Union. As coordinator of a related project to help build up political parties in Russia, she organized workshops in Boston and Washington for leaders of Russian parties to learn how to increase the effectiveness of their own organizations.

Prior to her arrival at the Kennedy School, Lussier spent a year in Yaroslavl, Russia as a US-Russian Young Leaders for Public Service Fellow. With her fellowship, sponsored by the



Danielle Lussier

US Department of State's Bureau for Education and Cultural Affairs, Lussier organized public health projects in local communities and conducted HIV/AIDS prevention workshops in public schools and orphanages. “It was an amazing experience,” she says, and she returned in the summer of 2003 under a grant to research regional HIV/AIDS policies in two regions of Russia.

Lussier will leave the Belfer Center this summer for graduate work in political science at UC Berkeley. She will focus her PhD studies on comparative democratic development,

“I’ll be sad to leave the Belfer Center . . . I continue to learn from my colleagues and our guests.”

looking at the components of public support for democracy in Russia. Committed to continuing research that informs public policy, she is considering a dissertation on the role of the public, and particularly women, in the political process in Russia.

“I’ll be sad to leave the Belfer Center,” Lussier says. “I continue to learn new things here every day from my colleagues and our guests. I feel I’m in the thick of how policy is developed and decisions are made. But I know that with more education, I’ll be a better contributor to that discussion.”

Frazer Nominated to be US Ambassador to South Africa



Jendayi Frazer

Former Kennedy School Assistant Professor Jendayi Frazer's recent nomination for an appointment as the US Ambassador to South Africa came as no surprise to her Belfer Center colleagues.

Center Director Graham Allison said

Condoleezza Rice recommended Frazer for her KSG position. “I remember when we were recruiting her,” Allison said, “Condi called me and said, ‘This is a star.’”

Since 2001, Frazer has been working as the Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council and a special assistant to President Bush. In 2003, she accompanied the President on a trip to South Africa as part of a tour of the continent.

“When we were recruiting Jendayi Frazer, Condi called and said, ‘This is a star.’”

Frazer, a former fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, has served as a political-military planner with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the US Defense Department as well as working on African security issues with the

State Department's International Military Education Training programs and the United Nations Development Program.

Jendayi Frazer “was a valuable member of the faculty,” said Belfer Professor of International Affairs Stephen Walt. “We’re very proud of her and wish her well.”

At press time, it was not known when the Senate would vote on Frazer's nomination.



Nurturing Democracy: South African Ambassador to the US **Barbara Masekela**, who also is a member of the executive committee of the African National Congress, spoke on the “Challenges Ahead for the Young Democracy in South Africa” at a March event sponsored by the Program on Intrastate Conflict.

Holdren and Gallagher Work to Control Auto Emissions in China

The Belfer Center's **John Holdren** and **Kelly Sims Gallagher** were featured on-screen and off in NOVA's "World in the Balance—China Revs Up" Earth Day Special, which aired in April on PBS stations nationwide. The program documented how the increasing use of cars in China—now the fastest growing economy in the history of the world—is severely polluting China's air—actually impacting air quality as far away as California—and contributing to global climate change.

Chinese vehicle emissions have impacted air quality as far away as California.

NOVA producers built the program around research conducted by Holdren and Gallagher to develop and deploy cleaner energy technologies in China. As a case in point, NOVA focused on Gallagher's research on motor vehicles' impact on energy use and environmental quality. The rapidly escalating use of cars in China is causing severe urban

air pollution, increased oil imports, and increased greenhouse-gas emissions, Gallagher says, because Chinese cars are built to lower emissions standards than in the West—even when they are built by companies from the US and Europe. Gallagher has been working with research partners at the China Automotive Research and Technology Center (CATARC) in Tianjin, and with representatives of the Chinese government and members of the transportation industry to raise these standards and improve fuel efficiency.

"China and the United States—the two largest energy-consuming countries in the



On the Air: John Holdren, Director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, and Kelly Sims Gallagher, Director of the Energy Technology Innovation Project, discuss Chinese auto emissions on NOVA's "World in the Balance" Earth Day Special on PBS in April.

world—must work together to solve these critical problems that impact the entire world," Holdren said. "The challenge is how to improve human well-being everywhere without causing too much environmental harm." 🌍

“From the Opinion Pages...

“SEDUCTION IS ALWAYS MORE EFFECTIVE THAN COERCION, and many of our values, such as democracy, human rights and individual opportunity, are deeply seductive. But attraction can turn to repulsion when we are arrogant and destroy the real message of our deeper values.”

—**Joseph Nye**, “A Dollop of Deeper American Values,” *Washington Post* (30 March 2004).

“WHILE OPEN TESTIMONY IS IMPORTANT FOR THE AMERICAN PUBLIC, open pontificating by the commissioners is not. That only encourages outsiders to perceive the commissioners as stand-ins for factions in current political battles. It also tempts commissioners into making assessments and conclusions prematurely.

—**Juliette Kayyem** and **Wayne Downing**, “From One Commission to Another: Shut Up,” *New York Times* (16 April 2004).

“MANY PRINCIPALS IN MR. KHAN’S NETWORK WERE LEGITIMATE BUSINESSMEN spread through Asia, Europe and Africa. Before entering the nuclear trade, some of these individuals were engaged in producing and shipping computers and high-precision components or in capital investments.”

—**Micah Zenko**, “Proliferation for profit,” *Baltimore Sun* (12 March 2004).

“EUROPEANS VIEW AMERICA’S CONCENTRATION OF POWER like that of a huge corporation with bottomless pockets and an army of lawyers. Much as Microsoft settles lawsuits with large sums of cash only to resume its aggressive business practices, America buys off its allies and opponents alike and then charges forward ruthlessly with its own agenda.”

—**Grant R. Mainland**, “Europe vs. America’s Operating System,” *International Herald Tribune* (26 March 2004).

THE HAITIAN BODY POLITIC NEEDS LIFE SUPPORT. Haiti is the poorest and least-well educated nation in the Western Hemisphere. It need not be, surviving as it now does on remittances from Haitians in the United States and Canada. That wealthy and talented diaspora needs to be harnessed for Haiti to prosper, but its devoted members will neither invest nor return if Haiti remains dangerous, crime-ridden, and badly governed.”

—**Robert I. Rotberg**, “To Save Haiti, Aristide Must Go,” *Boston Globe* (8 February 2004).

“THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION MADE A GRAVE ERROR when, reeling from the shock of Sept. 11, it chose to defy its allies. Rather than allowing the March 11 tragedy to sow even further discord among us, now is the

time to band together, including by working together to create a functioning state in Iraq. We need to become as savvy at psychological warfare as is our enemy.”

—**Jessica Stern**, “Errors in Fighting Al Qaeda Have Worsened the Danger,” *Boston Globe* (25 March 2004).

“HOMELAND SECURITY SHOULD BE THE LAST LINE OF DEFENSE. By the time terrorists are transporting weapons of mass destruction in a cargo container to American targets, it will almost certainly be too late to stop them.”

—**Graham T. Allison**, “Is the U.S. Safer Than It Was a Year Ago?” *Chicago Tribune* (19 March 2004).

“TO DATE, OUR EFFORTS TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE IRAQIS HAVE BEEN INADEQUATE. We have failed to convey to the Iraqis what our intentions are—or have conveyed them belatedly. Consequently, all too many excellent and well-intentioned actions on our part have not gotten through to the Iraqi public.”

—**James Schlesinger**, “The Strong Horse? Failing to stay the course in Iraq would be a provocation for bin Laden,” *Wall Street Journal* (25 April 2004).

Newsmakers



Graham Allison presented a terrorism “report card” to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland in January. He warned that governments must do more to safeguard nuclear weapons that are vulnerable to theft and sale to terrorists.



Robert Blackwill, member of the center’s Board of Directors and Bush Administration special envoy to Iraq, has been asked by UN special envoy Lakhdar Brahimi to assist him and Civil Administrator of Iraq L. Paul Bremer in recommending makeup of the interim government scheduled to take office June 30.



Lewis Branscomb, Emeritus Director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program and member of the center’s Board of Directors, delivered the keynote lecture in February at the First US-Japan Workshop on Science and Technology for a Secure and Safe Society. His presentation was entitled “International Cooperation in Research and Innovation to Counter Catastrophic Terrorism.”



Ashton B. Carter, Co-Director of the Preventive Defense Project, was a delegate to the 40th Munich Conference on Security Policy, held February 6–8. Dr. Carter met with Secretary of Defense **Donald Rumsfeld** and other experts to discuss the conflict with Iraq, war on terrorism, the future of NATO and other security challenges.



Richard Clarke, Belfer Center Faculty Affiliate and Adjunct Lecturer at the Kennedy School, testified before the 9/11 Commission that the Bush White House did not view terrorism as an “urgent priority” prior to 9/11 despite numerous warnings. Clarke, who was President Bush’s top terrorism advisor until he resigned in 2002, also made that case in his recent book, *Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror*.



Steve Fetter, affiliate of the Managing the Atom Project, has been awarded an American Institute of Physics fellowship to spend next year in the office of Dr. George Atkinson, Science Advisor to the Secretary of State. A physicist by training, Fetter was previously a Council on Foreign Relations Fellow in the State Department.



Jendayi Frazer, former Asst. Professor of Public Policy with the Belfer Center, has been nominated by President Bush to the position of Ambassador to South Africa. Frazer is currently Special Assistant to President Bush and Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council. As of press time, her nomination is pending in Congress.



John Holdren, Director of the center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, has been named to the International Task Force on Climate Change, a group established to address the threat of global climate change. Launched by the Center for American Progress in Washington, the Institute for Public Policy Research in London, and the Australia Institute in Canberra, the task force held its first meeting in March.



Bonnie Jenkins, a joint Managing the Atom and International Security Program Fellow with the Belfer Center, was one of a select group of individuals named to serve as a member of the staff of the 9/11 Commission. An attorney and a Lieutenant Commander in the US Naval Reserves, Jenkins previously served as General Counsel with the Commission to Assess the Organization of the Federal Government to Combat Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction.



Calestous Juma, Director of the center’s Science, Technology and Globalization Project, has been appointed chair of the Committee to Address Global Issues of Agricultural Biotechnology at the National Academies. The new committee will focus on the potential of genetically-modified food groups to address global health, poverty and socioeconomic concerns.



Matthew Meselson, member of the center’s Board of Directors and Thomas Dudley Cabot Professor of the Natural Sciences at Harvard, delivered the prestigious Linus Pauling Peace Lecture in May at Oregon State University. His lecture was entitled “Averting the Hostile Exploitation of Biology.”



Robert Rotberg, Director of the center’s Intrastate Conflict Program, has been named Interim Executive Director of the African Leadership Council. The Council, comprised of current and former African leaders, recently completed a landmark Code of Leadership, the first such document to set out specific components of good governance for Africa.



Brenda Shaffer, Caspian Studies Program Research Director, was honored in April by the Republic of Azerbaijan’s National Academy of Sciences. The Academy formally recognized Shaffer’s book, *Borders and Brethren: Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity*, a study of Azerbaijani identity, culture and modern history.



Robert Stavins, a member of the center’s Board of Directors and Director of the Environmental Economics Program at Harvard, has accepted an assignment as a regular columnist for the nation’s leading magazine for environmental lawyers, *The Environmental Forum*. His column, “An Economic Perspective,” will appear in each of the six annual issues of the publication, beginning in the May/June 2004 issue.



Dorothy Shore Zinberg, Faculty Associate in the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, was a key participant in a Ditchley Foundation conference in Oxford, England in February to explore the potential of the human genome to help develop vaccines for HIV/AIDS and other epidemics.

Hot off the Presses

Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics

Joseph S. Nye Jr.
Public Affairs Press, 2004



Joseph Nye coined the term “soft power” in the late 1980s, and it is now used frequently, though often incorrectly, by policymakers and opinion leaders around the world. Soft power is the ability to attract and persuade arising from a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies.

According to Nye, the neo-conservatives who advise the president focus too heavily on using America’s military power to force other nations to do our will, and they pay too little heed to our soft power. America’s military is powerful, but our ideas are powerful as well. Our soft power can help us prevent terrorists from recruiting moderates to their cause and deal with critical global issues requiring multilateral cooperation. It is essential that America better appreciate and applies soft power.

“This is an indispensable book . . . Nye’s careful analysis of the shortcomings of unilateralism . . . is strong, all the more so because it is virtually devoid of partisanship.”

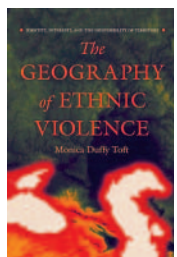
—Publishers Weekly

“Joe Nye explains in his usual lucid way how we can do a better job presenting our case and making our policies more attractive to others.”

—General Brent Scowcroft

The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory

Monica Duffy Toft
Princeton University Press, 2003



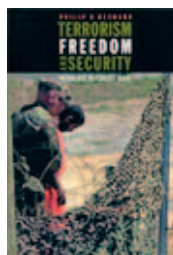
The Geography of Ethnic Violence looks closely at the vital role territory plays in ethnic violence. From Monica Toft’s quantitative analysis emerges a new theory that concentrated groups defending a self-defined homeland often fight to the death, while dispersed or urbanized groups almost never risk violence to redress their grievances. The full theory applies not only to most ethnic violence, civil wars, and terrorism, but to many interstate wars as well. This understanding can guide policymakers to solutions that make ethnic violence either less likely or less destructive.

“Well written and closely argued, with four thoroughly researched case studies . . . Its central proposition is that the likelihood of ethnic violence rests on how a conflict’s principal antagonists value a disputed territory.”

—Lawrence D. Freedman,
Foreign Affairs

Terrorism, Freedom, and Security: Winning Without War

Philip B. Heymann.
The MIT Press, 2003



In *Terrorism, Freedom, and Security*, Philip Heymann picks up where his widely read *Terrorism and America* left off, arguing that diplomacy, intelligence, and international law should play a larger role than military action in our counterterrorism policy. Heymann

believes that many counterproductive policies adopted since September 11—including secret detentions, military tribunals, and outsourcing interrogation to countries that use torture—are the direct result of conducting our response to terrorism as a “war.”

Heymann argues that Americans can and must guard against the continuing threat of terrorism without turning the United States into an “intelligence state” like those of our defeated Cold War adversaries.

“Powerful. . . Heymann makes a persuasive argument for just the kind of multilateral approach to fighting terrorism for which the Bush administration has shown utter disdain.”

—Ethan Bronner,
The New York Times Book Review

Bare Branches: The Security Implications of Asia’s Surplus Male Population

Valerie M. Hudson and Andrea M. den Boer
The MIT Press, 2004
A BCSIA Study in International Security



What happens to a society with too many men? In this provocative book, Valerie Hudson and Andrea den Boer show that high male-to-female ratios often lead to domestic and international violence as young unmarried males without stable social bonds—

called “bare branches” by the Chinese—turn to violence as either criminals or soldiers, often leading to more authoritarian political systems.

Now many Asian countries, particularly China and India—which represent almost 40 percent of the world’s population—are developing surpluses of males unprecedented in human history, as ancient cultural biases are played out through modern sex selection techniques like sex-selective abortion and female infanticide.

Hudson and den Boer argue that this surplus male population is likely to lead to mayhem, eventually threatening both the domestic stability of Asia’s largest countries and international security generally in the twenty-first century.

“Bare Branches is a tour de force. It represents a ground-breaking contribution to the literature on gender and security studies.”

—Rose McDermott, Assistant Professor of
Political Science, University of California
at Santa Barbara

“A brilliant contribution to the literature on contemporary world affairs.”

—Jessica Stern, Lecturer in Public Policy,
John F. Kennedy School of Government,
Harvard University

ARRIVING SOON

Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe

By Graham Allison
Times Books/ Henry Holt & Co., August, 2004

Allison sets out two provocative propositions: (1) A nuclear terrorist attack on America is inevitable on our current course, and (2) a nuclear terrorist attack can be prevented. The centerpiece of a strategy to prevent nuclear terrorism must be to deny terrorists access to nuclear weapons and materials. To do this, we must shape a new international security order according to a doctrine of the Three No’s: No loose nukes, No new nascent nukes, and No new nuclear states. (See Q&A, page 8, for more.)

Winning the Peace: An American Strategy for Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Edited by Robert C. Orr
CSIS Significant Issues Series, June 2004

With failing states now a top security issue and the US mission mired in Iraq, this important book addresses three increasingly critical questions: What does it take to rebuild a broken state? How should the United States decide when to get involved? And how should the United States prepare itself for these kinds of missions? *Winning the Peace* examines the “four pillars” of post-conflict reconstruction, and uses detailed case studies to explore how the US approach to post-conflict reconstruction has evolved from WWII to Iraq. The book offers policy guidance both on current reconstruction challenges and on how to build capacity now so we will be better prepared next time.

Tribute: Dr. Vicki Norberg-Bohm

The Belfer Center faculty, fellows and staff are saddened by the recent death of their colleague, Dr. Vicki Norberg-Bohm. Former Director of the Center's Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP) and a pioneer in the study of technology innovation, she died March 21 at the age of 48 after a courageous fight with cancer.

Dr. Norberg-Bohm was Director of ETIP from 1999 until 2003, when she stepped down as a result of her illness. Recruited to direct ETIP by Prof. John Holdren, Director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, she developed the project around research that would allow both rich and poor societies around the world to benefit from plentiful and cheap energy without imposing unacceptable burdens on the environment. Her work, which focused on technology innovation for sustainable development and voluntary approaches to reaching energy and environmental goals, brought her to the attention of world leaders seeking new ways to improve the environment through technology innovation.

Next year, MIT Press will publish a book she conceived and co-edited entitled *Industrial Transformation: Environmental Policy Innovation in the United States and Europe*.

"Vicki was not only an impressive scholar, she was a scholar with a mission. She never lost sight of why she was doing her research—to find better ways to harness the potential of technology to improve human well-being while protecting the environment. Her unique blend of intelligence and commitment, energy and infectious enthusiasm added greatly to the lives of all who had the pleasure of working with her. She is fondly remembered, and deeply missed," says colleague Prof. William Clark.


"Vicki was not only an impressive scholar, she was a scholar with a mission: to find better ways to harness technology to improve human well-being while protecting the environment."

A native of St. Louis, Missouri, Vicki Norberg-Bohm lived in Arlington and is survived by her husband, Craig Norberg-Bohm, and their son, Jeremy.

In recognition of Dr. Norberg-Bohm's work on energy and environmental issues,



Vicki Norberg-Bohm

Harvard University has established a fund in her memory. Donations may be sent to the Vicki Norberg-Bohm Fund, External Affairs Office, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 79 JFK Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. Questions may be directed to Belfer Center's Communications Office at 617.495.9858. 

International Security SPRING 2004 Vol. 28, No. 4

Steven E. Miller, Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Diane McCree, editors (The MIT Press, Spring 2004)

Building New States. As recent efforts around the world attest, state building has become a growth industry. **James Fearon** and **David Laitin** of Stanford University examine several cases in which major powers and international institutions have sought to prop up or rebuild a weak or collapsed state, concluding that "the international system remains badly organized and badly served for dealing with the implications of state collapse." The authors propose a system of neotrusteeship to facilitate coordination of future state-building activities.

Do arms races necessarily lead to war? **Charles Glaser** of the University of Chicago distinguishes between two kinds of arms races: those that are dangerous and those that are not. He offers a new perspective for assessing the consequences of arms buildups by posing a different question: Is an arms buildup the best way for a state to achieve security and to protect other vital interests?

What is the role of military service in citizenship? **Ronald Krebs** of the University of Minnesota explores the relationship between the armed forces, the state, and society, on the one hand, and the military as a potentially unifying institution, on the other. Krebs examines three "seemingly plausible mechanisms" for military and national cohesiveness—socialization, communication and contact, and elite transformation. Finding all three unpersuasive, he proposes a research agenda "premised on a more social and concrete conceptualization of identity."

"China continues to engage in the rapid military modernization of its forces, including its submarine capabilities."

Showdown in Taiwan? Recent remarks by Taiwan's President Chen Shui-bian advocating increased sovereignty for Taiwan underscore concern that further efforts to declare formal independence from China could ultimately lead to a Chinese decision to use force. **Michael Glosny** of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology presents several scenarios to predict the success of a Chinese submarine blockade against Taiwan.

New Danger in the Deep? **Lyle Goldstein** and **William Murray** of the U.S. Naval War College maintain that despite tangible improvements in the U.S.-China relationship, China continues to engage in the rapid military modernization of its forces, including its submarine capabilities. "A dramatic shift in Chinese underwater aspirations and capabilities is underway," they report, with submarines emerging as "the centerpiece of an evolving Chinese quest to control the East Asian littoral."

Colin Dueck of the University of Colorado critiques five recent books on U.S. grand strategy: *A Grand Strategy for America*, by Robert Art; *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power*, edited by G. John Ikenberry; *The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century*, by Charles Kupchan; *At Home Abroad: Identity and Power in American Foreign Policy*, by Henry Nau; and *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*, by Joseph Nye.

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Turkish Prime Minister Sees Democratic Future for Muslim World

Turkish Prime Minister **Recep Tayyip Erdogan** (pronounced AIR-doe-wahn) visited the Kennedy School in late January as guest of the Belfer Center's Caspian Studies Program. The Prime Minister addressed the JFK Jr. Forum, painting a picture of a Middle East where democracy will one day flourish.

Erdogan, whose son **Bilal** is a student at the Kennedy School, laid out his hopes for the Middle East in his address "Democracy in the Middle East, Pluralism in Europe: The Turkish Perspective." Dismissing the widely held view that the culture of Islam is incompatible with democracy, Erdogan, himself a devout Muslim and a democratically elected leader, pointed to the Turkish experience as evidence to the contrary.


"The question is not whether such democratization is possible," the Prime Minister said, "but instead how to meet the yearning of the masses in the Middle East for democracy; in other words, how to achieve democratization in the Middle East."

To succeed, the Arab-Israeli conflict must move toward resolution, said Erdogan, who added that, for Turkey, any resolution must include Israel's right to exist as well as the creation of a Palestinian state with recognized and secure borders. The inclusion of Turkey in the European Union also is a critical step toward bringing democracy to the region, he added.

"In my religion, killing one soul—not a Muslim soul, any soul—is equal to destroying the house of God. [Terrorists] have nothing to do with Islam."

Erdogan noted that radical terrorism is actively exploiting religion. Since September 11, he said, the world has become used to phrases such as "Islamic terrorists," but in my

religion, killing one soul—not a Muslim soul, any soul—is equal to destroying the house of God. If they are involved in such an activity, they have nothing to do with Islam."

At a press conference hosted by the Belfer Center, Erdogan fielded a range of questions from journalists. Later, at a dinner in honor of the Prime Minister and his family, he discussed American-Middle East relations and talked with dinner guests about the importance of international cooperation. 

Thanks to *Harvard Gazette*



GAIL OSKIN

Proud Harvard Parents—**Prime Minister and Mrs. Recep Tayyip Erdogan** look over their new t-shirts as son, **Bilal**, and center Director **Graham Allison** look on.