

Debate on Iraq: What Should the U.S. Do Now?

On Monday, April 10 in the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum, **William Kristol**, founding editor of the *Weekly Standard* and a former Kennedy School faculty member, squared off against **John Deutch**, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, MIT professor, and a member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, in a lively and illuminating debate about Iraq: should we stay or withdraw? **Belfer Center Director Graham Allison** moderated the discussion.

One of the great tragedies of our time was how incorrect the intelligence assessments were.

April's event was a rematch of a debate between the two in the spring of 2002—before the U.S. attacked Saddam Hussein. The question then was whether the U.S. should invade Iraq. In that Forum, Kristol called for toppling Hussein and Deutch argued that the U.S. was not prepared to secure the country afterwards.

Four years on, Kristol argued that we must stay the course to victory. Deutch said America's military presence is making things worse and the situation will further deteriorate the longer U.S. forces stay on the ground.

Should the United States stay in Iraq?

Kristol: "We have to win the war. We can win the war . . . Withdrawal would be disastrous. . . . We would look weak."

Deutch: "Withdraw immediately . . . Iraq was a mistake going in and it's a mistake to stay. . . . For our national interest, we should leave."

Has progress been made toward American goals?

Kristol: "Progress has been made. They have an elected government. They're building up military forces. Their army has held together pretty well . . . We have recently reduced casualties."

Deutch: "We have made no progress on key objectives. The national government is not pulling together. There is no security in the country. Militants are killing people. There has been no improvement in infrastructure—water, food, health, or oil production. . . . Our Army and Marine Corps are hollowed out."

What if the U.S. does leave?

Kristol: "The perception would be that we were driven out by the terrorists. That would be horrible for our national interest."

Deutch: "On the contrary, terrorists are being attracted to Iraq because of our presence there and because of the insurrection."



MARTHA STEWART

What Next? *Weekly Standard* Founder and former Kennedy School Lecturer **William Kristol** (left) and former Central Intelligence Agency Director and Belfer Center Board of Directors member **John Deutch** (right) debate "Should We Withdraw from Iraq Now?" at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in April. **Belfer Center Director Graham Allison** (center) moderated the lively debate.

Growing Debate

Kristol and Deutch agreed that in 2002 they both thought, incorrectly, that there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. "One of the great tragedies of our time," Deutch said, "was how incorrect those assessments were."

Debate continues on this critical issue throughout the Center and Kennedy School. 🗣️

View the full debate at: http://ksgaccman.harvard.edu/iop.events_forum_video.asp?ID=2981.

Holdren Center Stage with Bingaman in Climate Change Efforts

U.S. Senator Jeff Bingaman, ranking member of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, joined the Belfer Center's **John Holdren**, **Robert Stavins** and other experts at a Harvard conference in

March to assess climate change legislation. The conference, "New Prospects for Climate Change Regulations," was sponsored by the Harvard Environmental Law Program.

Holdren, director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, and co-chair of the National Commission on

Energy Policy, has been working with Bingaman and **Senator Pete Domenici** on mandatory climate change legislation. The Belfer Center, with the greater Harvard community, is advancing discussion of this issue through research, seminars, and work with members of Congress.



JOHN RICH

Time to Act: Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director John Holdren (right) at "New Prospects for Climate Change Regulation" conference with **U.S. Senator Jeff Bingaman** (center), and conference organizer **Harvard Law Professor Jody Freeman**.

In This Issue -

Iran from an Iranian's Perspective.....	page 3
Kennedy School in New Orleans	page 5-6
Space Security: Charting a New Course.....	page 7
Finding Solutions for Sudan.....	page 15



At our annual International Council meeting, **Harvard President Larry Summers** began by reminding us that with opportunity comes responsibility. In the world's most powerful nation, at the world's most influential university, he challenged the group to ask how the Belfer Center can best focus our expertise, knowledge, and resources to have the greatest impact for good on the most significant international issues of the era. Over the day and a half of meetings that followed, members of the International Council—a group that provides intellectual counsel and guidance to the Belfer Center—wrestled with Larry's question. It is a challenge the Center's leadership addresses every day.

In early April, **William Kristol** and **John Deutch** faced off in the Forum for the heavy-weight battle of the semester on Iraq: should we stay or go. Deutch argued that the U.S. has done what it can there and that staying longer will only worsen the consequences for U.S. interests. Kristol argued that despite many mistakes the U.S. has made to this point, now is not the time to leave. See "Debate in Iraq" cover story in this newsletter for more on this lively event.

Abbas Maleki (former deputy foreign minister in Iran and senior fellow here) and **Matthew Bunn** (senior researcher and co-author of the annual report, *Securing the Bomb*) are actively engaging policymakers on the path ahead on Iran. Working closely with the new director of our Managing the Atom project, **Jeffrey Lewis**, a Center-wide effort is underway to be helpful to the U.S. and other governments around the world as they develop sound policies on nonproliferation.

Nonproliferation is also an important dimension of the debate on America's India policy that was clearly laid out during another Forum event starring **Bob Blackwill**, former U.S. ambassador to India, and **Xenia Dor-**

mandy. They will be following up on another recommendation of the International Council: to find an appropriate way for the Belfer Center to help both American and Indian policy communities understand shared national interests and opportunities. They believe, as I do, that India is a natural, often overlooked American ally.

The Belfer Center serves the unique role of building consensus on the most critical questions.

Members of the International Council highlighted the negative consequences of extreme partisanship, now at an all-time high, in the search for policy-relevant solutions. Organizations like the Belfer Center can play a unique role in helping build consensus. **Belfer Center Senior Fellow Bob Graham** (former chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee) is leading a groundbreaking effort that includes **Doug Bereuter** (former Republican Congressman and chair of the House Intelligence Committee), **Juliette Kayyem**, and **Ernest May**, to organize a special executive program this summer that will orient new members of Congress and staff from both sides of the aisle on critical intelligence issues.

Former **Secretary of State Henry Kissinger** (one of my mentors when he was a professor and I a graduate student decades ago) recently met with a group of students and Center fellows at the JFK Library to answer questions about current national security challenges from Iraq to Israel and Palestine. Kissinger reminded students of the necessity for sound strategy—but the extraordinary difficulty of formulating and sustaining a coherent strategy in the highly-politicized conditions



TOM FITZPATRICK

Lifelong Perspective: Former **Secretary of State Henry Kissinger** discusses foreign policy with students from **Belfer Center Director Graham Allison's** class "Central Issues of American Foreign Policy."

of government today. This theme has been illuminated across the agenda by recent visitors including **Deputy Secretary of State Bob Zoellick**, former **Governor of Virginia Mark Warner**, **Commander of U.S. Strategic Command James Cartwright**, Yale Professor **John Lewis Gaddis**, editor of *Foreign Policy* **Moses Naim**, **Lieutenant General David H. Petraeus**, commanding general, U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, and Fort Leavenworth, and **Vice Admiral Jake Jacoby**, former **director of the Defense Intelligence Agency**. As Bob Blackwill noted, having been away from government for just a year, it is amazing how much clearer the challenges are, how much more obvious the solutions, and how petty the obstacles appear.

Please join me in wishing good luck to two departing staff members who have contributed so much to the Center's successes. We will all miss **Cara Fitzpatrick** who, for the past two years, has managed several hundred board and directors' events at the Center and whose contagious smile helps lift all of us every day. We will also miss **Moir Whelan**, our communications director, who has helped tighten links between our research products and the public. We are very sad to see them go, but happy to celebrate the progress of two more "graduates" of the extended Belfer family. 📺

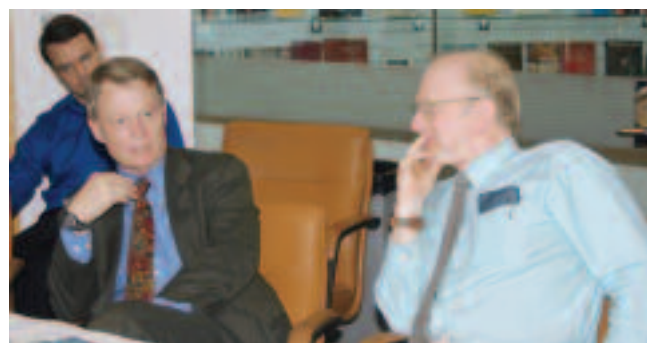
Scholars, Practitioners Delve into Terrorism Causes and Prevention

What motivates terrorists? How can we prevent their ranks from growing? What steps should the United States and other countries take to prevent terrorism?

Belfer Center Director Graham Allison, former **Under Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith**, and **MIT Political Science Professor Stephen Van Evera** are co-chairing a taskforce on strategies for combating terrorism. This taskforce succeeds a working group co-chaired by Van Evera and Allison that has met over the past two years to help sharpen thinking among a group of experts on the subject of counter-terrorism strategy.

Within the past several months, the expanded group has presented and debated a range of perspectives on strategies for countering the threat of terrorism. **Robert Pape** of the University of Chicago presented his findings that foreign occupation is a central determinate of suicide terrorism. **Marc Sageman** of the University of Pennsylvania argued that religion is an essential component to understanding the current international terrorism threat.

(continued on page 11)



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Securing the Future: Former **Senior Director for Counterterrorism** in the **National Security Council Rand Beers** (left) makes a point to **MIT International Relations Professor Stephen Van Evera** (right) during a Belfer Center seminar on the topic in March.

Iran: Appearances Can Be Deceiving by Abbas Maleki*

Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's announcement that his country has completed a uranium enrichment cycle was met with great fanfare in the country, and much worry around the world.

Iran's government takes pride in the success in putting together a cascade, while world leaders worry that the steps fly in the face of UN Security Council demands that Iran stop enrichment activities—a step prompted by their suspicion of Iran's intentions.

Producing enough enriched uranium for the Bushehr power plant's reactors would require cascades with as many as 5400 centrifuges, and Iran has connected only 164.

Although it has garnered much attention, Iran's moves are a relatively minor development. The enriched uranium used to fuel reactors has a concentration of approximately 3.5 percent uranium 235, while weapons-grade fuel must be enriched to a level of more than 90 percent. In addition, producing enough enriched uranium for the Bushehr power plant's reactors would require cascades with as many as 5400 centrifuges, and Iran has connected only 164. Furthermore, reports suggest that the government's joy is shared by a considerable segment of Iranian society. However, this should not be seen as evidence that the Iranian people share its government's views and should not be used as a pretext for the use of force against Iran's population.

Let's start with the basics. Iran is a signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) as well as its Additional Protocol. It has adhered to all the safeguard suggestions emanating from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), including the provisions for short-notice inspections. Legally, it has the right to produce enriched uranium

for civilian purposes, provided it accepts the IAEA safeguards and supervision which are designed to prevent the production of military grade enriched uranium.

Despite these facts, there is widespread concern in the United States, Europe, Russia, China, and Iran's neighbors regarding its nuclear activities, access to nuclear weapons, and safety issues that may arise due to the use of Russian technology in the Bushehr power plant, which is very close to the Persian Gulf.

However, pressure from these states in the form of U.S. comprehensive sanctions, the EU smart sanction, investigations and condemnation by the IAEA, and a UN Security Council demand for a report on Iran's nuclear activities, have all failed to bear fruit. On the contrary, Iran has followed through on its projects to attain nuclear technology and has completed the enrichment cycle.

Iranians have no desire for international isolation.

How should we interpret the situation? First, Iran wants recognition, power, and re-admission into international society. Iranians have no desire for international isolation. The government of Iran is part of, and must be responsive to Iran's society, and that society—scholars, clerics, businessmen, and the middle class more generally—prefers to conduct its business in a stable international environment. This means Iran must be part of the global picture, and the government has taken this step to achieve that goal.

Unfortunately, American threats are not seen as being directed against Iran's government but against Iranian people. The same is true of U.S. sanctions which impact all aspects of ordinary Iranians' lives. No one in Tehran can even purchase by credit card a novel from amazon.com, due to U.S. sanctions.

Second, the Iranian general public does not consider the nuclear issue to be of vital importance. Nuclear technology will do little for the average Iranians—it cannot create more jobs for a country which needs a million jobs annually, it cannot change the chronic low efficiency, productivity and effectiveness of the economy and management, and it will do nothing to improve Iran's commercial ties with the rest of the world.



Inside Iran: Belfer Center Senior Fellow Abbas Maleki presents "What is Iran?" at a director's lunch in April. **Managing the Atom** Senior Researcher Matthew Bunn listens.

For these reasons, popular support of further efforts are not likely, so the Iranian political elite are not likely to engage in an adventurous and risky undertaking that will put the very existence of their Islamic government at risk. Iran's government has a track record of rational action over the last 27 years in a turbulent region. Even following Ahmadinejad's speech, pragmatists within the government have shown a willingness to negotiate. Hashemi Rafsanjani, chairman of the Expediency Council, Ali Larijani, secretary of the National Security Council, and Mohammad Reza Bahonar, deputy speaker of the Parliament, have all publicly stated their readiness to engage in dialogue.

The Iranian political elite are not likely to engage in an adventurous and risky undertaking that will put the very existence of their Islamic government at risk.

Shouts of joy and shouts of military opposition should therefore not distract from real opportunities for diplomatic progress among Iran and other nations.

Abbas Maleki is a senior research fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

Abbas Maleki and Managing the Atom Senior Researcher Matthew Bunn recently proposed a solution to the Iranian crisis. See their proposal at: http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication.cfm?program=CORE&ctype=media_feature&item_id=427&ln=releases&gma=49

**This article is representative of the breadth and depth of Belfer Center scholarship. The views expressed herein are solely those of the author.*



Children in Iran lighting candles on Day of Ashurah.

International Council Members Share Insights, Ideas on Critical Issues

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Building Bridges: Former **Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Thomas Foley** (left) speaks to colleagues in the Belfer Center International Council about Center impact on Congress. **Nathaniel Rothschild**, (right), **co-chairman of Atticus Capital LLC**, joined members from around the world at the annual meeting.

In April, the Belfer Center International Council met to address a number of the central issues of international affairs and science affecting the world today. Former **Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger**, chairman of the International Council, kicked off the meeting by leading a conversation on energy instability and U.S. energy independence.

The age of oil is not coming to an end, but the age in which we can enhance oil production is coming to an end.

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World Views: Former **Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger** (center), chairman of the Belfer Center's International Council, discusses energy security at the Center's annual meeting in April. Also pictured: **Belfer Center Director Graham Allison** (left), and **Belco Oil and Gas Corp. Founder Robert Belfer** (right).

Robert Blackwill, U.S. envoy to Iraq in 2003–04, joined former **Director of Central Intelligence John Deutch** and other Council members in a rigorous debate of U.S. involvement in Iraq. **Blackwill**, a former **ambassador to India**, then took center stage to lay out the strategic importance of the recent U.S. agreement with India. Debate continues at the Belfer Center among nonproliferation leaders and India experts regarding the role the U.S.-India relationship should play among broader security concerns.

Debate on India, and the then-anticipated visit of Chinese President Hu, provided a timely backdrop for the presentation by **Ben Heineman**, senior fellow and former **GE senior counsel**, on possible U.S. approaches to China.

The biggest problem in the United States today is the deep partisanship that keeps us from strong policy.

Martin Feldstein, former **chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers** under President Reagan and **president of the National Bureau of Economic Research**, discussed work on economics and the U.S. dollar, reflecting the Center's continued focus on economics and national security.

The influence of process on substance was also addressed. Former **Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives**, and current **Chairman of the Trilateral Commission Thomas Foley** spoke on the problem of partisanship and policymaking, and in conjunction with a number of other Council members from both sides of the aisle, discussed the Belfer Center's role in bridging this gap.



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Economic Gurus: **Paul Volcker** (left), former **chairman of the Federal Reserve**, with **Donald Kendall** (right), **co-founder of PepsiCo**, at the International Council welcoming reception.



Approaching China: **Belfer Center Senior Fellow Ben Heineman** (right), former **GE senior vice president and general counsel**, discusses U.S.-China relations. Also pictured: **Robert Blackwill** (left), former **ambassador to India**.

Debate continues on the role of the U.S.-India relationship among broader security concerns.



Global Review: **Belfer Center Director Graham Allison** (left) with **Fred Glimp** (center), former **vice president of alumni affairs and development at Harvard**, and **International Council member David Richards** at the Council reception.

NEW ORLEANS Kennedy School . . . THE



On March 25, 18 Kennedy School students traveled to New Orleans to assist residents of the devastated New Orleans neighborhood of Broadmoor in designing a strategy for neighborhood recovery. Broadmoor, an economically and racially diverse neighborhood in the heart of New Orleans, experienced extensive flooding as a result of the failed levees in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. Five residents of this neighborhood of 7,000 were killed; 3500 have not yet returned. Those who have returned are taking unprecedented steps to demonstrate the vitality of their neighborhood.



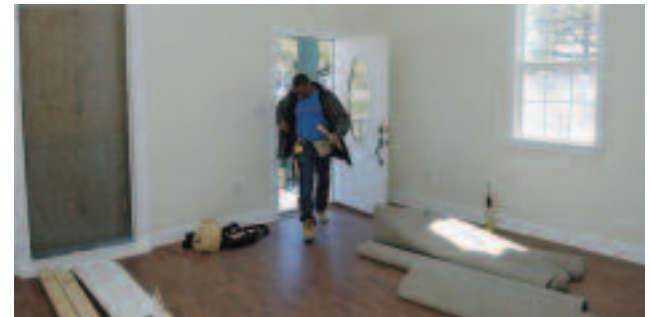
I was a member of Emergency Preparedness Planning Subcommittee [and] met every night with community residents researching best practices, discussing community-specific challenges and requirements, and drafting a plan for Broadmoor to be better prepared to respond to future disasters. They had a clear vision for their community and had good, solid ideas about how to implement this vision.

—Eun Lee, Mid Career MPA '06

Working with resident committees set up by the Broadmoor Improvement Association, the Kennedy School students spent a week this spring applying their skills in organization, civic engagement, urban planning, and economic development to help the residents develop a strategic plan in response to the city's request for neighborhood viability reports. The plan will serve as a model for other neighborhoods searching for the path forward.

The Kennedy School/Broadmoor initiative was developed by **Doug Ahlers**, a fellow at the Belfer Center and a member of the Economic Development Committee for the “Bring New Orleans Back” Commission. “It is clear that the arrival of the Kennedy School and other Harvard students helped reenergize the residents,” Ahlers said. “For the students, this has been the opportunity to use their skills to help in a way that will make a very real and lasting difference to thousands of people.”

At the end of the week, **LaToya Cantrell**, president of the Broadmoor Improvement Association, said, “It’s been an incredible experience. Residents have been inspired by the students’ roll-up-your-sleeves work ethic and expertise,



and the students have witnessed firsthand the hardwork and dedication we Broadmoorians are using to restore our neighborhood and improve it.”

On these pages, Kennedy School students share thoughts on their experiences in New Orleans. 📍



Walking down a city block in the heart of New Orleans, it seems like Hurricane Katrina struck last week rather than half a year ago. Smashed and abandoned cars straddle sidewalks, body counts remain spray-painted on front doors, and toxic mold grows inside boarded and condemned homes . . . As a student at the Kennedy School of Government, I have spent the last two years learning about the theories, ideals, and iterations of democracy. But it was not until I stepped into a Broadmoor Neighborhood Association meeting that I saw self-government in its rawest form—citizens organizing to save their own livelihood.

—Nick Grudin, MPP '06

PLEANS

thoughts on New Orleans



Residents welcomed the sight of piles of debris on the sidewalk because it meant that someone had claimed the property and was gutting. At night, my host family would drive me through the neighborhood looking for lights in windows—any sign of life . . . I was struck by the com-



mitment of the residents to rebuild in the face of massive uncertainty . . . Every issue is connected to the next. You can't repopulate the neighborhood if returning residents don't have housing, but you can't rebuild housing without labor, and laborers have to have somewhere to sleep. You can't revive your economy without workers and customers, but they require housing and jobs. People won't come back unless you open the schools but schools require teachers who in turn require housing and businesses to serve their needs.

—Carolyn Wood, Assistant Academic Dean

Our group of volunteers was given a glimpse of a situation in New Orleans that is both sad and hopeful. Behind the rubble, the fallen trees, the sagging porches, and the boarded up storefronts, there is an inspiring story of rebirth in New Orleans. Broadmoor's community epitomizes that story.

—Rebecca Hummel, MPP '07



In post-Katrina New Orleans, any tether linking people and trust with government has been torn. Individual communities are now trying to plan for everything from economic development to education to finding people and getting them back into their homes. . . . What I'll remember most was the unrelenting energy and breadth of imagination displayed by the residents of Broadmoor . . . This . . . was real people moving beyond the rooted traditions and rules of society, daring to dream big. For our group of students, the opportunity to leave the classroom for a place where the concerns and livelihoods of real people are at stake will undoubtedly be one of the most significant experiences of our graduate education.

—Tim Coates, MPP '07



For more information about Broadmoor Improvement Association, see: <http://broadmoorimprovement.com/>

What do you say to someone who wants to rebuild against the odds, but "Great. Do it." As for impressions: Chill, an African-American barber, cut hair for 140 straight days despite the loss of his shop. He set up at a gas station, in full view of passing traffic. The resilience, the commitment was inspiring.

—Brian Connors, MPP '07

It is impossible to leave Post-Katrina New Orleans without feeling exhausted and saddened. The challenge of resuscitating a major American city is daunting, and the relics of destruction remain stark. But something is undoubtedly stirring beneath the rubble . . . While it is still faint, New Orleans has a pulse, and it's getting stronger.

—Nick Grudin, MPP '06



Micro-satellites: Charting a New Course to Space Security

by Will Marshall*

The United States faces a genuine security problem in space: satellites are easy to negate for most of its adversaries. They are also absolutely crucial to U.S. security. As former **Secretary of Defense William J. Perry** stated, “Space forces are fundamental to modern military operations.”

Take Iraq as an example. The decision to invade was based in part on intelligence from satellites. The planning and operations were facilitated by satellite imagery. Many planes, ships, tanks and units’ positions were known through GPS, and even most missiles were guided by GPS. The operation was commanded from the U.S. in large part via communications satellites.

The United States must focus on making its satellite systems impenetrable to attack.

Perhaps more important than any of the functions during Iraq, early warning satellites are the first warning of nuclear missile attacks on the U.S.

The combination of the vulnerability and importance of U.S. space assets means that it is one of the most important issues facing the U.S. military today. The United States must focus on making its satellite systems impenetrable to attack. Luckily there is a viable solution.

Satellites are vulnerable to attack

Instead of a space architecture that consists of a few large satellites that are complex and expensive, the United States should move to a model that is constellation-like, consisting of many inexpensive small or micro-satellites.

Currently, the U.S. space systems perform five main functions—early warning of missile attack, navigation, communications, signals intelligence, and reconnaissance—each of

which is made of a small constellation of satellites. Most have single point failures, meaning that if just one or two satellites were to fail, the system would be significantly compromised.

The U.S. should use micro-satellites

A Multitiered Micro-satellite Constellation Architecture (MMCA) could perform the same functions as the few large satellites do today, but would be less vulnerable to attack. By using the following, a system would be created with no room for single point failures to any known method of attack: several orbital altitudes where physical attack is difficult; constellations of satellites that are well dispersed; significant levels of redundancy; and modular satellites that work together.

Such a system is possible both technically and affordably because of the general trend of miniaturization of technology and the increasing capabilities of micro-satellites.

In fact, use of micro-satellites for military purposes is exactly what France, the U.K. and China are beginning to do already. The United States needs to join this trend. Despite the challenges, it is worth the time and cost to gain guaranteed security improvements.

The United States should also employ several other complementary measures including better protection systems on individual satellites, back up ground stations, responsive space access, a system of terrestrial alternatives, capability to negate anti-satellite systems and better space surveillance. Finally, the U.S. should pursue treaties and verification means that create an incentive for others not to conduct aggressive acts in space.

Is there a role for space-based weapons?

Despite government support, no space-based weapon yet proposed has had any significant capability to protect space assets. Even worse, analysis has shown that such systems will most likely *reduce* security.

If the United States deploys space-based weapons, it will be easy for others to work against them. Anti-satellite (ASAT) technologies that are available include bombing satellite ground stations, heating a satellite to the point of malfunction from the ground, and attacking low-orbit satellites using ballistic missiles. These options would be considerably more difficult by using satellites that are invulnerable to attack.

The Next Generation

In the future, the United States should chart a new course. As the existing system dies out, it should be replaced with less vulnerable architecture. This will require development of




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Safe Space: Belfer Center International Security Program Fellow Will Marshall describes how the U.S. can achieve its national security interests in space at an International Security Program seminar.

micro-satellite technologies and overcoming the inertia and bureaucratic challenges to changing the existing large satellite model. Also, the government should stop all funding for space-based weapons programs that are jeopardizing security interests.

No space-based weapon yet proposed has had any significant capability to protect space assets.

The U.S. government should establish clear criteria of assessment for space-based weapons, principally based on (1) being a net security benefit and (2) being cost effective (compared to countermeasures of adversaries and alternatives that provide the same capability). Until all such criteria are met, the United States should stop funding development efforts underway in the Missile Defense Agency and Air Force Space Command.

The U.S. National Space Policy currently under draft is an ideal opportunity to help chart such a course. Any indication of a green light for space-based weapons would only serve to counter security interests—worsening its Achilles’ heel in space. 

Will Marshall is a fellow with the International Security Program.

**This article is representative of the breadth and depth of Belfer Center scholarship. The views expressed herein are solely those of the author.*

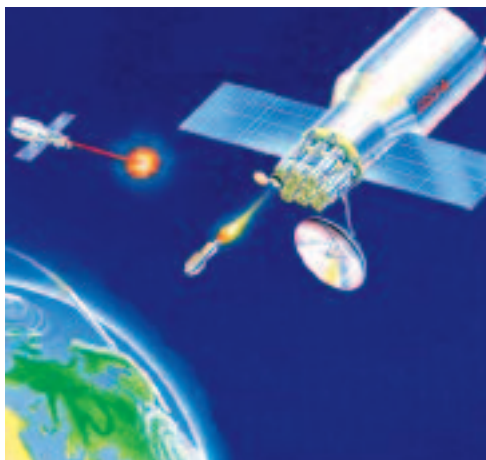


Image of space weapons



Q&A Jeffrey Lewis

Jeffrey Lewis recently joined the Belfer Center as the executive director of the Managing the Atom Project. MTA is a cooperative effort by two programs at the Center aimed at bringing together scholars and practitioners to conduct policy-relevant research on key strategic issues affecting the future of nuclear weapons and nuclear energy technology.

interesting contributions to make to the non-proliferation debate. To ensure their time here is best used, we need to do more than simply draw on their knowledge. We have an opportunity to change how our field looks at certain crucial problems. The collegial and casual environment fosters innovation.

Q What brought you to the Belfer Center?

I owe my interest in arms control and nonproliferation issues to **John Steinbruner** and **Steve Fetter**, at the **University of Maryland School of Public Policy**, where I was a graduate student and, later, research fellow. The insight and stories they shared really excited me about the challenge of controlling nuclear weapons.

The chance for a similar experience led me to the Belfer Center. I am very fortunate to work with leaders like **Graham Allison**, **Ash Carter**, **John Holdren**, **Henry Lee**, **Steve Miller**, **Matt Bunn**, and **Anthony Wier**. The list goes on and on. And, every year, we bring in some of the best and brightest thinkers from around the world for fellowships. It is a vibrant environment, with more great talks and meetings than hours in a day.

Managing the Atom is an incredible opportunity to work with both scholars and practitioners to generate creative solutions to the challenges posed by the spread of nuclear technology. It's a long way from Rock Island, Illinois, where I went to college and my adopted home in Washington, D.C.—but I hope to contribute a little Midwest pragmatism and Beltway perspective here at the Kennedy School.

Q What are your goals for Managing the Atom?

MTA is already tremendously successful. The work that the Kennedy School has done on securing nuclear materials in an age of terrorism—the annual *Securing the Bomb* report produced by **Matthew Bunn** and **Anthony Wier** with support from the Nuclear Threat Initiative, and *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* by **Graham Allison**—shows the impact we can have.

To build on these fundamentals, I want to engage scholars and policy makers in Iran and North Korea in an unofficial capacity, maybe to suggest solutions that are more difficult to discuss in official circles.

I also want to help MTA fellows have the resources they need to make the maximum impact. We have such a great group—**Chen Zak**, **John Park** and **Anne Wu**—all have

Q Can MTA really make a difference?

Absolutely. We are witnessing a fundamental shift in how the world approaches nuclear power and nonproliferation. The process of globalization is perhaps best characterized by the rapid diffusion of technology. The spread of technology can be an incredibly powerful force for economic development. At the same time, states and non-state actors such as terrorists have access to technologies and materials—nuclear, chemical, biological and radiological—that are unprecedented. Whether the spread of technology leads to greater prosperity or unparalleled harm, national security is the central challenge of the millennium.

Every year, we bring in some of the best and brightest thinkers from around the world for fellowships. It is a very vibrant environment.

Human beings have never been more in need of innovative ways to better govern ourselves amid the spread of technologies like nuclear power.

These solutions will have to be international in character, technically sophisticated, and, above all, practical. I can't think of a better group than MTA to bring U.S. and international scholars—scientists, practitioners, politicians of diverse ages, experience levels, and technical expertise—all to the same table.

Q Given the urgency, if you could make three changes to nuclear security today, what would they be?

I would create universal adherence across all the elements of the nonproliferation regime, insist on tougher verification arrangements (especially related to onsite inspections), as well as a treaty permanently banning the production of fissile material production. In the end, all arms controllers and nonproliferation specialists hope to put themselves out of business.

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Q Do you have plans to continue your own research?

My forthcoming book, *Minimum Means of Reprisal: China's Search for Security in the Nuclear Age* (MIT Press, 2006) allowed me to do some very exciting research, which I hope to continue this summer. I traveled to Xining, which was basically China's Los Alamos until the 1980s. I discovered far more transparency about Chinese nuclear programs than you might expect. The historical documents and conversations I had were far beyond my expectations. It wasn't that the Chinese were totally open, but the approach to security was just different. The things one can talk about in an informal setting are really amazing if you put in the time and effort.

This casual environment for discussion—the idea of people from different countries with a common interest in finding solutions to some of these tough problems—is something that I would like to further advance at the Belfer Center. We've already had some promising Track II conversations, but there is much more to do. 🌐

For more on Managing the Atom, see: www.managingtheatom.org.



China's 'Los Alamos': Jeffrey Lewis at Xining, Qinghai Province, where Chinese scientists tested conventional explosives for China's first nuclear weapon.

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Seoul Intentions: Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States **Lee Tae-sik** speaks to Belfer Center faculty and fellows on “The Current State of U.S.-Korean Relations” in April.



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Advances in Africa: Ambassador **Jendayi Frazer** (right), assistant secretary for African Affairs, leads a Belfer Center discussion in April on challenges and changes in Africa. Frazer, former associate professor of public policy at the Belfer Center, previously was U.S. ambassador to South Africa. **Calestous Juma** (left), director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology and Globalization Project, joined in the discussion with faculty and fellows.

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Trade Secrets: Deputy Secretary of State **Robert Zoellick** speaks at a directors’ lunch in March about international challenges. Zoellick was U.S. Trade Representative from 2001–2005, during which time he completed negotiations to bring China and Taiwan into the World Trade Organization, enacted many Free Trade Agreements, and worked with Congress to pass the Trade Act of 2002.

JOHN RICH



Economics Abroad: **Faryar Shirzad**, deputy national security advisor for International Economic Affairs, speaks at a directors’ lunch in March on “Bush Administration’s International Economic Agenda.” A graduate of the Kennedy School, Shirzad has maintained his relationship with the Belfer Center.

MARTHA STEWART



Power Surge: **Robert Blackwill** (center), former U.S. ambassador to India and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, presents at a Kennedy School Forum in February along with **Belfer Center Executive Director for Research Xenia Dormandy** (right) on “The Rise of India as a Great Power and U.S.-India Relations.” Blackwill played a central role in the transformation of the U.S.-Indian relationship while Dormandy served as former director for South Asia on the National Security Council. **Kennedy School Dean David Elwood** (left) moderated the discussion.



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Election Review: Former Deputy National Security Adviser to Israel **Chuck Freilich**, a senior fellow at the Belfer Center, discusses Israel’s recent elections in “Following the Elections in Israel: A New U.S. Israeli Strategic Agenda” in April. **Executive Director for Research Xenia Dormandy** (left) is also pictured.

SPEAKERS

Sharing Policy-Relevant Knowledge

MARTHA STEWART



Straight Talk: Kurt Campbell (right), vice president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, speaks on "Asia's Strategic Urgencies" with Belfer Center faculty and fellows in February. **Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director John Holdren** (left) joined the discussion.

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Oil Futures: Rachel Bronson, senior fellow and director of Middle East Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, "The U.S.-Saudi Relationship: Future Challenges" at a director's lunch in May. Bronson, a former fellow at Harvard's Center for Science and International Affairs, is author of the forthcoming book *Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*.

BELFER CENTER



Iraqi Insight: Mahdi Obeidi, former director general of Iraq's Ministry of Military Industrialization under Saddam Hussein, discusses his book *The Bomb In My Garden: The Secrets of Saddam's Nuclear Mastermind* during a lunch meeting in April. His book refers to his garden in Baghdad where he buried plans and parts for a centrifuge program after U.N. arms inspectors forced Iraq to close its nuclear weapons program in 1991.

Power or Paralysis? Kori Schake, distinguished professor of International Security Studies at the United States Military Academy at West Point, and former director for defense on the National Security Council, discusses sustainability of American power in March. Schake is also a fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.



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Command Performance: General James E. Cartwright (right), commander of United States Strategic Command, speaks in March on "Strategic Command Vision and Issues" with fellows and faculty including Preventive Defense Project Co-director Ashton Carter (left).

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Quality of Life: University of Cambridge Professor Partha Dasgupta speaks on "Human Well-Being and the Natural Environment" in the Weiner Auditorium in April. An internationally respected scholar in ecological economics, Dasgupta was recently knighted by Britain's Queen Elizabeth for "services to economics." His visit was sponsored by Harvard University Center for the Environment.



BELFER CENTER

Crimson Kudos: Dallas Brown, director of the Joint Interagency Coordination Group, U.S. Central Command, discusses "Interagency Challenges in Prosecuting the Global War on Terrorism." A Kennedy School graduate with a distinguished Army career, Brown credited preparation received at Harvard with helping him successfully navigate military and government processes. Charles Warren Professor of American History Ernest May and Kennedy School Dean Emeritus Joseph Nye took part in the discussion.



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SPOTLIGHT

Jacqueline Newmyer

Jacqueline (Jackie) Newmyer is a fellow in the Belfer Center's International Security Program. Her research focus is Chinese security policy and American grand strategy.

Students in the “Strategies of Tyrants” class at Harvard College say that their instructor is the furthest thing from being a tyrant. **Jacqueline (Jackie) Newmyer’s** class, co-taught with Professor **Stephen P. Rosen**, is one of the most popular in the department, and her research is central not only to the education of the next generation of policy leaders, but to the current generation as well.

In addition to teaching, Newmyer is a postdoctoral research fellow in the International Security Program at the Belfer Center. Her dissertation—a comparison of seminal works on strategy and statecraft from ancient China, the medieval Middle East, and early modern Europe—reflects the dynamism she brings to emerging scholarship at the Center. Her recent testimony before the United States China Commission, in which she argued that the U.S. should better understand the role of intelligence in Chinese strategy, demonstrates that such scholarship is shaping the policies of today and tomorrow.

Newmyer grew up in Washington, D.C., and became interested in the motivations of international actors and their behavior around war and peace when she was a student at Sidwell Friends School, a Quaker institution. Her passion for learning carried her to Harvard where she studied history and literature.

“At Harvard, military history and political philosophy captivated me. And it was right after graduation that I realized that I should try to combine these interests in a way that would be useful to decisionmakers.”

I don’t think enough U.S. policymakers have made a good faith effort to see the world the way Beijing sees it.

China was of special interest to Newmyer. “I don’t think enough U.S. policymakers have made a good faith effort to see the world the way Beijing sees it, yet history teaches us that only by understanding the philosophy and culture of others can we appreciate the policies they develop. Harvard is an ideal place to acquire the tools to empathize with a foreign civilization.”

After earning her B.A. from Harvard College *summa cum laude*, Newmyer crossed the Atlantic for graduate school. At Oxford, she studied under the **world-renowned military historian Hew Strachan** and spent her summers in Washington, consulting for the Office of Net Assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Before coming back to Cam-

bridge to take up a post at the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies in September 2004, Newmyer lived in Washington, D.C., where she worked with the defense contractor SAIC and wrote her dissertation. Since moving back to Cambridge, in addition to being a fellow and lecturer at Harvard, she has worked as head of the China Research Program with the Long-Term Strategy Project, a non-profit think tank affiliated with the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments in Washington.

In these capacities, Newmyer has continued research she began for her dissertation and has worked to help policymakers better understand China.

The Belfer Center doesn’t force you into a label of “policy advocate” or “academic,” but embraces the concept that the one needs the other.

“China is coming into its own and engaging with the world in a way we have not seen in our lifetime. We need to remind ourselves of all the questions we can’t answer about China and, at the same time, not overstate the ability of U.S. leaders to influence China’s trajectory.”

Newmyer will continue her China research by further developing work she started in Beijing last August. She’ll return to China this summer in an effort to understand Chinese management style and the influence on the economy of the combination of traditional Confucian and Communist practices on the one hand and modern western and “Asian-Tiger” techniques on the other.

“In both business and politics, the Chinese place a large value on possessing superior information. The PRC (Peoples Republic of China) has to know, better than its allies and enemies, what the dominant trends are. How does the prevalence of spying affect corporate culture? How does it affect national security decision-making? The answers to these questions should inform our policy toward China, whether, as predicted, China’s rise continues full speed ahead, or whether the PRC encounters some unexpected turbulence on the road to great-power status.”

Outstanding defense thinkers from academia, like Steve Rosen and Hew Strachan, and from inside the Beltway, like **Andy Marshall** and **Andrew Krepinovich**, have served as role models to Newmyer in her still-young career. They have recognized the value of her innova-



MARTHA STEWART

tive thinking and provided her numerous opportunities to put this groundbreaking research in front of policymakers.

The Chinese place a large value on possessing superior information.

“The Belfer Center is a great place to pursue my research on China,” Newmyer says. “Because the Center serves as the hub of activity at the Kennedy School for actionable policy research, people like me who study international relations can talk to the people making decisions. The Belfer Center doesn’t force you into a label of ‘policy advocate’ or ‘academic,’ but embraces the concept that the one needs the other.”

Countering Terrorism

(continued from page 2)

Yale Professor John Lewis Gaddis, a leading historian on grand strategy, stressed the importance of winning hearts and minds.

Rand Beers of the Valley Forge Initiative and previously the National Security Council emphasized that the decision to invade Iraq has been the biggest setback to winning the battle of ideas in the Muslim world. **Richard Clarke** similarly criticized the administration for exacerbating the war on terrorism by engaging in a supremely unpopular war in the heart of the Muslim world.

Forthcoming speakers include **Radcliffe Institute Executive Dean Louise Richardson** and **John Taylor**, former **undersecretary for International Affairs at the U.S. Department of Treasury**.

These conversations aim to provide a clearer understanding of the threat of terrorism and to identify optimal ways to counter the threat.



Belfer Center Fellow Doug Ahlers organized and joined 25 Kennedy School students and staff in New Orleans in March to assist residents of the Broadmoor neighborhood in developing a redevelopment plan for recovery. Ahlers, a New Orleans resident, has funded an internship and is coordinating several Shell Oil internships that will enable development specialists to work with Broadmoor during the summer to refine and implement the plan.



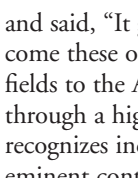
International Security Program Fellow James Bieda has been assigned to United States Forces Korea (USFK) as director of Command and Control Systems and chief of the Joint Command Information Systems Activity (JCISA). Colonel Bieda, whose Belfer Center research focuses on intelligence gathering and terrorism prevention, will oversee command and control systems used throughout the Korean theater to provide timely information and operational awareness.



International Security Program/Intrastate Conflict Program Fellow Michael Boyle has been appointed lecturer in International Relations at the internationally renowned University of St. Andrews in Scotland for the forthcoming academic year. Boyle's research at the Belfer Center has been on political violence, post-conflict states, and peacekeeping, with a focus on Kosovo and East Timor.



International Security Program Director Steven Miller and Belfer Center Senior Fellow and former Senior Vice President for GE Ben Heineman have been named to the 2006 Class of Fellows of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Academy President Patricia Meyer Spacks announced the new fellows



and said, "It gives me great pleasure to welcome these outstanding leaders in their fields to the Academy." Fellows are selected through a highly competitive process that recognizes individuals who have made pre-eminent contributions to their disciplines and to society. The Academy, founded in 1780 by John Adams, James Bowdoin, John Hancock, and other scholar-patriots, will induct this year's new class at its annual induction ceremony on October 7.

"THE 'RED ZONE' PROBLEM: The nuclear programs of Iran and North Korea have exposed an ominous flaw in the international nonproliferation regime, one predicted more than a generation ago by Albert Wohlstetter. According to the prevailing interpretation of the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), non-nuclear weapon states can acquire the key building blocks of a nuclear weapons program—uranium enrichment and spent fuel reprocessing facilities—if their intended use is for peaceful nuclear power development."

—**Ashton Carter and Stephen LaMontagne**, *The American Interest* (Spring 2006)

"PRESIDENT BUSH AND CONGRESS SHOULD REINSTITUTE SELECTIVE SERVICE under a lottery without any deferments. This single action will send a strong message to three constituencies in the crisis over Iran's nuclear intentions—Iran, outside powers like China and Russia and Americans at home—and perhaps lead to a peaceful resolution."

—**Paul Kane**, "A Peaceful Call to Arms," *New York Times* (20 April 2006)

"AL QAIDA AND THE JIHADIST NETWORK it helped to spawn have repeatedly attempted to purchase stolen nuclear material and to recruit nuclear expertise; indeed, Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri met at length with two senior Pakistani nuclear scientists to discuss nuclear weapons. Government studies have repeatedly concluded that a technically capable terrorist group could plausibly make at least a crude nuclear bomb if it procures HEU or separated plutonium."

—**Matthew Bunn**, "Cooperation to Secure Nuclear Stockpiles," *Innovations* (Winter 2006)

"THE CIVILIAN NUCLEAR COOPERATION DEAL IS CONTROVERSIAL. While it must still get through our Congress and through the 45-country Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), it will open the way to help India grow and to help us all to avoid negative effects on global energy prices and the environment. But this is merely one sign-post in India's

path toward becoming a global leader. Whether it is economics, energy, nonproliferation, democracy or security, India has a vital role to play and the capacity and will to play it."

—**Xenia Dornandy and Michael Green**, "Bush in India: It's More Than Just Nuclear," *San Diego Union-Tribune* (5 March 2006)

"FOREIGN POLICY IS ALWAYS A TRADE-OFF among competing objectives. While it is important to express values in foreign policy, the danger of letting the rhetoric become excessive is that it exposes us to corrosive charges of hypocrisy that undercut our soft or attractive power."

—**Joseph Nye** (quoted in article) "Bush: No Nuclear Pact for Pakistan" *Los Angeles Times* (5 March 2006)

"ACROSS THE NUCLEAR FRONT, the administration currently confronts challenges as difficult as those faced by any American government since the Cuban Missile Crisis. We can be grateful for the recognition of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and her colleagues of the reality of nuclear danger and their determination to mobilize all the sticks and carrots in the American arsenal to combat the threat."

—**Graham Allison**, "A Nuclear Terrorism Report Card," *The National Interest* (Spring 2006)

"THE OPTIMISTIC MOOD IN INDIA'S BUSINESS COMMUNITY, the desire for reforms by the top leadership of the government, and the growing number of relatively middle-class households provide a force for change and a source of support for new entrepreneurial activities. If the political leaders can now persuade the traditional opponents of reform that growth can benefit their constituents and that better new jobs will replace the old, India will see decades of remarkable achievement."

—**Martin Feldstein**, "There's More to Growth Than China," *Wall Street Journal* (16 February 2006)



Raymond Plank Professor of Global Energy Policy and Belfer Center faculty affiliate William Hogan of the Kennedy School's Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, has been named winner of the prestigious International Association for Energy Economics (IAEE) award for "outstanding contributions to the field of energy economics and its literature."



Science, Technology and Globalization Director Calestous Juma was instrumental in the establishment in February of the PJ Patterson Institute of Science, Technology and Innovation in Jamaica. This international venture, named for the country's prime minister, is the first institutional response to the recommendation of the United Nations' Millennium Project's Task Force on Science, Technology and Innovation. Juma co-chaired the task force.

"THE KAESONG INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX is the current embodiment of Seoul's sunshine policy towards the North. While Kaesong, strategically located north of the Demilitarized Zone separating the two Koreas, is symbolically important, the massive scale that is envisaged in the coming years is unlikely to be realized in North Korea."

—**John Park**, "Path for Seoul's Sunshine Policy," *Korea Times* (5 April 2006)

"AN INSPIRATIONAL SCHOOL OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT will focus on training the next generation of African leaders on how to run a modern state that places business at the core of its development policy . . . Africa is a graveyard of white elephants; small-scale projects that stayed small. We need to create scale, and we can only do that by enlisting the support of the mining industry to make a very real difference to the African continent."

—**Calestous Juma** (quoted in article), "African Lessons," *Mining Magazine* (February 2006)

"THIS IS THE ONLY OPPORTUNITY for the government to make a Sept. 11 case. This is it. There isn't another. The government has to cross every t and dot every i to ensure that the Sept. 11 families finally have their day in court. If it gets messed up over a technicality . . . there is no excuse."

—**Juliette Kayyem** (quoted in article), "Judge Halts Terror Trial," *Washington Post* (14 March 2006)

"THE DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN reveals the high price of the slow pace of reconstruction there: Winning Afghan hearts and minds isn't as quick or easy as growing poppies . . . Later this month, when British troops take over counterinsurgency operations in the south of Afghanistan, they will face a dangerous mixture of growing insurgency, a population increasingly frustrated by a lack of economic progress, and another bumper crop of opium."

—**Vanda Felbab-Brown**, "Hasty Poppy Eradication in Afghanistan Can Sow More

Problems," *Christian Science Monitor* (23 March 2006)

"WITH THE DRAFT GONE, we will never have the participation rates in the military that we had in the past. But the decisions, implicit and explicit, of those in the upper classes to protect their sons and daughters from even the choice of military service is inexcusable."

—**Elaine Kamarck**, "'Fortunate Sons' Should Have to Serve" *Newsday* (13 March 2006)

"FOR A LONG TIME, says Henry Lee, director of the Environment and Natural Resources Program at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and an agnostic on peak oil, 'we worried that we were running out of iron, then it was steel, then aluminum . . . I'd be hard-pressed to give you a metal that we worry about in this respect today.'

—**Henry Lee** (quoted in article), "Oil Futures," *Boston Globe* (26 February 2006)

"WHEN YOU SEE 93% OF AMERICANS AGREEING THAT GLOBAL WARMING IS A PROBLEM, you realize that the well-funded skeptic community has not been as effective as they would like," says John Holdren, a public policy professor at Harvard University and director of the Woods Hole Research Center.

—**John Holdren** (quoted in article), "Climate Change and American Exceptionalism," *Environmental Science and Technology Policy News* (22 February 2006)

"MOST BIOLOGICAL THREATS ARE LIKELY TO BE UNANNOUNCED and unfamiliar (like the outbreak of SARS in 2002 and 2003), so rapid drug development is critical. With few exceptions, the United States lacks the ability to develop, manufacture and administer vaccines in response to specific threats as they arise. That ability is within reach, but only if we invest wisely."

—**Kendall Hoyt**, "Bird Flu Won't Wait," *New York Times* (3 March 2006)

See Belfer Center Publications at www.belfercenter.org.



John Park, project leader of **Managing the Atom's North Korea Analysis Group**,

has accepted a position with Goldman Sachs in New York. Beginning in

August, he will work on financing initiatives for government infrastructure projects. As a Northeast Asia researcher, Park is especially interested in the evolving interconnection between economic development activity that is taking place along the Sino-North Korean border and nuclear security issues in the region.



Senior Fellow Richard Rosecrance served as the distinguished visiting professor of international relations at the Australian National University in Canberra in Febru-

ary and March. He took part in a number of discussions involving Australia, the U.S., and China, and the possibility that Australia might increasingly side with China on some issues such as the dispute over Taiwan.



International Security Program Fellow Laura Sjoberg, who holds a joint fellowship with the Kennedy School's Women and Public Policy Program, will be a visiting

assistant professor of political science at Duke University next year. At the Belfer Center, Sjoberg has focused her research on just war theory, gender aspects of international security, and Iraq.



Kennedy School Academic Dean Stephen Walt has been named to the shortlist of nominees for the Council on Foreign Relations' 2006 Arthur Ross Book Award for

Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy (W.W. Norton, 2005). The prestigious award for the best book on international affairs was endowed by Arthur Ross in 2001 to honor non-fiction works that provide new ideas to help resolve foreign policy problems.



Moira Whelan, director of **communications and outreach** for the Belfer Center, has accepted a position as communications director for the Valley Forge Initiative

(VFI) and Foreign Policy Leadership Council (FPLC). The sister organizations will serve as the hub for progressive idea development and messaging on national security by combining a network of national security experts with community leaders nationwide.



Associate Professor Viktor Mayer-Schoenberger and Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director Emeritus Lewis Branscomb chaired a

one-day session, "Protecting Our Future," at the National Press Club in Washington D.C. The March conference brought together policy-makers, academics, and the business community to discuss steps to protect the nation's critical information infrastructure.



International Security Program Fellow Assaf Moghadam has accepted a fellowship at the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard for the next academic year. At the Belfer

Center, Moghadam's research has focused on terrorism, suicide attacks, and global *jihad*, and he has made numerous presentations on suicide attacks. As an Olin fellow, he will complete and publish his dissertation on the globalization of martyrdom.

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

China Shifts Gears: Automakers, Oil, Pollution, and Development

By Kelly Sims Gallagher
The MIT Press



Chinese production of automobiles rose from 42,000 cars per year in 1990 to 2.3 million in 2004; the number of passenger vehicles on the road doubled every two and a half years through the 1990s and continues to grow. In *China Shifts Gears*, Kelly Sims Gallagher

identifies an unprecedented opportunity for China to “shift gears” and avoid the usual problems associated with the automobile industry—including urban air pollution caused by tailpipe emissions, greenhouse gas emissions, and high dependence on oil imports—while spurring economic development.

Can foreign investment be an effective vehicle for transfer of clean technology?

“... Gallagher addresses the extremely important question of whether foreign direct investment can be an effective vehicle for the transfer of clean technology, in particular in the automotive sector. The question has enormous implications not only for China (air pollution, cancer rates) but for the world (oil prices, climate change). The importance of this book is therefore very great.”

—Judith Shapiro, School of International Service, American University, author of *Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*

Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq: A Feminist Reformulation of Just War Theory

By Laura Sjoberg
Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, forthcoming July 2006



Gender, Justice, and the Wars in Iraq offers a feminist critique and reconstruction of just war theory. It points out gender biases in the just war tradition and suggests alternative *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* standards that emphasize women, political marginality, and

empathy. Laura Sjoberg applies this feminist just war theory to analyze the wars in Iraq since the end of the Cold War—the First Gulf War, the war of sanctions, and the Second Gulf War. . . . Sjoberg suggests that dialogue and empathy replace righteousness in just war thinking for the good of human safety everywhere and concludes with alternative visions of Gulf War policies, inspired by feminist just war theory.

“A new and distinctive feminist voice on war! Sjoberg grabs hold of the trickiest issues of justice and war making, as well as war avoiding, and shakes everything up. . . . This rigorous and reflective study will be a benchmark work for years to come.”

—Christine Sylvester, Lancaster University

Uncertainty Underground: Yucca Mountain and the Nation's High-Level Nuclear Waste

Edited by Allison M. Macfarlane and Rodney C. King
The MIT Press



Uncertainty Underground is the first effort to review the uncertainties in the analysis of the long-term performance of the proposed repository at Yucca Mountain. The book does not pass judgment on the suitability of the site but provides reliable science-based information to support open debate and inquiry into its safety.

Uncertainty Underground is the first effort to review uncertainties in performance at Yucca Mountain.

“The energy honeymoon is rapidly ending as hydrogen-rich fossil fuels are depleted and combustion-driven global climate impacts accelerate. The path to major successor sources offers few attractive options, which is why nuclear waste issues

must be resolved. Uncertainty Underground offers comprehensive, authoritative, and understandable essays on this critical issue. . . .”

—John H. Gibbons, Assistant to the President for Science and Technology (1993–1998)

The Unfinished Peace after World War I: America, Britain and the Stabilisation of Europe, 1919–1932

By Patrick O. Cohrs
Cambridge University Press



This is a highly original and revisionist analysis of British and American efforts to forge a stable Euro-Atlantic peace order between 1919 and the rise of Hitler. Patrick Cohrs argues that this order was not founded at Versailles but rather through the first “real”

peace settlements after World War I—the London reparations settlement of 1924 and the Locarno security pact of 1925. Crucially, both fostered Germany's integration into a fledgling transatlantic peace system, thus laying the only realistic foundations for European stability. What proved decisive was that key decision-makers drew lessons from the “Great War” and Versailles' shortcomings. Yet Cohrs also re-appraises why they could not sustain the new order, master its gravest crisis—the Great Depression—and prevent Nazism's onslaught.

“... Based on massive archival scholarship and elegantly written, his study focuses on American and British roles and asks why a stable European security system could not be consolidated between the Versailles Treaty and the advent of Hitler. . . .”

—Charles S. Maier, Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, Harvard University

Publication Update



Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe, by Belfer Center Director Graham Allison, is now available in the United Kingdom and in Japan. The United Kingdom edition is published by Constable & Robinson, the Japanese edition by Nikkei.

In his afterword to the Japanese edition of *Nuclear Terrorism*, Allison writes, “As the Japanese have immortalized poignantly in stone at the Peace Memorial Museum of Hiroshima, ‘To remember Hiroshima is to abhor nuclear war.’” In April, Allison traveled to Japan where he took part in the Trilateral Commission meetings and discussed his book.

Sudan Leaders, Experts Recommend Steps for Peace

by Robyn Burnham

“We ought to be able, in cooperation with NATO, to end the fighting in Darfur,” said Intrastate Conflict Program Director Robert Rotberg.

In March, Rotberg hosted “Sudan at the Crossroads: Transforming Generations of Civil War into Peace and Development,” a two-day conference to determine the best steps for confronting the challenges ahead for Sudan and Darfur. He convened a number of Sudanese leaders and experts in the fields of diplomacy, human rights advocacy, foreign aid, international business, and conflict prevention. Their task was to produce a “report card” on the issues in Sudan and come up with a workable plan for peace.

We ought to be able to end the fighting in Darfur.

Among those in attendance were **Sudan Minister of Foreign Affairs Lam Akol**, former **Governor of Darfur Ahmed Diraige**, **Ambassador Cameron Hume of the U.S. Embassy in Sudan**, **Ambassador Omar Manis of the Sudan Mission to the UN**,

John Prendergast of International Crisis Group, **Sarah Sewall of The Carr Center for Human Rights Policy**, and **Carola Weil of The U.S. Institute of Peace**.

The North-South peace process is in danger of unraveling.

“The North-South peace process, which ended the war in Sudan, is in danger of unraveling,” Rotberg said. To attain peace in Sudan, he said, “peace enforcement” must take place. This includes injecting NATO troops into Darfur, adding border troops between Darfur and Chad, establishing a “no-fly” zone, and conducting a national census.

“We continue to research and advocate on behalf of further comprehensive study of the issue,” Rotberg added. He produced a brief with the conference recommendations that will be taken to the Institute for Peace and other think tanks in Washington, D.C., along with a report on Darfur written by Intrastate Conflict’s **Debbie West**. The report, titled “The Sudan: Saving Lives and Sustaining Peace,”

underscores the importance of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the steps that conference participants determined must be taken for lasting peace. ■

Robyn Burnham is a journalism student at Simmons College and an intern with the Belfer Center Communications Office.



Talking Peace: Sudan conference panelists (left to right): **Andrew Natsios**, former administrator of USAID and Georgetown University professor, **Robert Rotberg**, director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution, **Arthur Dewey**, former assistant secretary of state for Population, Refugees, and Migration, and **Lam Akol**, minister of Foreign Affairs in Sudan.

International Security SPRING 2006 Vol. 30, No. 4

The End of MAD? The Nuclear Dimension of U.S. Primacy

Since the end of the Cold War, the nuclear balance has shifted dramatically, write **Keir A. Lieber**, of the University of Notre Dame, and **Daryl G. Press**, of the University of Pennsylvania. The U.S. nuclear arsenal has steadily improved; the Russian force has sharply eroded; and Chinese nuclear modernization has progressed at a glacial pace. Today, the United States stands on the verge of attaining nuclear primacy, meaning that it could conceivably disarm the nuclear arsenals of Russia and China. Lieber and Press discuss implications of the rise of U.S. nuclear primacy for relations among the world’s great powers, for U.S. foreign policy, and for international relations scholarship.

Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence

Using the cases of Sudan’s civil war and Rwanda’s genocide, **Stuart J. Kaufman**, of the University of Delaware, argues that rational choice theories, which claim that extreme ethnic violence can be explained either as the result of information failures and commitment problems or as the utility-maximizing strategy of predatory elites, are incorrect: neither case can be understood as resulting from information failures, commitment problems, or ratio-

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 the Belfer Center and published quarterly by the MIT Press. Questions may be directed to: IS@harvard.edu

nal power-conserving elite strategies. A better explanation is found in symbolic politics theory, which asserts that extreme violence is driven by hostile ethnic myths and an emotionally driven symbolic politics based on those myths that popularize predatory policies.

Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War

In the view of **Michael Barnett**, of the University of Minnesota, although peacebuilders do not operate from a common template, liberal values so define their activities that their efforts can be called “liberal peacebuilding.” Growing evidence suggests, however, that liberal peacebuilding is recreating the conditions of conflict; states emerging from war do not have the means to absorb the pressures associated with political and market competition. One alternative is “republican peacebuilding.” Drawing from republican political theory, Downes argues that the republican principles can help states after war address the threats to stability deriving from arbitrary power and factional conflict and, in the process, develop some legitimacy.

The Evolution of U.S.-Indian Ties: Missile Defense in an Emerging Strategic Relationship

The shift in Indian positions on missile defense in the light of the growing transformation of U.S.-Indian relations since the end of the Cold War, and the advent of the Bush administration, has

been remarkable. According to **Ashley J. Tellis**, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, several factors—including the growing recognition in Washington and New Delhi of the threat of weapons of mass destruction and the desire to forge a new partnership grounded in democratic values—have combined to produce a dramatic new acceptance of strategic defenses. What is fascinating about this evolution is the manner in which missile defenses have come to reflect a means toward, the steady improvement in U.S.-Indian ties occurring in recent years. This, in turn, implies that a deepening bilateral relationship has become part of New Delhi’s larger solution to increasing India’s capacity to defeat threats.

Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War

Despite normative and legal injunctions against targeting civilians in war, as well as doubts regarding the effectiveness of such strategies, belligerents have frequently turned their guns on noncombatants. **Alexander B. Downes**, of Duke University, points to two variables—desperation to win and to save lives in protracted wars of attrition, and the intention to annex territory—to explain this repeated resort to civilian targeting.

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BELFER IN BRIEF

In the Field . . .

Managing the Atom Fellow Hassan Abbas spoke at Tufts University's Fletcher School on "Leadership in South Asia Today: A Comparison of Leaders in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh" in April 2006. Abbas also spoke on U.S.-Indian relations at the "India Initiative Conference" at Columbia University.

ROK Ambassador Lee Tae-sik delivered the inaugural speech in the series.

The Belfer Center's fitness team landed second place in Harvard's first-ever Team Fitness Challenge in April. Biziouras Incorporated, composed of Belfer Center Fellows **Nikolaos Biziouras, Michael Boyle, Olivier Brighenti, Rachel Gisselquist, Michael Horowitz, Assaf Moghadam, John Park, and Sebastian Rosato**, along with **Rebekah Crooks** and **Erin Simpson** logged 19,239 minutes of yoga, jogging, weight lifting, and other activities. Congratulations to Belfer Center's brains and brawn!

Science, Technology and Globalization Project Director Calestous Juma was the keynote speaker at a National Academy of Sciences conference on global health in Washington, D.C. in April. His speech was titled "Genomics, Innovation and Human Welfare: Policy and Institutional Dimensions."

Managing the Atom Fellow John Park and **MTA Assistant Sarah Stanlick** helped coordinate the "2006 KEI-BCSIA Speakers Series on Korean Security Issues" co-sponsored by the Korea Economic Institute and Managing the Atom (MTA) Project. **ROK Ambassador to the U.S. Lee Tae-sik** delivered the inaugural speech at the Center in April.

Belfer Center Faculty Associate Dorothy Zinberg has been named to the board of directors of a new Internet program called Talking Science Internet Radio. The program will be designed to attract audiences not traditionally drawn to science, especially women and young people.



Fit Fellows: Five members of the Belfer Center's winning Biziouras Inc. fitness team: Fellows **Nikolas Biziouras** (front), and (left to right) **Michael Horowitz, Assaf Moghadam, Sebastian Rosato, and John Park**.

...and On Our Minds

Intrastate Conflict Program Fellow Vanda Felbab-Brown's "The Trouble Ahead: The Cocaleros of Peru," was published in *Current History* in February 2006.

In June, *International Relations* will publish **Belfer Center Senior Fellow Rosemary Foot's** article "Torture: The Struggle Over a Peremptory Norm in a Counter-Terrorist Era."

The *Foreign Affairs'* May/June 2006 issue includes "The Long War against Corruption," an article by **Belfer Center Senior Fellow Ben Heineman**, former senior counsel for General Electric, and **Fritz Heimann, co-founder of Transparency International**.

Former **Belfer Center International Security Program (ISP) Fellow Mustafa Kibaroglu** wrote "Isn't it Time to Say Farewell to Nukes in Turkey?" published in the journal *European Security* Vol. 14, No. 4, 443-457.

ISP Fellow Assaf Moghadam's book review of *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*, edited by Diego Gambetta, was published in *Political Science Quarterly* 121, (no. 1) in spring 2006: 142-144.

Managing the Atom Research Associate Hui Zhang published "North Korean Denuclearization: A Chinese View of the Way Forward" in *Disarmament Diplomacy* (no. 82) in spring 2006. 🌐