

BCSIA News

THE ROBERT AND RENÉE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

9/11 Commission Report: Off the Charts

Philip Zelikow, Executive Director of the 9/11 Commission, and Ernest May, Senior Advisor to the Commission, joined Belfer Center colleagues in the Center library and later in the Forum on October 12 to discuss "The Making of the 9/11 Commission Report." Bonnie Jenkins, Belfer Fellow and member of the Commission staff, was also on hand to relate her experiences as counsel to the Commission and head of its counterterrorism policy team.

"The Commission and its staff told an extraordinary number of truths ..."

Zelikow and May were named to their respective positions with the Commission because of their long history of leadership in intelligence policy scholarship. Their collaboration on this issue began back in 1986, when they jointly launched and directed the Intelligence Policy Program while both were here at the Belfer Center. Zelikow, who now heads the

Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, and May, who is Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard and a member of the Belfer Center's board, said that the foundational understandings gained through the Intelligence Policy Program contributed greatly to the 9/11 Report that eventually emerged.

Belfer Director Graham Allison applauded Zelikow's leadership and May's contributions to an effort whose product was "off the charts" on a number of dimensions. "The Commission demonstrated that a group evenly divided between republicans and democrats could rise above partisanship to produce a unanimous report on a highly sensitive topic in a heated political season," Allison said. The Commission and staff "told an extraordinary number of truths," he said, "about an intelligence community that failed America catastrophically in the years before 9/11, a



Report Revisited: The 9/11 Commission's Philip Zelikow (2nd from right), Ernest May (right) and staff counsel Bonnie Jenkins (center) discussed the 9/11 Report in October with Belfer colleagues, including Executive Director Juliette Kayyem (left) and Fellow Andrei Cherny.

dysfunctional National Security Council process, and previous administrations that failed to take actions to prevent the horror of 9/11." In addition, Allison said, the Commission produced a "gripping" report and made it immediately available to the public.

[See Bonnie Jenkins' "9/11 Report: Behind the Scenes" on page 3.]

ETIP Fosters Clean Energy Technology in World's Most Energy-Hungry Countries

The Belfer Center is leading efforts in the world's three largest energy-consuming countries to deploy cleaner energy technologies to reduce greenhouse gases threatening the globe. In China, oil consumption has soared in the past few years due to huge increases in motor vehicles and coal consumption. Energy

use in India has risen dramatically for similar reasons, and now both countries have joined the US as the world's most energy-hungry countries. The Center's Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP) recently led three significant initiatives in China and India.

Cleaner cars and coal in China and India could have a huge impact on the global environment.



Moving Ahead: STTP Director John Holdren (center), ETIP Director Kelly Sims Gallagher (front right) and ETIP Fellow Guodong Sun (2nd from right) with their Chinese research partners in Beijing.

The Beijing workshop on "Next Steps for Automotive Fuel Efficiency" brought together participants from academia, government, and industry-affiliated institutes at Tsinghua University to discuss next steps to promote



Ambassador Frazer: Jendayi Frazer, former Assistant Professor of Public Policy at the Belfer Center, is sworn in as Ambassador to South Africa by Secretary of State Colin Powell on June 17. National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice (left), and Frazer's mother, Ida Frazer (right), took part in the historic moment. Ambassador Frazer served as Special Assistant to President Bush and Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council.

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From the Director

This fall has been an exciting time at the Belfer Center, with both the beginning of a new year and a presidential election focused on the issues we know best. For many years, the Belfer Center has been a leader in researching the threat of nuclear terrorism and formulating policies to counter it, and this campaign season has brought that concern to a much wider audience. As you may have seen, I spent much of my summer talking with various audiences about my new book, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*, and **Ash Carter**, **Jim Walsh**, **Matthew Bunn**, and **Anthony Wier** have similarly been working hard to make sure this threat gets recognized before it is too late. By all accounts we have had considerable success.

The first presidential debate found candidates agreeing that the threat of nuclear terrorism is the nation's top national security concern.

Ash Carter has recently testified on counterproliferation before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the President's Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction. The first presidential debate, which focused on national and homeland security issues, found the candidates disagreeing on most points, but agreeing that the threat of nuclear terrorism is the nation's top national security concern. Moreover, in front of that live national TV audience, **Senator Kerry** cited the finding of Matthew Bunn and Anthony Wier's recent report, *Securing the Bomb*, that less weapons-grade nuclear material had been secured in the two years immediately following the 9/11 attacks than had been secured in the two years just prior. It has also been encouraging to note the amount of attention national and international media are giving to the threat of nuclear terrorism.

The presidential campaign has also highlighted a related longstanding concern at the Belfer Center—domestic preparedness. Earlier this year, the Board compiled a list of key strategies for keeping America safe from another terrorist attack. The resulting list of ten items—ranging from information sharing to vaccine development to public diplomacy—has been referred to by press around the country, and at last count, the candidates themselves had discussed at least eight of them in detail. The full list is on our website, www.bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu, entitled “Filling the Gaps in U.S. Homeland Security.”

The new school year has brought changes here at the Belfer Center as well. **Juliette Kayyem** has replaced **Robert Orr** as Executive Director for Research after Bob was asked by U.N. Secretary General **Kofi Annan** to become his Assistant Secretary General for Policy and Planning. Juliette has been a leading scholar and teacher at the Belfer Center since summer 2001, when she headed our Executive Session for Domestic Preparedness program. A former advisor to Attorney General **Janet Reno** and a member of the National Commission on Terrorism, she is a lawyer and national leader in advancing understanding and informing public debate about emerging threats to our nation's security. We are extremely fortunate to have her take the helm at the Center at this critical time.

We are also pleased to welcome our new Kennedy School Dean **David Ellwood**. He is hard at work to ensure that the Kennedy School's research has the impact it should have on policy processes, and we will continue to stress policy impact in our own work. We are also very happy to welcome **Joe Nye** back into the ranks of our faculty.

The Belfer Center is hosting its usual full slate of visiting security experts this fall. Among our guests: former Coast Guard Commander and author of *America the Vulnerable* **Stephen Flynn**, 9/11 Commission Executive Director **Phillip Zelikow**, Coordinator for Post-Conflict Reconstruction for Baghdad **Barbara Bodine**, former White House Deputy



MARTHA STEWART

Holding Court: Supreme Court Justice **Antonin Scalia** discusses what he thinks our founding fathers would say about emerging security issues with students at the Belfer Center.

Chief of Staff for Homeland Security **Richard Falkenrath**, and Army Secretary **Les Brownlee**. Some of our other accomplished guests include Supreme Court Justice **Antonin Scalia** and Pew Center chief pollster **Andrew Kohut**. We also are pleased to have with us this year a talented and diverse group of new Fellows, with impressive national and international credentials and research interests that range from space security and strategies of nonviolence to environmental regionalism and mergers among nations.

In the next few months, we look forward to seeing how the presidential race unfolds and what course the next administration will chart on key global issues. As always, we will continue to do our utmost to inject sound guidance into the debate. 📺

John Allie

Falkenrath Disputes 9/11 Report

Richard Falkenrath, former Deputy Homeland Security Advisor to President Bush, told Belfer Center colleagues October 13 that he questions the 9/11 Commission understanding of executive branch activities following 9/11 and the appropriateness of some solutions proposed in the 9/11 Report.

Falkenrath: 9/11 Commission's prescriptions don't match its diagnosis.

The former Belfer Center Executive Director (1995–98) discussed the report and next steps needed to make America safer during a presentation called “Interpreting the 9/11 Report and the Question of Intelligence.” While the report contains a good accounting of what took place before 9/11, he said, it does not adequately assess or analyze activities in the executive branch since then. He said that adding new congressionally-mandated reforms

on top of reforms already underway risks doing more harm than good. 📺



Difference of Interpretation: **Richard Falkenrath** tells Belfer colleagues he questions 9/11 Commission understanding of post 9/11 executive branch activities.

Meselson Wins Lasker Award for Pioneering Work on Bioterror Prevention, DNA

Matthew Meselson, Thomas Dudley Cabot Professor of Natural Sciences and member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, has won the prestigious 2004 Albert and Mary Lasker Award for Special Achievement in Medical Science. The coveted prize honors Dr. Meselson "for a lifetime career that combines penetrating discovery in molecular biology with creative leadership in public policy aimed at eliminating chemical and biological weapons." Meselson was presented the award at a ceremony in New York City on October 1.

The Special Achievement Award honors a researcher "who has made extraordinary contributions in both science and public policy." Meselson laid the biochemical groundwork for several key areas in molecular biology: DNA replication, repair recombination, and restriction. He is revered by his colleagues for experiments he conducted around DNA, which he calls "a guidebook to the secret garden of life."

Meselson played a key role in the decision to unilaterally end the nation's biological weapons program.


During a Belfer Center celebration reception for Meselson, Center Founder and Director Emeritus Paul Doty praised his colleague and friend of 50 years, saying Meselson's work has played a major role in connecting the worlds of science and public policy.

Meselson's research at Harvard has involved collaboration with Belfer Center colleagues in the areas of chemical and biological weapons and terrorism. As early as 1969, Meselson played a key role in the decision by President **Richard Nixon** to unilaterally end the nation's biological weapons program. He is also credited with exposing the Soviet bioweapons pro-



LASKER FOUNDATION/PHOTOBUREAU, INC.

In Celebration: **Matt Meselson** (right), winner of the 2004 Lasker Special Achievement Award, enjoys a moment of celebration with Belfer Center Founder and Director Emeritus **Paul Doty**, with whom he has worked extensively on the intersections of science and public policy.

gram. He is currently co-directing an effort with **Julian Perry Robinson** of the University of Sussex in England to establish an international treaty that prohibits biological and chemical weapons. 

Allison Raises Public Alarm on Nuclear Terrorism


From town halls around the country to the halls of Congress, **Graham Allison** has been sounding the alarm on nuclear terrorism, alerting citizens and lawmakers to the threat and spelling out steps to prevent it. In his new book, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*, Allison argues that a nuclear attack on the US is inevitable unless we make substantial changes in U.S. policy to keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of terrorists.

Allison is "a latter-day Paul Revere calling citizens to arms against the real and rising threat of nuclear terrorism," said Nunn.

Terrorists are working to acquire and use nuclear weapons against the United States, Allison says, and materials to make those nuclear weapons continue to be vulnerable to

theft or sale through the nuclear black market. In *Nuclear Terrorism*, Allison spells out the doctrine of the Three No's, three key priorities for preventing nuclear terrorism: no unsecured nuclear weapons; no new countries capable of enriching uranium or reprocessing plutonium; and no more states with nuclear weapons.

Sam Nunn, former U.S. Senator and co-chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, says Graham Allison is "a latter-day Paul Revere, calling citizens to arms against the real and rising threat of nuclear terrorism."

It seems the alarm is finally being heard. The book and its message have been discussed far beyond the *New York Times Book Review*. It has been in magazines from the *Atlantic Monthly* to *People*, on radio from NPR's *Fresh Air* to the BBC's world broadcast, and on TV shows including *Charlie Rose*, *the O'Reilly Factor*, and an hour-long CNN special. The next president is clearly aware of this issue as well: both **Senator Kerry** and **President Bush** agreed on live national television in their first debate that nuclear terrorism is the greatest danger to our nation. 



MARTHA STEWART

Sounding the Alarm: On the eve of the third anniversary of 9/11, **Graham Allison** spoke at Boston's Old South Meeting House on the danger of a nuclear attack and what must be done to prevent it.

Inside the 9/11 Commission by Bonnie Jenkins

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Bonnie Jenkins

Recently I had the privilege of working as a counsel to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (the "9/11 Commission"). When I was appointed by **Philip**

Zelikow to the counterterrorism policy team, I was both honored and apprehensive about the challenges ahead.

The commission staff of 80 was divided into teams examining such areas as the al Qaeda plot, counterterrorism financing, border security and immigration, the FBI, aviation security, emergency response, and the intelligence community. My team looked into the

development of counterterrorism policy, and my personal portfolio was counterterrorism policy at the Department of Defense. I examined military plans targeting Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda, interviewed senior officials at the Pentagon and in the field, and reviewed some very sensitive documents. In addition to

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A Tribute to Harvey Brooks

by John P. Holdren

Harvey Brooks passed away at the age of 88 on May 28, 2004, at the home on Brewster Street in Cambridge that he shared with his wife Helen for more than fifty years. He was the Benjamin Peirce Professor of Technology and Public Policy, Emeritus, at the Kennedy School, the Gordon McKay Professor of Applied Physics, Emeritus, in Harvard's Division of Engineering and Applied Science, and the founder in 1976 and director until 1986 of the Program on Science, Technology, and Public Policy in the Kennedy School's Center for Science and International Affairs, today known as the Belfer Center.

Harvey Brooks was fascinated from the earliest stages of his career with interactions across boundaries: the interaction of fundamental with applied science, the interaction of science with technology, and the interactions across the still more complex and fractious boundary of science and technology with the public-policy process. This fascination with boundaries shaped a professional life in which Harvey, in turn, reshaped the understanding of all of us about the intersections of science and technology with each other and with society. For at least the last forty years of his life, he was the best known, most read, most respected scholar in the world in the field of science and technology policy—the acknowledged chief architect and dean of the discipline.

In a wonderful autobiographical sketch, “Autonomous Science,” that he wrote a few years ago at the invitation of *Annual Review of Energy and the Environment* (2001, vol. 26, pp. 29–48), Harvey related that, as a schoolboy, “I had the incorrigible habit of constantly raising my hand with the correct answer ready should any child falter in his or her recitation.” His “incorrigible habit” of being always ready to assist with the right answer was transformed, in his adult life, into a remarkable form of intellectual generosity which was one of his most celebrated characteristics. When a student, an understudy, or a colleague would give Harvey a rough draft of a prospectus, a proposal, a scholarly paper, or a book chapter for Harvey’s reactions, what invariably came back—in a matter of hours or days but never more—was such a detailed, densely reasoned, and insightful set of comments that the submitter was tempted to throw away the draft and substitute, going forward, what Harvey had written in reaction.

It was always something of a mystery to me how Harvey found the time, in the midst of helping everyone around him, to generate his own immense output of original thinking and writing. I guess he thought and wrote faster than most of us, as well as better. And his accomplishments in the *practice* of science and technology policy were no less impressive than

his contributions to teaching and scholarship in this domain. (Of course, his scholarship and his practice nourished each other.) He was one of the original members, in the 1950s, of the government’s Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, and in that capacity helped build the very foundations of modern practice in protecting the public from the risks that accompany the benefits of nuclear energy—risks that Harvey never exaggerated, but also never underestimated. He served on the President’s Science Advisory Committee (PSAC) in the White House under Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, and forever after was one of the shrewdest observers and chroniclers of the craft of science advice to the president.

He served in the White House under Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, and forever after was one of the shrewdest observers and chroniclers of the craft of science advice to the President.

Harvey was an exceptionally active and influential member of the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, participating in (and most often chairing) many major committees and studies for the National Academies and serving as President of the American Academy from 1971 to 1976. Largely through his academy role, Harvey was instrumental in the founding and/or the sustenance of a number of important international and interdisciplinary institutions, including the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Vienna, the International Center of Insect Physiology and Ecology in Nairobi, and the National Humanities Center in North Carolina.

Harvey served on the Harvard faculty for more than half a century, having been appointed the Gordon McKay Professor of Applied Physics in 1950 at the age of 34. He served as Dean of the Division of Engineering and Applied Sciences from 1957 to 1975 and was appointed to his chair at the Kennedy School in 1972. There, he conspired with Don K. Price in setting up what became, in 1976, the Program on Science, Technology, and Public Policy in what is now the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Although he formally retired in 1986, Harvey continued to participate in seminars and other events around the Belfer Center until a few weeks before his death. When I last visited him, very



BROOKS FAMILY

Harvey Brooks in 2000 at a Yale Class of '37 Reunion Luncheon in New Haven.

shortly before he passed away, he was still thinking and talking about that crucial and fascinating intersection of science and technology with policy, about where and how things were going badly in the world, and about how we could do better. 📖

John P. Holdren is the Teresa and John Heinz Professor of Environmental Policy and the third director of the Program on Science, Technology, and Public Policy.

Inside the 9/11 Commission

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all of our work behind the scenes, we also organized public hearings and drafted both staff reports and portions of the final report that is still on the best-seller list. As Director Zelikow said, considering all we took on, “we probably should have failed.”

The team found that only after 9/11 did the US begin to develop a comprehensive strategy to mobilize all the instruments of national power and marshal the resources necessary to implement that strategy. We saw firsthand how and why a piece-meal approach to counterterrorism failed to address the growing problem.

But beyond the specific issue of 9/11, the experience showed that an independent, bipartisan body that can directly question our country’s leaders, including the president and vice-president, provides an unparalleled opportunity for national reflection and learning.

On a personal level, the experience turned out to be incredibly rewarding, not least because of the thanks that we received from citizens all over the country—and especially from the families of victims of the 9/11 attacks. 📖

Bonnie Jenkins, a joint Fellow with the Belfer Center’s *Managing the Atom and International Security Program*, is an attorney and Lt. Commander in the U.S. Naval Reserves.

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New Neighbors: ISP Research Fellow **Brenda Shaffer** and guest speakers Prof. **Alexander Rondeli** and **Temuri Yakobashvili**, President and Executive Vice-President of the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies, discuss Tbilisi's foreign policy and its regional implications at a session on "Russia's Policy in the Caucasus" at the Belfer Center in October.

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The Economic Roots of Terror: **Paul Collier**, Professor of Economics and Director of the Center for the Study of African Economics at Oxford University, spoke on "Development and Security" on October 6 in the Belfer Library. He gave a keynote address on that topic the day before at the UN General Assembly.

TOM FITZSIMMONS



New Leadership: **Robert Rotberg** (center), Director of the Belfer Center's Program for Intrastate Conflict, joined Dean **David Ellwood** (left) in welcoming Mozambique President **Joaquim Chissano** to the Kennedy School in September. As Interim Executive Director of the newly formed African Leadership Council, Rotberg is working with a number of African leaders, current and former, on regional issues.

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Mission Critical: **Lewis Branscomb** (left), Emeritus Director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP), leads a discussion of critical infrastructure protection issues: "Private Efficiency, Public Vulnerability." He is joined on the panel by (left to right) **Alfonso Martinez-Fonts, Jr.**, Special Assistant to the Secretary for the Private Sector with the Department of Homeland Security, **Philip Auerwald**, Assistant Professor and Director of the Center for Science and Technology Policy at George Mason University and former Asst. Director of STPP, Senior STPP Research Associate **Robert Frosch**, and **Jacob Feinstein** of Consolidated Edison (ret.).

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View from the Home Front: Coast Guard Rear Admiral and Boston District Commander **David Pekoske** (left) listens as **Stephen Flynn** (right), former Coast Guard Commander and author of *America the Vulnerable: How our Government is Failing to Protect us from Terrorism*, speaks on "The Neglected Homeland" at a Belfer Center Directors' Lunch on September 15.

JIM WELLS



Madame Ambassador: **Jendayi Frazer** is congratulated by Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** following her swearing-in as Ambassador to South Africa on June 17.

Debating Critical Issues

MARTHA STEWART



Foreign Policy Hits Home: Joseph Nye and Elaine Kamarck discuss the role of foreign policy issues in the election during the Kennedy School's Democratic National Convention Foreign Policy Forum on July 25.



Contemplating Catastrophe: (left to right) Kennedy School Dean David Ellwood, Belfer Center Director Graham Allison, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program Director John Holdren, Shorenstein Center Director Alex Jones, and former Dean Joseph Nye discuss Allison's new book *Nuclear Terrorism: the Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* and the role of the issue in the current campaign season. The Forum event was held September 16.

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Back from the Front: Ambassador Barbara Bodine is a Kennedy School Fellow and previous coordinator for reconstruction for Baghdad and the Central regions of Iraq. She was Ambassador to Yemen from 1997 to 2001, during the time of the terrorist attack on the USS Cole. The ambassador spoke at the Belfer Center and Forum on her "Reflections on a Life Spent in the Middle East" on September 24.



Getting the Word Out: PBS "Frontline" founder and Senior Executive Director David Fanning talks with the Belfer Center's Jessica Stern at a meeting in June between Belfer faculty and Frontline senior producers about educating the public on critical issues.

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Women on the Edge: Former Dean Joseph Nye presents Holly Taylor Sargent Award for Women's Achievement to the Belfer Center's Women in Science Program, co-chaired by Energy Technology Innovation Project Director Kelly Sims Gallagher (right) and Research Associate Smita Srinivas of the Science, Technology and Globalization Project.



Hot Topic: John Holdren (right) talks with Theodore Roosevelt IV, Managing Director at Lehman Brothers, at the workshop "Sustainability and Risk: Climate Change and Fiduciary Duty for the Twenty-First Century Trustee" on September 23. The workshop was co-sponsored by the Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Project, KSG's Center for Business and Government and the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies.

MARTHA STEWART

Managing the Atom Promotes North Korea Dialogue by John Park

[At press time, the Managing the Atom Project was completing plans for a U.S.-North Korean meeting entitled "The Nuclear Issue on the Korean Peninsula: A Congressional Dialogue." A DPRK Foreign Ministry delegation will conduct off-the-record discussions with a group of U.S. Senate staffers.]

A close examination of North Korea's key statistics reveals two intriguing insights into the current situation. First, the Kim Jong Il regime has emerged stronger from the devastating famine and natural disasters of the mid-1990s. At the time, these events convinced many North Korea watchers of the country's imminent collapse. North Korean resiliency, however, was not internally generated, but fostered externally. Indeed, the massive influx of Chinese food and fuel oil since the late 1990s has breathed subsistence-level life into the country. Concerned about instability on its border which could disrupt its vital plans for rapid internal economic development, Beijing sought to prevent a failed state scenario coming to pass. A recurrence of the vulnerability that threatened North Korea's



survival following the demise of the Soviet Union is now unlikely.

The second insight that the numbers highlight is that the nuclear genie is indeed out of the bottle. Following the expulsion of IAEA inspectors and the dismantlement of Agency monitoring cameras in December 2002, North Korea removed the 8,017 spent fuel rods from a temporary storage pond in Yongbyon. In September 2003, a North Korean Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that North Korea had completed the reprocessing of this spent fuel. North Korea could now have sufficient quantities of weapons-grade plutonium for

approximately four to six new nuclear warheads.

As the crisis lingers on and North Korea qualitatively and quantitatively enhances its nuclear stockpile, multilateral and bilateral talks remain on hold indefinitely. While the future of any talks is unclear, the North Korean statistics underscore a deepening imbroglio.

John Park is a joint MTA/ISP fellow at BCSIA. His research focuses on how each member of the Six-Party Talks structures its approach to resolving the North Korean nuclear crisis.



John Park

North Korea by the Numbers

8,017	Number of fuel rods removed and reportedly reprocessed by the North Koreans. The location of the fissile material is presently unknown.
1-2	CIA's long-held estimate of the number of nuclear warheads in North Korea's arsenal. U.S. intelligence community is debating whether to revise the estimate upward based on recent nuclear activity in the North.
22 million	Recent estimate of North Korea's population.
2 million	Reported number of North Koreans who perished in the Great Famine of mid-1990s.
1.2 million	Estimated size of North Korea's armed forces.
20%-25%	Percentage of North Korea's annual GDP allocated to the military.
50%	Estimated percentage of total international food aid that North Korea is receiving from China.
80%	Estimated percentage of North Korea's total fuel needs currently being supplied by China.
0	Number of IAEA inspectors presently at the Yongbyon nuclear complex.
0	Number of monitoring cameras at Yongbyon.

Source: Nuclear Threat Initiative, CIA World Factbook

The View from Tehran by Steve Miller

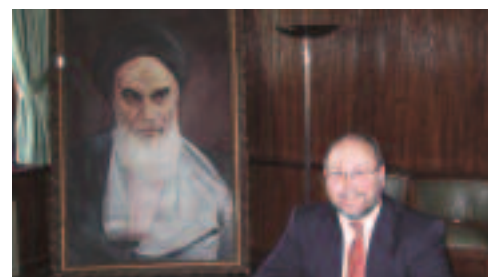
"Iran is a normal country. We are not evil and we do not understand why the U.S. government includes us in the axis of evil." This was a common refrain encountered in Tehran in May 2004 by a visiting group of Westerners, including myself, organized by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). The visit included a workshop on Iran's relations with the West held in collaboration with Iran's Institute for Political and International Studies. The time in Tehran—a huge, traffic-choked city—also included sessions at the Faculty of Law and Political Science of the University of Tehran and at Tehran's Center for Strategic Studies, as well as meetings with senior officials from the Foreign Ministry and the Expediency Council.

The discussions in Tehran focused on the evolving crisis over Iran's nuclear activities. Under the guise of a civilian nuclear power program, Iran has developed a substantial nuclear infrastructure capable of supporting a nuclear weapons program. Iran insists that it does not covet nuclear weapons and is clearly quite frustrated that its motives are doubted

despite its many proclamations of benign intentions. However, those suspicious of Iran (including especially the U.S. government) presume that Tehran is on the road to the acquisition of nuclear weapons, a presumption reinforced by the secrecy with which Iran has assembled its nuclear assets.

"We are not evil."

The other prominent topic in Tehran was the U.S. intervention in Iraq. Though the Bush Administration intended and expected that the injection of U.S. military power into Iraq would improve its ability to threaten and influence Iran, the view from Tehran was quite different. The prevailing perception among Iranians is that the U.S. war on terror has eliminated Iran's two most acute and proximate security problems—the Taliban in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq—while the United States has become bogged down in a very vulnerable position in Iraq. The result, they believe, is a significant



A Strong Presence: International Security Program Director **Steve Miller** in a seminar room at the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Tehran.

improvement in Iran's strategic position in the region.

Iran and the United States have experienced more than two decades of confrontation and acrimony, and many serious barriers remain on the path to better relations. Because of the long-standing U.S. sanctions against Iran, it is cut off from important components of the world. Nevertheless, one of the most striking impressions gathered in Tehran is the openly expressed enthusiasm many Iranians have for the idea of better relations with the United States.



Security & Democracy After 9/11: New Rules for a New Era

Juliette N. Kayyem is the Belfer Center's new Executive Director for Research. She has been a resident scholar at the Belfer Center since 2001, writing on counterterrorism law, homeland security, civil liberties, and how to protect our democratic norms in times of war. She has served both as Executive Director of the Kennedy School's Executive Session on Domestic Preparedness and as co-Director, with Professor Philip Heymann, of Harvard's Long-Term Legal Strategy for Combating Terrorism project.

Before joining the Belfer Center, Kayyem served as former House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt's appointee to the National Commission on Terrorism, a congressionally-mandated review of government preparations for the growing terrorist threat. Before that, she served as a legal adviser to then Attorney General Janet Reno, working on a variety of national security and terrorism cases.

Kayyem is a 1991 graduate of Harvard College and a 1995 graduate of Harvard Law School. She is co-editor of First to Arrive: State and Local Responses to Terrorism (2003), as well as the author of numerous journal, magazine and newspaper articles. She testifies frequently before Congress, serves on the board of advisers to a number of governmental and private institutions, and is a national security analyst for NBC News. In 2002, she was named a "hero for our times" by the Boston Phoenix.

Q As co-Director of Harvard's Long-Term Legal Strategy for Combating Terrorism program, you have advocated for American interrogation standards that balance democratic norms with national security concerns. How can we achieve such a balance?

Kayyem: It was clear even before the Abu Ghraib scandal in Iraq that the United States was using troubling coercive interrogation tactics. Unfortunately, interrogation falls into a large grey area that has historically been very unregulated. Many uncertainties must be clarified: What tactics should be permissible? Who should be allowed to use them? Against whom? What oversight should there be? Who should make these decisions? Are they working? All of these questions underline the necessity for clear and regulated standards.

Q What are the long term effects of the Abu Ghraib scandal?

Kayyem: The immediate reaction to Abu Ghraib was to simply stop all interrogations. This was not realistic. Instead, we must take this opportunity to step back, reassess the situation, and propose new regulations. This should have been done in the aftermath of 9/11 but was not.

The leaked memos presenting torture as a viable interrogation option came out of the Justice Department, and have tainted that agency and its work on the issue. Consequently, the military people out in the field are clamoring around trying to figure out what to do because it is they who risk courts-martial if they cross some unknown line. They are under pressure to find information about Iraqi resistance, about al Qaeda, and about Osama bin Laden, and yet they are unsure what tools they are allowed to use.

It is crucial that we think through these hard questions and find a way to reconcile our need for security with our democratic norms.

We are doing our women and men in the field a major disservice by not figuring it out.

"The military people out in the field are clamoring around trying to figure out what to do because it is they who risk courts-martial if they cross some unknown line."


Q Your work has made you a recognized scholar on the intersection between law and international security. Tell us how you see issues like the USA PATRIOT Act playing out over the next few years?

Kayyem: People need to recognize that about 94 percent of the Patriot Act is rational, appropriate, and does not violate people's privacy. It has produced necessary changes that had been percolating in the Justice Department for years. It took an event like 9/11 to break down the numerous historical barriers between our law enforcement and intelligence agencies.

As for the other 6 percent of the Patriot Act—such as national security letters and surveillance of libraries—the problem is *not* that these measures would *never* be necessary to protect our country. The problem is that the Patriot Act, as written, has absolutely no standards requiring court orders or reviews. Systems of democratic government work better when authority is checked, when the government must prove why it wants certain information.

A lot of these differences of approach are being played out in court cases, and will work themselves out over time.

However, the biggest question I still have is how are all of these new authorities actually working? Have changes in the law been effective? Granted, there have been tremendous legal changes, but there also have been structural, bureaucratic, and even philosophical changes that may have contributed to the ongoing reform process.

I still do not think the nation has a good grasp on whether all of the legal reforms after 9/11 have been successful—or were necessary. 



Ideas with Impact: Juliette Kayyem discusses the legal aspects of homeland security with Kennedy School Dean David Ellwood (left) in the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum "Ideas that Really Matter" on September 22.

Spotlight: Our Man in the Middle East

Ambassador Richard Jones: International Security Fellow 2004–2005

Growing up as an Air Force kid whose dad served in Korea and Vietnam, **Dick Jones** knew he wanted to spend his life defending his country from foreign dangers. Lousy eyesight and a weak knee would keep him out of the military, but he would not be deterred that easily, instead joining the diplomatic corps as an economic officer coming out of graduate school. After showing promise in initial assignments in Washington, it was his willingness to take the toughest assignments that would eventually make him one of the few economic officers ever to become an Ambassador and put him in the thick of our most perilous foreign engagements.

His first overseas assignment took him to Paris at the U.S. mission to the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), but when he saw an opportunity to go to Saudi Arabia as economic officer, he jumped at the chance. With his wife Joan and two young children, he spent two years there and predicted the oil price collapse in the mid-1980s by developing a new method to estimate Saudi Arabia's "revenue-earning exports."

After a tour in Washington dealing with trade issues, Gulf War duty back in Saudi Arabia and two years managing relations with Egypt at the State Department, Jones served as Ambassador to Lebanon (1996–1998), where he was involved in the negotiations to begin to de-escalate hostilities between Lebanon and Israel. These arrangements included a pioneering agreement that established effective rules of engagement for the Israeli Defense Forces and gunmen based in southern Lebanon, designed to minimize civilian casualties using a multinational monitoring group to judge compliance. Jones also conducted back-channel negotiations that convinced Israeli forces to open a key road in southern Lebanon, as well as helping to lift the ban on Americans traveling to Lebanon. "This was real diplomacy," remarks Jones. "That means figuring out a solution, and then selling it first to your own government, then to the other two parties."

After his successes in Lebanon, Jones next took the helm as Ambassador to Kazakhstan



(1998–2001). "This was almost an out-of-body experience," says Jones, as the country was still in the midst of its dramatic post-Soviet transition. After relearning Russian, he proceeded to tackle a host of strategic diplomatic challenges, including supervising the decommissioning of nuclear reactors and fuel, the destruction of WMD infrastructure and the re-employing of nuclear and biological weapons scientists; facilitating Caspian oil development in pipeline negotiations; and promoting fledgling democratic processes by mobilizing OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) observers for parliamentary elections.

On September 11, 2001, Jones was in Washington, preparing for his next assignment as Ambassador to Kuwait. He remembers talking to a colleague as they watched the towers burn on TV: "In addition to all the emotions everyone else was feeling, we knew right away how much work this was going to be." He was deployed quickly and immediately started working with the Kuwaitis in support of the coming military effort in Afghanistan, including relocating the headquarters of the 3rd Army from the US to Kuwait, a potentially controversial move among local Kuwaitis. "I told our hosts, 'What better way to make sure the US does not forget about the threat of Saddam Hussein while we go after al Qaeda than to have this military headquarters here?' After that, they were very happy to have us."

Starting in the late summer of 2002, Jones led the diplomatic effort to prepare the way for U.S. forces to invade Iraq from Kuwait. "We were always told we were preparing 'just in case' the President decided to go ahead," he says. Jones convinced the Kuwaitis to complete

Watching the towers burn on September 11th, Jones says, "In addition to all the emotions everyone else was feeling, we knew right away how much work this was going to be."

numerous infrastructure improvements and to provide a free, continuous supply of jet fuel for U.S. forces, which would prove critical to support the march on Baghdad. He also helped the Kuwaitis to negotiate status-of-forces agreements with some 30 other coalition countries and to establish sophisticated public safety plans for responding to any chemical or biological attacks Saddam might launch. These pleas were so successful in reassuring the Kuwaiti public that they would be safe, Jones reports, that "merchants who stocked up on gas masks lost money."

After Saddam was toppled, Jones spent the next several months managing post-war relations with Kuwait. In October 2003 he got a phone call from **Paul Bremer**, who was looking for a deputy to help him oversee policy issues for the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad. Though it was certainly his most challenging assignment yet, Jones dove in, putting his diplomatic skills to work brokering agreements as diverse as Iraq's new Transitional Administrative Law and the cease-fire in Falluja. Having witnessed first-hand the lack of priority given to reconstruction planning by U.S. authorities in advance of the invasion, Jones and his CPA colleagues did their best with whatever resources they were able to muster. Given what they had to work with, Jones says, "What we accomplished was nothing sort of amazing."

Now at the Belfer Center, Jones will be reflecting and writing about his experiences in Iraq and the on-going challenges in U.S. relations with the Arab and Muslim worlds. 🌐

“From the Opinion Pages...

“AS WE REFLECT ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF AL-QAIDA’S ASSAULT ON AMERICA, it is chilling to realize that we are now more vulnerable to a nuclear 9/11 than we were when Osama bin Laden hit us three years ago.”

—**Graham Allison**, “Nuclear Nightmare Closer to Reality,” *Baltimore Sun* (10 September 2004).

“RUSSIA’S ROLE IS CRUCIAL IN PREVENTING NUCLEAR TERRORISM. The positive steps that Russia has taken in joining the international nonproliferation efforts should be recognized and rewarded . . . Moscow also maintains ties with pivotal states that could be nuclear sources for terrorists—giving it unique leverage that it could be persuaded to apply.”

—**Brenda Shaffer**, “Between Ossetia and Tehran,” *Jerusalem Post* (9 September 2004).

“IN SUPPORT OF THIS FIGHT, U.S. forces will remain in Iraq as long as their presence is needed and welcomed by the Iraqi government.”

—**Robert D. Blackwill**, “Iraq’s Future is Optimistic,” *USA Today* (1 July 2004).

“. . . 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. It is almost as important that such plans or such actions be understood, as that they be executed.”

—**James R. Schlesinger**, “Transferring Sovereignty,” *In the National Interest* (Summer 2004).

“THIS MONTH’S HOSTAGE TRAGEDY IN RUSSIA is a stark reminder of the potent terrorist threat that country still faces—a threat that could result in a nuclear Sept. 11 if terrorists manage to gain access to Russia’s nuclear stockpiles.”

—**Matthew Bunn** and **Anthony Wier**, “Preventing a Nuclear 9/11,” *The Washington Post* (12 September 2004).

“IN ITS MEDIATING ROLE, China is learning to blend the three key ingredients—peaceful dialogue, tactful cautions and economic leverage—to persuade North Korea to co-operate.

—**Anne Wu**, “The acid test for China’s resurgent diplomacy,” *Financial Times* (20 October 2004).

“EFFORTS AT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY WILL BE MORE SUCCESSFUL with a national security community that looks more like the world . . . Lost in the debate about torture at Abu Ghraib was the story of the Arab-American FBI translator who has been very successful in getting information from detainees by identifying with them and using ‘good cop’ tactics, including prayers and discussions about Arab culture.”

—**Juliette Kayyem**, “Changing the Color of Intelligence,” *The Boston Globe* (3 August 2004).

“GREEN ELEPHANTS—Republicans who appreciate the common roots of ‘conservatism’ and ‘conservation’—have become an endangered species in Washington. This is bad for the Republican Party, bad for good government, and bad for the environment.”

—**William C. Clark**, “Green Elephants,” *Environment* (September 2004).

“THE COUNTERPROLIFERATION TOOLBOX contains what the Department of Defense [calls] the 8D’s . . . dissuasion, disarmament, diplomacy, denial, defusing, deterrence, defenses, and destruction . . . A sensible policy must use them all.”

—**Ashton B. Carter**, “How to Counter WMD,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2004).

“IF THE WORLD WANTS TO STOP THIS CONTINUED GENOCIDE, Washington and the United Nations need to squeeze Sudan much harder. The nice-guy approach is clearly not working.”

—**Robert Rotberg**, “No More Mr. Nice Guy in Dealing with Sudan,” *Los Angeles Times* (4 October 2004).

“IF THE IDEOLOGICAL HAWKS IN GENERAL—and the neoconservatives in particular—are to regain their credibility, they will need to develop a more nuanced view of the U.S. role in the world, one that emphasizes the necessity for prudence in foreign policy. If they do not, they may fade away as a political force.”

—**Thomas Wright**, “America’s Neoconservatives: All Muscle, No History?” *The Globalist* (15 September 2004).

“THE ACTIONS REQUIRED TO NEUTRALIZE THE THREAT OF PAKISTANI PROLIFERATION are ambitious; a measure of realism is necessary. But realism need not mean defeatism.”

—**Graham Allison**, “Pakistan is a Nuclear Time Bomb,” *The Atlantic Monthly* (October 2004).

“WHAT HAS ENABLED BOTSWANA TO SUCCEED where so many other African nations have failed? . . . It is Botswana’s history of visionary leadership, especially in the years following independence, that best explains its success.”

—**Robert Rotberg**, “Strengthening African Leadership: There is Another Way,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2004).

“THE MOST EFFECTIVE ADVOCATES FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE are not American or European officials, but citizens of the region who understand Western virtues as well as flaws—and can adapt them to indigenous conditions to press for social change.”

—**Joseph Nye**, “Arab Democracy is Possible, But a Long-Term Strategy is Required,” *The Daily Star* (28 September 2004).

“. . . THE TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF ACTIVITY BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAS NOT MADE US ANY SAFER. It may be worse than that. Resources are limited, and it appears that most of them have been spent on cases that have had nothing to do with the real threat out there.”

—**Juliette Kayyem**, “Prize Terror Suspects are Being Set Free,” *Newsday* (12 September 2004).

“IN THINKING ABOUT HOW TO RESPOND TO TERRORISM, it is important to realise that we are unlikely to persuade terrorists to change their approach. Terrorists . . . become professionals and, after some time on the job, it can be hard for them to imagine another life. But terrorists and guerrillas rely on the broader population for support. Mao Zedong described insurgents as fish swimming in a sea of ordinary people, whose occasional support they require. We are competing with the terrorists for the hearts and minds of the ordinary people who make up that sea.”

—**Jessica Stern**, “Holy Avengers,” *Financial Times Weekend Magazine*, (12 June 2004).

“THE DANGER IS MAGNIFIED because programs to secure loose nukes have been running out of steam. Russian corruption and lack of cooperation is one reason; U.S. bureaucratic problems another. Harvard’s Project on Managing the Atom, cited by Kerry, says more material was secured in the two years before 9/11 than in the two following.”

—**USA Today** Editorial, “Candidates Point to Nuclear Danger: Will They Rein It In?” *USA Today* (4 October 2004).

Newsmakers



Graham Allison has been making the news nationally and internationally with his new book, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*. The Belfer Center

Director's warning that nuclear terrorism is inevitable unless steps are taken immediately to prevent it has been echoed in editorials and syndicated columns and on national and international television and radio newscasts and interview programs.



Sham Bathija, joint Fellow with Belfer's International Security and Intrastate Conflict programs, was designated in July as the UN Conference on Trade and Development's Coordinator and Representative to Central Asian Republics. In September he represented his organization at the Economic Cooperation Organization Summit in Tajikistan, where he met with ten area heads of state on integrating Central Asia into the world economy.



Robert Blackwill, Deputy Assistant to the President and member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, is charged with helping develop and coordinate the mid- and long-term direction of U.S. foreign policy. He has particular responsibility for assisting in the formulation and implementation of U.S. policies regarding Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran.



Matthew Bunn and **Anthony Wier** have caught the attention of news media and presidential candidates as co-authors of *Securing the Bomb*, a report released in May by the Belfer Center's Managing the Atom (MTA) project and the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI). The report spells out the necessity of securing loose nuclear material as quickly as possible. The report's findings were referred to by Senator Kerry in the first presidential debate and both Senator Kerry and President Bush agreed that nuclear terrorism is the greatest danger facing America today.



David Cash, former KSG student and Research Associate affiliated with the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP), has been named Director of Air Policy in the Executive Office of Environmental Affairs for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He will remain an affiliate with ENRP.



Jendayi Frazer, former Assistant Professor of Public Policy with the Belfer Center, has been appointed Ambassador to South Africa. She was confirmed by the Senate in May and sworn in by Secretary of State Colin Powell on June 17. Ambassador Frazer presented her credentials to President Mbeki in Pretoria on August 10.



Robert Frosch, Senior Research Associate in the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, has been appointed by the Presidents of the U.S. National Academies (NAS, NAE, IOM) to a two-year term as co-Chair of the Academies' Report Review Committee (RRC), responsible for oversight of external review of all drafts of Academies National Research Council (NRC) advisory reports to the federal government.



Calestous Juma, Coordinator of the United Nations Millennium Project's Task Force on Science, Technology and Innovations and Director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology and Globalisation Project, is receiving international attention regarding the preliminary findings of the Task Force. The full report, "FORGING AHEAD: Technological Innovation and the Millennium Development Goals," is now available for review and public comment.



Juliette Kayyem, attorney and leading scholar on the legal aspects of counterterrorism and homeland security and former Senior Fellow with the Belfer Center, was named Executive Director of Research for the Center in August. Kayyem served as Executive Director of the Kennedy School's Executive Session on Domestic Preparedness, a terrorism and homeland security research program that ran from 1999 through 2003, and is current co-Director of Harvard's Long-Term Legal Strategy for Combating Terrorism project.



Henry Lee, Director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program, has been appointed by Governor Romney to the Department of Conservation and Recreation Stewardship Council for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The council oversees the new Department of Conservation and Recreation, which manages all parks and state recreational facilities in the state.



Lee Hsien Loong, Kennedy School graduate (MPA '80), was sworn in as Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore on August 12. A former Brigadier General in the Singapore Armed Forces and Member of Parliament, Prime Minister Loong also serves as Minister of Finance.



Ernest May, Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard and member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, served as Senior Advisor to the 9/11 Commission. May is currently a member of the Intelligence Science Board of the Department of Central Intelligence and of the Board of Visitors of the Joint Military Intelligence College.



Matthew Meselson, Harvard's Thomas Dudley Cabot Professor of the Natural Sciences and member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, has received the coveted 2004 Albert & Mary Lasker Award for Special Achievement in Medical Science. The Lasker Foundation presented the prestigious award to Prof. Meselson "for a lifetime career that combines penetrating discovery in molecular biology with creative leadership in public policy aimed at eliminating chemical and biological weapons."



Joseph Nye, Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations and member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, was named a Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor in September. The professorship, announced by Harvard President Lawrence Summers, recognizes individuals who have concluded an extended period of distinguished service as dean of a university school and are returning to service as members of the faculty. Nye was KSG dean from 1995 until June 2004.



James Schlesinger, who heads the Belfer Center's International Council, served as Chairman of the four-member advisory panel appointed by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to investigate allegations of abuse at Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq. The panel released its report in August.

Hot off the Presses

Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe

Graham Allison
Times Books, 2004



In *Nuclear Terrorism*, Graham Allison, former dean of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, a former top Pentagon official, and one of America's leading scholars of nuclear strategy and national security, gives us an urgent call to action. He makes the case that nuclear terrorism is inevitable—if we continue on our present course—and he sets out an ambitious but achievable plan for preventing a catastrophic attack before it's too late.

“Graham Allison is a latter-day Paul Revere, calling citizens to arms against the real and rising threat of nuclear terrorism.”

—Sam Nunn, former U.S. Senator and co-Chairman, Nuclear Threat Initiative

“Allison's comprehensive but accessible treatment of this vital subject is a major contribution to public understanding. In turn, an informed public could spur the government to complete the counterterrorism agenda. Only then, as Allison argues, will nuclear terror against America prove preventable.”

—James Hoge,
The New York Times Book Review

Crafting the New Nigeria: Confronting the Challenges

Robert I. Rotberg, Editor
Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004



Is Nigeria, with its vast wealth in both human and natural resources, on the path to realizing its enormous potential? Or is it in danger of becoming a failed state? *Crafting the New Nigeria* considers the challenges that the country's leadership now faces, offering rich—and sobering—analyses of Nigeria's current political and economic systems, ethnic divisions, the HIV/AIDS crisis, and human rights.

“Provides a rich, timely, and indispensable understanding of the political and economic systems in Nigeria today.”

—Princeton N. Lyman,
Council on Foreign Relations

The Russian Military: Power and Policy

Steven E. Miller and Dmitri Trenin
The MIT Press, 2004



Russian military capacity remains a major consideration for global security even in the post-Soviet era. This book assesses today's Russian military and analyzes its possible future direction. The contributors—experts on the subject from both Russia and the

West—consider not only how Russia has built its military capacity but also the policies and doctrines that have shaped Russia's defense posture. The contributors to *The Russian Military* find that the choices Russian leaders have made have been significantly influenced by the military reforms Russia has attempted to implement since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The protracted and intense debate over military reform has been—and will continue to be—decisive in shaping Russian military capacity.

“This first-rate set of essays is a timely and remarkably comprehensive assessment of the contemporary state of the Russian military. It deserves the attention not only of those interest in military affairs, but also those concerned with political and economic developments in Russia.”

—Lieutenant General William Odom
(U.S. Army, Ret.), Senior Fellow,
Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C.

The Power Game

Joseph S. Nye Jr.
Public Affairs Press, 2004



In this political thriller, former Kennedy School of Government Dean Joseph Nye writes about nuclear proliferation, a subject he knows well. Peter Cutler is a respected Princeton professor living a quiet academic life when an old college friend makes him an offer

he can't refuse: the position of foreign policy advisor. Cutler soon discovers that the power politics of Washington are a far cry from the comforts of university life. Ultimately, the allure and hypocrisy of political life cause him to alienate everyone he cares about—and to make one life-altering political miscalculation.

“In this Washington novel of political intrigue, ultimate insider Nye, a Harvard professor and former deputy to the undersecretary of defense for international security affairs, eschews the action/adventure route to portray the rise and fall of one Peter Cutler . . . This is a realistic, entertaining, thought-provoking novel in a genre not widely read these days, written by a respected author with an engaging style and an intimate knowledge of the territory.”

—*Publishers Weekly*

International Security Readers

New Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security

Edited by Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté Jr.,
Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller
August 2004

The book looks first at the relationship between weapons and security, discussing such aspects of proliferation as “nuclear entrepreneurship” in Russia and the threat of biological warfare. It then examines nonmilitary security concerns, including resource scarcity, migration, HIV/AIDS in Africa, and why humanitarian assistance sometimes does more harm than good. Finally, it looks at the role of transnational actors, including terrorist groups, nongovernmental organizations, and the privatized military industry.

“International Security has been remarkably consistent in demonstrating that academic excellence does not have to come at the expense of policy relevance. *New Global Dangers* confirms this essential quality, with cool and informed analysis on the most pressing issues of current policy.”

—Sir Lawrence Freedman, Professor of War
Studies and Vice Principal (Research),
King's College London

Offense, Defense, and War

Edited by Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté Jr.,
Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller
October 2004

Offense-defense theory argues that the relative ease of offense and defense varies in international politics. When the offense has the advantage, military conquest becomes easier and war is more likely; the opposite is true when the defense has the advantage. The balance between offense and defense depends on geography, technology, and other factors. This theory, and the body of related theories, has generated much debate and research over the past twenty-five years.

“Offense, Defense, and War is sure to be an invaluable book for students of international politics. It contains virtually all of the key works on offense-defense theory, a truly important set of ideas about how states behave toward each other.”

—John J. Mearsheimer, R. Wendell Harrison
Distinguished Service Professor of Political
Science, University of Chicago

Belfer Leads Efforts Toward Cleaner Energy

(continued from page 1)

automotive fuel efficiency in China following the initial adoption of fuel-economy standards.

The “Joint Workshop on the Cooperation in Clean-Coal Technologies between the United States and China” in Hangzhou was co-sponsored with China’s Ministry of Science & Technology and the Clean Coal Research Institute. This workshop looked at the economic, national security, and environmental challenges and opportunities associated with coal use, and discussed promising clean-coal technologies that might meet these challenges. Belfer participants in both conferences included ETIP Director **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **John Holden**, and Research Fellow **Guodong Sun**. **Li Wenhua**, a former ETIP Visiting Scholar now with the China Coal Research Institute (CCRI), organized the Hangzhou workshop.

In August, a major workshop on “India-US Energy-Technology Cooperation” was organized by John Holdren and STPP Research Associate **Ambuj Sagar** in collaboration with The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI). This workshop brought together U.S. experts with senior Indian practitioners and decision-makers from industry, academia and

Lee Named to Oversee Massachusetts Public Lands



ROBERT MCARTHUR, DCR

Stewards of the Earth: ENRP Director Henry Lee joined Department of Conservation and Recreation Commissioner **Kathy Abbott** (left) and Environmental Affairs Secretary **Ellen Roy Herzfelder**, at the Conservation Stewardship Council meeting.

government to identify opportunities for energy-technology cooperation between the two countries, as well as future studies to examine policies that could promote the development and deployment of cleaner energy technologies in the country.

In the US, the Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP) and Belfer Fellow **William Rosenberg** have led development of an innovative financing proposal that would bring revolutionary new clean coal technology known as “Integrated Gasification Combined Cycle” (IGCC) to the commercial marketplace. Initial reactions from both industry and government—both key parties to the financing plan—have been promising. ■

Henry Lee, Director of the Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program (ENRP), has been appointed by Governor **Mitt Romney** to the Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR) Stewardship Council for Massachusetts. The Council advises the Commissioner of DCR in managing and maintaining the natural and recreational resources of the state, including state parks.

The Stewardship Council works with DCR to manage open spaces and recreational facilities, which include urban, suburban and rural open space, forests, parks, reservations, recreational facilities, waterways, parkways, water bodies, and coastlines.

Lee was recommended by Commissioner **Kathy Abbott** and appointed by Governor Romney based on recommendations from Massachusetts’ major non-profit environmental organizations.

“It’s an honor to be appointed to this position,” Lee said. “The reorganization of the state’s park and recreation agencies provides a great opportunity to explore new paradigms to manage and protect our forest and park resources for future generations.” ■

International Security

SUMMER 2004
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Steven E. Miller, Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones,
editors (The MIT Press, Summer 2004)

Threat Inflation and the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War

Chaim Kaufmann of Lehigh University examines the 2002–03 U.S. debate over going to war against Iraq. Kaufmann concludes that the democratic marketplace of ideas failed to challenge President George W. Bush’s case for toppling Saddam Hussein—despite the existence at the time of information that exposed the speciousness of many of the claims of the president’s foreign policy team.

Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail

David Edelstein of Georgetown University examines twenty-four occupations since the Napoleonic Wars to discover that occupations are generally likely to succeed only if they are lengthy, and extended occupations are likely to produce nationalist reactions that can stymie an occupation’s chances of success. Given these findings, Edelstein is pessimistic about U.S. chances of success in Iraq.

Pacifism or Passing the Buck? Testing Theories of Japanese Security Policy

Jennifer Lind of Dartmouth College examines the conventional wisdom that domestic factors and strong antimilitarist norms have constrained Japan’s security policy since the country’s bitter defeat in World War II. She considers the implications of her finding for realist and constructivist theories of state behavior in the international system.

Knowledge as Power: Science, Military Dominance, and U.S. Security

Robert Paarlberg of Wellesley College investigates factors behind the “unparalleled military dominance” of the United States and challenges to it in a post-September 11 world. Paarlberg cautions that the combination of globalization and restrictions on foreign scientists seeking visas to study or work in the United States since the September 11 terrorist attacks threatens to undercut U.S. military hegemony. He closes with a discussion of the dangers of the current situation for homeland security.

Societal Complexity and Diminishing Returns in Security

According to **Nader Elhefnawy** of the University of Miami, security is becoming an area of diminishing returns in contemporary advanced societies. Elhefnawy posits that as societies become more complex, they have less “slack” for dealing with unexpected security problems. As a consequence, the defense burden of these societies grows disproportionately to the benefits their increasing complexity is expected to provide.

Correspondence: Israel and the Bomb

In an exchange of letters, **Louis René Beres** of Purdue University and **Zeev Maoz** of Tel Aviv University and the University of Michigan debate the merits of Maoz’s proposal in the fall 2003 issue of *International Security* to establish a weapons of mass destruction-free zone in the Middle East.

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Climate Change Hits Wall Street

by Kelly Sims Gallagher

The Belfer Center's Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP), along with the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES) and the Kennedy School's Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative at the Center for Business and Government, convened key financiers, state treasurers, and pension fund trustees at Harvard on September 23 for a conference entitled "Sustainability and Risk: Climate Change and Fiduciary Duty for the Twenty-First Century Trustee."

John Holdren, Director of the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program (STPP), launched the meeting with a talk on the risks of climate change. Henry Lee, Director of Belfer's Environment and

Natural Resources Program (ENRP), then moderated a panel on the financial risks of climate change with Theodore Roosevelt IV, Managing Director of Lehman Brothers, Alan Brown of State Street Global Advisors, and Christopher Walker of Swiss Re.

**"State Treasurers: money managers
can address climate change."**

William Reilly, former Administrator of EPA and board member of ConocoPhillips and Coca Cola, presented his views on the responsibilities of corporate board members to address climate change and other environmental threats. After a panel on fiduciary legal duties, Treasurer of the State of Maine Dale McCormick, Treasurer of the State of Vermont Jeb Spaulding, and Howard Rifkin, Deputy Treasurer of the State of Connecticut, gave their perspective as pension fund leaders on how the issue of climate change can be addressed responsibly by money managers. Doug Ogden of the Investor Responsibility Research Center provided a set of recommendations to pension fund leaders to conclude the conference. ■

Kelly Sims Gallagher is Director of the Energy Technology Innovation Project.



Fiduciary Duty: ETIP Director Kelly Sims Gallagher (right) listens to points made by Chris Walker, Managing Director of the Environmental/Greenhouse Gas/Renewable Risk Solutions division of Swiss Re. Walker spoke on the financial risks of climate change at the Climate Change conference in September.

Conflict Program Looks at Worst Regimes

by Debbie West

The Belfer Center's Program on Intrastate Conflict assembled diplomats, academics, NGO leaders, and regional experts in mid-October for a three-day conference entitled, "Winning the Prize for Repression: The 'Real' Rogue States?" The conference at the Kennedy School sought to generalize about and categorize the "worst of the worst," asking: Which states win the prize for repression? What are the criteria for ranking among the world's worst regimes? What commonalities (besides being human rights violators with repressive leaders) do these states share? How do these states relate to their neighbors and to world order, and how should the US deal with them?

Chaired by Intrastate Program Director Robert I. Rotberg, the conference evaluated Belarus, Burma/Myanmar, Iran, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Zimbabwe, examining whether these countries truly deserved the title of "rogue state" and whether other nations should be included in the list. Following country by country analysis, participants discussed conclusions about the rogue states and how the United States and the international community could best cope with countries which by definition tend to set themselves outside international norms. The Program on Intrastate Conflict is now editing a book resulting from the conference. ■

Debbie West is Program Coordinator of the Program on Intrastate Conflict.