

Holdren, Colleagues Call for Immediate Action on Climate Disruptions

—by Beth Maclin, Communications Intern

“Climate change is real, humans are the largest cause of it, it’s already doing harm, it’s accelerating, and we need to do something serious about it, starting now,” **John Holdren** told United Nations Secretary General **Ban Ki-moon** and the UN Commission on Sustainable Development in February. “If the build-up of greenhouse gases pushes the global average surface temperature past 2–2.5 degrees Celsius above the pre-industrial level, the danger of intolerable and unmanageable impacts of climate change on human well-being becomes very high.”

The earth’s inhabitants have less than a decade to slow and then begin to reverse climate change.
—John Holdren

Holdren, director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy program, was one of 18 leading scientists from 11 countries who produced the report, “Confronting Climate Change: Avoiding the Unmanageable and Managing the Unavoidable,” at the request of the United Nations.



Foreign Fuel Fear: Robert Stavins stresses a point about foreign oil during a February directors’ seminar with John Holdren (next to Stavins) on challenges of climate change.

The report said the largest causes of climate change are the combustion of fossil fuels and deforestation, both of which emit large quantities of heat-trapping carbon dioxide. The concentration of CO₂ in the atmosphere has increased nearly 40 percent since the start of the Industrial Revolution, the authors said. Resulting changes in climate are already changing ecosystems around the globe, increasing the frequency and intensity of heat waves, droughts, and wildfires, and raising sea level. Without intensified efforts both to reduce the pace and magnitude of climate change and to reduce the damages from the degree of change that cannot be avoided, harm far more severe than what has been experienced so far is in store, Holdren said.

The earth’s inhabitants have less than a decade to slow and then begin to reverse climate change, Holdren believes. Critical steps, he says, include changing the world’s energy system to emit less carbon dioxide and providing incentives against deforestation. Scientists and technologists have major roles to play in bringing this about, Holdren said in his presidential address to the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). His call on scientists worldwide to “tithe” 10 percent of their time and effort to “working to increase the benefits of science and technology for the human condition” drew a standing ovation.

“How much are we [the U.S.] investing in the new energy technologies that could help us with this mitigation challenge? The answer is, not much,” said Holdren at a Belfer Center climate change discussion in February with **Robert Stavins**, director of Harvard’s Environmental Economics Program and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors.

Stavins noted that special attention must be paid to upcoming Congressional policies on climate change. “Fear of foreign oil dependency and love of domestically produced corn-based ethanol . . . could lead to some terrible policies coming out of both the administration and the Congress,” he said. He recommends creation of a post-Kyoto international climate agreement that is “scientifically sound, economically rational, and politically pragmatic.”

Holdren and Stavins are joined by a team of Belfer Center-affiliated scholars whose research addresses different aspects of climate

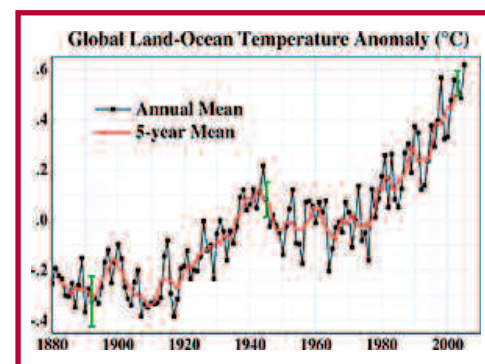


MICHAEL J. COLELLA

Call to Action: John Holdren delivers his presidential address at the annual AAAS meeting. Holdren called on all scientists to “tithe” 10 percent of their time to climate issues.

disruption and advises policymakers in those areas. Stavins and the Harvard-wide Environmental Economics Program focus on the role of economic instruments in addressing climate change and other environmental problems. Holdren, **Henry Lee**, **Kelly Sims Gallagher**, and their team in the Energy Technology Innovation Project concentrate on the role of advanced technologies in addressing the climate-change and oil-dependence problems

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J. HANSEN ET AL. (2006)

Hot Times: 2005 was the hottest year on record. The 13 hottest days occurred since 1990. (From John Holdren’s AAAS powerpoint presentation: <http://www.mediafire.com/?4yj5lo1he5m>)

John Allie

In my course this spring on “Central Challenges of American Foreign Policy,” I have students write strategic options memos to the President or other key national security officials in response to “mini-cases” that pose challenges on the agenda today. One of these mini-cases focused on energy and environmental policy and the tradeoffs among them. In that hypothetical case (see Center website at http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/research.cfm?program=CORE&pb_id=657), the student is working for an unnamed U.S. Senator who is a credible presidential candidate. The Senator shares President Bush’s judgment about the perils of America’s “energy addiction” on the one hand, and is concerned about the potential for serious climate disruption on the other. The Senator is acutely aware of the high level of baloney that infects most public debate about these issues. Thus he/she asks the student as his/her policy advisor to recommend a way forward on energy security issues and climate change.

The background readings from this case drew heavily on the work of thoughtful leaders analyzing these issues, including **John Holdren**, **Rob Stavins**, **John Deutch**, **Bill Hogan**, **Henry Lee**, **Bill Clarke**, **Kelly Gallagher**, **Dick Cooper**, and others. These twin issues of climate disruption and energy security

have risen to the top of the national and international agenda. I am proud of the role that researchers at the Belfer Center are playing in identifying actions that can be taken to address these challenges. In his role as president of the AAAS, **John Holdren** has been highly visible in this debate. So too, **Rob Stavins**, who has recently finished a major project on post-Kyoto architecture for international climate policy.

These topics have also been at the core of a series of brainstorming sessions at the Center this spring with Energy Secretary **Sam Bodman**, and with other scholars and practitioners such as **Andrew Gould**, the chief executive of Schlumberger Limited, and **Adnan Shihab-Eldin**, former secretary general of OPEC.

The Center is also undertaking a major new project on the Asian front led by **Richard Rosecrance**. The question: Are the U.S. and China destined to be strategic adversaries? At an initial meeting of a working group consisting of U.S. policy shapers and Chinese policy influencers from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, an agenda was initiated for a several-year project that will involve Track II conversations aimed at developing a “shared vision.” On route to that meeting in Hong Kong, I stopped in Seoul, Korea, for the publication of the Korean edition of my book, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable*



Energy Czar: U.S. Secretary of Energy **Sam Bodman** (second from left) discusses energy and security challenges with Belfer Center faculty and members of the International Council at a seminar in March.

Catastrophe. I am looking forward to returning to China later in the summer for the publication of the Chinese edition of the book.

This spring, the Center welcomed four new fellows—**Sally Fegan-Wyles**, director of the UN Development Group Office, **Surakiart Sathirathai**, Thailand’s former Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Rami Khouri**, journalist and Middle East expert, and **Bjorn Fagersten**, multilateral institutions scholar. We bid farewell to several key people who are moving on in their careers: Managing the Atom’s **Jeffrey Lewis** to the New America Foundation, Intrastate Conflict’s **Debbie West** to Simmons’ Nursing School, Research Associate **Angelina Clarke** to MIT’s Sloan School, and Research Associate and **Micah Zenko** to our own Managing the Atom project. We wish them well. 🌐

Nye, Armitage Commission Plans Ways for U.S. to Regain Stature

—by Evelyn Hsieh, Communications Assistant



Get Smart: **Joseph S. Nye** (below) and **Richard Armitage** (above) lead a discussion on regaining U.S. respect at the CSIS Commission on Smart Power meeting in February.

According to many polls, the United States has lost much of its global stature and influence in recent years. The Belfer Center’s **Joseph S. Nye** and former Deputy Secretary of State **Richard Armitage** will lead a new Commission on Smart Power to address this problem, as well as to assess how U.S. “hard” and “soft” power instruments can be integrated into a “smart” power strategy.

Funded by the Starr Foundation and under the auspices of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington D.C., University Distinguished Service Professor Nye, who serves on the Belfer Center’s Board of Directors, and Armitage, president of Armitage International, will co-chair the commission, which includes 14 additional leaders from government, the military, NGOs, academia, the media, and the private sector. Among the members are former Supreme Court Justice **Sandra Day O’Connor** and Nebraska’s Senator **Chuck Hagel**.

The commission’s primary purpose, Nye says, is “to develop a bipartisan strategy for integrating the instruments of foreign policy to help restore our standing in the world.”

The commission will focus on strengthening U.S. soft power through public diplomacy, foreign aid and humanitarian assistance, dialogue, trade, technology, and cultural and educational exchanges. It will also form and assess strategies that address national security needs in tandem with image management of the United States.

Develop a bipartisan strategy . . . to help restore our standing in the world.

—Joseph S. Nye

The commission’s findings and recommendations regarding the role and image of the United States on the global scene will be presented as a blueprint for smart power. The report, expected in November, will contribute to key discussions of foreign policy in the 2008 presidential election, in Congress, and among the American public. 🌐

Blocking Iran's Nuclear Ambitions: An Urgent Action Agenda

Iran has quickly risen to the top of the United States' foreign policy agenda. The reason is simple, according to Belfer Center director **Graham Allison**: "Two words: Nuclear weapons." On top of that, the Bush administration accuses Iran of undermining U.S. attempts to bring peace to Iraq.

Belfer Center faculty and fellows have proposed several recommendations to policymakers, and have developed key insights into new ways to view the problem. They published many of these in recent books and articles, and the Center co-sponsored a forum at the Kennedy School in March on Iran, moderated by Allison. Panelists included Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Vali Nasr**, author of *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future*; *Washington Post* columnist **David Ignatius**; the Council on Foreign Relations' **Ray Takeyh**, author of *Hidden Iran: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic*; and **Steven Miller**, director of the Belfer Center's International Security Program.

Key insights and recommendations from the forum:

The chance of Israel going to war with Iran is very low ... the chance of the U.S. going to war with Iran is higher.
—**Vali Nasr**

Q: What are the odds of the U.S. or Israel attacking Iran before the end of the Bush presidency?

Nasr: The chance of Israel going to war with Iran is actually very low, but I think the chance of the U.S. going to war with Iran is higher. Both countries have ended up in a foreign policy that assumes that by being tough on the other side ... you bring the other side to the table for a more compromising position. But there's a danger that either side may overreach ... The chance now of an accidental conflict escalating is higher. Iran and the U.S. are in a situation now like Europe in 1914.

Takeyh disagreed: First, there's no domestic consensus for the use of force, a very skeptical Congress, and a president with a very low popularity rating. Second, there's no international consensus. Finally, there's no regional consensus.

Q: What is the Iranian position?

Miller: Iranians argue that the Americans have this odd conversation about whether they're going to target the Iranian centrifuges, as if the Americans have some choice in the matter. By law and by precedent, the Iranians say, this is a legitimate and merited act.



Iran Impasse? **Graham Allison** (left) moderates a discussion of "U.S. and Iran: Is Conflict Inevitable?" at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in March with participants (left to right) **David Ignatius**, **Steven Miller**, **Vali Nasr**, and **Ray Takeyh**.

Accelerate political change by engaging Iran, by greater dialogue. —David Ignatius

Q: What policies should the U.S. pursue to solve the Iranian nuclear crisis?

Ignatius:

- Accelerate political change by engaging Iran, and by greater dialogue and openings.

Allison:

- Offer a "grand bargain" to Iran, in which the United States engages Iran directly, perhaps with a six-party surround. Iranians want guarantees against an American attack.

Belfer Center Senior Researchers **Matthew Bunn** and **Abbas Maleki** believe both sides could approve the following:

- Provide guarantees of a reliable fuel supply for a peaceful Iranian nuclear program.
- Secure Iranian agreement that large-scale enrichment will occur outside of Iran.
- Obtain full Iranian cooperation with international inspectors.
- Create a new Trade and Cooperation Agreement between Iran and Europe.
- Provide assurances from the U.S. and other major powers that they will not attack Iran.

Ashton Carter and **William Perry** suggest that if diplomacy fails, there are several options:

- Increase direct U.S.-Iran contact.
- Use coercion to obtain a non-nuclear Iran.
- If Iran succeeds in going nuclear, deter the country from using the weapons or passing a bomb to terrorists by threatening retaliation, encirclement, and containment—including forging a counterweight among Sunni countries.

For video of this Forum, see: http://ksgaccman.harvard.edu/iop/events_forum_video.asp?ID=3079

See Allison's "Iran" assignment (page 8).

Defense Leaders Urge Carrots and Sticks in North Korea Dealings

—by **Jennifer Bulkeley**, Research Assistant, Preventive Defense Project

Preventive Defense Project (PDP) Co-directors **Ashton Carter** and **William Perry** led a U.S. delegation to the Republic of Korea (ROK) in February to meet with prominent South Korean politicians, experts, potential South Korean presidential candidates, and with the U.S. ambassador and U.S. Forces commander. American delegates noted that the U.S.-ROK alliance—and the U.S. troop presence that goes with it—is crucial for preserving peace and stability in East Asia and emphasized that U.S. commitment to the ROK will not wane.

Participants welcomed agreement in the Six-Party Talks, and U.S. delegates stressed the importance of economic and political strategies to address security concerns of all involved. PDP participants noted that both carrots and sticks will likely be necessary to achieve complete denuclearization of the peninsula.



Northern Nukes: Ambassador **Robert Joseph** (left), then under secretary of state for arms control and international security, discusses North Korea nuclear challenges with **Ashton Carter** (right), co-director, Preventive Defense Project, during a seminar in February.

China's Oil Initiatives Signal International Cooperation

—by Amanda Swanson, Program Administrator, Environment and Natural Resources Program

By 2030, China will have to import 77 percent of its crude oil in order to meet its rapidly increasing energy demands. Where China will get the 10.9 billion barrels it requires and how it negotiates the global oil market is the subject of a new paper by **Henry Lee**, director of the Environment and Natural Resources Program at the Belfer Center, and **Dan Shalmon**, research associate at the Center. "Searching for Oil: China's Oil Initiatives in the Middle East" explores China's relationships with oil-producing countries and the possible geopolitical implications of its widening market reach.

China's quest for oil is not so different from the United States' experience 55 years ago.
—Henry Lee and Dan Shalmon


China is the world's second largest consumer of oil after the United States and its demand for energy is increasing. Despite its size, no substantial oil reserves have been discovered within its borders. Lee and Shalmon's paper discusses China's evolution from being an example of energy self-sufficiency to becoming a sophisticated player in the world oil marketplace.

After the mid 1990s, China restructured its state-owned oil and gas companies in response to its growing energy needs into two major companies: China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and the Chinese National Petrochemical Corporation (Sinopec). Lee and Shalmon describe the evolution of China's oil companies as "an unusual agglomeration of modern entrepreneurial talent striving for earnings growth and ever greater profitability, while at the same time remaining arms of a government, increasingly focused on shaping energy policy to meet national strategic and economic goals."

China's quest for oil is not so different from the United States' experience 55 years ago when Middle East oil markets were dominated by European interests, according to the authors. In order to make inroads into the market today, China must develop mutually beneficial relationships with oil-producing nations in the region such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Yemen, and, most controversially, Sudan. By leveraging its engineering expertise and large market for Middle East products, "China has shown a sophisticated understanding of the Gulf countries' desire to be seen as strategic trading partners as opposed to simply suppliers of crude oil," say Lee and Shalmon, who note that trading with China gives

these countries "greater political flexibility and less dependence on the U.S."

Taking into consideration all these factors, Lee and Shalmon conclude that China is gradually embracing an oil strategy characterized by cooperation and depoliticization—not by choice, but by necessity.

The full report is available at http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication.cfm?program=CORE&ctype=paper&item_id=557. 



Counting on Crude: Abdullah Jum'ah (right), president and CEO of Saudi Arabian Oil Company (Saudi Aramco), discusses "Meeting the Oil Challenge" at the Belfer International Security Program in January. International Security Program Senior Fellow **Richard Rosecrance**, whose current research focuses on China, takes note.

Solving India's Coal Dilemma: Energy Needs vs. Climate Disruption

— Contributed by Energy Technology Innovation Project

Belfer Center researchers **Ananth Chikkatur** and **Ambuj Sagar**, both with the Energy Technology Innovation Project (ETIP), have been studying the Indian coal-power sector over the past two years, with the aim of developing better technology policies and strategies to meet domestic energy needs while addressing global climate change.

Coal-based power plants account for nearly 50 percent of India's installed electricity capacity,

and recent projections indicate a rapid rise in new capacity, primarily fueled by coal. These plants are now based almost solely on the cheap and least risky sub-critical pulverized coal technology; however, there are cleaner and more advanced technologies available worldwide. "In light of

India's current and future challenges and constraints," Chikkatur points out, "it is critical to assess these new technologies for India." Key existing and emerging challenges include rapid infrastructure development, energy security, local environment and social issues, and carbon mitigation. India also has several constraints such as the poor quality of its domestic coal and limited technological and financial capacity.


In light of India's current and future challenges and constraints, it is critical to assess these new technologies for India.
—Ananth Chikkatur

Policy options discussed by Chikkatur and Sagar include:

- Improving the efficiency of the existing power system.

- Rapidly deploying more efficient and commercial combustion technologies.
- Establishing a Monitoring & Feasibility Assessment Program to evaluate the appropriateness of emerging technologies.
- Developing a strategic technology innovation program, buttressed by a program of domestic policy research.
- Exploring geological carbon storage opportunities in India, which will yield valuable information for India's carbon mitigation options.

An upcoming ETIP working paper by Chikkatur and Sagar describes these policy options in detail. Sagar believes that their work can be a foundation for building consensus among various stakeholders in India, and therefore they are engaging with Indian policy makers on developing a more comprehensive and detailed technology assessment process and innovation strategy.

A Chikkatur/Sagar article with more detail is available at http://bcsia.ksg.harvard.edu/publication.cfm?program=article&ctype=article&item_id=1706 



Rapid Rise: Ananth Chikkatur discusses Indian energy needs and challenges at a conference in New Delhi.

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

BELFER Fellows a

Current Fellows: Profiles in Action

Emily Balic

Fellow – Program on Intrastate Conflict Resolution/International Security Program



As an undergraduate at the College of William and Mary, **Emily Balic** lived in Prague and traveled extensively through central and southeastern Europe researching and writing. Her interest in the area

guided her toward a doctoral degree in East European History from Stanford University, where she will graduate this summer.

Prior to coming to the Belfer Center, Balic, who speaks fluent Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina for two years conducting research for her recently completed dissertation on Sarajevo during WWII. In the process, she learned about the Belfer Center's work regarding intrastate conflict and the Balkans. "As an historian working on civil conflict and identity," she says, "I wanted to gain an interdisciplinary perspective and learn how to make my research applicable to the contemporary world."

Balic says that her fellowship at the Belfer Center has given her the opportunity to discuss and debate with colleagues issues concerning the current state of the Balkans and to explore ways her research might contribute to developing sustainable policies in that region.

Lindsey Borg

Fellow – International Security Program/ Harvard's Program on Information Resources Policy



When Lt. Col. **Lindsey Borg** leaves the Belfer Center in June, he will take command of public affairs for the Air Force's Air Mobility Command at Scott Air Force Base in Illinois. The command has

global responsibility for Air Force air cargo and refueling missions. An Air Mobility Command aircraft takes off or lands every 90 seconds every day.

In his 17-year career, Borg has dealt with a number of crisis communication situations, including an incident in which a U.S. Marine Corps' aircraft accidentally cut a cable car's lines in the mountains of Italy. On September

11, 2001, he left the Pentagon 30 minutes before it was attacked, and from his temporary office established the Air Force press operations, responding immediately to public information needs. He has won numerous awards for excellence in communications.

A native of Iowa, Borg grew up in a communications-career family, often accompanying his father in his work as a journalist and public affairs professional. Borg became interested in the Air Force following a White House internship, and received an officer commission through ROTC.

"I will treasure the experience and the rich education I've enjoyed through the center's people and activities," says Borg, whose research this year is focused on the Department of Defense's efforts to build a strategic communication process. "I hope to give a return on that investment through my future work."

Sally Fegan-Wyles

Goodman UN Fellow – Belfer Center and Carr Center for Human Rights Policy



As director of the United Nations Development Group Office, **Sally Fegan-Wyles** works with the World Bank to bring together the different international partners in countries coming out of

conflict. The goal, she says, is to "develop a clear plan of what needs to be done to stabilize the peace, and to get economic, political, and social recovery on track as quickly as possible, to prevent the country from sliding back into conflict."

At the UN, Fegan-Wyles pioneered programs that included designing the first UN response to HIV/AIDS in Uganda, leading the international community response to the Zimbabwe drought of 1991, and providing social policy advice to the Museveni Government in Uganda during and after the civil war.

A key to sustainable peace, Fegan-Wyles believes, is a "holistic" approach to the analytical and planning processes that includes the political, military, humanitarian, and development actors. While at the Belfer and Carr centers this semester, Fegan-Wyles is meeting and exchanging ideas with a number of faculty and fellows who are interested in and working on issues related to conflict resolution and peace stabilization.

Fegan-Wyles believes her experience at the Belfer Center will enable her to approach

issues of coherence and integration at the UN with new insights that will help increase the effectiveness of international and multilateral support to countries that need it.

Surakiart Sathirathai

Senior Fellow – International Security Program

Surakiart Sathirathai, former foreign affairs minister, finance minister, and deputy prime minister in Thailand, comes to the Belfer Center with a wealth of experience not only in government, but also in academia, law, and business. He was an official candidate for the position of Secretary-General of the United Nations in 2005–06 and endorsed by ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations).



I want to be at a center which allows the intellectual community to link with policy makers and actions on the ground. I have learned that the Belfer Center is such a place.
—**Surakiart Sathirathai**

Dr. Surakiart, who is also a visiting scholar at Harvard Law School and the European Law Research Center this semester, earned masters degrees from Tufts and Harvard and was the first Thai to receive a doctorate from Harvard Law School. His wife, **Suthawan**, also received a master's degree from Tufts, and their son, **Santitarn**, is currently completing a MPA-ID at the Kennedy School.

Dr. Surakiart was on the faculty of Thailand's Chulalongkorn University and served as dean of the university's law faculty. In business, he co-founded an international law firm, Siam Premier.

While at the Belfer Center, Dr. Surakiart is focusing on establishing international policy dialogue groups on alternative development strategies. This three-year project will include meetings with local policymakers in selected developing countries in various regions. "I want to be at a center which allows the intellectual community to link with policymakers and actions on the ground," Dr. Surakiart says. "I have learned that the Belfer Center is such a place."

Belfer Center Alumni: Where Are They Now?

Stephen Biddle

Former Fellow (1985–87)



Stephen Biddle, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, researches, writes and consults on security, nuclear, and war-related issues to various departments of government, Congress, and international groups such as NATO.

Before his appointment to CFR, Biddle was a professor of national security studies at the U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), and prior to that, a member of the political science faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has also held research positions at the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA).

The chance to watch Joe Nye, Ash Carter, and Graham Allison dissect presentations ... was an education in itself.

—Stephen Biddle

"I try to combine policy relevance with methodological rigor, and my predoctoral fellowship at Belfer was an indispensable foundation for this," Biddle says. "The chance to watch **Joe Nye, Ash Carter, and Graham Allison** dissect presentations and see how fellows and guests responded was an education in itself in social science research design. This experience was at the heart of everything I've done since."

In a "Conversations with History" interview last year at UC Berkeley, Biddle also praised two of the Center founders, **Albert Carnesale**, former UCLA chancellor and current Belfer Center Board member now at the Center, and **Michael Nacht**, now dean of the Goldman School of Public Policy at Berkeley, who, he said, "became role models for a life of the mind in this field, what it should look like, and how apparently fun it could be."

A prolific writer, Biddle's 2004 book, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle*, won the Council on Foreign Relations Arthur Ross Award Silver Medal. In this book, Biddle argues that how weapons and systems are employed and deployed is integral to military strategy.

Kate O'Neill

Former Fellow (1997–98)



Kate O'Neill is associate professor in the Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management at the University of California at Berkeley, where she has taught global environmental politics and governance since January 1999. Her

current research focuses on a range of international issues, such as management of hazardous waste, the impact of the World Trade Organization on multilateral environmental agreements, and measures to halt the spread of Mad Cow Disease.

While at the Belfer Center, O'Neill worked with Science, Technology, and Public Policy Director **John Holdren** and Managing the Atom's **Matthew Bunn**. She worked primarily in the area of international schemes for the management and transportation of nuclear waste.

It's the chance to create that sort of peer-group network that makes post-doc fellowship opportunities so important.

—Kate O'Neill

"My work at the Belfer Center taught me two things that have stood me in particularly good stead during my nearly nine years at Berkeley. I began learning how to work in interdisciplinary contexts, and to communicate across disciplinary lines. Also, the work being done by others at the Center helped me realize the importance of 'problem-solving' or policy-oriented work, in addition to the more theoretical orientation of much academic work. In my department, these sorts of skills are very useful to have," says O'Neill. She is currently working on a manuscript regarding the environment and international relations.

The most important and lasting influence from her time at the Belfer Center, O'Neill says, has been the network of friends and colleagues drawn from her cohort of post-docs and other fellows. "It's the chance to create that sort of peer-group network that makes post-doc fellowship opportunities so important."

Fellows in the Field and on the Move

Welcome to **Rami Khouri**, new senior fellow with the Belfer Center's Dubai Initiative. Khouri is a journalist and director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy in Beirut.

Hassan Abbas (MTA) recently presented on religion, state, and terror to Turkish military and NATO.

Greg Aftandilian (Dubai Initiative/ISP) addressed the State Department's Foreign Service Institute regarding Egypt history and politics.

Rasmus Bertelsen (STPP) received Harvard's Kuwait Program grant to continue his Middle East research.

Nikolaos Biziouras (ICP/ISP) has been named assistant professor of political science at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis.

Seyom Brown (ISP) is the John Goodwin Tower Distinguished Chair of International Politics and National Security at Southern Methodist University.

Patrick Cohrs (ISP) has been appointed assistant professor of history at Yale University.

Vanda Felbab-Brown (ICP/ISP) will be assistant professor in the Security Studies Program at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

Joshua Gleis (ISP) will present at the American Political Science Association 2007 annual meeting on how to more effectively withdraw from insurgencies.

Michael Glosny (ISP), **Alex Weisiger** (ICP/ISP), and **Todd Sechser** (ISP 2004–06) have been named Olin fellows for next year.

Kelly Greenhill (ISP/ICP) has been named assistant professor of political science at Tufts and will continue as a Belfer Center fellow.

Michael Horowitz (ISP) has been appointed assistant professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania.

Jeremy Jones (Dubai Initiative/ISP) presented to the Naval Academy and U.S. War College regarding his new book on negotiating change in the Middle East.

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May and Zelikow: Intelligence-Policy Split Hurts U.S.

—by Angelina Clarke, Research Assistant

The conventional wisdom has been that intelligence gathering and analysis should be totally separate. However, two of the brightest minds in foreign policy argued during a recent brainstorming session at the Belfer Center that this separation is not necessarily wise. **Ernest May**, Belfer Center Board member and Harvard history professor who served as senior adviser to the 9/11 Commission, and **Philip Zelikow**, executive director of the 9/11 Commission and former counselor to the U.S. Secretary of State, tried to convince their colleagues that to be effective, intelligence analysts must work closely with policymakers.

Detachment is no substitute for honesty.

—Philip Zelikow

Zelikow argued that the separation of intelligence analysts and policymakers is anomalous to the United States and counterproductive. “Detachment,” he said, “is no substitute for honesty.” One major problem that arises from such detachment: decision-makers receive actionable intelligence only for tactical decisions, while complaining that intelligence for strategic decisions is too academic in nature. While analyzing intelligence, the analyst should ask why the policymaker should care about this evidence.”



Intelligent Discourse: Ernest May (left), Philip Zelikow (center), and Graham Allison following May and Zelikow's discussion of intelligence and their book *Dealing with Dictators*.

May argued that there are three key judgments that a policymaker must make:

- Reality judgments—“What’s going on?”
- Value judgments—“What difference does it make?”
- Instrumental judgments—“What should we do now?”

Intelligence analysts should think explicitly about the decision-making process so that the right information makes it into the policymaker’s calculus. For instance, the National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq addressed none of the political issues, such as, “Is an invasion the best way to stop Saddam’s WMD program?”

May and Zelikow’s new book, *Dealing with Dictators*, is rich with examples of instances in which intelligence analysts weren’t asked for an estimate that could have informed a political decision. The authors demonstrate decision-makers’ deliberations with specific historical cases, including **Saddam Hussein** in the lead up to the Gulf War, the **Shah of Iran**, **Chiang Kai-shek**, and Nicaragua’s **Anastasio Somoza**. Zelikow argues that it is the analyst’s job to understand the decisions to be made and raise questions that better inform that judgment, not to recommend the judgment itself. 🌐

Future of Coal Must Include CO₂ Reductions

— by Beth Maclin, Intern, Communications Office

John Deutch, Institute Professor at MIT and Belfer Center Board of Directors and International Council member, testified before the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources in late March on the recent MIT report “The Future of Coal—Options for a Carbon Constrained World,” co-authored with MIT’s **Ernest Moniz**. The report examines how the world can continue to use coal in a way that mitigates instead of worsens the global warming crisis.

The report states that carbon capture and sequestration (CCS) is the critical enabling technology to help reduce CO₂ emissions significantly, while also allowing coal, an abundant and inexpensive fuel, to meet the world’s pressing energy needs.

Deutch and Moniz advocate for the U.S. to assume global leadership on this issue through adoption of significant policy actions. “As the world’s leading energy user and greenhouse gas emitter, the U.S. must take the lead in showing the world CCS can work,” Deutch says.

While the scale is daunting and “many hundreds of such plants would be needed worldwide to significantly affect global warming,” Deutch and Moniz argue in an oped (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 March 2007) that the government and the coal industry need to take the necessary measures to support these changes.

The U.S. must take the lead in showing the world CCS can work.
—John Deutch

The MIT study builds on a report released in January by the Council on Foreign Relations’ Independent Task Force on Energy and U.S. Foreign Policy, chaired by Deutch and **James Schlesinger** of the Belfer Center’s International Council, and on which the Center’s **Graham Allison**, **Robert Belfer**, and **Martin Feldstein** all served. 🌐

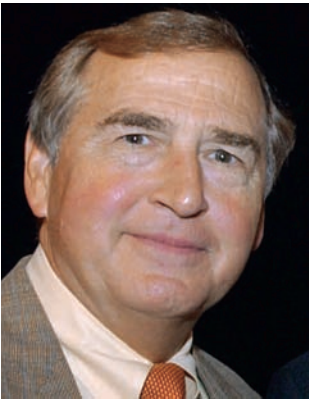
Climate Disruptions

(continued from page 1)

in China, India, and the United States. **William Hogan**’s Harvard Electricity Policy Project looks at electricity-sector structure and regulation as important factors affecting energy problems and solutions, including climate change. **William Clark** and **Calestous Juma** lead efforts on the theory and practice of environmental sustainability in both industrialized and developing countries.

The Belfer Center debated these topics recently with a number of experts. **Richard N. Cooper**, Maurits C. Boas Professor of Economics at Harvard University, does not believe a target-based post-Kyoto agreement is possible. Instead, he believes the world should focus on reducing greenhouse gas emissions from coal.

Shirley Jackson, president of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, summed up challenges to decision-makers at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in February. “Addressing energy requirements in ways that are environmentally self-sustaining,” she said, “is the central challenge of our time.” 🌐



Q&A Graham Allison

Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** teaches a popular Kennedy School of Government course—Central Challenges in American Foreign Policy.

Question: *How do you teach your Kennedy School public policy students—many of whom will become influential policy makers—to deal wisely with problems they may encounter in the real world?*

Allison: *I use hypothetical cases—based on real-life situations—to which students must respond with creative solutions.*

One of Allison's cases this semester—**Blocking Iran's Nuclear Ambitions**—is presented here. Newsletter readers are invited to submit solutions to newsletter editor sharon_wilke@ksg.harvard.edu.

Situation:

The world is as it is today. All conditions relevant to the case are materially the same as they were on April 2, 2007, except for the hypotheticals introduced in the case.

As the conditions in Iraq deteriorate, the rise of Iran becomes more vivid. Elimination of the Taliban to the East and Saddam to the West has left Iran as the major power in the region. After fighting Israel to a standstill last summer, Iran's client, Hezbollah, has emerged as the dominant political force in Lebanon. Many now foresee the rise of Shiite power across the Arab crescent. With the wind at its back, Iran's nuclear program is on track to cross the point of no return this year.

Hypothetical: ElBaradei warned that Iran could be a mere six months away from enriching on an industrial scale. Three-thousand fully functioning centrifuges can produce a bomb's worth of highly enriched uranium (HEU) in 271 days.

The official U.S. intelligence estimate predicts that Iran will not acquire a bomb until "early to mid next decade." In February 2007, however, IAEA Director General **Mohamed ElBaradei** confirmed that Iran is operating one 164-machine cascade at its underground, industrial-scale Fuel Enrichment Plant at Natanz and that the Islamic Republic plans to bring 3,000 centrifuges into operation by May 2007. ElBaradei warned that Iran could be a mere six months away from enriching on an industrial scale. 3,000 fully functioning centrifuges can produce a bomb's worth of highly enriched uranium (HEU) in 271 days.

This possibility has motivated President **Bush's** new urgency in addressing the Iranian challenge. Visible in the President's State of the Union address, the administration is deliberately taking a more confrontational approach to Iran. Vice President **Cheney's** national security adviser **John Hannah** has declared 2007 "the year of Iran." Critics are now worrying

that the administration risks provoking a war. The President's view is that "rattling his cage" should make them more willing to deal.

Secretary of State **Rice** sees Iran's nuclear challenge as a "Cuban Missile Crisis in slow motion." The administration has identified two bright lines of special concern: (1) technical independence, that is, knowledge of how to construct and operate a cascade of centrifuges so that, if interrupted, Natanz could be replicated; and (2) operation of 3,000+ centrifuges in a cascade continuously for nine months to produce the first bomb's worth of highly enriched uranium.

The President is clearly frustrated. In private, he recognizes that his administration's approach to North Korea failed to prevent North Korea from producing a stockpile of plutonium—indeed, testing a nuclear bomb. He is determined not to allow Iran to become the second new nuclear state on his watch. But the more he and others in the administration examine the military attack option, the less attractive it appears. He is convinced that the U.S. or Israel can destroy all the targets we can identify. But a military attack is unlikely to erase knowledge from the heads of people who acquire technical competence in constructing and running a cascade of centrifuges. Furthermore, air strikes cannot destroy targets that we have not identified, including possible parallel covert cascades. Moreover, as the administration has examined the list of actions Iran could take in response to an American attack on its nuclear facilities, and the likely retaliation others in the Muslim and Arab world would take against American and allies' interests, this path seems even less attractive.

President's Conclusions:

On the diplomatic front, the President has concluded that the sanction route is almost certainly too weak and too slow to prevent Iran's reaching its goal line. Although the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1747 on March 24, condemning Iran's uranium enrichment for the third time in a year, the probability that this "slow squeeze" strategy, in itself, prevents Iran from producing a bomb is less than 20 percent. Indeed, the White House suspects that both Russia and China see the sanctions process primarily as a mechanism to keep the U.S. engaged so it doesn't attack Iran.

Hypothetical: The President and the Secretary of State . . . have asked Negroponte to be inventive in exploring options between acquiesce and attack that best protect and advance American national interests . . . Negroponte has hired you to assist him in finding a path between these two options.

Assignment:

The President and the Secretary of State have concluded that they need a serious strategic reassessment of our strategy to block Iran's nuclear weapons program. As the new member of the policy team, Deputy Secretary of State **John Negroponte** has been given this assignment. His task is to start afresh and to reexamine our position today, our national interests, and our options. Specifically, the President and the Secretary have asked Negroponte to be inventive in exploring options between acquiesce and attack that best protect and advance American national interests.

Known for your capacity for strategic thinking while on **Nicholas Burns'** team, Negroponte has hired you to assist him in finding a path between these two options. He asks you to write a three-page analytic options memo that presents three "outside the box" strategies for resolving this conflict, evaluates the pros and cons of each, and makes a recommendation.

The President has told Negroponte specifically that he should not be constrained by prior positions taken by the administration. The task is to be inventive and to be prepared to use all the sticks and carrots in the American and international arsenals that can feasibly be mobilized to this end. Our operational objective, the President reiterated, is to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons within the foreseeable future, by which he said he means at least five years.

Best solutions to this case—as judged by Graham Allison—will be made available on the Belfer Center website after May 15, 2007 at www.belfercenter.org.

BELFER S

Providing Leadership . . . Advan

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Public Accountability: Edith Brown Weiss, chairperson of the World Bank Inspection Panel, speaks on “Accountability, Compliance and International Financial Institutions: Hearing from Poor People,” in March. The Francis Cabell Brown Professor of International Law at Georgetown University, Brown Weiss focuses on the intersection of public policy with international law.



MARTHA STEWART

What Next? Karl W. Eikenberry (right), incoming deputy chairman for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Military Committee and former commanding general, Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan, discusses “Afghanistan: A Campaign Assessment” at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in March with Ashton Carter, co-director of the Preventive Defense Project and member of the Center’s Board of Directors.

BELFER CENTER



Parliamentary Parlance: Three senior British members of Parliament (facing camera) meet with the Belfer Center’s John Holdren and Kelly Sims Gallagher to look at climate change research and policy issues. From left to right, Lord Harrison of Chester, The Rt. Hon. Greg Knight, MP, and Lord Corbett of Castle Vale.



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Oil at the Core: Former Secretary of Energy, Secretary of Defense, and CIA Director James Schlesinger (right), who heads the Center’s International Council, with Nobel Laureate Roy Glauber during a Schlesinger seminar on “Oil and National Security” in March.

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From Inside Out: Imad Moustapha, Syria’s ambassador to the United States, discusses “The Middle East: A Perspective From Within,” with Belfer Center faculty, fellows, and students. Also pictured: Tarik Yousef, senior fellow with the Dubai Initiative and dean of the Dubai School of Government.



BELFER CENTER

Controversial Coverage: Cristine Russell, fellow with the Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program and president of the Council for the Advancement of Science Writing, discusses reporting on controversial science at a directors’ lunch in March.



BELFER CENTER

View from Down Under: Robert O’Neill, planning director of the United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney, Australia, discusses his views on “Iraq, the United States and the World” in a Belfer Center seminar in March.

SPEAKERS

Sharing Policy-Relevant Knowledge

BELFER CENTER



Federal Failure: Senator **Mary Landrieu** of Louisiana, who serves on the Senate's Homeland Security Committee, described the devastation of New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina and the inadequate federal response in a riveting discussion titled "The Road to Reconstruction" at a Center seminar in April. Also pictured: the Center's **Xenia Dormandy** (left) and **Henry Lee**, faculty chair of the Kennedy School's "Broadmoor (New Orleans) Initiative."



BELFER CENTER

Nuclear Future? **Joseph Cirincione**, senior vice president for national security and international policy with the Center for American Progress, discusses his book *Bomb Scare: The History and Future of Nuclear Weapons* with Center faculty and fellows in March. Also pictured: **Joseph S. Nye**.

Central Commander: Lieutenant General (ret.) **David W. Barno** (second from left), former head of the U.S. Central Command coordinating efforts in Afghanistan, Pakistan and the region, discusses U.S. foreign policy and military challenges at a seminar in February. Also pictured: Brigadier General (ret.) and Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Kevin Ryan** (left), Executive Director **Xenia Dormandy** (second from right), and Associate Professor **Monica Duffy Toft** (far right).



BELFER CENTER

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Converging Paths: **Abdeslam Maghraoui**, former director of the Muslim World Initiative at the U.S. Institute of Peace, speaks on "Pathways to Democracy in the Muslim World: Free Elections vs. Religious Reforms" in March. **Ginger Dagli**, executive director of the Belfer Center's Dubai Initiative, is also pictured.

Political Science: **Shirley Ann Jackson**, renowned scientist and president of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, with Center Director **Graham Allison** following her Pollack Lecture on "Science and Leadership: The Imperative" at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in February. Jackson noted that today's major international challenges require a new relationship between science and political leadership.



MARTHA STEWART

TOM FITZSIMMONS

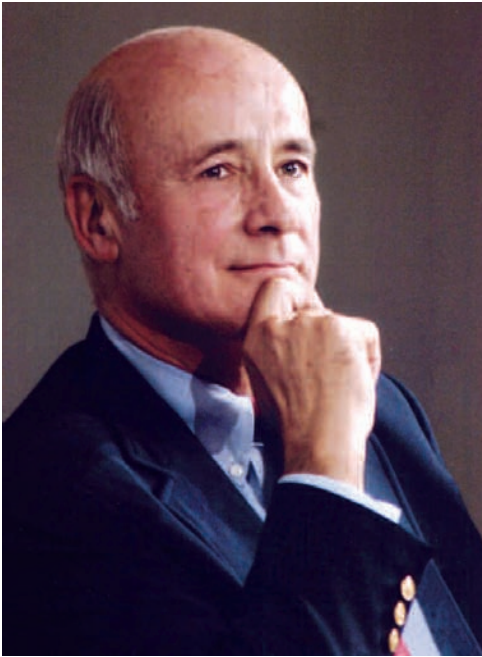


Vetting the Wars: "Lessons from the Front Lines" was the focus of a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in February moderated by **David Gergen** (left), director of the Kennedy School Center for Public Leadership. Participants included Harvard veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan: (left to right) Major **Joseph Ewers**, Lt. Col. **Oscar Hall**, **Maura Sullivan**, Lt. Col. **Dan Wagner**, and Lt. Col. **Frederick Wellman**.



UNITED NATIONS

Global Awareness: **John Holdren**, director of the Belfer Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy program (second from right), with UN Secretary-General **Ban Ki-moon** (third from left), upon release of the UN/Sigma Xi report on climate change in February. Also pictured are report co-authors (left to right): former Under Secretary of State **Timothy Wirth**, and members of the Scientific Expert Group on Climate Change and Sustainable Development: **Peter Raven**, **Rosina Bierbaum**, **Michael MacCracken**, **Holdren**, and **Richard Moss**.



SPOTLIGHT

Joseph S. Nye

*Joseph S. Nye, Jr., a member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, is University Distinguished Service Professor, Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations, and Dean Emeritus of the Kennedy School of Government. Nye has served in government as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Chair of the National Intelligence Council, and Deputy Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology. His books include *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, *Understanding International Conflict*, and *The Power Game: A Washington Novel*.*

"Sometimes people say soft power is too soft to accomplish anything," Nye said. "It's an important part of the arsenal of power. When you ignore it, as we tend to have done, it turns out to be quite costly."

Nye, former dean of the Kennedy School and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, spent several years in government, first in the Carter administration setting non-proliferation strategy, and later in the Clinton administration as chairman of the National Intelligence Council and as assistant secretary of defense for International Security Affairs. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard, and joined the Harvard faculty in 1964.

Nye also designed a two-pronged approach to deal with a rising China ...

While working in government in the early 1990s, Nye reshaped the U.S. defense strategy in Asia, setting the key framework that still underpins U.S. policy there today. At the time, he said, the foreign policy community viewed the U.S. partnership with Japan as a relic of the Cold War. Nye, instead, made it the cornerstone of security in the region. He also designed a two-pronged approach to deal with a rising China: balancing against any aggressiveness through the U.S.-Japan partnership, and integrating China more closely into the world community.

Nye had planned to stay in government. When former Harvard president **Neil Rudens-tine** first approached him about becoming dean of the Kennedy School, Nye said he was not interested in the job.

But after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Nye's decision changed. He found himself stunned by the public reaction to the attacks.

"It was not just the act itself, which was horrifying—people killed because they work for the American government—but the reaction that government was so evil that it was a proper subject for destruction," Nye said.

By reentering academia, Nye felt he could help change that perception.

As dean, Nye expanded the Kennedy School faculty by 40 percent, boosting the ranks of minorities and women. He also helped found five research centers, including the Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation, the Carr Center for Human

Rights Policy, and the Center for Public Leadership.

Nye's work has taken him all over the world. On one recent trip, Nye went to Libya to talk to **Muammar el-Qaddafi** about soft power. Qaddafi, who has expressed interest in opening Libya to the rest of the world, summoned a handful of top Western intellectuals, including Nye, to Tripoli.

When Nye arrived, Qaddafi ushered him into his tent, where he had five of Nye's books laid out on a table. Qaddafi mentioned his interest in direct democracy and finding new ways of governing.

Qaddafi ushered him into his tent, where he had five of Nye's books laid out on a table.

"He said mankind had not solved the problem of power, but he thought direct democracy was the way, and that was the heart of his *Green Book* (published in 1975 highlighting Qaddafi's political philosophy and views on democracy)," Nye wrote in his notes on the visit. Nye talked about **James Madison** and U.S. approaches to power.

Later, Nye gave Qaddafi a signed copy of his book, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, and Qaddafi signed a copy of his *Green Book* for Nye.

"That was a good thing," Nye notes. "When I arrived late at the airport and the airport officials told me I had failed to have my hotel stamp the visa in my passport, I pulled out my copy of the *Green Book* and showed them Qaddafi's signature. They inspected it, and then waved me through." 🇺🇸

Nye argues that countries need smart power, a combination of both hard power—military power and economic sticks—and soft power, to be effective.

The influence of Nye's ideas reach beyond politics: Microsoft's chief software architect even uses "soft power" to describe his role within the company—attracting people to the power of his ideas, rather than managing by force.

In his own work, Nye argues that countries need "smart power," a combination of both "hard power"—military power and economic sticks—and "soft power," to be effective.



Gone Fishin': Nye with Chinook in Alaska during a treasured time off.

International Security • Environment and Natural Resources



Albert Carnesale, former chancellor of UCLA and Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Public Policy who serves on the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, is heading a

congressionally mandated review of alternatives to the Pentagon's plan to transform nuclear-tipped Trident missiles into conventional global-strike weapons. The study is being conducted by the Naval Studies Board, an arm of the National Academy of Sciences.



Eliot Cohen, former International Security Program fellow and professor at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, has been named

counselor to U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, focusing on issues in Iraq and Afghanistan. He replaces Philip Zelikow, who returned to teaching at the University of Virginia.



Martin Feldstein, George F. Baker Professor of Economics at Harvard University and member of the Belfer Center's Board of Directors, received the 2007 Bradley

Prize for Outstanding Achievement from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation. The award, for his contribution "to economic thought and his vigorous defense of free markets," was presented in May at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.



Benjamin Heineman, senior fellow at the Belfer Center and former GE senior vice president for law and public affairs, has been asked to serve on an Independent Review Panel appointed by the World Bank and chaired by **Paul Volcker**, former chairman of the Federal Reserve and member of the Center's International Council. The panel will assess the Bank's anti-corruption efforts.



Calestous Juma, director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization project, spoke on innovation in science and technology to African heads of state in January at the

eighth African Union Summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Juma's presentation was on "The New Culture of Innovation: Africa in the Age of Technological Opportunities." He emphasized participation in the global economy, protecting the environment, and improving governance.

"MOHAMMED READILY ACKNOWLEDGES THAT HE IS AN ENEMY COMBATANT at war with the United States—a 'jackal fighting in the nights,' in his own striking phrase. But does it really honor the memory of Daniel Pearl to torture his murderer?"

—**Niall Ferguson**, "We Become Them, They Become Us," *Los Angeles Times* (18 March 2007)

"FOR IRAN, THE WAR IN IRAQ TURNED OUT TO BE A STRATEGIC WINDFALL, uprooting Baathism and pacifying a nemesis that had been a thorn in its side for much of the 20th century. Iraq's new Shiite—and in good measure, Kurdish—masters enjoy friendly ties with Iran. It was no coincidence that Iran was the first of Iraq's neighbors to recognize its new government and to encourage Iraqis to participate in the political process introduced by the United States."

—**Vali Nasr**, "Who Wins in Iraq?" *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2007)

"WHAT COMES AFTER IRAQ? If President Bush's troop 'surge' fails to produce an outcome that can be called 'victory,' what lessons will the United States draw for its future foreign policy? Will it turn inward, as it did after its defeat in Vietnam three decades ago? Will it turn from promoting democracy to a narrow realist view of its interests?"

—**Joseph S. Nye**, "American Foreign Policy After Iraq," *San Francisco Chronicle* (14 March 2007)

"THE LANGUAGE OF 'POVERTY REDUCTION' has done more harm than good. It has put emphasis on short-term interventions such as relief efforts at the expense of long-term competence-building programmes that raise economic productivity and expand opportunities for wider access to productive assets. The time has come to make a transition from a discourse-based, debate-filled approach to a new vision emphasizing practical outputs to ultimately serve the poor."

—**Calestous Juma**, "Linking Knowledge and Business," *Business Daily* (9 March 2007)

"DETERRING OTHER GREAT POWERS, such as Russia and China, will require Washington to maintain its dominance in conventional warfare and therefore at least to maintain its current level of military spending. But in addition, the United States now faces three new types of threats for which its existing military capacity is either ill suited or insufficient."

—**Martin Feldstein**, "The Underfunded Pentagon," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2007)

"THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION WATCHED as North Korea added eight bombs of plutonium to its arsenal and conducted a nuclear test. Only then did the United States resort to diplomacy, enter serious negotiations, and reach last month's agreement."

—**Graham Allison**, "Lessons from JFK on Power, Diplomacy," *Boston Globe* (2 March 2007)

"MAKING NUCLEAR TRANSFER A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY captures the enormity of the offense and would dramatically increase the cost of getting caught. Nuclear transfer threatens the lives of millions of people. It merits a place in infamy alongside genocide and other evils."

—**Thomas Wright** and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Punishment to Fit the Nuclear Crime," *Washington Post* (2 March 2007)

"THE WORLD IS BECOMING A POLYARCHY—an international system run by numerous and diverse actors with a shifting kaleidoscope of associations and dependencies . . . The significant actors . . . are not only the nation-states of great military and economic endowments, but smaller states, nonstate and transnational actors, as well as various regional and global institutions, some with a degree of supranational authority."

—**Seyom Brown**, "Changes Afoot on the Diplomatic Stage," *Boston Globe* (25 February 2007)

"NATO'S CRUCIAL ROLE [in Afghanistan] is to establish security throughout the country—and not to dilute its focus in eradication and interdiction missions that are presently bound to fail."

—**Vanda Felbab-Brown**, "Opium Wars," *Wall Street Journal* (20 February 2007)

"GUARANTEEING A HIGH PRICE FOR WHEAT would probably cost less than the billions devoted to eradication. It would also put more money than from poppies directly into the pockets of farmers and, simultaneously, cut out middlemen and traffickers."

—**Robert I. Rotberg**, "Losing the War in Afghanistan," *Boston Globe* (2 April 2007)

"INDIA IS WORKING ON HEARTS AND MINDS, opening consulates and providing over \$750 million in infrastructure and training support, while Pakistan is trying to bridge the hostility existing since the Afghan and Pakistan governments ended up on different sides. And so the proxy war continues with a different cast."

—**Xenia Dormandy**, "Afghanistan's Proxy War," *Boston Globe* (16 February 2007)

“INTERVENTION MOST OFTEN

DESTROYS the very government and political class that occupiers need as a rebuilding partner. Successful military interventions require overwhelming force, large troop concentrations, strong multinational support—and the quick reestablishment of central government.”

—**Richard Rosecrance**, “When Terrorism Succeeds—and Fails,” *Christian Science Monitor* (15 February 2007)

“**PEOPLE CANNOT SHOW THEIR CONCERN** because of the need for solidarity. But they really are concerned now, and this is the discussion deep in all of the families,” Maleki said. “Iranians want to have a better situation. They are working and they are trying to have better education for their sons and daughters, and all of these issues will be destroyed with one strike.”

—**Abbas Maleki**, quoted in “Dissent Grows in Iran,” *Los Angeles Times* (8 February 2007)

“SINCE 2001 THERE HAS BEEN A TORMENT OF NEW SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE

on the magnitude, human origins and growing impacts of the climatic changes that are underway,” said Mr. Holdren, who is the president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.”

—**John Holdren**, quoted in “Panel Issues Bleak Report on Climate Change,” *New York Times* (2 February 2007)

“**AS A NATION, WE’VE LOST SOMETHING** that’s very hard to get back, which is the benefit of the doubt,” said **Ashton B. Carter**, a Harvard professor who worked for the Clinton administration and is now on an advisory panel to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. “It will be years before we restore our reputation for veracity, and the only way to do that is to reveal more about the sensitive information that underlies our policies.”

—**Ashton B. Carter**, quoted in “Reporters and Sources Slowed Their Dance to Show the Steps,” *New York Times* (11 March 2007)

“**THE STRONGEST SUPPORTERS OF DEMOCRACY** in the Middle East are (not surprisingly) those who have the most to gain from it, and in recent years—and for the foreseeable future—these are and will be groups such as Hamas, Hezbollah and Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood.”

—**Jeremy Jones**, “The Voice of the People,” *Baltimore Sun* (21 March 2007)

“COAL COMBUSTION CONTRIBUTES ABOUT 40 PERCENT

of the global emissions of carbon dioxide, the major greenhouse gas; and most qualified scientists believe human-generated greenhouse gas emissions are causing global warming. . . . The most effective way to reduce the atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases is to place a significant charge on the emission of CO₂ and other greenhouse gases. The charge can be an emission tax or the price of an emission ‘allowance’ obtained in a cap-and-trade system.”

—**John Deutch** and **Ernest Moniz**, “A Future for Fossil Fuel,” *Wall Street Journal* (15 March 2007)

“THERE ARE ONLY FOUR MISSIONS

that U.S. troops are performing in Iraq: the three above that Congress is willing to continue and the one they’re not—keeping Sunnis and Shi’ites from killing each other.”

—**Kevin Ryan**, “The ‘Withdrawal’ That Isn’t,” *Boston Globe* (29 March 2007)

“**FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS**, people have been living on both sides of the border, and when it was divided they found it inconceivable that they should suddenly be residents of another country.”

—**Hassan Abbas**, quoted in “Where the Taliban Breeds,” *Toronto Star* (18 February 2007)

“THE INTERACTION OF THE TWO STRATEGIES FAVORS INSURGENTS.

This interaction of strategies—conventional-direct versus unconventional-indirect—marked the French attempt to re-establish control of Indochina, the Americans against the Vietcong, and the Soviets against the Afghans. In each of these asymmetric conflicts, the insurgents won using unconventional-indirect strategies.”

—**Ivan Arreguin-Toft**, interview in “How a Superpower Can Lose to the Little Guy,” *Nie-man Watchdog* website (23 March 2007)

“**IF THE U.S. CAN BE DRIVEN OUT**, the Islamist fundamentalists, Jihadis, insurgents and other dark forces in the region will have won. There will simply be no one to prevent them from using terror, WMD, subversion and religious fanaticism to pursue their aims—no one. The radicals of the Moslem world will be triumphant—Iran, al Qaeda, Hamas, Hizballah and more.”

—**Chuck Freilich**, “Iraq: Consequences of Withdrawal,” *Human Events* (21 March 2007)



John P. Holdren, director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, presided over the annual meeting of the

AAAS, leading the charge to stop and reverse climate change in a meeting that drew more than 10,000 scientists, teachers, students, and journalists from around the globe. On the heels of the AAAS meeting, Holdren joined in the release of the UN/Sigma Xi report he co-authored on “Confronting Climate Change: Avoiding the Unmanageable and Managing the Unavoidable.”



Jeffrey Lewis, former director of the Belfer Center’s Project on Managing the Atom, has accepted a post as director of the Nuclear Strategy and Nonproliferation

Initiative at the New America Foundation. Lewis, who continues as a research affiliate with Managing the Atom, also maintains a leading blog on nuclear arms control and nonproliferation, ArmsControlWonk.com, which he founded.



Joseph S. Nye, University Distinguished Service Professor and member of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, was presented in February the honorary degree *Doctor of Social Sciences, Honoris Causa*, by King’s College London, which recognized him as “one of the foremost thinkers on foreign policy.”



John Ruggie, **Stephen Walt**, and **Joseph S. Nye**, all members of the Belfer Center Board of Directors, are listed for the second year in a row among the top 25 scholars



“who have had the greatest impact on the field of international relations over the past 20 years,” in *The View from the Ivory Tower: TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in the United States and Canada*, a report produced by the College of William & Mary.



Anthony Wier, former Managing the Atom research associate, has joined the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Wier, co-author of the Belfer

Center/NTI annual “Securing the Bomb” publication, is working with the committee on nuclear, chemical, and biological non-proliferation issues.

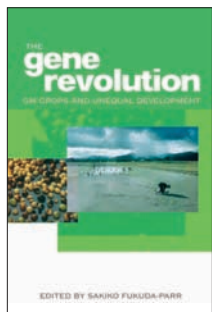
(To read opeds in full, see Publications on the Belfer Center website: www.belfercenter.org)

—Compiled by **Beth Maclin**, intern, Communications Office.

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

The Gene Revolution: GM Crops and Unequal Development

Edited by Sakiko Fukuda-Parr; Earthscan



The high-yield selective breeding of “the Green Revolution” of the 1960s and 70s is now being overtaken by “the Gene Revolution”—the development and spread of GM crops across the world. This is the first book to bridge the gap between the “naysayers” and

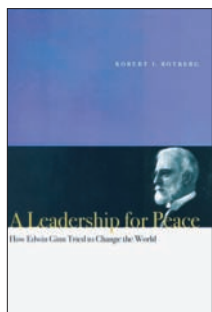
“cheerleaders,” and to provide a penetrating examination of the realities, complexities, benefits and pitfalls of GM adoption in developing countries that are desperately fighting poverty while trying to stay afloat in the hyper-competitive global economy.

“An accessible introduction to the food and environmental policy issues posed by the Gene Revolution . . . should be required reading!”

—Vernon W. Ruttan, University of Minnesota

A Leadership for Peace: How Edwin Ginn Tried to Change the World

By Robert I. Rotberg; Stanford University Press



For as long as there has been war, there have been those who have opposed such bloodshed. Here Robert Rotberg details the flowering of the great American peace movement in the late nineteenth century and the remarkable life of its foremost proponent, Edwin Ginn. This is

the story of Ginn’s personal attempt to change world attitudes regarding the dangers of arming for war by appealing to logic, reason, and common sense. Ginn’s vigorous peace campaigning and organizational activities shed substantial light on important foreign and domestic issues in the decades leading up to the First World War.

“This book presents little-known and new material regarding a ‘leading’ figure in the late 19th and early 20th century American peace movement—the Boston educational book publisher and originator of the World Peace Foundation, Edwin Ginn. It does something more, which is to exhibit nearly all of the strategic and intellectual dilemmas that are faced by the internationalist

counterparts of Edwin Ginn and the World Peace Foundation today.”

—Alan K. Henrikson, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Service to Country: Personnel Policy and the Transformation of Western Militaries

Edited by Curtis Gilroy and Cindy Williams, BCSIA Studies in International Security; The MIT Press



Motivated, able, and well-trained military personnel are essential to the success of any military, and personnel policies are crucial to getting and keeping qualified servicemen and women. The transformation of personnel policies is an important element of the broader transforma-

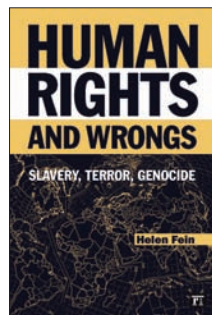
tion occurring in Western militaries. Across Europe and North America, nations are embracing plans to change military personnel policies to build future capabilities consistent with new strategic environments and with the demographic and societal realities of the future. For many nations, a key reform is to shift from a conscript military to a smaller, all-volunteer force.

“The book is a must-read for anyone interested in the future of successful Western militaries.”

—General Sir Rupert Smith, British Army (ret.), former Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe, and author of *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*

Human Rights and Wrongs: Slavery, Terror, Genocide

By Helen Fein; Paradigm



Human Rights and Wrongs explains the persistence of crimes against humanity since the Holocaust—including slavery, terror, and genocide. Using extended country descriptions and analyses, the book goes beyond case studies to explain such gross human rights violations in terms of

an integrated theory of life integrity, giving readers vivid illustrations in addition to a theoretical framework. Distinguished author Helen Fein then asks how we can arrest human wrongs and discusses whether democracy is the answer. She shows the positive links among human rights, freedom, and

development and draws out policy recommendations from her findings.

... Eloquent discussion and shrewd insights help readers to understand why these appalling forms of human cruelty have occurred so frequently. . . .

—Mark Kramer

“Helen Fein has long been one of the world’s leading experts on genocide and state-sponsored massacres. In her superb new book she returns to that subject but also delves into other atrocities—terror, torture, and slavery—that have been perpetrated by states and by non-state actors alike. . . . her eloquent discussion and shrewd insights help readers to understand why these appalling forms of human cruelty have occurred so frequently and why bringing an end to them has been so difficult.”

—Mark Kramer, Director of Cold War Studies, Harvard University

The End of Government . . . As We Know It: Making Public Policy Work

By Elaine C. Kamarck; Lynne Rienner



In the last decades of the twentieth century, many political leaders declared that government was, in the words of Ronald Reagan, “the problem, not the solution.” But on closer inspection, argues Elaine Kamarck, the revolt against government was

and is a revolt against bureaucracy—a revolt that has taken place in first world, developing, and avowedly communist countries alike.

To some, this looks like the end of government. Kamarck, however, counters that what we are seeing is the replacement of the traditional bureaucratic approach with new models more in keeping with the information age economy. *The End of Government* explores the emerging contours of this new, postbureaucratic state considering: What forms will it take? Will it work in all policy arenas? Will it serve democratic ideals more effectively than did the bureaucratic state of the previous century?

“Elaine Kamarck shows us what we can expect if we want to go beyond the tired rhetoric of left and right to create a government capable of dealing with all the new challenges of this new century. . . .”

—Al Gore, former Vice President of the United States

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP program assistant and STPP web manager

A Strategy for Climate-Change Mitigation

Harvard's **Richard Cooper**, **Henry Lee**, **John Holdren**, and **Robert Stavins** offer the following climate change mitigation strategy (a consolidation of separate submissions). Cooper is the Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics, Lee is director of the Belfer Center's Environment and Natural Resources Program, Holdren heads the Center's Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, and Stavins directs the Environmental Economics Program.

1. The single most important measure to provide incentives for reducing carbon-dioxide emissions using currently available technologies, as well as to encourage private-sector research and development on improved technologies that can be used for this purpose in the future, is to charge a significant price for those emissions. This could be done by means of a carbon tax or by means of emissions caps implemented through tradable emissions permits ("cap and trade").

2. Better metrics and mechanisms must be developed and implemented for reflecting the value of reducing carbon emissions in the forest sector and the agriculture sector, not just in the energy sector. Such approaches need to include

means for compensating countries (which in turn will need to compensate landowners) for reducing deforestation rates, increasing reforestation and afforestation rates, and increasing carbon storage in agricultural soils.

3. An international framework of continuing commitments, coordination, and cooperation is needed to replace the Kyoto Protocol when it expires in 2012. Such a framework is needed because the problem of climatic disruption is global in character and cannot be solved without the participation of all the major emitting countries, developing as well as industrialized. It must include targets and trajectories for reaching them that are based on the best scientific and technological information; it must be—and must be seen to be—reasonable and fair and economically efficient; and must include mitigation and adaptation.

4. The importance of technological innovation for reducing the costs of emissions reductions in the energy sector justifies significant increases in government investments in energy-technology research, development, and demonstration (ERD&D), as well as additional incentives for private-sector ERD&D beyond the price on carbon emissions (e.g., expanded and extended tax credits).

5. The specific challenge of accelerating the development and deployment of technology for capturing and sequestering the carbon dioxide from coal-burning power plants is especially urgent and warrants a rapid ramping up of international and public-private partnerships on demonstration projects to determine the best approaches in all of the major coal-burning countries. China, where the most new coal-burning power plants are being built, should be an early focus of such efforts.

6. Expansion of nuclear energy may be able to make a significant contribution to reducing carbon dioxide emissions from the energy sector, but achieving this potential will require concerted efforts to expedite technically sound and politically acceptable approaches to radioactive-waste management and to break the link between nuclear energy and nuclear-weapon proliferation.

7. There are many "win-win" approaches to climate-change mitigation and adaptation, meaning measures that bring significant economic, energy security, public health, and/or ecological benefits beyond reducing climate-change damages. (See "Confronting Climate Change" at <http://www.unfoundation.org/SEG/>.)

International Security

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Osirak Redux? Assessing Israeli Capabilities to Destroy Iranian Nuclear Facilities

Whitney Raas and Austin Long

"The Israeli Air Force . . . possesses the capability to destroy even well-hardened nuclear facilities in Iran. The operation would appear to be no more risky than Israel's 1981 attack on Iraq's Osirak reactor, and it would provide at least as much benefit in terms of delaying Iranian development of nuclear weapons."

NATO's International Security Role in the Terrorist Era

Renée de Nevers

"NATO plays, at best, a supportive role in U.S. efforts to combat terrorism. . . . Many of the essential activities of [this] fight occur outside NATO, through bilateral cooperation or loose coalitions of the willing. . . . If NATO's strongest members do not seek to address their core security threats within the alliance, NATO may have difficulty sustaining its military value."

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

Why Japan Will Not Go Nuclear (Yet): International and Domestic Constraints on the Nuclearization of Japan

Llewelyn Hughes

"While Japanese diplomatic rhetoric refers to Japan's experience as the only country to suffer a nuclear attack during wartime as justification of its nonnuclear stance, Japanese political leaders have ensured that constitutional and other domestic legal hurdles do not significantly constrain Japan from developing an independent nuclear deterrent."

Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War

Monica Duffy Toft

"The percentage of civil wars in which religion has become a central issue has increased over time. . . . These civil wars are much more destructive than wars fought over other issues: they result in more casualties and more noncombatant deaths, and they last longer. . . . From 1940 to 2000, Islam was involved in 81 percent of all religious civil wars."

From Prediction to Learning: Opening Experts' Minds to Unfolding History

Richard K. Herrmann and Jong Kun Choi

"If there is consensus that learning is a good thing, it is pretty clear that expert learning in security affairs is not where it needs to be. . . . Three factors common to much of the work in security studies contribute to this problem: the tendency to treat the intentions of other actors as unknowable private information; . . . the inclination to believe that power provides a parsimonious explanation [for states' actions]; and the penchant for engaging in 'factor wars' over which causal factors are most important. Collectively, these three factors produce overconfidence in hindsight and leave experts prisoners to their preconceptions."

The Winning Weapon? Rethinking Nuclear Weapons in Light of Hiroshima

Ward Wilson

"The atomic bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, played virtually no role in winning the war in the Pacific. . . . From the Japanese perspective, the Soviet invasion of Manchuria and other Japanese-held territory [on August 9] . . . dramatically changed the strategic landscape and left Japan with no option but to surrender unconditionally."

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BELFER IN BRIEF

Applying Skills in New Orleans

For a week in March, 18 Kennedy School students traveled to New Orleans where they assisted the Broadmoor community in crunching data to assess its recovery rate. The work was part of the ongoing, multi-year Kennedy School "Broadmoor Project" designed to support redevelopment efforts by the neighborhood's proactive resident group. Belfer Center Environment and Natural Resources Program Director **Henry Lee**, who serves as faculty chair of the project initiated by the Center's **Doug Ahlers**, noted that the collaboration is an opportunity for KSG students to put into action the governance skills they learn in the classroom. The recovery rate findings, preliminary at press time, are "extraordinary," according to Ahlers.



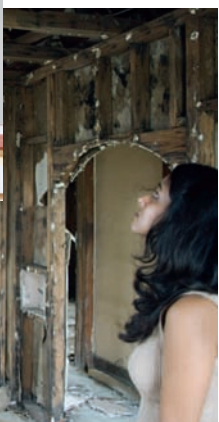
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Networking Information

Associate Professor **Viktor Mayer-Schoenberger** chaired the Salzburg Seminar on "New Information Networks" in March. Forty-five fellows from 24 nations participated in the session. Link: <http://www.salzburgseminar.org/2007/index.cfm>

Exploring Future U.S.-China Relationship

Belfer Center Senior Fellow **Richard Rosecrance** coordinated a conference with colleagues at the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences on developing policy recommendations regarding the future of the U.S.-China relationship. Harvard participants at the March conference in Hong Kong included Belfer Center Director **Graham Allison** and International Security Program Director **Steven Miller**, along with **Tony Saich**, faculty chair of the Kennedy School Asia Program, and **Ezra Vogel**, former chair of Harvard's East Asia Research Center. **Ernest May's** paper about whether the U.S. and China are destined to become adversaries provided a launching point for serious discussion.



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Left: Kennedy School student **Daniel Radcliffe** (MPA-ID) attends a community meeting in New Orleans with Broadmoor Association President **LaToya Cantrell** and other residents.

Right: Doctoral candidate **Anjali Adukia** tours a gutted building in Broadmoor.

Fellows on the Move

(continued from page 6)

Mustafa Kibaroglu (ISP 2004–05) was named academic adviser to NATO's Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism in Turkey.

Assaf Moghadam (ISP 2004–06) completed his dissertation at Tuft's Fletcher School on the globalization of martyrdom.

Jacqueline Newmyer (ISP) led a panel on "China and Human Rights" at a Wilton Park conference in the UK.

Philip Potter (ISP) will discuss the relationship between international integration and conflict at a political science conference at Nuffield College.

Scott Radnitz (ISP/ICP) will be a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center and assistant professor at the Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington.

Tammy Ann Smith (ISP/KSG Women and Public Policy Program) has been named assistant professor of sociology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Stephen Watts (ICP/ISP) has been appointed assistant professor of political science at UMass Amherst.