Oil, Prices, and Global Impact

Call it the fall heard round the world.

The dramatic decline in oil prices—from over $100 a barrel in 2014 to below $30 this year—has been one of the most disruptive and least expected developments in global energy markets since the 2008 financial crisis.

In 2012, Belfer Center energy expert Leonardo Maugeri was one of the few who saw it coming. His paper, “Oil: The Next Revolution,” boldly predicted today’s oil glut. His latest report, published in February, sees continued downward pressure on prices for years to come.

Continued low prices would have major implications on everything from Saudi and Russian foreign policy to energy development in China and emissions reduction goals in the United States. We asked Belfer Center scholars to weigh in on some of the consequences of this macro trend.

Read more on page 8

Secretary of Defense Carter Returns Home

by Josh Burek

C ontribution and consequence. That’s how Secretary of Defense Ashton B. Carter described the “magic” of Harvard Kennedy School’s spirit of public service during a JFK Jr. Forum here in December. Carter, a former Kennedy School professor and Belfer Center director, joined Graham Allison and a forum full of students, faculty, and service members for a homecoming conversation on topics ranging from ISIS and the South China Sea to cyber threats and innovation at the Department of Defense.

Carter, who earned his doctorate in theoretical physics from Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, has been awarded the Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the Pentagon’s highest, on five separate occasions.

Secretary Carter was accompanied to the Kennedy School by his chief of staff Eric Rosenbach, former executive director for research at the Belfer Center, and his special assistant Sasha Rogers, former Belfer International and Global Affairs student fellow.

Read more on page 12

Report Flags Ways to Heighten Nuclear Security

Ahead of the upcoming Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, a new report presents a stark choice: will the world recommit to continuous improvement in strengthening nuclear security, or will efforts decline and the danger of nuclear terrorism grow?

Read more on page 3

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FROM THE DIRECTOR

Groupthink is a dangerous tendency in any organization. In military and intelligence assignments, it can be fatal—which is why leaders there often employ so-called “red teams” to challenge assumptions. Dissent generates sharper analysis and better choices.

So, too, in the academy. Research that reflects mere conventional wisdom, consensus, or a scholar’s own bias runs counter to the rigorous pursuit of veritas—without fear or favor.

At the Center, we rarely have to appoint red teams, since our community includes many who regularly cut against the grain.

Take Leonardo Maugeri. In 2012, when oil was $100 a barrel, many analysts feared we had reached “peak oil.” Not Leonardo. After a painstaking, well-by-well review, he predicted we were on the cusp of production surpluses and price declines. In this forecast, he was virtually alone. Today, with oil around $40 a barrel, Leonardo is referred to by many in the press as an oil prophet.

Stephen Walt’s 2007 book The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy punctured a taboo, attracting heated criticism. But Steve enjoys vigorous debate. And after Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu plunged into American politics last spring with the support of lobbying groups in Washington, press references to the “Israel Lobby” have now become a part of the conversation. His ongoing column for Foreign Policy regularly goes establishment oxen across the spectrum. Last year, he even targeted himself in a column on the “Top Ten Things About Which I Changed My Mind.”

Calestous Juma cares deeply about development in Africa, which includes sensible support for agricultural innovation. This includes the judicious use of transgenic crops, whose role is widely challenged by activist groups. His response? Policy research and an active presence on social media that uses infographics, citations, and good humor to share with the public information about the very real tradeoffs associated with scientific advancement. His forthcoming book, Innovation and Its Enemies, examines 600 years of history to unpack social factors that help explain surprising resistance to technological advances.

We lost one of our most iconic “profiles in courage” earlier this year. Senior fellow and longtime diplomat Stephen Bosworth was our mentor, friend, and a great American diplomat. During his memorial service in February, we remembered four historic days in February 1986 at the climax of the People Power Revolution that peacefully swept away a dictator and inspired democratic progress around the world. But we forget how easily violence could have erupted and that revolution failed. A critical reason it did not was because of Steve’s ability to help cooler heads prevail. In his teaching, his diplomacy, and even his interactions with our young fellows during Monday night “beer call,” he showed us all that being kind and selfless is not weakness but strength. We miss Steve greatly.

Sulmeyer Heads Center’s New Cyber Security Project

Michael Sulmeyer, former director for Plans and Operations for Cyber Policy at the Department of Defense, has joined the Belfer Center as director of its new Cyber Security Project. The cyber project, created by a $15 million gift from Center namesake Robert Belfer and his family, aims to build a conceptual arsenal and his family, aims to build a conceptual arsenal and includes innovative ideas for the printers in developing countries.

Sulmeyer joins the Center after working for several years in the Pentagon’s Office of the Secretary of Defense. There, as the senior policy advisor and director, his team worked closely with the military commands on developing cyberspace plans and operations. Earlier, he was a senior fellow with the Defense Industrial Initiatives Group at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. He served previously in government as policy advisor for arms control and strategic stability to the under secretary of defense for policy.

“It’s an honor to join the Belfer Center and to lead the security dimension of the Belfer family’s generous gift,” Sulmeyer said. “So many pressing questions dominate the public discourse about cybersecurity, but often with worst-case doomsday predictions. My goal is to get to ground truth.”
Belfer Experts Work to Strengthen Nuclear Security

With No Future Nuclear Security Summits Planned, The Project on Managing the Atom Assesses Nuclear Security Around the World

by Nickolas Roth and Martin Malin

In the months and weeks before the 2016 Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, D.C., Belfer experts promoted a series of ideas to strengthen measures to prevent terrorists from acquiring nuclear weapons or the essential ingredients to make them.

“The capabilities of some terrorist groups... have grown dramatically, suggesting that, in the net, the risk of nuclear terrorism may be higher than it was two years ago.”

According to a recent report from the Project on Managing the Atom (MTA), “In the two years since the last nuclear security summit, security for nuclear materials has improved modestly—but the capabilities of some terrorist groups, particularly the Islamic State, have grown dramatically, suggesting that in the net, the risk of nuclear terrorism may be higher than it was two years ago.”

The 2016 Washington summit aimed to address that threat. Unfortunately, Russia, the country with the largest stocks of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons usable materials, did not participate in the meeting. U.S.-Russian cooperation on nuclear security broke down following the Ukraine crisis, effectively ending more than 20 years of productive work aimed at reducing the risk of nuclear terrorism and related dangers.

In an attempt to find common interest, Matthew Bunn, William Tobey, and Nickolas Roth travelled to Moscow in February for a Nuclear Threat Initiative-sponsored meeting with Russian experts and officials to discuss the potential for rebuilding U.S.-Russian nuclear cooperation. The purpose was to identify a set of activities—like scientific exchanges, cooperation on nuclear power, and cooperation on nuclear security—that would be in both countries’ mutual interests.

The MTA project’s recent report, entitled “Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: Continuous Improvement or Dangerous Decline?” was released prior to the Washington summit. The report, by Bunn, Martin Malin, Roth, and Tobey, provides an assessment of nuclear security around the world and recommendations for strengthening nuclear security further.

The authors recommend action in six key areas:

• Committing to stringent nuclear security principles;
• Implementing effective and sustainable nuclear security ubiquitously;
• Consolidating nuclear weapons and weaponsusable materials;
• Strengthening security culture and combating complacency;
• Building confidence in effective nuclear security; and,
• Continuing an effective nuclear security dialogue after the summits end.

The report authors presented their findings at a Carnegie Endowment event in Washington, D.C. on March 21. Tobey also briefed the findings of the report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Additionally, The New York Times published a story on the report which was picked up by other news outlets.

In addition to the “Preventing Nuclear Terrorism” report, MTA recently published an update by Senior Research Associate Hui Zhang on nuclear security efforts in China. Zhang described China’s continuing challenges with corruption in nuclear security and with a growing terrorist threat. His report also examines progress China has made in recent years in strengthening regulations, upgrading physical protection and material control and accounting systems, improving cyber security for nuclear facilities, building organizational cultures around nuclear security, and strengthening international confidence and cooperation. Zhang’s work, “China’s Nuclear Security: Progress, Challenges, and Next Steps,” received prominent attention in the Chinese media.

Alongside the official nuclear summit was a nongovernmental “knowledge summit,” which Bunn played a key role in organizing. Bunn, Tobey, and MTA associate Trevor Findlay were each featured speakers. A delegation of MTA fellows and staff also attended the NGO summit.

EXCERPT

Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: Continuous Improvement or Dangerous Decline?

“Despite significant progress over the past two decades, some nuclear weapons materials remain dangerously vulnerable to theft—and incidents such as an IS operative’s intensive monitoring of a senior official of a Belgian facility with significant stocks of HEU highlight the continuing threat.... Given these ever-changing terrorist capabilities, it is critical to ensure that all nuclear weapons, and all materials that could be used to make them, wherever they may be in the world, are effectively protected against a wide spectrum of plausible adversary capabilities and tactics. Policymakers can never be satisfied that the work of nuclear security is “done.” Nuclear security approaches must focus on continuous improvement in the face of an ever-evolving threat, changing technologies, and newly discovered vulnerabilities. Nuclear security that is not getting better is probably getting worse.”

(Excerpt from Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: Continuous Improvement or Dangerous Decline, Introduction, pp. 13–14)

Read the full report at belfercenter.org/NSS2016
Rebel Recruitment

by Vera Mironova

For the past three years, I have conducted interviews and surveys of men fighting in the Syrian Civil War. My interviews were with Syrian citizens, mostly young, and all men. Some of them joined Al Nusra (Al Qaeda branch in Syria), while the majority joined one of the other 1000 rebel brigades. My goal was to determine why they decided to fight, why they joined the group they did, and why some changed groups or quit fighting completely.

“The majority of young Syrians I interviewed said they joined a rebel brigade because they wanted revenge, and they wanted to defeat President Assad for the damage he has done to their country. This was also the reason given by those who joined Al Nusra. In fact, a significant number of the men I surveyed wanted to join Al Nusra because it was the "best" group in terms of taking care of fighters and benefits.

Many fighters wanted to join Al Nusra because it was the "best" group in terms of taking care of fighters and benefits.

I also interviewed a significant number of fighters who quit fighting. Most of them quit because they had lost hope for a victory and their own role in getting a victory. They said they had already fought for a long time and it did not change anything.

Understanding how the fighters make these decisions is important for policymakers who want to help end the war in Syria and destroy groups like ISIS. For example, knowing why fighters choose a particular brigade should make it easier for programs like the Department of Defense's Train and Equip program to attract fighters to more moderate brigades and away from terrorist groups.

Vera Mironova is a research fellow with the International Security Program. Her research explores individual-level behavior in conflict environments.

Those I interviewed who joined one of the rebel groups had to consider these different institutional qualities, just like civilians do when they choose a place to work. I learned that the most successful and popular among prospective fighters' brigades were offering "benefits" that others weren't.

A fighter is looking for the group that offers the best salary, has the best teamwork environment, adequate leadership, takes care of its fighters and is able to provide health and life "insurance." Of course, this is not insurance in the Western sense, but it is functionally similar. Some groups promise to take care of a wounded fighter (the group might include a medical professional) or, if he is killed, to take care of his family by continuing to provide food and aid to them.

One group offers to pay $1000 to any man who promises to marry the wife of a killed fighter from the same group. This sounds strange to us in the U.S., but in an area where there is currently no court system or other way to keep anyone accountable, it is a good way to ensure that someone will take care of the family of the fallen.

By Vera Mironova

The majority of young Syrians I interviewed said they joined a rebel brigade because they wanted revenge, and they wanted to defeat President Assad for the damage he has done to their country. This was also the reason given by those who joined Al Nusra. In fact, a significant number of the men I surveyed wanted to join Al Nusra, but were not accepted in the group.

Young Syrian men were and are heavily recruited by the various groups, all of which offer different working environments and other benefits to potential members.

ISIS Front Lines: Vera Mironova conducting field studies in the Middle East (July 2015).
Relations with Iran: Questions to Consider

With the successful implementation of the historic nuclear agreement between Iran and the P5+1, a new chapter has opened between Iran and the international community, including the United States. Nevertheless, the future path of bilateral relations between the United States and Iran is uncertain and many challenges exist as the two countries attempt to formulate new terms of engagement. What should U.S. policy be towards Iran after the nuclear agreement? Can the agreement open the door to effective collaboration on areas of mutual interest, especially given the rising security challenges and rapidly changing dynamics of the Middle East? Or, will strategic rivalries between Iran and the United States continue to shape and impede cooperation?

“Can the agreement open the door to effective collaboration on areas of mutual interest?”

To answer these and related questions, Harvard Belfer Center’s Iran Project hosted a luncheon on February 5 entitled “The Future of U.S.-Iran Relations: Rivalry or Engagement?” The speakers included two leading voices on Iranian and the Middle East affairs: Trita Parsi, president of the National Iranian American Council, and Michael Singh, managing director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. The panel, moderated by the director of the Iran Project, Payam Mohseni, addressed bilateral relations between the United States and Iran and its broader regional implications following the implementation of the nuclear agreement—the JCPOA.

With a full house for the off-the-record discussion, Parsi and Singh debated the relative merits of the Obama administration’s policies towards Iran and how seriously the United States should pursue a policy of engagement with Iran in the post-JCPOA context. An important topic of concern was American relations with its partners in the Middle East and what path the U.S. should take to allay Arab concerns over the rise of Iran. The speakers also discussed how the United States should prioritize its objectives in the Middle East, especially taking into consideration the increased turbulence in the region, and whether a new regional security architecture with the inclusion of Iran would be desirable. Singh and Parsi addressed, in particular, how U.S.-Iran dynamics bear on the Syrian crisis, ISIS, the Iran-Saudi cold war, and other important regional issues.

U.S. and Israel on Security Cooperation

by Matthew Sparks

It is an undeniable fact that the Middle East is undergoing one of the worst periods of crisis in recent history. Civil war, regime collapse, mass emigration, and terrorism are but a few of the numerous problems facing the region. Moreover, the United States’ alliance with Israel has experienced its most turbulent period since the Suez Crisis of 1956 due to profound policy disagreements on the Iran nuclear agreement. Despite this strain, both American and Israeli officials emphasize that the need for close security cooperation between the two nations is more important than ever.

In recognition of this fact, a 15-member American delegation boarded planes for Tel Aviv, Israel, in late February to take part in the biannual U.S.-Israel Track II Dialogue. The conference was co-chaired by Ambassador Robert Blackwill, Belfer Center senior fellow and director of the Center’s U.S.-Israel Security Project, and Maj. Gen. Amos Yadlin, executive director of Israel’s Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). The Dialogue consisted of a two-day roundtable on a wide range of national security challenges and a third day of meetings with senior Israeli government officials in Jerusalem. Topics discussed included Iran, Syria, the Islamic State, energy security, Israel and the Palestinians, and U.S.-Israel relations.

The U.S. group was comprised of former senior-level U.S. government officials including the Belfer Center’s Graham Allison, James Cartwright, Meghan O’Sullivan, and Gary Samore. Thirty former and current Israeli officials attended the Dialogue. Despite the differences in opinion in the recent past, all participants agreed that the current situation in the Middle East calls for intensified collaboration and a shared security agenda. The Belfer Center’s U.S.-Israel Security Project aims to help revitalize the bilateral relationship by facilitating strategic dialogue and analysis and fostering cooperation among experts from both countries.

Security Collaboration: Participants in February’s U.S.-Israel Track II Dialogue included the Belfer Center’s Robert Blackwill (left), Gary Samore, Meghan O’Sullivan, Graham Allison, and James Cartwright.
Origins of the Recanati-Kaplan Program for Intelligence Officers

If the first job of government is to protect the homeland, then the work of intelligence officers can be likened to the world’s most sophisticated alarm system. Such a system depends on game-changing technology, such as cyber sleuthing. But true effectiveness requires men and women who can turn data into intelligence by applying advanced skills in analysis, language, policy savvy, security studies, and—increasingly—history.

It is to this end that the Recanati-Kaplan Foundation Fellows Program was conceived. Since 2012, a handful of rising intelligence stars have been awarded the opportunity to spend a year at the Center doing advanced research. The Program is the brainchild of investor, historian, philanthropist, and International Council member Thomas Kaplan, Belfer Center Director Graham Allison, and former CIA Director David Petraeus.

Before becoming a celebrated investor, the Oxford-trained Kaplan earned a reputation for seeing around corners—making a name for himself by correctly forecasting Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait at a time when intelligence agencies were not alert to the danger. In May, 2011, in a discussion with Allison at Harvard about security challenges including Iran, he argued that it was essential that “our side”—the analysts of friendly intelligence agencies—be encouraged to think “out of the box” and be ahead of the curve. To assist in that, Kaplan suggested intelligence officers be taught how to recognize past patterns and, by applying historical understanding, improve their bets about the future.

The Fellows program was born when Kaplan was returning from Boston to New York. While on the train, Kaplan wrote of the idea to his and Allison’s mutual friend, General David Petraeus, who was then in Afghanistan but had recently been nominated to become director of the CIA. Kaplan told Petraeus that he had begun a convenient conversation with universities including Harvard to start something new in Applied History—the aim of which would be to “intersect history with policy, intelligence, strategic studies, and maybe a little common sense.”

The General’s reply was as decisive as it was favorable. “How about endowing a scholarship for CIA Analysts at Princeton, Harvard, and Yale?” Petraeus’s email read. “If you think about it, we should want the best and brightest to seek employment at the CIA, to be developed to the utmost there, to be provided intellectual and experiential development, and to be retained for as long as is sensible. This kind of initiative would be a great boost to that effort.”

“The Belfer Center’s location...is within what is arguably the greatest intellectual critical mass in the world.”

—David H. Petraeus

Allison, too, was enthusiastic. “It hit three responsive chords in our strategic plan: preparing certified rising stars for leadership in international security; advancing that objective for intelligence professionals in some of the ways the National Security Fellows program does for our men and women in uniform; and advancing Applied History by building on the foundations laid by Ernest May and Dick Neustadt to help our students and fellows learn to use history to see further into the future.”

For Petraeus, who was shortly thereafter confirmed as director of CIA, the timing was perfect. He had already envisioned a “Director’s Scholars” program to send officers to universities including Harvard’s Kennedy School for a year between assignments but could not secure funding. Kaplan stepped up to solve that problem. “The Belfer Center’s location—at HKS and within the greater Harvard/MIT community—is within what is arguably the greatest intellectual critical mass in the world,” Petraeus said. “Just being there and taking advantage of the speakers programs and innumerable other intellectual opportunities is an incredible experience.”

In consultation with each fellow, Brigadier General Kevin Ryan (U.S. Army retired), who directs the Center’s Defense and Intelligence Project, tails a program to prepare these officers for future assignments. Each fellow undertakes rigorous research projects, doing in-depth studies of everything from combating terrorism to leading more effective organizations. They meet in small sessions with leaders in the intelligence field—directors and former directors of CIA, NSA, DIA—and other foreign and domestic intelligence agencies. They also audit courses not only at HKS but across the university—wherever their interests take them.

Recanati-Kaplan Fellows are the best of the best: As the Center’s website notes, applicants must come with the personal recommendation of their agency heads. In addition to American fellows, the program has also enrolled officers from Israel and France, and is exploring further expansion to include officers from other countries. “Training the next generation of leaders in national security and intelligence is a vital part of the Belfer Center’s mission,” Allison said.

Kaplan sees the program as one element in a broader endeavor to safeguard democratic government. “As the challenges to open societies metastasize alarmingly, I believe that it is imperative that policy practitioners draw practical wisdom from history,” he said. “My hope is that the curriculum Harvard develops for these intelligence fellows can help develop ways of thinking that advance our nation’s ability to anticipate events rather than to be simple bystanders. Indeed, if this effort is successful, it can become the beachhead for a larger undertaking at Harvard, and beyond, torevitalize the field of Applied History.”
Out of Katrina’s Devastation: A Model for Disaster Recovery

by Sharon Wilke

In January, community leaders and officials from around the world gathered at Harvard to share experiences and best practices in “Accelerating Disaster Recovery: Strategies, Tensions, and Obstacles.” The conference was organized by Harvard Kennedy School’s Program on Crisis Leadership (PCL), which is jointly affiliated with the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, the Taubman Center for State and Local Government, and the Belfer Center’s Broadmoor Project: New Orleans Recovery.

“[Broadmoor] is one of the most compelling stories of neighborhood restoration in U.S. urban history.”

—Henry Lee

A defining force behind the conference and the link connecting a number of participants is Doug Ahlers, PCL senior fellow and former Belfer Center senior fellow. Ahlers founded The Broadmoor Project: New Orleans Recovery in 2006 to work with residents of New Orleans’ hard-hit Broadmoor neighborhood to design and implement a strategy for post-Katrina neighborhood recovery. Led by Ahlers and hosted by the Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program, the Broadmoor Project enabled students from the Kennedy School and other Harvard graduate schools not only to put their governance skills into action to help rebuild one of America’s great cities but also to develop a community-based recovery model that documented the process for others in similar situations. (See belfercenter.org/Broadmoor)

With the hugely successful rebuilding and recovery of the Broadmoor community, the Broadmoor Project officially ended in 2011. It has lived on, however, as a best practices model for disaster recovery and pre-disaster planning.

Chile’s disastrous 2010 earthquake and tsunami provided the first test case for applying the Broadmoor model in another setting. The result was Recupera Chile, a Harvard University initiative led by Ahlers that assisted with the recovery of three Chilean villages. Then, in 2011, he advised New Zealand on post-disaster efforts following the destructive earthquake in Christchurch.

In collaboration with PCL’s Arnold Howett and Dutch Leonard, Ahlers has also worked with San Francisco and Los Angeles on recovery planning for a future earthquake. Recognizing the benefits of preparing in advance, Ahlers launched “Advance Recovery” as a new area of study at the Kennedy School.

At the conclusion of January’s recovery conference, Ahlers was honored with a special recognition dinner. Following are a few of many comments and accolades from recipients of his work across the globe.

“When Doug first approached Broadmoor….he laid out a plan of hard work, no frills and a lot of sacrifice. The result is one of the most compelling stories of neighborhood restoration in U.S. urban history. Over the next five years, Doug brought over 80 Kennedy students to New Orleans. When they returned to Harvard, the dean asked them what this experience meant to them personally. They universally said that it changed their professional lives.”

(Henry Lee, director, Environment and Natural Resources Program)

“Doug recognized and valued in us what we most esteemed and quietly took strength in from one another: personal toughness. For understanding us and respecting us deeply—and for all he has done with us and for us—we shall always think of Doug Ahlers as one of us!”

(Hal Roark and LaToya Cantrell, Broadmoor community, New Orleans)

“Recupera Chile empowered an entire village here in Cobquecura. You have changed our lives. All we have for you in return is our deepest thanks.”

(Tatiana Apablaza, resident of Cobquecura, Chile)

“The Broadmoor Project was very special, and wouldn’t have existed without…Doug’s vision and leadership. Doug taught us that…nothing would be sustainable in the community if we…did the work for the community. Instead, we had to do the work with the community. Since then, I have used that approach at the community level...in places ranging from Afghanistan and Pakistan to Nigeria and Kazakhstan.”

(Rebecca Hummel, former Harvard Kennedy School student)
Making Sense of a New Energy Era

With the continuation of high oil production and low prices, the Belfer Center’s Khalid Alsweilem, Calestous Juma, David Keith, Henry Lee, Leonardo Maugeri, Meghan O’Sullivan, and Robert Stavins offer insights, predictions, and recommendations based on their research and varied perspectives.

Production capacity and supply will continue to grow

"Despite the decline in price, actual production of oil seemed to defy the laws of gravity and economics as it continued to grow. Many [companies and countries] are just beginning to register production from recently completed investments, while others are completing their investments, after having spent the bulk of their capital budgets. The result: production capacity and the supply of oil will continue to grow.”

—Leonardo Maugeri, Senior Fellow, Geopolitics of Energy Project (from “The Global Oil Market: No Safe Haven for Prices” Belfer Center report, February 2016.)

Saudi Arabia could lose its oil revenue savings

"Over the medium term, the much-debated prospect that the fall in oil prices may not be short-lived, but rather herald a new low oil-price corridor for a number of years, will put the Kingdom’s savings from earlier oil revenue booms at risk of depletion.”

—Khalid Alsweilem, Non-resident Fellow, Belfer Center (from “A Stable and Efficient Fiscal Framework for Saudi Arabia,” Belfer Center/Center for International Development report, 2015.)

Bad news for emission control; good time to phase out subsidies

"The bad news is that low gasoline prices have short-term effects in the form of more driving and fuel use by the existing fleet of motor vehicles, which is bad news in terms of emissions (and congestion). The good news is that they present an opportunity for new, sensible energy and climate change policies. Now is the time to reduce—or better yet, phase out—costly and inefficient fuel subsidies. And there has never been a better time to introduce progressive climate policies in the form of carbon-pricing, whether via carbon taxes or through carbon cap-and-trade.”

—Robert Stavins, Director, Harvard Project on Climate Agreements

New energy technologies will help African sustainability

"Exponential advancement in renewable energy and lighting technologies—especially solar and light-emitting diodes (LEDs)—offer Africa new opportunities for technological leapfrogging. These and related energy sources such as wind power are already starting to shape new development pathways for Africa that are more sustainable and decentralized. There is a real chance that these technologies will do for sections of Africa’s energy sector what mobile phones did for telecommunications.”

—Calestous Juma, Director, Science, Technology, and Globalization Project

China’s emissions cuts depend on reducing manufacturing focus

“President Xi Jinping’s commitment to lower China’s growth in carbon emissions along with its emissions of conventional air pollutants, such as particulates, sulfur and nitrogen oxides, is intrinsically linked to China’s transformation from a manufacturing-intensive economy to one characterized by greater reliance on services. The success or failure of this effort will be determined more by the programmatic initiatives at the provincial level than what happens in Beijing. Challenges will include adjusting the promotion incentives for local officials, building capacity to monitor and enforce programs and changing the institutional relationship between state-owned enterprises and local officials.”

—Henry Lee, Director, Environment and Natural Resources Program

Oil-focused countries are facing acute crises

“The most acute crises are unfolding in the populous oil producing countries that failed to take advantage of the “fat” years to diversify their economies. Venezuela, Nigeria, and Russia top the list, but if low oil prices persist for a few years, Saudi Arabia could have real problems as well. China is likely the biggest “winner,” as low energy prices give a much needed boost to its energy-intensive economy and help keep down inflation. While gradual changes in supply and demand are the most likely candidates to eventually balance the market, more political unrest in big producers—or cooperation among them—could make this moment come more quickly than otherwise expected.”

—Meghan O’Sullivan, Director, Geopolitics of Energy Project

Cheap fuel reduces demand for low-carbon options

“Cheap fossil makes it harder for low-carbon options to compete—economics can’t be wished away. In the electricity sector, cheap gas is a win when it helps shut down coal, but it’s a big loss when it helps shut down existing nuclear or slows growth of solar. Sensible policy would give existing nuclear the benefits solar and wind get helping to keep it in the mix.”

—David Keith, Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School
Conference Participation Highlights Center’s Climate Change Focus

The Paris Climate Conference in December was the point of convergence for a number of current and former Belfer Center climate and environment experts who played significant roles in the planning and presentations at the UN Conference of the Parties (COP-21) in Paris. Robert Stavins, director of the Harvard Project on Climate Agreements, has worked for years on the architecture of climate change agreements and has authored several Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reports. At the Paris conference, Stavins spoke at a number of events. He and his team also co-sponsored panels on comparisons of climate change policies and mitigation efforts across the world, as well as on the implications of the Paris Agreement for business and on enhancing the usefulness of the IPCC. The team included Robert Stowe, Jason Chapman, and Doug Gavel.

For the United States, a significant amount of behind-the-scenes work prior to the conference involved John P. Holdren, science advisor to President Obama and former director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program (STPP), and Kelly Sims Gallagher, 2014-15 senior policy advisor for China climate issues in Holdren’s White House Office of Science and Technology Policy. A member of the Center’s board of directors, Gallagher played a major role in developing the bilateral climate deal between the U.S. and China, a significant achievement leading up to the conference. Another Belfer Center alum, former Executive Director for Research Robert C. Orr, now special advisor to the UN secretary general on climate change, also took part in the conference.

Two Belfer Center fellows from China also participated in different aspects of the conference. Pei Liang, the Environment and Natural Resources’ incoming China Environmental Sustainability Fellow, is program officer on International Policy and Negotiation in the Department of Climate Change at the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), and was part of the China delegation. Xianchun Tan, a fellow with the Center’s Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group and professor of low-carbon economy at the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS), helped organize COP-21 events including a CAS exhibit of measurements on carbon emission and information about possible carbon sequestration in China. Former Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, a senior fellow with the Center, also participated.

Three Harvard students (Thomas Insua, Mattea Mrkusic and Joelle Thomas) attended the Paris conference with support from the Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program.

Making Climate Change Personal

by Casey Campbell

The New York Times’ Energy and Environment Correspondent Coral Davenport covers environmental policy in a way that goes beyond the conventional boundaries of Washington-based reporting to the larger, all-encompassing impact of climate change issues on a human and dollars-and-cents scale.

“Climate change is a story about everything,” Davenport said at a Harvard Kennedy School seminar in February that drew a standing-room-only crowd. “There’s nothing that climate policy doesn’t touch.”

The talk was co-sponsored by the Belfer Center’s Environment and Natural Resources Program, the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics & Public Policy, the HKS Sustainability Initiative, and the HKS Energy and Environment PIC (Professional Interest Council). The event was part of a long-running speaker series, “Climate, Energy & the Media,” organized by ENRP Senior Fellow Cristine Russell. In her introduction of Davenport, Russell noted that she has "an in-depth knowledge of these issues and a fresh journalistic approach to making this meaningful on a human level."

Davenport explained how climate change used to be perceived by the public as a distant problem, one that would only affect the Arctic and the survival of polar bears. Through her reporting, she showcases how climate change is impacting people now, combining policy issues with personal stories.

In a topic that can often be muddled with numbers and scientific reports, Davenport said her constant objective is to publish climate stories that seem more immediate and closer to home. For example, in one recent article, she focused on a struggling local business in Miami affected by storm surges and sea level rise.

See the full article and video at belfercenter.org/Davenport
Belfer Center in Action

MARTHA STEWART

NASA


Focus on ISIL: Colin Kahl, national security advisor to Vice President Joseph Biden, speaks on the topic of defeating ISIL during a Belfer Center board lunch. Kahl is the former deputy assistant secretary of defense for the Middle East and professor of security studies at Georgetown University.

Climactic Agreement: Belfer Center board member Kelly Sims Gallagher, associate professor at Tufts and former White House senior policy advisor on China climate issues, shares a light moment with Meghan O’Sullivan during her discussion with the board on the recent U.S.-China climate agreements.

On to Mars: John P. Holdren (2nd from left), science adviser to President Obama and former director of the Center’s science and technology program, greets NASA Commander Scott Kelly (right) on his return to earth. Also pictured are NASA Administrator Charles Bolden (left) and Jill Biden.

Back in Town: Deputy Secretary of Energy and Belfer Center alumna Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall talks with Belfer Center Director Graham Allison before attending a celebration of the life and work of Harvard Professor Stanley Hoffman, co-founder of the Center for European Studies.
Nuclear Worries: **Michael Morell**, Belfer Center senior fellow and former deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, discusses the North Korean nuclear weapons program at a Belfer Center board lunch. Earlier in his career, he was chief of the CIA’s division on Asia, Pacific, and Latin America.

Collegial Encounter: Before his presentation at the Kennedy School’s John F. Kennedy, Jr. Forum, Secretary of Defense **Ashton B. Carter** talked with **Nicholas Burns**, director of the Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project, and **Dorothy Zinberg**, a founding member of the Center.

Saudi Role: **HRH Navy Captain (Ret.) Prince Sultan bin Khalid Al-Faisal Al Sa’ud**, former commander of the Royal Saudi Naval Forces (RSNF), discusses the current Middle East security situation and the growing leadership role of the Saudi Kingdom.

Diplomatic Decisions: Belfer Center Senior Fellow Ambassador **Wendy Sherman** joins *The New York Times*’ **David Sanger**, also a senior fellow, in discussing the Iran nuclear deal, for which Sherman was the lead United States negotiator.

**Belfer Center in Action**


Strategic Leadership: **Gen (ret.) David Petraeus**, a Belfer Center senior fellow, shared his thoughts on the link between policy and operations during a Kennedy School event to launch a new Center-hosted website: “Petraeus on Strategic Leadership.” The conversation was moderated by Center fellow **Emile Simpson**.
A Conversation with Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter

On Russia’s Involvement in Syria

“They’ve been striking the people who are in the opposition who need to be part of the future of Syria. They should be striking ISIL. So it’s backwards. We can’t associate ourselves with what they’re doing now because it’s doomed to fail.”

On Violent Extremism

“I think the question of violent extremism is with us to stay. And I don’t mean ISIL. I do believe we will defeat ISIL. But if you ask, ‘Are people whose job like mine is to worry about protecting our people, will we long worry about violent extremism?’ My prediction is yes, we will.”

On China and the Asia-Pacific

“This is the single region of the world which will be of greatest consequence to our nation’s future. It’s where half of humanity lives. It’s where half of the economic activity of the globe is. And so keeping peace and stability there is a very important thing to do.”

On Pride in his Alma Mater

“This is the house that Graham built. I’m proud to have been a part of it and obviously I’m better for it, and for everything I was able to do. All around the world are Kennedy School students in all kinds of positions of consequence: American, non-American, uniformed, non-uniformed.”

On the Magic of Public Service

“Two things that were magical to me in my life: first of all, feeling like I could contribute something; and second, working on something of consequence—being a part of something that’s bigger than yourself. And if you get that combination, which I think all of you must feel, where you’re doing something which is so clearly of importance to this country, and helping leave a better future for our children, that’s magic. And it makes up for all the other grief associated with public service.”

On Attracting the Best and Brightest

“It’s an all volunteer force, right? We don’t make anybody do this. So, it has to be attractive to the next generation of people who see their lives differently. They want to live up-to-date lives, in which their life doesn’t look like an escalator, where you get on and wait until it takes you up. You get to hop around like a jungle gym, and get up by getting around. They want to live that kind of life. And so, we need to manage our work force in defense the way thoughtful companies do today. We’re not a company, we’ll never be. We’re a profession of arms; it’s different. But that doesn’t mean we can’t learn. And so, I want to learn from the Facebooks and the LinkedIns about how we connect people to how they’re thinking about their lives, because I want as many people to be a part of our mission as I can possibly attract.”

On ISIL

“The objective will be to take out ISIL leadership, to capture ISIL leadership, to rescue hostages as we’ve done, and to make ISIL wonder, when they go to bed at night, who’s going to be coming in the window.”
Celebrating Stephen Bosworth

The People’s Diplomat, Our Friend and Mentor

by Sharon Wilke

Ambassador Stephen W. Bosworth, a Belfer Center senior fellow, former ambassador, university dean, and long-time public servant, died on January 4, 2016, at the age of 76.

In the days following the announcement of Bosworth’s passing, government officials, colleagues, students, and friends from around the world expressed their condolences and deep respect for him as a kind and wise man and consummate diplomat.

In a statement released on January 5, Secretary of State John Kerry wrote: “I’ve known Ambassador Bosworth since the mid-1980s, when I was a young senator and he was a young diplomat. We were trying to help restore democracy in the Philippines, and Stephen wound up playing a key role in that historic transition. Steve’s unique brand of diplomacy blended the gravitas of a statesman and the timing of a comedian. He was an unflaggingly genuine and nice person, a straightforward man who was quick with a kind comment or a self-deprecating joke. [He] is a legend in Foggy Bottom, beloved by all.”

During his career in government, Bosworth served as United States ambassador to Tunisia, the Philippines, and South Korea under Presidents Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton. In 2009, under President Obama he was named special representative for North Korea policy.

Bosworth joined the Belfer Center as a senior fellow in 2013 following a lengthy tenure as dean of The Fletcher School for Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

In a celebration of his life held in Harvard’s Memorial Church, family members, friends, and colleagues gathered from around the world to pay tribute to Bosworth’s public service and to his humanity.

Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines Albert del Rosario, who took part in the People Power Revolution in the Philippines 30 years ago, praised Bosworth for his role in the peaceful ouster of dictator Ferdinand Marcos in February 1986. “We Filipinos...claim a share of [his] memory, for his advocacy of our freedom, for his support of Philippine democracy, and for his commitment to excellence in service.”

Bosworth’s work on the Korean Peninsula also drew praise. Belfer Center Director Graham Allison said, “No one knew more about—or contributed more meaningfully to—the Korean peninsula than Steve. None of us was surprised when President Obama appointed him the U.S. special envoy on North Korea in 2009.”

“The man known for staring down dictators and cajoling repressive regimes was widely admired in our halls for his intellect, collegiality, and exceptional kindness.”

—Graham Allison

“Ambassadors come and go,” said Han Sung Joo, former South Korean foreign minister and ambassador to the United States, “but Steve Bosworth will stay in our minds and hearts.”

Lawrence Bacow, president emeritus of Tufts University, praised Bosworth as “very smart... and incredibly wise” in his work at dean of the Fletcher School as well as in government. Morton Abramowitz, senior fellow with the Century Foundation, added that he was “masterful about pulling together disparate views.”

Bosworth’s brother, Brian Bosworth, told how they grew up on a farm in Michigan where their parents encouraged discourse and debate. Steve left the state only once before departing for Dartmouth College, Brian said, and that was to Idaho where he was a 4H finalist in a cattle auctioneer competition. Even there, his brother said, Steve demonstrated his diplomatic skills by “praising the better cows without denigrating the lesser cows.”

At the Belfer Center, Bosworth was extremely well-liked and respected by colleagues and students. John Park, who co-taught a course with Bosworth on negotiating U.S. interests in the Asia-Pacific, said, “Ambassador Bosworth was keen to teach a class that empowered students with portable skills for the classroom and beyond. His commitment to creating an environment where they could learn by doing—in the form of team-based negotiation simulations—inspired so many of them to take the first step in a career path that initially seemed just out of reach.”

“The man known for staring down dictators and cajoling repressive regimes was widely admired in our halls for his intellect, collegiality, and exceptional kindness,” said Allison. “He was our mentor, our friend, the people’s diplomat, a true patriot. We were fortunate to have him in our midst for the past three years as an active member of the Belfer family, and we will miss him deeply.”

Queries on Korea: Ambassador Stephen Bosworth, then U.S. Special Envoy to North Korea, speaks in New York after meeting with North Korean Vice Minister Kim Kyu Gwan (2010).
The Belfer Center is honored to be joined this semester by four distinguished leaders—two from the United States and two from Great Britain—who bring extensive experience and valuable insights to the Belfer Center and the larger Harvard community. Andrew Weber and Kurt Campbell share their expertise in biosecurity and the Asia-Pacific, respectively, while Douglas Alexander and Peter Westmacott focus on addressing issues through diplomacy and transatlantic relations.

Douglas Alexander

The Belfer Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project has selected former UK Shadow Foreign Secretary Douglas Alexander as a senior fellow.

“Douglas Alexander’s appointment underscores our commitment to prepare a next generation of foreign policy leaders by having them learn from practitioners,” said Cathryn Clüver, executive director of the Future of Diplomacy Project.

Alexander will actively contribute to the work of the Project by facilitating seminars and master classes for Harvard Kennedy School degree students and by supporting the Project’s mission through research and analysis on global policy issues and transatlantic relations.

Alexander said, “Given the challenges we face today—from conflict and climate change to extreme poverty and nuclear proliferation—the world needs effective leadership and diplomacy in the coming years. I look forward to working with Kennedy School degree students and colleagues at the Belfer Center to analyze and address these issues in the years ahead.”

Andrew Weber

Andrew Weber, head of global partnerships for Metabiota and former assistant secretary of defense for Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Defense Programs, has been named a non-resident senior fellow at the Belfer Center.

“At the core of our work is a commitment to building a more secure, peaceful world,” said Belfer Center Director Graham Allison. “Andy has devoted his life to this cause.”

Weber is a renowned expert on countering global threats who helped lead the U.S. government’s response to the Ebola outbreak and played a key role in the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program. At the Belfer Center, he will develop a biosecurity project in conjunction with the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) in Washington, according to Allison.

Of the Belfer Center, Weber said, “I can’t think of a better intellectual home in which to help advance research to safeguard us from biological weapons and related threats.”

Kurt Campbell

Kurt Campbell, chairman and CEO of The Asia Group, LLC, and former assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, has been named a non-resident senior fellow at the Belfer Center.

“It is difficult to overstate the importance of the Asia-Pacific to America’s national security and prosperity,” said Belfer Center Director Graham Allison. “It is even more difficult to overstate Kurt Campbell’s qualifications on this critical subject.”

Widely credited with framing the Obama administration’s rebalance to Asia, Campbell will focus his research while at the Belfer Center on his forthcoming book, The Pivot: America’s Rediscovery of the Asia-Pacific Century.

“I am so pleased to join the Belfer Center and to engage with its enormously talented community of scholars,” Campbell said. “I know how stimulating Harvard is, and I am looking forward to illuminating discussions with faculty, fellows, and students as I research my new book.”

Peter Westmacott

Peter Westmacott, former British ambassador to the United States, has joined the Belfer Center as a senior fellow. Westmacott will also serve as an Institute of Politics resident fellow at Harvard Kennedy School.

Belfer Center Director Graham Allison said Ambassador Westmacott will bring to the Center and the Kennedy School extensive experience and insight in addressing international challenges and will provide valuable guidance for students and research fellows, in addition to producing his own research.

“Throughout my career, whether serving here in the U.S., in London, in the Middle East, or in Europe, I have been convinced that addressing the world’s most intractable problems requires the highest levels of transatlantic trust, understanding, and co-operation,” Westmacott said. “The Belfer Center makes a major contribution to this important work and I am very excited to have the chance to be part of it.”
Protecting the U.S. in Cyberspace

by Michael Sulmeyer

The computers, networks, and systems of cyberspace have become an integral part of daily life. They control critical infrastructure, ease and speed communication, enable financial transactions, and much more. However, the same aspects of connectivity that allow us to innovate also put us at risk. From theft to physical destruction, criminals, terrorists, and adversarial states are increasingly using cyber capabilities to do harm.

As a result, cybersecurity has become a growing national priority. The President’s FY2017 budget proposes $19 billion for cybersecurity, a 35 percent increase from FY2016, and the White House released a Cybersecurity National Action Plan (CNAP) in February of this year. The CNAP details near-term action and long-term planning to enhance cybersecurity awareness and protections. The Plan seeks to strengthen federal cybersecurity through a $3.1 billion Information Technology Modernization Fund, empower Americans to protect their own accounts through a National Cybersecurity Awareness Campaign, and establish a Commission on Enhancing National Cybersecurity to plan for the future.

This White House plan is only the latest move by the government to protect and advance U.S. interests and values in cyberspace. Four years ago, the Department of Defense announced the creation of a 6,000 person Cyber Mission Force to protect military networks, to defend the nation from significant cyber attacks, and to provide offensive support to battlefield commanders. The Federal Bureau of Investigation increasingly uses its role to help companies and individuals get ahead of a potential cyber attack and to assist with remediation in the aftermath of such an attack. The Treasury Department spearheaded an effort to enable the President to impose economic sanctions on malicious cyber actors. And the Department of State continues to seek consensus behind a series of norms for peacetime behavior in cyberspace to reduce the risks of conflict in the future.

Many of these initiatives represent different aspects of the challenges of conflict in cyberspace. The Belfer Center’s new Cyber Security Project will focus its research agenda on many of these issues to bring conceptual clarity to questions like: How can nations deter cyber attacks against critical infrastructure? How can states reduce the risks of escalation in a cyber conflict? How can the government and the private sector cooperate in a crisis to defend the nation from a significant cyber attack? By producing policy-relevant research and bringing together the best minds in cybersecurity for debate and discussion, we aim to create a conceptual arsenal of strategies to aid decision-makers as they confront future challenges of conflict in cyberspace.

Learn more about the Project at belfercenter.org/Cyber

Ukraine Power Grid Hacking: Could it Happen in the United States?

by Olivia Zetter

In December, a portion of the Ukrainian power grid was hit with a cyber attack. The perpetrators wiped data from SCADA systems (the industrial controls behind power grids), disrupted power to tens of thousands of customers, and blinded grid operators with an attack against the power company’s phone systems.

Could such an attack happen in the U.S.? To get to the facts about this attack and its implications, Michael Sulmeyer, director of the Belfer Center’s Cyber Security Project, hosted a discussion in February with industry experts Robert Lee, CEO of Dragos Security and former U.S. Air Force Cyber Warfare operations officer, and Mudge, founder of the Cyber Independent Testing Laboratory, with previous experience as a DoD official for DARPA and Deputy Director of Google’s Advanced Technology and Projects Division.

Lee and Mudge noted that while the American grid has some impressive resiliency features, many of the individual components are surprisingly fragile. SCADA systems, Mudge said, were never designed for security. An attack in the U.S. could easily cause isolated failures, though not system-wide grid failure. However, restoring power after a widespread disruption would be difficult due to the complexity of bringing the entire grid back online.

Going forward, the panelists agreed that stakeholders need incentives to shift from reactionary “firefighting” to preventive measures. Additionally, both government officials and users need to be empowered to recognize threats and vulnerabilities, as well as to make informed decisions about security products and practices that make systems more reliable and resilient.
When Anita Gohdes began her graduate work, she quickly found she was not satisfied with theoretical research alone, but instead wanted to tackle something more practical. She settled on researching new communication technologies and their relationship with conflict, political violence, and state repression. This is one of her areas of focus at Harvard Kennedy School, where she is a joint fellow with the Belfer Center’s International Security Program and the Women and Public Policy Program (WAPP).

“When I first started out, I was somewhat disillusioned with research because I couldn’t see how it went together with reality,” said Gohdes. “Empirical conflict analysis showed me that there is a whole lot of research you can do that’s actually relevant. That’s the nice thing about both Belfer and WAPP. They’re super geared toward that concept. You’re not just doing research, but thinking about the larger implications.”

Last fall, Gohdes was awarded the German Dissertation Prize for the Social Sciences for her dissertation "Repression in the Digital Age: Communication Technology and the Politics of State Violence." Her focus was the Syrian government’s use of the Internet, and how it is affecting the use of more conventional forms of violence.

“I was pulled into this project on Syria working with the Human Rights Data Analysis Group because it was, and still is, so important,” Gohdes said.

At the Belfer Center, Gohdes is continuing her research on Syria. With WAPP, she is exploring gender-based repression in conflict. One of her many goals is to clarify statistics used by media in conflict situations. She has learned, for example, that depending on whom you ask, the death tolls in conflicts are going to be reported very differently. Those statistics are spread through the Internet and picked up by media and then by the public. A government spokesperson “might falsely claim that ISIS is the main perpetrator of violence in Syria. But it’s important to look at the data and then think about where this number comes from and what the motivations for saying this are,” she said.

“The good news, Gohdes said, is that the use of statistics is becoming more accurate. “Literacy of the general public is becoming much better and it’s certainly more of a conversation now.”

Inspired by her Lebanese heritage and childhood visits to family in Lebanon during a tense occupation period in the 1980s and 90s, Amanda Rizkallah has devoted her dissertation research to unravelling the complications of a post-war Lebanon.

This was how Rizkallah, a pre-doctoral research fellow with the Belfer Center’s Middle East Initiative (MEI), found herself drawn to the Belfer Center and its Middle East program. “Everyone participating seems to truly understand the Middle East, and that’s important,” she said.

Although her research here is still relatively new, she has already noted some significant patterns. One particular finding that Rizkallah feels is crucial to understanding the war in Lebanon and possibly elsewhere is the formation of “statelets” during times of conflict.

These are “smaller states forming within the conventional territories,” she explained. Local people with no past government experience step in to take control. “A common misconception is that there is constant chaos after a civil war,” she said, noting that in reality there is almost always someone or some group that is governing a particular area.

While Rizkallah realizes these findings aren’t ground-breaking, she believes they are significant. “When a civil war is done,” she noted, “you have to somehow create unity between all these micro-states.”

Another aspect of her research is looking at patterns of territorial control and violence that have been influenced by a war that was supposed to have already ended. History, she said, sets a defined line for the end of wars for simplicity’s sake, while in reality, the line for when a war ends is always blurred.

“I never wanted to be the type of academic that was just theoretical,” Rizkallah said when asked what she hopes to do with this research. While there’s still a long way to go, she hopes to transform her dissertation into a book. For now, she continues to look for patterns in Lebanon’s complicated post-civil war history in the hopes that she can shed some light on ways to better the future of Lebanon and other post-civil war countries.
Exploring Social Contracts in the Arab World

In this issue, the Belfer Center is pleased to feature the contributions of Hedi Larbi, the 2015–2016 Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar at the Middle East Initiative. During his stay, Larbi led a dynamic study group of students, fellows, and faculty in examining social contracts. In 2014–2015, he served as Minister of Economic Infrastructure and Sustainable Development and as Economic Advisor to the Prime Minister of Tunisia.

More than 50 students, faculty members and fellows attended each of the seven sessions of “Rewriting the Arab Social Contract,” which featured distinguished experts with direct operational and academic experience in Arab countries. Guest speakers included senior officials from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and International Labour Organization.

By moving from the historical and political context, to the economic and social fundamentals, and finally to the social and political means to reframe political economies into a new social contract, Larbi’s vision for the study group was to establish guiding frameworks for understanding and implementing the shifts in Arab societies needed for accelerated and inclusive development. The study group leveraged insights from a comprehensive analysis of the region’s historical political economy and drew on lessons learned from the experiences of other transition cases to allow for each country to fit this knowledge to its unique situation.

“Larbi’s vision for the study group was to establish guiding frameworks for understanding and implementing the shifts in Arab societies needed for accelerated and inclusive development.”

Over the past five years, the Arab world has felt the shockwaves of mass political mobilization on a scale not seen for generations. This new era of political action has rippled through and even beyond the region, touching each nation, but with different results. Outcomes vary from internationally heralded success in Tunisia to nearly unmitigated disintegration of Arab states in Libya, Yemen, and Syria. In other countries like Egypt, Morocco, and Jordan, tradeoffs between stability and voice frame politics, as citizens eye the bright hope of nascent democracy in Tunisia and the grim specter of civil war in Syria, backlit by regional vested interests and international geopolitics.

“The economic and social issues at the root of the Arab uprisings have received little attention and in some cases have been entirely overlooked by the scholarly and policy communities and the transitioning countries themselves.”

These multiple outcomes have also attracted a great deal of inquiry from social scientists often focusing, as Arab citizens and politicians have, on political change. In parallel, the economic and social issues at the root of the Arab uprisings have received little attention and in some cases have been entirely overlooked by the scholarly and policy communities and the transitioning countries themselves. While the paths toward transition have undoubtedly been divergent, they stem from the same demands: across the Arab world, people asked for social justice, economic opportunities, freedom, and dignity. Now, compounded by five years of political turbulence and deteriorating state institutions and capacity, economic conditions have further declined and the challenges have only grown more daunting.

These issues were at the heart of a fall 2015 study group led by Hedi Larbi, the 2015–2016 Kuwait Foundation Visiting Scholar at the Belfer Center’s Middle East Initiative. Larbi served from January 2014 to February 2015 as Minister of Economic Infrastructure and Sustainable Development and Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister in Tunisia.

Harvard Coalition Responds to Syrian Displacement, Refugee Crisis

Continuing its focus on the Syrian refugee crisis, in November 2015 the Middle East Initiative formed the Harvard Coalition for Syrian Refugees, a group that has already made significant contributions to developing actionable responses to the ongoing civil war in Syria that has left over 250,000 dead and 12 million displaced. With its diverse membership of students, fellows, and faculty from nine Harvard schools, the Coalition seeks to leverage the resources across the University to respond to the Syrian refugee crisis through collaborative local, national, and international efforts.

Read more about the Harvard Coalition for Syrian Refugees at belfercenter.org/HCSR
Security Mom: An Unclassified Guide to Protecting Our Homeland and Your Home
By Juliette Kayyem, Board Member, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs
Simon & Schuster (April 2016)

It's time to put the “home” back into our homeland. Part prescription and part memoir, this exceptional view of America’s security concerns by a leading government Homeland Security advisor, Pulitzer Prize–finalist columnist, CNN analyst, and mother of three delivers a message and a plan: security begins at home.

“It is hard to imagine a better collection of traditional security analyses by prominent realist scholars.”
—Deborah Avant
Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver

By Zachary D. Kaufman, Research Fellow, International Security Program
Oxford University Press (April 2016)

In this book, Zachary D. Kaufman explores the U.S. government’s support for, or opposition to, certain transitional justice institutions. By first presenting an overview of possible responses to atrocities (such as war crimes tribunals) and then analyzing six historical case studies, Kaufman evaluates why and how the United States has pursued particular transitional justice options since World War II.

Kaufman demonstrates that political and pragmatic factors featured as or more prominently in U.S. transitional justice policy than did United States government officials’ normative beliefs.

“Dr. Zachary Kaufman’s book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the how’s and why’s of America’s transitional justice policies…. A superb achievement.”
—Dr. Yuen Foong Khong
Li Ka Shing Professor of Political Science, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore

War by Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft
By Robert D. Blackwill, Senior Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and Jennifer Harris
Simon & Schuster (April 2016)

In a cogent analysis of why the United States is losing ground as a world power and what it can do to reverse the trend, War by Other Means describes the statecraft of geoeconomics: the use of economic instruments to achieve geopolitical goals. Geoeconomics has long been a lever of America’s foreign policy. But factors ranging from U.S. bureaucratic politics to theories separating economics from foreign policy leave America ill-prepared for this new era of geoeconomic contest, while rising powers, especially China, are adapting rapidly. The rules-based system Americans set in place after World War II benefited the United States for decades, but now, as the system frays and global competitors take advantage, America is uniquely self-constrained. Its geoeconomic policies are hampered by neglect and resistance, leaving the United States overly reliant on traditional military force.

“Robert Blackwill and Jennifer Harris do policymakers a service by reminding them of the importance of geoeconomic tools. In a world increasingly affected by economic power, their analysis deserves careful consideration.”
—Dr. Henry A. Kissinger
former U.S. Secretary of State

The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics
Eighth Edition
Rowman & Littlefield (July 2015)

The Use of Force, long considered a classic in its own right, brings together enduring, influential works on the role of military power in foreign policy and international politics. Now in its eighth edition, the reader has been significantly revised; with twenty innovative and up-to-date selections, this edition is 60 percent new. Continuing the tradition of previous editions, this fully updated reader collects the best analysis by influential thinkers on the use of force in international affairs.

“It is hard to imagine a better collection of traditional security analyses by prominent realist scholars.”
—Deborah Avant
Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver
Belfer Center Senior Fellow and former Ambassador to India Robert Blackwill has been awarded India’s prestigious Padma Bhushan prize for “distinguished service of a high order.” The Padma Awards are presented annually by the government of India to recognize “distinguished and exceptional achievements and service.”

Blackwill was U.S. ambassador to India from 2001-2003. Prior to his ambassadorship, he was a professor at Harvard Kennedy School where he taught a class in U.S. national security with Belfer Center Director Graham Allison. Following his own advice for students, he wrote himself a memo on his objectives as ambassador, focusing on moving the U.S.-India relationship from one filled with antagonism about a variety of issues to one of broad strategic collaboration.

His legacy as ambassador includes promoting the closest ties between India and the U.S. since the country’s independence in 1947.

Belfer Center Senior Fellow Ben Heineman was named one of the 100 most influential people in business ethics for 2015 by Ethisphere Magazine, the leading publication on ethics. Number 37 out of 100 in this year’s list, Heineman was honored by Ethisphere in 2014 as well.

President Barack Obama has named his former national security advisor and current Belfer Center senior fellow Tom Donilon to lead alongside Sam Palmisano the new Commission on Enhancing National Cybersecurity. The goal of the bi-partisan commission is to strengthen U.S. cyber defenses over the next decade.

Lt Gen (ret.) Tad Oelstrom, director of Harvard Kennedy School’s National Security Program, was awarded the Medal of Gratitude by Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan for Oelstrom’s support of the establishment of Armenia’s new National Defense Research University.

Behnam Taebi, research fellow with the Managing the Atom project and International Security program, has been appointed to the Young Academy, a part of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Young Academy is “a dynamic and innovative group of top young scientists and scholars.”


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Compiled by International Security staff

United They Fall: Why the International Community Should Not Promote Military Integration after Civil War
Ronald R. Krebs and Roy Licklider

Many international peacebuilders have suggested that integrating opposing combatants into a national military after civil war helps prevent conflict from recurring. Analysis of eleven cases of post–civil war military integration, however, reveals that underlying political conditions, not military integration, determine whether peace endures.

Trade Expectations and Great Power Conflict—A Review Essay
Jack Snyder

Does economic interdependence promote peace or war between states? In Economic Interdependence and War, Dale Copeland argues that the answer depends on states’ expectations regarding future trade and whether interdependence will benefit them or make them vulnerable.

The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the Twenty-first Century: China’s Rise and the Fate of America’s Global Position
Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth

China will not soon displace the United States as the international system’s superpower. Unlike previous rising powers challenging leading states, China’s technological and military capabilities are much lower relative to those of the United States. Further, converting economic power into military might is far more difficult than it was in the past.

Is the Taiwan Strait Still a Flash Point? Rethinking the Prospects for Armed Conflict between China and Taiwan
Scott L. Kastner

Since 2008, tensions between China and Taiwan have decreased significantly. Will the risk of cross-strait conflict remain low? There are reasons for optimism: economic ties between the two states are increasing; China’s growing military strength is still offset by the U.S. commitment to Taiwan; and Taiwanese remain pragmatic regarding Taiwan’s sovereignty.

Phil Haun and Colin Jackson

Contrary to conventional accounts, the United States’ 1972 Linebacker I and II deep air interdiction campaigns were not crucial to stopping the North Vietnamese Army’s Easter Offensive or convincing North Vietnam to sign the Paris peace accords. Instead, U.S. close air support and battlefield air interdiction played key roles in achieving these outcomes.

China is...unlike previous rising states and the world in which it is rising is different in ways that hinder the ascent to global power.”
In January, Jill Goldenziel, research fellow with the Center’s International Security Program, spoke to nearly 150 alumnae at the Harvard Club of New York on “The ISIS Psychological Trap: Fear and Xenophobia in the U.S. and Europe.” Goldenziel, who researches international law, human rights, and Middle East law, religion, and politics, has conducted field work over the past 15 years in various parts of the Middle East. She spoke about bombing campaigns, the search for “moderate” allies in Syria, and the need for the West to integrate Muslims into their countries.

Laura Diaz Anadon, assistant professor in public policy with the Belfer Center and visiting senior lecturer in science, technology, innovation and public policy at University College London, presented a Geneva Dialogue lecture in Switzerland in late November on “Energy Technology Innovation and the Role of Domestic and International Actors.” Organized by the Green Growth Knowledge Platform, which includes the United Nations Environment Programme, the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and the Green Growth Institute, her lecture drew on recent interdisciplinary research to highlight new insights on the impact of various policies on advancing energy innovation.

Anadon emphasized in the lecture that policymakers “need to really grapple with how to re-orient innovation systems to better meet the needs of vulnerable populations including both the poor today and future generations who lack a voice in current innovation systems.”

The Belfer Center has a dual mission: (1) to provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues where science, technology, environmental policy, and international affairs intersect, and (2) to prepare future generations of leaders for these arenas.

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