Eyes on Iran’s Nuclear Program

by Sharon Wilke

In a standing-room-only event at Harvard Kennedy School in late September, former national security advisors from the United States and Israel highlighted the significance and the challenges of negotiating with Iran to prevent its development of nuclear weapons.

Thomas Donilon, national security advisor for the U.S. from 2010 to 2013, and Yaakov Amidror, national security advisor for Israel from 2011 to 2013, shared their views on the process of negotiating with Iran to reach an agreement on its current and future nuclear program. In a lively conversation moderated by Belfer Center Director Graham Allison, the officials, who often worked together during their national security tenures, noted their agreements as well as their disagreements on the likelihood and possible content of a deal.

Amidror: “From the Israeli point of view, the threat of Iran is [in a] totally different league of threats from all the others.”

Donilon: “The choice really rests with Iran. The Iranian people have gotten precisely nothing out of this effort to develop nuclear weapons.”

The September “Iran Policy” forum, co-sponsored by the Belfer Center and the Institute of Politics, was part of the Center’s ongoing effort to provide facts and facilitate high-level discussion and debate on Iran’s nuclear program. The JFK Forum discussion can be viewed at belfercenter.org/IranForum.

In October, Jake Sullivan, senior adviser on the Iran nuclear negotiations, enriched the debate at the Center with a discussion of the obstacles and opportunities for reaching an agreement with Iran. While some argue that no deal is better than a bad deal, he said it’s important to remember that in negotiations, any deal is “imperfect” for both sides.

The Center’s new Iran Project is directed by Payam Mohseni, who describes the project and his plans on page 6 of this newsletter. Iran Matters, a website for facts and analysis about issues relating to nuclear negotiations with Iran, is accessible at belfercenter.org/IranMatters.
Autumn is springtime at the Belfer Center. Remarkably, each fall brings a fresh crop of students, research fellows, and senior fellows whose passion and ideas enrich our work. At a welcome lunch, 42 new fellows introduced themselves; from scientific creativity in China to international refugee law, they are covering the policy waterfront.

It is a special pleasure to welcome alumni back in new roles. Decades ago, Dan Poneman was a research fellow and teaching assistant. Today, he’s a Belfer Center senior fellow studying energy issues after a successful five years as deputy secretary of energy. Another Belfer alum has been confirmed by the Senate to replace Dan: Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, formerly a top White House National Security Council official.

We also welcome another alum, Jim Miller, who recently stepped down as the underseretary for policy at the Defense Department. As a senior fellow, Jim will lead a project on preventing war among the great powers.

Former research fellow Payam Mohseni now directs our new Iran Project. As a visiting assistant professor of Iranian and Middle East politics at Harvard, Payam is well equipped to take our formidable work on Iran to the next plateau. As a frequent traveler to Iran who’s fluent in Persian, he is uniquely suited to fulfill the project’s ambition to be a diplomatic bridge with Iranian universities and think tanks. (See page 6 for more on the Iran Project.)

Thanks to a $15 million gift from the United Arab Emirates, we have added another major pillar to our work on the Middle East—the Emirates Leadership Initiative (ELI). Our own Middle East Initiative and the Center for Public Leadership will co-host an array of new leadership, research, executive education, and fellowship programs. Guided by Nicholas Burns and David Gergen, the ELI will deepen our engagement with the peoples and countries of the Middle East.

Harvard students will have the opportunity to drill down on challenges in the Middle East with returning Lamont Lecturers: former Israeli Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Intelligence Dan Meridor and former Saudi Intelligence Chief Prince Turki al Faisal.

From scientific creativity in China to international refugee law, our researchers are truly covering the waterfront of science and international affairs.

Between the Ebola virus, ISIL’s brutal rise, and conflict from Ukraine to Syria, today’s challenges seem particularly stark. As Vice President Joe Biden said in an October Forum: “The international order … is literally fraying at the seams right now.” He’s right to be so concerned. But as Larry Summers has pointed out, 2014 is a year of significant anniversaries that should give us pause before declaring despair. One hundred years ago was the start of WWI; 75 years ago was the start of WWII; 50 years ago was the beginning of America’s war in Vietnam; and 25 years ago brought the beginning of the end of the Cold War.

However this year unfolds, we are not watching it passively. From clarifying terms for a good-enough deal to block Iran’s nuclear advance, to the search for a global agreement on carbon emissions, to stopping ISIL and helping Syrian refugees, Belfer Center’s fellows and faculty are engaged productively in practical policy leadership.

Former Dep. Secretary of Energy Daniel Poneman Joins Center

Former Deputy Secretary of Energy Daniel B. Poneman joined the Belfer Center in October as a senior fellow. Poneman, who served as deputy secretary from 2009 until early October of this year, was responsible for the full range of President Obama’s all-of-the-above energy strategy, including fossil and nuclear energy, renewables and energy efficiency, and international cooperation around the world.

During his tenure, Poneman led negotiations to address Iran’s nuclear program, played an instrumental role in the Department of Energy response to crises from Fukushima to Hurricane Sandy, and headed the Department’s efforts to strengthen emergency response and cybersecurity across the energy sector. As chair of the Credit Review Board, he supported expansion of clean power generation and advanced vehicles. His efforts supported all of the President’s Climate Action Plan—cutting carbon pollution in America, preparing the U.S. for the impacts of climate change, and leading international cooperation to support the first two pillars.

“His exceptional experience across a range of energy and national security disciplines is a major asset to the Center’s growing contribution to this field.”

—Graham Allison

“Dan Poneman brings a wealth of experience in energy and national security issues,” said Belfer Center Director Graham Allison. “From the rise of renewables and shale gas and tight oil in America, to the threat of nuclear materials and climate change, energy issues are increasingly at the center of today’s most pressing policy questions. Dan is uniquely qualified to help the Belfer Center answer them. His exceptional experience across a range of energy and national security disciplines is a major asset to the Center’s growing contribution to this field.”

“I am delighted to be returning to Harvard,” Poneman said. “With such diverse talent, the Belfer Center is the ideal place to think through the profound energy transformation under way in the United States, and its implications for our security, our economy, and our environment.”
Climate Change Agreement Takes Center Stage

by Sharon Wilke

The international agreement on greenhouse gas emissions and climate change to be determined in Paris in December 2015 is “the greatest opportunity the world has had in 20 years to make meaningful progress on this exceptionally challenging issue,” Harvard Project on Climate Agreements (HPCA) Director Robert Stavins said in a Boston Globe op-ed in September. Stavins was in New York City during the week of the United Nations Climate Summit, which included numerous side events and a march that attracted several hundred thousand Americans calling for serious climate actions.

During the Summit week, Stavins hosted a symposium at the Harvard Club of New York City, in collaboration with the International Emissions Trading Association (IETA), to discuss a new study by HPCA suggesting ways the 2015 Agreement can cut carbon emissions by supporting a global climate market. The next agreement, Stavins says, should be flexible enough for countries to develop their own plans. A good way to offer this flexibility, he says, is through “linkage.”

Linkage, described in detail in HPCA’s new study, Facilitating Linkage of Heterogeneous Regional, National, and Sub-National Climate Policies Through a Future International Agreement, consists of connections among cap-and-trade, carbon tax, and other systems that allow emission reduction efforts to be redistributed across systems. There is interest in linkage, Stavins says, because it can achieve significant cost savings and improve the functioning of individual markets while also allowing for the achievement of the UNFCCC’s “common but differentiated responsibilities.”

The new agreement, according to Stavins, should require a common definition of key terms as well as registries and tracking, but with flexibility in requirements to allow specific rules to evolve with experience. A key principle in developing the agreement, he says, is “Do No Harm.” If poorly designed, the new agreement could inhibit effective linkage and positive results.

The complete report will be released before this year’s annual international meeting on climate change set for December in Peru.

For the HPCA executive summary, see belfercenter.org/HPCAreport

Affordable Energy Without Environmental Harm

by Sharon Wilke

As Robert Stavins and the Harvard Project on Climate Agreements research the best architecture for an agreement that will help prevent catastrophic climate change, a new book by Laura Diaz Anadon, Matthew Bunn, and Venkatesh (Venky) Narayanamurti takes on the challenge of transforming energy innovation in the United States—the world’s largest economy—to help provide secure, affordable energy without causing major damage to the environment and the climate.

The authors conclude that an effective energy innovation approach must meet a set of specific criteria they describe as CASCADES.

Transforming U.S. Energy Innovation assesses the role the U.S. government should play in energy technology innovation, which is an essential tool in solving the energy/environment dilemma. The authors analyze how different technologies might interact, complementing or competing with one another. They also explore how the U.S. government can maximize the returns on its energy innovation investments.

Their research convinced the authors that an effective energy innovation approach must meet a set of specific criteria. They describe this as the CASCADES approach.

Energy innovation proposals using the CASCADES criteria, according to the authors, will maximize the chance that U.S. government policy can create “cascades of beneficial energy innovations stretching into the future.”
In an address to the United Nations General Assembly on September 24, President Barack Obama called on the world to join the effort to degrade and destroy the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and to “dismantle this network of death.” Samantha Power, U.S. permanent representative to the UN and Belfer Center alumna, said at the UN on August 15, 2014, “The growth of...ISIL, al-Nusrah Front, and other associates of al-Qaeda represents a grave threat to the people of Syria and the people of Iraq, as well as to the region and the larger international community.”

We asked Belfer Center international security experts to weigh in on this strategic challenge:

As ISIL continues to expand its reach and brutality, what must be done in the next year—by neighboring states, the U.S., or others—to degrade and destroy this group?

Graham Allison, Belfer Center Director

ISIL poses—first and foremost—a threat to Iraq, Syria, and neighbors in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf, Turkey, and Iran. Strategic patience on our part will be required to concentrate the minds of these states, maximizing their incentives to respond—not just to wait for Uncle Sam.

Nicholas Burns, Prof., Practice of Diplomacy and Int’l Politics

Obama is right to resist reintroducing substantial ground combat forces back into Iraq. ...[It] would undermine the essential point [he] has been making to the Iraqi government and its Sunni Arab neighbors—this has to be your fight. (Boston Globe, 9.24.14)

Chuck Freilich, Senior Fellow, International Security Program (ISP)

[T]he U.S. and West [should] come to understand that we are engaged in a fundamental normative and strategic conflict and adopt a generational approach to regional change. This would include state building, including a “Mideast Marshall Plan.”

Nawaf Obaid, Visiting Scholar

No Western ground forces, especially American, should be inserted into this conflict. The damage being done by American strikes on Syria and Iraq on the hearts and minds of the majority of ordinary Muslims is already tremendous.

Ariane Tabatabai, Associate, ISP / Managing the Atom Project

Washington must carefully choose the groups it is supporting in the region. In the past, countries have trained and armed groups in the Middle East and South Asia, which have later revealed themselves to be more dangerous than the initial threat they were supposed to fight.

Payam Mohseni, Director, Iran Project

By viewing ISIS as an opportunity to “reset” its working relations with Iran in the region, the United States can help Iran become a constructive player in the conflict and weaken the potential for it to act as a spoiler or destabilizing force. (National Interest, 10.6.14)

Farah Pandith, Senior Fellow, Middle East Initiative / FDP

America can’t “degrade and destroy” these groups without committing itself (and building a new kind of coalition) to stop the appeal of the extremist ideology. The answer is not in using hard power alone, but combining it with the same amount of attention, coalition building, money, and seriousness in a global soft power strategy.
The U.S. and other coalition forces will need to focus efforts on training and arming local forces, including the Kurdish Pesh Merga, Iraqi Sunni tribal militia, regular Iraqi Army, and the Free Syrian Army. As these forces begin to take the initiative against ISIL, the U.S. will probably need to increase the presence of U.S. military personnel on the ground, including advisors, spotters, and Special Forces.

Looking ahead, we should neither underestimate Iraqi troops (especially after U.S.-led reconstitution operations are conducted) nor overestimate ISIL. ISIL has become mythologized already, and in many ways their military leadership is impressive, but they can be defeated by a coordinated effort of competent forces with intelligent leadership...These campaigns will take years, not months, and considerable resolve, persistence, and sheer will.

The most important element in the campaign is persuading local Sunnis to fight ISIL, which would require making generous offers both in Iraq and in Syria, and making a credible commitment that we will deliver on our promises.

For further insight from these experts, see belfercenter.org/StoppingISIL
Q&A: Payam Mohseni

Payam Mohseni is director of the Belfer Center’s Iran Project and fellow for Iran studies at the Center. He is also a visiting assistant professor in the Department of Government at Harvard University. Mohseni’s research focuses on the internal policymaking process of the Iranian state and the dynamics of factional politics in post-revolutionary Iran. Previously, Mohseni was a research fellow with the Belfer Center’s International Security Program.

Q You’re leading the Belfer Center’s new Iran Program. Tell us about some of its unique goals.

The Iran Project is dedicated to promoting the study of contemporary Iranian politics, particularly on issues that pertain to important challenges of international security, such as the Iranian nuclear program, U.S.-Iran relations, and Iran’s role in the Middle East. It will contribute to the Belfer Center’s already formidable work and expertise on Iran and the nuclear negotiations by taking a more comprehensive and broader analytical perspective on the country.

“I think many people in the West may not recognize how dynamic and educated Iranian society is.”

One especially distinctive feature is our plan to engage Iran—to support collaborative research between Harvard and Iranian universities and to become a diplomatic bridge connecting scholars and students between the two countries. We’re interested in hearing Iranian perspectives and enriching our experience and knowledge of Iranian affairs through dialogue and collaboration. We will also be organizing many events on Iran and the nuclear negotiations by taking a more comprehensive and broader analytical perspective on the country.

Q You spent quite a bit of time in Iran this summer. What’s the mood there? And what are some of the biggest misconceptions Westerners have about the Iranian people?

The mood in Iran is hopeful right now. With the election of President Rouhani last year and the ongoing nuclear negotiations, people want to see a successful resolution of the negotiations, a lifting of sanctions, and the normalization of Iran’s ties to the outside world. They are really hopeful that a peaceful and diplomatic solution is in reach.

I think many people in the West may not recognize how dynamic and educated Iranian society is. There is a rich and vibrant social and cultural life that is absent in common media portrayals of Iran. Iran’s major cities, such as Tehran, are very modern, urban, and more similar to major urban centers found outside the Middle East. Also, Iranians are not anti-Western or anti-American, although they may not like U.S. foreign policies. Iranians are probably the most sympathetic people to Americans in the Middle East if not the Islamic world.

One thing that Iranians are worried about is the instability on their borders, particularly the rise of ISIS. The disgust and fear that Iranians have at seeing images of these terrorist groups is very similar to American perceptions, and it points to a socially rooted convergence of interests between Americans and Iranians in opposing terrorism.

Q In your recent op-eds, you’ve called for greater Western engagement with Iran, in part to combat the threat posed by ISIL. This is not a popular view within the American foreign policy establishment. What gives you confidence that such engagement is both possible and advisable?

U.S. and Iranian cooperation has happened before under seemingly less hospitable circumstances. The Bush administration and Iran cooperated first on Afghanistan following 9/11 and then again on Iraq. And at that time, U.S. and Iranian officials were not even on speaking terms and were not able to formally meet. Today, however, circumstances have changed with the unprecedented public contacts between U.S. and Iranian officials, such as meetings between John Kerry and Javad Zarif, and the phone conversation between Presidents Obama and Rouhani last year. The taboo of direct contact and engagement has broken for both sides.

“Iranians are not anti-Western or anti-American, although they may not like U.S. foreign policies. Iranians are probably the most sympathetic people to Americans in the Middle East if not the Islamic world.”

In addition, there is a clear convergence of interests between the U.S. and Iran in opposing ISIS, preserving regional stability, abating sectarianism, and helping construct more inclusive and durable political systems across the Middle East. Iran, moreover, is one of the strongest and most stable states in the region that actually has the power and influence to effectively shape events outside its borders. To increase its leverage in the region and advance its national interests, the U.S. should engage Iran on these issues. And it should work to produce greater reconciliation between Iran and Saudi Arabia as the two main protagonists of the regional cold war—without which the hopes for peace and stability will be only bleaker in the future.
Spotlight: Venky Narayanamurti

Venkatesh “Venky” Narayanamurti, director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program, is the Benjamin Peirce Professor of Technology and Public Policy and a professor of physics at Harvard. He served as dean of the Harvard School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (SEAS) for 10 years. His scientific career included a number of years at Bell Laboratories and Sandia National Laboratories.

Harvard’s Incomparable Venky
by Josh Burek

Some of America’s most distinguished leaders in academia, science, and technology gathered at Harvard in September to celebrate the 75th birthday of renowned Harvard scientist Venkatesh “Venky” Narayanamurti—and to discuss the future of innovation in America.

Toasters paid tribute to Venky as both an exemplary scientist and friend.

“There are only a few people in the world known by one name. There’s Napoleon, there’s Madonna, there’s Bono… and then there’s Venky,” joked Harvard President Drew Faust, praising his charisma, clarity of vision, and warmth.

“The unifying thread [in Venky’s career] has been his commitment to building institutions and advancing the careers of colleagues and students.” —Graham Allison

Former CIA Director John Deutsch called Venky the “David Ortiz of science and technology,” since he’s a consistent long-ball hitter in many arenas.

Belfer Center Director Graham Allison saluted the selflessness of Venky’s career. “All of our lives and careers have been enriched by his personal attention.”

Amid the birthday tributes, four panels and more than a dozen experts considered a theme that underscores Venky’s own life work: “Inventing the Future to Address Societal Challenges.”

In the first session, Cherry Murray, Nancy Andrews, and Neal Lane discussed ways to reverse America’s declining investments in scientific research. Noting that the U.S. has slipped to 10th in terms of research and development as a percentage of GDP, the panel called on the federal government to restore lost funding to rejuvenate the innovation economy. The erosion of basic research, the experts explained, weakens the foundation on which the whole innovation chain is built: no research, no iPhone.

The second panel explored the history of the legendary Bell Labs and discussed whether a Bell Labs 2.0 would be a good model for incubating 21st century innovation. Arun Majumdar, Danielle Feng, Federico Capasso, and Julia M. Phillips noted that innovation flourished at Bell Labs due to a unique confluence of mission, culture, and leadership. Even the cafeteria—located in the middle and welcoming all colleagues with its round tables—promoted a healthy cross-pollination of ideas.

Replicating the favorable formula of “funding, focus, and freedom” that made Bell Labs such a desirable home for scientists will require substantial reforms in interdepartmental university collaboration, national laboratories, and fresh engagement with the private sector.

The third panel featured George Whitesides, Robert J. Birgeneau, and John Deutch discussing the university of the future and its role in catalyzing game-changing research. The panel noted that public universities—which educate 2.7 million undergraduates each year and nearly twice as many low-income students as their private counterparts—play a vital role in equalizing opportunity in America. Yet public universities are struggling to adapt to an era of dramatic declines in state funding. This very challenge, however, could spur needed reform in staffing, organization, and promotion that re-energizes universities as a hotbed for the innovation economy.

The final panel addressed how policymakers and researchers can better tackle grand challenges on a global scale. William C. Clark, Susan Hockfield, and Granger Morgan covered a series of pressing issues, from overpopulation and disease to environmental degradation and energy transformation. While the panel was enthusiastic about the potential dividends arising from the convergence of biology and the physical sciences, they warned that a deeper cultural shift away from short-term thinking was needed to tackle fundamental drivers of these grand challenges.

For all the serious topics panelists covered, the two-day affair reflected the cheerful nature of its guest of honor. As Allison put it: “You cannot see Venky without smiling.”
Laura Holgate
National Security Council Senior Director for WMD Terrorism and Threat Reduction Laura Holgate has been named U.S. sherpa for the 2016 Nuclear Security Summit. She succeeds Belfer alumna Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, who was U.S. sherpa for the 2014 Nuclear Security Summit.

Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall
Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall was confirmed by the Senate in September as the deputy secretary of energy. Among many objectives, she will focus on “ensuring the safety, security, and effectiveness of the nation’s nuclear weapons and advancing the administration’s nonproliferation agenda.”

Stephen Walt
Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs Stephen Walt is the recipient of the International Studies Association’s 2015 Distinguished Senior Scholar Award. The award is given to honor lifetime achievement in international security studies.

Laura Diaz Anadon
Assistant Professor of Public Policy Laura Diaz Anadon’s paper “Regional Water- and Land-Use Implications of Reducing Oil Imports with Natural Gas, Shale Oil, or Biofuels in the United States” was named Best Technical Paper at the Canadian Renewable Fuels Summit.

Dara Kay Cohen
Assistant Professor Dara Kay Cohen received the American Political Science Association’s 2014 Heinz I. Eulau Award for the best article published in the American Political Science Review. Her article: “Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross National Evidence (1980–2009).”

Gregory Treverton
Managing the Atom / International Security Program Postdoctoral Fellow Eugene B. Kogan was awarded the 2014 Howard Raiffa Doctoral Student Paper Award by Harvard Law School’s Program on Negotiation for his paper “Coercing Allies: Why Friends Abandon Nuclear Plans.”

Calestous Juma
Professor of the Practice of International Development and Director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization project Calestous Juma was awarded the Lifetime Africa Achievement Prize at a ceremony in Nigeria for his work in “Food Security, Agro Processing Development and Quality.”

Adria Lawrence
Former International Security Program Research Fellow Adria Lawrence received the 2014 Jervis-Schroeder Best Book Award from the American Political Science Association for her latest book, Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism.

Michèle Flournoy
The Center for a New American Security (CNAS) selected Belfer Center Senior Fellow Michèle Flournoy as the Center’s new chief executive officer. A co-founder of CNAS, she was under secretary of defense for policy in the first Obama administration.

Keren Yarhi-Milo
Former ISP Fellow Keren Yarhi-Milo received the 2014 Outstanding Article Award in International History and Politics by the American Political Science Association for her article, “In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries.”
Belfer Center at IDEASphere 2014

Incisive questions and ambitious answers marked Harvard Kennedy School’s IDEASphere celebration in late spring. Belfer Center thinkers shared their big ideas in more than a dozen sessions, ranging from China’s rise to nuclear weapons.

Below is a sampling of notable thoughts from those sessions. For more, including summaries and video highlights, see belfercenter.org/ideasphere2014.

“We’ve moved from a position where energy was our Achilles heel to a position where actually we’re now able to talk about energy being a real strength.”
—Meghan O’Sullivan

“We had a cyber Pearl Harbor: His name was Edward Snowden.”
—Ashton B. Carter

“I’m convinced that Iran would have nuclear weapons today if it wasn’t for the efforts of the U.S. and its allies since Reagan...”
—Gary Samore

“Clearly, the defining challenge for the rest of our lives will be the rise of China and the Chinese-U.S. relationship.”
—Graham Allison

“There was a hotline between Washington and the Kremlin. There is no communication between Jerusalem and Tehran.”
—Amos Yadlin

“Let me tell you the number one priority in China. It’s the preservation of the Communist Party. And economic reform is a means to that end.”
—Robert Zoellick

“Terrorist organizations do not possess the skills and technology needed to carry out a large-scale cyber attack today, but might one day in the future.”
—Joseph S. Nye

“I am struck by the fact that...the most effective, successful leader in the world in the last year has been Xi Jinping.”
—David Ignatius

“Challenges to U.S. Global Leadership” was the theme of this Belfer Center panel during the Harvard Kennedy School IDEASphere events in May. Moderator Nicholas Burns (right), director of the Belfer Center’s Future of Diplomacy Project, responds to a question from the audience. Panelists included (left to right) David Gergen, director of the Center for Public Leadership, Meghan O’Sullivan, director of the Belfer Center’s Geopolitics of Energy Project, Graham Allison, director of the Belfer Center, and David Ignatius, Washington Post columnist and Center senior fellow.
View from Turkey: President of the Republic of Turkey Abdullah Gül (left) speaks with Professor Nicholas Burns following Gül’s address in June titled “A View from Turkey: Current Regional Issues and the Way Forward.” During the talk, Gül highlighted the need for dialogue and diplomacy. He emphasized that actions in the international arena should be guided by “wisdom, empathy, prudence, and foresight.”

Order and Decay: Francis Fukuyama, a senior fellow at Stanford University, delivers the 2014 Edwin L. Godkin Lecture at a JFK Jr. Forum in October titled “The Huntington Legacy in Political Development.” Fukuyama also discussed his new book, “Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy,” in the discussion moderated by Belfer Center Director Graham Allison.

Nuclear Issues: Rachel Elizabeth Whitlark, a post-doctoral research fellow with the Belfer Center’s Project on Managing the Atom (MTA) and International Security Program, discusses “Nuclear Beliefs: A Leader-Focused Theory of Counter-Proliferation” at an MTA Seminar. Whitlark investigates the role of leaders’ beliefs in deciding to use preventive military force as a strategy against adversarial nuclear weapons programs.

Cyber Readiness: Melissa Hathaway, senior advisor to the Belfer Center’s Project on Technology, Security, and Conflict in the Cyber Age, briefed the Project on the Cyber Readiness Index and the importance of measuring the costs of Cyber Insecurity. This is an in-depth country analysis of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) connectedness and review of commitment to securing the ICT investments.

Coming Together: Russian Deputy Chief of Mission Ambassador Oleg Stepanov (left) addresses U.S. and Russian participants at the Belfer Center’s two-day conference in October on the “Crisis in U.S.-Russia Relations.” The goal of the conference was to better understand each nation’s views and to make recommendations for the relationship going forward. Also pictured: Graham Allison (center) and Sergei Rogov.

Looking Ahead: Lieutenant General H. R. McMaster, director of the Army Capabilities Integration Center and deputy commanding general of Futures, US Army Training and Doctrine Command (ARIC), discusses the “Future of the Army” and the strategic choices facing the nation’s ground forces. ARIC is tasked with thinking about the next war and how to win it.
Middle East Matters: Nabeela Al-Mulla, former ambassador of the State of Kuwait, discusses Iran’s nuclear program during a Middle East Initiative seminar. Al-Mulla’s many distinctions include ambassadorships to 11 nations, nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize for arms control efforts, and selection as the first Arab woman to serve as permanent representative to the United Nations.

Powerful Policies: Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy James N. Miller, new senior fellow with the Center, discusses the prevention of great power conflict, the project he will focus on at the Belfer Center. Miller, president of Adaptive Strategies, LLC, left the government in January. He was principal civilian advisor to the Secretary of Defense on strategy, policy, and operations.

Asian Relations: Former Prime Minister of Australia and Belfer Center Senior Fellow Kevin Rudd (left) with Vice President of the People’s Republic of China Li Yuanchao during the 2014 Eco Forum Global in Guiyang, China. Rudd’s keynote speech on his Belfer Center project “Alternative Futures of U.S.-China Relations” was delivered in Chinese. Rudd’s assistant Jing Qian is pictured behind him.

African Advancement: Calestous Juma, director of the Belfer Center’s Science, Technology, and Globalization Project (3rd from left), receives the prestigious Lifetime Africa Achievement Prize in Uyo, Nigeria in October. Honored for his work in the application of science and technology to sustainable development worldwide, Juma is pictured with other recipients of the 2014 prize.

Fall of the Wall: Mary Sarotte, visiting professor in government and history at Harvard University, discusses “A Broken Promise? What the West Really Told Moscow About NATO Expansion” at a Belfer Center Board Lunch in September. Sarotte, historian, author, and Belfer Center alum, recently published The Collapse: The Accidental Opening of the Berlin Wall, a book that is getting international attention.

Leaders on Leadership: Jieun Baek (left), Belfer Center fellow and recent Harvard Kennedy School graduate, discusses leadership with two other HKS alums—Ellen Sirleaf Johnson (center), president of Liberia, and Felipe Calderón, former president of Mexico. The event was part of IDEASphere, a two-day celebration of powerful ideas from HKS faculty, alumni, students, and friends.
**FEATURED FELLOWS**

**Gaëlle Rivard Piché:** Gangs and Security in Fragile States

*by Jacqueline Tempura*

Just last year, the work environment of one of the Belfer Center’s newest fellows was a far cry from Cambridge’s quiet campus full of fall foliage and quaint coffee shops.

Gaëlle Rivard Piché, now a Fulbright research fellow in the International Security Program, was working in El Salvador and Haiti studying public order and violence in communities often dominated by gangs.

“It takes a lot of guts,” Piché says of her field research. “You always have to have a plan. I was working by myself, but I like that. I’m kind of a lone wolf.”

Piché has traveled in Central America and the Caribbean learning about security sector reform in fragile states and post-conflict countries. She seeks to find how countries with informal actors can use these groups to increase security.

“Imagine you’ve never seen a police officer in your whole life,” she says. “Or, if the police have always been these really corrupt guys and now they’re coming to you and telling you how to behave. You might not accept it.”

Though her doctoral dissertation is not yet complete, Piché says she has already come to some conclusions. At a local level, negotiations tend to reduce violence. And nationally, she is confirming her hypothesis—that increasing policing can increase violence in some cases.

As a woman in a male-dominated society, she was forced to take her gender into account. She met a man from the University of Oxford completing similar research and noticed discrepancies in their levels of access. While he could meet up with gang members for beers later into the evening, Piché could not for her own safety.

For the interviews she needed, and to collect the most honest information possible, she had to be what she calls a “masculine woman,” something her subjects had a difficult time understanding.

Piché is working with three colleagues to finalize a series of reports on how gender affects field research. Both this and her dissertation are to be published in 2017.

Before coming to Harvard Kennedy School, Piché worked at the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations in New York, the provincial police of Quebec, and the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies in Montreal.

*For more on Gaëlle Rivard Piché, see belfercenter.org/GRP*

**Atiyeh Vahidmanesh:** Education Inequality in the Middle East

*by Isabella Gordillo*

Atiyeh Vahidmanesh became inspired to focus her research on the inequality of educational opportunity after hearing her Virginia Tech advisor and former Belfer Center Visiting Scholar, Djavad Salehi-Isfahani, speak on the issue at a seminar. Salehi-Isfahani also introduced her to the Belfer Center, where she then applied for a research fellowship with the Middle East Initiative through its new Emirates Leadership Initiative. Vahidmanesh, a PhD student in economics at Virginia Tech, describes her research as somewhat interdisciplinary between economics and education.

“The educational system is an important institution that facilitates vertical mobility,” Vahidmanesh says, adding that in parts of the Middle East there is a sense of unfairness in this system. “I think this unfairness can help explain the uprisings in that region,” she says, noting that her research explores how a broken educational system affects political activities.

Vahidmanesh is looking at policies in Middle Eastern countries that explain prominent inequalities in educational opportunity. She hopes her findings can help develop policies to decrease this gap. Her research includes analysis of test scores of 4th and 8th graders around the world.

One of Vahidmanesh’s many goals is to understand the effects of tracking, or grouping of students based on their ability, which is incorporated into most educational systems around the world today. She is determined to provide findings that will improve the lives of disadvantaged families in the Middle East.

“There is literature in education and economics that says tracking may increase the inequality of educational opportunity,” she says. She aims to test whether that is true and why. She also plans to explore the effect of school privatization on inequality in student learning and achievement.

Before obtaining her master’s degree in the United States, Vahidmanesh lived in Iran and volunteered to teach high school courses in the homes of disadvantaged students with no access to schools. John Rawls’s *A Theory of Justice* and John Roemer’s *Equality of Opportunity* fuel Vahidmanesh’s research. Their theories, she says, argue that “any inequality that arises based on the gender, or the birthplace of a person, or another circumstance, which is not under control of that player, is not justifiable.”

“Whenever I talk about the inequality of opportunity, I talk about this concept.”

*For more on Atiyeh Vahidmanesh, see belfercenter.org/Atiyeh*
Farah Pandith, America’s first special representative to Muslim communities, joined the Belfer Center this fall as a Fisher Family Fellow with the Future of Diplomacy Project and as a senior fellow with the Middle East Initiative. Pandith served also in both the State Department and National Security Council, working on Middle East policy and initiatives.

Pandith was appointed the first-ever special representative to Muslim communities in June 2009 by then-U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. Prior to this appointment, she was senior advisor to the assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs. She served as the director for Middle East regional initiatives for the National Security Council, where she was responsible for coordinating U.S. policy on “Muslim World” outreach and the broader Middle East North Africa initiative. In these roles she launched several first-of-a-kind initiatives focused on Muslim millennials, including Europe’s first pan-European Muslim professional network, Generation Change, Viral Peace, and the Transatlantic Leadership Network.

At Harvard Kennedy School (HKS), Pandith leads a series of study groups for students and fellows focusing on the language and tools of extremism. Pandith’s work at the Belfer Center and HKS focuses on preventing recruitment of young people to terrorist networks.

Jairam Ramesh, a member of Parliament from Andhra Pradesh, India, and a leader in international climate negotiations, joined the Belfer Center this fall as a 2014 Fisher Family Fellow with the Future of Diplomacy Project. While at Harvard, Ramesh has made a number of presentations and works closely with the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements. He shares his insights on climate change negotiations with study groups at the School.

Ramesh was chief negotiator for India at the 2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference held in Copenhagen, Denmark, and has long been a leading figure in international climate diplomacy. He has held numerous high-level government posts in India, including as cabinet minister for rural development and union minister of state for environment and forests.

In a “Conversation in Diplomacy” podcast with Future of Diplomacy Project Director Nicholas Burns, Ramesh discussed the issues of equity and commitment in international climate change negotiations as well as Indian responses to poverty. He examined the Indian, Chinese, and American responses to carbon emission reductions, and the lack of Indian action. He also emphasized the importance of the U.S. and China in creating a “broad framework of action” at the 2015 UN Climate Change Conference in Paris.

The “Conversation in Diplomacy” podcast is available at belfercenter.org/Ramesh

Grooming Future International Affairs Experts

This year, 11 Harvard Kennedy School students were selected as Belfer Center International and Global Affairs (BIGA) Student Fellows. The BIGA student fellows are part of a larger group of students at the School enrolled in the Master in Public Policy program with an IGA concentration.

The 2014-15 BIGA fellows bring a diversity of experience from military and government service to non-profit development and outreach. With a range of backgrounds and goals, these future leaders have a common interest in critical international issues.

The fellowship program partners the students with Center professors and practitioners and fosters analytical leadership skills, the importance of community service, and innovation in the international affairs arena.

See more at belfercenter.org/BIGA
The essays that Richard Rosecrance and Steven E. Miller have assembled in this volume are judicious and nuanced, brimming with insights for theorists, historians, and policymakers alike."

—Ali Wyne, Global Asia

HOT OFF THE PRESSES

The Next Great War?
The Roots of World War I and the Risk of U.S.-China Conflict

Edited by Richard N. Rosecrance, Director, Project on U.S.-China Relations; Steven E. Miller, Director, International Security Program (ISP)

Belfer Center Studies in International Security
The MIT Press (December 2014)

A century ago, Europe’s diplomats mismanaged the crisis triggered by the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and the continent plunged into World War I, which killed millions, toppled dynasties, and destroyed empires. Today, as the 100th anniversary of the Great War prompts renewed debate about the war’s causes, scholars and policy experts are also considering the parallels between the present international system and the world of 1914. Are China and the United States fated to follow in the footsteps of previous great power rivals? Will today’s alliances drag countries into tomorrow’s wars? Can leaders manage power relationships peacefully? Or will East Asia’s territorial and maritime disputes trigger a larger conflict, just as rivalries in the Balkans did in 1914?

"Judicious and nuanced, brimming with insights for theorists, historians, and policymakers alike."

In The Next Great War?, experts reconsider the causes of World War I and explore whether the great powers of the 21st century can avoid the mistakes of Europe’s statesmen in 1914 and prevent another catastrophic conflict. They find differences as well as similarities between today’s world and the world of 1914—but conclude that only a deep understanding of those differences and early action to bring today’s great powers together can enable the United States and China to avoid a great war.

Transforming U.S. Energy Innovation

By Laura Diaz Anadon, Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; Matthew Bunn, Professor of Practice, Harvard Kennedy School; Venkatesh Narayanamurti, Benjamin Peirce Professor of Technology and Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; Director, Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program

Cambridge University Press (July 2014)

One of the greatest challenges facing human civilization is the provision of secure, affordable energy without causing catastrophic environmental damage. As the world’s largest economy, and as a world leader in energy technologies, the United States is a particularly important case. In the light of increased competition from other countries (particularly China), growing concerns about the local and global environmental impacts of the energy system, an ever-present interest in energy security, and the realization that technological innovation takes place in a complex ecosystem involving a wide range of domestic and international actors, this volume provides a comprehensive and analytical assessment of the role that the U.S. government should play in energy technology innovation. It will be invaluable for policymakers in energy innovation and for researchers studying energy innovation, future energy technologies, climate-change mitigation, and innovation management.

Digital is the New Third Age: Adventures in the Blogosphere

By Charles G. Cogan, Associate, ISP

CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform (July 2014)

This book is a collection of the author’s blogposts from 2008–2013, almost all of them from The Huffington Post and reposted on the Belfer Center’s website by the International Security Program. Most of them deal with the author’s particular areas of expertise, from North Africa to South Asia, but also with Europe and trans-Atlantic issues. A few are film reviews, and others deal with the U.S. Presidency and the Congress.

Counting Islam:
Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt

By Tarek Masoud, Associate Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School

Cambridge University Press (April 2014)

Why does Islam seem to dominate Egyptian politics, especially when the country’s endemic poverty and deep economic inequality would seem to render it promising terrain for a politics of radical redistribution rather than one of religious conservatism? Tracing the performance of Islamists and their rivals in Egyptian elections over the course of almost 40 years, this book not only explains why Islamists win elections, but illuminates the possibilities for the emergence in Egypt of the kind of political pluralism that is at the heart of what we expect from democracy.

“(D)emystifies Middle East politics and goes to the heart of the most important questions asked about the role of Islam in politics.”

"….Tarek Masoud relies on data from four decades of electoral politics in Egypt to show that the power of Islamic parties comes not from religious rhetoric but rather from the ability to speak to the material concerns of voters. This is an important book, meticulously researched, well-written and clearly argued. It demystifies Middle East politics and goes to the heart of the most important questions asked about the role of Islam in politics…."

—Vail Nasr, Dean, Johns Hopkins University, author of The Rise of Islamic Capitalism and The Dispensable Nation

For more on Belfer Center books and other publications, see belfercenter.org/books

Compiled by Susan Lynch, ISP/STPP
Sigrid Kaag Takes on Syria’s Chemical Weapons

by Josh Burek

In August 2013, the Syrian regime launched a chemical weapons attack on rebel-held neighborhoods outside Damascus that killed more than 1,400 people. At the time, few foreign policy experts would have predicted that just one year later the Assad government would peacefully surrender all of its declared stockpile of chemical weapons.

Many factors contributed to that remarkable disarmament, but the leadership of Sigrid Kaag was instrumental. A seasoned Dutch diplomat, Under Secretary General Kaag has for the past year served as head of the joint Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons-UN mission to destroy Syria’s chemical weapons.

The stockpile’s eradication reflects “a very tangible commitment by the international community.” During an interview before a Belfer Center director’s lunch in September, the woman whom Assad officials have said is “more man than any man” was characteristically modest about OPCW’s achievement. “Nobody ever suggested [that] in addressing chemical weapons we have solved the wider story of Syria. Far from it.” If you’re a Syrian parent, she explained, you don’t really care how your son or daughter gets killed—whether by chemical or conventional weapons.

Still, she recognizes the substantive and symbolic value of her mission’s success. The stockpile’s eradication, she says, reflects a “very tangible commitment by the international community” and a unique confluence of technical resources and political will that could energize future global efforts.

“The almost impossible deadlines,” Kaag said, meant “we couldn’t waste a second….We were on message, on mission, looking for results that you can measure.”

Kaag’s work is not done. The rise of ISIL makes the prospect of chemical weapons making their way into the hands of extremist groups all the more acute. “[O]ur instruments and our policies and our ability to ensure compliance…obviously need to be ratcheted up significantly,” Kaag said. “We’re living in an era where a number of extremist groups declare that the ends justify the means.”

Kaag is anxious about Syria’s future. Citing “tremendous destabilization” in a society disrupted by over 9 million refugees and the “pain and hurt and violations” of a civil war with nearly 200,000 dead, Kaag says it will take a long time for the country to rebuild and heal. Its duration may depend on the international community being as committed to Syria’s rebuilding as it was to its chemical disarmament.

International Security

Vol. 39 No. 1

Summer 2014

The Lessons of 1914 for East Asia Today:

Missing the Trees for the Forest
Ja Ian Chong, National Univ. of Singapore, and Todd H. Hall, Univ. of Oxford

The ubiquitous comparison drawn between pre-World War I Anglo-German antagonism and current U.S.-China relations is flawed. Instead, the outbreak of war in 1914 offers specific lessons for contemporary East Asia concerning the dangers of complex security arrangements, nationalism, and repeated crises. Understanding how these tensions fueled war in Europe a century ago can enhance efforts to manage tensions in East Asia today.

Domestic Coalitions, Internationalization, and War: Then and Now
Etel Solingen, University of California, Irvine

Recent commentary on World War I evokes similarities between Germany then and China now. Ahistorical analogies can mislead, however. An examination of both countries’ governing coalitions shows that China is much more committed to globalization and is more averse to war than was Germany. Further, regional dynamics and the global political economy differ across the two periods. The differences between 2014 and 1914 are much greater than the similarities.

Better Now Than Later:
The Paradox of 1914 as Everyone’s Favored Year for War
Jack Snyder, Columbia University

Why did the European continental great powers view 1914 as a favorable moment for war? An examination of this paradox reveals the limits of rationalist explanations and the bargaining theory of war. Two mechanisms—bounded rationality and coercive diplomacy—help to explain why Europe’s powers initiated war. These mechanisms grew from a culture of militarism and nationalism that distorted the options facing Europe’s leaders in 1914.

Delegitimizing al-Qaida:
Defeating an “Army Whose Men Love Death”
Jerry Mark Long, Baylor University, and Alex S. Wilner, University of Toronto

Al-Qaida has established a metanarrative that has proved to be successful as a recruitment tool, in defending and explaining its actions, and as a weapon of war—the so-called media jihad. The United States and its allies can turn al-Qaida’s metanarrative against it by delegitimizing the ideological motivations that perpetuate support for and participation in terrorism.

Ethnofederalism: The Worst Form of Institutional Arrangement…?
Liam Anderson, Wright State University

Critics of ethnofederalism—a political system in which federal subunits reflect ethnic groups’ territorial distribution—argue that it facilitates secession and state collapse. An examination of post-1945 ethnofederal states, however, shows that ethnofederalism has succeeded more often than not, and that ethnofederal systems have failed only where no institutional alternatives could have succeeded. These findings suggest that policymakers’ and practitioners’ increasing enthusiasm for ethnofederalism is justified.

Dead Wrong? Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War’s Demise
Tanisha M. Fazal, University of Notre Dame

Recent scholarship points to a drop in battle deaths over the past several centuries and suggests that war is declining. Improved medical care, however, has made battle wounds more survivable. War has become less fatal, but not necessarily less frequent. Data on wounded-to-killed ratios, medical research, and interviews with physicians support this claim.

Compiled by International Security staff
Gift Deepens Engagement with Middle East

Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) announced in October a gift of $15 million from the government of the United Arab Emirates to establish the Emirates Leadership Initiative. The five-year program will deepen HKS engagement with the people and countries of the Middle East through an array of new leadership, research, executive education, and fellowship programs.

A collaboration with the Belfer Center’s Middle East Initiative and the Kennedy School’s Center for Public Leadership, the program will be composed of four elements: fellowships for up to 10 exceptional graduate students from the Arab world to study at HKS, a major research initiative focused on the Middle East, executive education for senior officials from the region, and a policy-focused field visit to the UAE for Harvard Kennedy School students.

Understanding the Past to Secure the Future

Stanton Nuclear Security Postdoctoral Fellow Jayita Sarkar and International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom Predoctoral Fellow Se Young Jang took part in a “Stanford Nuclear Bootcamp,” in September, aimed at building a new generation of experts on the international history of nuclear weapons. Invited by former Secretary of State George Shultz and former Secretary of Defense William Perry, they were hosted by Stanford University’s CISAC and the Hoover Institution.

Reducing Risks at the Intersection of Innovative Energy and Cybersecurity

Ryan Ellis, postdoctoral research fellow with the Center’s Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program and its Cyber Project, and Nidhi Santen, project manager for the Energy Technology Innovation Policy research group, are launching a new collaborative ETIP-Cyber Project that looks at the intersection of cybersecurity and electricity systems. Emerging distributed electricity systems for innovations like electric vehicles and rooftop solar PV pose a unique public policy problem from the perspective of cybersecurity risk. The new project will attempt to find ways to reduce these risks.

Welcoming a New Generation

The Belfer Center happily welcomes three brand new members of the community: Rafael, son of Laura Diaz Anadon and her husband, Jeff; Anabel Rose, daughter of Simone O’Hanlon and her husband, Mike; and Kaavya, daughter of Jaganath Sankaran and his wife, Mahi.