

# Kennedy School



JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT BULLETIN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SPRING 2008

## FREEDOM FIGHTER

*Jared Genser MPP 1998 battles  
for prisoners of conscience*

**Plus:**

**Worldy Wise**

*Mason Turns 50*

**An Account  
of War**

*The \$3 Trillion War*



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# Kennedy School

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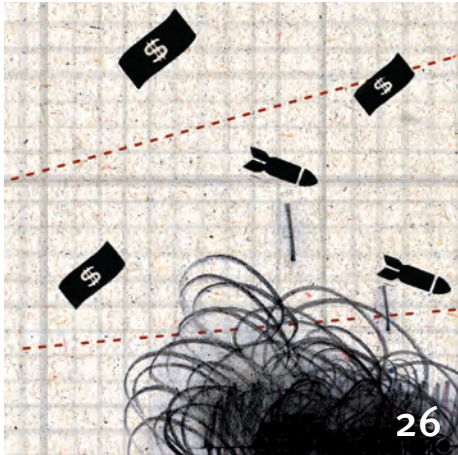
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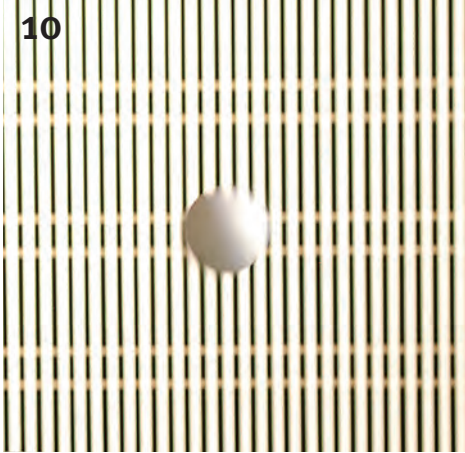
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Dear readers,

As dean I am often asked to speak about our alumni and the amazing impact they are having around the world. This is a task I relish, because so many of our graduates are leading the way in helping solve the world’s most challenging public problems.

Our graduates include UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon MPA 1984, Mexico’s President Felipe Calderón MPA 2000, Hong Kong’s Chief Executive Donald Tsang MPA 1982, and Liberia’s President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf MPA 1971, the first elected female president in Africa.

These individuals are also members of one of our school’s flagship international programs, the Mason Program, which this year celebrates its 50th anniversary.

In the following pages you will read about some of the remarkable people who were Mason Fellows and about the man whose vision launched the program. Fifty years ago, Kennedy School Dean Edward S. Mason, for whom the program was eventually named, had the foresight to know that fledgling democracies need much more than advice to succeed. To truly prosper, countries must have trained leaders who possess the know-how to achieve economic independence.

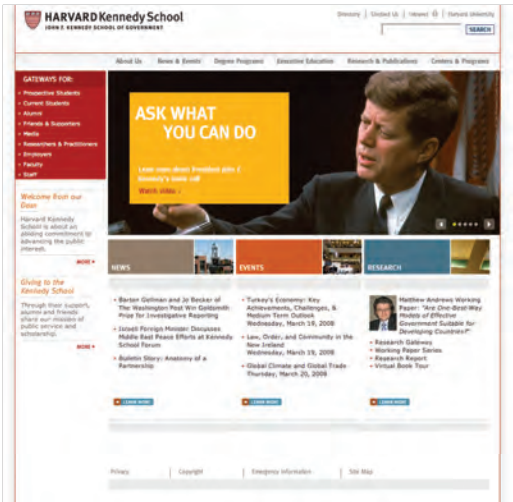
At its outset, this new initiative brought seven individuals from Pakistan, India, and Burma to gain leadership and analytical skills. Within a decade, the program proved so popular that it had grown to include students from countries such as Iran, Colombia, Argentina, Liberia, and Indonesia.

According to many involved in its early years, the program’s accomplishment was not only in the training it provided struggling new democracies, but also in the information it provided developed countries about economic development in developing countries. Today, the Mason Program each year enrolls approximately 50 students from more than 37 countries. In the following pages you will read about some of these extraordinary alumni.

Ed Mason, who died in 1992, was a modest man. But I am certain he would be pleased with the program he started 50 years ago. As his son, Edward, noted several years ago, when asked how his father might have responded to the program’s achievements, “I think he would say, ‘well done,’ to all who have helped to make it a continuing success.”

Later this year, we will celebrate the program’s 50th anniversary and pay tribute to a job well done by this remarkable man and the program’s outstanding graduates.

Dean David Ellwood  
April 2008



Some of the key players in the site’s redesign manned a station in the Forum in early March to publicize the launch. From left: Liz Tempesta, Mark Bourne, Melodie Jackson, Rebecca Loose, Kevin Amarin.



**www.hks.harvard.edu** A university’s Web site has become much more than just that place to look for course listings and events schedules. It has become a powerful reflection of the institution itself. And we think that our new Web site reflects the school a whole lot better. The design is more inspired, the stories are more evocative, and the institution’s resources are more accessible. We hope you agree.

Correction: In the winter issue of the *Bulletin*, we incorrectly reported on page eight that our recycling efforts saved 1,050 trees or 56 acres. The correct number is three acres. The *Bulletin* reader who pointed out the error had this to add:

Paper recycling does in fact have a difficult to determine environmental benefit. Growing pulpwood on a sustainable renewable basis does not damage the environment, unless one desires forests that do not produce timber products. Of course paper recycling requires pulpwood harvesting. Each time paper is recycled the fibers are damaged, and, after a few trips to the recycling plant, the fibers are too damaged to be used and therefore new — virgin fiber — is required to restock even the recycled fiber feedstock. There is also considerable energy and chemical input in

recycling, which has its own environmental footprint, which may or may not be more troubling than paper made from new fiber. Of the advantages of pulpwood and new fiber use is that it helps keep the rural economy alive and increasingly importantly it keeps forest land valuable enough that owners can afford to pay taxes and hopefully a profit. This provides an economic incentive for private owners (80% of all forests in the eastern U.S. are private, 30% in the west) to keep their property covered by trees even with regular harvests. Without such value, forest land is typically sold or given up for taxes (historically) and over time lost from the green space we all value.

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## The Soul of Democracy

*Vuk Jeremić MPA/ID 2003 fights for Serbia's future*



*"If the Balkans remain  
a source of division inside Europe,  
Europe is going to stay weak."*

*— Vuk Jeremić*

SERBIAN MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Vuk Jeremić MPA/ID 2003 considers the significance of the date of his visit to the Kennedy School last fall. Five years earlier to the day — September 20, 2002 — Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindic spoke at the Kennedy School in the same Forum that Jeremić was to address later that evening.

Five years ago, Jeremić remembers, the Forum was "packed to the roof" to hear the man who had led the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic. A student here at the time, Jeremić could not know then that Djindic had only months to live. On March 3, 2003, Djindic was assassinated by a member of a Serbian paramilitary group.

Looking back, Jeremić describes himself and his fellow reformists and countrymen as "starry-eyed." These were not just ghosts of the past," he said, referring to the men who assassinated Djindic, "these were guys with guns ready to kill, and they were still very much a reality."

Until Djindic's assassination, Jeremić, a Cambridge University-trained physicist, had planned to return to Serbia after graduating from the Kennedy School to help the country's newly formed democratic government with economic development. But Boris Tadić, the new defense minister, had other plans for him.

So, after graduation, Jeremić returned to Serbia to work in the defense ministry. It was obvious, he said, that the military was part of the overall resistance to reform and had been involved in the assassination. "Until we fought for something far more fundamental, there would be no development," said Jeremić. "At that moment, the fight for the soul of democracy was being fought inside the defense ministry. We would have either gotten them or they would have gotten us."

After Tadić ran for the presidency in 2004 and won, Jeremić became his foreign policy advisor and last spring, the minister of foreign affairs.

"I would never have thought I was going to be in defense and foreign affairs," said Jeremić. "What was never wavering was my commitment to public service and that what really mattered was to help the development of Serbia."

Jeremić credits the Kennedy School for that unwavering dedication. "Coming from the Kennedy School and being surrounded by people who are totally devoted to the public good just gave me the clarity of purpose."

It was during a chance meeting in 1999 with then-Director of the Kokkalis Program, Dimitris Keridis and then-Associate Director Elaine Papoulas, now program director, when Jeremić was in Boston visiting friends, that he was introduced to the Kennedy School. Learning of Jeremić's involvement with Serbia's democratic opposition movement, the Kokkalis director arranged to host the movement's leaders in the Forum the following spring.

Jeremić describes the scene that night in 2000 as "electric." It was the first time that all of Serbia's opposition leaders had gathered in one place. The Forum was packed. It was then, he says, that he knew he had to come to the Kennedy School. In September 2001, Jeremić entered the MPA/ID program, the year after Serbia's democratic revolution took place.

Today, as minister of foreign affairs, Jeremić acknowledges the continuing challenges facing the Balkans. The Balkans, he says, will determine the shape of the European debate. "If the Balkans remain a source of division inside Europe, Europe is going to stay weak. If Europe solves this problem successfully, then it is on its way to becoming a global player." — SA



# Computer Classroom

*Executive Education adds online learning*



*There are tens of thousands of leaders  
in countries all over the world  
that we'd like to reach...*

PEOPLE COME FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD to take part in Harvard Kennedy School Executive Education programs. Now the programs will come to them — through their computers.

Launched in the spring, Executive Education’s first online program, Strategic Frameworks for Nonprofit/Nongovernmental Organizations (SFNO) is for executives of nonprofit and nongovernmental organizations for whom the costs and logistics of attending the Kennedy School are prohibitive. But the demand for executive education is still great, says Christine Letts, senior associate dean for executive education and Rita E. Hauser Lecturer in the Practice of Philanthropy and Nonprofit Leadership, chair of the inaugural program.

“In cooperation with the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, we’ve spent the last 10 years developing good curriculum for nonprofit leaders and social entrepreneurs, and we recognize that many, many nonprofit leaders in the

distance learning initiatives. SFNO requires participants to read preparatory material, participate in online discussions, answer study questions, complete an analysis of their own organization in the course workbook, and interact with course assistants. The resulting experience equals the demands of the traditional classroom programs offered by Executive Education, according to Letts. “I see how they interact with one another on the discussion board about the concepts, and the workbook shows me how they have applied the coursework to their organizations,” she says.

Currently three additional online programs are planned during the next year on financial management, organizing, and governance. Executive Education is doing all it can, Letts says, to provide access to people who could benefit from the training of the Kennedy School, including seeking sponsors for fellowships. — LR

## Housing Continues Downward Spiral

According to the Joint Center for Housing Studies’ 2007 *State of the Nation’s Housing Report*, the housing market is in the midst of a clear downturn. Unfortunately, since the report’s release, says the center’s executive director, Eric Belsky, there’s been a further decline in production, home sales, and housing prices.

“It’s a clear worsening,” says Belsky, “especially for the Midwest, Florida, and California.”

Unlike a similar major deterioration in the late 1980s into the 1990s, says Belsky, the current downturn was triggered by national conditions. During the housing boom that preceded the latest downward fall, interest rates were at historic lows, the market was tight, and inexpensive credit was available to borrowers originally denied it. This combination of factors led to housing price appreciation, price wars, and increased investor activity.

“So you have the market building up to a level that is greater than a sustainable level,” says Belsky, “and this just continues and feeds on itself,” making housing unaffordable. By 2004 and 2005, interest rates started climbing, the market was flooded with too much supply, and a reversal began. A pushback on pricing cued many investors to exit the market, and then mortgage problems arose.

In 2007, more than a million homes entered foreclosure, Belsky says, double the normal yearly rate.

Some of the pressures on the stricken market can be alleviated with a quick drop in home building, which is now occurring, he says. However, the future outlook depends on how long credit is constrained, on interest rates, and on the state of the economy in case of a recession.



“The fundamental problem with the decision to own a home,” said Belsky, “is that it’s based on the future and what happens in the future, and the future is uncertain.”

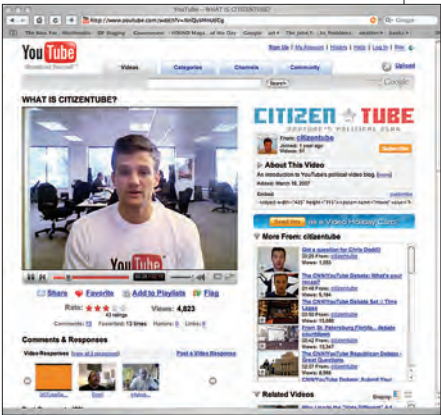
With all the turmoil in the housing and mortgage markets and the public policy issues dealing with the chronic housing problems, the next *State of the Nation’s Housing Report*, due out in June, will bring updated clarification to the complexities of recent trends. The center has produced the annual report for 20 years.

## Eliminating the Middleman

*Coming up fast on the boys on the bus*

YouTube, the video-sharing site that has risen to Web stardom in the less than three years since its creation, is doing for politics what it has done for the amateur filmclip: eliminating the middleman and bringing it straight to the people.

Steve Grove MPP 2006, YouTube’s head of news and politics, has seen the site become an indispensable part of campaigning.



Steve Grove on his inaugural YouTube appearance.

All the major parties’ presidential candidates built their own YouTube channels, where they could post anything from slick commercials to quick informal messages. YouTube cohosted two of the most widely seen primary debates ever, with questions submitted by users. And, naturally, there have been thousands of political videos, from hilarious rants to sober analysis, posted to the site by the public.

The Internet has been an important part of news and politics for a while now. Bloggers and Internet fundraising were crucial components of the 2004 presidential elections. And more than a quarter of Americans now get their news online.

But the impact video-sharing sites could have on politics became famously apparent in 2006, with the infamous ‘macaca’ incident. When Sen. George Allen, R-VA, was caught on tape using an alleged racial slur during a campaign stop, the incident was immediately posted by his opponent’s campaign and viewed hundreds of thousands of times. Allen narrowly lost his seat, and the Democrats won control of the Senate.

“That was a seminal moment in American politics, where you saw that suddenly voters and citizens had more power than ever before to hold politicians accountable,” Grove says.

Grove says he fell hard for YouTube as he traveled round the world with two Kennedy School colleagues in the summer of 2006, when they used the site to post their own videos.

“I was amazed by the way in which this new video technology was liberating people to speak in a way that they had never been able to before,” he says.

The future looks busy. More candidates, for every conceivable office, are flocking to the site. Millions of users are checking them out. And the general election is still around the corner.





Rohini Pande

# The Big Unknown

**Q&A>>>** THE DEARTH OF WOMEN entering the political arena is a problem that cuts across both poor and rich countries. Rohini Pande, professor of public policy, whose current research looks at bias against women leaders in 500 villages in West Bengal, India, examines the extent to which exposure to women in political roles may actually reduce bias.

>>> How has political affirmative action contributed to improving the situation for women in India?

What's improving the situation is that affirmative action has already been implemented in India and South Bangladesh at the local level. At this level — we were looking at village councils — one-third of positions must be reserved for women. My research shows that affirmative action plays an important role in these societies because it affects people's willingness to have women as leaders and influences beliefs about what women can do as leaders.

>>> How are women leaders in India's village-level democracies evaluated when there is no prior exposure to them in such positions?

What we found is that although women may be doing things differently than men, they didn't seem to be doing worse in terms of performance. However, they are systematically evaluated as doing worse than men by the general population.

>>> What sort of progress have U.S. women made in entering the political arena?

Female participation in the labor force has increased dramatically in the United States, but women's representation in politics has been much slower. Women are not only entering politics at lower rates than men, but also at lower rates than other disadvantaged groups, which at least raises the possibility that political leadership is not seen as an appropriate role for women.

>>> What role does gender play in the current U.S. presidential campaign? Exposure to greater female leadership might open the doors for more women to follow because people will learn that women are fallible in exactly the same ways as men or, perhaps, in different ways. Currently people don't know whether the gender of the candidate should be an important issue. Right now it is a big unknown. — DPK

## Newsmakers

### APPOINTMENTS/PROMOTIONS

**One School** Stew Uretsky has been promoted to chief administrative and financial officer. The move is part of a "One School" initiative designed to increase collaboration across administrative functions. He will oversee the school's financial, human resource, and facilities functions, as well as the information services department.

**Informed Officer** Don Oppenheimer is the school's new chief information officer. His extensive experience includes 15 years as the chief information and knowledge officer of Goodwin Procter LLP. For the past four years, he has been an independent information and knowledge management consultant.

### New Development

**Mary Beth Pearlberg** has joined the school as the new senior associate dean for external affairs. Pearlberg, who will lead the school's development initiatives and oversee alumni programs, most recently led fundraising efforts for a new university for women from South and Southeast Asia.

### Career Move

**Sandra Hessler** MPA 2000 is returning to the Kennedy School as assistant dean and director of the Office of Professional Development. Hessler has long experience in marketing and brand management and also taught a class on "Marketing for Social Change" at Tufts University's Center for Women and Enterprise.

### ALUMNI IN THE NEWS

**Medal Winner** Liberian President **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf** MPA 1971 was awarded the presidential Medal of Freedom in November. "All her life, President Sirleaf has been a pioneer," President Bush said at the White House award ceremony. "The president has the tough mind of a natural-born executive and the gentle instincts of a mother." In June, Johnson Sirleaf will be Harvard Kennedy School's commencement speaker.



Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

**Good Gig** The efforts of **Michelle Rhee** MPP 1997 to turn around the public school system in the nation's capital continue to attract attention and plaudits. But in a recent *Wall Street Journal* profile,



she insisted that being a school chancellor was a "one-time gig...so I can make every single decision in a way in which I think is in the best interests of the kids — without the politics, without owing people, just with that in mind." Rhee spoke at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum on April 15.

### AWARDS AND HONORS

**Advancing Science** **William Clark**, professor of international science, public policy, and human development, has been made a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). The AAAS cited Clark's contributions to interdisciplinary studies of global environmental change, particularly in regard to the uses of scientific knowledge in sustainability policies and practice.

**Humble Servant** **Timothy Patrick McCarthy**, adjunct lecturer in public policy, received the National Coalition for Burned Churches' 2007 Humble Servant Award. As the founding director of Harvard's Alternative Spring Break Church Rebuilding Program, McCarthy has brought nearly 200 students to the South since 1997 to rebuild African-American churches that have been burned by arson attacks.

### CENTERS AND PROGRAMS

**Ash Institute** After five years at the helm, **Gowher Rizvi** will step down as director of the Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation at the end of June to become senior advisor at the Sheikh Mohammad bin Rashid Al Maktoum Foundation. He will be replaced by **Tony Saich**, a professor of international affairs and director of the Harvard University Asia Center.

**Hauser Center** After 10 years as faculty director of the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, **Mark Moore** MPP 1971, PHD 1974 passed the baton to **Chris Stone**. Stone, who will continue to direct the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, has helped lead and create more than half a dozen nonprofit organizations domestically and internationally.

**IOP** After eight years as director of the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum — that's 614 Forums — **Bill White** MPA 2003 returned to public service, joining the Patrick administration as assistant secretary for federal relations in the Department of Energy and Environmental Affairs.

**Mason Fellows** **Paulina Gonzalez-Pose** is the new director of the Mason Fellows Program. Gonzalez-Pose comes to the school from the Inter-American Development Bank, where she has worked for a dozen years. She is a native of Chile and a U.S. citizen.

MARATHA STEWART  
BOTTOM: JAMICE MADEAU; TOP: MARATHA STEWART



## Challenge Accepted

British-born Professor Malcolm Sparrow MPA 1986 (near right) happened to mention to MPP2 students at last fall's orientation that he'd never lost a game of table tennis to an American. Naveed Malik MPP 2008 (far right) decided to defend the honor and abilities of all U.S. students by challenging Sparrow, faculty chair of the MPP Program, to prove his claim. The result: a table was purchased and installed in the Taubman rotunda, students were recruited, and much table tennis was played. And does Sparrow's assertion remain true? "So far so good," he says with a smile. "What's really delightful is that so many students from all across the world turn out to enjoy this game."

TAMU SAKAKINI

Butterfly  
NATIONAL LEAGUE



# Designer Good

Cynthia Smith MPA 2005 curates public service

PRONOUNCED ALOUD, the word “design” has a sleek sound that fits well with its usual associations: the curvy bumper of a sports car, for example, or an elegantly minimal, terrifically expensive chaise lounge. For Cynthia Smith MPA 2005, however, the word has connotations that stretch well beyond the usual notion of a nifty, must-have object. Trained as an industrial designer, Smith, a curator at the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum in New York, recently organized “Design for the Other 90%,” an exhibition that explores a growing trend among designers to develop solutions for the approximately 5.8 billion people (90 percent of the world’s population) not traditionally served by the professional design community. This includes more than half the world who live on less than two dollars a day and lack the means to obtain such basics as health, shelter, water, education, energy, and transportation.

“Quite often, the designers involved in these projects don’t have design training,” Smith remarks. “These designers use current technologies, or look to earlier applications to find what is most affordable for any given design, and use emerging technologies to leapfrog communities into this century.”

The bamboo treadle pump is a piece of equipment that has been around for decades. It works when the user walks in a natural walking motion on two treadles that activate the pistons and enables farmers to reach water below ground during the dry season. The nonprofit organization International Development Enterprises reengineered the pump out of inexpensive materials, reducing the cost so that farmers in Asia and Africa could afford to purchase one of their own. As a result, many of the farmers doubled their net annual incomes in one year. “That pump and many of the other objects in the show were developed by working directly with the end user to determine exactly what they need to emerge from poverty,” says Smith.

Above: The Q-Drum transports water. Designer: P.J. and J.P.S. Hendrikse; manufacturer: Kaymac Rotomoulders and Pioneer Plastics, Pretoria, South Africa, 1993; linear low-density polyethylene (LLDPE); dimensions: 14”h x 19.5” diameter

Right: Global Village Shelters are temporary, emergency shelters. Designer: Ferrara Design, Inc., with Architecture for Humanity; manufacturer: Weyerhaeuser Company, United States, 2004; triple wall-laminated corrugated cardboard; dimensions: 92”h x 98.5”w x 98.5”d



Some of the projects included in the exhibit have been around for years, while others are prototypes. A Day Labor Station designed by Public Architecture (PA) offers sanitation facilities, meeting space, and shelter for the multitude of day laborers who look for work each day in the United States. “Normally architects in the public sector wait for a municipality or some public agency to come to them with a design request,” notes Smith. “In this case, PA went out and spoke to day laborers, treating them as they would any client and creating something that actually meets their needs.” So far, agencies in Texas and California have been in touch with PA about building stations in their states.

DRUM: ©1993 P.J. HENDRIKSE; SHELTER: ©2005 ARCHITECTURE FOR HUMANITY AND GRENVILLE RELIEF, RECOVERY, AND RECONSTRUCTION; PUMP: ©2003 INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ENTERPRISES; ILLUSTRATION: JAVICE NABEAU

Above: Bamboo treadle pump. Designer: Gunnar Barnes and International Development Enterprises Nepal; manufacturer: small- and medium-sized local workshops, Nepal and Bangladesh, 2006; metal, plastic, bamboo; dimensions: 5’h x 2.5’w x 7’d



Before coming to the Kennedy School, Smith worked for a New York architecture firm with a primary focus on planning for cultural institutions. A longtime political activist, she made an unsuccessful bid for district leader in Manhattan’s District 66. “I have friends who say, thank goodness you lost or you never would have gone to the Kennedy School,” she laughs. “My studies there and the people I met informed how I curated the show.

At the Kennedy School, you get windows into worlds that you might not see otherwise. It’s a broad, cross-disciplinary perspective that mirrors what I saw in my research, where so much of the innovative work is happening across sectors.”

As a result of the exhibit, Smith has been speaking on the topic of socially responsible design at a number of schools and universities. “That’s been quite wonderful because a lot of this work is coming out of universities,” she says. “I really think there’s going to be a shift as students graduate and focus on this area of design.” — JH

For more information visit <http://blog.cooperhewitt.org/category/Design-for-the-Other-90/>. The exhibit will next open in spring at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis.

## A Matter of Trust

Study shows difficult adjustment for diverse communities

Communities with more ethnic diversity tend to possess lower levels of trust, social solidarity, and social capital, according to a study conducted by Robert Putnam, Malkin Professor of Public Policy.

The 2007 study, which drew its findings from 30,000 individuals living in communities across the country, found that as diversity increases in communities, individuals are less likely to trust their neighbors and involve themselves in community activities and more likely to watch television and generally “hunker down.”

The study showed that in a diverse community, even when individuals were of the same ethnic background, they were less trustful of each other. One unfortunate result of this study, Putnam says, is that the findings have been used by some to reinforce fears of living among people from different ethnic backgrounds and as an argument against immigration.

Describing himself as a strong advocate for diversity, Putnam points out that, over the long run, ethnic diversity has many demonstrable advantages to society, including cultural, economic, and fiscal.

“Becoming comfortable with diversity is not easy or quick,” said Putnam, at the time the findings were released last year, “but it will be speeded by our collective efforts and in the end will be well worth the effort. One great achievement of human civilization is our ability to redraw more inclusive lines of social identity. Our national motto — *e pluribus unum* — reflects precisely that objective — namely to create union out of diversity. Our current immigration debate needs to focus more on that task.”

Putnam, who also directs the Saguario Seminar, first published his findings in “E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century” last June. In 2000, he received worldwide recognition for his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, about the decrease in civic engagement in the last several decades and the benefits of “social capital” or social networks to both individuals and communities. For further information about Putnam’s latest work, visit [www.blackwellpublishing.com](http://www.blackwellpublishing.com) and [www.hks.harvard.edu/saguario](http://www.hks.harvard.edu/saguario).





Advisor to Presidents, Friend to the School



Dick Darman teaching in the Executive Education Program, Senior Managers in Government, in 1980

Richard Darman, a faculty member, a friend of the school, and a public servant who held senior positions under five presidents, died in January of leukemia. He was 64.

“He was a remarkable man, a demanding public servant, a superb professor, and a friend to me, the school, and

the university,” said Dean David Ellwood.

Darman, who grew up in Wellesley, Massachusetts, graduated from Harvard in 1964 and the Harvard Business School in 1967, before joining government service. He worked in a succession of cabinet departments before arriving at the Justice Department in 1973. He helped arrange the plea bargain that led to Vice President Spiro Agnew’s resignation. He then followed his mentor, Attorney General Elliot Richardson, who quit rather than follow President Nixon’s orders to fire Special Watergate Investigator Archibald Cox.

He was back in service under President Gerald Ford, and then briefly under President Jimmy Carter before coming to the Kennedy School in 1977 as adjunct lecturer and lecturer. But he was soon drawn back to government service.

In 1980, he joined the Reagan administration as assistant to the president, controlling the flow of paper to the president. It was a position that made Darman, as one insider noted, the “nerve center” of the administration.

With the election of President George H.W. Bush in 1988, Darman joined the cabinet as director of the Office of Management and Budget. In 1990 he helped negotiate a deficit reduction deal with Democrats that would force Bush to go back on his “read my lips, no new taxes” election promise. It was good policy, Darman would argue, but it proved to be politically poisonous.

Darman joined the Carlyle Group, the private equity investment firm, in 1993. By 1997, he was back at the Kennedy School, serving as public service professor until 2002, and then as a member of the Visiting Committee.

He also served for many years as a member of the board of directors of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

Footprint >>> Jameel Poverty Action Lab

In the often contentious debate over foreign aid and development, which can perhaps be reduced crudely to more money versus more efficiency, the Jameel Abdul Lateef Poverty Action Lab seeks to add a note of scientific rigor.

Since its founding in 2003 at MIT, the lab has taken an exacting, quantitative approach to development policy, using a network of researchers both in the field and in the lab to conduct randomized trials.

The results have been important and innovative contributions to policy debates on issues ranging from improving teacher attendance in rural India to finding a link between intestinal worms and student performance. (see sidebars).

Kennedy School faculty and alumni are playing an important role in its work. Dan Levy, senior economics lecturer, provides training support, and Rohini Pande, economics professor, is another senior affil-

iate, focusing on microcredit organizations in India.

Several alumni also have joined the lab: Paz Guzman Caso de los Cobos MPA 2007 is senior project manager at the lab’s Cambridge office; Elizabeth Beasley MPA/ID 2005 is head of the lab’s European office; Lindy Miller MPA/ID 2004 heads up the

lab’s South Asia office; and Florencia Devoto MPA/ID 2004 is coordinator of the lab’s projects in Morocco. Other alumni work closely with the lab on some projects, such as Katie Conn MPA/ID 2006, who is an evaluation consultant on education and public health projects in Kenya.



**Teacher attendance** In rural Indian schools, it’s the teachers who often play hooky, sometimes up to 50 percent of the time. The Poverty Lab studied several policies designed to boost teacher attendance. The data suggested the most effective way to ensure the teacher’s presence was to give students a cheap camera and have them take a picture of the teacher at the beginning of school and before the final bell.



**Deworming** Randomized trials sometimes offer unanticipated insights. A project in Kenya looked at primary school participation focused on the effects of deworming young children. The analysis found children were healthier, had lower rates of anemia, and even grew a little taller. In addition, when younger children were dewormed, they attended school 15 more days a year. The lab found deworming was the most inexpensive way of increasing participation. A global deworming initiative has been launched following that research.

ABOVE: MARTHA STEWART

JANICE MADEAU

A Meeting of the Minds

Business and government partner

ON A COLD JANUARY NIGHT in 1983, Professors Richard Neustadt, Thomas Schelling, Al Carnesale, Winthrop Knowlton, and Graham Allison gathered for dinner. The food for thought: the central intellectual question of the Center for Business and Government, founded the year before.

As Knowlton, the Center’s first director recalls: “We were asking, how do we want the business-government relationship to change? Do we want them to be partners?”

Business, says Knowlton, has emerged as a global force. For evidence he points out that one has to look no further than Walmart’s ability to mobilize supplies to flood victims during Hurricane Katrina. “We are in a state of some denial about the failures of the public sector,” says Knowlton. But does the rise of the private sector “redress the growing imbalances between efficiency and equity?”

Professor Roger Porter, director of the center from 1998 to 2001, believes the United States has made some progress toward bridging the gulf between the two sectors. “We have had a remarkable run of economic growth in the United States in the last 25 years,” says Porter, due in part to a less adversarial relationship between the two sectors.

Addressing the needs of business, government has “attended to producing smarter and less burdensome regulation and...has been quite responsible in handling the macroeconomic measures such as inflation and unemployment, to create an environment so business can flourish.” And, adds Porter, business has been responsive to the needs of society in meeting social objectives such as health, safety, and a cleaner environment.

For the past two and a half decades, the intersection of the business-government relationship has been the business of the center, renamed the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government in 2005. The tension in balancing regulation and free market innovation was the focus of the center’s anniversary conference, “New Directions in Regulatory Policy,” last October.

More than 100 experts explored regulatory policy in a number of sectors, including the environment, financial services, health care, and energy. The conference featured



keynote addresses by two top regulators: Mark McClellan MPA 1991, former Medicare administrator and FDA chief; and current SEC Chairman Christopher Cox, who spoke at the first endowed Glauber Lecture.

“The balance between business and government has shifted back and forth in recent decades,” notes Professor John Ruggie, the center’s current director. “We’ve got to get over an either-or mentality if we are to deal with pressing social challenges at home and abroad. Each sector has indispensable roles to play that it cannot — and must not — relegate to the other. Our aim at the center is to define those roles and to suggest the best means of putting them into practice.”

As Harvard’s Kennedy School and Business School launch their first joint degree program in fall 2008, many students will have careers spanning both sectors. The work of the center and of these students will create public value at the nexus of the public and private sectors. In an economy that is faster, more high-tech, and more global than 25 years ago, says Ruggie, maximizing the synergies of the business-government relationship is more critical than ever before. — MDM

For additional information go to [www.hks.harvard.edu/m-rcbg/25thanniversary.htm](http://www.hks.harvard.edu/m-rcbg/25thanniversary.htm).





# ONE MAN'S LAWYER

**JARED GENSER MPP 1998**

was a second-year law student, two years out of the Kennedy School, doing an externship with a

human rights group in London when he came across James Mawdsley's case.

Mawdsley was in a Burmese prison. It was his third time, but this time there had been no quick deportation. This time the young Briton's protest of that country's military dictatorship – he had been arrested as he handed out prodemocracy leaflets – had earned him a 17-year prison sentence in solitary confinement.

Genser didn't know exactly what he could do, but he contacted Mawdsley's family and asked if he could represent their son. A member of the British House of Lords was helping them, but they did not have a lawyer. He reminded them that he was still a student, but they said they would take all the help they could get.

*Using the law, and sometimes much more, to fight for human rights*

BY ROBERT O'NEILL PHOTOGRAPHY BY DAVID DEAL



## “For me everything clicked at that moment.”

“I had an idea of what to do although I didn’t know how effective it was going to be,” Genser says.

Retracing the steps he had taken while working on a human rights case during an internship the previous summer, he filed a brief with a relatively obscure United Nations body, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, detailing the illegality of Mawdsley’s imprisonment.

That summer, while working in Washington, he took the case to Capitol Hill too, eventually getting 23 lawmakers to sign a letter urging Mawdsley’s release.

Mawdsley was more than 400 days into his sentence, and Genser was back studying in his dorm room for a law school corporate finance mid-term when the United Nations called. The UN body had ruled Mawdsley was being held in violation of international law. With news coming out that Mawdsley had also been severely beaten by prison guards, the pressure on the Burmese government grew too intense. Mawdsley was released.

Two days later, in a VIP room at Heathrow Airport, Genser finally met his client. Mawdsley gave him a firm handshake, then said: “Thanks, you saved my life.”

“For me everything clicked at that moment,” Genser says. “I didn’t really fathom what being a human rights lawyer meant other than helping people in tough circumstances. But that’s an abstract concept. For me, this was an affirmation of my view that I might actually be able to help people suffering under the yoke of oppression. It was proven correct at that one moment, and it was extraordinary.”



Genser and James Mawdsley, on the day Mawdsley arrived in London on October 20, 2001

### PUBLIC SERVICE

had defined Genser’s life from a very early age. He was working in a soup kitchen in seventh grade, and in high school, in the Washington suburb of Potomac, Maryland, he was volunteering in a hospice.

The impetus, he says, came from his parents — his father a psychiatrist in government service, his mother a clinical social worker.

“I came from a family that was in public service in one way or another,” he says. “I was always encouraged to try to do my part, to leave my mark on the world, and have a positive impact on people.”

By the time he was an undergraduate at Cornell, he was teaching English as a second language to university employees, founding the Best Buddies Program to help people with developmental disabilities, and organizing a public service day for students.

He took a year off to work with Kathleen Kennedy Townsend’s Maryland Student Service Alliance, helping implement a statewide community service requirement for high school graduation, then after graduating he traveled to Israel

on a Raul Wallenberg Fellowship, working in the office of then-Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert.

Genser arrived at the Kennedy School as one of the first recipients of the prestigious public service fellowships. His focus was on criminal justice policy and conflict resolution and he spent his summer in South Africa helping establish a community service model there. He was cutting a path toward a career in domestic public service work.

And then the Chinese president came to Harvard.

Genser didn’t see anything wrong with Harvard’s invitation to President Jiang Zemin in October 1997. But he says he was shocked by the university’s policy to ban protesters from campus and its initial decision to prevent students from questioning the Chinese leader.

He became one of the leaders of the student protest accidentally, he recalls, helping coordinate logistics for the large event.

But the experience changed him.

“Through that whole experience I just found myself really inspired by the people whom I met,” he says. (One of those people was former Tiananmen Square activist Yang Jian-li PHD 2001, whom Genser would represent a decade later following Yang’s imprisonment in China.) “Hearing their stories and what they and their families had been through, I just found them incredibly compelling. And I really felt that something needed to be done to try to help people facing this kind of oppression. I just said: ‘This is what I want to do.’”

The protest was successful, drawing thousands to Harvard in one of the biggest demonstrations the school had seen since the tumultuous days of the anti-Vietnam War movement. But it left Genser feeling that more had to be accomplished.

“I just felt like I needed to have another set of tools, and that’s what drew me to law,” he says.

His time at the University of Michigan Law School would be focused entirely on human rights. But even after Mawdsley’s release, in

## ANATOMY OF A CASE

AYUB MASIH was a 26-year-old man living in a small Christian community in Pakistan’s Punjab Province in 1996 when he was arrested under the country’s draconian blasphemy laws. Neighbors claimed Masih, a Christian, had urged others to read Salman Rushdie’s *Satanic Verses* (the book, which had famously earned its author a death sentence, had never been translated into Urdu, the only language Masih spoke) and had pronounced Christianity to be “correct.” For Masih, it was only the beginning of a brutal six-year legal odyssey.

Masih’s small Christian community was evacuated from their village (leading some to charge that Masih’s arrest had been orchestrated as little more than a land-grab.) Then, in 1997, while in a courtroom, Masih was shot and seriously injured by an accuser (who was never prosecuted). During his trial, religious extremists threatened to kill him, his lawyers, and the judge if he was not convicted. He received the death penalty in 1998.

In prison, Masih had to endure atrocious conditions. He was beaten by other prisoners, denied medical care, and confined to an 8’ by 8’ cell, where temperatures were often over 120 degrees Fahrenheit.

Asked by a local NGO to intervene in 2001, Freedom Now saw the Masih case as a

way to address other victims of the blasphemy laws. It would be the group’s first case and a difficult test of their model.

Genser and Freedom Now board member Fani Cyd Geroff petitioned the United Nations’ Working Group on Arbitrary Detention in October 2001. Barely eight weeks later, the Working Group issued its opinion, finding that Masih had been imprisoned in contravention of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Meanwhile Freedom Now pressed on with the other prongs of its strategy, arranging for a letter from 12 U.S. senators to be delivered to Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. Nine of the senators were on the committee responsible for approving the hundreds of millions of dollars in aid the United States gave Pakistan each year.

Weeks later, the Supreme Court heard arguments in Masih’s appeal, and in language similar to the UN’s Working Group, reversed Masih’s conviction on blasphemy charges and ordered his immediate release.

Fearing more violence, Freedom Now worked with the State Department and other groups to help Masih leave Pakistan. Masih arrived in the United States in September 2002 and has since been granted political asylum. He has learned English and plans to become a Christian minister. Masih’s case also helped push through reforms to the blasphemy laws.



**“I didn’t really fathom what being a human rights lawyer meant other than helping people in tough circumstances.”**

October 2001, and the affirmation of his chosen path, Genser felt he had only scratched the surface.

“Reflecting on it I wasn’t too impressed by myself,” he says. “I got a white guy out of a Burmese prison. The question in my mind was: Can we get a Pakistani out of a Pakistani prison? Can we get a Chinese person out of a Chinese prison? Can we get a Vietnamese man or woman out of a Vietnamese prison? That’s the real test.”

Genser spent two years working for the consulting firm McKinsey before joining the law firm of DLA Piper, where he continues to work today representing international clients before Congress and the executive branch. But the challenge he had set himself following Mawdsley’s release would lead to the creation of Freedom Now.

**A NONPROFIT** dedicated to representing prisoners of conscience, Freedom Now has developed into a remarkably successful organization. Using the Mawdsley case as a template, it approaches human rights cases from a unique perspective. By representing the individuals as counsel, Freedom Now places itself at the center of the case.

“That’s a key difference,” Genser says.

An example is Aung San Suu Kyi, the world’s only imprisoned Nobel Peace Prize laureate, who has been confined by the country’s military dictatorship to house arrest for 12 of the past 18 years for her leadership of the opposition, which won more than 80 percent of the vote in that country’s 1990 election and was never allowed to take office.

Since being asked by her family to represent her in 2006, Genser obtained a decision by the UN’s Working Group, reaffirming the illegality of her detention. Working with former Norwegian Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik, Genser was also able to help coordinate a letter from 59 current and former world leaders urging the military junta to release Suu Kyi.

“There were a lot of people rowing, but not in a common direction,” Genser says.

Freedom Now begins by carefully picking the individuals it wants to represent, then creating a legal, political, and public relations strategy. The “full-service” approach has been remarkably successful, helping secure the release of its first six clients.

In the universe of human rights abuse, that is perhaps a tiny number, but success can be measured in different ways, says Freedom Now co-founder Jeremy Zucker MPP 1997.

Left to right, Genser, Yang Jian-li, his son Aaron, and his wife, Christina Fu, at Boston’s Logan Airport on August 18, 2007. Yang’s cause was also taken up by Harvard and Kennedy School faculty, with professors like Richard Zeckhauser leading the way. At the time of Yang’s release, Zeckhauser noted, “This is absolutely the best news I ever could have imagined.”



COURTESY JARED GENSER

“Freeing an unjustly imprisoned person is a victory for that individual and for justice, and with clients facing a death sentence you’re saving a life,” he says. But by helping individuals involved in a larger cause, that case has a multiplier effect. “If you believe that it’s important even in repressive societies to maintain the presence and active participation of however small a group of people who are standing up for a better way of life and more fair means of self-governance, then getting any of them their freedom for whatever period of time, I think that is success.”

Genser’s work in some way came full circle last year, when nearly five years of work resulted in the release from a Chinese prison of Yang, the Chinese democracy activist who had helped draw Genser into the field of human rights back at Harvard.

Yang had been blacklisted by the Chinese government for his prodemocracy activism, but he returned there anyway in 2002, traveling on a friend’s passport to document labor conditions.

Since the publication of the report on Burma, which was commissioned by former Czech President Vaclav Havel and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Burma’s situation has been voted onto the Security Council’s agenda.

And his work on North Korea, commissioned by Havel, Bondevik, and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel, invoked the new doctrine that a state is responsible for protecting its own people from the most serious of human rights abuses, including crimes against humanity. The report details North Korea’s unwillingness to protect its people from famines that have killed as many as one million people, as well as the imprisonment of more than 200,000 political prisoners, and urges Security Council action.

Genser led teams of DLA Piper attorneys to complete the two influential reports.

Carl Gershman says Genser’s work is a unique blend of law and strategy, something few people can accomplish. “He has the ability to think how

**“...I might actually be able to help people suffering under the yoke of oppression...it was extraordinary.”**

He was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison for illegal entry and espionage.

More than 40 letters and petitions were written on Yang’s behalf, including several by Kennedy School and other Harvard faculty. Resolutions were passed in Congress calling for his release. And news outlets covered Yang’s mistreatment in prison.

Yang was eventually released from prison in April 2007 and was finally allowed to fly back to the United States in August.

“It was a wonderful airport moment,” says Genser, who traveled to Boston to meet Yang.

Genser’s work on individual cases is also balanced by other human rights work he has produced through his law firm, including two major reports on human rights abuses in North Korea and Burma.

to develop a strategy, as well as a remarkable ability to organize resources,” said Gershman, director of the National Endowment for Democracy, a private, publicly funded NGO that spends \$100 million of U.S. funds annually to promote democracy worldwide. (Yang is a NED grantee.) The impact of Genser’s work has also led to national and international recognition, the most recent being his selection as a World Economic Forum’s Young Global Leader.

Genser is now working to make Freedom Now a more permanent structure, with an office, a staff, an endowment, and the ability to take on more cases.

That’s an ambition his clients can applaud.

“Believe me,” Mawdsley says, “if the world is silent in the face of your suffering, then it is much harder to endure.”





# WORLDLY WISE



SINGAPORE



ARMENIA



INDIA



ECUADOR

*Alumni of the Mason Program, which this year celebrates its 50th anniversary, say the lessons learned as Mason Fellows were invaluable to their careers.*

BY LEWIS RICE

## IN A CLASSROOM

on the Kennedy School campus, people are discussing the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an organization initiated by five African heads of state to improve the socioeconomic development of the continent. Several students from Africa offer their opinions on issues close to home. Then a student from Eastern Europe adds her perspective: "I was involved in the debt initiative from the G-8 side..."

It's an example of the interconnectedness that binds each year's group of Mason Fellows, mid-career professionals from around the world who come to the Kennedy School to learn the skills that have propelled many to top leadership positions in their home countries. As Dean David Ellwood told the class at the end of the session: "When you look and see what Mason Fellows have done, it's extraordinary. I believe what you learn here will make you better. Some people talk about it as a transformative experience."

Now celebrating its 50th year, the Mason Program has evolved from the Public Service Program, which began with seven students in 1957, to its current incarnation as the Kennedy School's flagship international program, enrolling more than 50 professionals from government, NGOs, and the private sector. Alumni include the president of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf MPA 1971; the Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon MPA 1984; and Felipe Calderón MPA 2000, president of Mexico.

"The Mason Program looks for professionals who have demonstrated leadership and dedication to public service," says Paulina Gonzalez-Pose, director of the program. "They are people who possess uncommon stamina, passion, and drive, who have made an important commitment to making a difference."

The program was launched by Edward Mason, who served as dean of the Graduate School of Public Administration, the precursor to the Kennedy School. Mason, who died in 1992, developed the initiative to help train economists from emerging countries. The program has been integrated into the Kennedy School's Mid-Career Master in Public Administration Program and each year draws students from more than 35 countries.

"We're looking for agents of change who are already on a trajectory in their professional lives and who will share their experiences with others," says Gonzalez-Pose. "This sharing is essential because the Mason Program offers a tripod of learning. It is a three-way process. Students learn from faculty, faculty also learn from students, and students learn from each other."

The person in the program who has been part of the teaching process the longest is John Thomas. Now a lecturer in public policy, Thomas first started as a graduate student advisor in 1966 and later served as program director. During a class, he

peppers the new Mason Fellows with questions, asking a student from Africa, for instance, "Do you agree that the market economy is the way Africa ought to go?"

"I emphasize that a lot of your learning is going to go on with your interaction with one another, so you need to know who these other Mason Fellows are," Thomas says.

He ends the class by asking about the role of leadership. How much consensus do leaders need to pursue their goals? It's the kind of question Thomas expects the Mason Fellows will face themselves after they return to their home countries.

"They look more broadly at the question of leadership and the roles they play," he says. "I do think it's a very empowering year for them."

Alumni of the program agree. On the following pages, several have offered testimonials to the power of their Mason Fellows experience, showing how their year at the Kennedy School has influenced their careers and lives:





<b>1960–1961</b>	
Number of fellows	12
Men	12
Women	0
Continents	2
Countries	10

**CHANGING  
FACES**  
Above: the second  
Mason Program class,  
below: the 48th class

<b>2006–2007</b>	
Number of fellows	72
Men	53
Women	19
Continents	5
Countries	37



## SINGAPORE

**Prime Minister Lee Hsien  
Loong MPA 1980**  
Prime Minister



Joining the Mason Program in 1979, I was struck by the wealth of courses available, and the enormous flexibility I had to tailor a program to meet my needs. I decided to focus on economics, policy analysis, and strategy and was fortunate to study under leading scholars like Howard Raiffa, Thomas Schelling, and Richard Zeckhauser. I picked up useful analytical tools, but more than that, a systematic way of looking at problems, analyzing them, and thinking about how markets work and how people react to incentives. I found these perspectives invaluable in public policy. In Singapore, we apply them widely, be it to keep public housing estates racially integrated, tackle traffic jams through road pricing, or design a negative income tax.

I also benefited from the diversity of the Mason Fellows. We came from a wide range of backgrounds and brought different working experiences and perspectives. We learned much from one another, beyond the academic content in class. Almost three decades later, my memory of the year at the Kennedy School remains fresh, not out of nostalgia, but because of its continued relevance to today's challenges and tomorrow's opportunities.

## ARMENIA

**Gayane Afrikian MPA 2005**  
CEO, National  
Competitiveness Council



I was in Bamyan Province of Afghanistan as a political affairs officer for United Nations Mission in Afghanistan for a year and a half prior to arriving at the Kennedy School — a culmination of 19 years of professional experience in areas including the Balkans and the Caucasus. My experience had taught me that solutions to even the largest problems — war, famine, failed states — can be found if we bring all our experiences together and learn from our differences and similarities. My expectation, coming to the Mason Program, was to meet remarkable people, and I did just that. That expectation was totally met.

The experience was a growing process in every way. The program provided me with a safe and rewarding environment in which I could experiment and challenge myself with high-stakes ideas. It also gave me the opportunity and time to analyze my own story, with my classmates' help, and learn from it. But my most extraordinary memory of the program is the way it consolidated in me a dedication and belief in a more competent public sector.

Becoming a Mason Fellow, or rather becoming a member of the Mason Fellows family, has given me the most comfortable sense of community. Everyone in that community is as passionate as I am about the issues that I deal with in my everyday life and work. I still write to my fellow classmates with issues of concern for me in my professional life or private life, and I know that I will get the best advice and support.

## INDIA

**Shri Vinod Rai MPA 1988**  
Comptroller and  
Auditor General



I went to the Kennedy School in 1987. At that time I was serving as the district collector and magistrate in the state of Kerala, India, a very important watershed in the career of any civil servant in India, combining revenue administration and developmental and magisterial functions. Hoping to specialize in financial administration, I applied to the Kennedy School.

The academic course curriculum afforded me the opportunity to study macro- and micro-economic theory and development, project appraisal methodology, public finance administration, rural development, and food systems policy formulations. The case studies were very illuminative and, for a hands-on public servant, very effective.

I particularly benefited by interacting with persons with similar administrative backgrounds from developing as well as developed nations. This was a remarkable learning experience and gave me a very wide perspective of economic and development management in different countries.

The camaraderie among the Mason Program participants was remarkable. We were particularly touched by the manner in which the spouses and children hit it off with each other and in fact spent their time as a part of a large family. I have continued to maintain my association with some of the Mason Fellows in the "neighborhood," and it is a major attraction to go to a country and try to network among the Mason Fellows in the administration there.

The experience helped enrich my entire persona. Professionally it has helped me to contribute at every level in administration.

## ECUADOR

**Nathalie Cely MPA 2001**  
Minister of Social Development



At my current job as minister of social development and head of the social cabinet of Ecuador, I have learned to treasure my days at the Kennedy School. I often put into practice what I learned as a Mason Fellow, from leadership skills to policy analysis. When I joined the program, its flexibility allowed me to personalize a curriculum that helped me refine my leadership and analysis skills, focusing on economic and social development. Moreover, it helped me to develop a framework to analyze almost any development problem and to design solutions that really tackle problems at their roots.

The Kennedy School also offered me the opportunity through cross-registration with the Harvard Business School to explore more in-depth business issues, which has helped me facilitate the implementation of private and public partnerships. I always think of my days at the Kennedy School with a mix of joy and nostalgia because I not only had the opportunity to learn from great professors, such as Merilee Grindle, John Thomas, Ricardo Hausmann, and Dani Rodrik, among others, but I also learned so much from my classmates from all over the world. We developed a very tight community that remains incredibly close even today. Thanks to blackberries, e-mail, and most recently Facebook, we keep in touch, share memories and projects, and help and advise each other professionally. This has been of great value and support to me.

### Edward Mason Founder of the Mason Program

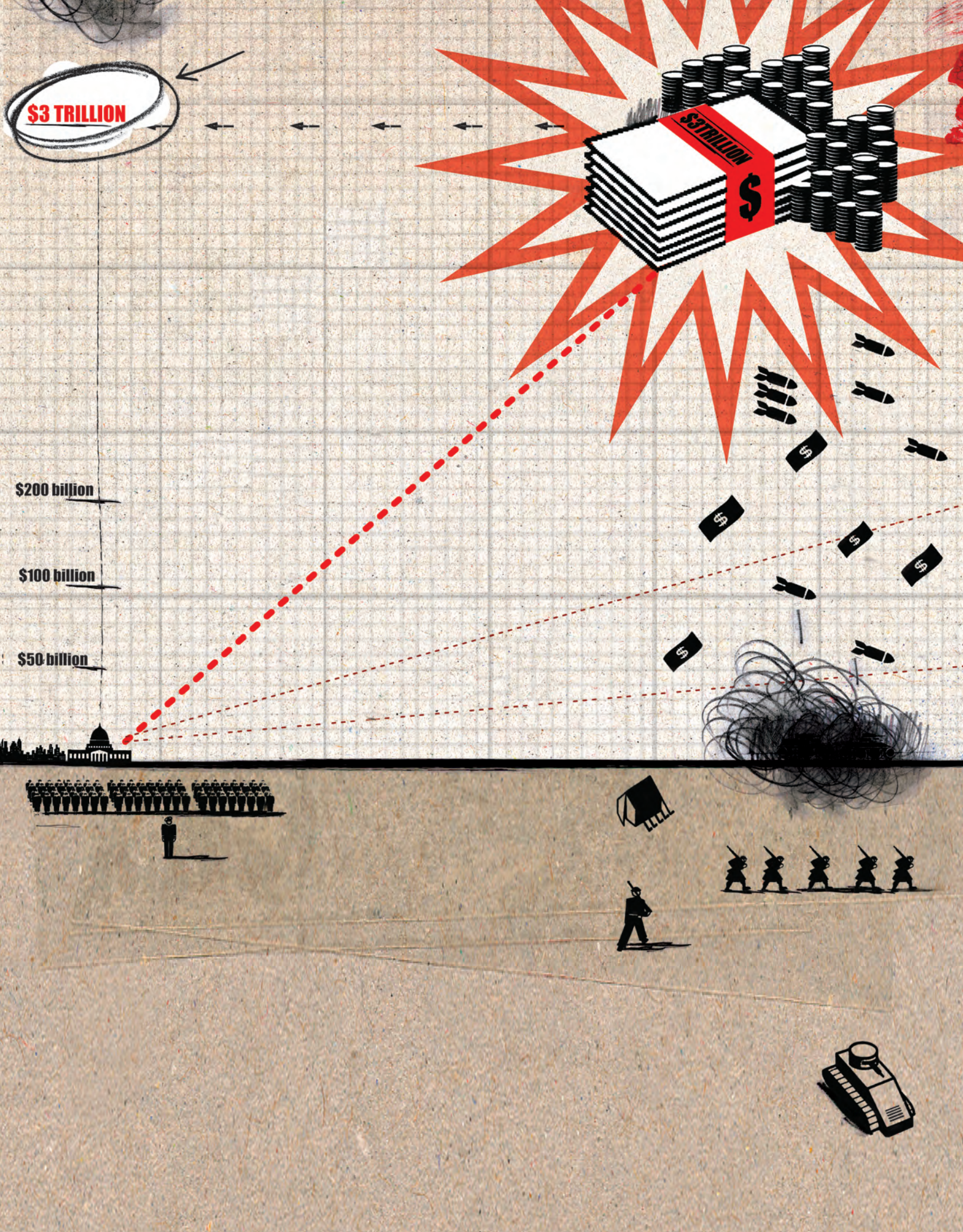
Kennedy School Dean Edward S. Mason, the school's second dean, was the former director of economic research at the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II. Understanding that developing

countries needed leadership and analytic skills to succeed, in 1958 he set up the Public Service Fellows Program, renamed in 1969, the Edward S. Mason Fellows Program.



LEFT AND BOTTOM: LEFT, MARTHA STEWART





# An Account of War

BY ROBERT O'NEILL

ILLUSTRATION BY CAROLINE TOMLINSON

*Numbers help Linda Bilmes slice through some of the fog of war*

## THE LEDGERS OF WARS

are usually filled with the numbers of lives lost, refugees displaced, soldiers deployed, and bombs dropped. It's historically a calculus of destruction and suffering, with the financial cost left to later generations to compute.

The Iraq War is proving, as in so many other ways, to be different. Perhaps because of its unpopularity, its curious detachment from the lives of so many Americans, its domination of the public discourse, and its lack of a foreseeable conclusion, the price tag of the war has been a real-time concern.

However, with the exception of the number of U.S. military personnel killed, few of the morbid metrics of the war's progress have been clear. Two scholars, Linda

Bilmes of the Kennedy School and Columbia University's Joseph Stiglitz, have thrown themselves into the strange algebra of that now five-year-long conflict and the war on terror that also includes the conflict in Afghanistan. Their work, which also looks beyond government budgets to macroeconomic costs, arrives at a stunning \$3 trillion figure and reveals both the value and insignificance of that accounting.



In the weirdly long run-up to the invasion of Iraq, the cost of the forthcoming war was never seriously discussed. A few dared to estimate costs associated with a longer, drawn-out struggle. But nothing official was ever released by the Bush administration. Lawrence Lindsey, the president’s economic advisor, suggested in one newspaper interview in September 2002 that the war would cost between \$100 billion and \$200 billion. The estimate was quickly dismissed (as was he), with other administration officials, such as then Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, offering a number somewhere under \$50 billion. (That figure would have been closer to the first Gulf War, when U.S. forces liberated Kuwait, although grateful Gulf States and other allies picked up much of that tab.)

THE EQUATION

Taken from the book, *The Three Trillion Dollar War* by Linda Bilmes and Joseph Stiglitz.

**1** Total relevant appropriations/expenditures to date for military operations. Take all 24 war-related appropriations from fiscal year 2001 through the proposed fiscal year 2008 supplemental appropriation. This includes funds in both supplementals and regular appropriations for The Defense and State Departments, USAID, and medical costs for the Department of Veterans

Affairs. These funds cover military operations, base security, reconstruction, foreign aid, embassy costs, and veterans’ health care for the three operations that comprise the “global war on terror,” the Pentagon’s name for operations in and around Iraq and Afghanistan. These include Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom, and Operation Noble Eagle.



**2** “Operational expenditures” and savings hidden elsewhere in the defense budget. An estimate of the increase in defense expenditures during the past five years attributable to Iraq. How much, in other words, of Iraq war expenditures are hidden elsewhere in the defense-related budget.



**3** Correcting for inflation and the “time value” of money. A dollar today is different than a dollar five years ago, and so, using a real interest rate of 1.5 percent, all expenditures are translated into 2007 dollars. (These first three steps give what is called “the present discounted value” of operational expenditures to date — that is, the value in 2007 dollars of what we have spent.)



**4** Future operational expenditures. Official scenarios include a gradual pullout and a permanent force. When corrected for inflation and the time value of money, this gives the total operational costs of the war, in 2007 dollars.



**5** Costs of disability and health care for returning veterans. To date, more than 1.6 million U.S. servicemen and women have been deployed, all of whom will be eligible for VA medical care for at least two years. If the proportion of veterans applying for disability compensation is the same as the first Gulf War, some 45 percent, or 725,000 veterans will look to the federal government for help.



**6** Future costs of restoring the military to its prewar strength, replenishing spent armaments, repairing equipment whose maintenance has been deferred. Equipment is not being repaired and replaced as fast as it is being worn out. Also, the Pentagon has announced plans to significantly increase the size of the Army by 2012, so that the United States can maintain its capacity to respond to

The rough calculation, so far as it was made public, was this: the military operation would be quick; reconstruction money would be minimal; the country’s massive oil reserves would do the rest. But it was a calculation that was discouraged by the war’s grim premises. After all, what price can one put on the mushroom cloud the Iraqi regime was suspected of working towards?

That changed as the euphoria of the initial invasion morphed into the realization that Iraq would prove to be a bloody, long, and costly commitment.

**L**INDA BILMES had been opposed to the invasion from the start, but as a public policy lecturer she was far removed from that conflict. Her budgetary and financial management classes are student favorites, and she is known for taking her teaching one step further, taking students to communities such as Somerville, Massachusetts, to work on real public finance problems. But as she taught the ins and outs of public budgets, her students began asking her one question over and over again. “What,” they began to wonder in her classes around 2005, “is the war in Iraq actually costing?”

Bilmes knew the difficulty of wading into the thicket of government accounts. As a former assistant secretary and chief financial officer at the Commerce Department during the Clinton administration, her job was to clean up an accounting mess years in the making. Her work taught her valuable lessons about Washington’s often dysfunctional bookkeeping. In the end she reasoned that what-

“hidden” costs, such as the care needed by the hundreds of thousands of returning veterans and the shortfalls caused by equipment lost, damaged, or worn down. It would mean looking to the future and imagining the scenarios under which U.S. troops could begin to come home. It could also include even less tangible costs: increases in the price of oil, and, most poignantly, the value of those lives so abruptly ended.

Bilmes and Stiglitz published their first paper on the war’s costs in January 2006 and a book, *The Three Trillion Dollar War: The True Cost of the Iraq Conflict*, in March 2008. Bilmes also published a paper on the costs of, care for, and benefits to veterans. The findings have been stunning. (See the sidebar starting on page 28.)

The direct budgetary costs of military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan to date have been more than \$800 billion.

Combining past and future costs, depending on the length and size of the United States’ military commitment, brings that sum to between \$1.7 trillion and \$2.7 trillion in budgetary costs, Bilmes and Stiglitz calculate.

Medical, disability, and Social Security disability for veterans are calculated to total between \$422 billion and \$717 billion.

The cost to “reset” the military, replenishing the military’s stocks of weapons and equipment so depleted by more than five years of constant mobilization, would be between \$250 billion and \$375 billion over 15 years.

The findings behind the final tallies are equally impressive.

The war, Bilmes and Stiglitz write, is becoming more and more expensive to wage. The monthly “burn rate” — the rate at which money is being spent on running costs — has increased from \$4.4 billion in 2003 to an estimated \$16 billion in 2008.

WHAT YOU GET FOR A TRILLION

“A billion here, a billion there, and pretty soon you’re talking real money.” For the war, that famous quote on federal profligacy can be updated with trillions. To put that number in some perspective, here’s what \$1 trillion could buy:

- › Eight million housing units
- › One year’s salary for 15 million public school teachers
- › Head start tuition for 120 million children
- › One year’s health insurance for 530 million children
- › 43 million four-year scholarships at public universities.

Sources: *The Three Trillion Dollar War*; National Priorities Project



This is due to several factors, including the rising cost of oil and the increasing expense of recruiting new soldiers and retaining experienced ones. Signing-up bonuses for new recruits can reach \$40,000, while retention bonuses for experienced troops have topped \$150,000. Also critical to the increasing expense of the conflict in Iraq is the growing reliance on private contractors, ranging from drivers, cooks, and construction crews, to the highly trained bodyguards hired to protect State Department officials. Their pay is much higher — some security guards receive \$6,000 a week — but in a rather callous calculation, they also would be cheaper in the long run as they would not receive government benefits or require care through the veterans’ health care system.

crises outside of Iraq. The cost of this incremental rise in forces is attributed to the period of time when we have troops deployed in Iraq.



**7** Budgetary costs to other parts of the government. The war has imposed costs across the government — to the Departments of State, Labor, and Social Security Administration. Some of these costs are related to providing benefits to veterans: severely wounded veterans are eligible for a variety of additional pro-

grams, including adapted housing, vocational rehabilitation, family assistance, subsidized loans, and other benefits. (Steps 5, 6, and 7 calculate the total budgetary cost of the war to the federal government, ignoring interest.)



**8** The cost to the economy. Going beyond the budgetary costs resulting from the thousands of deaths and injuries from the war, recognizing that death benefits do not adequately measure the loss in output, and that disability payments underestimate what these individuals would have earned had they been able to earn a normal living. There are a number of other social and

economic costs that exceed the budgetary costs, which while they may be large, are harder to quantify. These include the lost economic contribution of soldiers who have been killed or maimed, and family members who have to leave the workforce to care for them, as well as costs to state and local governments and other parts of society.



**9** The macroeconomic impact. The war has led to higher oil prices and diverted government expenditures from schools, roads, research, and other areas that would have stimulated the economy more in the short run and produced stronger economic growth

in the long run. Higher oil prices too have weakened the American economy — even if a few industries, especially the oil companies, have done well.



**ADDING THE NUMBERS, WITHOUT INTEREST, AND THE TOTAL COST TO THE UNITED STATES WILL BE OVER \$3 TRILLION.**

**C** **CRITICS ARGUE** that the current war, however one calculates its costs, is not as expensive as previous wars. In 2007 dollars, the Iraq war is estimated to be more expensive than all other major 20th-century conflicts, save World War II. But the country’s economy has

means the disruption of a family’s income and the loss of a productive person, what economists call “value of statistical life.” The middle of the range used for the value of an American killed in a workplace accident is \$7.2 million.

And that health care system is coming under ever-greater pressure. By November 2007, the total number of U.S. troops that had suffered wounds, injuries, or disease in Iraq and Afghanistan had reached 67,000 (Bilmes and Stiglitz estimate that about 45,000 are directly attributable to the conflicts). Improved medical treatment means the ratio of injured to dead is 7 to 1 (15 to 1 if including noncombat injuries), far more than previous conflicts such as the Korean War or Vietnam, where that ratio was closer to 3 to 1. That development means additional strain on the Pentagon and Department of Veterans Affairs.

During the first Gulf War, which saw less than a week of ground combat operations, 148 dead, and 467 wounded, about 700,000 military personnel were deployed. Since then 45 percent have filed disability compensation benefits, of which 88 percent have been approved.

Using similar rates for the current conflict, which has so far seen 1.6 million deployed over five years with more than one-third in repeated tours, 700,000 veterans would become long-term medical patients and disability claimants, at a cost of between \$350 billion and \$700 billion over the next four decades.

Oil prices have climbed from \$23 in 2003 to more than \$100 in 2008. Bilmes and Stiglitz attribute between \$5 to \$10 of this increase to the Iraq conflict. The costs to other countries have also been great. The number of Iraqis killed is the subject of hot debate, with estimates ranging from many tens of thousands to many hundreds of thousands.

And while the great burden of the ultimate sacrifice paid by U.S. servicemen and women is borne by their families, friends, and comrades in arms, their deaths also have an economic cost. Aside from the money the government pays, the death

## HELPING VETERANS

Better battlefield medical care is keeping more and more soldiers alive. In the current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, the ratio has increased to 7 to 1 (soaring to 15 to 1 for noncombat injuries), and that means more services for more veterans with more serious conditions. To date, of the more than 751,000 eligible, discharged veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan:

- › 263,000 have been treated at medical facilities
- › 224,000 have applied for disability benefits
- › 185,000 have sought counseling and readjustment services
- › 100,000 have been treated for mental health conditions
- › 52,000 have been treated for post-traumatic stress disorder

Source: *The Three Trillion Dollar War*

also grown tremendously, and some argue that war costs calculated over nearly 15 years should be compared to the country’s economic output over that time: about \$300 trillion.

Some also argue that the premises of the war — preventing further attacks on the United States — are worth a very large sacrifice.

Away from the political arena where these questions will be debated, the value of Bilmes’s work has had real impact on servicemen and servicewomen as well as veterans.

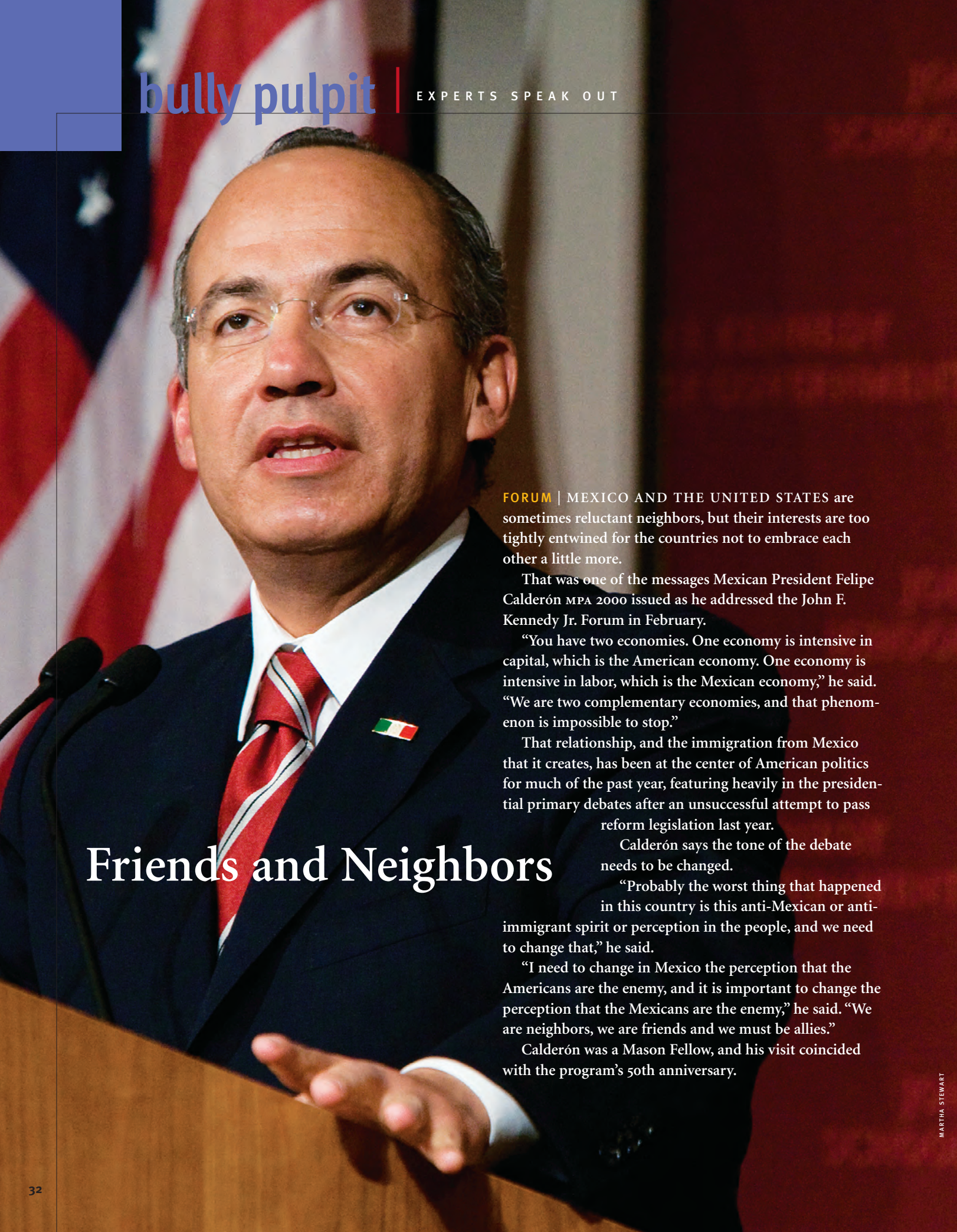
She has testified on Capitol Hill, and her work has been covered in depth by the media, including military publications. Some say it has shed light on an area that was previously impenetrable.

“In plain terms, she broke though the government propaganda policies that would have Americans believe the Iraq and Afghanistan wars are cheap and inconsequential affairs,” says Paul Sullivan, executive director of Veterans for Common Sense, an advocacy group.

In Bilmes’s office there is also a reminder from the front lines of the wars she has studied. It’s a black and gold plate, adorned with a map of Iraq and helicopters and tanks marking the sites of major battles. A soldier who visited the Kennedy School while on leave and wanted to thank her for her work gave it to her. It was a particularly touching moment, Bilmes recalls, and one of thousands of such messages from servicemen.

“Hearing from these young men and women who are over there really does feed my work and put it in perspective for me,” she says.





**FORUM** | MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES are sometimes reluctant neighbors, but their interests are too tightly entwined for the countries not to embrace each other a little more.

That was one of the messages Mexican President Felipe Calderón MPA 2000 issued as he addressed the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in February.

"You have two economies. One economy is intensive in capital, which is the American economy. One economy is intensive in labor, which is the Mexican economy," he said. "We are two complementary economies, and that phenomenon is impossible to stop."

That relationship, and the immigration from Mexico that it creates, has been at the center of American politics for much of the past year, featuring heavily in the presidential primary debates after an unsuccessful attempt to pass reform legislation last year.

Calderón says the tone of the debate needs to be changed.

"Probably the worst thing that happened in this country is this anti-Mexican or anti-immigrant spirit or perception in the people, and we need to change that," he said.

"I need to change in Mexico the perception that the Americans are the enemy, and it is important to change the perception that the Mexicans are the enemy," he said. "We are neighbors, we are friends and we must be allies."

Calderón was a Mason Fellow, and his visit coincided with the program's 50th anniversary.

MARTHA STEWART

► **FORUM** | **Community Power** Ségolène Royal, the Socialist Party candidate defeated by Nicolas Sarkozy in France's presidential election last year, spoke to the Forum in February on the Left's vision of economic reform. "Our core values are about standing up for the individuals against unconsidered risks, and this is about using the power of our society or community to achieve what people are unable to achieve when left on their own," said Royal, the first French female presidential candidate for a major party. "The Left cannot guarantee everyone success, but it must guarantee everyone a fair shot at it."



Ségolène Royal



John Sweeney

◀ **FORUM** | **Unions Strong** AFL-CIO President John Sweeney told a Forum audience in February that the future looks bright for the U.S. labor movement. Research shows, said Sweeney, that more than half of unorganized workers said they would form a union if given the option. Passage of the Employee Free Choice Act, legislation permitting working people to choose whether to have a union, is key, he said, to helping workers bargain for better wages and benefits. Sweeney said he is optimistic the act will be passed during the next administration. "Shame on us," said Sweeney, "if we don't take this opportunity."

► **FORUM** | **Obstacle to Change** The powerful forces of self-interest groups are the primary impediment to driving change in Washington, according to Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff, who spoke in February at the Forum.

Despite numerous warnings of a terrorist attack prior to September 11, such as the 1993 World Trade Center attack and Osama Bin Laden's 1998 declaration of war against the United States, competing interests thwarted decisive government action. Responses to the impending threat "were stopped in their tracks," said Chertoff. Such groups "frustrate the pursuit of the common good."



Michael Chertoff

## The Buzz

"I don't see the new media as a replacement of the old media."

Arianna Huffington, about concerns that online publications, such as *The Huffington Post*, which Huffington cofounded, are replacing traditional journalism, at a Shorenstein Center conference.



Arianna Huffington

"Campaigns now are \$100 million start-ups."

Betsy Myers MPA 2000, chief operating officer of Obama '08, on the cost and scope of today's national presidential campaigns.



Betsy Myers

"There is a housing price crisis, not a subprime mortgage crisis."

Paul Willen, senior economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, about the true cause for the precipitous rise in foreclosures in Massachusetts during the past year, at an event cosponsored by Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, Joint Center for Housing Studies, and Taubman Center for State and Local Government.

"Someone described it as the most thankless job in journalism. I disagree."

Clark Hoyt on his work as public editor at *The New York Times*, a position billed as the "readers' representative" and created following the Jayson Blair scandal in 2003.



Full Disclosure  
The Perils and Promise of Transparency

Archon Fung, Mary Graham, and David Weil MPP 1985, PHD 1987



IN LOS ANGELES, anyone entering a restaurant can see a hygiene score, given as a letter grade, displayed prominently by the entrance, and know whether the experience will likely be a safe one or a roll of the dice.

In Cambridge, like elsewhere in the country, the water department sends out a letter describing water

*Promise of Transparency*, by Archon Fung, Mary Graham, and David Weil. (Learn more at [www.transparencypolicy.net](http://www.transparencypolicy.net).)

Transparency does not have a long history. For most of the life of this country, a citizen wishing to know who was funding political campaigns or a consumer wishing to know what was in his morning cereal was left in the dark. A few pinpricks of light began to shine with the New Deal and Second World War, as government grew in size and influence. But starting in the 1960s, a series of right-to-know laws, such as the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), attempted to fling open the curtains.

Those experiments had mixed results (see, for example, the nearly 4,000 disputes over FOIA requests that have ended up in court), and a new generation of transparency measures began to evolve.

Their growth has been haphazard — they often have been established in response to crisis, such as accounting scandals at Enron or WorldCom, the authors write — but unmistakable. (The authors found 133 of them in a search of the federal regulations between 1996 and 2005.) Today these measures, which the authors call targeted transparency, are interested less in a broad goal of an informed public and more in addressing specific problems and bringing about specific policy solutions.

The authors examine 15 domestic and 3 international policies, ranging from nutritional information to the terrorist threat level.

They find plenty to criticize. Policies developing from flawed political processes often create what the authors call gerrymandered transparency, such as when nutritional labeling fails

to include fast food stores.

But when done right, as in the case of the restaurants' hygiene scores, they begin to provide that information so vital to citizens and consumers.

Citizens and consumers could also begin adding to the information themselves, as transparency measures evolve to take advantage of new communications technology. The authors imagine interactive systems, where information on a particular product could be obtained by simply scanning a barcode with a cell phone, and where consumers and citizens share, respond to, and even create useable information, such as posting air quality findings they collect.

The Warping of Government Work

John D. Donahue MPP 1982, PHD 1987

The work world of government employees, like some forgotten land from science fiction, has become isolated from the rest of the economy. The gap can be measured in decades, not in geologic time. But compared to the ruthless rise of a private sector characterized by globalization, productivity, and downsizing, the habitat of millions of local, state, and federal employees can seem downright prehistoric.

It is a world characterized by middle-class salaries, strong unions, infrequent layoffs, and where “the role of money — as a motive and as a symbol — is circumscribed,” writes Jack Donahue in *The Warping of Government Work*. The other side of that coin — aversion to risk and change — leads government to fall short of citizens' legitimate expectations for public missions ranging from education to health care to security.

Bridging the gap between the two worlds will not be easy. It is difficult to envision the private sector returning to a time of shorter hours, more job security, and modest CEO pay packages. Nor is it easy to see a world where all the responsibilities of government, from primary school to mail delivery, are outsourced to the private or nonprofit sector.

But while solutions appear difficult — Donahue considers rehabilitating the prestige of public service and encouraging frequent moves between the public and private sectors — they are very necessary.

“Government's isolation from the broader working world is an unwelcome, mostly unintended legacy from the past generation, and a formidable challenge to the next,” Donahue concludes.



Barbara Kellerman

Followership  
How Followers Are Creating Change and Changing Leaders

Barbara Kellerman



The lionized leader, whether the CEO in his corner office or the president standing alone at his desk, is a figure deeply ingrained in our society. But it is a figure that may be becoming more and more anachronistic.

After all, this is turning out to be the age of the follower, writes Barbara Kellerman in *Followership*. The drift can be seen from board-

rooms, where executives are opening their suites to underlings, to politics, where in countries such as Nepal, Lebanon, and Ukraine, citizens took to the streets demanding action.

It is a phenomenon driven by the powerful confluence of two large forces: the growth in communication technology and an increasingly assertive sense of self-worth.

“People the world over are speaking out in new and different ways, and claiming for themselves, in many cases for the first time ever, power, influence, and sometimes even authority,” Kellerman writes.

Kellerman classifies followers, dividing them into categories: isolates, who are completely detached; bystanders, who observe but do not participate; participants, who are in some way engaged; activists, who feel strongly about their leaders and act accordingly; and diehards, prepared to die for their cause. (The last four groups are discussed in separate chapters, each illustrated with a case study.)

The book also includes a call to fellow academics to incorporate and expand this research in the well-established field of leadership studies. But, she stresses, this is not just an academic exercise; it is a recognition of the fact that “subordinates with less power, authority, and influence than their superiors are coming into their own, more consistently and insistently than ever before.”



Jack Donahue

TAMIT SAKAKINI

TAMIT SAKAKINI

Archon Fung, Mary Graham, and David Weil

quality. The report contains columns of dense data including the average parts per billion of bromodichloromethane.

The first measure, by telling customers which restaurants are clean, has helped cut down the incidence of food-borne illnesses and pushed all restaurants to clean up their acts. The second has consistently failed to provide the public with information it can use, failing to tell anyone without a doctorate in chemistry whether the water is even safe to drink.

They are both examples of an increasingly pervasive policy tool, filled with grave flaws but also pregnant with potential, that is the subject of *Full Disclosure: The Perils and*



# A Current from a Ripple

ALAN GLEITSMAN KEPT A PICTURE of Jackie Robinson taped to the screen of his computer, to remind himself of the athlete and civil rights leader's fortitude.

to what would become the Gleitsman Foundation and its prizes for social activism.

Gleitsman, who passed away in May 2006, aged 76, made sure that idealism would live on. His \$20 million bequest to the Kennedy School will serve as an endowment at the Center for Public Leadership.

"Alan Gleitsman lived a noble life and has now left a legacy that will continue to advance the cause of social justice to which he was devoted," said David Gergen, CPL's director.

CPL will continue to oversee the activism prize and establish the Gleitsman Program in Leadership for Social Change, which will prepare students to become leaders as social entrepreneurs and social activists.

Rosché described the Kennedy School and the Center for Public Leadership as "the perfect match for the type of work that Alan was doing and wanted continued."

The announcement coincided with the award of the 2007 International Activist Award in December to Sakeena Yacoobi, founder of the Afghan Institute of Learning.



Gleitsman at the 2006 Citizen Activist Awards with Gloria Steinem, who was honored as Citizen Activist Extraordinaire

*"Alan Gleitsman lived a noble life and has now left a legacy that will continue to advance the cause of social justice to which he was devoted."*

He also liked to quote Robert Kennedy's famous speech about how tiny ripples of hope caused by small, individual acts of idealism "build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls."

But, for all his passion for social change, he was, for a long time, consumed by his work and unable to devote himself to the causes he believed in, his longtime partner Cheri Rosché remembered. That changed when he was able to sell his film and television library in 1989 and dedicate himself

"Alan wasn't interested necessarily just in good samaritans, but in leaders of social change, who were not just doing an act of charity, but setting up a system that would impact many more beyond themselves," she said.

Thanks to Gleitsman, that impact will continue to be felt for a long time.

## Young Global Leaders

The vision behind the Forum of Young Global Leaders, established in 2004 by Klaus Schwab MPA 1967, the founder of the World Economic Forum, is as simple as it is ambitious: every year, take 200 to 300 exceptional individuals from every corner of the world and from every discipline and sector, and form a community dedicated to working for a better future.

It's a very similar vision to the Kennedy School's, and the two groups grew closer with the creation of specially designed executive education sessions aimed at expanding and enhancing the leadership

skills necessary to address the world's most serious problems. A 10-day session in November, which focused on issues including international security and global public health, was the first of three to be held in the coming year.

Former Dean Joseph Nye and David Gergen, director of the Center for Public Leadership, developed the concept of the special sessions together with Schwab.

Funding for the program was generously provided by David Rubenstein, The George Family Foundation, Howard Cox, and Marilyn Carlson Nelson.



Arthur Mutambara, president of the Movement for Democratic Change in Zimbabwe speaks during a November Young Global Leaders' session at the Kennedy School.

## The Alumni Board Joins the Littauer Society

At their November board meeting, the Alumni Association Board of Directors renewed their commitment to the school as they defined their goals and objectives for the year. One of ways they demonstrated this commitment was through their sustainable, financial contributions to the Dean's Fund.

With the launch this year of HKS' new leadership gift program, board members felt it was important that they each become charter members of the Littauer Society. This prestigious giving society recognizes donors who make a gift of \$1,000 or more annually. Contributing a total of \$12,750, the board reached 100 percent participation in the Littauer Society and urges all alumni to consider following their lead.

## Egypt Endows Fellowship Program

The Egyptian government and Harvard have joined to create a new endowed fellowship program. The \$10 million gift will enable highly qualified members of the Egyptian public sector to study at Harvard Kennedy School, the Harvard Graduate School of Education, and the Harvard School of Public Health.

"It is not often that a minister of finance or other government official has an opportunity to do something that will have a positive impact for millennia to come," said Egyptian Finance Minister Youssef Boutros Ghali during the signing ceremony with President Faust in Cambridge, in November. "These endowed funds will for-

ever ensure that students from Egypt may study at Harvard, providing generations of future Egyptian leaders with the opportunity to expand their knowledge about and exposure to fields of study that are vital to any society's success: education, health, and government."

"This generous gift will allow the Kennedy School to enhance its efforts to train future global leaders," said Dean David Ellwood. "The Egypt Fellowship Program will stand along with our other prominent regional fellowship programs, such as the Wexner-Israeli Fellows and the Kokkalis Fellows."



Youssef Boutros Ghali and Harvard President Drew Gilpin Faust at the signing

TOP: TODD CLIFF; BOTTOM: KRIS SNIBBE/HARVARD NEWS OFFICE



## From the Field

Ken Ansin MPA 2006

Jane Stollenmeyer MPA 2007

# Traveling with Purpose

### WHEN DOES A JOURNEY BEGIN?

Last November, Ken Ansin MPA 2006 and Jane Stollenmeyer MPA 2007 flew from Boston to Mumbai, India, the first stop on a year-plus mission to research microfinance organizations in Southeast Asia, Africa, and South America. But jump back to February 2006, when the couple met in Professor Marie Danziger’s “Art of Communication” class; in addition to communicating a mutual interest in each other, they slowly began to realize that they wanted to find a way to use their experiences and skills to serve others. And before either had come to the Kennedy School, each was working in fields that would shape and prepare them for their current expedition.

The goal? To offer any help and insight they can while getting an on-the-ground view of best practices in microfinance, which typically involves making small loans (usually of \$100 or less) to people who want to establish or expand a small, self-sustaining business but lack the credit to do so. Ultimately the pair hopes to either start their own microfinance organization or ally themselves with an existing group.

With a background as an educator — a lineage that extends to her great-grandmother — Stollenmeyer expects her experience working with immigrant populations in Los Angeles and the Bay Area will also prove relevant in the developing world. “It was interesting to see how women in those communities were empowered once they had the capacity to govern and make decisions within the schools,” says Stollenmeyer, who taught with Teach for America for several years before helping to cofound Think College Now, an elementary

school for underserved students in Oakland’s Fruitvale community. “I’m curious to see what, if any, educational programs are available to the women who seek access to small loans,” she says. “The intersection between lack of literacy skills and lack of basic public health and hygiene can impact communities that are trying to get a leg up through microfinance.”

A longtime businessman and entrepreneur, Ansin worked for many years in his family’s shoe business, learning the entire production process of such well-known brands as L.B. Evans and Cole Haan. He branched out into other areas as diverse as cabinetry, portable restrooms, and commercial real estate. Then, in March 2004, he took a break to travel to Mali to visit Sanassy, a young boy he had sponsored through Save the Children. “It was life-changing,” Ansin says of the three weeks he spent in Kolondieba, a village four hours outside Mali’s capital of Bamako. “I began to realize I got much more pleasure out of working to solve social entrepreneurship issues than I did working on issues in the for-profit business world. I couldn’t have said the same thing 15 years ago. I loved business. I loved beating the competition in the private sector. There was a real shift.” He went on to fund two schools in Sanassy’s village.

“I think I really began to think seriously about microfinance after coming to the Kennedy School, when I heard Muhammad Yunus speak at MIT after he won the Nobel Peace Prize,” Ansin recalls. “I met Jane not too long after that, and it began to seem like the universe was starting to align.”

While Stollenmeyer was completing her degree at the Kennedy School, Ansin continued to research

microfinance, attending conferences and meeting with organizations such as ACCION, Freedom from Hunger, and Oxfam. For Stollenmeyer, who also holds a masters from the Harvard Graduate School of Education, a course on multisectoral approaches to HIV and AIDS offered by the Kennedy School and Harvard’s School of Public Health opened her eyes to how applicable her expertise as an educator could be in a context outside the classroom. “It was powerful for me to understand the transfer of skills,” she says. “I asked another student, a Japanese doctor, if he thought I needed a degree in public health to get involved in that kind of work, and he said, ‘Just get out there! You know enough!’”

The couple is traveling throughout India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, and Cambodia through the spring, when they’ll return to the United States for a few months before embarking on the Africa leg of their journey. Following the advice of friends, they packed an Altoid box full of safety pins, quick-drying underwear (Ansin says he test-drove several brands), and just a few changes of clothing. While they’ll meet up with Kennedy School alumni and social entrepreneurs, like those from the nonprofit Ashoka, they have kept a loose itinerary, fully expecting plenty of serendipitous moments; in fact, that’s much of the point.

“Even the best-laid plans go astray, so it’s possible that we’ll get there and see a whole piece of work that neither of us envisioned,” Stollenmeyer remarks.

“We’re going in fully expecting that we don’t have all the answers and that we’re as needy as those we’ll be serving — just in other ways,” adds Ansin. “We’re not expecting to change the lives of more than two billion people who live on \$2 a day or less. But if we make our small contribution and recognize that we’re going to get a lot back ourselves, it helps keep us humble.”

“When I was teaching, there was always that feeling of wanting to go get a masters degree so I could spend more time thinking,” says Stollenmeyer. “Right now I feel like my academic education won’t be complete until I have this experiential piece to put everything into context. We’re going to see where the rubber hits the road and understand what contribution we can actually make.” — JH

To read about Ansin and Stollenmeyer’s experiences in Southeast Asia, visit their blog: [travelwithpurpose.wordpress.com](http://travelwithpurpose.wordpress.com).

Images of India: Bucolic scenes of India’s Kerala Province (top). The Stree Mukti Sangathana has organized female waste pickers working in sorting stations (bottom left and center) in an effort to allow them to earn more for their efforts. The Doorstep Schools bring education to Mumbai’s poorest children in makeshift classrooms, including one in a local temple (bottom right).



Ken Ansin MPA 2006 and Jane Stollenmeyer MPA 2007 mobbed by school-children during a visit to Mumbai’s city dump, where waste pickers earn a meager living picking through garbage for reusable items

PHOTOS COURTESY OF KEN ANSIN AND JANE STOLLENMEYER



From the Alumni Director



Dear Alumni,  
Spring is here, even in New England. Reading period and final papers loom large, the parkas are packed away, and opening day at Fenway Park approaches. And for those of us with a patch of garden or a couple of planters it is a busy time, cleaning up, cutting back, making room for new growth.  
Looking at the most important asset for alumni — the alumni network — we see that work needs to be done there too. It is healthy, of that there is no doubt, but perhaps it needs

some weeding in some areas and more nourishment in others. We have taken a fresh new look at it and how we can best allow it to flourish.  
A call for a strong network is what I hear most often in my meetings and conversations with you, networks that serve as vehicles for professional advancement and career support, as well as for sharing information and experiences. We will work hard to support that network by helping to create strong class connections, regional associations, and virtual tools to sustain these programs.  
Class connections nurture ties with classmates, starting at orientation and continuing through the years. With our international community, this connection is even more important. While continuing to invite you back every five years for your reunion, we are planting the seeds for healthy networks while students are still on campus.  
We are also working to strengthen regional associations, supporting local leadership to provide opportunities for you to meet, organize events, and share information in your own backyard.  
All of this is sustained by a robust virtual network, including the alumni directory, listservs, and opportunities for social networking through Linked-In. Please use these tools to cultivate and grow your own network.  
Besides making even stronger connections among alumni, the benefits of a robust network — stronger enrollment, improved career opportunities, closer connections to the school’s resources — have real value to the school.  
Naturally, connecting to one another and back to the school, bears fruit for us all.

Debbie Metcalfe  
Director of Alumni Programs  
debra\_metcalfe@harvard.edu

To submit a classnote, e-mail [sharon\\_alexandra@harvard.edu](mailto:sharon_alexandra@harvard.edu). The subject line should be “classnotes.”  
Note: The designations for alumni of individual Executive Education programs — SMG and SEF, for example — have been simplified. All Executive Education programs are now designated as KSGEE.

**1954**  
**Warren C Atkins** MPA writes that in November he was the keynote speaker at the 10th Annual Day of Pride and Prayer, a conference in Little Rock, AR. He spoke on “Correctional Reform as the Civil Rights Issue of the 21st Century.” Having worked for the heroic Little Rock Congressman Brooks Hays in 1957, he was in the middle of the historic effort to integrate Central High School. Later he served as a lieutenant to Chief Justice Warren Burger in his monumental effort to reform the criminal justice system by emphasizing literacy training and meaningful job training in prisons and jails. In addition, for more than 20 years, he was vice chair of the National Committee on Community Corrections. He also spent a number of years at the Brookings Institute in Washington, DC.

**1956**  
**Joseph “Bain” D’Souza** MPA passed away in September at the age of 86. He is remembered as a gentle, soft-spoken, yet fearless civil servant and activist who spoke his mind and followed up with concrete action. He served in some of the most important positions of India’s civil service, holding the post of Mumbai’s civic chief and Maharashtra’s chief secretary in the 1970s.

**1965**  
**Louis Kunzig III** MPA died Oct. 13 at his home in Chalfont-St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, United Kingdom. He was general manager of Sciaky Electric Welding Machines in Slough, Berkshire. Surviving him are his wife Simone; three children, Catherine, Louis IV, and Zoe; and three grandchildren.

**1967**  
**Joseph Douglas, Jr.** MPA was honored recently by the Maryland Historical Society. During its annual meeting in Baltimore, the society presented Douglas with the Sumner A. Parker Prize, which is awarded annually for the best published genealogy of a Maryland family or a family originating in Maryland. The award was in recognition of his outstanding publication, *Perry Bailey a.k.a. Downs and Samuel A. Douglas; Relatives of Frederick Douglass: A Family History (1733–1929)*. Following his retirement from the senior executive ranks of the National

Security Agency, he has pursued his longtime interests in genealogical research and writing.  
**1971**  
**Ellen Johnson Sirleaf** MPA, president of Liberia and Africa’s first elected female head of state, was awarded the U.S. Presidential Medal of Freedom, the country’s highest civilian award, to recognize contributions in science, the arts, literature, and the cause of peace and freedom, in a ceremony Nov. 5.

IN MEMORIAM

**Bill Strauss MPP/JD 1973**, whose satirical group, The Capitol Steps, provided an irreverent accompaniment to a quarter-century of American politics, died in his home in McLean, Virginia, in December, after an eight-year battle with pancreatic cancer. He was 60.  
Strauss was working as chief counsel for the decidedly serious Senate subcommittee on energy, nuclear proliferation, and government processes when he co-founded The Capitol Steps in 1981 with other Hill staffers as entertainment for a senator’s Christmas party. (They wanted to perform a Nativity scene, they joked, but in the whole Congress they couldn’t find three wise men or a virgin.)  
Group members, fearing for their jobs, tried their best to avoid publicity. But their witty, equal opportunity skewering of political life — with parodies such as “We Arm the World” and “I’m so Indicted” — would eventually find an enthusiastic audience in Washington and then across the country.  
Large as the Steps’ success was, it was, remarkably, only a small part of Strauss’s career. As a Harvard undergraduate he worked tirelessly to help black students around the country gain entry to previously segregated universities. He was also a prodigious author, writing several books and musicals.  
In 1999, the year he began his battle with cancer, he founded the Critics and Awards Program for High School Theater, known as the Cappies, to teach students about theater and train them as critics. Today the program has grown to include 60 schools in the Washington area and 17 more across the United States and Canada. He is survived by Janie, his wife of 34 years, four children, and one granddaughter.  
The *Bulletin* featured Strauss and The Capitol Steps in Autumn 2000: [www.ksg.harvard.edu/ksgpress/bulletin/autumn2000/politics\\_un.html](http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/ksgpress/bulletin/autumn2000/politics_un.html).

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**1973**  
**Frederick Fox** MPP says that after a career in emergency medicine and a short-lived retirement, he returned to academic medicine as a fellow in geriatrics at UCSF last academic year and a fellow in palliative medicine at Duke University Medical Center this academic year. His goal is to return to his home in San Francisco and work in academic palliative medicine with an interest in national and global end-of-life policy and ethical issues, including issues of opioid availability in Third World countries. He welcomes contact from alumni and others working in global health that involves end-of-life care.

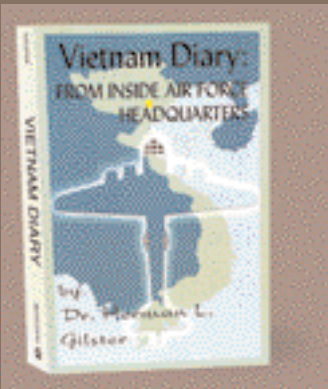
**1977**  
**Robert Gage** MPP has practiced law at the Washington, DC-based international law firm of Covington & Burling LLP for 30 years (since graduation from the Kennedy School and Harvard Law School), mostly as a partner and the head of the real estate practice group. Recently he was selected by the *Washington Business Journal* as one of four finalists for the 2007 Top Washington Area Lawyer in the field of real estate transactions. A substantial portion of his practice is for nonprofit organizations, both on a fee and pro bono basis. Recent work includes transactions involving Union Station and the new Washington Nationals major league baseball stadium, both in the District of Columbia. He also serves as principal outside counsel to Carolina Communities Development Group, currently developing Olde Towne, a neotraditional 2,400-unit golf course community in Raleigh, NC.

**1979**  
**Neil Roland** MPP lives in Silver Spring, MD, and has been working as a reporter for *Bloomberg News* in Washington for 15 years. He teaches Israeli folk dance to kids and adults, and coaches his 10-year-old son’s basketball and baseball teams. He also tries to get his daughter, a junior at the University of Wisconsin, to answer the phone when he calls. He’d love to hear from fellow alumni.

**1983 REUNION**  
**Richard Tofel** MPP/JD is general manager of ProPublica, a new independent nonprofit investigative journalism newsroom funded by philanthropy. It began operations in January 2007.

**1984**  
**John King** MPA has been elected by the PBS member stations to a three-year term on the PBS board of directors. The board consists of 14 professional members who are member station leaders, 12 general directors who represent the general public, and the PBS president. The board is responsible for governing and setting policy for the PBS media enterprise. King is president and chief executive officer of Vermont Public Television, the statewide public television network.  
**Henry Webber** MPP has been named executive vice chancellor for administration at Washington University in St. Louis. He oversees facilities, campus planning, capital projects, campus security, and off-campus real estate acquisition and development. For the past 21 years he worked for the University of Chicago, most recently as vice president for community





Vietnam Diary:  
From Inside Air Force  
Headquarters

Herman Gilster MPA 1965

Gilster offers a compelling behind the scenes look at air operations during the Vietnam War. Gilster was teaching economics as a tenured associate professor at the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1969 when he was transferred to Vietnam. *Vietnam Diary* provides an unvarnished look at his time there, with materials culled from personal papers and a candid look at U.S. Air Force headquarters in South Vietnam.

and government affairs. Under his guidance, the University of Chicago’s community affairs program was recognized in a national study as among the dozen strongest university-civic programs in the country. Among his most notable achievements was to promote revitalization of two South Side neighborhoods by collaborating and forging relationships with the area’s community, religious, civic, and political leaders. He also played a leading role in the establishment of the Urban Education Initiative that develops charter schools, offers teacher training, and supports basic and applied research on educational issues.

1985

**Gordon Campbell** MPA was appointed president and chief executive officer of United Way of New York City. Previously he served as the chief executive officer of Safe Horizon, the nation’s leading victim assistance organization. Before that he was the commissioner of the New York City Department of Homeless Services and chief of staff to New York City’s first deputy mayor. He resides in Manhattan and East Hampton, NY.

**Nancy Dunn** MPA passed away in November after a valiant fight against cancer. After graduating from the Kennedy School, she returned in 1986 as associate director of the Mid-Career program, became assistant dean for budget and finance in 1987, and ultimately served as administrative dean from 1988 to 1990. Following her tenure at the Kennedy School, Nancy went on to be vice president and treasurer of Radcliffe College and subsequently vice president of finance and administration and chief financial officer of the World Wildlife Fund. In January of 2006, she was appointed vice president for finance and administration of the University of Idaho.

1987

**Regina Aragon** MPP was recently awarded the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute’s 2007 Distinguished Alumni Award in recognition of her work on HIV/AIDS policy and communications in the United States and internationally. In 2000, she left her position as policy director for the San Francisco AIDS Foundation to begin her own practice. She has consulted with a variety of domestic and international organizations, including the International AIDS Society, the Levi Strauss Foundation, and the Black AIDS Institute. Between 1995 and 2000, she served on the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS. Aragon and **Larry Levitt** MPP 1986, who met while at the Kennedy School and recently married after 22 years together, live in Oakland, CA. Levitt is currently vice president for communications and online information for the Kaiser Family Foundation, a health policy think tank. He previously served in a variety of government policy positions in Massachusetts and California, as well as in the Clinton administration.

**Sarah Chapin Columbia** MPP/JD has joined McDermott Will & Emery in Boston as cohead of the Boston Intellectual Property Practice Group with partner Toby Kusmer. Formerly chair of the Intellectual Property Department at Choate, Hall & Stewart in Boston, she has 20 years of practice focused primarily on intellectual property. Her work in both international and domestic arbitration includes patent, trademark, copyright, and trade secret litigation, as well as counseling clients on overall intellectual property strategy.

1988 REUNION

**Thomas Young** KSGEE retired from the U.S. Army in 1996 with the rank of colonel. He has been working as a defense contractor, with MPRI Company, advising the Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Defense on intelligence, security, and military police affairs. “I fondly and proudly

consider my association with the Kennedy School as the highlight in my many years of education and experience in National Security Affairs,” he writes. “Would have loved to have been there to sharply question the Serbian minister on their so-called ‘success’ in the Balkans!”

1989

**Primo Arambulo III** MPA and Mason Fellow was the recipient of the 2007 Gold Head Cane Award for achievements that have advanced human health through the practice of veterinary public health. The award was presented during the Annual Convention of the American Veterinary Medical Association held in Washington, DC, last July 17. His career with the Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization spanned 25 years, providing leadership and technical cooperation to its 38 member states. His most significant contributions are in the implementation of the regional food safety plan of action, the elimination of human rabies transmitted from dogs in Latin America, the eradication of foot-and-mouth disease in South America, and disease prevention and control at the human-animal interface in the region of the Americas. He is currently consultant for international affairs and global initiative for veterinary education with the Association of American Veterinary Medical Colleges in Washington, DC.

**Barbara deVries** MPA says that as a current member of the board and past president of the Professional Fiduciary Association of California she was instrumental in getting this new profession licensed. This licensure will begin in July 2008 and will be a way of protecting elderly and dependent adults from unscrupulous guardians. She also became a grandmother in 2007 to beautiful Dylan Nicolaas Carl deVries and gets to babysit once a week. “What a joy!!” She lives in San Francisco during the week and spends weekends at her home in Sebastopol, CA, in the Sonoma County wine country. “I would love my classmates to visit,” she says.

**Kenneth Nickolai** MPA recently retired from the State of Minnesota after a career that included serving as that state’s chief administrative law judge, a member of the Public Utilities Commission, deputy commissioner of human rights, and chair of the Board of Innovation and Cooperation. He now splits his time between St. Petersburg, FL, and Brattleboro, VT, and serves as a contract hearing officer for several of the nation’s electric regional reliability organizations. Ken is also pursuing his long-standing interest in photography and art; his recent work can be seen at [kensprintsandphotos.com](http://kensprintsandphotos.com).

**David Reese** KSGEE was recently appointed a fellow of the London-based Royal Institute of Public Health. He serves as regional epidemiologist for the seven-county Kentucky River Dis-



CAMBRIDGE, MA

At the invitation of the New England Alumni Association, faculty member Elaine Kamarck met with area alumni on **December 11** for a lively discussion of her new book, *The End of Government ... As We Know It: Making Public Policy Work*, as well as the current political scene, the upcoming primaries, and likely scenarios for the country after President Bush leaves office. Pictured with Kamarck is John McLaughlin, Jr. MPA 1988, president and chair of the board of directors, New England Alumni Association.



ALEXANDRIA, VA

A group of the 1992 Senior Executive Fellows met in late 2007 for a reunion. They toasted the wisdom imparted to them from Dutch Leonard, Ron Heifetz, and the excellent Harvard Kennedy School staff; and they reminisced about Forum events, the 1992 Presidential Election, and smashing the MPA and MPP programs in volleyball.



NEW YORK, NY

Class of 2007 alumni, newly settled in the area, were welcomed by members of the New York alumni community on **December 19** with a holiday party at the Midtown Puerto Rican restaurant Sofrito. The party was hosted by the HKS New York Alumni Association.

Go to [www.hks.harvard.edu/about/alumni](http://www.hks.harvard.edu/about/alumni) for more stories about alumni activities.

Alumni Connections

HIGHLIGHTS FROM  
AROUND THE WORLD



REDONDO BEACH, CA

Southern California alumni had a special evening meeting in Redondo Beach with David Gergen, professor and director of the Center for Public Leadership, on **November 5**, following his address at the Distinguished Speaker Series of Southern California.



SAN FRANCISCO, CA

Xenia Stefanidou MPA 2005, KSGEE 2002, 2003, and 2004, the Greek consul general in San Francisco, hosted an evening of discussion with members of the Bay Area Alumni Group on **December 14**.



SAN FRANCISCO, CA

San Francisco’s historic Ferry Building was the site for the annual HKS Bay Area Career Networking Event on **January 9**. In addition to the opportunity to network and exchange information about job opportunities, those attending also received the Regional Alumni Directory produced by the regional alumni association. Paul Tauber MPP 1992 and his firm Coblentz, Patch, Duffy & Bass LLP provided space for the event again this year.



TOKYO, JAPAN

Approximately 60 prospective HKS applicants attended an information session organized by the Alumni Association of Japan **December 9**. Highlights included a videotaped address by Dean Ellwood.



WASHINGTON, DC

The Washington Council hosted more than 300 alumni and 200 students on **January 24** for the annual Kennedy School Career Networking Night. The event was held at the National Press Club and was cosponsored by the Office of Professional Development and Alumni Programs Office.

AND MORE...

CLEVELAND, OH

Thomas Sugrue, visiting fellow at the Baker-Nord Center for the Humanities at Case Western Reserve University and professor of history and sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, spoke on “Race Relations and Urban History” at an HKS alumni brown bag lunch **October 23**.

MIAMI, FL

Alumnae of the HKS Executive Education “Women and Power” Program met in Florida for a conference and reunion at the InterContinental Hotel. U.S. Treasurer Anna Cabral and former Congresswoman Carrie Meek participated in this year’s event.





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trict Health Department, where he participates in local and statewide activities to plan and deploy new electronic disease and health surveillance systems to improve the community's responsiveness to infectious disease outbreaks and prepare for possible bioterrorist threats. He teaches and mentors students as a community-based faculty member of the University of Kentucky's College of Medicine, Department of Family Practice and Community Medicine. Prior to moving to Kentucky in 2000, he served for more than 10 years as chief executive officer for local health departments and federally qualified health centers in the states of Idaho, Missouri, Kansas, and Washington.

**1991**  
**Roger Keithline** MPA remains at CBS News in New York, where he is the broadcast writer for *The Early Show*. He married Justine Pilkington in July.

**1993 REUNION**  
**John Mecklin** MPA is editor in chief of a new national magazine to be published by the Miller-McClune Center on Research, Media and Public Policy in Santa Barbara, CA, beginning

this spring. His aim, he says, is for the magazine to showcase serious journalism that is also engaging. He is looking for stories on pressing social concerns that highlight uses of academic research to address or for which to suggest solutions. He wants stories about "potential solutions, particularly when the solutions are little known to the general public or largely ignored by the popular press." Queries to write for the print magazine should be addressed to [John.Mecklin@miller-mccune.com](mailto:John.Mecklin@miller-mccune.com). Those interested in writing for the Web site should contact [Michael.Todd@miller-mccune.com](mailto:Michael.Todd@miller-mccune.com).

**Charles "Jeep" Rosenberg** MPA has embarked on a new career after retiring from the United Nations: that of country music songwriter and performer. His compact disc, *Silver Bluff Estates*, was released in the fall. More information is available at his Web site [www.jeepprosenberg.com](http://www.jeepprosenberg.com).

**Thomas Steinbach** MPP has joined the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation as a program officer in the organization's Environment Program. He will focus on Western conservation and energy policy and help shape the program's ongoing strategy. Previously he was executive director of the Greenbelt Alliance, a San Francisco area nonprofit that works in land conservation and urban planning. He was also named a recipient of the University of California's Nonprofit Leadership Fellowship.

**1995**  
**Enrique Bellagio** KSGEE reports that he has been appointed as undersecretary for education of the Ministry of Defense of Argentina. "This new position is an important achievement for my career," he says, "and I will apply all my experience to carry out this challenge. In that sense, I consider that the knowledge I received during the s&L course I attended at the Kennedy School to be a fundamental support. If you have any suggestion or request that I can help you with, please let me know."

**Didier Jacobs** MPP has written *Global Democracy: The Struggle for Political and Civil Rights in the 21st Century*, in which he challenges current political science on global governance and proposes a new foreign policy doctrine, based on the democratic sharing of power in world affairs. Ideas are applied to current issues such as the stalemate at the WTO, the next Kyoto agreement on climate change, or nuclear proliferation in Iran. The book, published by Vanderbilt University Press, has been described as inspirational and farsighted, as well as rigorously analytical and grounded in today's realities.

**1996**  
**Nancy Gruver** MPA is now back full-time as chief executive officer of New Moon. For five years, she was working at both New Moon and Dads & Daughters, but she is pleased to report that both organizations have grown now to the point where they each need a full-time leader.

**Michael Van Milligen** KSGEE was named the 2007 Manager of the Year by the Iowa City Managers' Association (IACMA). He has served as city manager of the City of Dubuque since January 1993. The award honors a chief city administrator whose accomplishments and superior work performance represent the best possible application of management principles, and whose creative contributions to professional local management increases public awareness of the value of professional management to the quality of life in Iowa communities. Dubuque was one of 10 communities to earn the 2007 All-America City Award from the National Civic League. The award, which is often referred to as the "Nobel Prize of civic engagement," is the oldest and most prestigious civic recognition competition in the nation. Winners are selected in part for their ability to engage a broad cross-section of the community, including youth, business leaders, elected officials, city staff, and nonprofit groups in civic dialogues leading to tangible results.

**1997**  
**Henrietta Davis** MPA was reelected to the Cambridge City Council in November.

**1998 REUNION**  
**Michael Goldstein** MPP has been appointed development director at the MetroWest Jewish Day School (MWJDS) in Framingham, MA. Most recently he served as executive director of City Year Rhode Island, a community service/leadership program. While there, he increased revenue more than 15 percent over each of the past three fiscal years and implemented a successful marketing and PR campaign. Goldstein has been recognized by the *Boston Business Journal* and *Providence Business News* 40 Under 40 awards for promising young business leaders. Previously he founded Youth Tech Entrepreneurs, a program enabling high school students to run their schools' Web sites and help desks, which grew into an organization serving 35 Massachusetts school districts. He also cofounded LiNCBoston, an association for emerging nonprofit leaders.

**Roger Goodman** MPA was elected last year to the Washington State House of Representatives from the 45th District (Seattle suburbs of Kirkland and Redmond) and is currently vice chair of the House Judiciary Committee.

**Christopher Monzel** MPP was elected to the Cincinnati City Council in November.

**Alexander Robinson** KSGEE was appointed by the mayor of Winnipeg to the position of chief administrative officer on an interim basis, after the city's most powerful civil servant resigned in September. In this position, Alex has been overseeing 18 city departments and 10,700 full- and part-time employees. He was also made responsible for continuing the search for a new police chief. Prior to this appointment, he had been serving as senior policy advisor.

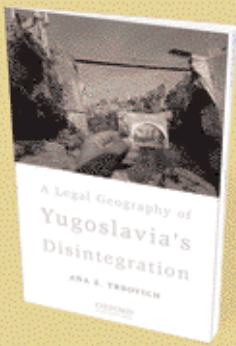
**2000**  
**Sidney Espinosa** MPP was elected to the city council in Palo Alto, CA, in November.

**Jennifer Janis-Martin** MPP is now the intergovernmental relations officer at the City of Riverside, CA.

**Larry Langford** KSGEE was elected mayor of Birmingham, AL, in an election that brought out 45 percent of the voters. From a field of 10 candidates, he received over 50 percent of the vote, with his closest competitor receiving only 30 percent. Campaigning under the slogan "Let's Do Something," he said his priorities would be funding for transit, building a domed stadium, and providing college scholarships to students who remain in Birmingham high schools for four years and graduate with at least a C+ average. Elected to the Birmingham City Council for a two-year term in the late 1970s, Larry has remained in the public eye since. As mayor of Fairfield, AL, his home for 25 years, he was known as the state's most popular mayor. Prior to the election in November, he was a member of the Jefferson County Commission. One of his most ambitious initiatives as commissioner was a one percent sales tax for school construction in 2005. The plan generated \$1 billion for the county's 12 school systems.

**Samuel Moreno** MPA was elected mayor of Bogota, Colombia, in the fall.

**2001**  
**Winona Varnon** MPA, KSGEE 2005 was honored in September with the Presidential Rank Award of Meritorious Executive. To be selected, senior executives must be nominated by their agency heads, evaluated by boards of private citizens, and approved by the president of the United States. The evaluation criteria focus on leadership and results. Winona is director of security services at the U.S. Department of Education. She is a 22-year federal employee with 10 years as a career senior executive. In January 2007, she received the President's Gold Volunteer Service Award for more than 3,800 hours of volunteer



**A Legal Geography of Yugoslavia's Disintegration**  
**Ana S. Trbovich** MPA 2001  
Yugoslavia's slow, often spectacularly violent unraveling, starting in the early 1990s and continuing even now with Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, has rarely been out of the academic or journalistic spotlight. But Ana Trbovich MPA 2001 helps fill a largely uncovered gap in the literature with *A Legal Geography of Yugoslavia's Disintegration*. The book explores the history of Yugoslavia's break-up and examines issues of secession, self-determination, and sovereignty. Trbovich also analyzes the role played by the international community in those wars of secession, and the region's integration within Europe.

service with the American Red Cross, community charities such as SOME (So Others May Eat), the House of Ruth Women's Shelter, and Horton's Kids Tutoring and Mentoring Program.

**2002**  
**Shawn Malone** MPP moved to Bangkok in January after accepting a position as deputy country representative for Pact, a USAID-funded NGO that strengthens the capacity of local organizations working on HIV/AIDS, livelihoods, peace building, natural resource management, gender equity, and democracy and governance.

**Roxanne Qualls** MPA, IOP 2000 was reelected to the Cincinnati City Council in November.



2003 REUNION

**Jennifer Anastasoff** MPP reports that the organization she started while at the Kennedy School, BuildingBlocks International, was mentioned in Forbes.com and in the first major study on international corporate volunteerism, Volunteering for Impact, produced by FSG ([www.fsg-impact.org](http://www.fsg-impact.org)). Anastasoff invites alumni to visit the BuildingBlocks Web site at [www.bbblocks.org](http://www.bbblocks.org).

**David Rekhviashvili** MPP writes that he has moved from his position as a public affairs advisor to ExxonMobil Development Company in Houston, and is now in London coordinating Exxon Mobil Corporation’s government relations and public affairs activities in Europe, North Africa, Russia, and the Caspian region. In this new position, he is also responsible for managing external interfaces with governmental representatives, diplomatic missions, industry associations, and academic institutions that are based in London and focus on these regions. In November, he gave a speech on “ExxonMobil’s Global Outlook on Meeting Energy Demand” at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London.

**Peter Tynan** MPP spent four months last year running for Federal Parliament in Australia. The incumbent from his home area unexpectedly announced his retirement in mid-April 2007, and within three days, Peter flew home and entered the race for his party’s nomination. He ran against seven others, ultimately coming in a strong second. He found the election at times both fascinating and rather grueling. “Just my luck,” he writes, “it was deemed in the press as the ‘messiest selection in Australia’s history’ and involved a Supreme Court injunction, a postponement, one candidate’s disendorsement, and a revote, not to mention investigative reporters making it a national issue.” Copies of a book he coauthored with fellow Kennedy School students **David Madden** MPP 2002 and **Andrew Leigh** MPA 2002, Ph.D. 2004, *Imagining Australia: Ideas for Our Future*, were sent to voters’ houses with some of the controversial ideas highlighted (courtesy of another candidate’s team). “All part of the fun — not!” Now he is back in Washington, DC, for a more calm pace for a while.

2004

**Ken Biberaj** MPP received the 2007 Rising Star Award from American University in Washington, DC. He is the vice president and spokesperson for the Russian Tea Room Funding Group, director of Investment Sales for Broadway West Enterprises, Ltd., and a third-year law student at the New York Law

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School. The award recognizes alumni who have received their undergraduate degrees within the past 10 years, who are already making significant contributions to society through professional and/or philanthropic work.

**Kevin Corke** MPA, an NBC News correspondent, gave the fourth annual John E. Holden Journalism Lecture, sponsored by the University of Colorado at Boulder School of Journalism and Mass Communication, in November. His topic was “Saints, Scoundrels, and Scribes: Covering the 2008 Presidential Campaign.”

**Amy Serrano** KSGEE directed *The Sugar Babies: The Plight of the Children of Agricultural Workers in the Sugar Industry of the Dominican Republic*, which was selected to launch the Montreal International Haitian Film Festival last September. This feature-length documentary focuses on the moral price of sugar — past and present — from the perspective of the conditions surrounding the children of sugar cane cutters of Haitian ancestry in the Dominican Republic, and the continuing denial of their human rights. The film was produced by Siren Studios and coproduced by the Human Rights Foundation and the Hope, Courage, and Justice Project. The interactive Web site is at [www.sugarbabiesfilm.com](http://www.sugarbabiesfilm.com).

2005

**Sanjiv Kaura** MPA is writing a blog for *The Times of India*. Read what he has to say at [www.lead.timesofindia.com/Sanjiv\\_Kaura.asp](http://www.lead.timesofindia.com/Sanjiv_Kaura.asp).

**Patricia Paul** KSGEE participated in the Reuniao Equatorial de Antropologia and x Reuniao de Antropologis Norte-Nordeste in October in Aracaju, capital of the northeastern Brazilian state of Sergipe.

**Sara Shenkan** MPP is now vice principal of Sanchez College Preparatory in the Mission District of San Francisco. She writes that 72 percent of the students qualify for free lunch and 68 percent are English language learners. Last year their test scores rose 46 points, four times the state average. Every day the students are rewarded with “college cash” for excellent academic choices and community building decisions, such as using vocabulary words in a sentence, helping a friend with math homework, or receiving 100 percent on a test. The students then redeem their “college cash” at the school store for school supplies, Sanchez paraphernalia, or college gear. “The college prizes,” she writes, “help our students to begin visualizing themselves as college students and expose them to colleges outside the San Francisco area.”

2006

**Katherine “Kate” Kohler** MPA was recently named to the Council on Foreign Relations Corporate Leader Program by her firm, Morgan Stanley. Kate will serve as one of two representatives of the firm and participate in the Term Member Program for one year.

**Daniel Shapiro** MPA writes that after graduating from HKS and HBS in June, he and Sarah married in Virginia Beach, VA, and settled in New York City. He also joined a young brand strategy and design firm, Infinia Group, and is helping it expand into health and wellness and sustainability projects and working with start-ups to launch new brands. In addition, he is hoping to get involved in New York City policy and politics in some meaningful way. He would love to hear from classmates at [dannyshapiro@gmail.com](mailto:dannyshapiro@gmail.com).

**John Verret** MPP/JD is now a tenure-track professor of corporate and securities law at The George Mason University School of Law.

**Alexander Yiaway Yeh** MPP was elected to the city council in Palo Alto, CA, in November.

2007

**Margot Botsford** MPA was nominated by Governor Deval Patrick in July to serve on the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, the oldest appellate court in continuous existence in the Western Hemisphere. On September 4, she was sworn in before a thousand enthusiastic friends and supporters inside the grand rotunda of Boston’s beautiful John Adams Courthouse, where she will serve.

**Richard Crowder** MPA is now working in Brussels for the European Union, as part of the Policy Unit of Javier Solana, who serves as high representative for the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy. Richard and his family have settled into life in Brussels and expect to remain there for three years or so. In his spare time, he

continues to pursue his interest in George Marshall and U.S. foreign policy from the 1940s, which first developed during his time at the Kennedy School. He can be contacted at [Richard.Crowder@consilium.europa.eu](mailto:Richard.Crowder@consilium.europa.eu).

**Marjorie Decker** MPA was reelected to the Cambridge City Council in November.


**Frederick Wellman** MPA writes that on his way to Iraq, he transited through Washington, DC, and was asked by the Army’s chief of public affairs to stay in Washington and work for him. His first job is as deputy commander of the Soldiers Media Center in Crystal City, VA. A fairly new organization, it owns all the Army’s internal media outlets, including the official magazine, Web site, television, radio, news service, and broadcast networks around the world. “I am using an awful lot of my education,” he says. His biggest mission is to create a collaborative and convergent organization. Following that mandate, he is pushing his coworkers to look at stories on a multi-platform angle instead of just their traditional lanes. He invites people to visit [www.army.mil](http://www.army.mil) for a look at the results.

In Memoriam

Joseph B. “Bain” D’Souza MPA 1956  
Nancy J. Dunn MPA 1985  
Louis A. Kunzig III MPA 1965  
Bill Strauss MPP 1973

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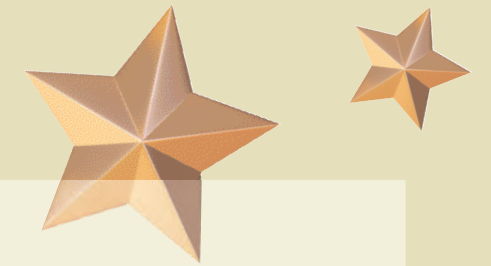
December 2007

**After All These Years** While more than 15 years have elapsed since former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev last visited the Kennedy School (inset), tickets this past December to hear one of the men who presided over the end of the Cold War were once again lottery only. In his earlier visit, just five months after resigning as president, Gorbachev spoke of the former Soviet Union's need for U.S. support as it began its reform process. In December, Gorbachev (seen above sharing the stage with Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Director Graham Allison) spoke about international security in the 21st century, noting that Russia and the United States must take the lead in moving the world toward nuclear disarmament. Gorbachev was in town to attend a conference, "Overcoming Nuclear Danger," organized by the World Political Forum, which he founded, and the Belfer Center.

MARTHA STEWART

MARTHA STEWART

# A CALL *for* NOMINATIONS



## Julius E. Babbitt Memorial Alumni Volunteer Award

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To submit a nomination and for more information about the award, go to [www.hks.harvard.edu/about/alumni](http://www.hks.harvard.edu/about/alumni).



**DEADLINE:** *June 15, 2008*





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