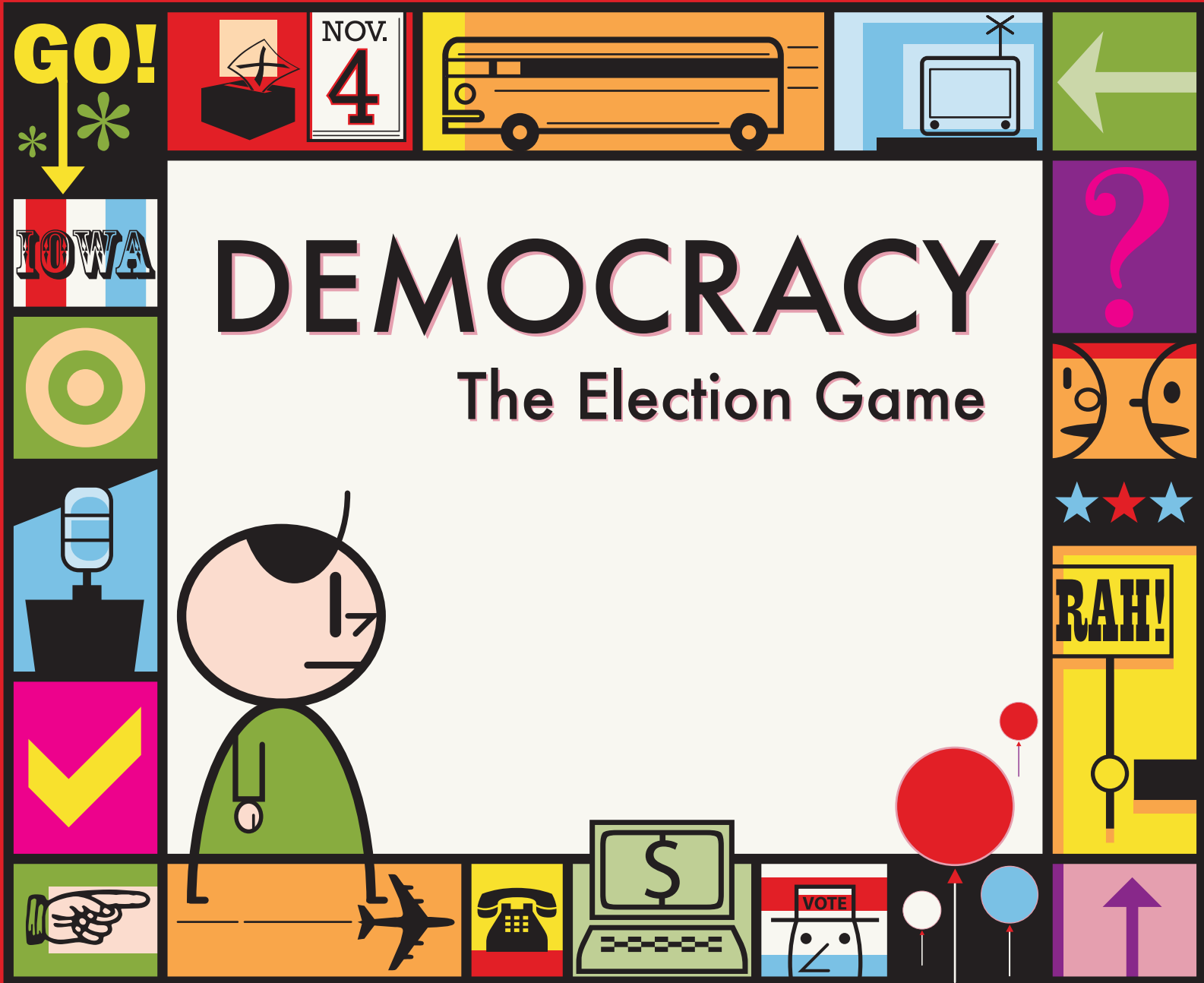


Kennedy School

JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT BULLETIN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SUMMER 2008



The Big Ideas

Our faculty weigh in

The Campaign

Students assess primary season

Alumni on campaigns

The Vote

Electoral college
Voting machines

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JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT BULLETIN

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SUMMER 2008

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The Election Issue

4 The Big Ideas

Issues ranging from climate change to education, from health care reform to free trade are knocking on policymakers' doors. Our faculty are helping shape the discussion.

10 The Campaign

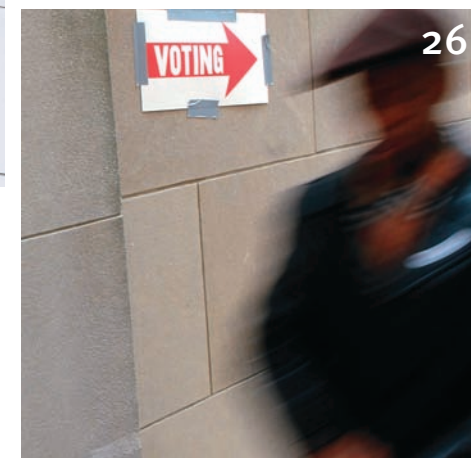
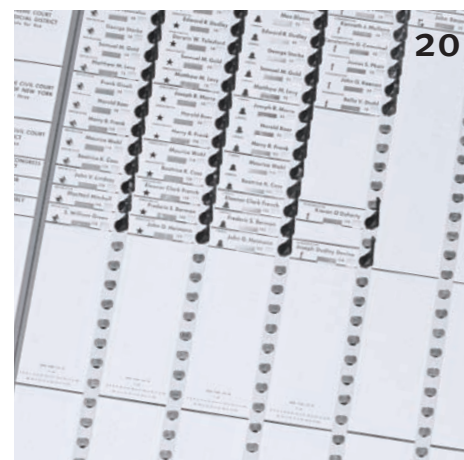
Campaign '08 — Our alumni run for office and work behind the scenes, while our students offer perspectives on the primary process and some help to cover the election.

20 The Vote

The evolution of U.S. voting apparatus; exit polling in 2008; Dan Maffei MPP 1995 on running for office; and faculty discuss presidential transitions and legacies.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: MCCORRY JAMES; DAVID MCNEW/GETTY IMAGES; REUTERS/JONATHAN ENIST; NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY; MARTHA STEWART



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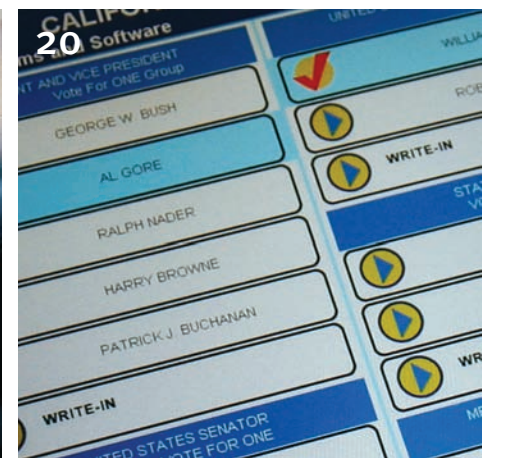
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Dear reader,

In this issue we focus on a subject that has dominated the news during the last 18 months — the 2008 U.S. presidential election.

President John F. Kennedy once noted that “the magic of politics is not the panoply of office. The magic of politics is participating on all levels of national life in an affirmative way, of playing a small role in determining whether in [William] Faulkner’s words, ‘freedom will not only endure, but prevail.’”

In the following pages you will read about some of the members of the Harvard Kennedy School community who are participating at all levels of national life to ensure that “freedom prevails.” They are working as political volunteers, congressional candidates, and researchers who are helping inform and shape legislation on many of the election-related issues.

As you will read, our alumni are working behind the scenes this election season as fundraisers, convention organizers, and as campaign staff members. They are also involved as volunteer trainers to help ensure the democratic system runs fairly and effectively.

Dozens of our alumni are currently running for office at all levels of government. One of them, Dan Maffei MPP 1995, offers his thoughts on what running for office has taught him, as he makes a second try for a congressional seat from New York. You will also read about why two of our Executive Education alumni decided to run for political office after spending time at the Kennedy School.

Some of our faculty also weigh in with recent research findings and opinions on election-related issues, from education and health care to terrorism and the federal debt.

The long primary season that only recently ended has captured the attention of people both here and abroad at a level not experienced in many years. The entire world is watching as the United States enters the final phase of this long election process and chooses a new leader this November.

As always, our alumni and faculty are committed to playing a significant role in the democratic process as we continue to strive to make the world a better place.

Dean David T. Ellwood
August 2008

KENT DAYTON



New Hampshire Bound The C-Span Campaign 2008 bus stopped at the Kennedy School on its way to New Hampshire last December as the primary season went into full swing. On its 14th nationwide tour, the 45-foot bus is a mobile multimedia demonstration center and television production unit.

Red Ink

Professor Bilmes’s budgetary accounting of the Iraq war (*Bulletin* Spring 2005) is a hard-headed exposure of the price America pays for a bad war in terms even the warmakers can understand. As I learned early on at the Kennedy School, that which is measured is what can be measured, so even though the accounting of war costs strives to be comprehensive, further account must be reckoned of externalities that are no less real for being outside the federal budget. Several come readily to mind, such as the diversion from civilian work of energetic people in their prime and the absence of Guard units to assist with domestic disasters like hurricanes and wildfires. The evidence may be a bit anecdotal, but up here in small-town New

England it seems that small businesses and community institutions are hobbled by the absence of vital Guard members. I’d hypothesize that this effect is worse in rural areas with a tradition of military service. American aircraft and vehicles burn tons of oil when the global environment may be irrevocably tipping and drove up the price of fuel for productive use. It may be no small coincidence that the economy lost steam at the same time as the war. Then there is the lifelong impact on quality of life for combat vets and their families and the deadweight to be carried by U.S. policy for generations, all without even mentioning the Iraqis. In sum, the Bilmes/Stiglitz equation lets off the Bush/Cheney administration too cheaply.

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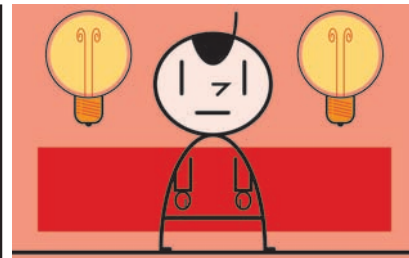
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THE BIG IDEAS



The remark is heard often, from the left and right, from bloggers and presidential candidates: “This is the most important election of our lifetime.” Regardless of whether one sees that as reality or over-used rhetoric, the U.S. presidential and congressional elections of 2008 come at an unquestionably important juncture in history.

The sitting president’s popularity is at historically low levels. The candidates who emerged after a torturous primary season are the first black candidate for a major political party and a self-professed maverick.

Voters are paying attention. Turnout nearly shattered the record mark set in 1972. People have donated vast sums of money, often in small amounts, and are using new online fundraising tools.

And perhaps most important, issues ranging from climate change to education, from health care reform to nuclear proliferation, from the war on terror to immigration are knocking loudly and impatiently on policymakers’ doors.

Some of those issues are examined in the following pages, through the unique perspectives of our faculty.

DEVELOPMENT

GLOBAL AFFAIRS

ARMS CONTROL

DEVELOPMENT

TERRORISM

DOWN TO THE WIRE → Calestous Juma
Not all international issues revolve around broad questions of war, weapons of mass destruction, global climate change, and human rights. Sometimes they are as narrow as a piece of wire — or more precisely, fiber-optic cable.

“Africa — apart from South Africa — is linked to the developed world by a single fiber-optic cable along the West Africa coast,” writes Juma, professor of the practice of international development and director of the Science, Technology, and Globalization Project. “Plans to extend to the east coast as well as to the interior of the continent have been slow and frustrating.”

The problem is isolating African students and universities, Calestous Juma argues. International institutions such as the Group of Eight should commit to helping Africa get broadband access.



THEN WHAT?

→ Sarah Sewall **HKSEE 1995**

The detention facilities at Guantanamo Bay were built to house detainees captured on the battlefields of Afghanistan and other fronts of the war on terror. Administration officials described those prisoners in 2002 as the “worst of the worst.” Six years on, Guantanamo has come to symbolize many of the worst legacies of 9/11, including abuse of detainees, domestic political division and international criticism, and uncertainty about the legal framework for prosecuting a war against a stateless enemy.

U.S. INFLUENCE AROUND THE WORLD

| | U.S. INFLUENCES YOUR COUNTRY* | U.S. INFLUENCE IS A... GOOD THING | BAD THING |
|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| GERMANY | 88 | 11 | 42 |
| BRITAIN | 88 | 11 | 51 |
| FRANCE | 84 | 7 | 37 |
| SPAIN | 64 | 7 | 36 |
| POLAND | 71 | 17 | 28 |
| RUSSIA | 59 | 9 | 34 |
| TURKEY | 79 | 3 | 68 |
| LEBANON | 92 | 31 | 46 |
| JORDAN | 89 | 21 | 56 |
| EGYPT | 86 | 29 | 45 |
| SOUTH KOREA | 93 | 30 | 37 |
| JAPAN | 93 | 16 | 40 |
| AUSTRALIA | 85 | 12 | 40 |
| INDIA | 73 | 34 | 25 |
| INDONESIA | 70 | 14 | 31 |
| PAKISTAN | 59 | 6 | 49 |
| CHINA | 50 | 11 | 27 |
| MEXICO | 81 | 17 | 49 |
| ARGENTINA | 74 | 4 | 55 |
| BRAZIL | 73 | 16 | 40 |
| NIGERIA | 75 | 46 | 20 |
| SOUTH AFRICA | 64 | 42 | 12 |
| TANZANIA | 55 | 28 | 21 |

*PERCENT OF TOTAL SAMPLE SAYING U.S. INFLUENCE IS A GOOD/BAD THING. QUESTION ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY U.S. HAS GREAT/FAIR AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE.

SOURCE: PEW GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT

for Human Rights Policy, argues that doing that simply poses another really big question: Then what?

“The issue about what happens after Guantanamo is more than just what do we do with these people? Where do we put them? Who administers the facility?” Sewall said at a Forum event in April. “It raises a much broader set of questions about executive privilege and constitutionality, the law of armed conflict and human rights, and national security and domestic and international politics.”

Guantanamo’s closure should also be part and parcel, Sewall argues, of a policy aimed at ceasing practices “that fail to stabilize the international arena, either because they upend interstate relations or they galvanize international opposition to the United States.”

UNCLEAR OPTION

→ Ashton Carter
Iran’s nuclear program will likely top the agenda of U.S. and other world leaders for some time to come. A diplomatic path is being pursued in conjunction with other Western powers, eager to keep the regional power from developing nuclear weapons despite its stated peaceful purpose.

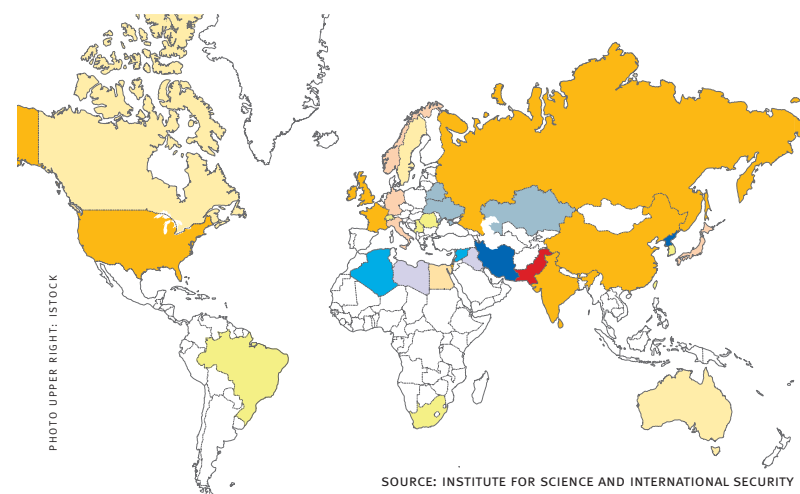
However, if military action is considered, argues Ashton Carter, codirector, Preventive Defense Project, it cannot be considered as a stand-alone option.

“A true option is a complete strategy integrating political, economic, and military elements and seeing the matter through to a defined and achievable end.

ARMS CONTROL

For any military element, the sequel to action must be part of the strategy because the military action by itself will not finish the problem of Iran’s nuclear ambitions once and for all. Air strikes on the Iranian nuclear program or other targets could conceivably reset the diplomatic table in pursuit of a negotiated end to the nuclear program, but they could also easily overturn the diplomatic table,” Carter wrote in a recent paper on U.S. strategic options.

“Sometime in 2009, still well before Iran can produce a bomb’s worth of highly enriched uranium, a new American president will face a new Iranian president. Not too much longer after that, we will know which type of strategy the ‘military option’ is supporting.”



TERRORISM

There is a consensus now that Guantanamo Bay should be shut down. But Sarah Sewall, lecturer in public policy and director of the Carr Center

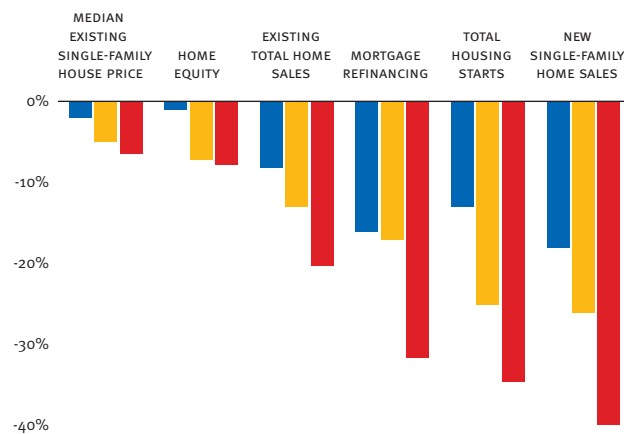
the big ideas



A RIPPLE EFFECT → Eric Belsky, Nicolas Retsinas

In 2007, the U.S. housing market got overheated and over-supplied, says Eric Belsky, executive director of the Joint Center for Housing Studies. For the first time on record, national annual single-family home prices fell. This in turn left several million homeowners who had bought or refinanced in the last few years with homes worth less than their mortgages, and, as a result, home foreclosures rose precipitously. By early 2008, housing market problems had spread to the rest of the economy.

HOUSING



Late in 2005, the combination of higher interest rates and home prices finally pushed affordability pressures beyond their limit, dragging down demand. Within the span of two years, sales and starts plummeted, prices fell, and home equity eroded.

SOURCE: STATE OF THE NATION'S HOUSING 2008, JOINT CENTER FOR HOUSING STUDIES OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The near-term outlook for homeownership is grim, say Belsky and Nicolas Retsinas, director of the Joint Center for Housing Studies, in *State of the Nation's Housing 2008*. The wave of foreclosures will take months to sort out, and the number of homes entering foreclosure could continue to rise even if resets recede from last year's level. Job losses and falling home prices are now adding to foreclosure risks. Meanwhile, mortgage credit will remain tight, and larger-risk premiums in mortgage interest rates will offset much of the decline in short-term rates.

FREE TRADE

MAKING THE CASE FOR TRADE

→ Lawrence Summers

During the past primary season, harsh criticism of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was raised by many voters who perceive the 1994 agreement to have had a negative impact on their states' economy and lives.

“In a world where Americans can legitimately doubt whether the success of the global economy is good for them, it will be increasingly difficult to mobilize support for economic internationalism,” said University Professor Lawrence Summers in the Financial Times last spring.

“The focus must shift from supporting internationalism as traditionally defined to designing an internationalism that more successfully aligns the interests of working people and the middle class in rich countries with the success of the global economy.”

→ Robert Lawrence

Emotions run high among many U.S. workers concerning NAFTA, says Harvard Kennedy School Professor Robert Lawrence, but amidst all the controversy, wrote Lawrence in *The Guardian Unlimited* last spring, NAFTA's true impact on U.S. society may be getting lost.

“NAFTA remains a curse word for much of the U.S. labor movement,” he wrote. While it's true that jobs were lost upon NAFTA's implementation in 1995 when some U.S. firms were relocated to Mexico, other jobs were created because of increased exports.

“Despite the dire predictions that were made when NAFTA was implemented, in its first five years, U.S. manufacturing employment actually increased by 250,000 — not all because of NAFTA — and overall U.S. employment rose by 17.5 million,” he writes.

Lawrence points out that U.S. manufacturing payrolls did fall by 2.7 million between 2000 and 2003, but mainly because spending on computers and other equipment plummeted when the dotcom boom burst, while labor productivity growth was brisk.

“But this happened far too late to be ascribed to NAFTA. Moreover, over those three years, imports from Mexico barely grew and imports from other countries did not increase their share in the U.S. market.”



ECONOMY

HOUSING

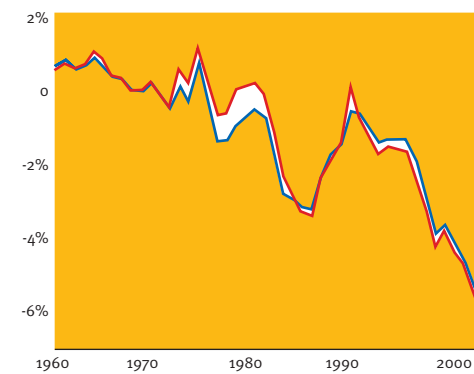
FEDERAL DEBT

FREE TRADE

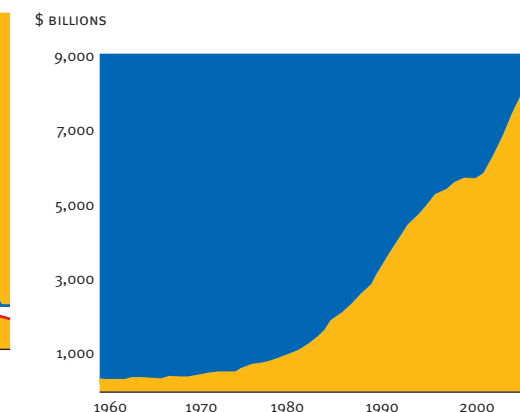
LOOMING ADJUSTMENT → Jeffrey Frankel

The day when deficit adjustment is forced on the United States may be close at hand, according to Jeffrey Frankel, professor of economics. “The trade and current account deficits have begun to shrink,” he wrote last fall for the Commission on Growth and Development, “presumably in response to the slowing of the economy and the depreciation of the dollar. A coming recession may be more severe and long-lasting than the last one in 2001.”

“All this means that the adjustment is now likely to take the more painful of the two possible courses that the mainstream view has long warned of: dollar depreciation with recession, rather than pure expenditure switching. Even if it does not turn out that the day of reckoning is yet at hand,” says Frankel, “from now on we can probably no longer count on the dollar and economy being automatic safe havens.”



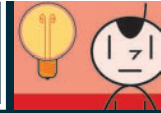
SOURCE: COMMISSION ON GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP



SOURCE: CONCORD COALITION

FEDERAL DEBT

the big ideas



DOMESTIC POLICY

EDUCATION

HEALTH CARE

ENVIRONMENT

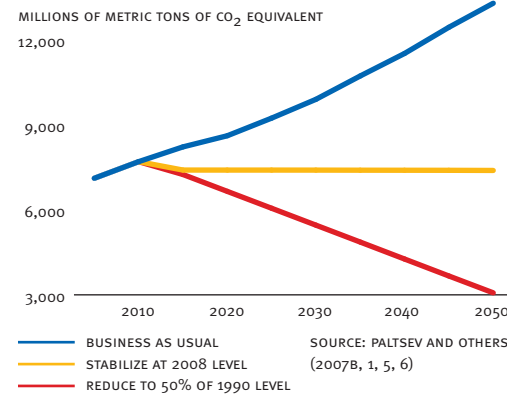
CAP AND TRADE: A SOLUTION

Robert Stavins

With each passing day, the need for a domestic U.S. policy that addresses climate change becomes increasingly apparent, says Robert Stavins, professor of business and government. A cap-and-trade system, he says, could offer the best short- to medium-term solution.

“Besides providing certainty about emissions levels, cap and trade offers an easy means of compensating for the inevitably unequal burdens imposed by climate policy.” Key features include an upstream cap on CO₂ emissions with gradual inclusion of other greenhouse gases, a gradual downward trajectory of emissions ceilings over time to minimize disruption and allow firms and households time to adapt, and mechanisms to reduce cost uncertainty.

ALL GREENHOUSE GASES



ENVIRONMENT

ENERGY POLICY: THE NEXT STEPS

ETIP

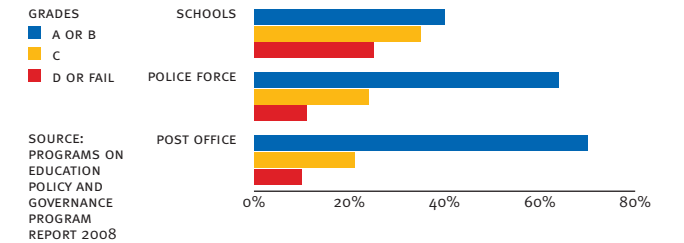
How do we begin to address the climate- and energy-related challenges facing us today? This fall, Harvard Kennedy School's Energy Technology Innovation Policy (ETIP) research group, under the auspices of the Energy Policy Programs initiative at HKS, will bring researchers from around the country together to identify steps the next administration must take to address our most pressing energy- and climate-related challenges. Distinguished experts at the two-day conference will present their most recent research, which will be combined for publication to help inform and influence ongoing discussion and policy. Topics to be covered appear in above graphic.

READY FOR NEW DIRECTION

Paul Peterson

Americans both care about their schools and want them to improve, says Paul Peterson, director of Harvard's Program on Education Policy and Governance (PEPG).

Though adults give the nation's public schools only mediocre grades — a plurality confer a C — they give somewhat higher grades to the schools in their own communities. The local schools may be passing, but they do not earn the same high marks as other neighborhood institutions.



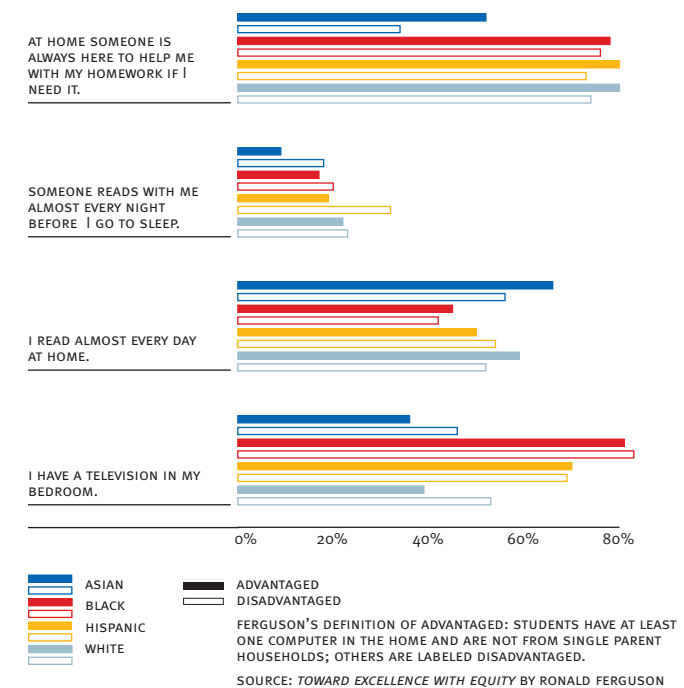
EDUCATION

SCHOOL VS. PARENTING

Ronald Ferguson

In addition to focusing on what schools are doing to provide children with high quality educations, Ronald Ferguson, lecturer in public policy and author of *Toward Excellence with Equity*, says we must emphasize to parents ways to enrich the home learning lifestyle.

In the following chart, Ferguson questions Asians, blacks, Hispanics, and white students about their home lives.



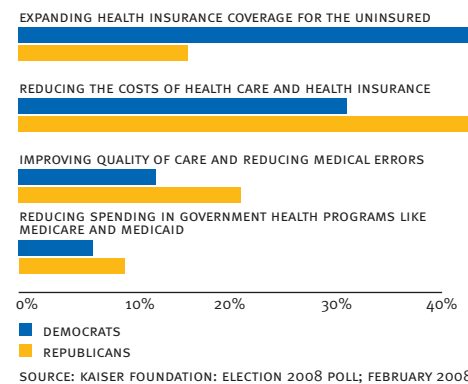
FIXING HEALTH CARE: TWO VISIONS

Robert Blendon

Health care may rank among the top issues for voters this election year — just behind the economy and the Iraq war, according to a recent survey by *The Los Angeles Times* and *Bloomberg News* — but, says Robert Blendon, professor of health policy and political analysis, the differences between what Republicans and Democrats see as their concerns around health care are strikingly different.

“There are two very different visions,” says Blendon, who with the Kaiser Family Foundation, surveyed voters earlier this year about health care issues.

“Unlike Democrats, Republicans are not very interested in universal coverage. They are much more concerned with high health costs and the cost of their insurance policies.”



HEALTH CARE

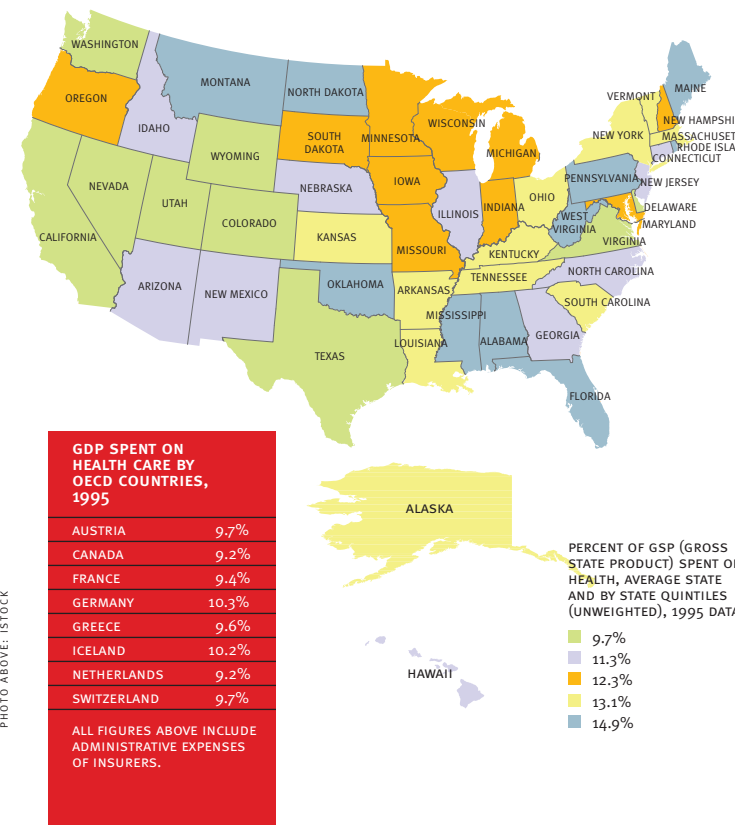
SINGLE-PAYER HEALTH CARE:

IS IT LESS EXPENSIVE?

Joseph Newhouse

Many believe that the high level of U.S. health care costs relative to other developed countries is the result of the high administrative costs inherent in a pluralistic health care financing system. In a recent study, however, Joseph Newhouse, professor of health policy and management, found that some states were spending approximately the same percentage for health care as some countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

The implication? “The United States’ pluralistic financing system may not be an important cause of the large percentage of GDP that the United States devotes to health care,” says Newhouse. While a more centralized payment system may be a sufficient condition to spend at the percentages of GDP found in northern Europe, he says, “it is not a necessary condition.”



THE CAMPAIGN



Campaign

'08

Harvard Kennedy School alumni work behind the scenes.

The campaigns of Democrats and Republicans alike depend on a diverse group of people to support them, and in a wide variety of roles, including paid professional political operatives, fundraisers, volunteer poll-watchers, expert advisors on policy and position development, organizers, and a nearly endless number of other positions paid and unpaid, full- and part-time and 24/7 time. This election season, alumni across the country and across the political spectrum are working behind the scenes for candidates.

THE WORKHORSE

Just a year out of the Kennedy School, **Melanie Roe** MPP 2007 is responsible for ensuring the most closely watched presidential convention in history comes off without a hitch. As the director of hall management for the Democratic National convention in Denver, Roe is planning an event that will bring more than 50,000 people to the city for four days in August, including party delegates, the media, political activists, VIPs, and volunteers — all key players in the big event.

"I'm responsible for everything, from making sure all speeches are simultane-

ously given in sign language to the logistics behind every meal served in the convention hall, Roe says. "There are an infinite number of details to consider when putting on an event as large and important as this." Modern conventions have been more of a coronation ceremony for the nominee who was chosen months beforehand, allowing the party more of an opportunity to showcase its choice and its agenda for the general election. The much longer than anticipated nomination process for the Democrats has made this convention especially important and harder to plan. Until Obama finally clinched the nomination in June, Roe and her staff were planning for a convention with two candidates for the nomination, which made the process all the more difficult and politically charged. As a subsidiary of the National Democratic Party, the convention must be neutral in all aspects if a nominee has not yet been chosen. "Even with the long nomination

process, this is an historic election because you've had an African American and a woman as viable candidates for the presidency for the first time."

For Roe, the 2008 election is an opportunity to exorcise the demons from 2004, when she spent the last eight months of the campaign at U.S. Senator and Democratic party presidential nominee John Kerry's side. "It was a painful loss," she says. "I'm hoping this time things will turn out differently, and a flawless convention is a big part of that, especially this year."

Roe stands above the Denver convention hall where Democrats will meet in August to nominate their candidate.

PHOTO: MCCOBY JAMES; ICON ILLUSTRATION: J. D. KING

the campaign

2002 MPP graduate **Buzz Jacobs**, a regional campaign manager for Republican nominee John McCain, remembers the dark days of Senator John McCain's candidacy in the fall of 2007. "We had no money. Our organization had been reduced dramatically. The pundits were calling our campaign over," he recalled. "Instead of folding up our tent, we launched the 'No Surrender' tour and we talked about the war in Iraq as well as the senator's candidacy for president." The campaign was raising less than a million dollars a month and had a quarter of the staff it needed. However, Jacobs's support for his candidate never wavered. "I never doubted him, even during the difficult period. I worked for him in 2000, and I stayed with him in 2008 because I believe in John McCain."

Political campaigns are anything if not unpredictable. Dramatic reversals of fortune are commonplace, especially in the era of round-the-clock cable news coverage, blogosphere punditry, and the marathon campaign. Anything can, and often does, happen along the campaign trail, and the survivor is often the candidate whose organization can weather the inevitable storm. Being able to respond quickly is a key element of success, which

is one of the strengths of the McCain system of a regional campaign.

As the manager for McCain's southern campaign office — one of ten around the country — Jacobs is up at dawn to read the news clips relating to his candidate as well as the opposition. Following the lengthy conference calls with senior staff, commu-

THE POLITICAL OPERATIVE

nications, officials, and regional organizers and volunteers, Jacobs is busy with the myriad details of running a large organization spread out over seven states.

"The most challenging part is ensuring you are implementing the senator's vision and telling the story about John McCain," he says. "And in spite of all the various things we need to do, we constantly ask ourselves throughout every day, 'Is what I'm doing getting votes for Senator McCain?' This includes getting my grandmother, a lifelong Democrat, to register as a Republican and vote McCain."



Jacobs pounds the pavement with John McCain.



THE RAINMAKER

Above: Puram (fourth from left) in the audience at a town meeting with John McCain. Below left: Puram shares his thoughts for the U.S. with McCain.



Republicans who support free trade at every level, but his support is conditional upon a candidate's demonstration of an uncommon level of moral character and integrity. He has been rooting for John McCain since 1995 after being introduced by Sen. Boschwitz. He says, "I look for candidates who have survived hardship because if you've faced difficult times and made it through, it keeps you from temptation." As a result of Puram's long-term support for the policies of free trade and his experience in the private sector, in 2005, President Bush appointed him to the U.S. Export Council.



From left: Weatherspoon and San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom; Weatherspoon (second from left) with other volunteers at Hillary Clinton's Philadelphia campaign office;



at a Houston campaign office, Weatherspoon and fellow volunteer are joined by a cardboard cutout of the candidate.



THE ACTIVIST

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: MICHAEL B. BRADY/KORB; COURTESY OF PRAKASH PURAM; COURTESY OF JACKIE WEATHERSPOON; COURTESY OF BUZZ JACOBS

Jackie Weatherspoon, MPA 1991, exemplifies the party activist whose ability to multitask is matched only by her multiple skills and endless energy. She's involved in the Democratic party as a volunteer poll-watcher, get-out-the-vote coordinator, organizer of students and the youth vote, and she has also served as co-chair of New Hampshire's Democratic Party convention. However, as committed as she is to the ideology of and candidates within her party, Weatherspoon also brings an uncommon level of commitment to and passion for the democratic process, which she is putting to use in this election year.

Inspired while at the Kennedy School taking Professor Shirley Williams's "To Be

a Politician" class, Jackie returned to New Hampshire and was elected a state representative. However, after serving in office only a short while, she was selected by the United Nations to be an election officer in Bosnia, where for more than two-and-a-half years she registered people to vote for municipal elections in Gorazde while coalition forces were bombing nearby Kosovo. Since that time, Weatherspoon has observed elections in numerous countries, including Nigeria. Back home she puts her expertise to work on behalf of the Democratic party to ensure the electoral process is fair.

As a volunteer faculty member at Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire,

she also engages young people and helps inspire them to get involved in the political process. During the lead-up to the New Hampshire primaries, Weatherspoon trained groups of students to make voter calls, work on the party's get-out-the-vote program, and canvass neighborhoods. She also helped place students in campaign offices of Democratic candidates.

Weatherspoon's most public role in 2008 was as the cochair of the New Hampshire Democratic Party's convention. "There are so many ways to be a part of the democratic process," she says. "Just pick something you're good at, and go for it." — DR

Ready for Reform?

IF THE CROSS-COUNTRY CIRCUS that was this year's presidential primaries wasn't confusing enough, then maybe just wait until next time.

In recent elections the primary system, for all its complexity, had worked well enough: the Iowa caucuses, followed by "First in the Nation" New Hampshire, then, maybe, South Carolina. A couple more primaries were sometimes needed, perhaps, but that was it. The parties had their candidate by March at the latest.

This year the patchwork of caucus and primary states, of rural and urban, of red and blue, of proportional representation and winner-take-all, grabbed the national attention for the better part of six months. The races were interesting enough on their own — even the relatively short Republican primary threw up plenty of surprises — but the process seemed to land nearly as often on the front pages.

The challenge to Iowa and New Hampshire's traditional role as the first states to vote resulted in Michigan and Florida being sent to the political doghouse for jumping line. The scramble to be heard before it was all over saw a glut of 22 states rush to the polls on February 5. Strange, long lulls appeared as weeks passed between important contests. Then there was the rise of the Democratic superdelegates and the specter of smoke-filled rooms. And, of course, money — money pouring in, money drying up, money being spent.

A system ready for reform? Definitely, maybe, according to the group of more than 50 politicos gathered by the Institute of Politics in April to answer the question.

The group, which included state and national party chairs, secretaries of states, campaign strategists, political journalists, and academics, seemed in some



Linda Douglass, former Shorenstein fellow and currently Barack Obama's spokesperson, and IOP Director and former Iowa congressman Jim Leach discuss obstacles to change.

agreement that the system didn't work very well. But not about much more.

Iowa and New Hampshire were the starting and ending point for many of the conversations. Voters there care about politics in a way voters in other states don't, some argued. And the states are the right size for the sort of retail politics that gives relatively unknown candidates a chance.

But others argued that the ability to practice retail politics is not inversely proportional to land mass. And Iowa and New Hampshire are too unrepresentative — read 'too white' — to occupy such an important place in national politics.

There was some agreement that starting the primary season during the Christmas vacations was a mistake, and that bunching so many elections together did no one any favors as states struggled to have their issues heard by the candidates.

A number of plans currently being considered by both parties were discussed. Most were centered around a regional approach, creating a more rational calendar and an opportunity for states to take their turn either in a lottery or in rotation.

But in the end, a sense of anarchy, or at least fatalism, was never far away, as officials doubted whether Iowa's and New Hampshire's grip on primacy could be loosened and whether other states would be content with supporting roles.

In that case, they warned, Super-Duper Tuesday could become a Mega Tuesday, with 30 or more states vying for a place among the candidates' affections.

In the end, campaign consultant Tad Devine sounded a note of jocular realism.

"If they win they won't change a thing," he said. "If they lose there will be sweeping reform."

He was talking about Democrats, but the chuckles came from both sides of the aisle. — RDO



Democratic superdelegate Debbie Dingell and Michigan GOP Chairman Saul Nausis ponder their state's primary.

The Softer Side of Politics



THE WEB, NEWSPAPERS, talk shows, blogs, and evening news. It is a truism to say that media saturates our society. But what effect is it

having on our politics? Matt Baum, recently appointed Marvin Kalb Professor of Global Communications, who studies mass media and politics, looks at the presidential election through the prism of soft news, hard money, and new media.

»»» There's now more information than ever available to people. Is that changing the way people approach politics?

The people that are really interested in politics — the partisans, the ideologues — the only thing that's changed is that they've got access to vastly more information than they ever did. But partisans already know what they think, and they already know whom they're going to vote for. Political information is intrinsically interesting to them. They enjoy being able to consume more of it, but doing so doesn't necessarily change their political behavior.

»»» Is it changing how politics is being presented?

In a relatively polarized electorate, with very few remaining persuadable voters, the premium on reaching those people is much higher. Soft news — daytime and late night talk shows — is one of the best ways to reach them, and politicians are very aware of this. And if you look at the interviews on soft news outlets and compare them with, say, Sunday morning talk shows, the contrast is tremendous. There's almost no mention of political parties, partisanship, or the other side. And there's vastly more talk of families, personal backgrounds, things that would allow people to connect with politicians as individuals as opposed to on the level of their ideology or policy positions. It doesn't mean you don't see policy discussions because you do, but less of it and framed very differently. Framed through personal anecdote.

»»» Is the Web changing the way campaigns are run?

People talk a lot about how the Internet is revolutionizing everything about politics. I think some of those claims are exaggerated. On the other hand, we've reached a threshold point this year where you have a candidate who has been able to compete with his primary financial engine coming from lots and lots of small donations via the Internet rather than major party insiders, their friends, and contributors. That's significant because it represents an alternative model for competing, for getting to the party nomination. To me that's a big change. — RDO

Matt Baum



House Call

Alumni make run for Congress

DECIDING TO RUN FOR CONGRESS is never easy. Hard work and personal sacrifice are the only certainties, but it's a choice that many Kennedy School alumni make. Thirteen alumni currently serve in the House, nine of whom attended Executive Education programs. This year at least two more Executive Education alumni pursued seats and while their candidacies were ultimately not successful, making the effort is what the Kennedy School emphasizes.

When Michael Brennan retired as Maine's state senate majority leader in December 2006, he had no intention of running for Congress. With two sons in college, he thought it was the right time to return to the private sector. He got a surprise, however, when Representative Tom Allen (D-ME) announced he was resigning his seat in the House to run for the U.S. Senate.



Bentley Rayburn on the trail earlier this year

was force me to examine what I wanted to do in my current position and what kind of leadership roles I wanted to take in the future.”

Retired Air Force Major General Bentley Rayburn is very clear about the sacrifice involved in running for Congress. In 2006, he ended a 31-year Air Force career to run for the seat vacated by a retirement in his home district of Colorado Springs. Starting dead last in a heat of seven challengers for the Republican nomination, he proved a quick learner, finishing third.

By late spring 2007, members of the district's business community encouraged Rayburn to stage a primary challenge in 2008. He discussed it with many local leaders over the summer, and by September he and his wife decided to move ahead. “To keep serving was why we left (the Air Force) in the first place, and the need was still there.”

A 2005 alumnus of the Senior Executives in National and International Security Program, Rayburn firmly believes that his military service is a critical qualification. “Just as you need some health professionals and some business people (in Congress), you have to have some folks with military experience. We are in the middle of a very, very difficult war.” Rayburn was defeated in Colorado's Republican primary held August 12. — MK

COURTESY BENTLEY RAYBURN

TOP: COURTESY OF SHORENSTEIN CENTER; ILLUSTRATION: JOSEPH DANIEL FIEDLER

Treat the Youth Right

The IOP counts youth in

When it comes to youth, the Institute of Politics has a lot of experience.

They conduct polls on young people's political attitudes using a unique model that combines the school's academic approach, a practical political focus, and the insight of its own representative sample, the IOP students who help design the questionnaires for their peers. And because they've been doing that since 1999 — longer than just about anyone else, says IOP polling director John Della Volpe — they've been able to track those attitudes through defining moments in the country's history.

The surveys have helped uncover young people's changing views on the relevance of politics, their uniquely multilateral take on foreign policy, and their reluctance to embrace traditional political labels. The polls also predicted the importance young people would have in the outcome of the 2006 mid-term elections, which turned Congress over to the Democrats.

In a presidential season, that's the sort of experience that had many of the presidential campaigns paying attention. Many of the primary candidates sought data from the IOP on youth engagement in the political process.

The heart of the message they got about young voters was simple: After 9/11 young people suddenly see politics as relevant to them. Voter registration and mobilization groups, as well as social networking tools, are bringing them into politics in greater numbers. And campaigns are starting to take them seriously.

“The other advice I always leave them with: Young people are more than a voting bloc, they are incredible talent for your campaign,” Della Volpe says.

If the 2008 elections turn out to be as tight as those of recent years, those votes and that talent may turn out to play a crucial role. — RDO



The News21 Team Jonathan Maher, Dori Glanz, Carlyn Reichel, and Tina Chong.

2008: What's at Stake?

Four Kennedy School students are spending the summer months exploring the 2008 election. Selected by the Shorenstein Center, Tina Chong MPP 2009, Dori Glanz MPP 2009, Jonathan Maher MPA 2009, and Carlyn Reichel MPP 2009 will work on a news project relating to this year's theme, “The 2008 Election: What's at Stake.” Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, the News21 program seeks to offer hands-on training to students from Harvard University, Northwestern University, Columbia University, the University of Southern California, and the University of California, Berkeley. Each school will address a different aspect of the theme, and completed projects will be offered to major news outlets.

Conventional Wisdom

This summer, the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy travels to Denver, Colorado, and St. Paul, Minnesota, to the Democratic and Republican conventions respectively, to bring journalists together to discuss campaign coverage.

Since 1992, the Shorenstein Center has hosted events at the national political conventions. This year, at the Democratic convention in Denver, Colorado, the center will sponsor “The Press and the Election” with panelists Tom Brokaw, Bob Schieffer, and George Stephanopoulos and moderator Judy Woodruff. The following week at the Republican convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, the center will sponsor “The Press and the Election: American Demographics” with panelists Dan Balz of *The Washington Post*; Gwen Ifill of PBS; Bill Kristol of *The New York Times*, Fox News, and *The Weekly Standard*; Bill Schneider of CNN; and Karen Tumulty of *Time* magazine.

Primary Perspective

FEW WOULD ARGUE that the primary race for the presidential nomination didn't dominate U.S. news for the last 18 months. While the process seemed never ending, the *Bulletin* wanted to know how it appeared to our students who come from outside the United States. To find out, we brought together five students from diverse regions of the world.

Is the U.S. system a good way for picking the leader of the free world or at least the leader of this country?

Juan Carlos The length of the primaries has been something completely different from what you see in Chile. One obvious disadvantage is that, since the primaries appeal to the parties' members, the candidates tend to move to the extremes. That makes it harder for them in the general election to come back to the center. On the positive front, you find out much more about a candidate than you would ever know in Chile. Some people say that before you get married you should be with your girlfriend in fall, winter, spring, and summer because people react differently to different environments. I see some of that playing out here, in the sense that you see people when they're up and when they're down.

Margaux I don't know if that's always helpful. We know everything about these candidates' lives. We know about every indiscretion they've committed for the last many years. In some ways it's good because these elections are so sensationalized that everyone is engaged. Politics in America is

like a beloved sporting event. It's like the World Cup on American soil for two years. But it's also overly focused on candidates' lives rather than policy.

Sarah I actually see a lot of similarities between the two processes. A lot of people are fed up with George Bush, and a lot of the youth in France were completely fed up with Chirac and the old system. A lot of people were asking for change and not only change in policies, but also in the way things are done.

What do you think of the way American voters approach politics? Is it different than in your countries?

Margaux A lot of people here say when election time comes around, "Because of the electoral college, my vote doesn't count, so I'm not voting." From a lot of international students' points of view, that seems inherently problematic.

Juan Carlos In Chile, voting is mandatory. You register, and then if you don't show up on election day, you have to pay a fine. The system in America better addresses the issue of intensity. When you force everyone to vote, the people who care more about the issues vote, and the ones who don't care also vote. I think that's a problem. When people do their homework, they are better informed.

Cecilia But that's not valid for some people. When I was canvassing in South Carolina recently, I met people who

JUAN CARLOS
JOBET
MPA2/MBA
2009
CHILE



CECILIA BARJA
CHAMAS
MPA 2008
BOLIVIA



SARAH PINTO
MPA/ID 2008
FRANCE



were so tired of just working that they didn't care about the election. The upper-middle class voters are the ones able to follow the debates and read *The New York Times*, but the ones who are actually holding the democracy together, who are putting in the hard labor, those are the ones who don't vote.

Sarah Voting is not mandatory in France, but I feel it's the least I can do for a country that allowed my parents to come when they had to leave Morocco, when they had no choice but to leave. I think it's every individual's responsibility to vote. There are people who have risked a lot to give voting rights to women and African Americans. Maybe it's because I'm the daughter of immigrants that I feel privileged to grow up in a country where there is free education and health care, where I was given the same chances as everyone else.

Margaux I'm curious what everyone thinks about the money in this election. One way for voters to get engaged is by donating some money. My sense is that it's much less common in Canada for individuals to donate to campaigns. Personally I would never think of supporting a politician by giving money, but I would think of getting involved in other ways. Is donating money a good thing to get people involved, or is this a problematic thing? We keep on getting these updates, for instance, that Obama raised another \$3 million. It just makes my head spin.

Cecilia And the worst part is that he is going to need it. In Bolivia, too, people are not going to give money to politicians.

What about policy issues that have or haven't come up? Are you surprised at what they're talking about and what they aren't talking about?

Alagi Well, there is nothing I've heard about foreign policy on Africa and U.S. relations.

Cecilia Nothing for Latin America.

Sarah And nothing for Europe.

Alagi It's all Iraq. It puzzles me. They don't talk about looming prices in Zimbabwe or what's going to happen to Mr. Mugabe. Despite Obama's father coming from Kenya, he has never uttered a single word on how he is going to address all that's happening there.

Sarah Is that bad that they don't meddle with Africa's affairs? In terms of foreign policy, the United States has made so many mistakes that maybe they would just say, as Obama said, "I'm going to rely more on multilateralism and on the international community." If he were to actually say what he's going to do in each country, I would be a little bit worried.

Margaux It seems the majority of voters vote on a few key issues. This is what we see every single year. From a macro perspective, it is really surprising that there's so much focus on issues like abortion or gay marriage.

Juan Carlos If you go through a list of really important, complex issues that are awaiting the next president, they are huge, like Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, North Korea, global climate change, health care, the economy, illegal immigration. You can go on and on and on. So they don't talk about Latin America, but I'm not surprised. It's not a big problem when you might have Iran with nuclear weapons in two years. I mean, that's big trouble.

Cecilia Maybe it's not their problem, but it's our problem.

Alagi The U.S. taxpayers' money is being taken to Africa. If you're taking American money to Africa, well you need to talk about it. If you are going to behave like a Big Brother, you should be very concerned to tell your people, "This is what we are doing."

Sarah I completely agree with both of you that the U.S. has done terrible things and has a responsibility to face the things they're doing, especially when it comes to taxpayers' money, but I'm not sure that the presidential election is the moment to do that. I'm not sure that the election is the forum.

MARGAUX
MCDONALD
MPA2 2008
CANADA

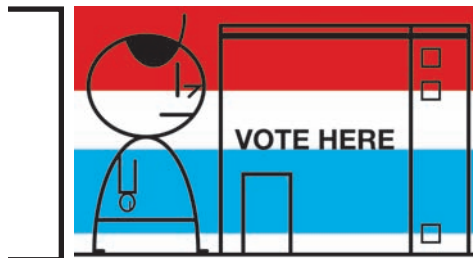


ALAGI YORRO
JALLOW
MPA 2008
THE GAMBIA



ALL PHOTOS: MARTHA STEWART

THE VOTE



Voting in the Digital Age

Voting in the United States has undergone intense scrutiny since the 2000 election.

Once upon a time, before the 2000 presidential election, very few of us knew of the word *chad*, although the punch card system of voting had been in use for well over 30 years by the time Bush v. Gore came before the Supreme Court. The spectacle of Florida election workers scrutinizing ballots to determine if a chad was hanging (by one corner), swinging (by two corners), “dimpled,” or “pregnant,” (a ballot with an indentation), made an impression that few have forgotten.

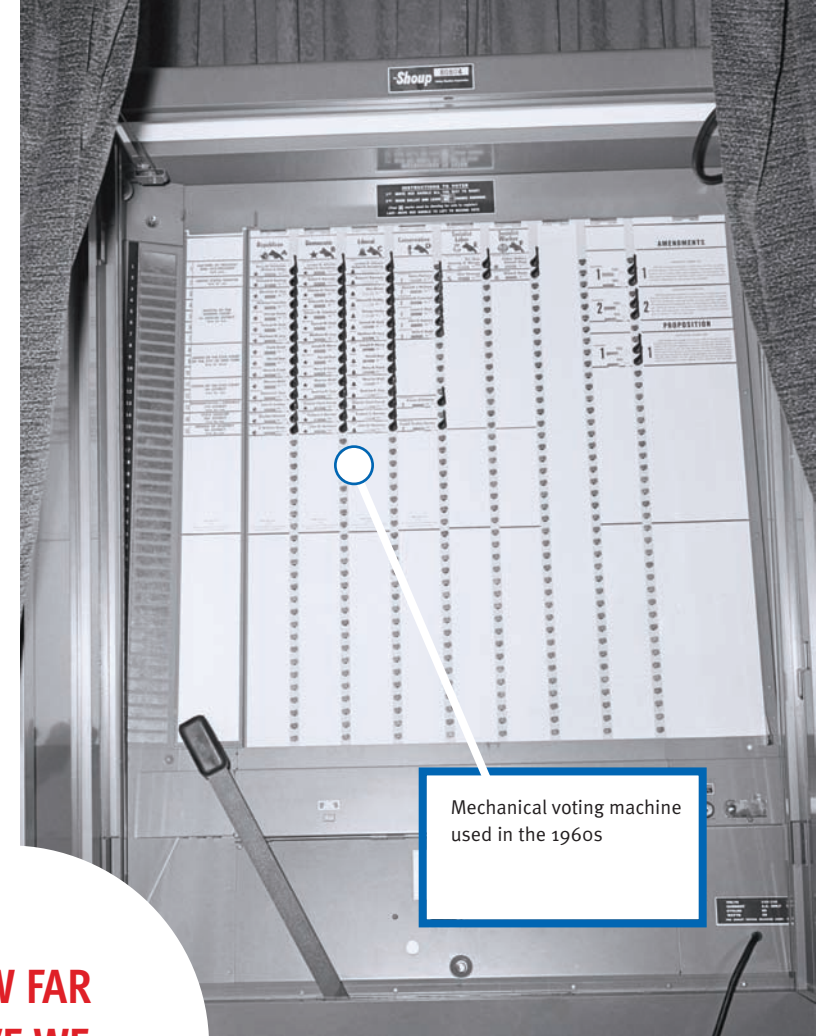
Now, as the clock ticks down to another election, a drama is unfolding behind the scenes that is every bit as compelling as the race itself. At the center of it all is not the question of who but how: How will millions of votes be cast and recorded at some 198,000 polling locations across the United States? In what is forecast to be a tightly contested race, how will officials ensure that the results are trusted in the event of a recount?



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY; BETTMAN/CORBIS; DAVID/NEW/GETTY IMAGES; GETTY IMAGES; ICON ILLUSTRATION; J. D. KING

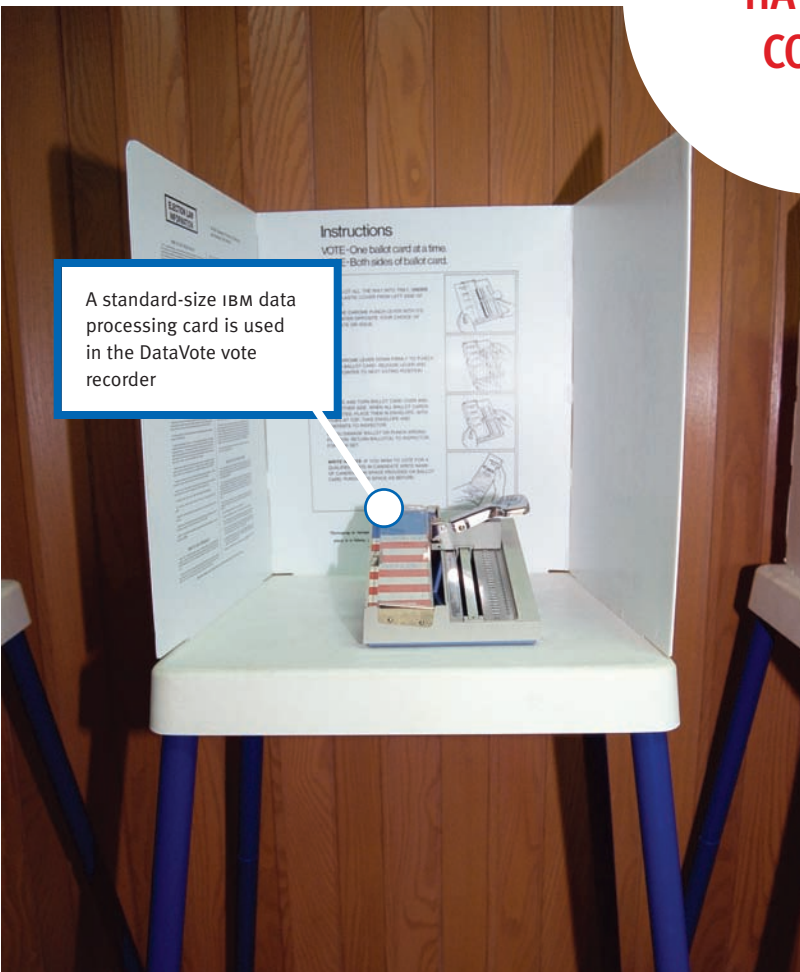


Wooden ballot box from about 1870 used in the Northeastern United States

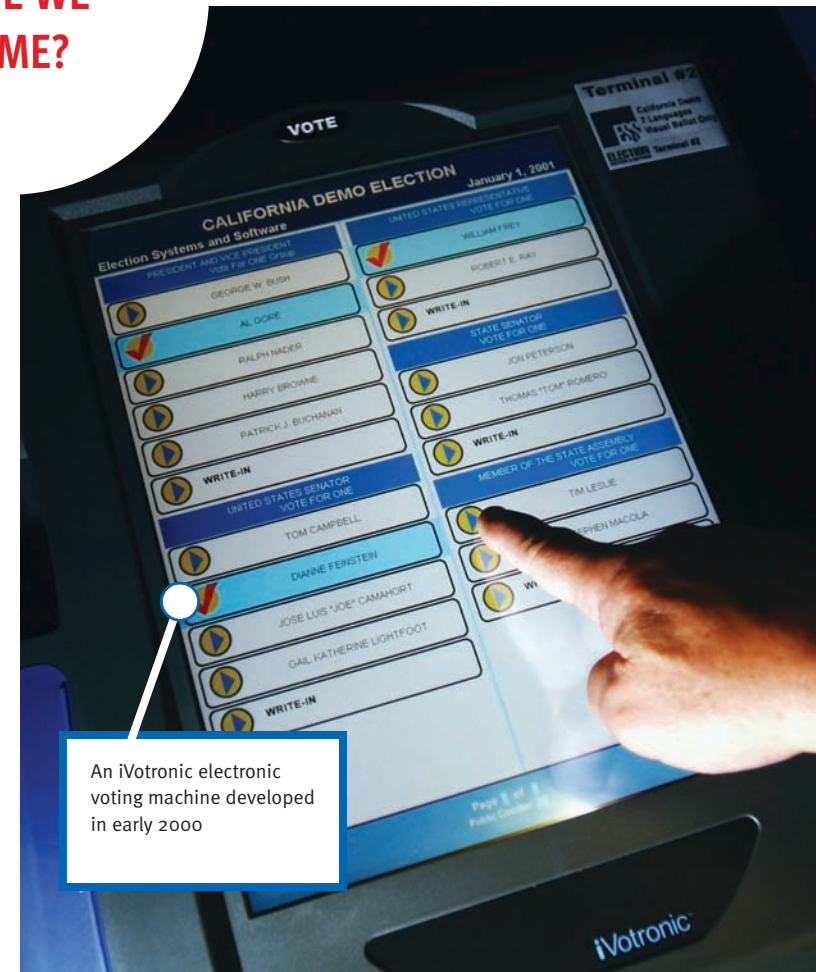


Mechanical voting machine used in the 1960s

HOW FAR HAVE WE COME?



A standard-size IBM data processing card is used in the DataVote vote recorder



An iVotronic electronic voting machine developed in early 2000



DAVID KING a lecturer in public policy, is a long-time observer of election reform issues at the local, national, and international level.

“Before the 2000 election, we had a highly decentralized voting system, with little oversight or control — and that actually fits with the character of our history,” he says. “In 1808, if you asked a person where government resided, they would have told you the county. That’s where you’d go to register births, deaths, and property transactions, and that’s

ballot in the event of a snafu at the polls, and stipulated that each state have one person (often the secretary of state) in charge of election administration. It funded the creation of a statewide computerized voting list and required that every polling place have at least one voting system accessible to those with disabilities. HAVA also established the Election Assistance Commission, a bipartisan government agency that tests and certifies voting equipment and offers officials general support and guidance in running elections.

Most significantly, HAVA provided \$3.65 billion to fund technological innovation in voting machines. The punch card systems that caused so much confusion in the 2000 election and old-style lever machines were out. To replace them, many jurisdictions purchased Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) systems. Similar in style to an ATM machine, DRES display nominees’ names on a screen; after voters push a button or touch the screen next to their candidate of choice, their vote is recorded electronically on a memory card or hard drive. (The machines also have components that make them accessible to visually impaired voters or those without the use of their arms.)

Initially, DRE systems (currently used by about one-third of voters) seemed a solid solution to the issue of accessibility and the specter of hanging chads. In a digital age, why shouldn’t voting go electronic? (The other common system, an optical scan ballot, is printed on heavy paper so that tabulation machines can read the pen or pencil marks a voter has made; not coincidentally, the expensive paper necessary for this system to function properly is frequently provided by the same company that manufactures the machines that read the ballots. In addition, the disabled require assistance with voting, raising privacy concerns.)

UNFORTUNATELY it didn’t take long for the downside of the DRE system to appear. In April 2002, a DRE system in use for a local election in Johnson County, Kansas, miscounted hundreds of votes in six different races. Diebold, the voting machines’ manufacturer, later attributed the glitch to a software error — an issue that has cropped up in subsequent years with machines made by other companies as well. Critics point out that the machines, built on proprietary software, are as susceptible to hacking and viruses as any other computer. Some have called for a move to open source software that would make the systems transparent and allow programmers inside and outside the company to continuously debug and strengthen the code. (Opponents counter that this would also open up the machines to tampering.)

still true today. In 1908, having just fought the Civil War, most citizens would say that government is in the state capital. Today people say government is in Washington; that’s where all the big budget entitlements come from like Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid.”

As a result, King says, “a system that’s designed around the idea of having minimal government has created an accretion of multiple layers of government with huge overlaps in jurisdiction.”

That makes things complicated when it comes to administering an election. Most are run at the county level, but seven states oversee elections at the municipality level, while Michigan and Oklahoma run their elections at the state level. All of this adds up to about 7,000 election jurisdictions, each of which can have separate rules and procedures concerning the nitty-gritty details of ballot design and what sort of voting machines are used.

THE HELP AMERICA Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) has brought some common standards to this scenario. The law mandated a new federal voter registration form, guaranteed individuals the right to a provisional

Problems also arose when poll workers were confronted with a malfunctioning machine. In numerous incidents during the 2006 mid-term elections, when workers were unable to address the problem themselves, machines either went out of commission for the day (resulting in longer waits at polling locations) or were fixed by the vendor, with their reassurances the only insurance policy that the problem would not recur and that no votes were altered in the process.

More recently, in a tightly contested 2006 congressional race in Sarasota, Florida, between Democrat Christine Jennings and Republican Vern Buchanan, results indicated that 18,000 abstained from voting in a race ultimately decided in Buchanan’s favor by 369 votes. However, hundreds of voters complained they had been stymied by a malfunctioning touch-screen interface that highlighted Buchanan when they had chosen Jennings; when they arrived at the final screen to review their picks, the Jennings-Buchanan race was missing.

The iVotronic machines in question, manufactured by Election Systems & Software (ES&S), didn’t produce a paper receipt that could be used for cross-checking purposes; as a result, the only record of votes was the computers in question. While some states have retrofitted their DRE machines with printers that create a paper audit trail, voters in all or part of 20 states currently cast ballots without backup paper verification. In April, a bill sponsored by New Jersey Democratic congressman Rush Holt that would have reimbursed states for the cost of providing voter-verified audited balloting failed to pass in the House of Representatives.

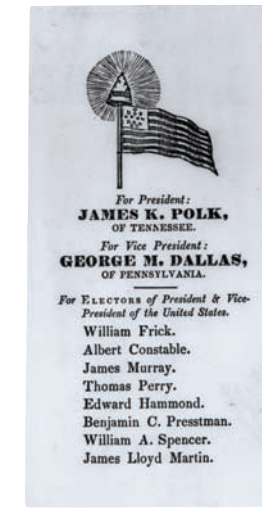
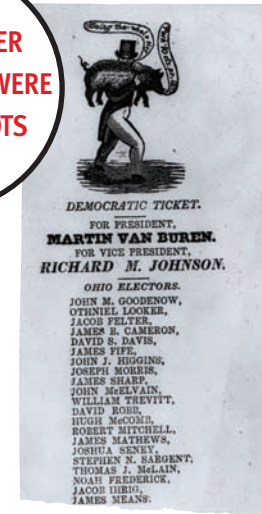
DESPITE THE DEMISE of the Holt Bill, King believes many states will institute audit trail provisions on their own. “The system as we know it now is opaque — that has to change,” says King. “Without an audit trail, we have no way of knowing what’s going on.”

King points to a DRE system that prints out an optical scan ballot as the current best solution to the question of voting machinery. Sold by ES&S, the AUTOMARK was introduced in 2006, when most of the money allocated by HAVA had been spent.

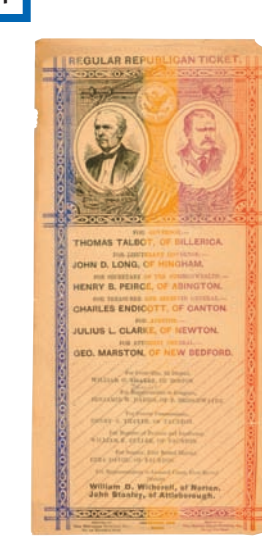
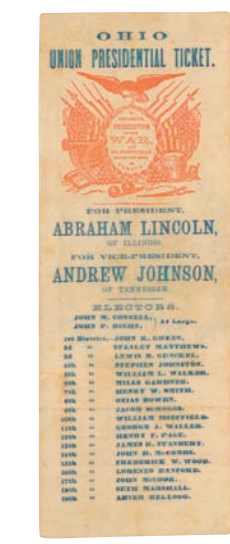
The reality is that many of the issues related to DRE systems and voting will not be resolved by this fall’s election — a fact that leaves election reform activists dissatisfied with the degree of improvement since 2000. Even so, King emphasizes that there is a new energy around election administration that has brought increased scrutiny and discussion to the entire process.

“People have less confidence in our voting system today than they did before 2000,” he says. “In reality, we have a much better system in place now. We’re out of the Dark Ages and able to see a little better. We had no idea how bad it was.” — JH

BEFORE PAPER
CHADS THERE WERE
PAPER BALLOTS



1 2
3 4



1 Democratic Party presidential ticket, Ohio, 1836, Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson. The ticket is illustrated with a vignette of a man carrying a hog and uttering the Democratic campaign slogan, “Going the whole Hog.” The hog remarks, “Pork 10 cts. pr. lb.” is meant to be a favorable reflection on the economy under the Democrats.

2 Democratic presidential election ticket, Maryland, 1844, James Polk and George Dallas. The ticket is illustrated with the device of an American flag on a staff topped by a glowing liberty cap.

3 Union (Republican Party) presidential ticket, Ohio, 1864, Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. More than the distinguishing marks of party symbols and candidate portraits, color helped party observers identify ballots as they were cast — and who cast them. Voting was still not entirely secret.

4 Ballot, Regular Republican ticket. The introduction of a complex color scheme distinguished the official ballot of the Regular Republican ticket in Massachusetts in 1878.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY; NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY



Pulling It Out of Their Hats

Has the electoral college system run its course?

The electoral college may be to modern notions of democracy a little like calisthenics are to a pro athlete's ideas of training. There's something unquestionably eccentric, and to its critics maddeningly antiquated, about the mechanism the country has used since its birth to count the votes for its two highest-ranking elected offices.

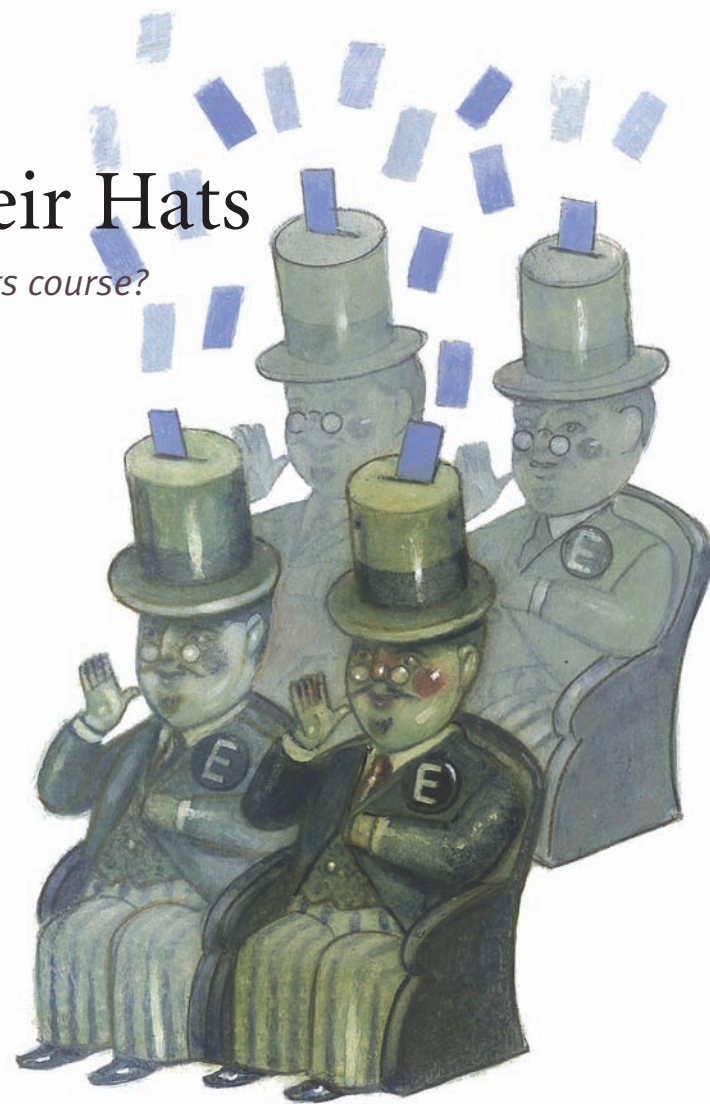
But the criticism doesn't just spring from an aversion to things old-fashioned. The electoral college is unpopular, messy, unpredictable, and tends to thumb its eye at basic ideas of fairness, argues Alex Keyssar, professor of history and social policy, who is studying the electoral college as part of an upcoming book on the history of American political institutions.

Four of the nation's 43 presidents (elected in 1824, 1876, 1888, and 2000) were sworn in after losing the popular vote, but winning the electoral college vote. (On another 16 occasions, a swing of just 75,000 votes or fewer in a few states, could have handed the keys to the White House to the less-popular candidate). By virtue of giving each state as many electors as congressional representatives plus senators, the college gives small states disproportionate voting power. Each of Wyoming's three electoral votes, for example, represents roughly 175,000 people, compared with the more than 600,000 squashed into each of California's 55 electoral votes.

There are other problems with the system. It has cumbersome mechanisms for dealing with nonmajorities. And because most states now have a winner "take" all system, campaigns abandon states where they don't think they can win and focus on a few battleground states.

Its defenders argue that the system protects the country's essential federal character, where states are treated as equals regardless of size. And that it has, by and large, worked for more than two centuries. Hundreds of attempts to reform the system, which a majority of Americans has consistently supported in opinion polls, have failed.

But Keyssar believes other reasons have been behind the college's unlikely longevity.



In essence it boils down to a sort of tyranny of a minority, given outsized power by the electoral college and then using that power to prevent the system from becoming more representative.

The blame has often been ascribed to small states, which had so much to lose by going to a more proportional system. That doesn't in fact appear to be the case, Keyssar says.

Instead, at important junctures in the country's history, the electoral college's great defender was white supremacy in the South. Southern states counted blacks for purposes of representation in Congress, but for most of the nation's first two centuries kept them from voting. This gave the states' white population disproportionate clout in the country's politics.

Between 1892 and 1964, for example, electoral votes from the South represented the wishes of a much smaller number of voters than did votes from the North. By the late 1930s,

when the disparity reached its peak, the South's 124 electoral votes were the fruit of about 4 million votes. By comparison, New York's and Pennsylvania's nearly 10 million votes brought just 83 electoral college votes.

The system has also come under attack for giving minorities too much power. Southern politicians charged that the electoral college gave too much clout to ethnic minorities in the large northern states, groups that allegedly tended to vote in bloc and therefore could swing an election in a desired direction. In the 1970s, as President Jimmy Carter urged reform of the electoral college, African Americans, for so long victims of the system, rallied to the electoral college's defense because they believed the system accentuated their role as kingmakers in several battleground states.

"Take away the electoral college and the importance of being black melts away," Vernon Jordan, then president of the Urban League, told a congressional committee in 1979. "Blacks, instead of being crucial to victory in major

THE ONES THAT GOT AWAY

The electoral college has allowed candidates who lost the national popular vote to be elected to the White House. In 1876, New York Democrat **Samuel Tilden** received 51 percent of the popular vote but lost to Ohio Republican **Rutherford B. Hayes**. Just 12 years later, incumbent Democratic President **Grover Cleveland** won a plurality of the popular vote, but lost the electoral vote by a large 233-168 margin. In 2000, Vice President **Al Gore** received 48.5 percent of the popular vote to then-Texas Gov. **George W. Bush's** 47.9 percent, but lost following the long and acrimonious Florida recount. In 1824, **Andrew Jackson** had a plurality of the popular vote and the electoral college vote, but lost to rival **John Quincy Adams** after the vote was taken to the House of Representatives and another rival threw his support behind Adams.

MATH 101

Because each state gets as many electoral votes as it has congressional delegates, the number of people per electoral vote changes significantly among states. States with enough population for only one representative in the House have disproportionate clout. Here are the states with the most and fewest residents per electoral vote.

| | POPULATION | ELECTORAL VOTES | POPULATION PER VOTE |
|-----------------|------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| TOP 5 | | | |
| WYOMING | 506,529 | 3 | 168,843 |
| DC | 553,523 | 3 | 184,508 |
| VERMONT | 621,394 | 3 | 207,131 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 634,366 | 3 | 211,455 |
| ALASKA | 655,435 | 3 | 218,478 |
| BOTTOM 5 | | | |
| ILLINOIS | 12,713,634 | 21 | 605,411 |
| NEW YORK | 19,227,088 | 31 | 620,228 |
| FLORIDA | 17,397,161 | 27 | 644,339 |
| CALIFORNIA | 35,893,799 | 55 | 652,615 |
| TEXAS | 22,490,022 | 34 | 661,471 |

JOSEPH DANIEL FIEDLER

states, simply become 10 percent of the electorate, with reduced impact."

Reform has bubbled up from the states in recent years. Two states, Nebraska and Maine, award their electors based on results at the congressional district level, allowing electors to be divided between candidates. And a National Popular Vote bill is winding its way through state legislatures that would effectively bypass the electoral college by allocating a state's electoral votes to the candidate who receives the most popular votes nationwide. (That approach can only work if enacted by states possessing a majority of electoral votes.)

Many, however, believe it will likely be at the constitutional level that the battle will be fought. It might take a perfect storm to create the conditions for reform. That could have happened in 2004, when a small swing of about 60,000 votes in Ohio could have given John Kerry the presidency despite losing the popular vote. The 2000 election fiasco — where President Bush was declared the winner although he lost the popular election — could have been the electoral college's last, cruel, hurrah Keyssar believes. — RDO



Polling Makes Exit?

Excerpted from "Exit Polls: Better or Worse Since the 2000 Election?", a Shorenstein discussion paper, by Robin Sproul.

EXIT POLLING was the right methodology at the right time when it was developed in the 1960s. No academic or polling expert would invent the same system today. It needs to be reinvented or replaced after the 2008 election.

With the changing ways Americans are voting, the many problems associated with all types of polling, the ability to provide deep and instant data to individual news consumers on the Internet, and the ability to use the Internet to reach individual voters, there are challenges and opportunities for new ways to measure election results that did not exist in the 1960s.

The challenges include finding new ways to survey a large sample of representative American voters, whether they vote early or on Election Day, in order to tell a timely and accurate story about election results. A concomitant challenge for the news organizations involved is finding ways to financially support these efforts.

There are many suggestions about how to do this post-2008. A particularly difficult issue is how to achieve the same individualized, 50-state data collection using any other methodology. New statistical sampling models would have to address today's cycle-to-cycle changes in early voting patterns and precinct demographics. Certain market researchers think a re-do should start from scratch, that

there is not enough straightforward polling in the current system, and that it is too complicated. Several survey research experts suggested small changes, such as modernizing information delivery from the field, upgrading from paper ballots to using wireless handheld devices that instantly transmit results. Still others have suggested replacing the current exit poll with a hybrid of "best of" methodologies: a smaller national exit poll in key states coupled with rich

preelection telephone polls, Election Day telephone polls, and an Internet panel.

Many academics think Internet polling is the future, particularly with 71 percent of American adults now using the Internet and all other polling methodologies under siege. No one suggests a total reliance on Internet polling at this point, though, because of the sampling limitations. Minorities and senior citizens are still underrepresented among Internet users. Many Internet polls are "opt-in" and considered unreliable and unscientific. However, some academics and news organizations are already experimenting with using different types of Internet panels to question voters. These efforts deserve careful review.

The National Election Pool will conduct exit polls again for the 2008 election, making every effort to compensate for the problems and challenges already discussed, spending millions of dollars to gather the data. In the event of another very close presidential election, it is quite likely that exit poll results will again be controversial. But whether exit polling is replaced or reinvented after 2008, news organizations will still rush to tell voters who won an election and why. It is what American voters want to know, and deserve to know, on Election Day.

Robin Sproul, vice president and Washington bureau chief for ABC News, was a Kalb Fellow at the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy in the fall of 2007.

REUTERS/JONATHAN ERNST

ALL PHOTOS: TOM FITZSIMMONS

Truthfulness Top of List

IN THE MIDST of one of the most exciting presidential election years in modern U.S. history, leaders in business, the media, and academia identified challenges facing the next president and the skills needed to meet those challenges. Directness and candor topped the list of characteristics identified by speakers at the day-long conference "Leadership and the Next Presidency."

"The next president will have to deliver bad news," said *Time* magazine columnist Joe Klein, at the day's opening discussion. And the bad news will be about much more than just raising taxes, he predicted. It may mean requiring citizens to perform mandatory national service and achieve higher levels of education.

For citizens to fully understand what their choices are, the next president must be open and direct and able to articulate why he's making decisions, said Roger Porter, professor of business and government at the Kennedy School, echoing Klein's sentiment. "It will be a tough, arduous, job."

Building successful coalitions, seeking expert advice, and, finally, making difficult, independent decisions were also among the characteristics identified as critical according to the speakers. The next president needs to be someone who, confronted with multiple views, must judge "which ones are right and which ones are wrong," said University Professor Larry Summers.

Harvard Business School Professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter described America as "on a losing streak" that the new president must know how to turn around. In losing streaks, said Kanter, everyone is fighting with one another. The next president will need to establish a culture of inclusiveness, she said. "Bifurcated thinking is the enemy of change."

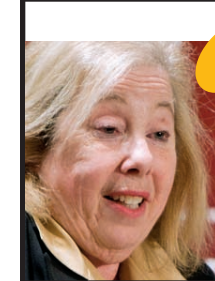
The ability to inspire is also crucial, she said. A good leader must believe in the power of the grass roots and must call for citizen involvement and engagement. The president must be able to convey that "it is also up to us," she said.

Barbara Kellerman, lecturer in public leadership at the Kennedy School, noted the difficulty of leading in the United States.

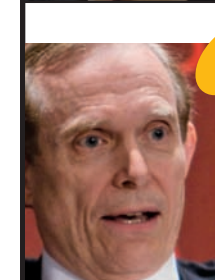
"How do you lead in a political culture that has been antileadership since its inception?" she asked.



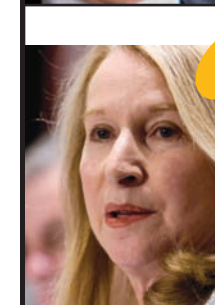
"The next president will have to deliver bad news."
— Joe Klein, *Time* magazine



"Bifurcated thinking is the enemy of change."
— Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Harvard Business School*



"It will be a tough, arduous, job."
— Roger Porter, *Harvard Kennedy School*



"The American president is being watched as never before."
— Barbara Kellerman, *Harvard Kennedy School*



"The next president must judge which [views] are right and which ones are wrong."
— Lawrence Summers, *Harvard Kennedy School*

"The president must understand his relationship to those whom he is leading," she continued, adding, "The American president is being watched as never before."

The event, sponsored by the Center for Public Leadership and the Ken Blanchard Companies, marked the launching of the center's new blog. At the event, a blogging station offered attendees the opportunity to comment on posts by guest-bloggers. To learn more, visit www.howyoulead.org — SA



Campaign as Classroom

Dan Maffei MPP 1995 on lessons learned



On the trail Clockwise from far left: Penfield July 4 parade; Williamson Apple Blossom Parade; New York State Fairgrounds Memorial Watchfire; North Syracuse Family Fun Days; with Wesley Clark; Juneteenth celebration.

IN ONE OF MY ELECTORAL politics courses at the Kennedy School, we read a book called *How To Win Your First Election*. I studied it carefully, as I did all of the readings of those courses. I kept the books. And when nobody in my party challenged the incumbent congressman in my district in 2004, I dusted them off and started to methodically put together a campaign to challenge him in 2006.

While falling little more than 3,000 votes short (or less than two percent), my so-called loss showed a remarkable achievement. I had challenged a nine-term incumbent “cardinal” — a chair of an appropriations subcommittee — who had received more than 90 percent of the vote in 2004, and I almost beat him. I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse 60 to 40. And I had beat all expectations, spending about half as much money as my well-funded opponent and without major national party support.

I still believed that a change in direction was vital in the country and in my district, so I decided to run again. My 2006 opponent announced his retirement from Congress in January of this year. And though I am in a challenging dis-

trict where Republicans outnumber Democrats somewhat, most of the pundits in Washington and at home believe my campaign is one of the best opportunities nationwide for Democrats to pick up a seat long held by the GOP.

So what does one learn from going from a long-shot campaign to a much more winnable race? If these two campaigns were a course, how would I answer the midterm?

Lesson number one is, if you want to win a public office, you have to run for public office. Ironically this truism is the number one thing that derails most of the politically ambitious Kennedy School students when they graduate and move on in their careers. They may want to run for office, but the odds always seem to be against winning that first election, so they make it a self-fulfilling prophecy and decline to run.

Lesson number two is the importance of persistence. Asking for political support is not easy. Asking for people to give you their hard-earned money for your campaign is even more difficult. But I have found that it is hardest to ask and easiest for someone to avoid giving you what you need the first time you ask. But the seventh, eighth, or ninth

time you ask, it becomes easy to ask and much harder for someone to continue to decline to give it to you.

Lesson number three is perhaps the toughest for me. Not making the perfect the enemy of the good. When you run for office, you want everything to be perfect — from your website photograph to your position papers to your bumper stickers. You want to make sure every possible person who might support you is happy. But this is impossible, particularly in a congressional district with more than 650,000 people. In fact, the only way a campaign can even come close to doing what it needs to do is for the candidate to trust the people who are working for him. Letting go of some control is not easy and particularly challenging for me because I have experience working on numerous campaigns myself and served as press secretary to Senators Bill Bradley and Pat Moynihan and as a senior aide on the House Committee on Ways and Means staff before running myself. Learning to let go and accept other people’s work as representing you is probably the toughest part.

The final lesson is to keep everything in perspective. This has always been a challenge for me. When I was finishing my

MPP at Harvard, I became overly concerned with grades. It’s nice to do well, but let’s face facts, it was very unlikely that it would matter whether I got a B+ or A- on anything. Now I am dealing with a situation where my campaign got a B+ last time, and this time I know we need to get an A — we need to win. Yet it is all the more important to keep matters in perspective. The presidential race, news events, a fickle electorate — too much is simply not in the control of even the most professional campaign. My election this November is not a sure thing — nothing in electoral politics ever is — but the effect that my two campaigns has had on the political landscape and agenda in Upstate New York is indisputable. A good candidate believes in what he is doing regardless of the outcome. And if he is fortunate enough to win, that will make him a better congressman too.

Dan Maffei MPP 1995 is a Democratic candidate in the 2008 congressional elections in New York’s 25th congressional district. He currently works as senior vice president of Pinnacle Capital Management. In 2006, he came within two percentage points of defeating nine-term incumbent Rep. Jim Walsh (R-NY).

ALL PHOTOS COURTESY OF DAN MAFFEI CAMPAIGN

Ups and Downs of Presidential Legacies

WHEN PRESIDENT George W. Bush's approval ratings hit the nadir of opinion polling, it seemed to guarantee his place in the cellar of presidential legacies. But the prism of history has a way of burnishing some reputations and tarnishing others.

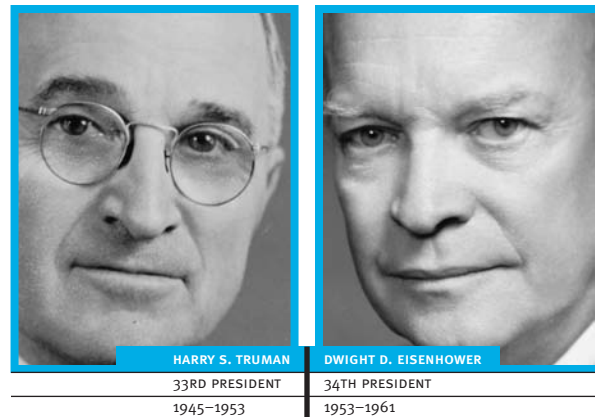
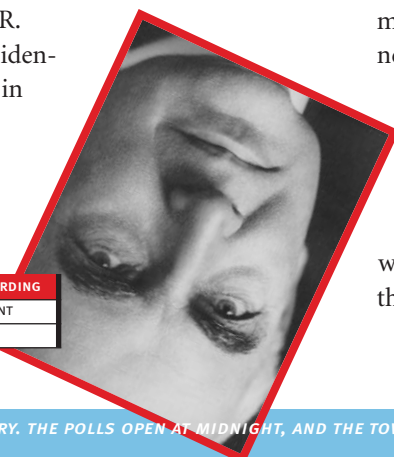
With time, we more clearly see how a president dealt with inherited circumstances and new challenges, says Roger Porter, professor of business and government. "Did he shape or was he driven by events? Did he lead and not merely respond? Were the choices or decisions he made wise when viewed through the lens of history?"

President Bush could take heart from the vicissitudes of Harry S. Truman's posterity. Truman, who left office deeply unpopular, has since vaulted into the pantheon of American presidents. The resuscitation of the 33rd American president partly came from historians being allowed to do their jobs — in this case, camping out at the Truman Library and poring over papers and oral histories that chronicled the recovery from war, the Marshall Plan, and the rise of modern science. It came partly, as well, from the popular literary success of a sympathetic biographer, David McCullough.

The renown of Truman's successor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, also ascended with historians' access to primary documents. "Eisenhower as president cultivated a public impression that he was rather aloof, that he barely intervened," explains Ernest May, professor of American history. "It turns out, when you get into his papers, that in fact he was still General Eisenhower: very much in charge, to a degree that no other post-World War II president has been."

All of which speaks to the importance of ensuring that those revelatory documents remain public. It was not until Gerald R. Ford's administration that presidential papers were by law housed in the National Archives — not sequestered in private libraries, which was the case through Richard Nixon's term.

WARREN G. HARDING
29TH PRESIDENT
1921–1923



To be sure, some legacies seem to contradict historical evidence. According to Porter, Ford is one of America's most underrated presidents. "He came into office suddenly with no electoral mandate and faced a country divided over Vietnam, distrustful of government officials in the wake of the Watergate scandal, and with an economy experiencing double-digit inflation and no real economic growth. Within two-and-a-half years, he had gone a long way to healing the wounds of Vietnam and Watergate, and his economic policies had significantly reduced inflation and set the stage for sustained economic growth."

Warren Harding's legacy is forever weighed down by the Teapot Dome scandal, in which his secretary of the Interior went to prison for bribery. "He's there because he trusted some friends who turned out to be untrustworthy," says May. "But objectively, how can you measure if a president is a good president? Well, one of the criteria is economic performance. Another is the state of international relations. Another is constitutional rights. By those measures, the Harding administration is one of the best ever." For Harding, the final blow may have been the pithy assessment by Alice Roosevelt Longworth, the acid-tongued Washington hostess, who observed: "Harding was not a bad man. He was just a slob."

Today, in an era of YouTube and 24/7 news, could any current or future leader survive such cattiness? How would Abraham Lincoln have fared in today's relentless blogging cycle? "It's a very good question," says May. "We would know more. Some of it might be less attractive."

Or maybe the modern tide of factoids and opinion would end up blurring the picture. "Even now it's not clear how much of legacy is really simply the residue of contemporaneous journalism and how much is the result of a second look from things that are in presidential libraries, as with Truman and Kennedy and Johnson," says May. "It's possible that we will never really know much about the two Bushes and Clinton — just because there's so much electronic information. There's a risk that you may be left with nothing coherent except the image that was formed at the time. You may never be able to correct it." — MD

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In Transition

The pitfalls facing new administrations

HOW A NEW ADMINISTRATION gets off the ground can make all the difference.

The candidates have outlined seemingly everything they want to accomplish once they become president. You don't hear them talk about what they'll do as president-elect. Yet while the presidential transition is not the stuff of stump speeches, it can boost — or derail — an administration before it officially takes over the White House.

Two members of the Kennedy School faculty, Government Professor Stephen Goldsmith and Lecturer Elaine Kamarck, know firsthand the importance of the transition period. After serving as chief domestic policy advisor to George W. Bush in the 2000 campaign, Goldsmith during the transition helped brief potential candidates for administration positions and establish a new faith-based initiative. Kamarck researched campaign finance reform during the Clinton transition (and concluded the administration shouldn't pursue the issue) and at the beginning of the administration created and managed the National Performance Review, known as reinventing government.

"The transition is almost always a very confusing and intense period of time," says Kamarck. Much attention is focused on personnel issues, particularly forming the Cabinet and getting people prepared to be confirmed before Congress. The personnel process is easier, she says, when the incoming president is of the same party as the previous one. "With different parties you really have to get the people out of there because you have a different mandate, different philosophies," Kamarck says.

Goldsmith notes that any new administration needs to balance the political will of the electorate with the professionalism of the career public employees.

"I think the inherent question is how to leverage your electoral results into policy accomplishments without tainting the process inappropriately with politics, but with the distinctions that came from a contested election," he says.



Of course politics does play a role in the transition, including in the interaction between the outgoing and incoming administrations. Goldsmith cites a lack of cooperation shown by the Clinton staff to the incoming Bush administration. "If they view [the new administration] as barbarians at the gate, they may interpret their professional responsibilities as being resistant," he says.

Kamarck contends that the Bush administration made a momentous mistake in failing to listen to warnings about Al Qaeda from Clinton's foreign policy advisors. "Arrogance is a very big danger in a transition period because everyone is all full of themselves," she says.

She acknowledges that the Clinton administration didn't pay enough attention to staff issues during the transition. "The White House staff is incredibly important," she says. "You want in your staff a mixture of policy and politics that's hard to get."

As the former mayor of Indianapolis who went through his own transitions to and from office, Goldsmith emphasizes that whoever runs the transition for the incoming president should have substantial operational and executive leadership experience. "There are too many ways policies can be sidelined or the daily machinery of government can be misaligned by not paying attention to the management details," he says. — LR

“Arrogance is a very big danger in a transition period because everyone is all full of themselves.”



Oil Shock Wave

FORUM | THE NEWSFLASH PLAYED on the three giant television screens brought word of a devastating terrorist attack on an oil tanker in the Bosphorus, the narrow strait connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. With oil prices reaching \$160 a barrel, the U.S. national security advisor turned to Cabinet secretaries and top advisors. They had 90 minutes to flesh out a response and present it to the president.

It was, fortunately, only an elaborately staged simulation. The event, titled “Oil Shock Wave,” was organized by the Washington DC-based nonprofit Securing America’s Future Energy (SAFE) and cosponsored by the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

Chaired by former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, with help from the likes of Ashton Carter (playing Defense secretary), Larry Summers (Treasury secretary), Joseph

Lockhart (counselor to the president), and Meghan O’Sullivan (secretary of state), the April Forum event brought to vivid life the terrible entanglement of issues around energy policy.

As crisis piled on top of crisis — oil producers using the impending crisis as political leverage, and then more attacks carried out on the world’s largest oil producer, Saudi Arabia — the participants highlighted the interconnectedness of the global energy market and the United States’ energy vulnerability.

With decision makers boxed in by economic considerations, security threats, environmental concerns, and political possibility, it became apparent that it may take a crisis to force a major change in energy policy, and that by then it may be too late.



Chris Matthews with moderator Lois Romano, TOP 2008 and *Washington Post* reporter

FORUM | Extraordinary Times Describing elections as “dynamite” and the times as “extraordinary,” Chris Matthews, host of MSNBC’s *Hardball with Chris Matthews*, said the 2008 election has the potential for being one of the “great change elections.”

“Seventy-three percent of Americans say we’re going in the wrong direction,” said Matthews, referring to a recent poll. Citing past elections that dramatically altered America’s course, including in 1932 for Franklin D. Roosevelt and 1980 for Ronald Reagan, Matthews added, “Elections correct problems.”



Elizabeth Edwards

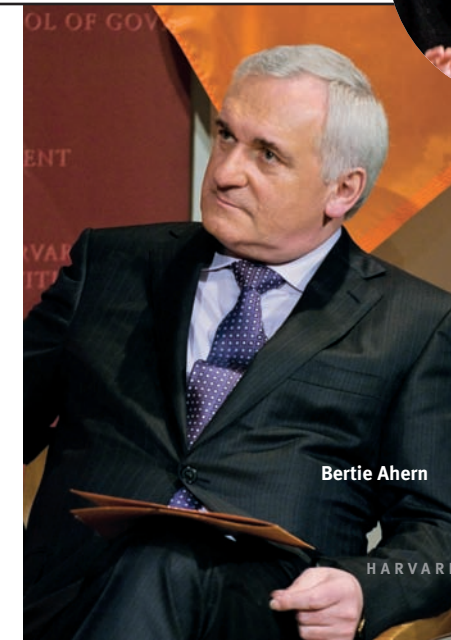
FORUM | Gutterball Why, Elizabeth Edwards asked a Forum audience in April, did more people know Barack Obama’s bowling score than they did the details of Joe Biden’s health care plan? Using the Delaware Democrat’s failed presidential campaign as a case in point, Edwards criticized the media for failing to look at the substance of campaigns.

“Joe Biden is such a good example. By any measure a serious candidate for president,” she said. “Who got to decide that the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a longtime senator, a former candidate for the presidency, was not a serious candidate and that they did not need to cover him?”

LEFT: MARTHA STEWART; CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: MARTHA STEWART, MARTHA STEWART; WIRE CASSET; WIRE CASSET

FORUM | Strong EU Partner Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern, who stepped down in May after 11 years, said his country’s participation in the European Union has been critical to its remarkable advances in the last several years. For centuries one of western Europe’s poorest countries, Ireland today is the second richest country in the 27-member community.

“Thirty-five years of European involvement has been a powerful force in causing Ireland’s hour to come in a manner that could scarcely have been imagined by past generations,” he said.



Bertie Ahern

The Buzz



Mary Robinson

“The race to the bottom is a scramble to undermine workers’ rights and shouldn’t be tolerated.”

Past President of Ireland and former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson describing corporations global search for inexpensive labor, which undermines workers’ rights to collective bargaining and protective legislation, at an April Forum.

“When we looked at those Nielsen ratings, we thought we were doing it for our families and ourselves.... Where were you folks then?”

David Simon, creator and executive producer of the critically acclaimed *The Wire*, about the HBO show’s low viewership and lack of critical attention in its early years, at a standing-room only Forum event in April.

“The idea now is to negotiate with the more pragmatic leaders.”

Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni referring to Israel’s policy to talk with the Fatah, the Palestinian party that controls most of the West Bank, rather than Hamas, which she labeled “extremist,” at the Forum in March.



Tzipi Livni

“What is so different is that you have alternative poles for growth.”

World Bank President Robert Zoellick MPP 1981 comparing the current economic slowdown, when China, India, and some of the world’s middle-income countries are still growing strong, with previous economic slowdowns, at a Forum in April.

Chasing the Flame

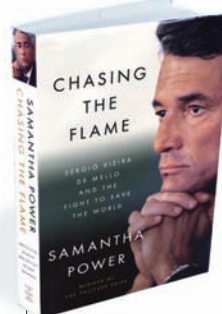
Sergio Vieira de Mello and the Fight to Save the World
Samantha Power

When Samantha Power, Anna Lindh Professor of Practice of Global Leadership and Public Policy, told friends she planned to follow her Pulitzer Prize-winning book about genocide, *A Problem from Hell*, with a biography of career UN diplomat Sergio Vieira de Mello who was killed in the 2003 bombing of the United Nations Iraq headquarters, some were skeptical.

“Sergio worked for the United Nations,” Power recalls one person telling her. “What did he achieve exactly?”

Plenty, as it turns out.

In *Chasing the Flame: Sergio Vieira de Mello and the Fight to Save the World*, Power follows Vieira de Mello, a cross between James Bond and Bobby Kennedy, through his early life as a Brazilian diplomat’s son, through his cosmopolitan education at the Sorbonne, and then into the trouble spots



that were to become his home away from home during his 34 years with the United Nations.

Power details Vieira de Mello’s early introduction to terrorism in Lebanon, his efforts to restore stability to Kosovo and East Timor, and his work to facilitate the return of millions of displaced people in Mozambique, the Sudan, Cambodia, and Rwanda.

In each place, Power writes, he focused on engaging with all actors, even those who had committed large-scale crimes. In Bosnia (where Power met him in 1994 when she worked as a reporter), critics dubbed him “Serbio,” accusing him of being used by those in power and not standing up for civilians. Though Power says Vieira de Mello sometimes had excessive faith in the power of reasoning with killers, she praises his ability to balance competing concerns throughout his career and improve the lives of people who were suffering under repressive regimes.

“This experience he had was so varied, so unenviable, and so pertinent for the 21st century and for our times,” says Power. “What Sergio teaches is the importance of placing dignity at the center of one’s thinking about developing countries, about cultures that are not our own,” she says.

In a sense that is exactly what Power did in recounting the harrowing final hours of Vieira de Mello’s life, when he was trapped under the rubble of the UN explosion. Though rescuers fought to save him and others, they lacked the training and equipment to free him, which Power paints as one of many indictments against those who planned the occupation. She says it was important for her to know precisely what he went through and report that as vividly as possible. “It felt partly about rescuing Sergio’s dignity, his story, his history,” Power says.

He left lasting lessons from his career, according to Power: Legitimacy is essential, militants must be engaged, fearful people must be made more secure, dignity is the cornerstone of order, and outsiders must bring humility and patience to foreign lands. For those who will follow in his footsteps, he showed that 21st-century leadership will require an awareness of the effect of policies on real lives, she says.

“He asked himself tough questions about whether he practiced what he preached,” says Power. “I think all of us could be more consistent with the principles we espouse for states and the world.” — LR



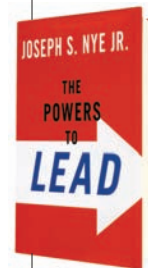
Samantha Power

KENT DAYTON

MARTHA STEWART



Joseph S. Nye, Jr.



The Powers to Lead

Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

If the instruments of power have always included coercion, corruption, and co-option, leaders have historically tended to favor the first. But as hierarchies have flattened, and leadership roles been distributed more equitably, that impulse has changed. Today, from CEOs to drill sergeants, the

emphasis is less on barking orders and more on eliciting participation. In leadership circles, in other words, soft power has been on the rise.

Joseph Nye, who developed the concept of soft power in the context of international politics two decades ago, examines the nature, styles, and ethics of leadership and power in his new book, *The Powers to Lead*.

“Instead of just shaping others to their will,” Nye writes, “leaders have to attract support by also shaping themselves to their followers.”

That blend of hard and soft power form what Nye calls “smart power.” Knowing the correct proportion in that blend is the role of contextual intelligence, “an intuitive diagnostic skill that helps a leader to align tactics with objectives to create smart strategies in varying situations.”

Attractive as the idea of smart power is, Nye reminds us that in themselves neither soft nor hard power easily translates into good or bad. The power of attraction is often preferable to violence, but in some uses, such as propaganda, it can be coercive, and its ends, such as recruiting converts to a terrorist organization, can be just as destructive.

In the end, as leaders balance their fiduciary roles and their consciences, they must sometimes make morally questionable decisions. Understanding how to better judge leaders, therefore, is crucial to our democratic futures, Nye writes. After all, “heroes lack blemish, but leaders have warts.” — RDO

Our Communities, Our Homes

Nicolas Retsinas, Henry Cisneros MPA 1973,
Jack Kemp, Kent Colton



For most Americans, home ownership is an important measure of personal accomplishment and economic stability. For individuals, it is the principal means for building wealth, and for society, it is critical for establishing strong neighborhoods and communities. Today home ownership in the United States has reached higher levels than ever before, rising to 69 percent of households.

Yet, say the authors of *Our Communities, Our Homes*, the housing picture has never been more perilous. With housing prices having outpaced income growth for decades, affordable housing — for both homeowners and renters — has slipped further out of reach. Many, including those who form the bedrock of communities — teachers, nurses, and police — can no longer afford to live where they work.

The result, say the authors, has disturbing consequences for both individuals and society. Communities lose an engaged, diverse citizenry, people live farther from their jobs, and businesses have trouble finding the workers they need.

While a variety of initiatives, say the authors, have emerged during the last several years to address the housing crisis, a strong, coordinated strategy has yet to occur. The authors set forth new strategies for both state and local officials, from fresh ways of looking at public housing programs to expanded homeowner assistance programs to the elimination of risky mortgage products that set the stage in the past few years for the precipitous rise in foreclosures. — SA



Nicolas Retsinas

Gift to Build Capacity in Poorest Countries

A gift from the family of one of the founders of modern-day Qatar, one of the wealthiest countries in the world, will establish a fellowship for talented individuals from some of the neediest countries in the world.

The gift from Sheikh Sultan bin Suhaim Al Thani honors his late father, Sheikh Suhaim bin Hamad Al Thani, who



The gift from Sheikh Sultan bin Suhaim Al Thani (left) will help the Kennedy School “further its mission,” Dean David Ellwood (right) said during Al Thani’s visit to the school in February.

served as the country’s foreign minister from 1972 until his death in 1985 and helped shape the Arabian Gulf.

During a visit to Harvard in February, Sheikh Sultan met with President Drew Faust and Dean David Ellwood and was able to talk to several Kennedy School students about their experiences.

Al Thani said the gift would serve as a memorial to his late father’s integrity, strength of character, and commitment

“I’m happy that we will share his rich experience with these outstanding scholars.”

to his fellow citizens. “I’m happy that we will share his rich experience with these outstanding scholars,” he said.

The \$2 million fellowship fund will serve to build human capacity in nine countries selected by Sheikh Sultan: Yemen, Egypt, Sudan, Palestinian Territories, Iraq, Liberia, Rwanda, Senegal, and Vietnam, thus enabling talented individuals from those nations to attend degree programs and executive training at Harvard Kennedy School. “The essence of the Kennedy School has always been an abiding commitment to training skilled, enlightened leaders, and this generous gift will allow us to further our mission of public service in countries across the globe,” Ellwood said.

Spreading Climate Change Framework

The Kyoto Protocol, the first global attempt to curb greenhouse gas emissions, will reach the end of its first commitment period in 2012. What happens after that is the focus of the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements, launched last year to help identify key design elements of a scientifically sound, economically rational, and politically possible policy architecture for global climate change.

Led by Robert Stavins, professor of business and government and director of the Harvard Environmental Economics Program, the project has already worked with academics, government officials and legislators, private industry, and NGOs to establish the importance of considering alternative policy architectures. By September, it will have completed stage two by developing a small but wide-ranging menu of promising frameworks and key design principles.

As the project prepares to launch the third and final stage — discussing and disseminating its recommendations on key design elements — it has received crucial support in the form of a \$250,000 gift from Nicholas Josefowitz. One of the top 40 environmental financial and thought leaders in Europe, according to *Wealth Bulletin*, Nicholas is the founder of RenGen Energy, a renewable energy company that develops wind and solar power plants. He is also a member of the Kennedy School’s Dean’s Council.



Giving Back

Greg Rosenbaum AB 1974, MPP/JD 1977 (pictured here with Dean Ellwood) and his wife, Martha Radlo Rosenbaum AB 1974 made a generous gift to establish a Loan Repayment Assistance Fund. Rosenbaum has served as chair of the Dean’s Alumni Leadership Council for the past four years.

Sustainable Science Program

Sustainable development — reconciling development and growth with the planet’s environmental limits — is a central challenge of the new century. And Harvard Kennedy School’s Sustainability Science Program is working to link knowledge with action in support of that goal.

It will be able to continue its work addressing those problems thanks to two new gifts — totalling \$9.5 million — from Italy’s Ministry for the Environment, Land and Sea. The ministry’s previous gifts in 2006 had helped launch the Sustainability Science Program, through support of the Harvard Fund for Sustainable Development.

The newest gift will extend through 2012 funding for faculty research grants and fellowship programs that recruit young scholars and practitioners from around the world to further their studies at Harvard.

“This activity represents a model of how academia and government should work together,” said the ministry’s Director General Corrado Clini. “We are committed to meet the challenges of the 21st century, and we do believe that the best investment is to train researchers and professionals from all over the world in the science of sustainable development.”



Corrado Clini, director general of Italy’s Ministry for the Environment, Land, and Sea (left), Dean Ellwood (middle), and William Clark (right), professor of international science, public policy, and human development.

“This gift...provides an invaluable opportunity for Harvard to broaden its collaborative efforts and deepen its research, training, and policy engagement on key challenges of sustainable development,” said Dean David Ellwood.

The program is headed by William Clark, professor of international science, public policy, and human development, and the Center for International Development’s Nancy Dickson.



From the HKS Alumni Chair

As the newly elected chairman of the Board of Directors of the HKS Alumni Association, I am honored to represent the global community of more than 35,000 HKS alumni who are developing public and private sector solutions in more than 170 countries. With the dedicated support of former Chairman Paul Hodge MPA 2000 and a cadre of talented alumni leaders on the board, the Alumni Association has renewed its commitment to advance the mission of HKS and achieve the strategic goals of Dean Ellwood.

Alumni of the world's best school of public service deserve the best quality of alumni service and representation.

For the 2008–2009 academic year, the association will sharpen its focus, increase its visibility, and target its programmatic initiatives to better meet the needs of alumni. We will undoubtedly continue to strengthen our partnerships with regional associations and HKS Alumni Relations to assist alumni in reconnecting to each other and the entire Harvard community.

Perhaps the greatest challenge for the board this coming year is to develop and sustain HKS alumni giving and participation. Currently only 11 percent of HKS alumni make annual financial contributions of any amount to the Dean's Fund. This rate is lower than the alumni participation rates of Harvard's business and law schools. We need to do better.

As alumni we have an obligation to support our alma mater. We are ambassadors of the HKS mission to advance the public interest and to make the world better. We must have an ownership stake in the future of HKS and in future alumni. Most assuredly the return on our investment will be substantial. I urge all alumni to make an annual contribution to the Dean's Fund, hks.harvard.edu/about/giving.

"Ask what you can do" — is the Kennedy School's call to service. Alumni must respond in a unified and resounding voice. My commitment to HKS alumni worldwide is that the Alumni Association will facilitate your ability to participate in the enduring greatness of this remarkable school of ours.

Throughout my tenure as chairman, please let me know what the Alumni Board and Association can do for you. We are only a click away: ksgalum@hks.harvard.edu. Stay connected!

Rudy Brioché MPP 2000
Chairman of the Board of Directors
HKS Alumni Association

Alumni Board members at reunions in June, left to right: Lenora Peters Gant HKSEE 1999; Rudy Brioché MPP 2000; Jackie Weatherspoon MPA 1991; John McLaughlin MPA 1988; Chato Calderon MPA 1988; Kate Mullally MPA 1998; Emily Card MPA 1981



To submit a classnote, e-mail 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 HKSEE.

1966

Stephen Joel Trachtenberg MPA, president emeritus of George Washington University and professor of public service, was awarded the 2008 Allen P. Splete Award for Outstanding Service from the Council of Independent Colleges. The award is given to an individual, publication, or organization for significant contributions to higher education and recognizes national leadership, through ideas and commitment, on behalf of private colleges and universities. The award was presented January 6 at the council's annual awards banquet in Marco Island, Fla. In addition, Joel has joined the *Chronicle Review's* team of bloggers, known as "Brainstorm." His blog can be read at <http://chronicle.com/review/brainstorm>. And his new book, *Big Man on Campus: A University President Speaks Out On Higher Education*, has just been released by Simon and Schuster.

1967

Harry Harris MPA reports completing two careers in government and academia and continues his global travels as a consultant on international trade issues with the private sector and the U.S. State Department. Harry carries on with his entrepreneurial passion by managing two expanding health care enterprises in central California, HealthCare California and MedSupply. In his leisure moments, he soaks up the world by frequent travels, including to exotic regions of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Rim, renewing old acquaintances and making new ones.

1968

Frank Popper MPA writes that in January, Westend Productions, a Frankfurt-based film and television company, aired a documentary based on the Buffalo Commons work he and his wife Deborah have been doing on the land-use future of the Great Plains. They appear in the parts of the film shot in South Dakota. The film appeared in simultaneous French- and German-language versions in Europe on ARTE, the German-French public-TV station, under titles that translate to "The Return of the Buffalo." Other Buffalo Commons documentaries, all of them in English, are in development. In addition, Frank will be on sabbatical leave from Rutgers University in the academic

year 2008–2009, teaching and writing at the Environmental Studies Program at Princeton University. (See the Winter 2008 issue of the *Bulletin* for more on Frank's work.)

1971

Jane Loeffler MCP, author of the 1998 book *The Architecture of Diplomacy*, managed to get architecture as a policy issue into the public discourse as a witness before the U.S. House Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs in January. The invitation resulted, she says, from an article she published last fall in *Foreign Relations* about the new U.S. embassy in Baghdad. The hearing is available online at the subcommittee's website.

1972

Sarah James MRP is delighted to announce the formation of the Institute for Ecomunicipality Education & Assistance (IEMEA), along with Torbjörn Lahti, planner, economist, and founder of the Swedish eco-municipality movement. IEMEA provides support for citizens, local officials, planners, and municipal staff interested in a systematic, comprehensive approach for changing to sustainable practices. Sarah is a city and town planner, coauthor (with Torbjörn Lahti) of the award-winning book *The Natural Step for Communities: How Cities & Towns Can Change to Sustainable Practices* (New Society Publishers, 2004) and coauthor of the American Planning Association's *Planning for Sustainability Policy Guide* (April 2004). The IEMEA website is instituteeforemunicipalities.org.

1975

Leonard Zax MRP reports that he testified before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on National Parks as part of an effort to help revitalize one of the most economically depressed cities in America — his hometown of Paterson, New Jersey. He spoke for the creation of a new national park at the site where Alexander Hamilton began implementing his plan to achieve America's economic independence and to transform a rural agrarian society based in slavery into a modern economy based in freedom. Leonard is a partner in the Washington office of the law firm Latham & Watkins and an honorary trustee of the National Building Museum.

1977

Lawrence DiCara MPA has been elected chair of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. The role of the bureau is to promote a healthy business and residential environment by advocating for stability and predictability in the basis of city

MARTHA STEWART

MICHAEL CASEY



Liberian President **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf** MPA 1971 and Mason Fellow gave the Harvard Kennedy School graduation address June 4.

"I urge you to seize the opportunity to become true leaders. Motivate and inspire others to join you in your efforts," said Johnson Sirleaf.

"Exercise the character that sets you apart as role models for others to emulate. Think big. Let your dreams soar.... Go for your ambition. Achieve your full potential. The time that you have spent at the Kennedy School says that you deserved it. Now go out and use it and change the world."

government — tax policies, service delivery, and public education. Business executives look to the bureau for in-depth analysis of complex city problems, while government leaders use its expert research and independent analysis when considering strengthening existing policies and introducing new ones. He also practices real estate and administrative law at Nixon Peabody LLP.

1978

Robert Metzger BCSTA reports that his article challenging the role of the General Accounting Office in deciding federal bid protests, "A Critical Reassessment of the GAO Bid-Protest Mechanism," has been published in the 2007 *Wisconsin Law Review*.

1979

Peter O'Connor MPA was reelected to the town commission in Longboat Key, Fla.

1980

Kenneth Juster MPP is currently executive vice president of San Francisco-based software company Salesforce.com, the worldwide market and technology leader in on-demand business services. He was recently awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit by President Horst Kohler of the Federal Republic of Germany for his contributions to U.S.-German relations. In addition, President Bush appointed Ken in October 2007 to a four-year term on the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations. And in December, Ken was honored by Scarsdale High School as a recipient of the Distinguished Alumni Award.

1982

Guy de Fontgalland MPA writes that he has had a tumultuous but exciting career. He went to Sri Lanka after Harvard and established the National Resources Development Organization,

only to leave the country during the ethnic riots of 1983. For the next five years, he worked in Belgium as project coordinator for the Flanders Federation of Industries. Christmas 1988 found him in Australia working with the Westpac Bank as general manager for international projects. Next was a brief period with the IFC/World Bank as investment officer with the South Pacific Project Facility. In 2004, he returned to Sri Lanka to establish the Alliance of South Asian Regional Institutes of Management, but left the country temporarily on account of disturbances there. Currently he serves as international advisor to the Entrepreneurship Development Institute of India, principal consultant to the University of Kelaniya in Sri Lanka, and international development advisor to St. Patrick's International College in London. He is based in London, where he is developing a nonprofit project, Foundation for Education and Entrepreneurship Development. He can be reached at guy@st-patricks.ac.uk.

Frank De Rosa MPP left PG&E at the beginning of the year to start NextLight Renewable Power, LLC, with the mission to address global warming by making renewable power one of the country's primary energy sources. With a team of experienced development, commercial, transmission, and siting professionals and backed by Energy Capital Partners, a large private equity fund, his company will be developing utility-scale solar energy plants. "NextLight will bring a deep understanding of the power market, the development process, and the regulatory environment to help overcome the obstacles to renewable energy development," writes Frank. He is married to **Janice Roudebush** MPP 1983; they live in San Francisco and have one son, Louis.

1984

Rosalia Sri Baruti Stovall MPA is founder and chairman of the Dr. Stovall Social & Education Foundation. Because her husband, Johnny Stovall, is American, they divide their time between Indonesia and America.

Judith Miller McConnell MPA is fabricating mosaic designs in glass, ceramic, or stone. Last year she completed an installation of life-sized figures of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John in Byzantine style for a Houston church. Each is 28 square feet of marble, onyx, glass, ceramic beads, and fossils. "Surprise was when Cardinal DiNardo actually blessed my art!" she says. "Many words, incense, and water flew." In August she will be taking a road trip with her Seattle-based teenaged grandchildren to volunteer at the Democratic National Nominating Convention in Denver. Afterwards, she will recuperate at her condo in Los Cabos, Baja, Mexico, where friends are invited to join her beside the Sea of Cortez. In 2010, she will go to Italy for mosaic study with masters and a visit with a high school classmate during the grape harvest on his farm. She will then meet up with HKS classmates in Cambridge for the 25th class reunion.

CHINA



In advance of the HAA Global Series Conference in Beijing, a group of 55 HKS alumni gathered at the Pudong Shangri-La for a reception with Dean Ellwood. More than 70 HKS alumni attended the conference.

Thomas Shuster HKSEE was installed as chair of the Mid-Atlantic Council of the National Recreation & Parks Association (NRPA) at the NRPA Congress in Indianapolis last September. Tom has served as a member of the council since 1999 and is currently the director of recreation and parks for Ocean City, Md.

1985

Amy Mall MPP has been working for the Natural Resources Defense Council since 2001. In 2006, she relocated from Washington to Boulder, Colo., and is loving being outside the Beltway.

Ejeviome Otopo MPA was appointed deputy head and director of strategic planning for the Peacebuilding Support Office at the United Nations in December 2006.

Michael Riley MPA2 has been named editor and senior vice president of *Congressional Quarterly* in Washington. He oversees the 150-plus person news operation that covers Congress, politics, and public policy. Prior to joining CQ, Michael had been editor of *The Roanoke Times* (Va.) and before then had spent a decade as a correspondent and bureau chief with *Time* magazine. In the late 1990s, he founded and ran *allpolitics.com*, a well-regarded Time/CNN website. He and his wife, Arline, live in Arlington, Va., with their two daughters. He can be reached at mriley@cq.com.

1986

Janet Beardsley MPA was honored with a Be Bold Award by the Women's Foundation of Colorado at the foundation's 20th anniversary luncheon in Denver last November. Held at Denver's Colorado Convention Center, the luncheon featured Cokie Roberts and Amb. Swanee Hunt. Janet was selected for the award based on her work promoting the economic self-sufficiency of women and girls and for serving as a change agent for women's interests. She is also a past recipient of the Women Who Light Up the Community Award given by the Business Women's Leadership Group of the Chamber of Commerce of Boulder, Colo. In addition, she is celebrating 21 years as the

SAN FRANCISCO



Jack St. Croix MPA 2004 (left) and Jesse Mainardi MPA 2006 (right), pictured here with Dean Ellwood, hosted a Bay Area Regional Alumni Association event at the Delancey Street Restaurant.

executive director for the YWCA of Boulder, where she leads the organization's programs and public policy initiatives that promote the advancement of children, empowerment of women and girls, and elimination of racism. Under her leadership, the agency successfully completed a \$2.5 million capital campaign project that included adding a second story to its facility. She is married to Karl Kurtz, director of the Trust for Representative Democracy at the National Conference of State Legislatures. Janet and Karl live in Boulder and have two children, 16-year-old Emily and 13-year-old Andrew.

Jeffrey Bleich MPP, a litigation partner at Munger, Tolles, and Olson, was elected president of the State Bar of California.

1987

Nadine Hack MPA has been featured recently in several prestigious publications. She contributed the opening chapter for the book *Oliver Tambo Remembered*, about the leader of the African National Congress during the 27 years of Nelson Mandela's imprisonment (Pan Macmillan, October 2007). She is one of the global voices interviewed for another book, *Bella Abzug: How One Tough Broad from the Bronx Fought Jim Crow and Joe McCarthy, Pissed Off Jimmy Carter, Battled for the Rights of Women and Workers Against the War and for the Planet, and Shook Up Politics Along the Way* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, November 2007). And she was featured in a January 2008 article on women and philanthropy in *PINK*, a unique magazine promoting a new generation of remarkable women who have made significant strides in the world today.

Stephanie Larsen MPP reports that after being a single mom for many years, she finally remarried last October. Her husband, Jerry Camuso, 58, is an antiques and collectibles dealer who grew up in Wakefield, Mass. The maid-of-honor was her 14-year-old daughter, Rachelle Martinez. Stephanie also recently accepted the position of assistant county administrator with Sutter County, Calif. (the county seat, Yuba City, is about 45 miles north of Sacramento). She left her home in the redwoods of Humboldt County and began her new position at the end of January.

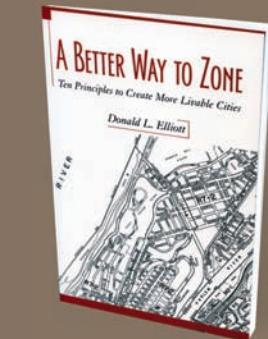
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Harvard

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off your
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A Better Way to Zone: Ten Principles to Create More Livable Cities

Donald L. Elliot MCRP 1984

Zoning, Donald Elliot acknowledges at the very beginning of *A Better Way to Zone*, is not a sexy topic. But, as he reminds readers in his book, that's a shame. Zoning, after all, determines what gets built on private land. The book explores the constitutional and legal framework of zoning, its evolution over the course of the 20th century, and the reasons behind major reform efforts of the past. It also examines the assumptions behind land-use management and asks whether zoning addresses the forces currently driving development. Finally it offers practical steps to get started on the road to reform.

1988

Robert Levy MPA, who is the president of the Plantation City Council, was recognized by the City of West Park, Fla., for his role in its becoming Broward County's 31st incorporated city. He is also the town manager for West Park's sister city of Pembroke Park, Fla.

Vinod Rai MPA has been appointed the comptroller and auditor general of India (CAG). He was administered the oath of office by President Pratibha Patil at a function January 7 at Rashtrapati Bhawan. Immediately prior to assuming this position he was financial services secretary.

Elisa Speranza MPA was appointed president of CH2M HILL OMI in January. The employee-owned company is a \$5 billion global firm providing engineering, construction, operations, and related technical services to public and private clients. CH2M HILL OMI has more than 23,000 employees worldwide and is routinely ranked among *Fortune's* "Most Admired Companies" in its industry. For details, visit ch2mhill.com. For the past seven years, Elisa was with the firm's Water Business Group, where she spearheaded many successful teams and initiatives. She is active in a number of industry associations, including serving as vice president of the global nonprofit Water for People.

1989

Monika Aring MPA is living in Seattle and has her own consulting company. She works on projects that help companies in the private sector make more sustainable investments in emerging markets and better partnerships with the public sector to secure their future workforce. Her clients include The Conference Board, where she is senior advisor to the president and her team on an Emerging Markets Initiative and developing the organization's global research agenda on the Future Workforce. Over the past year she has also worked on various initiatives with Starbucks, on a Millennium Challenge Account Project in East Timor, Making Cents International, and with her former employer, RTI International, analyzing how Jordan's labor laws constrain the growth of target industries. She is writing a book titled *Jorge's Question*, focusing on a question a young Peruvian asked her, "Lady, we know we're 30 years behind young people in the rich countries. Will we ever have our chance?"

Barbara deVries MPA became a grandmother in 2007 to Dylan deVries, "who lives near me in San Francisco and whom I can kiss frequently," she says. Her business, Life Management Associates, is in its 17th year and going strong. The Professional Fiduciary Association of California, of which she is a past president, recently got the

state of California to license this new profession to ensure that there will be trained, ethical professionals in the field. Barbara also reports that she bought a red Corvette.

Wendy Feldman MPA organized a major conference for her organization, the Institute of Public Administration of Canada. "Canada's Energy Security: Superpower or...a Player?" was held February 25-26 in Edmonton, Alberta, and highlighted the complex relationships that will guide Canadian energy politics, public policy, and business decisions from coast to coast.

Nancy Kaufman MPA writes that, although even she can hardly believe it, her daughter got married in July 2007 in Cambridge at the Sonesta Hotel. It was a wonderful event, she says, with a fabulous band, great food, and dancing. As for the rest of her life, all is well.

Veena Siddharth MPP is now the vice president for international programs at Planned Parenthood Federation of America in New York. She was previously the Asia advocacy director for Human Rights Watch, based in Washington.

1990

Lisa Beatman MPA has just published her second book, *Manufacturing America: Poems from the Factory* (Ibbetson Press, 2008). The collection moves through the life cycle of manufacturing from its roots in the Lowell, Mass., textile mills, through downsizing, to the "artist

lofts” mined from the old buildings as manufacturing moves overseas. In addition, Lisa is managing adult literacy programs at the Harriet Tubman House in Boston’s South End.

Luis Cancel MPA was appointed by Mayor Gavin Newsom in January to be the executive director of the San Francisco Arts Commission. He left New York after a distinguished 25-year career as a public servant, leading various nonprofit and public agencies, including the Bronx Museum of Arts, where he spent 14 years. For the past three years, he was executive director of the Clemente Soto Vélaz Cultural & Educational Center, raising millions of dollars and expanding the center’s profile.

Karen Levesque MPP completed her doctorate in public policy from the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley in 2004 and was recently promoted to director of K-12 School

a statewide organization that assists nonprofit and government housing agencies to create, acquire, and preserve affordable housing and provides leadership on housing preservation policy and funding. “We regularly see classmate **Richard Gross** and keep in touch with **Bennett Brooks**, who is now in New York City,” says Karen.

John Quatralo MPA recently started a small Massachusetts company to plan, design, and implement exhibitions, mostly for museums, libraries, and archives. In the past year he completed a design for the new Brighton-Allston Heritage Museum and began redesigning one of the larger galleries for the Battleship Cove Museum in Fall River, Mass. He also completed several smaller historical exhibitions, including one at the Newton History Museum.

development. Last year Pradeep hosted a visiting group of current HKS students and local alumni, and recently he put together a meeting between alumni and **Farahnaz Karim** MPA 2001, a visiting member of the HKS Alumni Board. Pradeep is the HKS alumni contact person for India.

1992

Hill Harper MPA2 received the Image Award for Outstanding Actor in a Drama Series at the 39th NAACP Image Award ceremonies in February. He was nominated for his role in the CBS television show *CSI:NY*.

Sandra Ridley MPA2 reports that after years of working in Boston in health care and health care research, she has accepted God’s call to the full-time ministry. “Currently a full-time student at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in the master’s in divinity program, I am looking forward to being ordained and serving in God’s vineyard,” she writes.

1993

Beth Breger MPP has been working since 2004 at the NYC Department of Education in the Office of Student Enrollment, focusing on policy development and strategic planning efforts to improve equity and access for all New York students. She lives outside New York City with husband, Forrest Gilman, daughter, Barbara, age four, and son, Sammy, age two.

Glen Margolis MPP is now the CEO of Steelwedge Software (www.steelwedge.com), the leader in on-demand sales planning and performance management solutions.

Prakash Puram MPA has been appointed to serve on the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis Advisory Council on Small Business and Labor. The term on this ten-member council is for three years. As a member of President Bush’s Export Council, in April Prakash presented a letter of recommendation on non-immigrant visa policy to members of the U.S. Cabinet, congressmen, and senators, and 30 CEOs from the private sector on behalf of the council. In June he traveled with Commerce Secretary Carlos Gutierrez to Kiev, Ukraine, and St. Petersburg, Russia, to attend the 13th International Economic Summit organized by the Russian government. The trip was to complete a fact-finding mission for President Bush. (See page 13 of this issue for more about Prakash.)

Kevin Reardon HKSEE has been appointed deputy assistant secretary of homeland security for infrastructure protection. In that important role, he carries a broad range of responsibilities related to security of the nation’s critical infrastructure and key resources, as defined in the president’s National Strategy for Homeland



Tony Wood MPP 2008 presenting the English graduate school address at the Harvard commencement ceremony.

Improvement at MPR Associates, a national education research and consulting firm. “We work extensively with education data, conducting research, analysis, evaluation, and technical assistance to help improve the nation’s schools,” she writes. She and **Matt Schwartz** MPP 1990 continue to live in San Francisco with their 11-year-old son, Luke, “who has bright red hair like his father’s used to be(!).” Matt is executive director of the California Housing Partnership,

1991

Will Shafroth MPA is in a hotly contested race to be the Democratic candidate to represent Colorado’s 2nd District in Congress. The primary is August 12. Will was the founding executive director of the Colorado Conservation Trust.

Pradeep Singh MPA was recently appointed vice chairman and managing director of IDFC Projects. IDFC is India’s largest financial institution dedicated to infrastructure financing and

CAMBRIDGE, MA



Lenora Peters Gant HKS 1999 and Elicia John MPP 2008 at a career networking event sponsored by the Alumni Association Board of Directors in Town Hall. Gant conceived and organized the biannual event.

Security and the National Infrastructure Protection Plan. He is a retired U.S. Navy captain with more than 30 years of active duty, during which time he commanded two nuclear submarines and served in key strategy, policy, and technology leadership positions with the Navy and Joint Chiefs of Staff. Following his naval career, he held executive positions with several major defense contractors and information technology companies.

1994

Robbie Chrishon HKSEE retired from the U.S. Forest Service on January 3 with 35 years of federal service. She will remain in the Washington area.

Karen Feldman MPA2 says that the organization she founded and heads, Young Voices, was filmed for an NBC’s Today Show segment about Providence, R.I., that was shown in late January. Stories on Young Voices also appeared in the January 18 and February 22 editions of *The Providence Journal*. The February article is an account of a presentation by young people engaged with Young Voices in the city’s Civic Center before the mayor, superintendent, and police chief of Providence, as well as the state education commissioner and an audience of 200. The youths made recommendations based on their findings after interviewing more than 900 students from high schools across the city, focus groups with teenagers, and meetings with members of the mayor’s staff, the school administration, and the police department. They had found that while 93 percent of the students surveyed wanted to go to college, the majority felt their high school was not preparing them for college. They expressed the desire for a more challenging curriculum and for inspiring teachers who would hold them to high expectations.

Andrew Yarrow MPA has written a book on the national debt, *Forgive Us Our Debts* (Yale University Press, May 2008). In accessible language, he explains why the federal debt is rising, what effects it may have on Americans if the debt is not brought under control, why the government borrows, and what it will take to pay all the money back. The book is available in the Yale University Press catalog.

NEW YORK CITY



Horacio Gutierrez, Jr. MPA 2005 hosted an “Inside the Actors Studio” conversation with Dean David Ellwood for alumni at the Russian Tea Room in New York City in late May.

1995

Mark Adamshick MPA received his Ph.D. from the University of Maryland, School of Public Policy, and has joined the faculty at the U.S. Naval Academy as a military professor of leadership and ethics.

Enrique Bellagio HKSEE has recently been appointed as undersecretary for education in Argentina’s Ministry of Defense.

1996

Douglas Shulman MPA was appointed by President George W. Bush to be the 17th commissioner of internal revenue at the Department of the Treasury and was confirmed by the full Congress on March 14. He was vice chairman of the Financial Industry Regulatory Authority, previously known as the National Association of Securities Dealers, and also has served on the bipartisan National Commission on Restructuring the Internal Revenue Service.

1997

Michelle Rhee MPP was the subject of two articles in major media sources this past December: *The Wall Street Journal* (Dec. 22–23) and *Newsweek* (Dec. 31–Jan. 7).

Sean Rowland MPA was installed as president of the Harvard Club of Ireland in November. He is best known as the founder of Hibernia College, an international, third-level, online college headquartered in Dublin. Each year the college educates more than 5,000 postgraduates in more than 20 countries worldwide.

1998

Nicolas Ducote MPP was selected as Harvard Alumni Association regional director for Latin America 2007–2010. Yale University also chose him as Argentina’s first World Fellow for their World Fellows Program, inviting him to spend four months at the university with his family between August and December 2007. He had a wonderful and very rewarding experience. This year the Chicago Council on Global Affairs made him the first recipient of their Gus Hart Fellowship.

CAMBRIDGE, MA



John McLaughlin MPA 1988, president of HKS New England, congratulated new graduate Lionel Perez MPA 2008 at the “First Day as an Alumna/us” brunch.

Michael A. Goldstein MPP was honored in November when the charter school he founded and serves as president, Boston’s Media and Technology Charter High School (MATCH), was named one of the top 100 public high schools in the country by *U.S. News and World Report*.

John Heinen MPA was recently promoted to inspector of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation’s investigative division. He is one of three GBI inspectors that oversee regional and specialized law enforcement operations in Georgia. In September 2007, he also graduated from the prestigious Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy that offers intensive executive management training to local, state, and federal law enforcement managers from around the world.

Sebastian Lorenz MPA says that after some frantic months serving an internationally active manufacturer of medical devices as general manager, he took a sabbatical to go to divinity school. At the same time he took on some pro bono consulting and facilitation work for a local school and a number of churches. Along with a host of other activities, he is also reentering the small business he founded eight years ago, a boutique consultancy serving mainly public health care providers with sociometric assessments of client and employee performance and satisfaction data. The company operates out of Switzerland and specializes in behavioral health care and homes for the elderly.

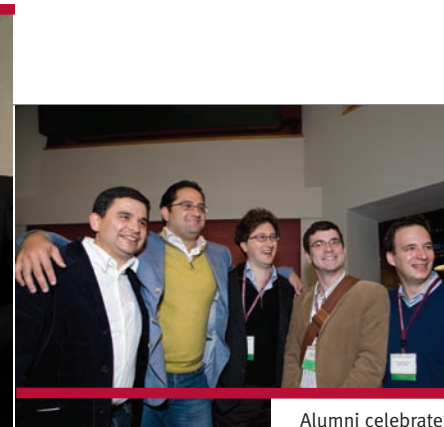
Sungwook Moon MPA2 recently completed his term of duty as the commercial attaché at the Korean Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, and was returning to the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Energy to work in industry or energy policy.

1999

Keith Fitzgerald MPA recently coauthored *Negotiating Hostage Crises with the New Terrorists* with Adam Dolnik (Greenwood, 2007). “The book is written mainly for police, military, and other hostage negotiators because the game has changed,” writes Keith. “Many of the working assumptions and criteria on which conventional hostage negotiation are based no longer apply in



left to right: Dean David Ellwood and Vuk Jeremić MPA/ID 2003; 1998 class members at their class dinner; 1993 class members Patricia Langan HKS and Colin Jackson MPA present Dean Ellwood with Reunion gift.



Alumni celebrate Reunions.



some situations, namely those involving 'new' terrorists (those who are more willing to die and/or to tolerate larger numbers of casualties). The new terrorists have been reading our manuals. They are more tactically savvy, well prepared, and their decision makers are often off-site (changing the dynamic of these incidents)," says Keith. "In particular, the hostage situations at the theatre in Moscow and at the school in Beslan, North Ossetia, are being studied by Al Qaeda and similar groups as 'best practices' for future hostage/barricade scenarios."

Rafael Mandelman MPP joined the Northern California law firm of McDonough Holland & Allen PC in February as a senior associate to its Public Law Practice Group. He primarily represents public agencies, including municipalities, redevelopment agencies, housing authorities, and housing developers in the areas of the California Environmental Quality Act, National Environmental Policy Act, and other environmental regulations compliance. They also work in the areas of taxation, real estate financing and transactions, affordable housing requirements, loan agreements and documents, rent control regulations, litigation, and general land-use matters.

Edoardo Narduzzi MPA launched MyOpenCare last year. It is the first digital platform for user-generated content that allows patients to individually plan their approaches to health-related issues by making the most of participation in a community of users. This is Edoardo's fifth start-up. He has already sold two, and the other two, TechEdge and EvaBeta, are taking off.

2000

Rick Ashton HKSEE has retired as city librarian of the Denver Public Library. He is serving now as chief operating officer of the Urban Libraries Council, the leading organization devoted to strengthening the public library as an essential element of urban life. ULC is headquartered in Chicago.

Tiziana Dearing MPP has been appointed the first female president of Catholic Charities of Boston.

Sandy Schultz Hessler MPA has returned to the Harvard Kennedy School as assistant dean and director of the Office of Career Advancement.

Nereyda Salinas MPP moved last summer from Boston to the San Francisco area, where she is now working with Stanford's School of Education as director of leadership degree programs overseeing a one-year master's degree in policy, organization, and leadership studies (POLIS) and a joint degree with the Graduate School of Business. "I'm enjoying it tremendously as it ties my interests in education reform, policy, and organizational management," she writes. She reports that she has found the HKS alumni in her new home "as strong and helpful as I did on the East Coast (especially those who are parents of twins)."

2001

Allan Bonner HKSEE, HKSEE 2002 recently toured presidential libraries in the Southwest. His latest book, *Tough Love at the Table*, presents case studies from his crisis management and dispute resolution practice. It was launched this spring. Allan is celebrating 20 years in private practice with three network specials for Canadian Learning Television. His son Christian is studying at the University of Toronto, and Michael starts a master's at Oxford this fall after Farsi emersion in Tehran. His wife, Lorna, has taken early retirement from public broadcasting.

Tricia DeGennaro MPA has founded the Institute of Integrated International Policy (IIIP). "IIIP is a groundbreaking institute that asks tough questions about foreign policy and partners with those who know it is time to change the current 'business as usual' policy," writes Tricia. "We are here to help develop leaders and assist in rebuilding our foreign policy institutions so they can act cooperatively and address tough issues outside of a strictly political realm." More information can be found at integratedpolicy.com.

Henry DeSio MPA and his wife, Sine, are the very proud parents of Dante Francis, who was born on October 23, 2007. He was 8.1 pounds, 20 inches. His favorite toys are Mia, a 20-pound basenji, and Caesar, a naughty 85-pound golden retriever.

Mark Fedor MPA is still on active duty in the U.S. Coast Guard and was recently promoted to commander (O-5). "More important," he writes, "my wife, Amy, and I welcomed a set of fraternal twins into the world on November 12. Megan and Andrew join older brothers, Tyler, age seven, and Will, age six, as future Kennedy School aspirants!" In May Mark completed his fellowship on the House Appropriations Committee. After being "detailed" to Congress for two years, he is returning to a Coast Guard assignment. He assumed duties in June as a special assistant and speechwriter to the Coast Guard commandant in Washington. His primary responsibilities are to provide policy guidance and prepare formal speeches for the commandant, who is the Coast Guard's senior officer. Mark expects this will keep his family in the Washington area until 2010 before he heads back to sea duty on a Coast Guard cutter.

Maria Teresa Petersen MPP writes that her organization Voto Latino was included in a January 11 *CNN.com* segment that covered some of the most comprehensive online voter registration sites. The video can be viewed at cnn.com.

Ana Trbovich MPA2 has published *A Legal Geography of Yugoslavia's Disintegration* (Oxford University Press, 2008), available through amazon.com. She is also profiled in the Kennedy School's video series "Harvard Kennedy School in the World," which can be found at hks.harvard.edu/news-events/multimedia.

2002

David O'Brien MPA, HKSEE 1991 is attending the Democratic National Convention as a superdelegate. David is a member of the Democratic National Committee.

Lora Jo Foo MPA has published *Earth Passages: Journeys Through Childhood*. Based on her own life, the book, consisting of 28 vignettes and 53 color nature photographs, tells the story of a girl raised in a family of eight in the inner-city ghetto of San Francisco's Chinatown, where her mother works six days a week, 12 hours a day, in a garment sweatshop. In the girl's rare escapes into the woods, she discovers a magical world quite unlike the ghetto in which she lives. The stories taken from her childhood are paired with

color nature photographs that she took as an adult. "The photographs capture the emotional weight of growing up in the barrenness of a ghetto," writes Lora. "They also are images of Mother Nature giving me what I did not receive from my overworked mother — the folds of the earth that cradle, the caressing of boulders and trees, and the warm embrace of early morning and late afternoon sunlight." The book can be found on asiabookcenter.com.

2003

Vianney Basse MPA2 is now conseiller diplomatique adjoint in the cabinet office of the new defense minister in the administration of French President Nicolas Sarkozy.

Steven Breeskin HKSEE was promoted in December to deputy director of the U.S. Department of Labor's Division of Coal Mine Workers Compensation Program. This federal disability program administers to the nation's coal miners and their families by ensuring that monetary benefits are provided to qualified beneficiaries. "Could my 28 years in the Department of Labor be only just the beginning of a career in public service?" says Steven.

Maria Cristina Caballero MPA published an article in the January 10 issue of *The Providence Journal* on Sakeena Yacoobi, an Afghan woman who left a comfortable position as a professor at D'Etre University in Grosse Pointe, Mich., 18 years ago to return to Afghanistan to help its terrorized women and children. In 1995, she created the Afghan Institute of Learning (AIL) and started organizing 80 underground home schools for girls, as well as four health clinics. Today AIL is helping 350,000 women and children and has 470 employees. In December Yacoobi was awarded the Harvard Kennedy School 2007 Gleitsman International Activist Award. Maria Cristina's article is available at projo.com.

Joseph Goldman MPP began 2007 in the midst of a massive effort to engage thousands of current and former New Orleans residents in the creation of their city's recovery plan. "It was a remarkable project to be a part of and probably one of the things that I have done in my career for which I am most proud," he says. "But it

was also a really heavy load — 19-hour days for seven days a week in pretty stressful circumstances. I concluded my work on the recovery plan in February feeling proud that we were really able to make a tangible difference down there, but I was also very happy to be done." In late April, Joe facilitated a town meeting outside Melbourne, Australia. The summer then brought another large project: a statewide conversation on health care reform for 3,500 Californians, to shape legislation being considered by the California state legislature.

Richard Greene HKSEE is now the special/strategic assistant to the director of defense affairs at the Multinational Security Transition Command in Iraq.

Bill White MPA has left HKS after serving for eight years as director of the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum — "and 614 Forums," he writes. He is now serving in the administration of Massachusetts Gov. Deval Patrick as the assistant secretary for federal relations in the Department of Energy and Environmental Affairs.

Elizabeth Willmott MPP, **Kurt Triplett** MPA, and **Jim Lopez** MPA are on the senior staff of King County Executive Ron Sims, in Washington State. They visited HKS in mid-April to give presentations about and conduct interviews for their Executive Fellowship, "a program that has created a 'think tank' in Ron's office to create regional solutions to thorny problems like health care, climate change, and now economic equity and social justice," says Elizabeth.

2004

Jeffrey Berkin HKSEE retired from the FBI after 25 years of service to accept a private sector position. This spring he began a new career as a senior vice president and chief security officer for CACI International, a defense contractor and professional services company headquartered in Arlington, Va.

Gela Bezhushvili HKS, HKSEE 2000 was appointed national security advisor for the Republic of Georgia. He is also profiled in the Kennedy School's video series "Harvard Kennedy School in the World," which can be found at hks.harvard.edu/news-events/multimedia.

Kizito Bishikwabo Nsarhaza HKSEE has been appointed regional program advisor for technical assistance, in the UNAIDS Regional Office in Dakar, Senegal, covering 25 countries of West and Central Africa.

Daniel Ostergaard MPA has been appointed director of the Institute for the Economy and the Future and associate professor of management and international business at Western Carolina University. He and his family have also started an organic farm (Smoky Mountain Heritage Farm) specializing in heritage livestock near Asheville, N.C.

Jerry Ugukwe HKSEE was selected ambassador designate of Nigeria and posted to Washington, DC.

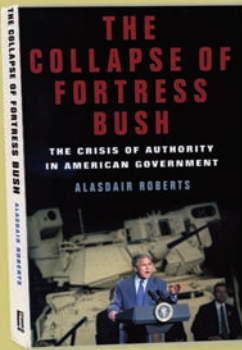
Temuri Yakobashvili HKSEE became minister for conflict resolutions for the Republic of Georgia.

2005

Gayane Afrikian MPA was appointed by the prime minister of Armenia in December to be the chief executive officer of the newly launched Council on National Competitiveness of Armenia, NCCA. The council is a multiparty body with a national mandate. It is chaired by the prime minister and has government ministers as permanent members and business, nonprofit, and diaspora leaders as rotating members with full voting rights.

Mauricio Bejarano HKSEE left his private sector job at The Rendon Group in May to become the chief of staff for the vice president of Colombia.

Frankie Cruz MPA was profiled January 9 on the Harvard Graduate School of Education website in its "Everyday Heroes" series. Frankie, an EDM alumnus of the Ed School, is executive director of Boston Scholars, a nonprofit program that provides scholarships and support to students from low-income backgrounds so they may attend tuition-based schools and achieve academic success. The program, currently serving 44 students in grades 9 through 12, provides them with mentors who are college graduates able to provide guidance to give them the skills and discipline necessary to succeed. The story is at gse.harvard.edu/news_events/features/2008/01/09_cruz.php.



Collapse of Fortress Bush: The Crisis of Authority in American Government

Alasdair Roberts MPP 1986

The Collapse of Fortress Bush shows how the president fought—and lost—key battles with the defense and intelligence communities. From Homeland Security to Katrina, Bush could not coordinate agencies to meet domestic threats or disasters. Either the Bush administration refused to exercise authority, or wielded authority but could not meet the test of legitimacy needed to enact its goals, Roberts writes. Ultimately the vaunted White House discipline gave way to public recriminations among key advisors. Condemned for secretiveness, the Bush administration became one of the most closely scrutinized presidencies in the modern era, he concluded.

Michael Hayes MPP is still at SEAL Team TEN in Virginia Beach, Va. He spent seven months last year in Iraq as the deputy commander of all special operations forces in Al-Anbar Province and was awarded a Bronze Star with “V” for valorous actions in combat while pursuing Al Qaeda. “It is definitely a unique problem,” says Mike, “where, irrespective of one’s personal position on the war, one finds countless people who greatly need our help. Besides our traditional operations where we removed hundreds of hardened insurgents from the streets, we helped innumerable friendly Iraqi citizens. We helped one young girl obtain lifesaving heart surgery in Jordan, saved another after she had been shot by insurgents, built wells, emplaced generators, and conducted medical and dental assist visits. Our women conducted an Iraqi women’s outreach program, and we improved

city and regional governance. We saw security in Anbar increase dramatically. Our kinetic and non-kinetic operations contributed to reducing the number of attacks on Americans from more than 1,900 in our first month down to 300 per month just seven months later, and we helped reduce the number of U.S. servicemen killed in action from 29 in our first 35 days down to an average of 2 per month. Most important, we enabled the citizens of Anbar Province to begin their own return to normalcy by rejecting extremism and embracing the principles of good governance.”

Margot Hope Hoerrner MPA was elected in January to serve as an ANC commissioner of Single Member District 1B11 in Washington DC, representing 2,000 citizens to the City Council and Mayor Adrian Fenty. Margot’s district consists of Howard University, several square blocks of public housing, and a long stretch of Georgia Avenue, which is about to undergo some transformational commercial and residential redevelopment. Visit Hope4ANC.com to learn more about the challenges facing her and the goals she has set.

Rick Linnehan HKSEE, astronaut and mission specialist, was part of the Shuttle Endeavor mission in March. The mission delivered the first section of the Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency’s new laboratory module, Kibo, and Canada’s new robotics system, the Special Purpose Dexterous Manipulator, or Dextre, to the International Space Station. After 16 days in space and 250 orbits, Rick and fellow crew members touched down safely March 26 at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida. It was Rick’s fourth mission.

Franklin Pratt HKSEE, HKSEE 2006 was recently appointed chairman of the Los Angeles Emergency Medical Services Commission. He is also a member of the Public Health Advisory Committee for the state of California.

Rossana Ramirez MPP says it has been a whirlwind since graduation. She took a job with Freedom from Hunger, an international development NGO based in California, and through work she has traveled to various countries around the world providing training and technical assistance for local microfinance institutions. Between trips and airport runs, she met the love of her life, Joseph Chen, a financial economist working at usc. They were engaged within six months and got married within the year. They are currently living in the East Bay Area. She has been very involved with the local HKS community and has been lucky to see many of her classmates either when they were visiting San Francisco or during one of her many trips. She is looking forward to getting news from friends. Her current e-mail is rossanamramirez@gmail.com.

2006

Brian Ehrlich MPP, an executive of the Related Group in Miami, was appointed to the board of directors of the Miami Beach Community Development Corporation.

Temo Figueroa HKSEE, national field director for Barack Obama and former assistant political director at the largest public-employee union in the country, was featured in the February 21 issue of *Time*.

Steve Grove MPP, the political director for YouTube, and classmate **Sunny Levin Gettinger**, corporate communications manager for Google, worked together to plan the CNN/YouTube debates.

Richard Howorth HKSEE, mayor of Oxford, Miss., is the proud owner of Square Books. His shop, which literally sits “on the square,” has received a lot of attention lately, after being mentioned in the February 2008 issue of *Vanity Fair*.

Ben Jones HKSEE recently transitioned to the position of director of public affairs for Missouri and Kansas at Union Pacific Railroad. In this role he is responsible for community relations, state government relations, public relations, public partnerships, and philanthropic programs for Union Pacific in Missouri and Kansas.

Jaclyn Marks MPP is working at the California Public Utilities Commission as a policy analyst specializing in renewable energy and climate change policy. Jaclyn married Doron Ohel on August 12, 2007 and resides in San Francisco.

Kimberly Hubbard Walton HKSEE has been promoted to the position of assistant administrator for the Office of the Special Counselor at the Transportation Security Administration.

Jacqueline Luna Reynoso MPP has taken her HKS-acquired skills back to her roots, becoming the first community development coordinator for National City, Calif., since the merger of the city with the Community Development Commission. The city has a high crime rate, a median income of about \$25,000, and 20 percent of its population living below the poverty level. But as Jacqueline is quoted as saying in a Nov. 13 article on *SignOnSanDiego.com*, “There are very few people who are educated or accomplished within my community; it was my duty to come back and contribute.” Jacqueline is leading National City’s Economic Development Division by attracting investments to grow the local economy, working to create an Arts and Culture District of the Americas and support the continued development of a vibrant and cohesive community. Jacqueline assumed this position after helping to start the first Latino-

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owned bank in California in more than 35 yrs, Promerica Bank, where she managed board and investor relations. She invites HKS friends to visit her in sunny San Diego, “su casa es tu casa...” She can be reached at jacqueline.reynoso@gmail.com.

2007

Anna Bell Farrar MPP is working with DCI Group on federal affairs, issue management, and corporate social responsibility for nonprofit, government, and private sector clients.

Moses Gituma HKSEE has been promoted to the position of manager of strategic management at the Central Bank of Kenya.

Aaron Graham MPP, national field organizer/justice revival coordinator for *Sojourners*, was included in a *Boston Globe* series of articles on Ma Siss’s Place and the Quincy Street Mission Church in Boston. The series can be read at boston.com/masiss.

Chris Hughey MPA left his position as the deputy general counsel of the Federal Maritime Commission in Washington to become the deputy general counsel of the Federal Election Commission, also in Washington. The FEC

administers and enforces campaign finance laws in federal elections and administers the presidential matching funds program. In his new position, he works alongside the general counsel in directing and managing the agency’s litigation, enforcement, and policymaking functions.

Maria Levis MPA2, HKSEE 2002 and her husband, Antonio, welcomed their first son, Salvador Santiago Sosa-Levis, into their lives on February 4th.

Volodymyr Lytvyn HKSEE has been promoted to deputy minister of finance of Ukraine.

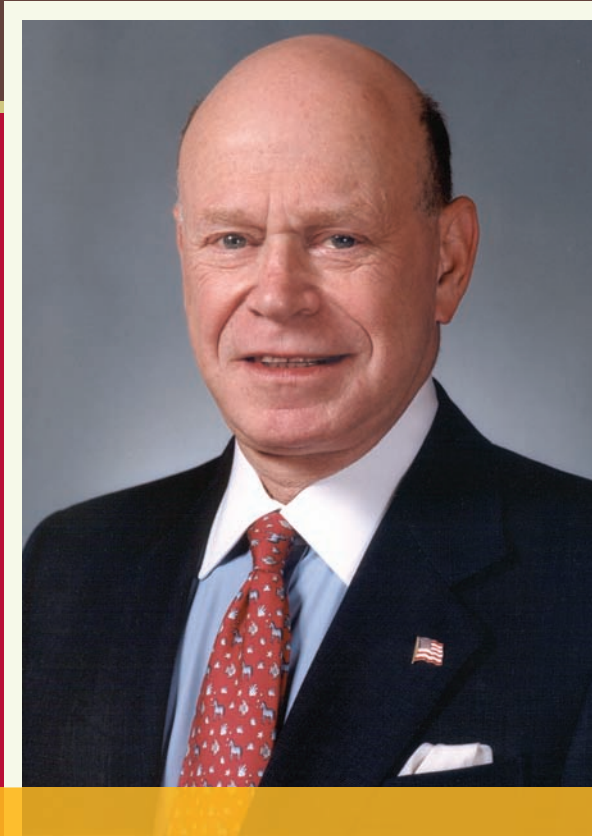
Melanie Roe MPP was named director of hall management for the 2008 Democratic National Convention in Denver. She will hold the position through September. (See page 10 of this issue for more about Melanie.)

Sean Rush MPA has taken the position of president and chief executive officer of Junior Achievement (JA) Worldwide. He writes that the organization is working with 8.5 million people in 119 countries around the world, including: 4 million in the United States; 150,000 in the Middle East; 500,000 in Poland; 200,000 in China; 100,000 in Africa; and 600,000 in Russia. JA provides workforce skill development, finan-

cial literacy education, and entrepreneurship training for children in grades 1 through 12 and the first two years of college in many countries. Among many projects, they are working in a number of emerging economies by combining microfinancing with business and economic education for rural families. More information about the organization can be found at ja.org.



Talking Heads Early primaries. Split caucuses. Superdelegates. Former pastors. Gender gaps. Every election adds its own unique offerings to the political lexicon. And this longest and most bitterly contested political season has been no exception. Throughout, Harvard Kennedy School faculty and alumni have been in demand to help make sense of it all. Clockwise from top left: David Gergen, professor of public service and director of the Center for Public Leadership; Elaine Kamarck, lecturer in public policy; Linda Bilmes, lecturer in public policy; and Jamal Simmons MPP 1998, Democratic analyst.



By establishing a charitable lead trust benefiting the Harvard Kennedy School I was able to meet my financial, estate planning, and philanthropic objectives in one step. The lead trust will allow me to provide an unrestricted, guaranteed stream of income for the programs of the Taubman Center for State and Local Government over the next 20 years, and provide for loved ones, once they're a bit older.

Robert Beal AB 1963, MBA 1965

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GO DIRECTLY TO HKS ALUMNI WEEKEND

**November 13–15, 2008
HKS campus**

THE WEEKEND EVENTS

Thursday, November 13

→ SIF Auction

Friday, November 14

- Forum and reception to kick off of the 50th Anniversary of the Mason Program
- Reunion dinner for the classes of 1978, 1973, 1968, 1963, 1958

Saturday, November 15

- Alumni Refresher on International Development
- Mason 50th Anniversary dinner celebration