FREEDOM FIGHTER

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Dear readers,

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

Our graduates include US Secretary of Veterans Affairs Robert McDonald, Nobel Peace Prize laureate Kailash Satyarthi, and India’s Finance Minister Arun Jaitley. These individuals are also members of one of our school’s flagship international programs, the Mason Program, which this year celebrates its 50th anniversary.

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

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

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

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

Later this year, we will celebrate the program’s 50th anniversary. In the following pages you will read about some of the remarkable individuals who were Mason Fellows and about the man whose vision launched the program. Fifty years ago, Kennedy School Dean Edward S. Mason, for whom the program was eventually named, had the foresight to know that fledgling democracies need much more than advice to succeed. To truly prosper, countries must have trained leaders who possess the know-how to achieve economic independence.

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It is with great pride and appreciation that we pay tribute to a job well done by this remarkable man and the program’s outstanding graduates.

Dean David Ellwood
April 2008
The Soul of Democracy

Vuk Jeremić MPA/ID 2003 fights for Serbia’s future

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Today, as minister of foreign affairs, Jeremić acknowledges the continuing challenges facing the Balkans. The Balkans, he says, will determine the shape of the European debate. “If the Balkans remain a source of division inside Europe, Europe is going to stay weak.” — Vuk Jeremić

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– Vuk Jeremić

“...Europe is going to stay weak.”
Housing Continues Downward Spiral

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

Unlike a similar major deterioration in the late 1980s into the 1990s, says Belsky, the current downturn was triggered by national conditions. During the housing boom that preceded the latest downward fall, interest rates were at historic lows, the market was tight, and inexpensive credit was available to borrowers originally denied it. This combination of factors led to housing price appreciation, price wars, and increased investor activity. “So you have the market building up to a level that is greater than a sustainable level,” says Belsky, “and this just continues and feeds on itself,” making housing unaffordable. By 2004 and 2005, interest rates started climbing, the market was flooded with too much supply, and a reversal began. A pushback on pricing caused many investors to exit the market, and then mortgage problems arose.

In 2007, more than a million homes entered foreclosure, Belsky says, double the normal yearly rate. Some of the pressures on the stricken market can be alleviated with a quick drop in home building, which is now occurring, he says. However, the future outlook depends on how long credit is constrained, on interest rates, and on the state of the economy in case of a recession.

The fundamental problem with the decision to own a home,” said Belsky, “is that it’s based on the future and what happens in the future, and the future is uncertain.” With all the turmoil in the housing and mortgage markets and the public-policy issues dealing with the chronic housing problems, the next State of the Nation’s Housing Report, due out in June, will bring updated clarification to the complexities of recent trends. The center has produced the annual report for 20 years.

Eliminating the Middleman

Coming up fast on the boys on the bus

YouTube, the video-sharing site that has risen to Web stardom in less than three years since its creation, is doing for politics what it has done for the amateurr filmlp: eliminating the middleman and bringing it straight to the people. Steve Grove says, “YouTube’s head of news and politics, has seen the site become an indispensable part of campaigning.

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

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

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

“A formidable moment in American politics, where you saw that suddenly voters and citizens had more power than ever before to hold politicians accountable,” Grove says. Grove says he felt hard for YouTube as he traveled round the world with two Kennedy School colleagues in the summer of 2006, when they used the site to post their own videos. “I was amazed by the way in which this new video technology was liberating people to speak in a way that they had never been able to before,” he says.

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

There are tens of thousands of leaders in countries all over the world who’d like to reach...
The Big Unknown

What role does gender play in the current U.S. presidential campaign?

The role of gender in the current U.S. presidential campaign is significant but varied. Both men and women are candidates, but the dynamics differ. Men, in general, face different expectations and lower rates of success compared to women. Women are entering politics at lower rates than other disadvantaged groups, which at least raises the possibility that political leadership is not seen as an appropriate role for women. However, if more women enter politics, it could reduce bias against women leaders. Political affirmative action has contributed to improving the situation for women in India and other settings, with higher rates of female participation in politics. The Big Unknown article explores the role of gender in the current U.S. presidential campaign and how it may change the political landscape.

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

Political affirmative action has improved the situation for women in India. Rohini Pande, professor of public policy, notes that women are entering politics at lower rates than other disadvantaged groups, which at least raises the possibility that political leadership is not seen as an appropriate role for women. However, if more women enter politics, it could reduce bias against women leaders. Political affirmative action has contributed to improving the situation for women in India and other settings, with higher rates of female participation in politics. The Big Unknown article explores the role of gender in the current U.S. presidential campaign and how it may change the political landscape.

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

U.S. women have made progress in entering the political arena. Female participation in the labor force has increased dramatically in the United States, but women’s representation in politics has been much slower. Women are not only entering politics at lower rates than men, but also at lower rates than other disadvantaged groups, which at least raises the possibility that political leadership is not seen as an appropriate role for women. However, if more women enter politics, it could reduce bias against women leaders. Political affirmative action has contributed to improving the situation for women in India and other settings, with higher rates of female participation in politics. The Big Unknown article explores the role of gender in the current U.S. presidential campaign and how it may change the political landscape.

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Challenge Accepted

British-born Professor Malcolm Sparrow MPA 1986 (near right) happened to mention to two students at last fall’s orientation that he’d never lost a game of table tennis to an American. Naveed Malik MPP 2008 (far right) decided to defend the honor and abilities of all U.S. students by challenging Sparrow, faculty chair of the MPP Program, to prove his claim. The result: a table was purchased and installed in the Taubman rotunda, students were recruited, and much table tennis was played. And does Sparrow’s assertion remain true? “So far so good,” he says with a smile. “What’s really delightful is that so many students from all across the world turn out to enjoy this game.”
PRONOUNCED ALOUD, the word “design” has a sleek sound that fits well with its usual associations: the curvy bumper of a sports car, for example, or an elegantly minimal, terrifically expensive chaise lounge. For Cynthia Smith MPA 2005, however, the word has connotations that stretch well beyond the usual notion of a nifty, must-have object.

Trained as an industrial designer, Smith, a curator at the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum in New York, recently organized “Design for the Other 90%,” an exhibition that explores a growing trend among designers to develop solutions for the approximately 3 billion people (90 percent of the world’s population) not traditionally served by the professional design community. This includes more than half the world who live on less than two dollars a day and lack the means to obtain such basics as health, shelter, water, education, energy, and transportation.

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

The bamboo treadle pump is a piece of equipment that has been around for decades. It works when the user walks in a natural walking motion on two treads that activate the pistons and enables farmers to reach water below ground. As a result, many of the farmers doubled their net incomes in one year. “That pump and many of the other objects in the show were developed by working directly with the end user to determine exactly what they needed to emerge from poverty,” says Smith.

Above: Bamboo treadle pump. Designer: Gunner Barnes and International Development Enterprises, Nepal; manufacturer: small- and medium-sized local workshops, Nepal and Bangladesh, 2003; metal, plastic, bamboo; dimensions: 5’x9’x9’5”d

Right: Global Village Shelters are temporary, emergency shelters. Designer: Ferrara Design, Inc., with Architecture for Humanity; manufacturer: Waylength Company, United States, 2001; triple wall-laminated corrugated cardboard; dimensions: 9’x9’x9’6”x9’5”d

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

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

“My studies there and the people I met informed how I curated the show.

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

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

For more information visit http://blog.cooperhewitt.org/category/Design-for-the-Other-90/. The exhibit will next open in spring at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis.
Advisor to Presidents, Friend to the School

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

“He was a remarkable man, a demanding public servant, a superb professor, and a friend to me, the school, and the university,” said Dean David Ellwood. Darman, who grew up in Wellesley, Massachusetts, graduated from Harvard in 1964 and the Harvard Business School in 1967, before joining government service. He worked in a succession of cabinet departments before arriving at the Justice Department in 1973. He helped arrange the plea bargain that led to Vice President Spiro Agnew’s resignation. He did not follow President Richard Nixon’s orders to fire Special Counsel Archibald Cox.

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

Darman joined the Carnegie Foundation, the private equity investment firm, in 1993. By 1997, he was back at the Kennedy School, serving as public service professor until 2002, and then as a member of the Visiting Committee. He also served for many years as a member of the board of directors of the Center for Science and International Affairs.

He was back in service under President Gerald Ford, and then briefly under President Jimmy Carter before coming to the Kennedy School in 1977 as adjunct lecturer and lecturer. But he was soon drawn back to government service. In 1980, he joined the Reagon administration as assistant to the president, controlling the flow of paper to the president. It was a position that made Darman, as one insider noted, the “nerv center” of the administration.

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“Footnote >> Jameel Poverty Action Lab

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

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

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

Kennedy School faculty and alumni are playing an important role in its work. Dan Levy, senior economics lecturer, provides training support, and Rohini Pandey, economics professor, is another senior affiliate. Late, focusing on microcredit organizations in India.

Several alumni also have joined the lab: Pat Suzman, who was director of the World Bank’s Asia office, is senior project manager at the lab’s Cambridge office; Elizabeth Beasley MPA/ID 2009, is head of the lab’s European office; and Lindsay Miller MPA 2004 heads up the lab’s South Asia office; and Florence Devoto MPA/ID 2004 is coordinator of the lab’s projects in Morocco. Other alumni work closely with the lab on some projects, such as Katie Conn MPA/ID 2006, who is an evaluation consultant on education and public health projects in Kenya.

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

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

A Meeting of the Minds

Business and government partner

ON A COLD JANUARY NIGHT in 1989, Professors Richard Neustadt, Thomas Schelling, Al Carnesale, Winthrop Knowlton, and Graham Allison gathered for dinner. The food for thought: the central intellectual question of the Center for Business and Government, founded the year before. As Knowlton, the Center’s first director recalls: “We were asking, how do we want the business-government relationship to change? Do we want them to be partners?”

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

Professor Roger Porter, director of the center from 1990 to 2001, believes the United States has made some progress toward bridging the gulf between the two sectors. “We have had a remarkable run of economic growth in the United States in the last 25 years,” says Porter, due in part to a less adversarial relationship between the two sectors.

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

For the past two and a half decades, the intersection of the business-government relationship has been the business of the center, renamed the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government in 2009. The tension in balancing regulation and free market innovation was the focus of the center’s anniversary conference, “New Directions in Regulatory Policy,” last October.

More than 100 experts explored regulatory policy in a number of sectors, including the environment, financial services, health care, and energy. The conference featured keynote addresses by two top regulators: Mark McClellan MPA 1991, former Medicare administrator and FDA chief; and current SEC Chairman Christopher Cox, who spoke at the first endowed Glauber Lecture.

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

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

MBD

For additional information go to www.hks.harvard.edu/m-rcbg/2001anniversary.html.
JARED GENSER, MPP 1998, was a second-year law student, two years out of the Kennedy School, doing an externship with a human rights group in London when he came across James Mawdsley’s case.

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

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

Using the law, and sometimes much more, to fight for human rights
“For me everything clicked at that moment.”

“I had an idea of what to do although I didn’t know how effective it was going to be,” Genser says. Retracing the steps he had taken while working on a human rights case during an internship the previous summer, he filed a brief with a relatively obscure United Nations body, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, detailing the illegality of Mawdsley’s imprisonment. That summer, while working in Washington, he took the case to Capitol Hill too, eventually getting 23 lawmakers to sign a letter urging Mawdsley’s release. Mawdsley was more than 400 days into his sentence, and Genser was back studying in his dorm room for a law school corporate finance midterm when the United Nations called. The U.S. body had ruled Mawdsley was being held in violation of international law. With news coming out that Mawdsley had also been severely beaten by prison guards, the pressure on the Burmese government grew too intense. Mawdsley was released.

Two days later, in a VIP room at Heathrow Airport, Genser finally met his client. Genser gave him a firm handshake, then said: “Thanks, you saved my life.” “For me everything clicked at that moment,” Genser says. “I didn’t really fathom what being a human rights lawyer meant other than helping people in tough circumstances. But that’s an abstract concept. For me, this was an affirmation of my view that I might actually be able to help people suffering under the yoke of oppression. It was proven correct at that one moment, and it was extraordinary.”

PUBLIC SERVICE had defined Genser’s life from a very early age. He was working in a soup kitchen in seventh grade, and in high school, in the Washington suburb of Potomac, Maryland, he was volunteering in a hospice. The impetus, he says, came from his parents — his father a psychiatrist in government service, his mother a clinical social worker. “I came from a family that was in public service in one way or another,” he says. “I was always encouraged to try to do my part, to leave my mark on the world, and have a positive impact on people.” By the time he was an undergraduate at Cornell, he was teaching English as a second language to university employees, founding the Best Buddies Program to help people with developmental disabilities, and organizing a public service day for students.

He took a year off to work with Kathleen Kennedy Townsend’s Maryland Student Service Alliance, helping implement a statewide community service requirement for high school graduation, then after graduating he traveled to Israel on a Raul Wallenberg Fellowship, working in the office of then-Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert. Genser arrived at the Kennedy School as one of the first recipients of the prestigious public service fellowships. His focus was on criminal justice policy and conflict resolution and he spent his summer in South Africa helping establish a community service model there. He was cutting a path toward a career in domestic public service work.

And then the Chinese president came to Harvard.

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

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

But the experience changed him. “Through that whole experience I just found myself really inspired by the people whom I met,” he says. “(Of those people) were former Tiananmen Square activist Yang Jian-li, 1991-2001, whom Genser would represent a decade later following Yang’s imprisonment in China.)” Hearing their stories and what they and their families had been through, I just found them incredibly compelling. And I really felt that something needed to be done to try to help people facing this kind of oppression. I just said: ‘This is what I want to do.’”

The protest was successful, drawing thousands to Capitol Hill, and the judge if he was not considered to kill him, his lawyers, and the judge if it was not convicted. He received the death penalty in 1998. In prison, Mash was told to endure atrocious conditions. He was beaten by other prisoners, denied medical care, and confined to an 8’ by 8’ cell, where temperatures were often over 120 degrees Fahrenheit.

As little more than a land-grab of the book, which had been translated into Urdu, the blasphemy laws had been imprisoned in connection with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Meanwhile Freedom Now pushed on the other prongs of its strategy, arranging for a letter from 12 U.S. senators to be delivered to Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. Nine of the senators were on the committee responsible for approving the hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to the United States gave Pakistan each year.

Weeks later, the Supreme Court heard arguments in Mash’s appeal, and in language similar to the UK’s Working Group, reversed Mash’s conviction on blasphemy charges and ordered his immediate release. Fearing more violence, Freedom Now worked with the State Department and other groups to help Mash leave Pakistan. We appealed to the United States in September 2002 and has been granted political asylum. He has learned English and plans to become a Christian minister. Mash’s case also helped push through reforms to the blasphemy laws.

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

Mash’s small Christian community was evacuated from their village (leading some to charge that Mash’s arrest had been orchestrated as little more than a land-grab). Then, in 1997, while in a courtroom, Mash was shot and seriously injured by an assassin (who was never prosecuted). During his trial, religious extremists threatened to kill him, his lawyers, and the judge if he was not convicted. He received the death penalty in 1998. In prison, Mash had to endure atrocious conditions. He was beaten by other prisoners, denied medical care, and confined to an 8’ by 8’ cell, where temperatures were often over 120 degrees Fahrenheit.

Asked by a local to intervene in 2001, Freedom Now saw the Mash case as a way to address other victims of the blasphemy laws. It would be the group’s first case and a difficult test of their model. Genser and Freedom Now board member Fani Cyd Geroff petitioned the United Nations’ Working Group on Arbitrary Detention in October 2001. Barely eight weeks later, the Working Group issued its opinion, finding that Mash had been imprisoned for violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Meanwhile Freedom Now pushed on with the other prongs of its strategy, arranging for a letter from 12 U.S. senators to be delivered to Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. Nine of the senators were on the committee responsible for approving the hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to the United States gave Pakistan each year.

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ANATOMY OF A CASE

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

For Mash, it was only the beginning of a brutal six-year legal odyssey.

Mash’s small Christian community was evacuated from their village (leading some to charge that Mash’s arrest had been orchestrated as little more than a land-grab). Then, in 1997, while in a courtroom, Mash was shot and seriously injured by an assassin (who was never prosecuted). During his trial, religious extremists threatened to kill him, his lawyers, and the judge if he was not convicted. He received the death penalty in 1998. In prison, Mash had to endure atrocious conditions. He was beaten by other prisoners, denied medical care, and confined to an 8’ by 8’ cell, where temperatures were often over 120 degrees Fahrenheit.

Asked by a local to intervene in 2001, Freedom Now saw the Mash case as a way to address other victims of the blasphemy laws. It would be the group’s first case and a difficult test of their model. Genser and Freedom Now board member Fani Cyd Geroff petitioned the United Nations’ Working Group on Arbitrary Detention in October 2001. Barely eight weeks later, the Working Group issued its opinion, finding that Mash had been imprisoned for violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Meanwhile Freedom Now pushed on with the other prongs of its strategy, arranging for a letter from 12 U.S. senators to be delivered to Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. Nine of the senators were on the committee responsible for approving the hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to the United States gave Pakistan each year.

Fearing more violence, Freedom Now worked with the State Department and other groups to help Mash leave Pakistan. We appealed to the United States in September 2002 and has been granted political asylum. He has learned English and plans to become a Christian minister. Mash’s case also helped push through reforms to the blasphemy laws.
“I didn’t really fathom what being a human rights lawyer meant other than helping people in tough circumstances.”

October 2000, and the affirmation of his chosen path, Genser felt he had only scratched the surface.

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

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

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

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

Since being asked by her family to represent her in 2000, Genser obtained a decision by the UN’s Working Group, reaffirming the illegality of her detention. Working with former Norwegian Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik, Genser was also able to help coordinate a letter from 93 current and former world leaders urging the military junta to release Suu Kyi.

“There were a lot of people rowing, but not in a common direction,” Genser says. Freedom Now begins by carefully picking the individuals it wants to represent, then creating a legal, political, and public relations strategy. The “full-service” approach has been remarkably successful, helping secure the release of its first six clients.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That’s an ambition his clients can applaud. “Believe me,” Mawdsley says, “if the world is silent in the face of your suffering, then it is much harder to endure.”

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

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

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

“It was a wonderful airport moment,” says Genser, who traveled to Boston to meet Yang. “Freedom Now’s work on individual cases is also balanced by other human rights work he has produced through his law firm, including two major reports on human rights abuses in North Korea and Burma.

...I might actually be able to help people suffering under the yoke of oppression...it was extraordinary.”
Alumni of the Mason Program, which this year celebrates its 50th anniversary, say the lessons learned as Mason Fellows were invaluable to their careers.

B Y L E W I S R I C E

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

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

The person in the program who has been part of the teaching process the longest is John Thomas. Now a lecturer in public policy, Thomas first started as a graduate student advisor in 1966 and later agreed as program director. During a class, he peppers the new Mason Fellows with questions, asking a student from Africa, for instance, “Do you agree that the market economy is the way Africa ought to go?”

“I emphasize that a lot of your learning is going to go on with your interaction with one another, so you need to know who these other Mason Fellows are,” Thomas says. He ends the class by asking about the role of leadership. How much consensus do leaders need to pursue their goals? It’s the kind of question Thomas expects the Mason Fellows will face themselves after they return to their home countries.

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

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

I also benefited from the diversity of the Mason Fellows. We came from a wide range of backgrounds and brought different working experiences and perspectives. We learned much from one another, beyond the academic content in class, because of its continued relevance to today’s challenges and tomorrow’s opportunities.

Edward Mason
Founder of the Mason Program

Kennedy School Dean Edward S. Mason, the school’s second dean, was the former director of economic research at the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II. Understanding that developing countries needed leadership and analytic skills to succeed, in 1958 he set up the Public Service Fellows Program, renamed in 1966, the Edward S. Mason Fellows Program.
Numbers help Linda Bilmes slice through some of the fog of war

THE LEDGERS OF WARS

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

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

However, with the exception of the number of U.S. military personnel killed, few of the morbid metrics of the war’s progress have been clear. Two scholars, Linda Bilmes of the Kennedy School and Columbia University’s Joseph Stiglitz, have thrown themselves into the strange algebra of that now five-year-long conflict and the war on terror that also includes the conflict in Afghanistan. Their work, which also looks beyond government budgets to macroeconomic costs, arrives at a stunning $3 trillion figure and reveals both the value and insignificance of that accounting.
In the oddly long run-up to the invasion of Iraq, the cost of the forthcoming war was never seriously discussed. A few dared to estimate costs associated with a longer, drawn-out struggle. But nothing official was ever released by the Bush administration. Lawrence Lindsey, the president’s economic advisor, suggested in one newspaper interview in September 2002 that the war would cost between $100 billion and $200 billion. The estimate was quickly dismissed (as was he), with other administration officials, such as then Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, offering a number somehow under $50 billion. (That figure would have been closer to the first Gulf War, when U.S. forces liberated Kuwait, although grateful Gulf States and other allies picked up much of that tab.)

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

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

L

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

“What,” they began to wonder in her classes around 2005, “is the war in Iraq actually costing?”

Bilmes knew the difficulty of wading into the thicket of government accounts. As a former assistant secretary and chief financial officer at the Commerce Department during the Clinton administration, her job was to clean up an accounting mess in the making. Her work taught her valuable lessons about Washington’s often dysfunctional bookkeeping. In the end she reasoned that what ever one’s personal feelings on the war, knowing its costs, not just in blood, but also in treasure, would be important for any reasoned discourse.

“I was thinking about what I could do personally regarding the war,” she says. “I thought my own personal contribution could be to figure out how much it was costing.”

The challenges were obvious. The Pentagon, Bilmes points out, has repeatedly flunked its financial audit. Other administration officials, such as then Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, offered a number somewhere under $50 billion. And in Afghanistan, had come in separate appropriations. Aside from untangling defense budgets, calculating the cost of a war would also mean looking at other,

THE EQUATION

L

WHAT YOU GET FOR A TRILLION

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

> Eight million housing units
> > 30 years’ salary for 5.5 million public school teachers
> > Head start tuition for 22 million children
> > One year’s health insurance for 50 million children
> > 7 million four-year scholarships at public universities

Sources: The Three Trillion Dollar War; National Priorities Project

All relevant appropriations/expenditures to date for military operations, regular appropriations from fiscal year 2003 through the proposed fiscal year 2008 supplemental appropriation. This includes funds in both supplemental and regular appropriations for The Defense and State Departments, usaid, and medical costs for the Department of Veterans Affairs. These funds cover military operations, base security, reconstruction, foreign aid, embassy costs, and veterans’ health care for the three operations that comprise the “global war on terror,” the Pentagon’s name for operations in and around Iraq and Afghanistan. These include Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom, and Operation Noble Eagle.

L

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

L

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

L

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

L

Costs of disability and health care for returning veterans. To date, more than 1 million U.S. service members and women have been deployed, all of whom will be eligible for veterans’ medical care for at least two years. If the proportion of veterans applying for disability compensation is the same as the first Gulf War, some 45 percent, or 725,000 veterans will look to the federal government for help.

L

Future costs of restoring the military to its peacetime strength, replenishing spent armaments, repairing equipment whose maintenance has been deferred. Equipment is not being repaired and replaced as fast as it is being worn out. Also, the Pentagon’s announced plans to significantly increase the size of the Army by 2012, so that the United States can maintain its capacity to respond to future threats.
This is due to several factors, including the rising cost of oil and the increasing expense of recruiting new soldiers and retaining experienced ones. Signing-up bonuses for new recruits can reach $40,000, while retention bonuses for experienced troops have topped $100,000. Also critical to the increasing expense of the conflict in Iraq is the growing reliance on private contractors, ranging from drivers, cooks, and construction crews, to the highly trained bodyguards hired to protect State Department officials. Their pay is much higher — some security guards receive $6,000 a week — but in a rather callous calculation, they also would be cheaper in the long run as they would not receive government benefits or require care through the veterans’ health care system.

And that health care system is coming under ever-greater pressure. By November 2007, the total number of U.S. troops that had suffered wounds, injuries, or disease in Iraq and Afghanistan had reached 67,000 (Bilmes and Stiglitz estimate that about 45,000 were directly attributable to the conflicts). Improved battlefield medical treatment means the ratio of injured to dead is 7 to 1 (5 to 7 if including noncombat injuries), far more than previous conflicts such as the Korean War or Vietnam, where that ratio was closer to 3 to 1. That development means additional strain on the Pentagon and Department of Veterans Affairs.

During the first Gulf War, which saw less than a week of ground combat operations, 148 dead, and 467 wounded, about 200,000 military personnel were deployed. Since then 45 percent have filed disability compensation benefits, of which 88 percent have been approved.

Using similar rates for the current conflict, which has so far seen 1.6 million deployed over five years with more than one-third in repeated tours, 700,000 veterans would become long-term medical patients and disability claimants, at a cost of between $350 billion and $750 billion over the next four decades.

Other costs are less obvious, though no less important. Oil prices have climbed from $23 in 2003 to more than $100 in 2008. Bilmes and Stiglitz attribute between $5 to $10 of this increase to the Iraq conflict.

The costs to other countries have also been great. The number of Iraqis killed is the subject of hot debate, with estimates ranging from many tens of thousands to more than 300,000. Some also argue that the premises of the war — preventing further attacks on the United States — are worth a very large sacrifice.

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

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

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

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

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

RITICS ARGUE that the current war, however one calculates its costs, is not as expensive as previous wars. In 2007 dollars, the Iraq war is estimated to be more expensive than all other major 20th-century conflicts, save World War II. But the country’s economy has also grown tremendously, and some argue that war costs calculated over nearly 15 years should be compared to the country’s economic output over that time: about $300 trillion.

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

### HELPING VETERANS

Better battlefield medical care is keeping more and more soldiers alive. In the current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, the ratio has increased to 7 to 1 (soaring to 15 to 1 for noncombat injuries), and that means more services for more veterans with more serious conditions.

At the time of this writing, 797,000 have been killed or maimed, and about 263,000 have been treated for mental health conditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mental health treatment</td>
<td>&gt; 52,000 treated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability benefits</td>
<td>&gt; 100,000 applied for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care for noncombat injuries</td>
<td>&gt; 263,000 treated at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research, and other areas</td>
<td>&gt; 224,000 have applied for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military education</td>
<td>&gt; 263,000 treated at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational rehabili-tation</td>
<td>&gt; 150,000 have applied for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability benefits</td>
<td>&gt; 100,000 treated for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Source: The Three Trillion Dollar War
Friends and Neighbors

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

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

“Vous have two economies. One economy is intensive in capital, which is the American economy. One economy is intensive in labor, which is the Mexican economy,” he said.

“We are two complementary economies, and that phenomenon is impossible to stop.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FORUM | Obstacle to Change The powerful forces of self-interest groups are the primary impediment to driving change in Washington, according to Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff, who spoke in February at the Forum. Despite numerous warnings of a terrorist attack prior to September 11, such as the 1993 World Trade Center attack and Osama Bin Laden’s 1998 declaration of war against the United States, competing interests thwarted decisive government action. Responses to the impending threat “were stopped in their tracks,” said Chertoff. Such groups “frustrate the pursuit of the common good.”

The Buzz

“I don’t see the new media as a replacement of the old media.”

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

“Campaigns now are $100 million start-ups.”

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

“There is a housing price crisis, not a subprime mortgage crisis.”

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

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

Clark Hoyt on his work as public editor at The New York Times, in a position billed as the “readers’ representative” and created following the Jayson Blair scandal in 2003.
Full Disclosure
The Perils and Promise of Transparency
Archon Fung, Mary Graham, and David Weil
(Learn more at www.transparencypolicy.net)
Transparency does not have a long history. For most of
the life of this country, a citizen wishing to know who was
funding political campaigns or a consumer wishing to know
what was in his morning cereal was left in the dark. A few
pinpricks of light began to shine with the New Deal and
Second World War, as government grew in size and influ-
ence. But starting in the 1960s, a series of right-to-know
laws, such as the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA),
tried to fling open the curtains. Those experiments had mixed results (see, for example, the
nearly 4,000 disputes over FOIA requests that have ended up in court), and a new generation
of transparency measures began to evolve.
Their growth has been haphazard — they
often have been established in response to crisis,
such as accounting scandals at Enron or
WorldCom, the authors write — but unmistak-
able. (The authors found 133 of them in a search
of the federal regulations between 1996 and 2001.) Today these measures, which the authors
call targeted transparency, are interested less in a
broad goal of an informed public and more in
addressing specific problems and bringing about
specific policy solutions.
The authors examine 15 domestic and 3 inter-
national policies, ranging from nutritional infor-
mation to the terrorist threat level.
They find plenty to criticize. Policies devel-
opling from flawed political processes often create
what the authors call gerrymandered trans-
parency, such as when nutritional labeling fails
to include fast food stores. But when done right, as in the case of the restaurant’s
hygiene scores, they begin to provide that information so vital to citizens and consumers.
Citizens and consumers could also begin adding to the
information themselves, as transparency measures evolve to
take advantage of new communications technology. The authors
imagine interactive systems, where information on
a particular product could be obtained by simply scanning
a barcode with a cell phone, and where consumers and citi-
zens share, respond to, and even create useable information,
such as posting air quality findings they collect.

The Warping of Government Work
John D. Donahue
The work world of government employees, like some for-
gotten land from science fiction, has become isolated from
the rest of the economy. The gap can be measured in
decades, not in geologic time. But compared to the ruthless
rise of a private sector characterized by globalization, pro-
ductivity, and downsizing, the habitat of millions of local,
state, and federal employees can seem downright prehistoric.
It is a world characterized by middle-class salaries, strong
unions, infrequent layoffs, and where “the role of money —
as a motive and as a symbol — is circumscribed,” writes Jack
Donahue in The Warping of Government Work. The other
side of that coin — aversion to risk and change — leads
government to fall short of citizens’ legitimate expectations for
public missions ranging from education to health care
to security.

Bridging the gap between the two worlds will not be
easy. It is difficult to envision the private sector returning
to a time of shorter hours, more job security, and modest
cx0 pay packages. Nor is it easy to see a world where
all the responsibilities of government, from primary
school to mail delivery, are outsourced to the private
or nonprofit sector.

But while solutions appear difficult — Donahue con-
siders rehabilitating the prestige of public service and
encouraging frequent moves between the public and private
sectors — they are very necessary.
“Government’s isolation from the broader working world
is an unwelcome, mostly unintended legacy from the past
generation, and a formidable challenge to the next,”
Donahue concludes.

Followership
How Followers Are Creating Change and Changing Leaders
Barbara Kellerman
The lionized leader, whether the ceo in his
corner office or the president standing alone
at his desk, is a figure deeply ingrained in our
society. But it is a figure that may be becoming
more and more anachronistic.
After all, this is turning out to be the age
of the follower, writes Barbara Kellerman in
Followership. The drift can be seen from board-
rooms, where executives are opening their suites to under-
ings, to politics, where in countries such as Nepal, Lebanon,
and Ukraine, citizens took to the streets demanding action.
It is a phenomenon driven by the powerful confluence of
two large forces: the growth in communication technology
and an increasingly assertive sense of self-worth.
“People the world over are speaking out in new and dif-
f erent ways, and claiming for themselves, in many cases for the
first time ever, power, influence, and sometimes even
authority,” Kellerman writes.

Kellerman classifies followers, dividing them into cate-
gories: isolates, who are completely detached; bystanders,
who observe but do not participate; participants, who are in
some way engaged; activists, who feel strongly about their
cause. (The last four groups are discussed in sepa-
rate chapters, each illustrated with a case study.)
The book also includes a call to fellow academics to
incorporate and expand this research in the well-established
field of leadership studies. But, she stresses, this is not just an
academic exercise; it is a recognition of the fact that “subor-
ninates with less power, authority, and influence than their
superiors are coming into their own, more consistently and
insistently than ever before.”

IN LOS ANGELES, anyone entering a restaurant
can see a hygiene score, given as a letter grade, dis-
played prominently by the entrance, and know
whether the experience will likely be a safe one or
a roll of the dice.
In Cambridge, like elsewhere in the country, the
water department sends out a letter describing water
it can use, failing to tell anyone without a doc-
ment dimensions:
A Current from a Ripple

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

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

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

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

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

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

Young Global Leaders

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

It’s a very similar vision to the Kennedy School’s, and the two groups grow closer with the creation of specially designed executive education sessions aimed at expanding and enhancing the leadership skills necessary to address the world’s most serious problems. A 10-day session in November, which focused on issues including international security and global public health, was the first of three to be held in the coming year.

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

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

The Alumni Board Joins the Littauer Society

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

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

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

“It is not often that a minister of finance or other government official has an opportunity to do something that will have a positive impact for millennia to come,” said Egyptian Finance Minister Youssef Boutros Ghali during the signing ceremony with President Faust in Cambridge, in November. “These endowed funds will forever ensure that students from Egypt may study at Harvard, providing generations of future Egyptian leaders with the opportunity to expand their knowledge about and exposure to fields of study that are vital to any society’s success: education, health, and government.”

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

Ken Ansín MPA 2006
Jane Stollenmeyer MPA 2007

WHEN DOES A JOURNEY BEGIN?

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

The goal? To offer any help and insight they can, ultimately making small loans (usually of $2 or less) to people who want to establish or expand a small, self-sustaining business but lack the credit to do so. Ultimately the pair hopes to either start their own microfinance organization or ally themselves with an existing one.

A longtime businessman and entrepreneur, Ansín worked for many years in his family’s shoe business, learning the entire production process of well-known brands as L.B. Evans and Cole Haan. He branched out into other areas as diverse as cabinetry, portable restrooms, and commercial real estate. Then, in March 2004, he took a break to travel to Mali to visit Sanassy, a young boy he had sponsored through Save the Children. “It was life-changing,” Ansín says of the three weeks he spent in Koldoumba, a village four hours outside Mali’s capital of Bamako. “I began to realize I got much more pleasure out of working to solve social entrepreneurship issues than I did working on issues in the for-profit business world. I couldn’t have said the same thing 10 years ago. I loved business. I loved beating the competition in the private sector. There was a real shift.” He went on to fund two schools in Sanassy’s village.

“I think I really began to think seriously about microfinance after coming to the Kennedy School, when I heard Muhammad Yunus speak at an event,” Ansín recalls. “I met Jane not too long after that, and it began to seem like the universe was starting to align.”

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

The couple is traveling throughout India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam, and Cambodia through the spring, when they’ll return to the United States for a few months before embarking on the Africa leg of their journey. Following the advice of friends, they packed an Altoid box full of safety pins, quick-drying underwear (Ansín says he test-drove several brands), and just a few changes of clothing. While they’ll meet up with Kennedy School alumni and social entrepreneurs, like those from the nonprofit Ashoka, they have kept a loose itinerary: simply making the best-laid plans go astray, so it’s possible that we’ll get there and see a whole piece of work that neither of us envisioned,” Stollenmeyer remarks.

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

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

To read about Ansín and Stollenmeyer’s experiences in Southeast Asia, visit their blog: travelwithpurpose.wordpress.com.

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Photos courtesy of Ken Ansín and Jane Stollenmeyer.

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

Spring is here, even in New England. Reading period and final papers loom large, the parks are packed away, and opening day at Fenway Park approaches. And for those of us with a patch of garden or a couple of plants it is a busy time, cleaning up, cutting back, making room for new growth.

Looking at the most important asset for alumni — the alumni network — we see that work needs to be done there too. It is healthy, of that there is no doubt, but perhaps it needs some weeding in some areas and more nourishment in others. We have taken a fresh new look at it and how we can best afford it to flourish.

A call for a strong network is what I hear most in my meetings with you, networks that serve as vehicles for professional advancement and career support, as well as for sharing information and experiences. We will work hard to support that network by helping to create strong class connections, regional associations, and virtual tools to sustain these programs.

Class connections nurture ties with classmates, starting at orientation and continuing through the years. With our international community, this connection is even more important. While continuing to invite you back every five years for your reunion, we are planting the seeds for healthy networks while students are still on campus.

We are also working to strengthen regional associations, supporting local leadership to provide opportunities for you to meet, organize events, and share information in your own backyard.

All of this is sustained by a robust virtual network, including the alumni directory, listservs, and opportunities for social networking through LinkedIn. Please use these tools to cultivate and grow your own network.

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To submit a classnote, e-mail sharon_aleneider@harvard.edu. The subject line should be “classnotes.”

Note: The designations for alumni of individual Executive Education programs — SAM and SIF, for example — have been simplified. All Executive Education programs are now designated as SOST.

1954 Warren Chins says that in November he was the keynote speaker at the 96th Annual Day of Peace and Prayer, a conference in Little Rock, AR. He spoke on “Correctional Reform as the Civil Rights Issue of the 21st Century.” Having worked for the historic Little Rock Congress of Negroes before, he was in the middle of the historic effort to integrate Central High School. Later he served as a Lieutenant Junior Grade in Johnson’s monumental effort to reform the criminal justice system by emphasizing literacy training and meaningful job training in prisons and jails. In addition, for more than a year, he was vice chair of the National Committee on Community Corrections. He also spent a number of years at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC.

1956 Joseph Bains “D”. Souza says that on May 12th he was interviewed by the local media on the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. He is remembered as a gentle, soft-spoken, yet fearless civil servant and activist who spoke his mind and led policy up with concrete action. He served in some of the most important positions of India’s civil service, holding the post of Mumbai’s civic chief and Maharashtra’s chief secretary in the 1990s.

1965 Louis Kunzig III died Oct. 4th at his home in Chalfont-St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, England. He was general manager of Sciddy Electric Welding Machines in Slough, Berkshire. Scenario & Sciddy are his children; Simone; three children, Catherine, Louis, and Zoe; and three grandchildren.

1967 Joseph Douglas, Jr. was honored recently by the American Historical Society. During its annual meeting in Baltimore, the society presented Douglas with the Summer A. Parker Prize, which is awarded annually for the best published genealogy of a Maryland family or a family organizing in Maryland. The award was in recognition of his outstanding publication, Ferry Bailey a.k.a. Denny and Samuel A. Douglas: Relation of Frederick Douglas: A Family History (1971–1932). Following his retirement from the senior executive ranks of the National Security Agency, he has pursued his longstanding interests in genealogical research and writing.

1971 Allen John Silfver, president of Lobster and Alaska’s first elected female head of state, was awarded the U.S. Presidential Medal of Freedom, the country’s highest civilian award, to recognize contributions in science, the arts, literature, and the cause of peace and freedom, in a ceremony Nov. 3.

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

1977 Robert Gage says that he has practiced law at the Washington, DC–based international law firm of Covington & Burling for 40 years (since graduation from the Kennedy School and Harvard Law School), mostly as a partner and the head of the real estate practice group. Recently he was selected by the Washington Business Journal as one of four finalists for the 2027 Top Washington Area Lawyer in the field of real estate transactions. A substantial portion of his practice is for nonprofit organizations, both on fee and pro bono basis. Recent work includes transactions involving Union Station and the new Washington Nationals major league baseball stadium, both in the District of Columbia. He also serves as principal outside counsel to Carolina Communities Development Group, currently developing Oldie Towne, a nontraditional 250-unit golf course community in Raleigh, NC.

1979 Neil Roland says lives in Silver Spring, MD, and has been working as a reporter for Alhambra News in Washington for 35 years. He teaches Israeli folk dance to kids and adults, and coaches his 10-year-old son’s basketball and baseball teams. He also tries to get his daughter, a junior at the University of Wisconsin, to answer the phone when he calls. He’d love to hear from fellow alumni.

1983 REUNION

Richard Tofel says he is general manager of ProPublica, a new independent nonprofit investiga­tive journalism newsroom funded by philanthropy. It began operations in January 2007.

1984 John King says he was elected by the rvb board of directors to a three-year term on the rvb board of directors. The board consists of 14 professional members who are member news directors, general directors who represent the general public, and the rvb president. The board is responsible for governing and setting policy for the rvb media enterprise. King is president and chief executive officer of Virginia Public Television, the statewide public television network.

Henry Webber has been named executive vice chancellor for administration at Washington University in St. Louis. He oversees facilities, campus planning, capital projects, campus security, and off-campus real estate acquisition and development. For the past 12 years he worked for the University of Chicago, most recently as vice president for community Connect to alumni in the HKS Alumni Directory based on:

Profession

→ Policy Interests

→ Geography

→ Class Years

→ And more...

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

**1985**

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

**1987**

**Regina Aragon** was recently awarded the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute’s 2007 Distinguished Alumnus Award in recognition of her work on science policy and communications in the United States and internationally. In 2007, she left her position as policy director for the San Francisco Sheriff to begin her own practice. She has consulted with a variety of domestic and international organizations, including the International Soros Foundation, the Levi Strauss Foundation, and the Black AIDS Institute. Between 1993 and 1997, she served on the Presidential Advisory Council on Science, Aragon and Larry Levin 1987, who met while at the Kennedy School and recently married 22 years after they first met, live in Oakland, CA. Levin is currently vice president for communications and online information for the Kaiser Family Foundation, a health policy think tank. He previously served in a variety of government policy positions in Massachusetts and California, as well as in the Clinton administration.

**Sarah Chapin Columbia** ’87 has joined McDermott Will & Emery in Boston as cochair of the Boston Intellectual Property Practice Group with partner Toby Kusmer. Formerly a law clerk at the Supreme Court of the United States, she has extensive experience in patent, copyright, and trade secret litigation, as well as counseling clients on overall intellectual property strategy.

**1988**

**1988 Reunion**

**Thomas Young** retired from the U.S. Army in late 1988 with the rank of colonel. He had been working as a defense contractor, with naive, corporate, and trade secret litigation, as well as counseling clients on overall intellectual property strategy.

**1989**

**Primo Arambulo** was appointed as an associate professor at the U.S. Air Force Academy and military police affairs. “I fondly and proudly consider my association with the Kennedy School as the highlight of my many years of public service and experience in National Security Affairs,” he writes. “Would have loved to have been there to sharpen the Serbien minister on their so-called ‘success’ in the Balkans.”

**Vietnam Diary:**

**Herman Gilster** lives in East Hampton, NY.

**Vietnam Diary**

**Nancy Dunn** was passed away in November after a valiant fight against cancer. After graduating from the Kennedy School in 1988 as associate director of the Mid-Career program, he became assistant dean for budget and finance in 1989, and ultimately served as administrative dean from 1990 to 1998. Following her tenure at the Kennedy School, Nancy went on to be vice president and treasurer of Radcliffe College and subsequently vice president for finance and administration and chief financial officer of the World Wildlife Fund. In January of 2007, she was appointed vice president for finance and administration of the University of Idaho.

**TOKYO, JAPAN**

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

**MIAMI, FL**

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

**NEW YORK, NY**

Class of 2002 alumni, newly settled in the area, were welcomed by members of the New York alumni community on December 9 with a holiday party at the Midtown Penta Rican restaurant Saffina. The party was hosted by the HKS New York Alumni Association.

**CAMBRIDGE, MA**

At the invitation of the New England Alumni Association, faculty member Elaine Kanameck met with alumni on December 4 for a lively discussion of her new book, The End of Government … As We Know It: Making Public Policy a Success in the 21st Century. Following her address at the Distinguished Speaker Series of New England Alumni Association.

**REDONDO BEACH, CA**

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

**ALEXANDRIA, VA**

A group of the 1992 Senior Executive Fellows met in late 2007 for a reunion. They shared the wisdom imparted to them from Dutch Leonard, Roe Heltzel, and the excellent Harvard Kennedy School staff, and they reminisced about Forum events, the 1992 Presidential Election, and crafting the IMF and MIP programs in the Cold War.

**SAN FRANCISCO, CA**


**SAN FRANCISCO, CA**

San Francisco’s Victoria Ferry Building was the site for the annual HKS Bay Area Career Networking Event on January 9. In addition to the opportunity to network and exchange information about job opportunities, those attending also received the Regional Alumni Directory produced by the regional alumni association. Past Tauber MPP 1992 and his firm Coblenz, Patch, Duffy & Bass LLP provided space for the event again this year.
As a student you were challenged in one of our rigorous and intensive degree programs. You learned from a faculty that is actively engaged in the affairs of the world — shaping public policy, advising governments, and helping to run major institutions in the United States and abroad. You benefited from the programs and activities sponsored by our world-renowned research centers. You gained insight from fellow-classmates from across the globe who have diverse professional and academic experiences.

Now you have the opportunity to share what you learned with others. Let your friends, colleagues, and children know how they can fulfill their aspirations and launch the next stage of their professional lives by enrolling at the Kennedy School.

We welcome phone calls, e-mails, and visits from your contacts. Visit www.hks.harvard.edu/admissions to learn more.

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Jennifer Jans-Martin
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Larry Langford
was elected mayor of Birmingham, AL, in an election that brought out at percent of the voters. From a field of candidates, he received over 10 percent of the vote, with his closest competitor receiving only 3 percent. Campaigning under the slogan “Let’s Do Something,” he said his priorities would be funding for transit, building a domed stadium, and providing college scholarships to students who remain in Birmingham high schools for four years and graduate with at least a 3.0 average. Elected to the Birmingham City Council for a two-year term in the late 2000s, Larry has remained in the public eye since. As mayor of Fairfield, AL, for his three years, he was known as the state’s most progressive mayor. Prior to the election in November, he was a member of the Jefferson County Commission. One of his most ambitious initiatives as commissioner was a $400 million sales tax for school construction in 2005. The plan generated billions for the county’s 12 school systems.

Samuel Moreno
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Winona Verdow
was honored in September with the Presidential Rank Award of Meritorious Executive. To be selected, senior executives must be nominated by their agency heads, evaluated by boards of private citizens, and approved by the president of the United States. The evaluation criteria focus on leadership and results. Verdow was in the civil service since 2001 and served as director of the U.S. Department of Education. She is a 22-year federal employee with 10 years as a career executive. In January 2009, she received the President’s Gold Volunteer Service Award for more than 1,400 hours of volunteer service with the American Red Cross, community charities such as So (Other May Eat), the House of Ruth Women’s Shelter, and Harvard’s Kids Tutoring and Mentoring Program.

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A Legal Geography of Yugoslavia’s Disintegration

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

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was not reelected to the Cincinnati City Council in November.
Jennifer Anastassof reports that the organization she started while at the Kennedy School, BuildingBlocksWeb.org, was mentioned in Forbes.com and in the first major study on international corporate volunteering, Volunteering for Impact, produced by you (www.fsg-impact.org). Anastassof writes alumni to visit the BuildingBlocks Web site at www.hks.harvard.edu.

David Rochevitch reports that he has moved from his position as a public affairs advisor to ExxonMobil Development Company in Houston, and is now London coordinating Exxon Mobil Corporation’s government relations and public affairs activities in Europe, North Africa, Russia, and the Caspian region.

In this new position, he is also responsible for managing external interfaces with governmental representatives, diplomatic missions, industry associations, and academic institutions that are based in London and focus on these regions. In November, he gave a speech on “ExxonMobil’s Global Outlook on Meeting Energy Demand” at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London.

Peter Tynan reports that he moved four months last year running for Federal Parliament in Australia. The incumbent from his home area unexpectedly announced his retirement in mid-April 2007; and within three days, Peter flew home and entered the race for his party’s nomination. He ran against seven others, ultimately coming for Broadway West Enterprises, Ltd., and a Funding Group, director of Investment Sales at Infinia Group, and is helping it expand into health and wellness and sustainable and design firm, Infinia Group, and is helping it expand into health and wellness and sustainable projects and working with start-ups to launch new brands. In addition, he is hoping to get involved in New York City policy and politics in some meaningful way. He would love to hear from classmates at detoyapapers@gmail.com.

Sara Shenkan reports that she is now vice principal of Sanchez College Preparatory in the Mission District of San Francisco. She writes that 75 percent of the students qualify for free lunch and 68 percent are English language learners. Last year their test scores rose 40 points, four times the state average. Every day the students are rewarded with “college cash” for excellent academic choices and community building decisions, such as using vocabulary words in sentences, helping a friend with math homework, or receiving 10 percent on a test. The students then redeem their “college cash” at the school store for school supplies, Sanchez para- chute, or college gear. “The college prides,” she writes, “help our students to begin visualizing themselves as college students and expose them to colleges outside the San Francisco area.”

Kathleen “Kate” Kohler reports that she was recently named to the Council on Foreign Relations, a bipartisan organization. Following that, the film was produced by Steven Spielberg and co-produced by the Human Rights Foundation and the Hope, Courage, and Justice Office at the George Mason University School of Law.

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After All These Years  While more than 15 years have elapsed since former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev last visited the Kennedy School (inset), tickets this past December to hear one of the men who presided over the end of the Cold War were once again lottery only. In his earlier visit, just five months after resigning as president, Gorbachev spoke of the former Soviet Union’s need for U.S. support as it began its reform process. In December, Gorbachev (seen above sharing the stage with Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Director Graham Allison) spoke about international security in the 21st century, noting that Russia and the United States must take the lead in moving the world toward nuclear disarmament. Gorbachev was in town to attend a conference, “Overcoming Nuclear Danger,” organized by the World Political Forum, which he founded, and the Belfer Center.
TIME FLIES!
Only five years ago, these folks were on campus celebrating their reunion.
Now it’s that time again!
May 16–18, 2008