DEMONCACY
The Election Game

The Big Ideas
Our faculty weigh in

The Campaign
Students assess primary season
Alumni on campaigns

The Vote
Electoral college
Voting machines
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The Big Ideas

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

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

The Vote

The evolution of U.S. voting apparatus; exit polling in 2008; Dan Maffei ran in 1991 on running for office; and faculty discuss presidential transitions and legacies.

The Election Issue

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Dear reader,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dean David T. Ellwood
August 2008

Red Ink

Professor Bilmes’s budgetary accounting of the Iraq war (Bulletin Spring 2005) is a hard-headed exposure of the price America pays for a bad war in terms even the warmakers can understand. As I learned early on at the Kennedy School, that which is measured is what can be measured, so even though the accounting of war costs strives to be comprehensive, further account must be reckoned of externalities that are no less real for being outside the federal budget. Several come readily to mind, such as the diversion from civilian work of energetic people in their prime and the absence of Guard units to assist with domestic disasters like hurricanes and wildfires. The evidence may be a bit anecdotal, but up here in small-town New England it seems that small businesses and community institutions are hobbled by the absence of vital Guard members. I’d hypothesize that this effect is worse in rural areas with a tradition of military service. American aircraft and vehicles burn tons of oil when the global environment may be irrevocably tipping and drove up the price of fuel for productive use. It may be no small coincidence that the last months — the 18 months — the 2008 U.S. presidential election.

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war. Then there is the lifelong impact on quality of life for combat
vets and their families and the dead-
weight to be carried by U.S. policy for
generations, all without even men-
tioning the Iraqis. In sum, the Bilmes/
Stiglitz equation lets off the Bush/
Cheney administration too cheaply.
Samuel Press mpa 1997
Burlington, VT
There are more than 87,000 governmental units in the United States. But Sarah Sewall, lecturer in public policy and director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, argues that doing that simply poses another really big question: Then what?

“Terrorism” is a good/bad thing. Question asked only of the U.S. presidential and congressional elections of 2008 come at an unquestionably important juncture in history.

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

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A RIPPLE EFFECT  →  Eric Beklys, Nicolas Retsinas

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

MAKING THE CASE FOR TRADE  →  Lawrence Summers

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

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

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

EMPHATICALLY

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

ECOLOGY

FOOKING ADJUSTMENT  →  Jeffrey Frankel

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

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

FREE TRADE

EMPHATICALLY

Non-North American workers concerning NAFTA, says Harvard Kennedy School Professor Robert Lawrence, but amidst all the controversy, wrote Lawrence in The Guardian, “NAFTA’s true impact on U.S. society may be getting lost.

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

“Despite the dire predictions that were made when NAFTA was implemented, in its first five years, U.S. manufacturing employment actually increased by 250,000—not all because of NAFTA—but overall U.S. employment rose by 25 million,” he writes. Lawrence points out that U.S. manufacturing payrolls did fall by 2.7 million between 2000 and 2003, but mainly because spending on computers and other equipment plummeted when the dotcom boom burst, while labor productivity growth was brisk.

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

**HEALTH CARE**

**ENVIRONMENT**

**the big ideas**

**DOMESTIC POLICY**

**HEALTH CARE**

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**FIXING HEALTH CARE: TWO VISIONS** → Robert Blendon

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

“There are two very different visions,” says Blendon, who with the Kaiser Family Foundation, surveyed voters earlier this year about health care issues. “Unlike Democrats, Republicans are not very interested in universal coverage. They are much more concerned with high health costs and the cost of their insurance policies.”

**CAP AND TRADE: A SOLUTION** → Robert Stavins

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

“Besides providing certainty about emissions levels, cap and trade offers an easy means of compensating for the inevitably unequal burdens imposed by climate policy.” Key features include an upstream cap on co2 emissions with gradual inclusion of other greenhouse gases, a gradual downward trajectory of emissions ceilings over time to minimize disruption and allow firms and households time to adapt, and mechanisms to reduce cost uncertainty.

**SINGLE-PAYER HEALTH CARE: IS IT LESS EXPENSIVE?** → Joseph Newhouse

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

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

**CLEAN ENERGY: READY FOR NEW DIRECTION?** → Paul Peterson

Americans both care about their schools and want them to improve, says Paul Peterson, director of Harvard’s Program on Education Policy and Governance (reps). Though adults give the nation’s public schools only mediocre grades—a plurality confer a C—they give somewhat higher grades to the schools in their own communities. The local schools may be passing, but they do not earn the same high marks as other neighborhood institutions.

**SCHOOL VS. PARENTING** → Ronald Ferguson

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

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

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

“I’m responsible for everything, from making sure all speeches are simultaneously given in sign language to the logistics behind every meal served in the convention hall,” Roe says. “There are an infinite number of details to consider when putting on an event as large and important as this.”

Modern conventions have been more of a coronation ceremony for the nominee who was chosen months beforehand, allowing the party more of an opportunity to showcase its choice and its agenda for the general election. The much longer than anticipated nomination process for the Democrats has made this convention especially important and harder to plan. Until Obama finally clinched the nomination in June, Roe and her staff were planning for a convention with two candidates for the nomination, which made the process all the more difficult and politically charged.

As a subsidiary of the National Democratic Party, the convention must be neutral in all aspects if a nominee has not yet been chosen. “Even with the long nomination process, this is an historic election because you’ve had an African American and a woman as viable candidates for the presidency for the first time,” Roe says. For Roe, the 2008 election is an opportunity to exercise the demons from 2004, when she spent the last eight months of the campaign at U.S. Senator and Democratic party presidential nominee John Kerry’s side. “It was a painful loss,” she says. “I’m hoping this time things will turn out differently, and a flawless convention is a big part of that, especially this year.”
2002 MPP graduate Buzz Jacobs, a regional campaign manager for Republican nominee John McCain, remembers the dark days of Senator John McCain's candidacy in the fall of 2007. "We had no money. Our organization had been reduced dramatically. The pundits were calling our campaign over," he recalled. "Instead of folding up our tent, we launched the 'No Surrender' tour and we talked about the war in Iraq as well as the senator's candidacy for president." The campaign was raising less than a million dollars a month and had a quarter of the staff it needed. However, Jacobs's support for his candidate never wavered. "I never doubted him, even during the difficult period. I worked for him in 2000, and I stayed with him in 2008 because I believe in John McCain."

Political campaigns are anything if not unpredictable. Dramatic reversals of fortune are commonplace, especially in the era of round-the-clock cable news coverage, blogsphere punditry, and the marathon campaign. Anything can, and often does, happen along the campaign trail, and the survivor is often the candidate whose organization can weather the inevitable storm. Being able to respond quickly is a key element of success, which is one of the strengths of the McCain system of a regional campaign. As the manager for McCain's southern campaign office—one of ten around the country—Jacobs is up at dawn to read the news clips relating to his candidate as well as the opposition. Following the lengthy conference calls with senior staff, communica-

When Prakash Puram, mpp 1995, emigrated to the United States from Chennai, India, 29 years ago, he didn’t imagine that one day he would be a prominent political activist and presidential appointee in his new home country. A zoologist by education turned business manager, Puram became involved in politics after a very personal experience when his mother was unable to get a tourist visa to come to the United States and see her grandchildren. "I reached out to all of my local elected leaders for help," says Puram, "and only U.S. Senator Rudy Boschwitz (r-minn) and other Republicans responded, while not a single Democrat did."

Since becoming involved in politics, Puram has opened his home and his wallet to hundreds of established and aspiring politicians. "I get involved in local races because they are the next batch of leaders who will make U.S. policy," he says. "In politics, as in sports, it's important to foster a good farm team from the ground up. Gov. Tim Pawlenty (r-minn) is a great example of the outcome." After spending the majority of his career in the private sector, Puram decided to attend the Kennedy School in order to learn how to mesh his business background with his desire to be engaged in public service. "My teachers and classmates helped me realize how my skills in business could be put to good use in the public sector." Puram’s involvement is driven primarily by his desire to "preserve American ingenuity" and his commitment to support American ingenuity."
Ready for Reform?

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

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

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

The challenge to Iowa and New Hampshire’s traditional role as the first states to vote resulted in Michigan and Florida being sent to the political doghouse for jumping the line. The scramble to be heard before it was all over saw a glut of primary contests. Then there was the rise of the Democratic superdelegates and the specter of smoke-filled rooms. And, of course, money — money pouring in, money drying up, delegates and the specter of smoke-filled rooms. And, of course, money — money pouring in, money drying up, money being spent.

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

The group, which included state and national party chairs, secretaries of states, campaign strategists, political journalists, and academics, seemed in some agreement that the system didn’t work very well. But not about much more.

Iowa and New Hampshire were the starting and ending point for many of the conversations. Voters there care about politics in a way voters in other states don’t, some argued. And the states are the right size for the sort of retail politics that gives relatively unknown candidates a chance. But others argued that the ability to practice retail politics is not inversely proportional to land mass. And Iowa and New Hampshire are too unrepresentative — read 'too white' — to occupy such an important place in national politics.

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

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

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

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

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

“If they win they won’t change a thing,” he said. “If they lose there will be sweeping reform.”

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

The Softer Side of Politics

THE WEB, NEWSPAPERS, talk shows, blogs, and evening news. It is a truism to say that media saturates our society. But what effect is it having on our politics? Matt Baum, recently appointed Marvin Kalb Professor of Global Communications, who studies mass media and politics, looks at the presidential election through the prism of soft news, hard money, and new media.

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

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

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

Matt Baum

THE WEB, NEWSPAPERS, talk shows, blogs, and evening news. It is a truism to say that media saturates our society. But what effect is it having on our politics? Matt Baum, recently appointed Marvin Kalb Professor of Global Communications, who studies mass media and politics, looks at the presidential election through the prism of soft news, hard money, and new media.

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

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

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

Matt Baum
House Call
Alumni make run for Congress

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

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

Brennan credits the Senior Executives in State and Local Government program, which he attended in the summer of 2004, with shaping his decision to run for state senate majority leader later that fall. “What the program really did was force me to examine what I wanted to do in my current position and what kind of leadership roles I wanted to take in the future.”

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

By late spring 2007, members of the district’s business community encouraged Rayburn to stage a primary challenge. “To keep serving was why we left (the Air Force) in the first place, and the need was still there. ”

Rayburn was defeated in Colorado’s Republican primary held August 12, making the effort is what the Kennedy School emphasizes. When it comes to youth, the Institute of Politics has a lot of experience. They conduct polls on young people’s political attitudes using a unique model that combines the school’s academic approach, a practical political focus, and the insight of its own representative sample, the iop students who help design the questionnaires for their peers. And because they’ve been doing that since 1999 — longer than just about anyone else, says iop polling director John Della Volpe — they’ve been able to track those attitudes through defining moments in the country’s history.

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

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

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

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

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

Treat the Youth Right
The iop counts youth in

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

Conventional Wisdom

This summer, the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy travels to Denver, Colorado, and St. Paul, Minnesota, to the Democratic and Republican conventions respectively, to bring journalists together to discuss campaign coverage. Since 1992, the Shorenstein Center has hosted events at the national political conventions. This year, at the Democratic convention in Denver, Colorado, the center will sponsor “The Press and the Election” with panelists Tom Brokaw, Bob Schieffer, and George Stephanopoulos and moderator Judy Woodruff. The following week at the Republican convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, the center will sponsor “The Press and the Election: American Demographics” with panelists Dan Balz of The Washington Post; Green Hill of pbs; Bill Kristol of The New York Times, Fox News, and The Weekly Standard; Bill Schneider of cbs; and Karen Tumulty of Time magazine.

"What the program really did was force me to examine what kind of leadership roles I wanted to take in the future.”

“I felt that it was a good time to run for Congress and to have a platform to discuss several urgent issues, not only how they affect the state of Maine, but with shaping his decision to run for state senate majority leader later that fall. “What the program really did was force me to examine what I wanted to do in my current position and what kind of leadership roles I wanted to take in the future.”
Primary Perspective

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

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

Juan Carlos

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

Margaux

I don't know if that’s always helpful. We know everything about these candidates’ lives. We know about their homework, they are better informed. Politics in America is like a beloved sporting event. It’s like the World Cup on American soil for two years. But it’s also overly focused on candidates’ lives rather than policy.

Sarah

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

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

Margaux

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

Juan Carlos

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

Cecilia

But that’s not valid for some people. When I was canvassing in South Carolina recently, I met people who were so tired of just working that they didn’t care about the election. The upper-middle class voters are the ones able to follow the debates and read The New York Times, but the ones who are actually holding the democracy together, who are putting in the hard labor, are those the ones who don’t vote.

Sarah

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

Margaux

I’m curious what everyone thinks about the money in this election. One way for voters to get engaged is by donating some money. My sense is that it’s much less common in Canada for individuals to donate to campaigns. Personally I would never think of supporting a politician by giving money, but I would think of getting involved in other ways. Is donating money a good thing to get people interested, or is it just a problematic thing? We keep on getting these updates, for instance, that Obama raised another $4 million. It just makes my head spin.

Cecilia

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

Margaux

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

Margaux

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

Juan Carlos

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

Cecilia

Maybe it’s not their problem, but it’s our problem.

Alagi

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

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Margaux

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

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

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

"Before the 2000 election, we had a highly decentralized voting system, with little oversight or control — and that actually fits with the character of our history," he says. "In 1808, if you asked a person where government resided, they would have told you the county. That's where you'd go to register births, deaths, and property transactions, and that's still true today. In 1908, having just fought the Civil War, most citizens would say that government is in the state capital. Today people say government is in Washington, D.C. — that's where all the big budget entitlements come from like Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid."

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

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

The Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) has brought some common standards to this scenario. The law mandated a new federal voter registration form, guaranteed individuals the right to a provisional ballot in the event of a snafu at the polls, and stipulated that each state have one person (often the secretary of state) in charge of election administration. It funded the creation of a statewide computerized voting list and required that every polling place have at least one voting system accessible to those with disabilities. HAVA also established the Election Assistance Commission, a bipartisan government agency that tests and certifies voting equipment and offers official general support and guidance in running elections.

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

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

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

Problems also arose when poll workers were confronted with a malfunctioning machine. In numerous incidents during the 2000 mid-term elections, when workers were unable to address the problem themselves, machines either went out of commission for the day (resulting in longer waits at polling locations) or were fixed by the vendor, with their reassurances the only insurance policy that the problem would not recur and that no votes were altered in the process.

More recently, in a tightly contested 2006 congressional race in Sarasota, Florida, between Democrat Christine Jennings and Republican Vern Buchanan, results indicated that 18,000 abstained from voting in a race ultimately decided by Buchanan’s favor by 360 votes. However, hundreds of voters complained they had been stymied by a malfunctioning touch-screen interface that highlighted Buchanan when they had chosen Jennings; when they arrived at the final screen to review their picks, the Jennings-Buchanan race was missing.

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

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

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

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

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

Has the electoral college system run its course?

The electoral college may be to modern notions of democracy a little like calisthenics are to a pro athlete’s ideas of training. There’s something unquestionably eccentric, and to its critics maddeningly antiquated, about the mechanism the country has used since its birth to count the votes for its two highest-ranking elected offices. But the criticism doesn’t just spring from an aversion to things old fashioned. The electoral college is unpopular, messy, unpredictable, and tends to thumb its eye at basic ideas of fairness, argues Alex Keyssar, professor of history and social policy, who is studying the electoral college as part of an upcoming book on the history of American political institutions.

Four of the nation’s 43 presidents (elected in 1824, 1876, 1888, and 2000) were sworn in after losing the popular vote, but winning the electoral college vote. (On another 16 occasions, a swing of just 75,000 votes or fewer in a few states, could have hadded the keys to the White House to the less-popular candidate). By virtue of giving each state as many electoral votes as its two highest-ranking elected offices, the college gives small states disproportionate voting power. Each of Wyoming’s three electoral votes, for example, represents roughly 273,000 people, compared with the more than 500,000 squashed into each of California’s 55 electoral votes.

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

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

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

The blame has often been ascribed to small states, which had so much to lose by going to a more proportional system. That doesn’t in fact appear to be the case, Keyssar says. Instead, at important junctures in the country’s history, the electoral college’s great defender was white supremacy.

The South, Southern states counted blacks for purposes of representation in Congress, but for most of the nation’s first two centuries kept them from voting. This gave the states’ white population disproportionate clout in the country’s politics.

Between 1892 and 1964, for example, electoral votes from the South represented the wishes of a much smaller number of voters than did votes from the North. By the late 1930s, when the disparity reached its peak, the South’s 124 electoral votes were the fruit of about 4 million votes. By comparison, New York’s and Pennsylvania’s nearly 10 million votes brought just 86 electoral college votes. The system has also come under attack for giving minorities too much power. Southern politicians charged that the electoral college gave too much clout to ethnic minorities in the large northern states, groups that allegedly tended to vote in bloc and therefore could swing an election in a desired direction. In the 1970s, as President Jimmy Carter urged the electoral college, African Americans, for so long victims of the system, rallied to the electoral college’s defense because they believed the system accentuated their role as kingmakers in several battleground states.

“Take away the electoral college and the importance of being black melts away,” Vernon Jordan, then president of the Urban League, told a congressional committee in 1979. “Blacks, instead of being crucial to victory in major states, simply become 10 percent of the electorate, with reduced impact.”

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

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

THE ONES THAT GOT AWAY

The electoral college has allowed candidates who lost the national popular vote to be elected to the White House. In 1824, Democrat Samuel Tilden received 15 percent of the popular vote but lost to Ohio Republican Rutherford B. Hayes. Just 12 years later, incumbent Democratic President Grover Cleveland won a plurality of the popular vote, but lost the electoral vote by a large 233–168 margin. In 2000, Vice President Al Gore received 48.5 percent of the popular vote to then-Texas Gov. George W. Bush’s 47.8 percent, but lost following the long and acrimonious Florida recount. In 1824, Andrew Jackson had a plurality of the popular vote and the electoral college vote, but lost to rival John Quincy Adams after the vote was taken to the House of Representatives and another rival threw his support behind Adams.

MATH 101

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>Population per Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOP 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>19,227,088</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>620,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>24,335,450</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>760,481</td>
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<td>California</td>
<td>38,333,013</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>696,056</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>17,132,061</td>
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<td>589,843</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>11,712,076</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>560,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>8,722,283</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>623,016</td>
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<td>Georgia</td>
<td>10,038,167</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>590,950</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>9,908,150</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>554,270</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>6,752,550</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>613,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>2,690,209</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>448,376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Truthfulness Top of List

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

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

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

The challenges include finding new ways to survey a large sample of representative American voters, whether they vote early or on Election Day, in order to tell a timely and accurate story about election results. A concomitant challenge for the news organizations involved is finding ways to provide deep and instant data to individual news consumers on the Internet and all other polling methodologies under siege.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Harvard Business School Professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter described America as “on a losing streak” that the new president will have to turn around. In losing streaks, said Kanter, everyone is fighting with one another. The next president must judge which ones are right and which ones are wrong.

“Leadership and the Next Presidency.”

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"Leadership and the Next Presidency."

Barbara Kellerman, Harvard Kennedy School

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

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

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

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

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

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

The event, sponsored by the Center for Public Leadership and the Ken Blanchard Companies, marked the launching of the center’s new blog. At the event, a blogging station offered attendees the opportunity to comment on posts by guest-bloggers. To learn more, visit www.howyoulead.org. — SA
IN ONE OF MY ELECTORAL politics courses at the Kennedy School, we read a book called How To Win Your First Election. I studied it carefully, as I did all of the readings of those courses. I kept the books. And when nobody in my party challenged the incumbent congressman in my district in 2004, I dusted them off and started to methodically put together a campaign to challenge him in 2006.

While falling little more than 3,000 votes short (or less than two percent), my so-called loss showed a remarkable achievement. I had challenged a nine-term incumbent than two percent), my so-called loss showed a remarkable achievement. I had challenged a nine-term incumbent and I almost beat him. I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse and I almost beat him. I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse. Years later I would learn that I won the two most populated counties in the district and won the city of Syracuse.

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

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

Lesson number three is perhaps the toughest for me. Not making the perfect the enemy of the good. When you run for office, you want everything to be perfect — from your website photograph to your position papers to your bumper stickers. You want to make sure every possible person who might support you is happy. But this is impossible, particularly in a congressional district with more than 600,000 people. In fact, the only way a campaign can ever come close to doing what it needs to do is for the candidate to trust the people who are working for him. Letting go of some control is not easy and particularly challenging for me because I have experience working on numerous campaigns myself and served as press secretary to Senators Bill Bradley and Pat Moynihan and as a senior aide on the House Committee on Ways and Means staff before running myself. Learning to let go and accept other people’s work as representing you is probably the toughest part.

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

Ups and Downs of Presidential Legacies

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

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

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

The renown of Truman’s successor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, also ascended with historians’ access to primary documents. “Eisenhower as president cultivated a public image that in fact he was still General Eisenhower: very much in charge,” explains Ernest May, professor of American history. “It turns out, when you get into his papers, that in fact he was very much a president in his own right.”

Eisenhower’s administration that presided over one of the great economic booms of history has a way of burnishing some reputations and tarnishing others. “Eisenhower as president cultivated a public view of a sympathetic biographer, David McCullough.”

In Transition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kamarck contends that the Bush administration made a momentous mistake in failing to listen to warnings about Al Qaeda from Clinton’s foreign policy advisors: “Arrogance is a very big danger in a transition period because everyone is full of themselves,” she says. She acknowledges that the Clinton administration didn’t pay enough attention to staff issues during the transition. “The White House staff is incredibly important,” she says. “You want in your staff a mixture of policy and politics that’s hard to get.”

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

FORUM | THE NEWSFLASH PLAYED on the three giant television screens brought word of a devastating terrorist attack on an oil tanker in the Bosphorus, the narrow strait connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. With oil prices reaching $60 a barrel, the US national security advisor turned to cabinet secretaries and top advisers. They had 90 minutes to flesh out a response and present it to the president.

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

Chaired by former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, with help from the likes of Ashton Carter (playing Defense Secretary), Larry Summers (Treasury Secretary), Joseph Lockhart (counselor to the president), and Meghan O’Sullivan (Secretary of State), the April Forum event brought to vivid life the terrible entanglement of issues around energy policy.

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

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

FORUM | Extraordinary Times Describing elections as “dynamite” and the times as “extraordinary,” Chris Matthews, host of MSNBC’s Hardball with Chris Matthews, said the 2018 election has the potential for being one of the “great change elections.”

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

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

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

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

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

The Buzz

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

World Bank President Robert Zoellick MEP 1945 comparing the current economic slowdown, when China, India, and some of the world’s middle-income countries are still growing strong, with previous economic slowdowns, at a Forum in April.
that were to become his home away from home during his 34 years with the United Nations.

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

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

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

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

He left lasting lessons from his career, according to Power: Legitimacy is essential, militants must be engaged, fearful people must be made more secure, dignity is the cornerstone of order, and outsiders must bring humility and patience to foreign lands. For those who will follow in his footsteps, he showed that 21st-century leadership will require an awareness of the effect of policies on real lives, she says. “He asked himself tough questions about whether he practiced what he preached,” says Power. “I think all of us could be more consistent with the principles we espouse for states and the world.” — LR

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

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

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

Plenty, as it turns out.

In Chasing the Flame: Sergio Vieira de Mello and the Fight to Save the World, Power follows Vieira de Mello, a cross between James Bond and Bobby Kennedy, through his early life as a Brazilian diplomat’s son, through his cosmopolitan education at the Sorbonne, and then into the trouble spots he left lasting lessons from his career, according to Power: Legitimacy is essential, militants must be engaged, fearful people must be made more secure, dignity is the cornerstone of order, and outsiders must bring humility and patience to foreign lands. For those who will follow in his footsteps, he showed that 21st-century leadership will require an awareness of the effect of policies on real lives, she says. “He asked himself tough questions about whether he practiced what he preached,” says Power. “I think all of us could be more consistent with the principles we espouse for states and the world.” — LR

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Gift to Build Capacity in Poorest Countries

A gift from the family of one of the founders of modern-day Qatar, one of the wealthiest countries in the world, will establish a fellowship for talented individuals from some of the neediest countries in the world. The gift from Sheikh Sultan bin Suaim Al Thani honors his late father, Sheikh Suaim bin Hamad Al Thani, who served as the country’s foreign minister from 1972 until his death in 1985 and helped shape the Arabian Gulf. During a visit to Harvard in February, Sheikh Sultan met with President Drew Faust and Dean David Ellwood and was able to talk to several Kennedy School students about their experiences. Al Thani said the gift would serve as a memorial to his late father’s integrity, strength of character, and commitment to his fellow citizens. “I’m happy that we will share his rich experience with these outstanding scholars,” he said.

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

Spread ing Climate Change Framework

The Kyoto Protocol, the first global attempt to curb greenhouse gas emissions, will reach the end of its first commitment period in 2012. What happens after that is the focus of the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements, launched last year to help identify key design elements of a scientifically sound, economically rational, and politically possible policy architecture for global climate change. Led by Robert Stavins, professor of business and government and director of the Harvard Environmental Economics Program, the project has already worked with academics, government officials and legislators, private industry, and NGOs to establish the importance of considering alternative policy architectures. By September, it will have completed stage two by developing a small but wide-ranging menu of promising frameworks and key design principles.

As the project prepares to launch the third and final stage — discussing and disseminating its recommendations on key design elements — it has received crucial support in the form of a $210,000 gift from Nicholas Josefowitz. One of the top-40 environmental financial and thought leaders in Europe, according to Wharton Bulletin, Nicholas is the founder of RenGen Energy, a renewable energy company that develops wind and solar power plants. He is also a member of the Kennedy School’s Dean’s Council.

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

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

Sustainable Science Program

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

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

The newest gift will extend through 2012 funding for faculty research grants and fellowship programs that recruit young scholars and practitioners from around the world to further their studies at Harvard. “This activity represents a model of how academia and government should work together,” said the ministry’s Director General Corrado Clini. “We are committed to meet the challenges of the 21st century, and we do believe that the best investment is to train researchers and professionals from all over the world in the science of sustainable development.”

...
From the HKS Alumni Chair

As the newly elected chairman of the Board of Directors of the Alumni Association, I am honored to represent the global community of more than 35,000 alumni who are developing public and private sector solutions in more than 170 countries. With the dedicated support of former Chairman Paul Hodge ‘8900 and a cadre of talented alumni leaders on the board, the Alumni Association has renewed its commitment to advance the mission of HKS and achieve the strategic goals of Dean Ellwood.

Alumni of the world’s best school of public service deserve the best quality of alumni service and representation. For the 2018–2019 academic year, the association will sharpen its focus, increase its visibility, and target its programmatic initiatives better to meet the needs of alumni. We will undoubtedly continue to strengthen our partnerships with regional associations and hks Alumni Relations to assist alumni in reconnecting to each other and the entire Harvard community.

Perhaps the greatest challenge for the board this coming year is to develop and sustain hks alumni giving and participation. Currently only 1 percent of hks alumni make annual financial contributions of any amount to the Dean’s Fund. This rate is lower than the alumni participation rates of Harvard’s business and law schools. We need to do better.

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

hks.harvard.edu/about/giving

“Ask what you can do” — is the Kennedy School’s call to service. Alumni are developing public and private sector solutions in more countries. With the dedicated support of former Alumni Board members at reunions in June, left to right: Lenora Peters Gant ’981; Emily Card ’981; John 35,000 hks alumni.

Try submitting a classnote, e-mail sharon_alexandra@harvard.edu. To submit a classnote, e-mail ksgalum@hks.harvard.edu. The subject line should be “classnotes.”

Not: “The designations for alumnus of Harvard Executive Education programs — i.e., and universities, as well as the Alumni Association, is committed to serving as a resource for alumni and students, public and private, to help them achieve the strategic goals of the Kennedy School. The time that you have spent at the Kennedy School says that you are a member of the Kennedy School community. You have a responsibility to become true leaders. Achieve your full potential. Only to leave the country during the ethnic riots of 2003. In addition, Joel has joined the Board of Trustees at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the University of California, Berkeley. He is developing a nonprofit project, Foundation for Education and Entrepreneurship Development, based in New Delhi, India, principal consultant to the University of Kalamazoo, and project coordinator for the Flanders Foundation for Education and Entrepreneurship Development.

Harkness prize was awarded the 2008 reelection to the U.S. Senate.

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In advance of the @world Global Senior Conference in San Francisco, a group of 55 senior alumni gathered at the Poangling Shangri-La for a reception with Dean Ellwood. More than 550 alumni attended the conference.

Jack St. Croix 2012 (left) and Jesse Marzutti 2004 (right), photographed with Dean Ellwood, hosted a Bay Area Regional Alumni Association event at the Delaney Street Restaurant.

Thomas Shuster 2007 was installed as chair of the Mid-Atlantic Council of the National Recreation & Parks Association (nrrpA) at the 2007 Congress in Indianapolis last September. Tom has served as a member of the council since 1999 and is currently the director of recreation and parks for Ocean City, Md.

Arthur Samuel 2008 has retired after a 41-year career. His last position was executive director for the city of West Park, Fla., for his role in becoming Broward County’s just incorporated city. He is also the town manager for West Park’s sister city of Pompano Beach.

San Francisco

San Francisco

It may have been a while since you were last at Harvard Kennedy School, but it’s likely you haven’t forgotten the value of your experience here. Many of your colleagues from the MPA or MPP programs have already come back to participate in our Executive Education programs. We offer the finest in executive, skill, and nonprofit sectors — all in a timeframe you can manage.

Visit the Executive Education website at www.harvardKeeGE.org for detailed program information, or call our Admissions office at 617-495-0484 to request our general brochure.
manufacturing moves overseas. In addition, raising millions of dollars and expanding the center’s profile.

Soto Vélez Cultural & Educational Center, in public policy from the Goldman School of Public Policy and has worked in the private sector on behalf of the council. They expressed the desire for a more inclusive core curriculum. They found that while majority of the students surveyed agreed that the courses were challenging and engaging, less than 90% of the students believed they were being prepared for the workforce. The survey also found that 85% of the students felt that the courses were relevant to their career goals. The survey results suggest that there is room for improvement in the curriculum to better align with the needs of the workforce.

In June he traveled with Commerce Secretary Andrew Yarrow, who would hold them to high expectations. The students expressed the desire for more opportunities to gain hands-on experience in the classroom and in the field.

The survey is one of the key findings from the National Commission on Education. The commission has recommended changes to the education system to better prepare students for the workforce.

Hilary Duff has been appointed as an ambassador for the American Red Cross. The appointment is a significant milestone in the celebrity’s career and will allow her to raise awareness of the organization’s mission and work.

The appointment is also a testament to the organization’s commitment to using the power of celebrity to raise awareness and support for its mission.

Hiking is a healthy pastime that helps improve mental and physical health. It is a great way to connect with nature and enjoy the outdoors.

The organization is committed to improving access to mental health services for all Americans. They have a strong track record of success in this area and are committed to continuing their work to ensure that everyone has access to the care they need.

will be a Democratic candidate to represent California’s 3rd District in Congress. The primary in August is wide, with the incumbent Democrat, Scott Peters, running for re-election.

He is committed to fighting for issues important to San Diego and California, including healthcare, education, and economic development. He has a proven record of working across the aisle to find solutions to problems and is committed to seeking out common ground on key issues.

Karen LeCrone recently completed her doctoral work at the University of Florida. She is currently serving as a public policy consultant for the Florida Department of Education. She is also an active member of the National Education Association and is committed to improving education for all students.

She has a strong background in education policy and has worked for several years in the public sector. She has served as a policy analyst for the Florida Department of Education and as a policy consultant for the National Education Association.

Karen is passionate about improving education for all students and is committed to making sure that every child has access to a high-quality education. She is dedicated to working with policymakers to develop policies that will support the success of all students.

In addition to her work at the University of Florida, she is also an active member of the National Education Association and is committed to improving education for all students. She is dedicated to working with policymakers to develop policies that will support the success of all students.

Karen is passionate about improving education for all students and is committed to making sure that every child has access to a high-quality education. She is dedicated to working with policymakers to develop policies that will support the success of all students.
of Boston. Tiziana Dearing is serving now as chief operating officer of Rick Ashton at the theatre in Moscow and at the school in the areas of taxation, real estate financing and housing developers in the areas of the Environmental Policy Act, and other environmental regulations. She also work in the areas of taxation, real estate financing and transactions, affordable housing requirements, loan agreements and documents, rent control regulations, litigation, and general land-use matters.

Édouard Narduzzi was launched MyOpenCare last year. It is the first digital platform for users generating content that allows patients to individually plan their approaches to health-related management. “I’m enjoying it tremendously as it ties my interests in education reform, policy, and organizational management,” she writes. She reports that she has found the mxa alumni in her new home “as strong and helpful as I did on the East Coast (especially those who are parents of twins).”

2001

Allan Bonner Geer, Skype, 2001 recently reviewed presidential libraries in the SouthWest. His latest book, Tough Love at The Table, presents case studies from his crisis management and dispute resolution practice. It was launched this spring. Allan is celebrating 10 years in private practice with three network specials for Cana- din Learning Television. His son Christian is studying at the University of Toronto, and Michael starts his master’s at Oxford this fall. His Farsi emersion in Tehran. His wife, Lorna, has taken early retirement from public broadcasting.

Tatiana Dearing was appointed female president of Catholic Charities of Boston.

2000

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

Tatiana Dearing was appointed female president of Catholic Charities of Boston.

some situations, namely those involving ‘new terrorist’ (those who are more willing to die and/or to tolerate larger numbers of casualties). The terrorists have been reading our manu-

Mark Fedor says he is still on active duty in the U.S. Coast Guard and was recently promoted to commander (O-5). “More important,” he writes, “is the plan in progress to return to Harvard Kennedy School as an assistant professor of political science and in a joint degree with the Graduate School of Business. I’m enjoying it tremendously as it has my interests in education reform, policy, and organizational management,” he writes. She reports that she has found the mxa alumni in her new home “as strong and helpful as I did on the East Coast (especially those who are parents of twins).”

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

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

2002

David O’Blram, senior 1990 is assisting the senior vice president of consumer marketing (SOX) and superdelegade. David is a member of the Democratic National Committee (DNC).

Lori Je Fos saw Earth Changes: Journey Through Childhood. Based on her own life, the book, consisting of 48 vignettes and 55 color nature photographs, tells the story of a gifted child who is able to see, experience, and express her visions through the photographs of Boston’s Chinatown, where her mother worked six days a week, 12 hours a day, in a room with a door, a window, and a curtain. Today she is among the leaders of a home school and has been profiled. In 2002, after being appointed the chief of staff for the vice president of Colombia.

Joseph Goldman saw began zero in the midst of a massive effort to engage thousands of cur-

Jeffrey Berkin was profiled January 9 on the Harvard Graduate School of Education website in “Everyday Heroes” series. Frankie, an soon alumnus of the ID School, is executive director of Boston Scholars, a nonprofit program that provides scholarships and support to students from low-income backgrounds so they may attend tuition-based schools and achieve academic success. The program, currently serving 44 students in grades 9 through 12, provides them with tutors who are experts in college guidance and able to provide guidance to them skills they need to succeed. The story is at gse.harvard.edu/news_event/feature/2008/01/09/berkin.php.
as 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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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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Exit Poll | The Last Word

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

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

Robert Beal AB 1963, MBA 1965

Charitable Lead Trust

Make significant annual gifts to Harvard now and generate a tax-effective transfer of an inheritance to your heirs with a charitable lead trust. With a lead trust, you transfer assets to a trustee, such as Harvard. The trustee pays an annual sum to whichever part of the university you designate for a specific term of years, usually 10 to 25. The assets of the trust can be invested and managed by the Harvard Management Company (hmc). When the trust terminates, the principal plus any appreciation is transferred to your beneficiaries (typically, but not limited to, children or grandchildren).

TAX IMPLICATIONS

You receive a charitable deduction for federal gift and estate tax purposes equal to the estimated present value of the annual trust payments to Harvard. Additionally, any appreciation in the assets during the term of the trust, while subject to capital gains tax, is not subject to gift or estate tax. The net result is significant tax savings that can enable you to transfer to your heirs a larger estate after tax than would otherwise be possible.

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A Legacy of Leadership

GIFT OPTIONS

With a lead trust, you can have the satisfaction of seeing your gift put to work now, and by combining it with another planned gift, such as a charitable remainder trust, you can also endow a fund to support the university in perpetuity. To learn more about charitable lead trusts or other planned giving options and how you can become a member of the Harvard Kennedy School’s Legacy for Leadership, please contact:

Alasdair H. Halliday
Senior Associate Director
University Planned Giving
Harvard University
14 Mt. Auburn Street,
Cambridge, MA 02138
Phone 617-496-1277 / 617-496-6957
Fax 617-495-8130
E-mail: alasdair_halliday@harvard.edu
Web www.post.harvard.edu/pgo

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GO DIRECTLY TO HKS ALUMNI WEEKEND

November 13–15, 2008
HKS campus

THE WEEKEND EVENTS

Thursday, November 13
→ SIF Auction

Friday, November 14
→ Forum and reception to kick off of the 50th Anniversary of the Mason Program

Saturday, November 15
→ Alumni Refresher on International Development
→ Mason 50th Anniversary dinner celebration