


Profiles in Leadership

Eight Exonians discuss the nature of leadership in a tumultuous world—and how what they learned around the Harkness table can help.

by Gloria Riviera '92



WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT LEADERSHIP, it comes up again and again: *listening*. How essential it is, and how challenging it can be—especially in a time of fierce conflicts and fiercely divided opinions.

Heading into the final weeks of the presidential election campaign, we thought it was time to do a little listening of our own: to eight Exonian leaders talking about the issues they consider most critical and about the nature of leadership today. “Leadership is the ability to do the right thing,” says Brigadier General Richard Rowe '69, director of operations for U.S. Northern Command, which oversees the country’s Homeland Security operations. “The truth is, as you gain more responsibility, doing the right thing day in and day out gets harder. There are lots of places that you can cut corners. But taking the time to pay attention to values and ethics is very important.”

Taking the time to listen is also important, and it’s a skill that several of these leaders say they first learned at Exeter, including Kathy Ward '83, a former White House Fellow who is now deputy director of the International Crisis Group. “The Harkness concept where you really do have people listening to each other, having a dialogue and not just talking at each other is very important,” she says. “I think that’s one of the problems we are facing right now. So many people who are frustrated with us feel that the United States is simply lecturing to them—that we are not really listening, let alone engaging in a conversation with them.”

Doing the listening and asking the questions was Gloria Riviera '92, who has had plenty of time to contemplate the nature of leadership in her work as a reporter with ABC News covering the Kerry-Edwards campaign. Her past assignments include reporting for three weeks from ground zero following September 11, from the United Nations during the lead up to the war in Iraq and then from Iraq itself.

Brigadier General Richard Rowe '69

DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS
U.S. NORTHERN COMMAND

“Go!”

Brigadier General Richard Rowe '69 has commanded men and women all over the world, from Korea to Panama, as well as several stateside forts in New York, Georgia and North Carolina. Now, hundreds of feet above ground, someone was giving him orders. The command came from someone far younger than he, and far junior in rank. And he really had no choice but to do as he was told.

It was the 60th anniversary of D-Day in June 2004. Rowe was flying over France as part of the 82nd Airborne Division’s commemorative celebration. And so he jumped.

“It was incredible,” Rowe recalls. “A very soft jump, so it was very nice. I like those. No wind.”

Usually, Rowe is the one giving orders. But one of the things he has learned in his 30-year military career is that it can sometimes be a good idea to listen to those around you. Sometimes, rank doesn’t matter.

If there is a way to put it simply, here it is: Brigadier General Richard Rowe is one of the senior military leaders in charge of America’s homeland defense. He is the director of operations of U.S. Northern Command, the military entity created after 9/11 responsible for homeland security and headquartered at Peterson Air Force Base in Colorado Springs, CO. Rowe is responsible for telling the 230 people under his leadership what to do to keep America safe from terrorism, 230 people who, as he says, “expect me to do the right thing.”

What is the most important issue facing America today?

The security of America and the future of our children as they grow up. I have had the opportunity to study this pretty hard. There are very bad people out there, people who would attack America just because of what and who we are.

Principled leadership is crucial right now, and yet these are partisan and polarized times. How do you make decisions based on professional and not political motivation?

To lead well, you have to continually evaluate and assess. You manage by walking around. It is also important to take time, periodically, to think through what it is you are doing, what it is you wanted to have happen and what actually is happening. Then you can consider what you might want to change in order to achieve your goals.

What constitutes real leadership?

Leaders set examples. In my experience in the military, these examples are threefold. There is the physical element of leadership: being able to lead from the front and set the example. I have reached the age where I am not expected to be the first guy through the obstacle course, but I am expected to be fit enough to do the kinds of things I will ask others to do. Another element is intellectual: continuing to learn and master new things, and helping others learn them as well.

The third element—and you don’t have a leader without it—is what I call spiritual fitness. Others would call it values or ethics, but basically, it is what your mom or dad told you, namely: “Do the right thing.” Leadership is the ability to do the right thing. The truth is that as you grow older and gain more responsibility, doing the right thing day in and day out gets harder. There are lots of places that you can cut corners. But taking the time to pay attention to values and ethics is very important.

Is this the most important election of your lifetime?

I think it is as important as the last one, and as important as the next one. After 12 noon on January 20, 2005,

whichever party assumes the presidency, whichever group of people are sworn into Congress, our government will continue along the path it is on as the beacon of liberty and democracy for people throughout our world, as we have for 228 years.

How well did Exeter prepare you for your present role?

Exeter prepares you for almost any career very well, because it forces you to think. I am a great believer that high school is the most important period of your life. This is when you develop thinking skills and your ability to discriminate, to debate, to argue, to listen and to respect others.

I went to Exeter when it was still all boys. It was a little more rough and tumble than the Exeter my oldest daughter, Therese '94, went to. Back then, it was as though the school was in black and white. We were grim. No one smiled. But even while trying to hide at the Harkness table, what I learned and what has stood me well in my endeavors is that to lead people, you must work with them and respect them. You can learn this at other places, too, but at Exeter it is hard *not* to learn it.

What would you like to see happen in the next five years?

I’d like to see us reduce the threat of terrorism, and

BRIAN CROWLEY



do that in a couple of ways. One is to capture or otherwise eliminate those who would be terrorists. But I'd also like to see us help create environments where people don't want to be terrorists. That is a little idealistic, because there are a lot of tough places in the world. But we take it one step at a time.

Serena Wille '89

STAFF MEMBER
THE 9/11 COMMISSION

It was a beautiful view, but it wasn't quite right.

From Serena Wille's 20th-floor office windows, New York City spread out before her. She worked for a prestigious law firm and did very well, but in the post-9/11 fall of 2001, she found her view did not give her quite the right perspective.

And so, she changed it.

Wille moved from New York to Washington, D.C., where she recently completed a 14-month assignment as a staff member of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States—better known as the 9/11 Commission. She investigated Al Qaeda's economic web and the U.S. government's tactics to counter terrorist financing.

As a law student and afterwards, Wille studied Islamic law and traveled to Muslim countries, developing a general understanding of their legal systems. As a corporate lawyer, she became familiar with how money is used and stored in the formal financial system.

“Leaders set examples: physical, intellectual and what I would call spiritual examples. Others would call this values or ethics, but basically, it is what your mom or dad told you, namely, ‘Do the right thing.’” —Brigadier General Richard Rowe '69

“But terrorists primarily use the informal system,” says Wille. “So, in the end, my skills were useful for analysis and writing.”

Wille placed a picture of the twin towers in her office at the 9/11 Commission, an office that had no view and where she made her own copies at the copy machine. “But so what?” she says with a laugh. Asked where she found her motivation, she described a colleague who had been badly burned when the Pentagon was hit. “He would come up and thank us all the time for our work,” says Wille, “and I thought, ‘Us? No, you!’ During her time on the commission, this same colleague and his wife had a baby. “It was one of those moments when you think, ‘This is what it is all about. I can't be doing anything else.’”

In light of your work with the 9/11 Commission, what issue strikes you as the most important one facing our country?

How the United States presents itself to the world is crucial, and it is becoming even more crucial as we try to present a positive face to cultures that don't know us as well and as we try to learn about cultures that we don't know well. A lot of the issues that we saw in our work stemmed really from either a fundamental disconnect from how we look at the Muslim world or vice versa. It is important that we are seen in as positive a light as we see ourselves. I know this is not 100 percent feasible, but it is something we have to strive for: to create a greater international understanding of the United States and to make the effort with both our allies and those with whom we share mutual distrust to present ourselves in a positive way, as a positive force.

What constitutes principled leadership?

To me, it is having an understanding of the nuances of an issue, and being able to present those nuances in a way that shows both your command of that issue and your awareness of how other people see it. Because things are not black and white.

In what ways did Exeter prepare you for the demands you faced?

In our work with the commission, we really had to be critical thinkers. We had to play devil's advocate. We had to debate and debate and debate the issues. We had to open ourselves to criticism, because there were

many ways of looking at an issue. To me, a lot of that is the Harkness table. You are there with 11 or 12 other people. You try to make a point, someone counters you and you respond. That give-and-take is something we were doing constantly on the commission.

What advice would you most like to share with current Exeter students?

I am sure a lot of Exeter students dream of becoming lawyers without really knowing what that means. I think it is important for people who feel they are on this track—and Exeter is often considered a track—to know that there are other options. You can do so many things. Just because you have started out on one path, it does not mean you are stuck there. You just have to look around and see what the opportunities are. We all put blinders on, and it can be exciting to take them off.

David McKean '75

CHIEF OF STAFF
SENATOR JOHN KERRY

It was during his prep year at Exeter that David McKean had one of his first political moments. The year was 1972, the war in Vietnam was still raging and McKean listened closely as Senator George McGovern, the Democratic nominee for president, spoke out against the war from the Assembly Hall stage.

But it was three years later, McKean says, that a little-

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known peanut farmer from Georgia, Jimmy Carter, really made an impression. “I remember thinking, ‘This guy? A full year before the election?’ I'd never heard him before. It was fascinating seeing him expend the kind of energy and time that it is now par for the course.”

Today, McKean knows better than most about the kind of energy and time it takes to run a presidential campaign. Since 1999, he has been Senator John Kerry's chief of staff, and while his duties focus mainly on the Kerry's Senate work, McKean also has a significant role in developing what a potential Kerry administration might look like come January 2005.

When interviewed, McKean is understandably intent on promoting his candidate, and no answer veers far from this goal. But he has been working with Senator Kerry since 1987 and, as he says simply, “I believe in the guy.”

Long years on a Senate staff and authoring two books on major political players—Tommy the Cork, a biography of “super lobbyist” Thomas Corcoran, and Friends in High Places, about presidential adviser Clark Clifford—give McKean his sense of the country's political landscape. But it was long days in Iowa during the Democratic primary that give McKean his sense of John Kerry the candidate.

Only weeks before the Iowa Caucus, polls showed Senator Kerry in third place. The obstacles were threefold: Howard Dean's dominance in the national media, Dick Gephardt's union support and John Edwards' unflappable optimism. All three were dogging the Kerry campaign.

It was under that cloud that McKean found himself on a rented yellow school bus canvassing counties across cold corn fields with Senator Kerry. “We had five press people in the back, five staffers in the front—and 60 seats that were empty. We went from 7 in the morning to 7 at night, holding 10 to 12 events a day.” Dinners were “an endless supply of chicken wings,” and nights were spent in Holiday

Inns, Best Westerns and more than one Motel 6. “Senator Kerry was actually sick at the time,” McKean recalls. “But he just wouldn't give up. Every day and every event, he gave it everything he had.”

It would be some time before the polls reflected his boss's efforts. Finally, with only two weeks to go, things changed. “We could feel it,” says

McKean. “And it was exhilarating.”

How did work in the Senate and the tone there change following September 11?

Whenever there is a crisis, people pull together. There was an extraordinary opportunity for President Bush post-9/11 to bring people together. He had promised in his campaign that he was going to be a uniter, not a divider, and he really had the opportunity to do that. It was handed to him on a silver platter in the most unfortunate and catastrophic way, but he just failed miserably, not only in the Senate but in the country at large.

What are the most important issues facing America today?

The campaign is focused on them: Iraq and the economy. Whenever a country is at war, it has to be of paramount concern. And the economy has not been an engine of growth for the last four years. It is a huge concern.

How do those issues affect the lives of everyday Americans?

You see it directly. It is not the sons and daughters of the White House or the Senate who are fighting this war. It is people in small communities all around the country, people who have lost their jobs. When you campaign you regularly meet people who have extraordinary stories to tell. In particular, I remember a woman at a rally in New Hampshire who was hold-



Serena Wille recently completed her work as a staff member of the 9/11 Commission studying terrorist financing.



Brigadier General Richard Rowe is director of operations at U.S. Northern Command.

the 9/11 Commission, an office that had no view and where she made her own copies at the copy machine. “But so what?” she says with a laugh. Asked where she found her motivation, she described a colleague who had been badly burned when the Pentagon was hit. “He would come up and thank us all the time for our work,” says Wille, “and I thought, ‘Us? No, you!’ During her time on the commission, this same colleague and his wife had a baby. “It was one of those moments when you think, ‘This is what it is all about. I can't be doing anything else.’”

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COURTESY RICHARD ROWE

ing back tears, really, because of her economic situation. She was so clearly looking for leadership in the White House to help change the economic environ-

this country has been pretty good about finding it. But you need to be sure there is a pragmatic leader at the helm as opposed to an extremist. And right now, there are too many extremists running the country.

Is this the most important election of your lifetime?

It is absolutely the most important election of our

“In the arena of public policy, there is always a political element when it comes to decision making. But these people are called public servants for a reason, and most of them take that job very seriously and act responsibly.” —David McKean '75

lifetime, because of the enormity of the threat that we face and our current standing in the world.

How does the campaign itself compare to previous races?

It has been more intense and more divisive—uglier. The Swift Boat Veterans for Bush ads were the introduction of McCarthy tactics into politics on a scale that I have just not witnessed before.

What is it about what you do that continues to motivate and challenge you?

It sounds corny, but there's always the hope that you can change things for the better. You always have that small well of optimism and idealism that, when you are in a job like this, you try like hell to hang onto.

Colonel Dallas Brown '74
DIRECTOR FOR PEACEKEEPING
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The Situation Room.
It sounds serious, and it is. It is the White House emergency conference room, used in times of crisis by the president and his staff.

But to this day, Colonel Dallas Brown '74 laughs when he thinks of it.

When Brown was a director for global issues on the National Security Council (NSC) in the Clinton administration, he would invite Exeter students participating in the Washington Intern Program to the Situation Room for a briefing. Joining Brown was fellow Exonian and then domestic policy adviser to Vice President Gore, Thurgood Marshall Jr. '74.

“Because of movies and the ‘West Wing’ TV show, people think of the Situation Room as some big, fancy, high-tech room. In reality, it is a very small conference room. So I would put the students around the table, and I would talk about for-

THE WASHINGTON POST/MICHAEL LUTZKY

eign policy and Goodie would talk about domestic policy, and both of us mentioned that the conference table in the Situation Room in the White House was not unlike a Harkness table at Exeter. And we both used to laugh and say that the intellectual rigor there [at Exeter] was much higher.”

Brown is now the director for peacekeeping within the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict at the Pentagon. He works on what he calls “Stability Operations,” or the deployment of U.S. military forces in crisis situations when not in the direct line of combat. Generally, this means peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction efforts around the world. Brown was in Iraq in the spring and summer of 2003 to work with General Jay Garner and Ambassador Paul Bremer on the Coalition Provisional Authority–led reconstruction effort, and in Kuwait, Haiti and Bosnia, among other hotspots, before that. His perspective is that of a career military man, and a four-year Exeter alumnus.

What are the most important issues affecting the country today?

In an overall context, I would say foreign policy writ large and the global war on terrorism: what this war means to our society, what it means to our foreign policy and what it means to our relationships with countries overseas. In a strict military context, there's also the question of what the Afghanistan and Iraq models will mean for the structure and function of U.S. military forces over the next 20 years. Should we or should we not restructure to support Stability Operations? I think the answer on that is coming down to “no.” The overall concept is for general-purpose forces that can

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—Colonel Dallas Brown '74

go out and do a whole range of things, from high-intensity conflict to peacekeeping to reconstruction and humanitarian assistance-type activities.

But generally speaking, the most important issue is the global war on terrorism and where that may take us as a country. There are sacrifices that have to be made, both in terms of the deployment of military forces and the resources that are required to do so in places like Iraq and Afghanistan.

These are particularly polarized and partisan times. As a leader, how do you make a decision from a place of moral as opposed to political motivation?

You grow up as an individual, and you get educated. You build your base of knowledge, and over time you build your political views. You build what you really believe in, and what your core values are. As a military officer, my oath is “to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States,” and to “obey the lawful orders of the president of the United States and the officers appointed above me.” I like to think that the decisions and recommendations I make on policy matters are based on my overall education, experience and values as an American, and not on any political motivation whatsoever.

As an Army officer I'm a rarity: there aren't many guys from Exeter or Andover wearing battle dress uniforms these days. You find a few sprinkled around, and we are all at least somewhat the products of our education. I consider myself to be an internationalist, someone who thinks that the United States can't do everything by itself in the world, nor should it.

What is your perspective on America's image abroad?

In my dealings with officials at my own level, they are all very curious about overall U.S. policy. I was in Romania for a NATO conference on peacekeeping last winter where I was the senior U.S. military representative, and the only representative from Washington. I was approached by almost everyone there at breaks and on the



Colonel Dallas Brown has served with both the Department of Defense and the National Security Council.

margins: “What do you really think about the global war on terrorism? Where is the U.S. really heading, and is the U.S. going to ask for help from our country in Iraq and Afghanistan?”

No one was hostile. I have never had a hostile experience in any formal international forum. People have always been willing to reach out to us as the United States, and realize we play a very special place in the world with our preponderance of military and economic power. They want to be allies and they want to be friends. But there is a lot of head scratching, a lot of

COURTESY DALLAS BROWN



Should John Kerry be elected president, David McKean would play a significant role in determining what the new administration would look like.

ment. And then there was a woman in Iowa who lost her son [in Iraq] and wanted to know why. When you campaign, you see those kinds of things everyday.

What is your impression of American's image abroad?

It has been decimated.

In these polarized times, how do you make decisions based on principle rather than political motivation?

In the arena of public policy, there is always a political element when it comes to decision-making. But these people are called public servants for a reason, and most of them take that job very seriously and act responsibly. You are looking for what is going to help people. My feeling is that good politics usually follows good policy.

What constitutes real leadership right now?

I think it is a lot of things. Changing the image of the United States in the world community. And here at home, bringing this country together and moving forward in so many different areas. That is why the Bush administration has been such an extraordinary disappointment, because there have been so many opportunities to exercise this kind of leadership.

If you believe that government can play a positive role in people's lives, then you have a different take on the function and possibilities of government than many Republicans do, who denigrate government consistently. There is an equilibrium that can be reached [between these two schools of thought], and

question marks about U.S. foreign policy and our overall goals and objectives.

And there are questions about U.S. policy in Iraq, not two ways about that: questions about the origin of the war itself, about how we conducted the occupation and

now the reconstruction, and about the fact that the war is really still going on and people are still being killed.

“In the initial rush after September 11, people were trying to move very quickly because of the gravity of what had happened. We have ended up passing provisions that are really rather broad, blunt instruments, when the job really calls for a fine scalpel.” —Kathy Ward '83

schools had developed that recruited black and Hispanic kids from urban environments like D.C., New York and Chicago. By virtue of this program alone, we had a great deal of embedded diversity—in the dormitories, at the Harkness table and on the athletic fields. My own three-year roommate, Brad Fuller, now a surgeon in Vermont, represented a different kind of diversity—he was from a Boston family with Exeter traditions. His father, Mr. Alfred Fuller, graduated from Exeter in the

class of '41, started at Harvard as a freshman that fall and enlisted in the Marine Corps after Pearl Harbor.

So you put the kinds of people with the kinds of diversity that you find at Exeter around a Harkness table, and everyone is forced to speak up, and to listen. Everybody has their say and you assimilate all these perspectives before you dive off into some decision or theory. The Exeter experience said that you need to talk things out, to give everyone a chance to say what they really think and then come up with a solution or a recommendation. It gave me a method for thinking about all opinions, considering all the options and making a decision that way.

What would you like Exeter students to know about your career?

Very few people from Exeter and the Ivy League end up as career officers in the military. I would tell today's students that I have enjoyed every day of my 26 years in uniform and that the kinds of assignments I've had could never be matched in most careers. What I would also tell them is to go find their grandfathers and talk to them. That generation graduated from Exeter or Andover and Princeton or Harvard, and essentially went off to war, to World War II or to Korea. The great majority of them did not choose the military as a career, but they look back on the experience as something very, very important in their lives.

I would also tell students at Exeter today to look around broadly, before they set their course in life. The United States is the best thing that ever has been in the history of the world. To echo President Kennedy's words, you should look not at what your country can do for you, but at what you can do for your country. It doesn't have to be in the military, but you should look at some form of public service—perhaps teaching at an inner-city school, or a few years in the Peace Corps or with America's Promise. Public service is a tremen-



As deputy director of the International Crisis Group, Kathy Ward works to prevent and resolve conflicts around the globe.

What would you like to see five years from now?

I hope we will have made some good, serious progress in the global war on terrorism. The problem, of course, is that this is a different kind of war, and it is something that could really go on forever. We have to figure a way to better engage Arab and Muslim societies—be it through education, cultural outreach or some other means—to get at the roots of what is causing the great discontent, to understand why people think the U.S. is the great Satan that must be attacked through terrorism.

Exeter teaches its student to respect and learn from different cultures while encouraging its students to develop as individuals. What cue might the country take from this lesson?

To be inclusive rather than exclusive when thinking about different points of view.

I showed up at Exeter quite by accident. My dad was an Army officer also and thought it best to get me into one school for four years rather than two or three different ones. We looked at a number of schools and realized very quickly that Exeter and Andover had scholarship money to offer, and that they were clearly the best academically.

When I arrived at Exeter in 1970, I met people with all kinds of backgrounds. I am a minority—a black American—and having applied from overseas, wasn't sure what to expect. In the late 1960s and early '70s, there was a program called “A Better Chance” that Exeter, Andover and a few other New England prep

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dous American tradition that benefits the nation as a whole, and that will surely benefit each individual as a learning and growing experience.

Kathy Ward '83

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

Kathy Ward '83 wants to know where and why. In the world's most dire areas of conflict, places where the legacy of genocide is a long-accepted fact of life, where the only certain thing about the future is uncertainty itself, she wants to know how bad it is and who should be paying attention.

A former White House Fellow and war crimes lawyer with the Coalition for International Justice, Ward is now deputy director of the International Crisis Group in Washington, D.C., a field-based think tank focused on identifying the issues that drive conflict. Overseas field staff report to Ward from many places on the front pages, from Sierra Leone to Sudan to Kabul. But many more report from places that are not, places of conflict on no one's radar screen. Ward's job is to get them there.

“Even after a lifetime of working on the same kinds of problems, I have never gotten bored. There is always a new combination of people to put together to make the world move forward. We can make mistakes, we in public life, but if we teach enough good people they can do more good things.” —Luigi Einaudi '53

What are the most important issues facing the country today and why?

Internationally, we have a security issues: the terrorism, the weapons of mass destruction. That is indisputable. But beyond that, the most important issues from where I sit are “process issues.” How do we develop and maintain the relationships we need internationally in order to pursue all the things we want, whether we are dealing with terrorism, market access, environmental or agricultural issues? The biggest dilemma we seem to be facing today is not so much figuring out what we need to do, but how to get it done.

What is your sense of America's image abroad?

I'm part of an organization that has people of many nationalities working for it. Judging by their reactions and by what they are hearing from the people they deal with, our reputation has been damaged very severely. That's particularly the case in Europe and the Arab world.

If you go to certain parts of Eastern Europe there is still the sense, at least in some portions of the population, that we helped them end the Cold War and

that they owe us a lot for that. But a lot more people have memories that focus on events well after that period and they regard America in a different light.

In the Arab world, we are having a horrible time on the Israeli-Palestinian question—horrible in terms of the perception of how we understand and respect Islam. That perception is also affected by how members of Islam are treated in this country and at Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib. All these things are just hideous for our reputation abroad.

Then there is a whole other sector that is very frustrated with U.S. stances on a variety of issues. The environmental community is frustrated by the way we handled the Kyoto protocol. AIDS activists around the world are frustrated because both the Clinton and Bush administrations were resistant to figuring out a way to make cheaper drugs available quickly. And then there are funding decisions regarding international organizations that advise people on abortion. All these things create a compound effect, in places like Brazil and South Africa. You can



Luigi Einaudi is the first U.S. citizen ever elected to a top leadership role in the Organization of American States.

go around the world and see pockets of this in many countries.

What kind of light does your work shed on the big issues facing the country?

As dull or as disconnected as some people may find such notions, the issues that we as Americans really care about are inextricably linked with very basic issues of human development within the international community—issues like access to opportunity and fair treatment. Do people have a sense of hope?

If we really want to address some of the root causes of the things that make us insecure at home, things like terrorism, we need to provide public and political support for more money for educational programs overseas, more money to create opportunities for people where they live. One, so they feel like they have alternatives rather than a sense of hopelessness; and two, so they have more interaction with the United States and come to see us as people who understand and respect the international community and are there to help.

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Have our civil liberties been compromised in the name of greater security?

What I am concerned about is that in the initial rush after September 11 people were trying to move very quickly because of the gravity of what had happened. We have ended up passing provisions that are really rather broad, blunt instruments, when what's needed is a fine scalpel.

Is this the most important election of your lifetime?

I don't know how we can know that, to be honest. Who knows what is coming next? Depending on your age, you might say that the election involving President Kennedy was pretty important, given what unfolded with the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis. So I don't know how we can know the relative importance of this election.

That said, I do think it is very important. We really do have very important decisions to be making right now, decisions that will so clearly affect not only whether we have certain benefits at home like prescription drugs or access to education, but that will also affect the world and our interactions with it.

Exeter is an international community; are there any cues the country might take from the school?

The Harkness concept of sitting around having a discussion—where you really do have people listening to each other, having a dialogue and not just talking at each other—is very important. I think that is one of the problems we are facing right now. So many people who are frustrated with us feel that the United States is simply lecturing to them—that we are not really listening, let alone engaging in a conversation with them.

Luigi Einaudi '53

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
GENERAL
THE ORGANIZATION OF
AMERICAN STATES

Few leaders have the knack for delivering bad news in an optimistic light. Luigi Einaudi '53 has this knack, so much so that when he describes political and humanitarian crises around the world, those who listen to him somehow come away reinvigorated.

As the assistant secretary general of the Organization of American States (OAS)—a multilateral forum composed of 34 sovereign countries from North, South, and Central America, the Caribbean and Canada—his mission is to reduce political and diplomatic tensions in the Western Hemisphere. Einaudi has to evaluate progress even when it seems there is none. And then, he has to present a path forward.

In January 2003, for example, Einaudi addressed the OAS on the situation in Haiti, where political turmoil raged. While acknowledging the bleakness of the situation, Einaudi cautioned his colleagues “not to overemphasize or misinterpret these many difficulties. What we are seeing is not more of the same, but the beginnings of some fundamental realignments of forces. . . . Perhaps one way of conveying what I suspect may be the case is that we are seeing the storm before the calm.”

Einaudi was elected assistant secretary general in 2000 (the only U.S. citizen ever elected to either of the two top positions in the OAS) and will serve until 2005. Over the course of his career, he has received awards for his work from Presidents Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. In February 1999, the presidents of Ecuador and Peru personally decorated him for his role in bringing peace to their countries.

“Every situation is different,” says Einaudi. “Even after a lifetime of working on the same kinds of problems, I have never gotten bored. There is always a new combination of peo-

ple to put together to make the world move forward. We can make mistakes, we in public life, but if we teach enough good people they can do more good things.”

What are the most important issues facing America today?

The biggest issue for the United States is to reconcile its extraordinary productivity, achievement and power with the realization that even if it is the sole super power, it really cannot by itself determine and control what happens in the world. We have to learn to work things out multilaterally.

The OAS is a little like the United Nations, but with one big difference. We have no charter authority to use force, which means that when disputes arise we need to try to settle them politically. I understand that force has a role in the world, and I have supported its use many times. But I do not believe that force by itself can ever solve a problem. In the United States we have to learn that that political strategy has to take into account the interests of others as well as our own, so that we can develop a set of common policies. Otherwise, it won't last.

In polarized and partisan times, how does one make decisions based on principle and not from a place of political motivation?

The intelligent thing is to never let utopia be driven from your mind. The daily world in which one lives is filled with compromises, traffic jams and other kinds of daily disasters. What you have to learn is to never lose sight of what your goal is, and also to have the stubbornness to do the work required to bring other people along.

I worry about polarization. There has, in fact, been a marked decline in political civility here in Washington. I am frankly alarmed by what everybody is saying, that the independent vot-

ers who are going to decide this election have been reduced to just a handful of people. I am also alarmed that increasing numbers of immigrants live in the shadow of American freedom and society and equality. I would like a society where the issues are debated fairly and openly and [where consensus is reached] across a spectrum. In this sense, I am not particularly happy about the current election.

What constitutes real leadership?

First of all, you need almost an Exeter-like striving for excellence and awareness. You can't settle for second-rate stuff. And then on top of that, you need experience in how the world works, so that you know how to bring your ideals into line with reality.

My own preference is to act behind the scenes and let other people take credit. That is one kind of leadership, and it is very necessary to learn to act through others and to give things away.

Unfortunately, that is close to the similar tradition that says, “Let's be quiet, let's do everything behind the scenes.” I think that is impossible. If you can't go out and explain a position and deal with [the consequences], you can't lead. So you need a very delicate balance between an ability to delegate and not hog all the limelight and an ability to communicate.

Is this the most important election of your lifetime?

I remember Harry Truman coming through Exeter on a train as part of his “whistle stop” campaign. I think that kind of campaigning is a thing of the past. Everything is hyped more—and probably rightfully so, because we have seen the power that terrorists can wield. So in that sense, each election seems to bring higher stakes. At the same time, good leadership does require stepping back and taking a longer-

term perspective. It is not quarterly reports and bottom lines that count.

Exeter is an international community that teaches its students to respect all cultures, while fostering a sense of independence and identity. What cues might the country take from this?

I very much believe in democracy among nations, as well as within nations, so I couldn't agree more about the importance of mutual respect that is taught at Exeter. At the same time, I think that you need a deep respect for your own country. In other words, what you get out of a place like

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—Lorne Craner '77

Exeter is not only the belief in yourself, but also, I hope, a deep belief in your own country. At the same time, you develop the belief that other countries need to be respected.

So how do you turn all that into leadership? The hardest thing internationally is trying to mediate between nationalisms. What I have learned is that the most important skill a leader can have is the ability to listen. When you listen, you find out what other people's interests are and then you can build something that they can understand and share.

Lorne Craner '77

FORMER ASSISTANT
SECRETARY FOR DEMOCRACY,
HUMAN RIGHTS AND LABOR
THE STATE DEPARTMENT

He was forever introducing himself.

By the time Lorne Craner was 18, he was a veteran of six schools. For Craner, the son of an Air Force pilot who moved the family from state to state, evaluating the dynam-

ics of sociopolitical landscapes was a skill he developed at a very early age. It was a skill he would come to rely on.

In his recently completed role as the assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights and labor, Craner believed the delicate dynamics of debate were the heart and soul of his job: not only selling democracy, but seeing it through in reborn countries around the world.

“I found that the United States and European nations were disagreeing strongly on human rights issues,” Craner recalls. “And I thought, ‘Does this really make sense?’” One of the first things he did was approach his

Craner with the State Department's highest honor, the Distinguished Service Award, for “advancing American policies to support democracy and human rights globally...with principle, creativity and determination.”

What is the most important issue facing America today and why?

For the first time since Vietnam, more Americans think foreign policy is the most important issue. In 1983, 33 percent of the



population thought it was foreign policy; by 1996, it was down to 1 percent.

As someone working in the field of human rights, what has been your reaction to the prison abuse at Abu Ghraib?

I was very pleased to see it the top news item for two months. Why? Because it said to me that Americans were utterly disgusted with what happened there. They did not think, as some tried to claim, that this is just what happens in war. This is not just what happens. I come from a military family and I know this is not what happens in war. So the fact that many Americans were appalled by it was a very good thing.

A lot of people said to me, “This is really going to affect your work.” As it happens, it really did not. I'd say to dissidents I was

working with from China and Central Asia and the Middle East, “Why don't you ask me about Abu Ghraib?” They'd say, “No. 1, in my country this stuff has been going on for decades, and the leaders all know about it. No. 2, it does not get exposed and nobody does anything about it. In your country, you have a free press that made sure the public knew about it. You have a legislature that called up the defense minister, Donald Rumsfeld.” So

Lorne Craner served as an assistant secretary of state until earlier this year.

they said they were not angry about this. It does not help our reputation, but they don't think America is perfect and they don't expect perfection. They just expect and hope that we will continue to help others overseas.

The most lasting effect may be on our own souls, which I think is a very good thing. Americans will demand that the trail on Abu Ghraib be followed wherever it leads, as high up as it goes. People will say, “Yes, America messed up, but in the end it is a self-correcting mechanism, this democracy, and that is exactly what we want at home.”

What constitutes principled leadership?

You just have to remember

what American principles are, the principles on which the country was founded. You measure what you are doing and the decision you are taking by those principles, as opposed to what is going to help you in the next election. What is expedient today won't look expedient some months from now, much less ten years from now.

One of the things I used to tell people who worked for me is that if you can't imagine yourself 30 years from now saying to your children, "Here is why I did that," then think about what you are

"Economists like to say there is no free lunch—for any policy. If you decide you want to spend money on a war in Iraq, that is money you cannot spend on homeland security. So with every budget decision, there is a trade-off." —Jon Orszag '91

doing. You have to think about whether it is going to hold up over the long term.

There has been great debate about whether our quest for greater security is eroding our civil liberties. How do you explain decisions that come at a cost?

I think it has become clear that in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, the pendulum swung to a particular point with the Patriot Act, and now there are people who are now saying, "Well, hold it. Maybe it needs to swing back a little bit this way."

But again, I think a good thing can happen here. For example, you can't open the newspaper without reading an article on Guantanamo Bay or Abu Ghraib in which the courts are getting involved and saying, "No, that is going too far." You have a precedent where the president will propose some measures to Congress, but Congress will

say, "This part looks good, but you can forget about that part." The courts will look at Congress and say, "Well, that looks good, but Congress, you must be kidding on this part." These are the kind of self-correcting measures that you like to see.

How did Exeter prepare you for the challenges you've faced in your career?

At Exeter, you are in one of the best schools in the country, and if you can measure up, it gives you some confidence in your capa-

bilities. I have to say that I was not an honors student, but if you can do decently there, you know you are up against the best in the country.

Because of the intellectual method that it teaches, Exeter gives you an appreciation for the other side of the argument. It shows you that you may not have all the world's wisdom. You find you cannot dismiss anyone's opinion, because they are obviously very intelligent. So then you start thinking, "Well, how does *this* work?" At the age of 14, that is a valuable lesson worth learning.

What would you like Exeter students to know about the work that you do?

That there are other ways to job satisfaction. Don't count the dollars you will make as the only form of job satisfaction. For far less money, you can do things that are equally as impor-

tant as being a lawyer or a doctor or a banker.

What would you like to see in the next five years?

Democracy is not pulled out of an envelope, put in a bowl of water and, presto, you have a democracy. There is a whole consciousness that really has to arise, from the population of a civil society, for people to be interested in and figure out this new form of government. The other thing we need to remember is



that they are not going to look like us. And that it is going to take time to get there.

I think in the next five years, in both Afghanistan and Iraq, you have the beginnings of the institutions of democracy and rulers who are responsible and accountable. And there are the beginnings of a functioning economy. I always say that the work we are doing now in these countries will pay off when my daughter, who is 7, is having kids. Five years from now, we can have reasonable expectations. In 20 years, high expectations. But it is going to take awhile.

Jon Orszag '91

MANAGING DIRECTOR
COMPETITION POLICY
ASSOCIATES, INC.

If he had known he would be briefing the president, Jon Orszag '91 would have worn a tie. In a perfect

world, an authoritative suit, one that would look good in the pictures the official White House photographer might take in the Oval Office. But at his desk on Friday, July 5, 1996, Orszag found himself in khakis and a button-down dress shirt. It would have to do.

Orszag, one of President Clinton's youngest staffers, had been working at the White House for the better part of a year, as a member of the National Economic Council. But until then, he had never briefed the president.

John Orszag was one of President Clinton's youngest staffers, serving on the National Economic Council.

That Friday, the day after the Fourth of July holiday, the country's Employment Report came out. The numbers were good, and the timing was fortuitous for a president in the middle of a re-election campaign. "The decision was made to have him go out and do a statement," recalls Orszag. "He wanted to take credit for the strong and growing economy." Reasonable enough, but first Clinton would need a briefing from one of his economic advisers before addressing the national press corps. With slight alarm, Orszag realized, "Every single person was on vacation."

And so Orszag was called into the Oval Office to brief the president with just one other adviser. "He had already read the news,"

says Orszag, still chuckling at the memory. "He asked two or three questions, we answered them and he went out and gave his statement. I thought that was pretty cool."

Eight years later, Orszag is the managing director of Competition Policy Associates, Inc., an economic and public policy firm he founded with several others, including his older brother Peter '87. They work on a variety of issues involving antitrust, regulatory and financial market issues, and it can be said Orszag keeps a keen eye on when the Democrats may move back into the White House.

As an economist, what for you are the most important issues facing the country?

In the short-term, putting our fiscal house in order and bringing under control the very large long-term budget deficits are the most important economic issues facing the country. To do so, it is going to take a lot of will, effort and discipline on the part of the next president, something the current president has yet to demonstrate when it comes to budget issues. It will also be important for the next president to tackle long-term fiscal issues, such as Social Security and Medicare, which become particularly important as baby boomers begin to retire. It is wrong to say these programs are in a crisis, but they do face long-term problems that need to be addressed sooner rather than later. The sooner we address these issues, the easier it will be to deal with them. The right time to do that is now.

What constitutes real leadership?

Being a leader means taking a principled stand on an issue, a stand that may not be popular but that is something that you are willing to do. On economic issues, Clinton was unbelievably good at doing the right

thing even though it was not popular. Take the Mexican peso crisis. The idea of lending money to Mexico was not a very popular decision, but he knew it was the right thing to do and he did it. It was the same thing with the Asian financial crisis and supporting free trade. It would have been easy for him to support imposing tariffs or quotas on steel and appeasing labor unions, but instead he said, "No, that is not the right thing to do, and I am not going to do it."

What factors contribute to our polarized political landscape?

The media drives some of the polarization—probably a large portion of it—with its 24-hours news cycle and the success of programs where people spend most of their time yelling at each other instead of debating the issues in a more civil way. This format lends itself to crazy and outlandish statements because they make for good television. The folks who become popular are the polarizers, not the folks who work to build coalitions. When you think about the members of congress who are always on television, it is rare that you see conciliatory types. They often don't make it onto television.

How does an economist view the debate over security versus other priorities?

Economists like to say there is no free lunch—for any policy. If you decide you want to spend money on a war in Iraq, that is money you cannot spend on homeland security. Or if you want to spend the money on homeland security, it means running a deficit and leaving a debt to our children and grandchildren. So with every budget decision, there is a trade-off. ●

Exeter at Henley

(continued from page 25)

month I spent in preparation for and competing in the Henley Women's Regatta undoubtedly improved my rowing in ways never to be matched," Vick says. "Instead of having to balance school work and athletics, I could focus on crew. I'll be able to use the skills I



The boys crew team made its first appearance at Henley since 1993.

learned in all of my future rowing seasons."

The Exeter girls got to Henley before the boys. "When we arrived, the town was pretty

"Our returning athletes will be able to show the next generation all that they learned."

quiet," says Susan Closmore '05. "We trained rigorously that week. As the week progressed, crews from around the United Kingdom and a few U.S. crews showed up."

In the intense competition on the Thames River, the Exeter four-with-cox, which included coxswain Hayward,

Closmore, Vick, Genevieve Joy '05 and Liz Hathaway '05, defeated Haberdashers Monmouth B in the first round and lost to eventual champion Rochester (MN) Rowing Club by five boat lengths in the semifinals.

The New England champion Exeter eight of coxswain Caitlin Mixter '04, Courtney

Emerson '05, Kim Strovink '04, Maddy Hartzell '04, captain Savannah Sachs '04, Eva Glasrud '05, Shannon Guy '04, Jenn Gorman '04 and Catherine Johnson '06 lost in the opening round by a foot to St. Paul's School of Concord, NH, in the closest race of the

regatta. "We cried," says Johnson of the eight's result. "And I have to say that the first thought on my mind after we crossed the finish line was that I'm ready for next year."

Girls' coach Chandra Glick '96 agrees that the Henley experience will pay future dividends for Exeter. "As far as I'm

DAVID DUNFEE