

HARVARD MARSHALL FORUM



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HARVARD | JUNE 3RD



THE HARVARD MARSHALL FORUM

celebrating the
70th ANNIVERSARY
of the
MARSHALL PLAN

Welcome

On behalf of the Association of Marshall Scholars, with Harvard Law School, Harvard Kennedy School of Government, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and the British Embassy, we are honored to present the 2017 Harvard Marshall Forum: “The Legacy of the Marshall Plan”, celebrating the 70th Anniversary of George C. Marshall’s historic speech announcing the Marshall Plan.

HOST COMMITTEE

*Graham Allison Douglas Melton
Dan Barouch Martha Minow
Harriet Cross Eric Nelson
Nannerl Keohane Jeannie Suk Gersen
Rakesh Khurana Michael Sulmeyer
Michael Klarman Kathleen Sullivan*

PROGRAMMING & PRESENTATION

The Association of Marshall Scholars

is an alumni organization for recipients of the Marshall Scholarship, fostering personal and professional connections, and endeavoring to strengthen the enduring bond between the United States and the United Kingdom.

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

is an American public policy and grantmaking institution dedicated to developing ideas, leaders, and institutions necessary for an effective long-term partnership between the United States and Europe.

**British Embassy in Washington, D.C.
British Consulate General Boston
Harvard Law School
Harvard Kennedy School**

HARVARD MARSHALL FORUM | JUNE 3

- 8:00 AM** **BREAKFAST & REGISTRATION**
- 9:00 AM** **WELCOME & INTRODUCTION**
Martha Minow, Fredrik Logevall
- REMARKS**
Jane Harman
- REMARKS**
Foreign Minister Bert Koenders
- 10:00 AM** **DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS & HUMANITARIAN AID**
Kathleen Sullivan (Moderator); Baroness Valerie Amos, Brian Atwood, Stephen Pomper
- 11:15 AM** **THE INTERNATIONAL LANDSCAPE 70 YEARS AFTER THE MARSHALL PLAN**
Ambassador William Burns (Moderator); Graham Allison, Ambassador Daniel Benjamin, Secretary Madeleine Albright, Karen Donfried
- 12:15 PM** **MARSHALL MEDAL PRESENTATION**
Honoree: Secretary Madeleine Albright
- 12:30 PM** **LUNCH**
- 1:30 PM** **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**
Danielle Allen
- 2:15 PM** **THE GLOBAL ECONOMY IN THE DIGITAL AGE**
Peter Orszag (Moderator); Heidi Crebo-Rediker, HMA Sir Kim Darroch, Joichi Ito, Benn Steil
- 3:30 PM** **CLOSING REMARKS & QUESTIONS**
Sir Malcolm Rifkind
- 4:00 PM** **END OF PROGRAM**
Nell Breyer, AMS Executive Director

FORUM SPEAKERS



Madeleine Albright, *Albright Stonebridge Group*

is Chair of Albright Stonebridge Group, a global strategy firm. She was the 64th Secretary of State of the United States from 1997 to 2001. She was the first female Secretary of State. From 1993 to 1997, she served as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations and was a member of the President's Cabinet. In 2012, she was chosen by President Obama to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom in recognition of her contributions to international peace and democracy.



Danielle Allen (1993), *Harvard University*

is James Bryant Conant University Professor and Director of the Edmond J. Sraga Center for Ethics at Harvard University. She is a political theorist who has published broadly in democratic theory, political sociology, and the history of political thought. A 2001 MacArthur Foundation Fellow, she is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and the Society of American Historians. She is also a contributing columnist for *The Washington Post*.



Graham Allison (1962), *Harvard Kennedy School*

is Director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and Douglas Dillon Professor of Government at Harvard Kennedy School. The “founding dean” of the modern Kennedy School, he served as Special Advisor to the Secretary of Defense under Pres. Reagan and as Assistant Secretary of Defense under Pres. Clinton. His most recent book, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides’s Trap?*, will be published in 2017.



Baroness Valerie Amos, CH, *SOAS University London*

joined as Director of SOAS University of London in 2015. From 2010, she served as Undersecretary General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator at the United Nations. She was an advisor to the Mandela government, and was appointed a Labour Life Peer in 1997. She has served as Foreign Office Minister, Secretary of State for International Development, Leader of the House of Lords, UK High Commissioner to Australia, and is a Companion of Honour.



Brian Atwood, *Brown University*

is a senior fellow at the Watson Institute, professor emeritus at the University of Minnesota’s Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs, and a non-resident fellow at the Brookings Institution. He previously led the US Agency for International Development (USAID) under Pres. Clinton. He has served in a number of roles in the State Dept., at the United Nations, and as a career diplomat.



Daniel Benjamin (1983), *Dartmouth College*

is Director of the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding at Dartmouth College. He served as Ambassador-at-Large and Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the State Department under Pres. Obama. He has previously served as director of the Center on the U.S. and Europe at the Brookings Institution, member of the National Security Council, and Special Assistant to Pres. Clinton. He co-authored the award-winning book, *The Age of Sacred Terror* (2002).



William Burns (1978), *Carnegie Endowment*

is the President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He retired from the U.S. Foreign Service in 2014 after a 33-year diplomatic career. He holds the highest rank in the Foreign Service (Career Ambassador), and is one of only two serving career diplomats in history to become Deputy Secretary of State. He also previously served as Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Ambassador to Russia, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, and Ambassador to Jordan.



Heido Crebo-Rediker, *International Capital Strategies*

is CEO of International Capital Strategies, as well as a Senior Fellow on the Council on Foreign Relations. She has served as Chief Economist to the State Department (the first to hold that title), as well as Chief of International Finance & Economics for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. She has an extensive career in investment banking, and has been named one of the “Top 25 Women in Business.”



Sir Kim Darroch, KCMG, *British Ambassador to the United States* has a diplomatic career spanning three decades, primarily focused on national security issues and EU policy. He has served as National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister, as EU Advisor to the Prime Minister, and as Secretary of the UK's National Security Council. He has held a range of high-level diplomatic posts, representing UK interests in the European Union on a range of issues.



Karen Donfried, *German Marshall Fund of the United States* is President of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and a senior professor for European studies at Harvard University. Previously, she served as special assistant to Pres. Obama and senior director for European affairs on the National Security Council. She has also held a wide array of high-level posts concerning European interests in diplomatic, intelligence, and congressional settings.



Jane Harman, *Woodrow Wilson Center* is Director, President and CEO of the Woodrow Wilson Center. She previously represented California (CA-36) during nine terms in the House of Representatives in Congress, serving on the Armed Services, Intelligence, and Homeland Security committees. Her expertise is at the nexus of security and public policy issues, and she has received numerous awards for her distinguished service.



Joichi Ito, *MIT* is the director of the MIT Media Lab & Professor of Practice at MIT. He is chairman of the board of PureTech Health, and serves on a number of other boards, including those of the NYTimes, Sony, and the MacArthur Foundation. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the co-author of *Whiplash: How To Survive Our Faster Future*.



Bert Koenders, *Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs* is the Netherlands' Minister of Foreign Affairs. He previously served as Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Secretary-General's Representative and head of the UN operation in Cote d'Ivoire. He was also a member of the House of Representatives for the Labour Party as a spokesperson on foreign affairs, trade, corporate social responsibility and international financial institutions.



Fredrik Logevall, *Harvard University* is Professor of International Affairs at Harvard University. He is the author/editor of nine books, including the Pulitzer-Prize winning *Embers of War*. His essays and reviews have appeared in the New York Times, The Washington Post, the LA Times, Politico, and many others. He is a past president of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.



Martha Minow, *Harvard Law School* is the Morgan and Helen Chu Dean and Prof. of Law at Harvard Law School, where her courses include civil procedure, constitutional law, family law, international criminal justice, jurisprudence, law and education, nonprofit organizations, and the public law workshop. An expert in human rights and advocacy for members of racial and religious minorities and for women, children, and persons with disabilities, she also writes about privatization, military justice, and ethnic and religious conflict.



Peter Orszag (1991), *Lazard* is a Managing Director and Vice-Chairman of Investment Banking at Lazard. He served as Director of the Office of Management and Budget, as a member of Pres. Obama's cabinet, and as Director of the Congressional Budget Office. He also served in the Clinton administration, on both the staff of the Council of Economic Advisors and the National Economic Council.



Stephen Pomper, *U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum* is a Davis Distinguished Fellow at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and a Senior Fellow at Columbia Law School's Human Rights Institute. He served as Special Assistant to Pres. Obama and Senior Director for African Affairs, Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights on the National Security Council. He was previously an Assistant Legal Adviser in the Office of the Legal Adviser at the State Dept. In July, he will become a Senior Policy Scholar at the U.S. Institute of Peace.



Sir Malcolm Rifkind, KCMG QC, King's College London is Visiting Professor in the Dept. of War Studies at King's College London and a Senior Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute. He served as the U.K. Foreign & Commonwealth Secretary from 1995 to 1997 under Sir John Major. He also served as Chairman of the Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament from 2010 to 2015. He is one of only five ministers to serve for 18 years, throughout the whole Prime Ministerships of both Margaret Thatcher and John Major.



Benn Steil, Council on Foreign Relations is director of international economics at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a well-regarded author, with award-winning titles, including *The Battle of Bretton Woods: John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a New World Order* (2013 Spear Book Award; Book of the Year Choice, Bloomberg 2013). His newest book, *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War*, will be published in early 2018.

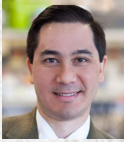


Kathleen Sullivan (1976), Quinn Emanuel Urquhart & Sullivan, LLP is a partner in the law firm Quinn Emanuel, where she heads the appellate practice. She was previously a professor of law at Harvard and Stanford Law Schools, and served as the eleventh Dean of Stanford Law School. She has argued ten cases in the U.S. Supreme Court, and hundreds of appeals and motions in state and federal courts.

ADDITIONAL SPEAKERS



Daniel Baer (2001), former U.S. Ambassador to OSCE was U.S. ambassador to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe from 2013 to 2017. He previously served as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor from 2009-2013. He was an assistant professor at Georgetown's McDonough School of Business, a Faculty Fellow at Harvard's Safra Center for Ethics, and a project leader at The Boston Consulting Group.



Dan Barouch (1993), Harvard Medical School is Professor of Medicine at Harvard Medical School and Director of the Center for Virology and Vaccine Research at Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center. He is developing novel strategies to prevent and to treat global infectious diseases. He is a key part of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation Collaboration for AIDS Vaccine Discovery, the NIH Center for HIV/AIDS Vaccine Immunology and Immunogen Discovery, and the Ragon Institute of MGH, MIT, and Harvard.



Stephen Breyer (1959), Supreme Court of the United States was nominated an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by Pres. Clinton and assumed office in 1994. Previously, he served on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit and as a Prof. at Harvard Law School and Harvard Kennedy School. He also previously served in various capacities for Justice Arthur Goldberg of the Supreme Court during the 1964 term, the Assistant U.S. Attorney General, the Watergate Special Prosecution Force, and the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee.



Sewell Chan (1998), The New York Times is the international news editor in the London office of The New York Times, focusing on coverage of breaking news in Europe, the Middle East and Africa. He was previously the deputy editor of the Op-Ed page and Sunday Review section, from 2011 to 2015; a Washington economic correspondent; and a metropolitan reporter. Before joining The Times, in 2004, he was a staff writer at The Washington Post.



Neil Gorsuch (1992), Supreme Court of the United States was nominated an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by Pres. Trump and assumed office in 2017. Previously, he served on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit, as Principal Deputy Associate Attorney General, and as a law clerk to Justices Byron White and Anthony Kennedy of the Supreme Court and Judge David Sentelle of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.



Douglas Melton (1975), *Harvard University*

is the Xander University Professor at Harvard and an Investigator of the Howard Hughes Medical Institute. He is also a co-director of Harvard's Stem Cell Institute. He earned a bachelor's degree in biology from the University of Illinois and then went to Cambridge University in England as a Marshall Scholar. He earned a BA in history and philosophy of science at Cambridge and remained there to earn a PhD in molecular biology at Trinity College and the MRC Laboratory of Molecular Biology.



Ushma Neill (1999), *Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center*

is Director of the Office of the President of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center. She obtained her PhD in biomedical engineering from Northwestern University studying pulmonary mechanics and used her Marshall Sheffield Postdoctoral Fellowship at Imperial College, London, to study vascular permeability. After 2 years as an editor at Nature Medicine, she joined the Journal of Clinical Investigation as Executive Editor.



Jeffrey Rosen (1986), *National Constitution Center*

is President and CEO of the National Constitution Center, Professor of Law at The George Washington University, a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, and the legal affairs editor of The New Republic. His most recent book is *The Supreme Court: The Personalities and Rivalries that Defined America*. He also is the author of *The Most Democratic Branch*, *The Naked Crowd*, and *The Unwanted Gaze*.

SPONSORSHIP ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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is an American public policy and grantmaking institution dedicated to developing ideas, leaders, and institutions necessary for an effective long-term partnership between the United States and Europe.

Joan Heckler Gillings

is the Foundation Director of the Transatlantic Forum for Education and Diplomacy, and is deeply committed to strengthening ties between the United States and the United Kingdom, with an emphasis on cultural, educational, and diplomatic exchanges.

Anonymous Marshall Scholar

Harvard Law School

Harvard Kennedy School

GEORGE C. MARSHALL'S 1947 SPEECH

I'm profoundly grateful and touched by the great distinction and honor and great compliment accorded me by the authorities of Harvard this morning. I'm overwhelmed, as a matter of fact, and I'm rather fearful of my inability to maintain such a high rating as you've been generous enough to accord to me. In these historic and lovely surroundings, this perfect day, and this very wonderful assembly, it is a tremendously impressive thing to an individual in my position. But to speak more seriously, I need not tell you, gentlemen, that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisal of the situation. Furthermore, the people of this country are distant from the troubled areas of the earth and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and consequent reactions of the long-suffering peoples, and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world.

In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe, the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines and railroads was correctly estimated but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. For the past 10 years conditions have been highly abnormal. The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete. Under the arbitrary and destructive Nazi rule, virtually every possible enterprise was geared into the German war machine. Long-standing commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies, and shipping companies disappeared, through loss of capital, absorption through nationalization, or by simple destruction. In many countries, confidence in the local currency has been severely shaken. The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete. Recovery has been seriously retarded by the fact that two years after the close of hostilities a peace settlement with Germany and Austria has not been agreed upon. But even given a more prompt solution of these difficult problems the rehabilitation of the economic structure of Europe quite evidently will require a much longer time and greater effort than had been foreseen.

There is a phase of this matter which is both interesting and serious. The farmer has always produced the foodstuffs to exchange with the city dweller for the other necessities of life. This division of labor is the basis of modern civilization. At the present time it is threatened

with breakdown. The town and city industries are not producing adequate goods to exchange with the food producing farmer. Raw materials and fuel are in short supply. Machinery is lacking or worn out. The farmer or the peasant cannot find the goods for sale which he desires to purchase. So the sale of his farm produce for money which he cannot use seems to him an unprofitable transaction. He, therefore, has withdrawn many fields from crop cultivation and is using them for grazing. He feeds more grain to stock and finds for himself and his family an ample supply of food, however short he may be on clothing and the other ordinary gadgets of civilization. Meanwhile people in the cities are short of food and fuel. So the governments are forced to use their foreign money and credits to procure these necessities abroad. This process exhausts funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction. Thus a very serious situation is rapidly developing which bodes no good for the world. The modern system of the division of labor upon which the exchange of products is based is in danger of breaking down.

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products - principally from America - are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character.

The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole. The manufacturer and the farmer throughout wide areas must be able and willing to exchange their products for currencies the continuing value of which is not open to question.

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative. Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full co-operation

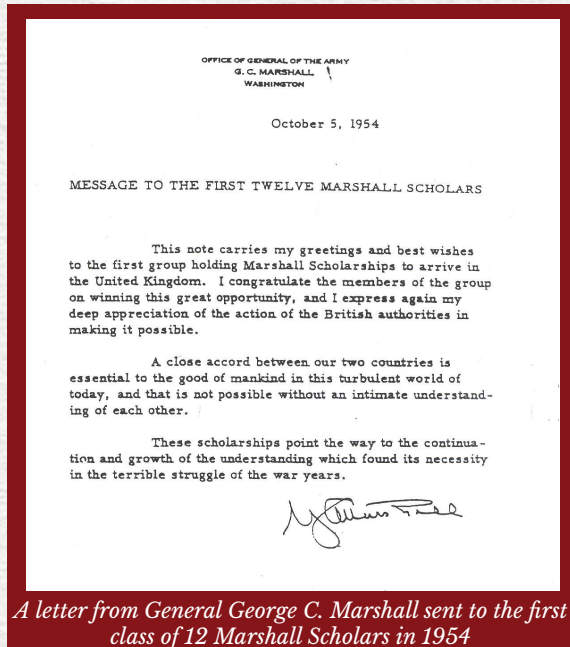
I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

It is already evident that, before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all European nations.

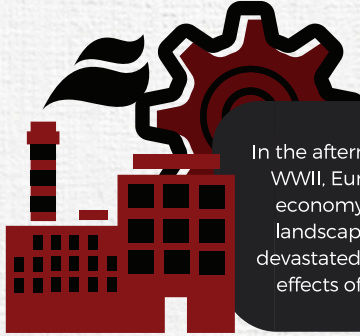
An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding

on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome.

I am sorry that on each occasion I have said something publicly in regard to our international situation, I've been forced by the necessities of the case to enter into rather technical discussions. But to my mind, it is of vast importance that our people reach some general understanding of what the complications really are, rather than react from a passion or a prejudice or an emotion of the moment. As I said more formally a moment ago, we are remote from the scene of these troubles. It is virtually impossible at this distance merely by reading, or listening, or even seeing photographs or motion pictures, to grasp at all the real significance of the situation. And yet the whole world of the future hangs on a proper judgment. It hangs, I think, to a large extent on the realization of the American people, of just what are the various dominant factors. What are the reactions of the people? What are the justifications of those reactions? What are the sufferings? What is needed? What can best be done? What must be done?



THE MARSHALL PLAN



In the aftermath of WWII, Europe's economy and landscape are devastated by the effects of war.



JUNE 5, 1947

Secretary of State George C. Marshall gives a speech at Harvard University pledging to help restore European economic independence.

“OUR POLICY IS DIRECTED NOT AGAINST *any country or doctrine* BUT AGAINST **hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos.**

- GEORGE MARSHALL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, 5 JUNE 1947



\$12-13 BILLION DOLLARS OVER 3 YEARS

western europe

*Stalin declined the same offer of aid to the USSR

With the assistance of the Marshall Plan, European economies recovered; the influx of cash helped to pay down national debts, to subsidize imports, and stabilized currency. Ties between Western Europe & the US grew ever stronger.

For his role as architect of the Marshall Plan, George Marshall was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953.



Marshall Medal Recipients

The commemorative Marshall Medal is awarded to a handful of people of outstanding achievement whose contribution to British-American understanding, distinguished role in public life, or creative energy reflect the legacy of George C. Marshall.

HONOREES, 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARSHALL SCHOLARSHIP

Secretary Madeleine Albright

*Former U.S. Secretary of State,
1997-2001*

Matthew Barzun

*Former U.S. Ambassador to the
United Kingdom*

Nancy Cox (1970)

*Mary Phillips Edmonds Gray Chair
& Prof. of Medicine, Vanderbilt
University*

Bill Janeway CBE (1965)

*Senior Advisor & Managing
Director, Warburg Pincus*

Reid Hoffman CBE (1990) (not attending)

David Miliband (not attending)

HONOREES, 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARSHALL SCHOLARSHIP

Anne Applebaum (1986)

William Burns (1968)

Frances Dow

Robert Gray OBE (1971)

William Hague

David Hannay

Douglas Melton (1975)

Jonathan Taylor

Daniel Yergin (1968)

HONOREES, 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARSHALL SCHOLARSHIP

Justice Stephen Breyer (1959)

Ray Dolby OBE (1957)

Thomas Friedman OBE (1975)

Nannerl Keohane (1961)

Christopher Makins

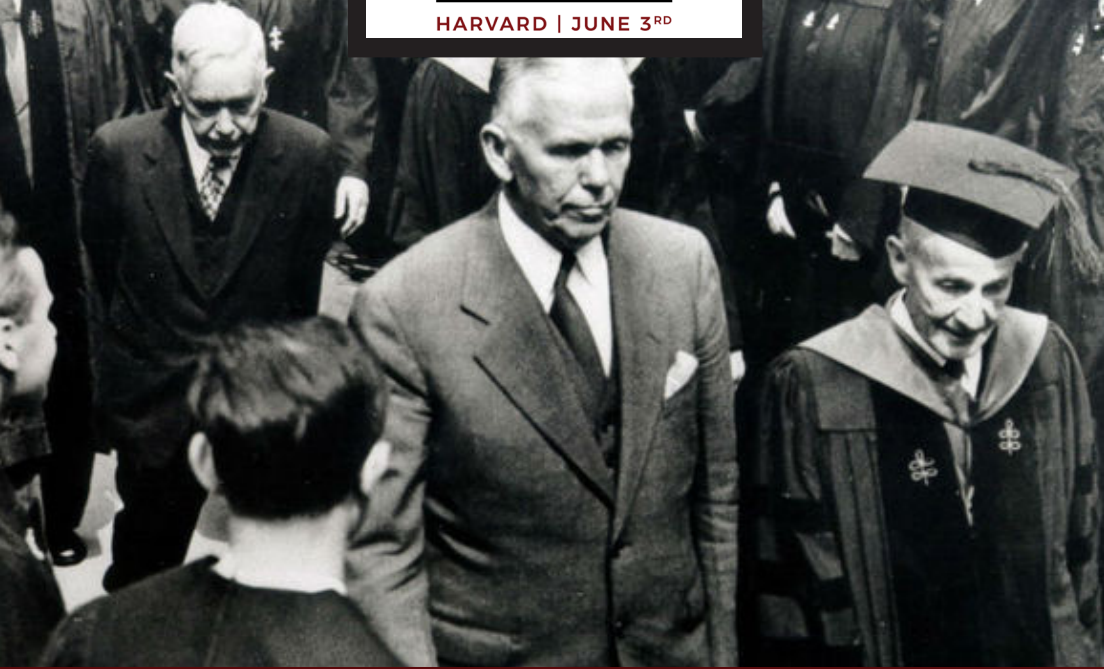
George Mitchell

Secretary Colin Powell

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THE HARVARD MARSHALL FORUM



Association of
**MARSHALL
SCHOLARS**



**HARVARD
LAW SCHOOL**

HARVARD Kennedy School
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

G | M | F

STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION

The German Marshall Fund
of the United States



British Embassy
Washington

program design by TheAppliedHumanities.com
Dr. Katie E. Clark (2005), CEO