

**Did an Expose Help Sink Harvard's President?**

By SARA IVRY

Two years ago, when David McClintick, an author and investigative journalist, agreed to write an expose on Harvard University's effort on behalf of the United States government to help Russia privatize its economy in the 1990's, he had little inkling the article would play a part in forcing the ouster of Harvard's president, Lawrence H. Summers.

"I was surprised that he was gone by February of '06," said Mr. McClintick, and "that it happened as rapidly as it did."

"How Harvard Lost Russia" was published in the January issue of **Institutional Investor magazine**, a subscription-only publication, about a month and a half before Dr. Summers's resignation, which he announced last Tuesday. The move came just two weeks after a Feb. 7 meeting when the president was challenged on several issues, including his reaction to events described in Mr. McClintick's article.

In roughly 18,500 words, (22,007 including sidebars), Mr. McClintick chronicled financial improprieties by those in charge of Harvard's Russia project, including Andrei Shleifer, a professor of economics who is a friend and protege of Dr. Summers's, and Jonathan Hay, a Harvard-trained lawyer. The two men were accused of making personal investments in Russia at a time when they were working under contract to establish capitalism in the former Soviet nation.

Their behavior led the United States government to file civil charges against Harvard, Mr. Shleifer and Mr. Hay for fraud, breach of contract and making false claims. In a settlement reached last summer, Harvard agreed to pay \$26.5 million. Mr. Hay was ordered to pay a fine based on his future earnings and Mr. Shleifer agreed to pay \$2 million, though none of the parties admitted wrongdoing. Mr. Shleifer has not been subjected to any disciplinary action from Harvard.

Some Harvard watchers attribute that to Dr. Summers's influence, though he formally recused himself from the matter, and they see the entire affair, assiduously detailed by Mr. McClintick, as an indelible stain on Harvard's reputation.

Mr. McClintick, 65, a 1962 graduate of Harvard, is a former reporter for The Wall Street Journal and the author of several books, including "Indecent Exposure," which investigated financial scandal at Columbia Pictures. That book was a finalist for the National Book Award and helped solidify Mr. McClintick's reputation as a meticulous investigator.

"I'd never really written about academia before, but here again, one reason I was drawn to it was you had this very small group of exceptionally brilliant people, very young people, basically trying to save Russia and then an even smaller group corrupting the enterprise," he said. "The wheeling and dealing and the internal dynamics of the group are fascinating."

There is a wide range of opinion in the powerful circle of Harvard watchers on just how significant Mr. McClintick's article was in galvanizing faculty members. Richard Bradley, the author of "Harvard Rules: Lawrence Summers and the Battle for the World's Most Powerful University," has written frequently about the scandal on his blog ([richardbradley.net](http://richardbradley.net)).

"Suddenly, you couldn't just say this was an arcane legal dispute in which one party had somehow fallen afoul of the law," Mr. Bradley said in an interview. "Suddenly, this was exposed as a really unattractive and deliberate pattern of behavior and cover-up that quite dramatically pointed an arrow at Larry Summers."

The article was sent anonymously in brown envelopes to some senior faculty members at Harvard, according to Harry R. Lewis, professor of computer science and the author of the forthcoming book, "Excellence Without a Soul: How a Great University Forgot Education."

"I certainly got people calling me up from the faculty, including emeriti faculty and people I hadn't seen in a long time, because I was quoted in it, and saying, 'Wow, I never knew this story,'" Mr. Lewis said.

Frederick H. Abernathy, a professor of mechanical engineering, announced at the Feb. 7 faculty meeting how to find the article online, and he asked Dr. Summers, who had been deposed in the litigation against Harvard, if he had an opinion on the matter. According to John Longbrake, senior director of communications, Dr. Summers replied, "I am not knowledgeable of the facts and circumstances to be able to express an opinion as a consequence of my recusal."

Efforts to reach Dr. Summers were unsuccessful; inquiries were referred to Mr. Longbrake.

The recusal, said Robert D. Putnam, a former dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, was a turning point.

"When the president responded in a manifestly untruthful way to questions that were asked about the Shleifer case," Mr. Putnam said, "it had a devastating effect on the views of people who were to that point uncommitted, people who, like me, were strong supporters of his agenda."

Others, however, maintain that the events detailed by Mr. McClintick were a negligible factor in Dr. Summers's departure. The report is available at [institutionalinvestor.com](http://institutionalinvestor.com).

"I would bet you there weren't more than 20 or 30 people who read it," said Alan M. Dershowitz, who has taught law at Harvard for 42 years and who wrote an op-ed about the resignation for The Boston Globe.

"It seems to me it was full of leaps of logic," Mr. Dershowitz said. "Once people made up their minds they wanted to get rid of Summers, they were dragging up anything."

Mr. Longbrake declined to answer whether Dr. Summers, 51, had read Mr. McClintick's article and whether it had influenced his decision to resign.

In an e-mail message, Mr. McClintick said that he did not write his article to set any particular chain of events in motion. "I try to raise questions," Mr. McClintick said. "I don't like to preach, pontificate or tell the reader what to think."

Michael J. Carroll, the editor at Institutional Investor who first approached Mr. McClintick with the story, said Mr. McClintick's article, the longest published in the magazine since he began editing it in 1999, warranted close attention. "Russia was going to go the way of the West, so in come the best and brightest of Harvard, and this story shows how the best and the brightest started to do things the old Russia way," Mr. Carroll said. Mr. McClintick concurred. "If this case shows anything," he said, "it's that intelligence does not equal wisdom."

Photos: An article by David McClintick, above, about a program to privatize Russia, and a recusal by Harvard's president, Lawrence H. Summers, right, raised eyebrows among faculty members. (Photo by Fred R. Conrad/The New York Times); (Photo by Joe Raedle/Getty Images)

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