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Public Libraries

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Some states say yes to the DREAM

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The nexus of policy and scholarship

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Training the best and brightest to stop the spread of WMDs

Preventing Afghanistan *from* Becoming *a* Narco-State

by VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President, Carnegie Corporation of New York*



PHOTO BY MICHAEL FALCO

Editor's Note: Vartan Gregorian, former president and professor emeritus of history at Brown University, is the author of *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization 1880-1946*, which, when it was published in 1969 by Stanford University Press, was hailed as the definitive history of the rise of modern Afghanistan. The book will be reissued in November 2012 with a new introduction by the author who, over the years, has continued to study the turbulent developments in Afghanistan. In this essay, he addresses one of the most pressing problems currently facing that country and its people.

The year 2014 is fast approaching and with it, the end of the allied forces mission in Afghanistan. At the close of that year, as President Obama confirmed in his recent speech from Bagram Air Force Base, the U.S. and NATO will hand over responsibility for the security of Afghanistan to its own forces. But in the meantime, events on the ground are conspiring against some of the long-term policy goals that the allied nations who committed troops to Afghanistan had hoped would bring peace and stability to that country. The recent burning of Qur'ans as well as the massacre of civilians, not to mention U.S. troops urinating on enemy corpses, posing for photos with the remains of Taliban insurgents and similar inflammatory actions have contributed to anti-American and anti-NATO sentiments in Afghanistan as well as in neighboring countries, especially Pakistan. Given these developments, President Karzai, in an effort to prove to his nation that above all he is an Afghan nationalist and guardian of Afghan sovereignty, has often been forced to publicly distance himself from America, making demands such as that U.S. forces be confined to their bases and withdraw completely from Afghanistan by the end of 2013. In addition, the Afghan government has insisted that NATO forces stop "night raids" on suspected insurgents' hideouts, which recently resulted in an agreement that should give Afghan authorities veto over controversial special operations raids. For its part, the Pakistani parliament has demanded a halt to all U.S. drone flights over border areas that provide safe haven and supply routes for the Taliban.¹ Further, the Pakistani government has blockaded the flow of U.S. materiel supplying American troops in Afghanistan.

These challenges are arising in the midst of a global economic slowdown that is making it difficult for even those nations rich with resources to chart a reliable course for their future. Economic uncertainties have added to the growing call in the U.S. and other NATO countries to end the allies' presence in Afghanistan—and hence, the enormous cost in terms of lives lost and dollars spent—even sooner than planned. For Afghanistan itself, which despite some \$18 billion in U.S. aid alone over the past decade² remains one of the poorest countries in the world on the UN's Human Development Index (registering 174th out of 178 countries), the economic outlook remains bleak. Add in a growing Taliban insurgency against the allied powers along with ethnic, religious and tribal conflicts and tensions as well as interference from neighboring countries such as Pakistan, Iran, and India who support their proxies inside Afghanistan and what's brewing is a recipe for disaster on many fronts, particularly in regard to the Afghan economy once the U.S. and NATO have largely departed.

Though in his speech from Afghanistan announcing a pact that spells out the U.S. relationship with Afghanistan over the next decade President Obama promised U.S. aid in developing the Afghan economy, no specifics were given and no plan was announced. Hence, there is little reason to believe that the economic situation in Afghanistan will continue to be anything but precarious. Indeed, according to official Afghan sources, 80 percent of Afghanistan's national budget is constituted by international aid from 62 different donor countries, more than a dozen large international organizations, and about 2,000 international and national NGOs. There is no assurance that these countries and organizations will continue their assistance over the next ten years. In light of all these factors, the economic chaos that is likely to descend upon Afghanistan in the absence of either a stable central government or the realistic prospect of a peaceful

(Continued on page 49)



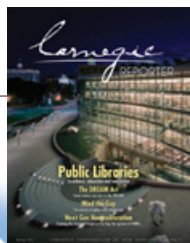
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- 2** Today's Public Libraries: Public Places of Excellence, Education and Innovation
- 10** Mind the Gap: Why Policymakers and Scholars Ignore Each Other, and What Should be Done About It
- 18** Next Gen Nonproliferation: Training the Best and Brightest to Stop the Spread of WMDs
- 28** Creating New Designs for New Schools
- 33** Philanthropy's Most Celebrated Award
- 34** The DREAM Act: Some states say yes to the DREAM
- 44** Recent Events
- 46** Foundation Roundup
- 48** The Partnership: Five Cold Warriors and Their Quest to Ban the Bomb
- 52** International News Coverage: A Vanishing Species?



About the cover: The Salt Lake City, Utah, public library, designed by Moshe Safdie. Photo by Andy Cross, *The Denver Post*.



A Note About This Issue

We are particularly proud to bring you this edition of the *Carnegie Reporter* because it focuses on many of the issues that Carnegie Corporation of New York is deeply concerned with. The Corporation's mission, which is the legacy of our founder, Andrew Carnegie, is to "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding," and there is perhaps no institution so representative of that ideal than a public library. The *Reporter's* lead story focuses on how America's public libraries are not only the treasure houses of knowledge that are foundational to the strength of our democracy but are also evolving to meet the 21st century challenges of new technologies, new library patrons—including in-

creasing numbers of immigrants—and even new ways of reading books. We also have an article about the DREAM Act, which is meant to help undocumented students access higher education. This type of legislation may have failed on the national level but is gaining traction in many states where citizens, governors and others have concluded that educating young men and women who have a stake in the progress of American society and are committed to the nation's future is a worthwhile goal. Education, particularly new designs for new schools, is also highlighted in an interview with Leah Hamilton, Carnegie Corporation Program Director, New Designs for K-16 Pathways.

In terms of our work in the realm of international peace, we are featuring an essay by two noted experts, Francis J. Gavin and James

B. Steinberg, on how policymakers and academics do—and do not—successfully integrate their ideas about pressing international challenges. An article by Karen Theroux, the Corporation's staff writer, examines how a new cadre of young, thoughtful, and highly trained specialists are confronting the question of how to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction. In addition, the president of the Corporation, Vartan Gregorian, considers how to prevent Afghanistan from devolving into the chaos of a narco-state that is mortgaging its future on the trade in opium poppies.

Of course, there are other features in these pages as well. We welcome you to enjoy them all.

ELEANOR LERMAN, *Director, Public Affairs and Publications*



ANDY CROSS, THE DENVER POST

The main section of the Anythink Brighton (Colorado) library is seen through multicolored glass panels in the children's area. The building is the first "carbon neutral" library in the U.S.

TODAY'S Public Libraries:

by
DANIEL AKST

Public Places of Excellence, Education and Innovation

*In our digital age, public libraries
are not only thriving but serving new purposes
and new populations.*

Knowledge was hard to come by in the 19th century, when Andrew Carnegie began funding libraries all over America. People didn't have much money, schooling was limited, and leisure for learning was scant.

Today, of course, things are different. The average American is awash in information, more and more of it pouring from the bottomless cornucopia of the Internet, that life-changing simulacrum of the universal library scholars and science fiction writers fantasized about for so long. As almost everyone knows by now, it's vast, ubiquitous and always available.

Yet in the first decade of the 21st century, as the Internet was reaching into almost every arena of American life, libraries were bustling. Library visits per capita rose by 24 percent. Circulation was up by about the same. Nor are physical libraries about to disappear any time soon, at least judging by the evidence literally on the ground. On the contrary, not only has the number of libraries grown, but since 1990 this country has witnessed a remarkable renaissance in library construction. Many communities have built modern new library facilities, some of them designed by the likes of Michael Graves, and Rem Koolhaas and Moshe Safdie. Other libraries, such as the White Tank Branch Library in Arizona have become leaders in using "green technology"; the Anythink Brighton Library in Colorado is the first carbon-positive library in the U.S. and is actually able to contribute energy to the local power grid.

Despite the Internet, it seems, libraries persist—and even thrive. Given the wealth of information and reading material at our fingertips at all times, it's fair to ask: why should that be? Why do people still want—and need—public libraries? There are

many reasons, but the most important have to do with a couple of ideas that might sound archaic to modern ears, perhaps because in reality what they are is enduring.

The first is the notion of place, a thing the Internet was supposed to have obliterated. Yet a funny thing happened on the way to the digital future: place kept mattering. It turns out that people often need somewhere to go, especially people who aren't affluent enough to live in big houses. People with large families might need some peace and quiet, or a change of venue for study that is removed from the television and the refrigerator. People who live alone—and their ranks are increasing daily—might just want a little company while they read. An ideal place for all these folks should be safe, convenient and most of all public—a place where you don't have to buy anything yet can stay as long as you like. Libraries are the very definition of such locales, and our unending need for this place that isn't home, work or café accounts for a lot of their persistence. Library patrons themselves will tell you that. After she was laid off by Home Depot, Shamika Miller visited the public library in Tracy, California, almost every day during 2008 to look for work. As she told the *Wall Street Journal*, "There's something about the library that helps you think."

The second reason libraries persist is the notion of *improvement*, something that has been an article of faith among librarians and their civic backers for as long as there have been libraries in this country. We Americans were early proponents of universal education and individual initiative, and we long ago recognized the importance of giving people a chance to make their lives better by gaining knowledge and cultivating their minds—in other words, improving themselves

both materially and intellectually. It's an idea redolent of Ben Franklin and Samuel Smiles, Horatio Alger and even Dale Carnegie.

We're supposed to know better, somehow, today. The idea of progress isn't so universal any more. But if you think self-improvement is dead, or is only the kind of thing people do at the gym nowadays, you need to visit a public library or two—particularly in a neighborhood full of new Americans. They need a place to go where they can pursue the mission of improvement, which after all is what made them come to this country to begin with.

I live part of every week in New York's borough of Queens, in the neighborhood of Flushing, and I defy anyone to visit the big public library there, a short walk from the end of the number 7 subway line, without coming away a little misty-eyed at the scene inside. Flushing has a vibrant Asian population, and if you visit almost anytime after school you'll find the place packed with Asian-American kids hitting the books. These young people have computers, cell phones—a full complement of technology. But they

Daniel Akst is an author, journalist and former trustee and treasurer of the one-room Tivoli Free Library, which anchors its tiny community in New York's Hudson Valley. He's written on the subject of libraries twice before for the Carnegie Reporter over the years, exploring the difficulty future generations may have in deciphering our digital texts and the shape library lending may someday take when most of it occurs electronically. He is the author of two novels and two non-fiction books found in many libraries, and his articles and reviews have appeared in the Los Angeles Times, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Wilson Quarterly and many other publications. He is a columnist and editorial writer for Newsday.

also have books. And they're not fooling around. This is a big, multi-story building, and when I last stopped in, on a Saturday afternoon, there was nary an empty seat in the house.

Librarians no longer do a lot of shushing, a young staff member at the information desk told me, and so the library offers a quiet room for those bent on intensive concentration. But as I walked among the tables in the rest of the facility, you could hardly tell the whole place wasn't a quiet room. There

such as a teen *Jeopardy* challenge (and judging from what I saw in the library, that competition will be tough). A weekend performance combining Congolese dance with tap and urban fusion was on the agenda in the auditorium. Other branches of the sprawling Queens Library system offer programs for just about everyone, from toddlers to job-seekers to retirees, in just about every conceivable language—including, of course, programs aimed at new Americans and, since this is New York,

ers but in communicating with patrons. And they are using the tools of the digital revolution—the very ones that were supposed to make librarians obsolete—to do a better job for the public, for example by promoting community discussions online, offering help on the Web and using Twitter to keep patrons informed.

In New York City, in Chicago, in Los Angeles and so many other places that are magnets for immigrants, libraries provide reading material in a host

Librarians have more training nowadays, not just in using computers but in communicating with patrons. And they are using the tools of the digital revolution—the very ones that were supposed to make librarians obsolete—to do a better job for the public.

were kids everywhere, yet little noise. Everyone was immersed in study. And they had chosen to study in the library.

Public libraries were my introduction to the world of ideas, and to the possibility of life as a writer, so nothing could be more thrilling than seeing all these aspiring young scholars hard at work. What a useful corrective to the drumbeat of pessimism that besets us from the media.

Yet there is more to this library than eager students—a great deal more. There is a monthly support group—conducted in Mandarin—for families struggling to care for a loved one with Alzheimer's disease. There are courses in Microsoft Word for Spanish speakers. There are youth-oriented programs,

programs on the rights and obligations of tenants.

Visiting the Flushing library helped me realize that libraries persist because the marketplace, with all its many splendors, provides no good alternative to these comforting institutions where you can sit and think without a penny in your pocket. Libraries also persist because the idea of improvement persists—and because libraries continue to meet the needs of their patrons, perhaps even better than they have in the past. Library layouts have been evolving in recent years to accommodate different groups of patrons—just as they did years ago, to accommodate children. Librarians also have more training nowadays, not just in using comput-

of tongues, not to mention instruction in the English language and workshops on how to become a citizen. They still provide books, of course, but they also provide Internet access for those who lack a connection, a computer or even a home. In smaller communities, they remain cherished civic and cultural spaces, anchoring sometimes tattered main streets and serving as a destination for children after school and the elderly after a lifetime of work. This idea of improvement—of helping people to make their lives better through knowledge, just as Andrew Carnegie sought to do through his vast international library-building program—is what ties together all the things libraries do today.

And during hard times, libraries do a pretty wide range of things. Several public libraries, following the lead of San Francisco's Main Branch, have hired social workers, for instance,

kids nourished by the food lunch program during the week. Like so many libraries, the one in Gainesville goes far beyond providing food for thought.

At the Columbus, Ohio Metro-

dents got on assignments and tests. Library staffers agreed to do some outrageous stuff when the meter hit various benchmarks—including dressing up like Lady Gaga or taking pies in the

face from kids, who've had to study in order to earn the right to throw them.

Always useful, public libraries are an invaluable haven in hard times. Predictably, they were thronged as a result of the Great Recession. Library visits hit 1.59 billion in 2009, an all-time record. Many patrons were drawn to free Internet access, often for job-hunting, and then discovered what a great deal the library is for all sorts of diversion and enlightenment. Some unemployed patrons reported going to the library daily as a kind of office. Cash-strapped libraries found that career-oriented books flew off the shelves and Internet-connected computers were



Library patrons participate in a seminar about downloading digital books to their mobile devices for free at the Reston, Virginia branch library.

to help them deal with the homeless, many of whom depend on the nearest public library for everything from Internet access to daily ablutions. The Greensboro, N.C. public library started providing haircuts and blood pressure screenings to these needy visitors. In Gainesville, Fla., the Alachua County Library District has coped with declining in-person access to government services by forming the Library Partnership, a facility containing both a library and various community services. By this means the library has made itself into a gateway for local residents seeking health and legal services, rent and utility subsidies, counseling and tax help, not to mention book and clothing drives and weekend food for

politan Library, meanwhile, job centers have opened at all 21 branches to help patrons cope with the recession through resume instruction and the like. The library also brought in experts in employment, entrepreneurship and business development. In 2010 alone the program helped 44,000 people. Its web site offers links to job sites, and for younger patrons, there's homework help at every branch. At the Hilltop branch, which offers classes in English as a second language and "going beyond Google" in using the Internet, among other services, there was a special incentive for student performance: Sarah Wright, who runs the Hilltop homework center, set up the "A Meter" to track the number of top grades stu-

oversubscribed—as were popular titles such as Stephenie Meyer's "Twilight" series. At the Randolph County Public Library in Asheboro, N.C., a near-stampede of new patrons driven to the library by hard times wore out the carpet. Recessions in 1987 and 2001 saw a similar upswing in library patronage. Despite cutbacks in funding—and the need to become career counselors and even consolors of jobless patrons, harried librarians coped.

The dedication of librarians all across this land is one reason that Carnegie Corporation, in conjunction with *The New York Times* and the American Library Association, bestows the "I Love My Librarian Award" to 10 librarians each year who are nomi-

nated and selected for service to their communities, schools and campuses.* Commenting on the 2011 winners, Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian said, “Libraries are the treasure house of civilization. Librarians are our guides to this treasure house. With their help, we can translate the overwhelming flood of information generated by our hectic, complex world into true knowledge and understanding.”

The idea that public institutions can help us improve our lives has fallen into disrepute in some quarters. Critics of government programs point to unintended consequences and mounting deficits. The financial crisis of 2007-08 has taken its toll on cultural institutions across the board. Funding for public colleges and universities has plunged, newspapers have shrunk or in some cases vanished thanks to a radical reduction in advertising revenue, and despite strong public support for libraries, their budgets have been mauled. As state and local governments have tightened their belts, libraries have been forced to curtail hours and services during an economic downturn that left millions of Americans less able to afford books and more in need of job-training guidance and other employment-related help.

Just when Americans needed libraries most, in other words, services were slashed. *Library Journal*’s annual budget survey, published in January, painted a grim picture. “Most libraries have still not recovered from the massive cuts inflicted since the financial crisis of 2008,” the magazine reported, “and when this depressed starting point meets with the rapid evaporation

of state aid and the inexorable rise of expenses, then the numbers often translate to stressed staffs, fewer materials, and reduced service hours.”

Big city libraries have been hit hardest. Libraries serving a population of one million or more reported

percent since 2009 with about the same number of staff—everyone is doing more and getting paid less.”

To compensate, libraries are working hard to become more efficient. But they’re also looking for new sources of revenue, some of which sound as if they



A citizenship class at the East Elmhurst Branch of the Queens, New York public library.

that staffing was cut by a third in the preceding year—a brutal reduction. Staffing was cut by a fifth in communities of 500,000 to 999,999. San Jose has built four new branch libraries that it can’t afford to open. Smaller library systems have fared less badly, but even there, harried librarians must juggle an ever-growing workload, with predictable effects on morale. Donna Howell, the director of the Mountain Regional Library System in Georgia, told the magazine, “Library use is up about 25

might change the free and egalitarian nature of these places. “It was from my own early experience,” wrote Andrew Carnegie in his autobiography, “that I decided there was no use to which money could be applied so productive of good to boys and girls who have good within them and ability and ambition to develop it, as the founding of a public library in a community which is willing to support it as a municipal institution.”

The whole point, in fact, was to give the have-nots a chance to improve

* Carnegie Corporation does not have a specific program focused on supporting libraries in the U.S. However, in keeping with Andrew Carnegie’s belief in the importance of libraries in providing access to education for all citizens as well as in helping to strengthen American democracy, the foundation does, from time to time, fund specific library-related efforts such as the “I Love My Librarian” awards. Another example is a 2011 grant of \$5 million—given in recognition of the Corporation’s Centennial—to the three New York City public library systems: the New York Public Library, Queens Library and Brooklyn Public Library to help enhance the libraries’ ability to serve the public in general and the city’s 1.1 million public school children in particular. Previous support has included \$1 million to help some 800 small and rural libraries across the country to receive the fifty-volume *Library of America* great books series and \$4.5 million in memory of the 9/11 victims, to support the book collections at the New York Public Library and at the Brooklyn and Queens libraries. In addition, the Corporation also recently concluded a decade-long program of assisting in the development of public libraries in South Africa.

their lot through learning. Yet to generate revenue, some libraries are offering patrons first dibs on new releases or flexible due dates—for a fee. In Hayward, California, the library offers patrons a menu of plans reminiscent of Netflix. For \$2.99 a month, library users get to check out three items at a time and keep them as long as they like, with no due dates. Pay \$8.99 per month and you get up to 10 items at a time on the same no-fines principle. If another patron wants to use an item checked

They are publicly run, even if they're operated by a not-for-profit association, as many are, and they have a universal purpose, part of which is to promote democracy through access to knowledge. The public, correctly, perceives them as equal-access educational institutions. Library taxes enjoy overwhelming public support, too. And aside perhaps from firefighters, few public servants are more popular than librarians, who must now work harder than ever to cope with greater demand

16,700 bricks-and-mortar public libraries have a future. Books and other textual matter are fast abandoning ink and paper in favor of electronic storage, distribution and consumption. You may love the feel of a book in your hand, but the future of books is in all likelihood digital. And that raises questions about libraries. Will they merely serve as repositories and gatekeepers for human knowledge encoded in ones and zeroes? Will there be any need for the buildings we now think of when

In New York City, in Chicago, in Los Angeles and so many other places that are magnets for immigrants, libraries provide reading material in a host of tongues, not to mention instruction in the English language and workshops on how to become a citizen.

out under the “Fines Free” program, the library says it will buy another. Other libraries are selling sponsorships to businesses to keep the doors open, or inviting for-profit test-prep companies to give classes. Some libraries go even further, outsourcing operations to a for-profit library company that markets its ability to run library operations for less.

These measures aren't necessarily so bad, and the motivation is understandable, given that library funding from public sources has been cut sharply. But these efforts could undermine the precious idea of a library as an egalitarian public institution where money doesn't matter and buys no extra privileges. Public libraries are different from subscription libraries.

and diminished resources while trying to decide what kinds of compromises they should make to keep their cherished institutions afloat.

When libraries close, the formerly employed librarians suffer, of course, but so do the patrons. Thanks to budget cutting, moreover, libraries aren't open as much as they used to be. Overall, in 2008, libraries were open just shy of 60 hours a week on average. In 2011 they were down to just 49 hours. That hurts, because as much as anything else, libraries really are places to go—something especially evident in crowded immigrant neighborhoods such as Flushing.

Yet with the digital revolution well under way, it's worth asking at this juncture whether America's roughly

someone mentions “library?” Can they function if they cease to be primarily dispensers of books?

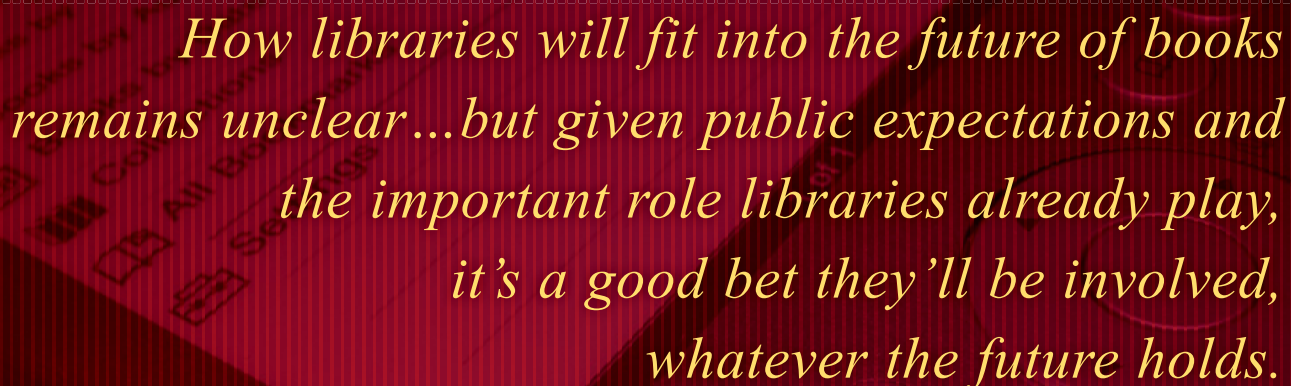
Since libraries serve an important role as our collective memory, it's only sensible that we turn to history for some answers. And what the record shows is that libraries have always struggled with the problem of purpose—and they were never intended to be mere dispensers of books. The publicly supported libraries that we know today trace their roots back to the middle of the 19th century, when they sprang up as extensions of the relatively new public primary schools. They were intended, in other words, as both educational and civic institutions, offering a way for grown-ups to

educate themselves at a time when not many attended secondary school.

Almost from the outset, there was tension between the idealism of librarians, who saw their role as one of public uplift, and the desires of patrons, who wanted free access to popular fiction. Some librarians took comfort in the notion that such readers, sucked in by such light reading, would advance to more enlightening works, and no doubt some did. But librarians had little choice but to supply it, since accepting

This in turn broadened their purpose. For example, they began not just admitting children, but creating special departments for them. The public at large wanted entertainment as much as enlightenment, yet the democratization of the library also provided an opening for librarians to go well beyond handing out the latest literary love story. Reference departments, for example, were created in the 1890s, putting trained librarians and library resources at the disposal of the citizenry.

(funded by Carnegie Corporation) called *The Public Library—a People's University*. These efforts were never very successful; for one thing, community colleges offered all kinds of adult learning opportunities, and for another, most library patrons weren't interested in signing up for classroom education. In the 1960s and 1970s, libraries conducted aggressive outreach programs to extend their services beyond their often middle-class clientele. Some libraries also struggled to reinvent themselves



How libraries will fit into the future of books remains unclear...but given public expectations and the important role libraries already play, it's a good bet they'll be involved, whatever the future holds.

public support meant bowing, at least to some extent, to public tastes.

The spread of public support for libraries was a crucial development in which Andrew Carnegie played a major role. Beginning in 1886, Carnegie (and later, Carnegie Corporation of New York) spent \$56 million to create 1,681 public libraries in nearly as many U.S. communities, plus 828 more elsewhere in the world. In order to get Carnegie funding, communities had to agree to spend on annual maintenance 10 percent of the initial cost of the library. This meant a tax, one people were willing to pay, but one that invested them in the library whether they used it or not. Libraries became, more than ever before, truly public institutions.

Infused with missionary zeal, librarians in the early 20th century realized that libraries could be important cultural institutions, especially in towns and cities where culture was otherwise scarce. Carnegie libraries, for instance, were often the biggest and most important public buildings around, and many contained meeting rooms that made it easy for them to hold classes, lectures, concerts and exhibitions. Many libraries in out-of-the-way places became the center of social life as well as a crucial entry point for local residents to access culture and the arts—roles that persist to this day in small town libraries across America.

Inevitably, libraries tried adult education, spurred in part by a 1938 study

for the dawning computer age—as perhaps they are still doing.

Yet even with the Internet at their fingertips, Americans still need—and want—their public libraries, even if only as a place to access the Internet. Most of us, though, want and expect much more from our libraries, and that's reflected in every measure of public attitudes toward them. Consider that homes near libraries sell for higher prices. Two-thirds of American adults say they visit a library at least once annually. Last year voters approved a remarkable 87 percent of library operating ballot measures, suggesting that taxpayers overwhelmingly believe they are getting their money's worth from these venerable and much-loved institutions.

So for now at least, the American people want their libraries. The question then is, what will be the role of the library in the digital tomorrow? Susan Hildreth, a former top librarian in Seattle and for the state of California

course, is lending books, to say nothing of videos and other material—all the wonderful stuff reductively known nowadays as “content.” And public libraries are well on the road to lending that content in digital form, which

one user at a time, and some publishers place restrictions on how many times a given eBook can be loaned out. The digital revolution is rattling the entire publishing ecosystem, wiping out bookstores and threatening publisher

profit margins. How libraries will fit into the future of books remains unclear. But given public expectations and the important role libraries already play—accounting for something like 10 percent of print-book sales, for example—it’s a good bet they’ll be involved, whatever the future holds.

Libraries have real challenges ahead in balancing the needs of traditional readers against the many other cultural and civic functions that libraries can fulfill. But they also have advantages: as popular books in digital format have grown more affordable, and virtually the entire library of cinema is available for streaming at minimal cost, libraries can begin to



Sign at the reference desk of the Brookline, Massachusetts public library

who is now director of the federal Institute of Museum and Library Services, has thought about these issues and offers a sensible vision for what’s ahead. “I see three big goals for libraries,” she writes. “Provide engaging learning experiences, become community anchors, and provide access to content even as the devices for accessing that content change rapidly.”

As we’ve seen, libraries are already working hard on providing engaged learning, and have been doing so for decades. As to their role as community anchors, well, that goes back more than a century. Which leaves us with the matter of access to the materials of culture. In the popular mind the best known mission of the public library, of

will surely be the main form in which it is consumed a decade or two from now. OverDrive, a leading distributor of eBooks for libraries, reported that in 2011 users checked out more than 35 million digital titles, while 17 million titles were put on hold.

Much remains unsettled in this brave new world; theoretically, after all, a single library owning a single digital copy of every book could lend them all simultaneously to every library patron anywhere in the world. Of course, this would be the end of books sales as we know them—and might well strangle off literary production, since writers would have no way to get paid for their work. Right now libraries usually are only permitted to lend an eBook to

free themselves from the role of providing entertainment already amply supplied by the marketplace—a role librarians have long been uneasy about.

Instead, librarians can focus on their unique capabilities as repositories, organizers and guides to knowledge. They can provide a focal point for their communities, as well as a necessary refuge. And they can carry forward the faith in improvement that has sustained them all along. By upholding their great tradition of public service, libraries will continue to win public support—and, it is hoped, public dollars. It’s a great bargain for society, and one likely to keep libraries in business long into the digital future. ■

BOSTON GLOBE VIA GETTY IMAGES

by FRANCIS J. GAVIN AND JAMES B. STEINBERG

MIND *the* GAP

Why Policymakers and Scholars Ignore Each Other, and What Should Be Done About it

Editor's Note: One of the issues that Carnegie Corporation's International Peace and Security Program seeks to address is how the knowledge generated by America's academic community can be linked to the U.S. foreign policymaking process. In this article, two noted experts, Francis J. Gavin, Director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law at the University of Texas and the Tom Slick Professor of International Affairs at the LBJ School, and James B. Steinberg, Dean of The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University and former high-ranking U.S. foreign policy official, take on the question of how academic research can best contribute to the development of sound foreign and international security policy and, in cases when such scholarship might otherwise muddy the waters, what can be done to remedy that effect.



In recent months, the U.S. foreign policy debate has focused with increasing intensity on how to deal with Iran's nuclear program, and in particular, whether, and under what circumstances, the U.S. or Israel should use military force to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. Any decision by a U.S. president to authorize the use of force is a weighty one, but in the case of Iran the decision either to act or acquiesce is especially difficult and consequential, and will have a profound and lasting effect on world politics and American foreign policy for years to come.

The issue has gained increasing prominence in the national political

debate, fueled in part by a blizzard of articles, op-eds and cable network appearances by academic scholars as well as former government officials and professional pundits. Some of these contributions are highly rhetorical, but others purport to draw on academic research and theory.¹ Given the level of scholarly activism, and the willingness of the scholars to go beyond professional journals to enter into the public arena, the issue of how to deal with Iran poses in a very stark way a broader issue that has increasingly preoccupied both scholars and practitioners—just how useful *is* academic research in areas of national security and international relations to policymakers—and



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Top: Francis J. Gavin, Director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law at the University of Texas and the Tom Slick Professor of International Affairs at the LBJ School.

Bottom: James B. Steinberg, Dean of The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

if, as our own experience suggests, that contribution is at best limited, and often even misguided, what can or should be done to remedy the deficit?

Closely examining the Iran problem is useful because too much of the debate over the utility of academic social science in the area of international affairs is highly abstract and prone to assertion instead of analysis. And even more important, it tends to gloss over the real-world complexities and uncertainties that are so sharply illustrated by the dilemmas that policymakers face in dealing with Iran.

In order to answer how academic research and theory might guide policy choices on Iran, one would need to understand both the immediate and long-term consequences of the policy the United States chose. This, in turn, requires an assessment of plausible scenarios that might emerge from competing policy choices. If the United States chose not to bomb Iran, would countries in the region eschew their own nuclear weapons and work with the U.S. to balance against and contain a nuclear Iran? Or would Iran's nuclear capability drive neighboring states to "bandwagon," or ally with Iran, or seek their own nuclear weapons, undermining U.S. influence while destabilizing the region? And if the United States did successfully strike, what are the chances such military action would lead to an overthrow of the current regime and its replacement with a government both friendly to the west and willing to forego nuclear weapons? Or could a military strike provide a lifeline to an unpopular

regime, inflame anti-American sentiment throughout the region and unleash a wider military conflagration?

The potential consequences of any of these scenarios are not limited to the region around Iran. How would key global actors such as Russia, China and various Western European allies respond, and how would our choices affect our long-term relations with them? What would be the effect of particular choices on other countries contemplating a decision to build nuclear weapons? What impact would U.S. actions have on our decades-long global strategy of inhibiting proliferation by extending our own nuclear deterrent to our nonnuclear allies? The sum of the actions of multiple participants, acting and reacting to constantly changing circumstances, in time creates an infinite number of plausible but unknowable futures, some good for the United States, some bad and many indeterminate.

Needless to say, the answers to this highly incomplete list of extraordinarily important questions are critical to any judgment on the costs and benefits of the different policy choices. The academics who have offered their unqualified opinions on what should be done are—explicitly or implicitly—claiming to be able to answer these questions with enough confidence to affix the stamp of academic legitimacy to their prescription.

Yet, the experience of both authors of this article (James Steinberg is a former senior policymaker; Francis Gavin is an historian of U.S. foreign policy) convinces us that the "right" answer—

but the one you will never read on the blogs or hear on any cable news network—is that we simply *cannot* know ahead of time, with any usable degree of certainty, what the answers to these questions will be, and therefore what optimal policy will turn out to be. Why? The answer is that none of the tools that social science academics labor so assiduously to develop and refine are capable of providing predictive outcomes with a usable degree of certainty. In their desire to achieve the rigor of their natural science counterparts, most social science academics have developed a profound aversion to the inherent uncertainty and contextual specificity that plagues strategic policy formulation and hew to the notion that the theories they work with cannot usefully make the transition from the "laboratory" to the real world. What Steve Coll recently called the "crucible between uncertainty and risk" is not unique to U.S. decision-making about Iran.² Making global policy—as opposed to punditry—is difficult and unforgiving.

This is, of course, not a novel observation. Nor does it offer much relief to the overworked, overstressed policymakers facing momentous decisions she or he cannot avoid, or encourage the highly trained scholars and analysts who sense that their efforts are utterly ignored by the policy community in Washington. But properly understood, there are important lessons that can help increase the utility of academic social science to international relations practice and lead to better policies.

¹ For a sense of how much is out there, look at the activity after "Time to Attack Iran," an article by Matthew Kroenig, a Georgetown University professor, was published in *Foreign Affairs*. (See "Time to Attack Iran: Why a Strike Is the Least Bad Option," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2012.) Within weeks, three essays in reply from academics/experts were published in *Foreign Affairs* alone: Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro, "The Flawed Logic of Striking Iran," Colin H. Kahl, "Not Time to Attack Iran," and Jamie M. Fly and Gary Schmitt, "The Case For Regime Change in Iran." Kroenig's article was in many ways a response to an earlier set of *Foreign Affairs* articles. This all highlights the at-times insular, "inside baseball," nature of these debates. (See Eric S. Edelman, Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., and Evan Braden Montgomery, "The Dangers of a Nuclear Iran: The Limits of Containment," James M. Lindsay and Ray Takeyh, "After Iran Gets the Bomb: Containment and Its Complications," March/April 2010. The Council on Foreign Relations, which publishes *Foreign Affairs*, published a sample of "expert" suggestions in "Ask the Experts: What Would Iran Do with a Bomb," by Micah Zenko, February 21, 2012 (<http://blogs.cfr.org/zenko/2012/02/21/ask-the-experts-what-would-iran-do-with-a-bomb/#more-1977>). This is only a sample of what has appeared on the Council of Foreign Relations' Web site. Peruse similar journals/Web sites, such as *The National Interest* and *Foreign Policy*, and you will find many more expert predictions and recommendations. This does not include items that appeared on opinion pages, in the "blogosphere" or on news networks.

² Steve Coll, "Comment, Table Talk," *The New Yorker*, February 6, 2012, available at: http://www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2012/02/06/120206taco_talk_coll.

Forecasts and predictions are of little use to a policymaker seeking optimal outcomes in the face of radical uncertainty and immeasurable complexity. Rather than assume away the problem with artificial simplifications, what policymakers crave is help imagining alternative scenarios and multiple outlooks, while developing strategies to mitigate the downside risks and maximize upside benefits as they jump into an unknowable future.

We believe that if different types of expertise—from across the social sciences, history and “strategic studies/international relations” community—were brought together with practitioners, in an environment that encouraged honest debate and collaboration and not point-scoring, the benefits could be enormous. If participants were encouraged to be candid about the limits as well as the insights of what their disciplines can contribute to understanding the consequences of policy choices, it would be possible to achieve both greater coherence and humility in our foreign policymaking and the process would be greatly enhanced. This would be far more useful to decision-makers than the one-off predictions, historical analogies and binary choices that are currently offered by many experts.

Call Off the Monkeys

Shouldn't experts—scholars, pundits, analysts and others trained to understand international relations—be able to help us make these difficult predictions? In fact, as Philip Tetlock

demonstrated in *Expert Political Judgment*, a 20-year study that looked at over 80,000 forecasts about world affairs, self-proclaimed authorities are little better at making accurate predictions than monkeys throwing darts at a dartboard. According to Tetlock's research, knowing a lot about an issue can actually make you a worse political forecaster than knowing very little.³ And recent research casts doubt on some of the core assumptions that underlie important strands of political science and economic theory, which frequently form the basis for policy prescriptions—for example, that political leaders can be assumed to be utility maximizers, or that the internal composition and history of states are largely irrelevant in predicting how they will behave in response to external events.

Ironically, those experts who make the most bold and confident predictions, based on singular views of how the world works—for example, the international system is anarchic and war prone, civilizations clash, dictators should never be negotiated with, democratization and market economies will end war, etc.—are both the most sought after for their judgments and the most likely to be wrong. These “parsimonious theorists” or “hedgehogs,” as the political philosopher Isaiah Berlin once dubbed them, are not scarce when it comes to providing advice to statesmen on any number of critical foreign policy issues.⁴ We see this in the current debate over the consequences of a nuclear Iran. One school tells us not to

worry; nuclear weapons always provide deterrence and stability and are therefore no threat to U.S. interests. Another tells us that a nuclear Iran will become emboldened, aggressive and perhaps even share its weapons with terrorists. These assessments are made, it should be pointed out, with almost no access or insight to the calculations and deliberations of the policymakers in Iran responsible for their nuclear program.⁵

Such binary choices—“either-or choices,” which are the standard fare of academic hedgehogs—provide far less to policymakers than the ivory tower realizes. Consider the case of NATO enlargement, one of the most contentious and consequential policy debates of the 1990s. Like the Iran question today, this issue brought out the academic heavyweights. On one side were the “realists” who warned that enlargement was a direct and unwise challenge to Russia's security interests, risking a new and dangerous Cold War. On the other side stood liberal internationalists, who believed that NATO's security blanket, in combination with membership in the European Union, would consolidate democracy and economic reform in Central and Eastern Europe, avoid a dangerous security vacuum in Europe's heart and lead to a more peaceful continent. Each side was dismissive of the other, seeing little room for compromise or nuance.⁶

What did the policymakers do? Statesmen, unlike academics, do not have the luxury of “betting” on one theory or the other, and in this case,

³ See Philip Tetlock, *Expert Political Judgment: How Good Is It? How Can We Know?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005). See also Philip Tetlock and Dan Gardner, “Why Most Predictions Are So Bad,” *Forbes*, March 17, 2011, available at: <http://www.forbes.com/2011/03/17/why-predictions-bad-leadership-managing-forecast.html>.

⁴ Isaiah Berlin, *The Hedgehog and the Fox: An Essay on Tolstoy's View of History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970). In this work, Berlin suggested that foxes [are people] who know many things; hedgehogs know one big thing.

⁵ For a classic example of how academics frame the policy questions surrounding nuclear proliferation in a binary manner, see Scott Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, (New York: Norton, 2002).

⁶ Using terms like “folly” and “flawed logic” in the title of your article to describe your opponent's position is hardly conducive to respectful, productive debate. For several examples, see Michael E. Brown, “The Flawed Logic of NATO Expansion,” *Survival* (Spring 1995): pp. 34–52; Karl Heinz Kamp, “The Folly of Rapid NATO Expansion,” *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1995): pp. 116–29; Amos Perlmutter and Ted Galen Carpenter, “NATO's Expensive Trip East: The Folly of Enlargement,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1998. One piece that is quite fair lays out the different perspectives the major international relations theories frame, explains key issues like the NATO debate and recommends mixing and matching theories when appropriate. It is by Stephen M. Walt, “International Relations: One World, Many Theories,” *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1998, pp. 29–35, available at http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/S6800/courseworks/foreign_pol_walt.pdf.

borrowed the better elements from both theories, while adding elements no academic had considered. The ensuing strategy enlarged NATO while keeping the door open to Russian membership. New structures, such as the Partnership for Peace and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, were created to transcend the Cold War divide. Interestingly, the policy innovation came not from the academy, but from practitioners and the think-tank world.

Was the policy a success? As Zhou Enlai purportedly said about the French revolution, “it is too soon to say.” To

makers and was ultimately of little use. The heavyweight battle between realists and liberal internationalists was not, as advertised in the academy, the “main event.”

Lessons of the Past?

What about looking to history for lessons? Pundits and policymakers both commonly explore the past to find examples of policies that can guide current decision-making. While at first blush this seems wise, it is not fail-safe. Four decades ago, the historian Ernest May warned against the tendency for policymakers and analysts to employ

no guarantee that using a more recent historical incident—for example, the erroneous intelligence about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq that led to an eight-year, trillion-dollar American military intervention—would be any more helpful in making policy toward Iran.

Even more sophisticated and nuanced uses of history are not without their difficulties. When thinking about the consequences of a nuclear-armed Iran, some historians have pointed to how the Johnson administration responded to the nuclearization of the People’s Republic of China in October



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be sure, the worst predictions of both camps have not been realized, and scholars have not, for the most part, anticipated the challenges that have emerged. The charge made at the time by the distinguished diplomatic historian, John Lewis Gaddis, that the Clinton administration’s policy “violated every one” of the core principles of good grand strategy while positing his belief, shared by most academics, that NATO enlargement was “ill-conceived, ill-timed, and above all ill-suited to the realities of the post-Cold-War world,” seems, in retrospect, questionable at best.⁷ The key, however, is to not argue who was right or wrong, but to highlight how the polarized academic debate did not address many of the key concerns of policy-

simple but misleading analogies from the past to justify difficult policies.⁸ Would allowing the aggressive and dangerous regime in Iran to acquire nuclear weapons be akin to another “Munich,” the wartime conference where British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain infamously capitulated to Nazi leader Adolf Hitler’s outrageous demands? Or would a dangerous military action halfway across the world bog us down in another “Vietnam,” a quagmire of a war that saps American blood and treasure not justified by national interest? In both cases, the simplistic use of lessons from the past obscures and distorts more than it reveals, and may be misleading for those trying to make a decision about whether or not to strike Iran. There is

1964. After weighing the potential benefits and costs of a preventive strike, the United States accepted and actually downplayed the significance of China’s nuclear capability. Mao’s China—which had been reckless abroad and ruthless at home—did not become more dangerous as an atomic power. In fact, in less than a decade after its nuclear test, China had become a de facto ally of the United States, and a crucial partner in the Cold War rivalry with the Soviet Union. It is hard to imagine such an alliance if the United States had decided to strike in 1964.

Does this argue against striking Iran? Not necessarily. The Johnson administration’s decision *not* to strike China can only be understood in a larger and long-since-forgotten con-

⁷ John Lewis Gaddis, “History, Grand Strategy, and NATO Enlargement,” *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Volume 40, Issue 1, 1998, p. 145. Of course, diplomatic historians had no monopoly on being wrong about NATO. John Mearsheimer—whose prestige among political scientists equals that of Gaddis among historians—suggested, among other things, that giving a unified Germany nuclear weapons was the best way to minimize the instability, conflict and danger of great-power war in Europe that would inevitably ensue at the end of the Cold War. See John Mearsheimer, “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War,” *International Security*, Summer 1990, Vol. 15, No. 1.

⁸ See Ernest May, “Lessons” of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy (New York: Oxford University Press); also Richard Neustadt and Ernest May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers* (New York, Free Press, 1998).

text: an important shift in U.S. strategy aimed at managing the complex and interconnected issues of global nuclear proliferation, relations with the Soviet Union, the war in Southeast Asia, and the volatile issues surrounding the political and military status of Germany.

What is often forgotten in the story is that the same policymakers who eschewed preventive strikes against China in the fall of 1964 made several other related decisions they considered even more momentous. First, they made a bold decision to work with their Cold War adversary, the Soviet Union,

a resurgence of nationalism and even militarism, as it had during the interwar period. In the end, U.S. policies to slow the spread of nuclear weapons were quite effective, as there are far fewer nuclear states in the world today than anyone in 1964 predicted. Furthermore, the most alarming forecasts about how countries like West Germany and Japan would react to their nonnuclear status were, fortunately, wildly off the mark.

The fall of 1964 also saw these same policymakers decide to escalate U.S. military efforts in Vietnam.¹⁰ One of the reasons for escalating in Vietnam was demonstrating to nonnu-

Walt Rostow argued that the Johnson administration could make “U.S. military power sufficiently relevant to the situation in Southeast Asia,” to eliminate the impulse of states in the region to acquire their own atomic weapons.¹³ If the United States abandoned South Vietnam, it was feared, America’s allies might lose faith in our promises to protect them and respond by seeking their own nuclear weapons.¹⁴ A nuclear tipping point that might start with Japan could spread throughout East Asia to include Australia, South Korea and Indonesia.¹⁵ Unchecked, proliferation pressures could move to other regions

Policymakers know that to assume the worst is to foreordain it and that even if efforts to manage the U.S.-China relationship may ultimately fail, they will have a hard time explaining to future generations why they didn’t even try.



to aggressively pursue a global nuclear nonproliferation regime.⁹ Most controversially, this policy shift included prohibiting some of our closest allies from acquiring atomic weapons. Many experts both within and outside of government worried this could be a potentially catastrophic mistake. It was foolish, many argued, to think cooperation with the Soviets was possible, nor was it prudent to try to prevent sovereign states, particularly our friends, from possessing their own deterrent. Denying modern weapons to the Federal Republic of Germany, some experts predicted, could lead to

clear countries—Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, Australia, India, and yes, West Germany—that the United States would defend vulnerable nations, even if they were threatened by a nuclear-armed state or its proxy, in this case, China and North Vietnam.¹¹ As Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Henry Rowen, wrote at the time, “A U.S. defeat in Southeast Asia may come to be attributed in part to the unwillingness of the U.S. to take on North Vietnam supported by a China that now has the bomb.”¹² U.S. State Department Policy Planning Director

of the world, and even lead to pressure on West Germany to nuclearize, threatening the stability of Central Europe.

Examined on their own merits, two of the policies—the decision *not* to launch a preventive strike against China and the decision to cooperate with the Soviet Union to limit the spread of nuclear weapons—might be judged great successes, while the third—the U.S. military escalation in Vietnam—is seen as a disaster. But can they really be examined apart from one another? If Vietnam is understood at least in part as a function of the Johnson administration’s successful efforts to encourage

⁹ Francis J. Gavin, “Blasts from the Past: Nuclear Proliferation and Rogue States Before the Bush Doctrine,” *International Security*, Winter 2005, pp. 100–135.

¹⁰ For the best account of how this policy developed, see Frederick Logevall, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

¹¹ Report by the Committee on Nuclear Proliferation, January 21, 1965, Johnson Library, National Security File, Committee File, Committee on Nuclear Proliferation, Report (Final, 12/21/65), Box 8.

¹² Henry Rowen, “Effects of the Chinese Bomb on Nuclear Spread,” November 2, 1964, National Security Files, Committee on Nonproliferation, Box 5, LBJL.

¹³ Memo, Rostow to Rusk, “Nuclear Proliferation and the Crises in South-east Asia and the Atlantic,” November 4, 1964, RG 59 Department of State, Records of Policy Planning Council, NARA, p. 1.

¹⁴ This argument is made by Matthew Jones in his book, *After Hiroshima: The United States, Race, and Nuclear Weapons in Asia, 1945–1965* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 401–450.

¹⁵ Report by the Committee on Nuclear Proliferation, *supra* at 12.

nuclear nonproliferation, seek détente and cooperation with the Soviets, and manage the German question, might the policy make more sense (if being still no less disastrous in its consequences)? And since all three policies were crafted by the same policymakers in the same administration at the same time, doesn't that reveal the difficulties inherent in assessing U.S. foreign policy? The point here is not to judge any of these decisions, or justify the war in Vietnam (quite the contrary), but only to highlight how misleading it can be to cherry-pick particular policies without a greater understanding of the complex, horizontal connections between seemingly unrelated issues, linkages that are rarely recognized by those outside the world of the top decision-makers.

Consider the question of U.S. deliberations over a nuclear Iran. Certainly there are other, interrelated policies, both in the Middle East and worldwide, that would be enormously influenced by a U.S. decision to strike or not strike. Pundits may examine the issue close at hand, in isolation, while policymakers have to think about how their decisions will reverberate over time and on issues seemingly unrelated to the theocracy in Tehran, such as global energy prices, the war in Afghanistan, the Israeli–Palestinian peace process, North Korea's nuclear capacity, the strength of the global nuclear nonproliferation regime, the credibility of our existing extended deterrence commitments, relations with China and Russia, and the trajectory of the “Arab Spring,” just to name a few. No assessment of what is the “right” policy toward Iran can be made without acknowledging these complex, uncertain connections, and the near impossibility of predicting how these factors will interact and unfold in the months and years to come.

The Iran nuclear challenge is but one example of how the academic policy debate often shortchanges the real-world policy problem. Consider, for example, the case of U.S.–China relations. Policymakers would be grateful for useful knowledge as they face an issue of extraordinary complexity and consequence. What does the ivory tower offer? There are, to be sure, useful, fine-grained studies that examine the political, cultural, demographic and economic trends in China. The work that generates the most attention and acclaim, however, is again the soundings of the hedgehogs. Once again, the realists do battle with the liberal internationalists.

At the extreme, the realists argue that the security competition between China and the U.S. is inevitable, regardless of what today's policymakers on either side decide to do. Because these decisions can't bind future generations, the only rational policy for the United States to adopt is to prepare for confrontation.¹⁶ The liberal internationalists, on the other hand, ignore the lessons of the first half of the 20th century and argue that interdependence has made military conflict outdated and unthinkable. Neither side spends much time assessing the implications that contingent, unpredictable events, such as an environmental catastrophe in China or a complete meltdown of the global financial markets, might have on U.S.–China relations, because their “parsimonious” theories tend to exclude all other variables. Policymakers understand, in a way that eludes most experts, that there is no such thing as a “unitary” policy toward China, but a complex “mélange” of choices on critical, interrelated issues including human rights, international financial and monetary policy, climate change, global public

health, energy, cyber-related issues, nuclear arms control and the future of international institutions, to say nothing of relations with crucial allies, neutrals and potential adversaries in the region and beyond. A choice on each of these issues influences and alters the calculations on other issues, through a complex, never-ending interactive process. And of course, neither camp pays much attention to domestic political factors shaping policymakers' choices.

In approaching U.S. policy toward China, policymakers do not have the luxury to view the world through the simplistic framework of the academic hedgehog. They know that to assume the worst is to foreordain it, and that even if efforts to manage the relationship may ultimately fail, they will have a hard time explaining to future generations why they didn't even try. Yet they also know that relying upon globalization's beneficent invisible hand renders them hostage to ill fortune, which explains the powerful instinct to hedge. None of this means that the practitioners have the better answers—only that they face different imperatives, and the academic debate, as currently constructed, offers little help in how to navigate the complex, difficult and consequential choices they must make.

A Proposal for Change

We suspect that one of the reasons the academic debate is so often unhelpful is because, unlike the situation policymakers face, experts rarely face any consequences if they are wrong. As Tetlock's study revealed, these prognosticators and pundits are rarely held accountable for their errors. On the contrary, scholars' reputations and identity are deeply intertwined with their theoretical bent, which is the *ne plus ultra* for academic respectability in

¹⁶ For an example of this view, see Robert D. Kaplan, “Why John J. Mearsheimer Is Right (About Some Things),” *The Atlantic*, January/February 2012, accessed at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/01/why-john-j-mearsheimer-is-right-about-some-things/8839/>.

most social science disciplines. Experts have no incentive to demonstrate humility or admit what they do not know, nor are they encouraged to show empathy to decision-makers facing momentous decisions under extraordinary pressure. Indeed, their ability to command the precious geography of the op-ed page usually turns on the ability to make categorical, rather than contingent assertions.

Policy makers and elected officials, on the other hand, are not only lambasted in public if a decision turns out poorly and potentially face the loss of their jobs, they also carry the often-heavy personal burden of responsibility for a failed policy. Understanding the different environments that the expert and the decision-maker operate in—the first where error has little or no consequence, the latter where the political and personal costs of mistakes can be astronomical—is critical to understanding why expert ideas have less influence on decision-making than might be ideal and how to improve the utility of the interaction between the two communities.

The truth is, as every experienced policymaker knows, there are rarely “magic bullets,” or simple solutions when facing radical uncertainty and an unknowable future in a complex international environment. Confidence is unwarranted, overconfidence is dangerous and simple, binary choices elusive. This explains why policymakers often prefer to “muddle through,” buy time or seek a compromise between extreme policy options, if only to decrease the downside risk of any decision. These are, unfortunately, the very positions most likely to draw fire from

political experts, especially from the ubiquitous hedgehogs that dominate the digital age. Yet these “second best” policies are often less likely to lead to disaster than the bold but untested recommendations of prominent experts. As Adam Gopnik recently pointed out in his assessment of American criminal justice policies, “Epidemics seldom end with miracle cures.” Oftentimes, “merely chipping away at the problem around the edges” is the very best thing to do; keep chipping away patiently and, eventually, you get to its heart.¹⁷

Is there a way that experts could contribute more constructively to policymakers eager for any idea or sets of ideas that can help them make better policy choices? During a recent workshop hosted by the University of Texas, historians, strategists and current and former statesmen gathered to find answers.¹⁸ One big idea emerged: singular theories, models and historical analogies, in isolation and unchallenged, are of little value to policymakers. But various theories, models and histories taken together and in conversation with each other, and which are tailored to recognize the realities faced by policymakers, could potentially provide quite a bit of insight.

How? Imagine a mixed group of experts and statesman, meeting off-the-record, temporarily suspending their desire to predict, blog or be on television, spending a day or two intensely imagining and debating alternative scenarios that might emerge from a U.S. decision to bomb or not bomb Iran. Experts and policymakers would be forced to surface their assumptions, and test their theories, models and historical analogies against each

other’s, making an effort to match particular knowledge with specific issues. A somewhat similar effort was, of course, tried once before—President Eisenhower’s Solarium exercise—with great success.¹⁹ Imagine a comparable if broader and deeper endeavor, incorporating many of the innovations that have emerged since 1953, including game theory, scenario planning and detailed historical case studies.

How would this exercise be different than several other, worthwhile efforts to, in the words of Alexander George, “bridge the gap” between international relations theorists and foreign policy practitioners?²⁰ Three core principles, often lacking from these otherwise erstwhile efforts, must be present if the exercise is to succeed.

Principle One: Interdisciplinarity

This is, of course, everyone’s favorite buzzword inside the academy, but the fact is, few in the ivory tower actually embrace the full meaning and consequence of the concept. Why? The division of higher education into singular disciplines has led to an obsession with methods and “tools”—be it game theory, statistical methods or textual analysis—which is inherently at odds with the practitioners’ “problem-focused” interest in exploiting whatever tool or method sheds light on the issue at hand. The idea of problem-driven research and teaching was once an impetus behind the creation of policy schools, but these are often looked down on by the disciplinary priesthood, which works hard to persuade the best and brightest future scholars that their professional future depends on their ability to make a mark through theo-

¹⁷ Adam Gopnik, “The Gating of America,” *The New Yorker*, January 30, 2012, accessed at: http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/atlarge/2012/01/30/120130crat_atlarge_gopnik?currentPage=all.

¹⁸ See <http://www.strausscenter.org/strauss-news/university-of-texas-inaugurates-new-multidisciplinary-program-in-history-strategy-and-statecraft.html>.

¹⁹ For accounts of the Solarium exercise, see Robert R. Bowie and Richard H. Immerman, *Waging Peace: How Eisenhower Shaped an Enduring Cold War Strategy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Marc Trachtenbeg, “A ‘Wasting Asset’: American Strategy and the Shifting Nuclear Balance, 1949–1954,” in *History and Strategy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

²⁰ Alexander L. George, *Bridging the Gap: Theory & Practice in Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1993).

retical contributions to an individual discipline, rather than through policy-oriented research or eclectic models of explanation. This is a tremendous waste of intellectual firepower. And within the policy schools themselves, there is still a strong bias toward quantitative methods and modeling whose utility in the international affairs context is marginal. If the best minds could go beyond collaboration to truly multidisciplinary theories—perhaps something like a “unified field theory”—their work would better mirror, and be of greater use, to policymakers. There are examples of this kind of pathbreaking

tion is moving in the right direction or not. In other words, scholars could provide help with “signposts” to analyze whether the underlying assumptions are valid and the policy is on track, and tools to avoid type 1, or false positive, and type 2, false negative, errors when interpreting real-world evidence. The hedgehog tendency toward “crying wolf” or excessive skepticism is of little use, and must be left at the door of any exercise.

Principle Three: A seat at the table

Academics often ask to be invited into the decision-making process, and

ognize when a policy has gone bad and change course quickly.

Statesmen would not be the only ones to benefit. Such an exercise could sensitize experts to the inherent difficulties, the trade-offs and the unintended consequences of making U.S. foreign policy. This might reduce the shrillness and polarization that often mark such debates over important, contested issues, and make expert knowledge more useful and accessible. The very process of working together in this fashion would potentially do far more to increase the levels of understanding between the “expert” and policy worlds



The truth is, as every experienced policymaker knows, there are rarely “magic bullets” or simple solutions when facing radical uncertainty and an unknowable future in a complex international environment.

work being done in the applied sciences, but international relations theorists have, up to now, largely scorned such an approach.

Principle Two: Embrace “second best” theory

Policymakers do not operate in an idealized world where initial conditions can be perfectly specified, and troublesome, unquantifiable variables can be ignored or simplified into “dummy” variables. Decision theory is well and good, but as some of the most innovative scholars have repeatedly shown, decision process is at least as decisive. It is no accident that the best of the scholars are those who have also been involved in practice. And as important as good ideas are at the front end of policy, what practitioners really need are ways of assessing the constant stream of “real-time” evidence to determine whether the policy in ques-

we believe that under the conditions we lay out, having scholars involved could be very beneficial. But by the same token, decision-makers have to be allowed into the often-inscrutable world of the ivory tower, and help with the designing of curricula, academic programs and the development of research agendas. Cooperation cannot be a one-way street.

What would be the payoff of “bridging the gap” exercises that embraced these principles? Not only could novel policy ideas emerge; a rigorous vetting of contrasting, alternative futures would act as a sort of de facto contingency planning should a particular policy choice eventually turn out to be wrong. Policymakers who had gone through this process, removed from the political pressures and groupthink of the Beltway, might learn in advance what she or he should do if something goes awry, and be more willing to rec-

than the many well-intentioned programs out there seeking to “translate” academic work for a policy audience.

If both pundits and policymakers alike acknowledged the impossibility of knowing what the future brings, while being willing to both admit and forgive honest mistakes, it could increase both our humility and our flexibility, leading, perhaps, to better, more effective policies. While such a process may not tell us whether bombing Iran or refraining from doing so is “right,” it will better prepare all concerned for unexpected, unintended and challenging consequences that will surely result, regardless of which policy is chosen. Given the enormous long-term stakes of the choices before our president, it is the least that policymakers and experts can do. ■



Training the best and brightest to stop the spr

From the detonation of the first atomic bomb in 1945, to the bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the Cold War buildup of enough nukes to destroy civilization several times over—efforts to control nuclear weapons that began well over sixty years ago and have persisted ever since. Today, rogue states and terrorists have replaced global superpowers as the greatest and most complex threat. Yet the heavy investment in nonproliferation

of the Cold War era has dropped off, and experts are leaving the field after a lifetime's work to curb nuclear arms. Which prompts us to wonder: Who will take over when the time comes to pass the torch?

What's needed is a new cadre of highly trained specialists to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction. There are some extraordinary young people ready to assume that role, and many of the most promising, best pre-

pared are students at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), part of the Monterey Institute of International Studies in California. A grantee of Carnegie Corporation with offices in Washington, D.C. and Vienna, Austria, the Center is the world's largest nongovernmental organization dedicated to nonproliferation education. Through coursework, research and firsthand experience, CNS builds students' understanding of why states



by KAREN THEROUX

TION

Lead of WMDs

pursue nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and what can be done to halt and reverse their spread. Graduates enter the workplace equipped with a practical action plan for reducing the dangers posed by WMDs, ready and able to make a difference. Small wonder the center's alums occupy key positions throughout the field—in policy analysis, diplomacy, science, journalism and education—often shifting specialties as the years pass.

Several hundred students earned a Certificate in Nonproliferation Studies between from CNS between 1999, the year the Center was established, and 2010, when it launched the country's first MA degree in Nonproliferation and Terrorism Studies, which enrolls an average of 100 students per year. "Although the total number of students trained at CNS may pale in comparison with graduate programs in other areas, it has had an outsized role in seeding the nonproliferation field in the U.S. and beyond," notes Stephen Del Rosso, Program Director for International Peace and Security. "CNS has become the principal pipeline for building expertise in the field, and linking research and policy—objectives that inform much of the work supported by the Corporation's grantmaking in nuclear security."

"Education and training are absolutely essential to the nonproliferation field, but generally neglected as a means to combat the spread of nuclear weapons," says Patricia Moore Nicholas, the Carnegie Corporation project manager who oversees the CNS grants as part of the foundation's strategy for promoting nuclear security. "We develop and nurture junior and midcareer nuclear specialists through grants that support networks, education and on-the-job training. It's part of a focus on individual human capacity building," she explains. "Our approach is to pick out talented people and give them the support they need." Why CNS? "The director, Bill Potter, is building tomorrow's global community of nonproliferation experts today. He pioneered nonproliferation education and is planting the seeds for 25 years from now."

In its idyllic setting on the California coast, the Center offers the best possible environment for researching and analyzing nonproliferation issues, away from the pressures of New York and DC. Potter chose Monterey as the site

for his small start-up in 1989. He began with a Soviet Nonproliferation Visiting Fellows Program for a handful of promising young Soviet journalists, scientists and scholars, few of whom knew much about the issue. "Until we got our center up and running no one was doing this work," Potter says. "From the start we built our own curriculum." Twenty-two years later, with graduates in every corner of the world, he's justly proud of the "magnificent international community of young—and now also somewhat aging—nonproliferation specialists we have helped create."

"Education is simply peace-building by another name," former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said. Experts throughout the field acknowledge its vital importance, Potter stresses, and have even agreed to make an education action item part of the international Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). So he finds it frustrating that many foundations and national governments still prefer quick fixes for complex problems and look for demonstrable indicators of success. "Unless you invest now you have no possibility of changing mindsets and creating an international community," he stresses. "One is hard pressed to demonstrate the impact of the approach in one year or two or even four to five years."

Potter's knack for detecting talent is one key to the program's achievements. He insists on recruiting only the "best and the brightest" for work on the world stage. "There are different ways to determine potential," he explains. "Academic excellence matters, but there has to be an element of passion too. It's very, very important."

Karen Theroux is an editor/writer in the Corporation's public affairs department with many years' experience in educational publishing.

If you don't have a passion for issues, you'll burn out." This zeal may account for the number of alums still working in nonproliferation years later. "The easy thing is training," Potter says. "Sustaining is much more difficult." Yet many do stick with the field—so many in fact they're proud to have picked up the nickname "Monterey Mafia."

"I can't go to a meeting anywhere in the world without bumping into my students," Potter says. He finds them in Vienna, Geneva, Tokyo, even Beijing, where the Center has trained over 40 junior diplomats from the China mission. Potter says he's often asked how he's able to sleep at night, working in what some consider a dismal field. "The students here have such idealism and energy and that provides a glimmer of hope," he says. "It's building this community of young people who have increasingly shared values about the work we're doing and the need to find common ground. That's what keeps me in the business."

Peace-builders in Training

"Young people can lead the way in overcoming old conflicts," President Barak Obama said, spotlighting the critical role the next generation must play. It was his first foreign policy speech, delivered in Prague, Czech Republic, promising to "seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons." One year later the president returned to Prague to sign the New START Treaty, a strategic arms control agreement with Russia significantly reducing both countries' nuclear arsenals, in a ceremony with President Medvedev.

That agreement resulted from the kind of high-stakes deal-making covered in CNS classrooms, where training hones both practical skills and political viewpoints. Despite varying nationalities, diverse life experience and distinctive goals, CNS students all seem

in sync with the president's assertion that "moral leadership is more powerful than any weapon." Global citizens still in their twenties, they're ready to advance the cause of peace, and come to Monterey for classes, fellowships and internships in policy, technology, foreign languages, trade, law, analysis, negotiation—virtually everything they need to master for a career in nonproliferation. Their life stories and ideas for the future give rise to renewed optimism about the peace-building community's continuance, and its power to solve this problem in time.

Born in the Philippines, **Maria Lovely Lumabi Umayam** moved to Los Angeles at age 11, then to Portland where she attended Reed College. Her dream was to become a spoken word poet, until she encountered "a really great political science professor" and changed her major and her life plans. A college thesis on the arms race led to an internship at the Stimson Center in Washington, D.C. and eventually to a search for the right graduate program in international security—which is how she landed at Monterey and CNS. "International security seemed like you should need connections," Umayam says, "and mine was definitely a cold search. But this place is accessible and they embrace talent even at a young age. As a 24-year-old that's something I appreciate."

Bristling with enthusiasm, Umayam describes her experiences at the Center. A few minutes into the conversation she casually mentions that she'll be part of the Chilean delegation at the first Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) Preparatory Committee (prepcom), to be held in Vienna in April 2012 (a meeting that prepares for the NPT Review Conference scheduled in 2015). How did she manage that? "I signed up for Dr. Potter's nonproliferation arms control treaty simulation," she explains, "and

ended up as chair. He connected me with the ambassador of Chile who needs help during prepcom. It just happened."

Umayam speaks for all CNS students in describing Potter's arms control simulation class as the turning point in her educational experience. In this one-semester course, students role-play representatives of a country (not their own) at mock bilateral or multilateral treaty negotiations. Potter says he can only describe what happens during the simulations as alchemy. "I really don't know what takes over the students," he says. "They develop empathy—the capacity to see with the eyes of others. We also include junior diplomats from various countries in the mix; they're fairly experienced but you can't tell the pros from the students." Potter thinks the simulation exercise, a technique he developed early on as a teaching assistant, appeals to students because it's not just an academic exercise but an opportunity to interact with real policymakers.

"The best thing about the simulations is that they are as real as possible," Umayam says. They give students an opportunity to try out various approaches—pushing, thinking, challenging, questioning. Participants must develop a willingness to listen to others as well as a willingness to challenge, she says. "Being approachable is the key to negotiations," Umayam has learned. "Yet this doesn't happen at the policy table, but during smaller gatherings, where people connect. When I decided to chair, I did not know how an ambassador is supposed to be, but after a while you get into the tone of it."

"The breakdown is 50/50 knowledge and diplomacy," she says, "which to me is the art of knowing when not to speak. Another thing I have learned at CNS is that you can be a fantastic politician, but if you don't know the science you will get your policy wrong. You don't have



**Maria Lovely
Lumabi Umayam**



Karim Kamel

"You can be a fantastic politician, but if you don't know the science you will get your policy wrong. You don't have to be a nuclear physicist or engineer, but you need to know the basics.... If you want to understand policy you have to get molecular."

to be a nuclear physicist or engineer, but you need to know the basics. You need to know about production, weaponization, how a nuke program may be developed. If you want to understand policy you have to get molecular."

Another interest of Umayam's is the way women in international security interact, which she notes they do differently than men. "Now in nonproliferation we have Rose Gottemoeller (acting under secretary of state for arms control and international security) and a number of female figures. It's a testament to the rise of women," she says. "As an aspiring policy practitioner, I'd like to see what I can do as a woman and a woman of color. Even if there are women in the field, there are few U.S. women of color representing our policy. These are the different levels it challenges me to think about. It's very cool."

Karim Kamel is a 27-year-old research associate at CNS from Cairo, Egypt. He attended the American University in Cairo, then received his B.A. from San Jose State with a major in political science and a minor in biology. His manner is breezy, his expression intense. "Nonproliferation lies in the intersection between science and policy," Kamel says, "and that's exactly what I want to do. Coming from the Middle East, I'm trying to accomplish something that would enhance security and make it more sustainable. Verification takes a lot of understanding of science, but you also have to address the dogma of nuclear deterrence and the role nuclear weapons play in the security perception in the region."

Kamel's concern with nukes began in childhood. "I was six years old, watching a news show called *This Day in History*. They were talking about the atomic doomsday clock, and 'this day' was the day when it had come closest to midnight. I really thought the doomsday clock would come to an end and I

wanted to do something to contribute to the clock *not* reaching midnight. Growing up, I always had the idea that the region I lived in was very unique. I saw it as a hotspot. The year that I sensed the most volatility was during the 2000 Palestinian uprising. But then with Mohamed El Baradei winning the Nobel Peace Prize during my first year as an undergrad in the U.S., I also saw how he contributed to international peace and it was an inspiration.

"At Monterey you cannot stereotype anyone," Kamel says, "and it makes you appreciate everyone." Students benefit from the school's relationships all over the world. An alum who had interned at a Jordan think tank made it possible for Kamel, who had never been anywhere in the Middle East outside Egypt, to spend a summer working in Jordan. Then, through Monterey Institute's International Professional Service Semester (IPSS) program, he landed an internship in Vienna with the Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO). "Vienna is such a globalized place," he says, "and I got to meet some of the international icons of disarmament, even Ambassador Tibor Tóth, CTBTO's executive secretary."

Returning to California for his final semester, Kamel participated in a monitoring class run by Dr. Patricia Lewis, deputy director and scientist-in-residence at the Center, who served for 10 years as the director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) in Geneva, Switzerland. "We went over the final 2010 NPT document, word by word like lawyers. How thorough is it? What does it mean? Can we hold countries accountable? The problem with the documents is that they aren't written coherently," Kamel contends. "For instance, noncompliance is not specifically defined. So these loose concepts

may bring some benefits, but also many problems. My assignment was to examine the Middle East section. I tried to design a tool by which we can measure progress there and maybe affect things for the better.

"I came to the U.S. alone and my whole family is still in Egypt," Kamel says. "Ultimately I'll be trying to start an NGO in Egypt for nuclear disarmament, once I can accumulate the necessary expertise to launch such an ambitious project. I want to tackle the concept of nuclear deterrence; I think it's security through coercion. I see danger at every level with the idea that this is something sustainable. Plus, it's a waste of resources to maintain nuclear weapons. If we could actually use those resources, we could solve the millennium goals by 2015. I'm very passionate about this."

Twenty-five-year-old **Sayaka Shingu**, a native of Hiroshima, Japan, says she can't help being familiar with nuclear-bomb-related issues. "For example, during elementary school days, we were told to write a short essay about the bomb. My mother took me to a park to see a 'bomb tree.' We read about the tree together and then I wrote the essay. Our everyday life was always related to these issues." Shingu studied politics and nuclear disarmament at the University of Tokyo, then came to the United States on a Japanese government scholarship, and has just completed her first semester at the Monterey Institute.

Shingu speaks in a soft voice and chooses her words with care. "To be honest, I was not quite so interested in this issue until 2001, when images of 9/11 were being shown on CNN," she says. At that time I was quite shocked sitting in front of the TV screen at home in Hiroshima. I witnessed the scene but could not do anything to help. So that was when I started thinking about what I might do for the world or society." Shingu feels her early life

experience played a role in her intense reaction to events at the World Trade Center. "Because of my father's job in research, I lived in Seattle and Portland as a young child," she explains. "I have sweet memories of America. I was in a local kindergarten. I loved Walt Disney animation. I loved eating, so I remember the colorful snacks, the way children do. Memories of the U.S. are a very significant part of my story.

"These memories are important because when I came back to Japan, I realized that in some very basic ways, I was different from other children. I was not able to speak Japanese so fluently and my pronunciation was sometimes wrong. I hadn't studied writing. At times this led to bullying. People in Japan are very conscious of difference and there were repercussions to my having lived in the U.S. It doesn't have a negative impact now. I am Japanese but I have only positive feelings about this country."

It was as a teen that Shingu's unique ties to the United States began to influence her vision for the future. "I considered what I could do for bilateral relations between the United States and Japan." She decided that the first thing she could do would be to learn about her own hometown and how life there was affected by being the first city in the world to undergo a nuclear attack. Then she started to take part in nongovernmental organizations and civil society study groups that promote peace and educate the public about the dangers of nuclear weapons. "Gradually I noticed that learning about my history coming from a bombed city is quite important," she says, "But I wondered, how can we overcome this tragedy and prevent it from ever happening again?"

Shingu decided to enroll in Tokyo University to gain another perspective. "Mine is the third generation of survivors. Both sets of my grandpar-

ents were affected. Although they were victims, fortunately they did not suffer that much, although one aunt did pass away due to the bomb. During my undergraduate years, having experienced daily life in one of the bombed cities was not a critical part of my identity.



Sayaka Shingu



Steven Anderle



Karen Hogue

But on August 6th, every TV station and newspaper's content is very different from any other day. Then, people who come from a bombed city realize we have a very particular worldview.

"I'm still trying to distinguish between the Hiroshima, Japan and the United States perspective. The most important way I can learn is to talk face-to-face with American citizens. Because I'm now a diplomacy trainee, my next step is the ministry of foreign affairs. After these two years of study I would like to improve communication between our two countries, especially in nonproliferation. That will be my task, to contribute to understanding."

Globetrotters with a Purpose

While some CNS students can trace their interest in the nonproliferation field to an early life experience or dramatic turning point, for others the notion grows over time—an aspect of coming of age while seeing the world. One such is Californian **Steven Anderle**. After graduating from UCLA with a degree in political science, Anderle wasn't ready for grad school. Instead he went to China and taught English for two years, then spent a third year working as a law proofreader. "My job was making sure documents sounded like a real person wrote them. I spent day after day reading law at the computer. After that I was ready to come back."

When Anderle applied to Monterey Institute of International Studies, it wasn't with the idea of studying nonproliferation. "It was the international aspect of the school that appealed to me," he says. "MIIS is such an international campus. People who come from or have lived in another country have a different kind of openness. The empathy for other people's points of view is very strong here." Anderle enrolled as a conflict resolution student, then was recruited for a job at CNS. "Dr. Potter scans applica-

tions of incoming students and when he sees potential, tries to get them interested in nonproliferation. He offered me a research job, and I took it. It was the right move," he says. "Nonproliferation is a small community but there are a lot of opportunities. So few places are teaching students to focus on this subject so graduates from here have an advantage in the job market."

Anderle has honed his nonproliferation skills working on a number of relevant research projects as well as updating content on the Nuclear Threat Initiative Web site (NTI.org), an assignment he considers "very important." An internship at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratories nuclear weapons facility gave Anderle a chance to work on a Department of Energy next-generation safeguards initiative. As part of the program to train young professionals in International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards, he had attended a one-week intensive course on policy for students from around the world. He then worked with a China expert from the intelligence division and he is now writing an honors thesis on the effect of Chinese nuclear activities. "China has actually stopped producing fissile material for its weapons," he explains, "but for nuclear power needs they are going through a huge buildup. I'm exploring the implications of such a rapid industry expansion."

Second-year CNS student **Karen Hogue** comes from San Antonio, Texas. She spent her undergraduate years at Texas A&M, one of very few women majoring in nuclear engineering. "I wanted all sorts of awesome experiences," she says. But her first college summer job had Hogue working at a nuclear power plant in South Carolina, and the next one doing nuclear physics research—sitting behind a computer working on international experiments "where protons and

quarks are ripped apart." It wasn't until her third year that she had her most memorable experience—two months teaching nuclear chemistry and physics, at a school in India on the border of Nepal. "It was a volunteer program where if you found your own experience the university would support it," she says. "There were so many students, so much to do. It was emotionally and physically draining."

After graduation Hogue spent four years in the navy teaching at the Navy Nuclear Power School in Charleston, South Carolina. "The navy offers huge leadership opportunities at an early age," she says. "Nothing else compares." Hogue taught 500 student trainees and ran a division of physics. "It was a wonderful four years," she says. "But the gender breakdown among students was about 15 percent women, and about 10 percent of enlisted personnel. Undergrad engineering was even worse! Now, in my nonproliferation classes it's almost 50/50—a better ratio. Being here is a real change."

Even early in her college years Hogue envisioned a career that would "involve the human factor. I'm an engineer who likes talking to people," she says, "which might be unusual. I wanted to utilize my training doing something that directly affected people. CNS is one of only a handful of programs that try to blend the tech side with the policy side," Hogue explains. "A couple of people I worked with said the 'Monterey Mafia' were taking over the policy world and that finalized my decision to come to California."

During her second semester, Hogue took Potter's simulation class and agrees with fellow students that it's a uniquely valuable experience. "Doing treaty negotiations in that setting teaches many more aspects of nonproliferation than a lecture class can. Everyone gets into the mindset of their own country," she

says. She represented Mexico, and says, “I felt like I was really the country.... I started out with a tech background and a bit of policy experience. From the simulation training I learned enough about the policy debates to participate in a ‘Nuclear Scholars Initiative’ project in a nuclear think tank where there were 21 participants along with high-level speakers. That convinced me: this is definitely the right place for me to be.”

At age 23 **Jessica Bufford** is living her dream with a six-month internship in the United Nations Office of Disarmament Affairs, WMD branch. “I was in Model UN in high school and we covered lots of disarmament issues,” Bufford says. “Even back then I started building up knowledge and vocabulary. But now, to actually work with the UN is a dream come true. I’m doing for real what I pretended for years.” Her assignments include analyzing WMD developments and trends, conducting research and analysis, drafting briefing papers, and attending meetings in advance of the 2012 NPT Preparatory Committee.

“It’s all the nuts and bolts,” Bufford says. “Vocabulary is half the field, and not common vernacular. Nonproliferation can be like navigating a minefield. My coursework prepared me for this, and I’ve used it already.”

Looking ahead to a future of international communication, Bufford praises the language component at Monterey as well as the interdisciplinary aspect. “There are many opportunities to talk to people from other backgrounds,” she says, “and to get new ideas and make connections.” Over three semesters she has had only three classes with American professors. “The rest have all been experts from Argentina, India, Russia, Greece—all over the world,” she says. The UN assignment is Bufford’s second internship since starting at CNS in January 2011;

the first was at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory helping to develop a theoretical HEU (highly enriched uranium) down-blending verification regime between India and Pakistan.

Bufford describes herself as a big-picture person, who won’t be content to “help only one village.” With the UN, Bufford’s negotiation skills could potentially bring stability to a much larger area, she believes. While enrolled at Austin College in northeast Texas she traveled to Ukraine, Estonia, Russia, Bolivia and Peru, and spent a term at the Sorbonne, in Paris, so her global perspective is understandable. At Monterey Bufford discovered negotiation is something she enjoys, and could be good at. She started out as a conflict resolution student, then participated in the START simulation. “I really went for it,” she says. “And I started to realize I had skills in diplomacy, and passion. I was interacting with ambassadors and I wanted to know, ‘How do I become you?’ I realized this is what I’m meant to do.”

Nashville native and China specialist **Jonathan Ray** is in his second semester at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies. A fascination with Asia is something he “fell backwards into,” as Ray puts it. At first, after 9/11 he thought he should learn Arabic. “But after taking class with a really good professor, it dawned on me that we need to work on trade issues with China. For that I needed two things: to improve my Chinese and to specialize in nuclear nonproliferation.” Ray says when he tells people about being at CNS he stresses that “what drew me here wasn’t just Monterey. It could have been anywhere and I would have applied.”

After graduation from Cornell, Ray took a two-year language fellowship, spending the first year at Brigham Young University. “It was intimidating because three out of four students had already served missions in Taiwan,” he



Jessica Bufford



Jonathan Ray

says. But the real highlight was being in China. He studied crisis management in Nanjing, where “it was all in Chinese, talking with the professors and other students,” then volunteered in the arms control program in the Institute of International Studies at Tsinghua University. “Fukushima happened when I was in China,” Ray recalls, which gave rise to interesting discussions on Japan’s versus China’s approach to nuclear power.

Studying overseas is a blessing that comes with its own challenges, he says. “Culturally, one of the most fundamental concepts is the importance of face. I had heard about it ad nauseum but never really appreciated it. For instance, the real discussions happen at a lower level because people at the upper level

would never speak ill of each other. Something as subtle as tone of voice would be quite different depending on whether you're talking to the director or to an assistant who had to get things done," Ray explains. "Also in that line, Track II diplomacy that mixes different kinds of people together is really where things get done. You can get someone to say something off the record that they wouldn't say otherwise. China has some very different ideas than the U.S. where arms are concerned," Ray adds. "Their policy emphasizes very long term planning. That sometimes clashes with the U.S. because we want quick action."

"I love studying China and nonproliferation both; as soon as I feel I understand one thing, two more questions pop up. My main interest is export control issues, and I've taken a course that covered money laundering and international law, and a workshop on international trade and shipping, which looked at the fundamentals of Arms Control and security in East Asia." Ray says his main focus is on the nuclear dual-use issue—civilian and military. "One example might be 'spark gaps' that are used in a medical device to get rid of kidney stones, but can also be used to ignite a nuclear weapon. When you sell those you have to be aware of who is buying."

Alums in the Trenches

Graduates of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies maintain their advantage well after their careers are underway. A good example is **Charles Mahaffey**, who came to the Monterey Institute after working six years as a teacher near Nagasaki, Japan. "I enrolled just a year after 9/11," Mahaffey explains. "I was worried about nuclear weapons, and wanted to do something to assure that humanity would never see them used again." Now Mahaffey is a senior foreign affairs officer with the State Department's Bureau of International

Security and Nonproliferation. He's assigned to the Office of Regional Affairs, which he explained is divided into different regions of the world. "Ours covers a total of 10 countries east of India. I started here six years ago, immediately after graduating from Monterey, and have just reached country number eight. It's only a matter of time until I see all 10, including North Korea."

A native of Tucson, Mahaffey says ending up in the teaching program in Japan was "a random chance." Like many CNS students, he has an interesting story to tell. During World War II, his grandparents were involved with the Manhattan Project, his grandmother as secretary to the director, Leslie Grove, and his grandfather as a radio operator on B29s flying daily missions over Japan from the same base as the Enola Gay. When Mahaffey married a woman from Nagasaki, both sets of grandparents attended their wedding. "Her family had been on the ground while mine was in the air," he says. "When they met at the wedding, my grandfather said, 'I know exactly where that was...'"

Mahaffey's time at Monterey included editing "FirstWatch International," a weekly summary of everything being written about WMD issues. He also did a fellowship at CNS headquarters in Washington, D.C. and another at the UN. But what he valued most was the international composition of the school itself, which he termed amazing. "Only half the enrollment is American. In nonproliferation and other policy programs, a third of the course work had to be done in a foreign language, so you really had to come in with advanced knowledge. My favorite class was the nonproliferation review conducted all in Japanese."

Years later, "I'm still very heavily involved with CNS," Mahaffey adds. "They continue to partner on a lot of the work we do in East Asia. One good ex-

ample is when CNS brings foreign diplomats in to study issues and then takes them to Washington, D.C. at the end of the program. They're not always very senior officials, but they're people we haven't been exposed to and they answer questions about how they do their jobs, which benefits both sides. There have been times when the only chance we have to talk to China has been through these things that Monterey has set up. You can see the impact on someone who has been through the program. That cultural sensitivity really, really helps."

Anya Erokhina is a recent graduate of the Monterey Institute with a degree in Nonproliferation and Terrorism Studies. Her experiences as a grad student at the Center, plus internships at the Naval Post Graduate School, Lawrence Livermore National Labs and the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs led directly to her current spot as a Nunn-Lugar Fellow at the Defense Threat Reduction Agency in Washington, D.C.—where the mission is safeguarding the United States and its allies from weapons of mass destruction. "You have to lock up your phone when you come to the office," Erokhina says to illustrate the sensitive nature of her work.

Erokhina was born in Moscow, grew up in California and Idaho and speaks Russian, Spanish and Arabic. "It's a big plus to have more than one language," she says. "Russian is especially important in nonproliferation where you want to be speaking with someone on their own terms. Two things I loved about Monterey and CNS are that the language component is forced on you and that you'd better work your butt off," she laughs. The START simulation is a case in point. "It was held at the same time the negotiation was really going on. We had access to colleagues with years of experience in the field, even speaking to Rose Gottemoeller on Skype and getting the ins and outs of international

negotiation. It was the best experience ever, being thrown into the fire.”

Transitioning into the work world was “surprisingly easy,” Erokhina says. “Because we focus less on theory and more on practical applications and hot topics of the day, it prepared me to enter an office... to speak the language, understand the variables. On some level there’s so much more I’m learning and I’m gaining a greater appreciation that I didn’t have as a student. But because of the foundation from Monterey, I’ve never felt at a loss.”

Vienna-based **Jenni Rissanen** is a nonproliferation strategy analyst for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The agency is run by a team of 2,300 multidisciplinary professional and support staff from more than 100 countries. They come from scientific, technical, managerial and professional disciplines, and are based mainly at the Vienna headquarters. “My particular position is a little unusual,” she says, “in the sense that most of the staff are techs. My job is in the division of concepts and planning—the think tank of the department—and I work mostly on strategic planning. It can be very abstract. But what we do here has a tremendous impact on what’s done in the field.”

Rissanen is from Finland, and went to college in the United States. She’s always been oriented to international studies, so choosing Monterey Institute was a natural, she says. “The program there appealed to me because it was so uniquely focused on WMDs. Like many people in the field, I come from a military family; my father was a UN Peacekeeper. I lived in Syria and Israel as a young child and went to a UN school. I recall writing an essay at age 12 or so about nuclear weapons. Growing up during the Cold War in a country right next to the Soviet Union, I was scared by some of the threat perceptions at that time.”

Rissanen graduated from Monterey Institute in 1999 and has been in Vienna since 2007. In between she worked for the Finnish mission in Geneva and for an NGO, and was doing consulting work when she got the IAEA offer. Working for different stakeholders and intergovernmental bodies has been good experience, she says, because “they all have their own role in this business and you can understand because you have been there. I agree 100 percent that one of the advantages of the CNS program is that it is very practically oriented. Employers say it is always easy to hire people from Monterey because you don’t have to reorient them from an academic to a practical approach.” Rissanen says another advantage is that they are prepared for a multicultural environment. “It’s the principle of geographical representation in the UN system that there should be people from every country to make a truly international workforce. Once you come and work in such an agency you surrender your passport. You are now an international civil servant and your mission is to serve the international public good.”

One of the ongoing challenges is that at the agency there are only 23 percent women in the professional category. “We are definitely underrepresented, she says. The higher up you go the worse it gets.” Another challenge is that you must take a very long perspective, she says, because you don’t see immediate results. Or you might not see any results at all. “It’s when they go wrong that we notice things are happening. But we know when there’s a low point, things will go up again. You have to be a little optimistic. It takes patience to be in this field, and determination.”

Sean Dunlop is a program analyst for the Office of Nonproliferation and International Security at the Department of Energy’s National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA). He started

there on a fellowship in 2010 and got a full-time contract in 2011. “As an action officer, I get requests for information, talking points, memos, etc., from NNSA, along with interagency requests,” Dunlop explains. “I have to make sure all answers are timely and correct. I also write regular monthly reports.”

It’s not the career Dunlop might have envisioned for himself as a college student at Case Western, where he majored in music with plans of becoming a teacher. But when his certification exam was graded incorrectly, preventing him from getting a teaching job after graduation, he signed up for the Peace Corps and spent two years working with Mayan communities in Belize. “It’s hard to leave the Peace Corps and come back to work in a typical office. It sparks a passion to make the world a better place. You get to know people from other countries and develop ‘big picture’ aspirations,” Dunlop says.

Those aspirations led him to Monterey Institute. With its academic program, two internships, and a graduate assistant position at the Center, he was highly prepared to enter the field. “There’s absolutely a direct line from Monterey to the job,” Dunlop says. “It’s regarded as a pipeline for graduates to go straight to work in nonproliferation. It’s the opposite of the ivory tower.

“One cool thing is the way the Center could draw smart, talented people from all over, then when we would meet them they were always very approachable,” Dunlop says. “During the simulation class Ambassador Linton Brooks [former head of NNSA] spent a whole day with us. What a great experience—at NNSA he’s a legend and a hero. One class in particular—the ‘Nuclear Renaissance’ class—was right at the intersection of policy, technology and international relations. Taking this course helped me get a summer internship sponsored by the Department of

“Academic excellence matters, but there has to be an element of passion too. It’s very, very important. If you don’t have a passion for issues, you’ll burn out.”

Energy at Lawrence Livermore National Lab that dealt with safeguard issues. Our coursework focused on the resurgence of interest in Asia right now to build nuclear reactors for power: Will that have implications for nonproliferation?”

As for long-range plans, Dunlop’s hoping his position with the Department of Energy could be a springboard for an extended career in public service. “I would like to work for the government for about 10 years, learn more about the big picture, and then try for a position in an international organization,” he says. “All with the goal of someday living in a nuclear weapons free world.”

Expanding the Mission

Although graduate education is the CNS focus, Bill Potter sees no reason why high school students can’t get involved. “Fifteen years ago I was invited to speak about the spread of weapons of mass destruction at a local civic group where several high school seniors were in the audience,” he recounts. “When the talk was finished, the young people approached the podium and said, ‘We’re about to graduate; how come we haven’t been told any of this?’ In response in 1997 we developed the

‘Critical Issues Forum,’ the first program to assist in teaching high school students about nonproliferation.”

“There’s no other organization that deals with nonproliferation for this age students,” says Masako Toki, CNS education project manager, a Monterey graduate originally from Kobe, Japan. “We work with teachers, which is very important, and design the curriculum so students systematically develop critical thinking. We have participants from American high schools and Russian schools in all ten formerly closed cities where their families were involved in nuclear development. It’s so important for them to learn all about nonproliferation, security and safety. We’re starting to involve Chinese high schools and hope to have students from the Middle East. We’re also reaching out to schools in Japan. A passion for nonproliferation is common among Japanese children; it’s a very personal issue for everyone there.”

Students collaborate on investigating the scientific, economic, political and ethical aspects of nonproliferation and security issues so they can develop informed opinions on such complex topics as WMDs, terrorism and other crucial international issues of the time. A new topic is chosen each academic year. As this is being written, plans are underway for the Spring 2012 Student Conference in Vienna, Austria, in conjunction with the 2012 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) Preparatory Committee. The conference will begin with a session led by Yukia Amano, a former visiting scholar at Monterey who is Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

It makes sense that the new Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation, operated by CNS (with Carnegie Corporation support), is setting up shop close to one of the most important intergovernmental organiza-

tions dedicated to nuclear security and nonproliferation. Opened in 2011 with support from the Austrian government, this new center is dedicated to furthering international peace and security by providing independent expertise to organizations, professionals and the public—including young people. Through conferences, training programs and ongoing research, it will build a network of institutions to foster dialogue and cooperation.

“The Vienna Center can serve the IAEA in important ways,” says Carl Robichaud, a program officer in Carnegie Corporation’s International Peace and Security Program. “The IAEA plays a critical role but doesn’t have the necessary level of support.” Institutions in New York, Washington, DC, or Geneva benefit from the presence of an independent analytical sector in those cities, but the lack of such organizations in Vienna means the IAEA is comparatively underserved. The Vienna Center should increase the international dialog there while further advancing the Monterey Institute’s global presence and outreach. “And it’s a natural fit for Monterey because a significant number of their graduates already go to work at the IAEA or the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Organization, which is also in Vienna,” Robichaud points out. International diplomats also stand to benefit from the new center, which can provide them with critical training on nuclear issues. “Diplomats in Vienna have a broad portfolio. Many of the people responsible for making important decisions in this area lack a strong background in nuclear issues,” he says. “Improved understanding of these issues can help countries to move beyond block politics and toward shared solutions.” ■

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Creating New Designs for New



Leah Hamilton

Editor's Note: Since it was founded a century ago, Carnegie Corporation of New York has been dedicated to advancing education and educational opportunities. Today, one important element of the Corporations' work focuses on identifying and supporting both knowledge development and the scaling up of education reform projects and organizations where the greatest gaps and threats to student success are found. Those strategies include emphasizing innovations that help underprepared secondary school students ready themselves for graduation and college, or that accelerate secondary and postsecondary learning, including higher standards, better-quality data and effective instructional and design remedies for the low expectations, weak curricula and other inadequacies of many urban schools. Below, Leah Hamilton, Carnegie Corporation Program Director, *New Designs for K-16 Pathways*, discusses how new designs for schools can help achieve those goals. She is interviewed by Susan King, former Corporation Vice President, External Affairs.*

* In January 2012, Susan King began serving as the dean and the John Thomas Kerr Distinguished Professor at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Susan King: My first question is simple. What does “new designs for schools” really mean?

Leah Hamilton: What we're used to imagining when we think about school is the schoolhouse where students go at a certain time every morning and spend a certain amount of time sitting at desks—25, 35 students with a teacher, going through some kind of learning experience that is teacher delivered. That's what most people experienced themselves and so that's what we think about culturally as school. What we also know, however, is that concept was designed for a different time to prepare students for a different economy, where you could graduate with a high school diploma

and get a job that was stable and paid a wage that allowed you to support yourself and potentially, a family.

SK: You could become part of the middle class with a high school degree at that time. No longer?

LH: Yes, that would be the exception now. We haven't recognized how static the structure of school has been and so our first hurdle is to convey the notion that schools have to be designed to accomplish something new, supporting *all* students to college and career-ready standards in a knowledge-based economy. Saying "new designs" is saying, first of all, that schools are *designed*, and that if they're designed they can be redesigned. You can change them to be and do something different. It opens up a whole area that is very exciting because we can create different roles for people, decide how

of engaging learning resources, while supporting teachers and other adults to do their best work with students.

For all of that to be possible, schools must be designed to be good partners, or what we would describe as more porous institutions. That means they need to innovate in human capital, use of time, money and certainly technology, and to continuously strive to answer the question of how can we best deliver content and build the skills of students so they are able to apply what they learn to meet new challenges in the world. In order to implement these ideas, school systems have to think differently about how money flows through a system and how governance is structured. All of that is part of the New Designs work here at Carnegie.

SK: It is exciting when you talk about that, and explain the ideas in a way people can really understand. For instance, people used to go to a record store and buy a vinyl record. Now, the whole way people get music is totally different. That's the way you are talking about school, that it has to be done

in a totally different way. But there are economic rewards that accrue to businesses that drive the kind of change music has undergone with the iPod and similar technological advances. What is driving school to change?

LH: That's a great question. You're right, there isn't a profit motive that is making everyone cohere around a new vision for our education system. So we have to tap into something that is perhaps more powerful, that's driven by our values, and an interest in keeping our democracy robust and our economy strong. And I think part of the problem is that there hasn't been a consistent and sustained force to drive schools to change across, and along, that coherent vision. And so that's part of how

we've focused the work here at the Corporation. We believe the Common Core Standards create a tremendous opportunity for this.

SK: And it involves all students, not just some students succeeding.

LH: That's right.

SK: Would you say that, in a way, that's what philanthropy is at this time in America? It's a driver for change in how schools work?

LH: Philanthropy can support research and other efforts to help us, as a country, understand to what degree our education systems around the country are or are not working and for whom. Philanthropy can support new ways of thinking about solutions, and implementing solutions that respond to the problems that surface when we have a good understanding of what is actually happening in the United States and globally. I also think philanthropy can support efforts to innovate in education that are informed by advances in fields outside of education and in other countries around the world. And philanthropy can and should take risks that others can't.

SK: And in this time of change, is it really clear how to fix schools? Or is it a time of experimentation to understand how to make fixes?

LH: I think we're in a time of rapid innovation. There has been tremendous progress in individual schools, school networks and at the state policy level and there are certainly pockets of excellence around the country—but that, in a way, is the problem. We have isolated examples of school reforms that work: a school network getting it right for a particular group of students, or a district with a dynamic leader and the political will to make a lot of change and do something dramatic in a district. But we haven't seen major change that results in high achievement for all students that has been sustained across an

Schools

to use time differently, and how to use assets inside and outside of the school differently. That means both that what teachers do will change and that valuable actors in the teaching and learning experience will include others as well as formal teachers. For example, they could come from science institutions, health institutions or youth development organizations in the community. Valuable learning experiences for students also don't have to be limited to inside the schoolhouse walls. Students can build and apply knowledge and skills through internships and service projects that can count toward their academic progress requirements. And technology can be used as a powerful bridge to connect students to all kinds

entire state, consortium of states or the whole country yet. And so part of what we're trying to do is say, why not? Why doesn't innovation travel? And if we can understand why it doesn't travel, how can we support efforts that are about innovation at scale to begin with.

SK: Of course every state has control of its own school system, so this is not easy.

LH: It is not easy, and that's why we include new designs for schools and systems. When you think about school reform, you think of just the school as the unit of change, or you think about the classroom as the unit of change, or the teacher. Some people think the students need some change! But we believe that we have to understand that there are systems set up around schools that are about setting expectations, providing supports, how money flows, who has authority to make decisions, how accountability for performance is assigned, and how communities are engaged or not engaged. And that needs work too, since this system was created to support the schools that were designed for another era and a different goal than the one we have now.

And so some of these questions around governance structures are not just about things like, should we invest in districts or just go outside and invest in charters? Or, is the state the right entry point? The real question is about how we can drive scalable innovation when we have such a fragmented system and such distributed decision-making power. And we are exploring that through grantmaking as well.

SK: How will you know if you've gotten to that new design?

LH: It's all about student learning. There's never a one-size-fits-all solution so we're not looking for the one

new design. We are asking the question, how do you stimulate a portfolio of designs? You know that you have a good portfolio of designs if all students are meeting or exceeding college and career-readiness standards and experiencing success in college, work and life.

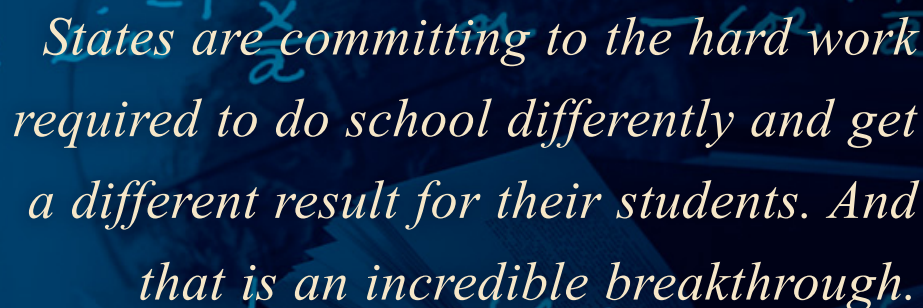
SK: Until now, there have been many standards around the country, right? Different ways of saying this is a successful student.

LH: That's why we're in such an exciting time. States have come together and opted in to a common set of expectations for student learning. They are saying to the country that they want their students to be a part of this effort to set high expectations that align to their students' ability to do well in work and life and college. And they are

LH: Early. It depends how you think about it. We have had lots of examples of new school designs, or new designs within systems that have made dramatic changes for students. None have gone far enough, but they have definitely shown that this can be done. Innovation has happened, both within some charter networks, and within districts.

SK: What I also want to hear your thoughts about is the innovation in the way teachers teach and students learn. I understand that there's promise in the research but not clear results. Tell me what this innovation looks like and how we're experimenting based on what we know.

LH: We use the term "Next Generation Learning" to capture our



States are committing to the hard work required to do school differently and get a different result for their students. And that is an incredible breakthrough.

committing to the hard work required to do school differently and get a different result for their students. And that is an incredible breakthrough.

SK: I see it as almost revolutionary that governors said, "We have more things in common than things that separate us." That's a breakthrough from the way school systems have been run in the past, right?

LH: Huge. It's a huge advance on the policy front. Now we'll be able to say what is successful. Because we're using the same standard across states.

SK: If it's on a ruler, one to twelve, where do you think we are in this new design kind of movement?

thoughts on that innovation idea. It's saying, let's imagine that school is not 25 to 35 students in front of a teacher for big chunks of time, and that students don't move on to the next grade because they've spent a certain amount of time in a classroom. Let's imagine that we have a really great understanding of what we want students to know and be able to do. And then we have lots of different ways for them to get there. And we have a really diverse student population in this country, which means we probably need multiple methods to support students on their learning progression to a high standard. It means different paths for different

students to a common high standard.

One tool that has not been used well in education is technology and I really want to emphasize that when we talk about Next Generation Learning and our hopes for what technology can help us do, it's in no way saying we think that technology alone is the answer. It's not simply that students should just have really great online content that they interact with on their own and move forward, because school serves multiple purposes. Part of the role of school is social, part of that is developing the capacity to work in teams and on projects over a sustained amount of time. We're at the beginning of understanding what really great, meaningful, productive integration of technology looks like and what the school design around that looks like. And what the roles for teachers and leaders look like. That work is really in its early stage.

But what you want to accomplish with this Next Generation Learning concept is allowing students to move through a learning progression at their own pace, getting as deep into content as they need to get. And having as many opportunities as they need to apply what they learn and to have the dexterity to acquire knowledge, interact with content and operate in the real and changing world.

SK: So the gifted student could be in the same classroom with the less gifted student, but both of them could progress if they had some technology that would help them move at their rate, under the auspices of the *same* teacher.

LH: Right! There are models that have students doing much more independent work, just with the help of technology and there are models where the classroom work is mostly teacher led with some enhancements in technology. What works best for which students we don't know yet. But what I imagine is that it will be a combina-

tion of things: the opportunity for a student to spend the time she needs to master content and to get the supports from adults who know the student as a learner and as a person.

SK: The critics say you don't have any research to prove that technology is going to improve students' outcomes.

LH: What we do have is a lot of research that shows what we're doing now isn't working for most kids. Technology enables new tools. It doesn't exist alone as something to be researched, but rather what is done with it to improve learning.

SK: So to those who say don't do anything until you have proven research, you say you don't make change at your peril, is that it?

LH: I think you accept the status quo at your peril. And so I would ask, "What else are you doing to get a better result?" We *must* get better results.

SK: Okay, so we'll have a little schoolhouse, it will look like something we had before, but there may be all sorts of new people in those rooms.

LH: We'll have a new idea of the schoolhouse.

SK: And it won't just be the hierarchy of a principal, a bunch of teachers and an athletic coach. There's going to be people who come into school with different skills, is that the idea? That's a pretty radical way of thinking about school. How soon could that happen?

LH: I think it's happening in small bits and pieces now. I think how soon it could happen at scale depends on a few things. It depends on getting new, more and better tools so that the content you can access through technology is as good and as rich as it needs to be. And I think you have to have some brave folks who are willing to take on the challenge of redefining the roles for people in schools, which is not easy to do. And I think we have to get really good at making student performance transparent.

SK: What does that mean?

LH: It means that no one wants to promote innovation for innovation's sake, that all this is in the service of helping kids make progress toward a higher standard that truly aligns with being college ready, engaging in some kind of postsecondary learning that will tie to a job or link to some role that a student wants to play in life. But we don't have great systems across states or within states to really know how well students are doing at any point in time along that learning progression and even as they complete requirements in the K-12 systems around the country.

Even now, because there's been some misalignment of standards to that college readiness bar, we have lots of students who graduate from high school but who end up in remediation in college. So clearly, we haven't been great at matching up expectations for teaching and learning with implementation and student performance outcomes. And I think there's a lot that we can learn, as a field, about how student learning progresses and what helps which kinds of students get better in the places they need to get better. That means making student performance data more visible, and also more available to research and development efforts.

SK: It means giving a wide group of people awareness of how students are really doing in the classroom.

LH: I want to clarify that the goal is not to ensure that Leah's grades are attached to Leah and made public to the world. That's not what we're talking about. It's some way of understanding how students like Leah are doing across many different contexts and geographies. And it's also about learning when students like Leah engage with some kind of intervention, what those students are able to accomplish. It means teachers won't have to invent what to do when they come into contact with a

student like Leah, for example, because someone has already figured out what to do when they come into contact with a student like her. We have grantees that are really digging into that kind of learning, so this is the way that innovation is taking place: it's like I'm going to figure out this piece of it and see what I can help the field understand about what this piece is and then someone else needs to build on that and say, oh, you've made some progress on that question so I want to wrap what I've done around that and now we have a bigger, clearer picture and a little bit more of the puzzle. This iterative innovation can happen much more rapidly in the context of common standards and good information on student performance, and technology enables that process.

So, for instance, research is being done on how students progress through middle school math content. And it means that researchers are looking at everything from, does this student do better on this topic if it's being taught by direct instruction by a teacher in a large group, direct instruction by a teacher in a small group, if they're doing some practice online and then having a group, or if the work is done online but in a game context? That's the level of sophistication we can get to. We're not there yet, but that's what's possible.

SK: I think some lay people would probably say, I thought teachers already knew all that kind of information about how people learn.

LH: Well, I think good teachers know a lot. But I also think the demand for teachers to be able to differentiate what they do for each individual student when they're working with so many is a big demand, and in that respect, we've made the teaching job really hard. And so part of this work is about how can we help teachers get a better result by not making them do so much of that differentiation by themselves.

SK: What turned you into a school reformer? Did you always want to be a teacher?

LH: No. I did teach in special education, however, right after college. I then went to business school and also did an MSW. And while I was in my field placement in graduate school, I was placed in a program for students who needed to repeat the ninth grade. It was part of a community-based organization that was serving students from one of our very large dysfunctional high schools in the Bronx. And my role there was a social work role. So I was doing case management and running groups, also supporting the teachers in the classroom. And to be honest, I saw from the inside how poorly we were doing for these young people.

SK: In preparing them for the world and preparing them for math or English and so forth, right?

LH: Absolutely. And so the idea of that program was, you go to this program for a year after you haven't been successful in high school. Somehow, something gets transformed in you as a young person, so that you can go back to your school that is very dysfunctional and do better. It just didn't strike me as logical.

The more I was there the more I thought, why are we taking the kids out and trying to change the kids? Why aren't we changing the school? At that time, reforms were really heating up in New York City. The New York City school system was saying, we're going to work on new designs for the schools to meet the needs of the students that we have in this city. And we're going to meet their needs first and the adults' needs will come after. And it was so compelling; I couldn't not join the New York team.

SK: This is the team that served under then-chancellor of New York City schools Joel Klein?

LH: Yes, and it was an amazing experience. I had tremendous mentors. Because it was a system that was changing so rapidly, and because it was such a large system, I was able to work on lots of different facets of the problem. I ended up working on a multiple pathway strategy, which was about designing new schools and programs for the students like the ones I'd gotten to know when I was in my field placement experience. Students who had mostly experienced failure in school.

SK: Did that turn you into an optimist? Because there's an awful lot of people who find it hard to believe there are answers to these huge school problems.

LH: It did turn me into an optimist because I saw that when you bring the right people together and you give them the support they need, they figure it out. It was a challenging experience and very, very difficult, but I was completely inspired by it.

SK: It's a pretty interesting combination. You have an MBA and a social work degree and turn into a school reformer. But it's appropriate, in a way. A social worker who cares about how children progress, their social welfare, and a business person who's thinking about entrepreneurial new ways of organizing things, of building businesses.

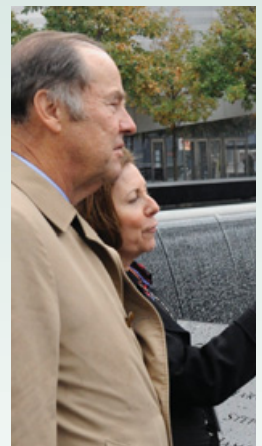
LH: Not many in my class at Columbia Business School had any interest in going into public service, but what I saw was the opportunity to do something entrepreneurial within government. It doesn't have to be this either/or. We need to carve out space for entrepreneurs to do their work in schools and other public institutions. It's an essential infusion of energy and perspective, and diverse thinking. ■

Philanthropy's Most Celebrated Award

On October 20, 2011, winners of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy were honored at a ceremony at the New York Public Library, emceed by Judy Woodruff, Senior Correspondent of the *PBS News-Hour*. Recipients included: the Crown Family; the Danforth Family; Fiona and Stanley Druckenmiller; Li Ka-shing; Fred Kavli; the Lauder Family: Evelyn and Leonard Lauder, Jo Carole and Ronald Lauder; Pamela and Pierre Omidyar; the Pew Family; and the Pritzker Family. Together they represent a wide spectrum of philanthropic endeavors, benefiting scientific research, the arts and culture, religious freedom, education, health and medicine, world peace, alleviation of poverty, social justice, the environment and more.

The Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy, now in its 10th year, is awarded biennially in recognition of exceptional and sustained records of philanthropic giving as well as important and lasting impact on a field, nation, or on the global community. Awardees are selected by an international committee comprising representatives of seven major Carnegie institutions. "We are honored to bestow the 2011 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy on truly extraordinary individuals and families who, like Andrew Carnegie, believe in dedicating their private wealth to the public good," said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York. ■

Clockwise from top left: Vartan Gregorian with the 2011 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy recipients. Thomas H. Kean, former New Jersey governor and chair of the 9/11 Commission, with Alice Greenwald, 9/11 Memorial Museum director, at the memorial site during a visit by medalists and Corporation trustees. Michael Bloomberg, New York City mayor chats with Pamela Omidyar during a reception he hosted for the medal recipients. Two great grandsons of Andrew Carnegie: Kenneth B. Miller, honorary chairman emeritus, Cooper-Hewitt Design Museum, and William Thomson CBE, honorary president, Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. Gordon Brown, former prime minister of the United Kingdom, shares a word with Vartan Gregorian at the business meeting of the more than 22 Carnegie institutions, held at Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs. For additional photos and information about the medal go to <http://www.carnegiemedals.org/>.



A photograph showing the back of a young woman with dark hair in a braid, wearing a white t-shirt, sitting in an audience. Other people are visible in the background, seated in rows, suggesting a formal hearing or event.

A student attends a
Senate hearing on
the DREAM Act.

THE DREAM ACT

Across the U.S., states are signing

by ABIGAIL DEUTSCH

In 2000, former Texas representative Rick Noriega, a Democrat, met an undocumented Nicaraguan immigrant named Rosendo Ticas. The young man wanted to attend college and become an airline mechanic, but—unable to afford the international-student tuition rate that illegal immigrants were charged—Ticas was mowing lawns instead. After conducting a survey in his district, Noriega found so many others in Ticas's position that he filed a bill for what would become the Texas DREAM Act, legislation that permitted undocumented Texas residents to pay in-state tuition at public colleges and universities.



GETTY IMAGES

T: *on to the Dream*

Such students soon converged on the state capitol, according to Austin's *Statesman* newspaper. "The committee room was packed, and the committee didn't leave until way past midnight to hear every story from every one of these kids," Noriega said. "And I can tell you there wasn't a dry eye in the committee room. They passed it out of the committee that night on a unani-

mous vote." Yet the response to the measure has not been unanimously positive. State lawmakers have fought to revoke the policy, and constituents and politicians alike have harshly criticized Texas Governor Rick Perry, a Republican, for supporting it.

The question of whether—and how—to finance the education of illegal immigrants is hardly new. During

the 1970's, Texas stopped providing state funding for undocumented public school students. In response, a Texas school district charged each undocu-

Abigail Deutsch is a writer based in New York. Her work appears in The Los Angeles Times, The San Francisco Chronicle, Bookforum, The Village Voice, and other publications.

mented child \$1,000 a year to attend school. Four immigrant families challenged the policy, risking the deportation that might result from public attention, and won.

In the Supreme Court decision for *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), Justice William J. Brennan argued that such children, “already disadvantaged as a result

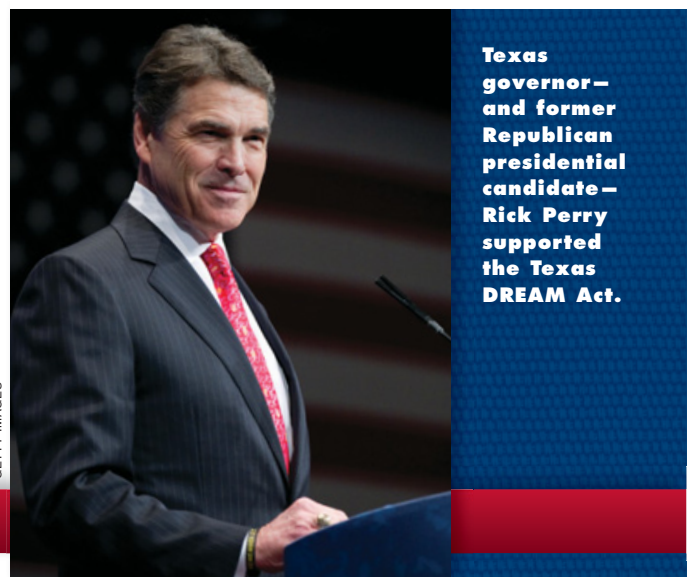
A second clash over education for undocumented immigrants occurred in California in the early 1990’s. Proposition 187, designed to cut off illegal immigrants from public education as well as other social services, did not survive the scrutiny of the federal court.

Over the past decade, a third drama has been playing out on the national stage. The Urban Institute estimates that 65,000 undocumented students graduate from high school each year. Many of them came to the United States as young children after their parents decided to illegally immigrate. Attempting to change their status often means a risk of deportation to home

vide a pathway to permanent residency for non-citizens between the ages of 12 and 35 who arrived in the United States as minors, lived in America for five years before the enactment of the bill, demonstrated good character, and either joined the military or attended college. According to a 2010 study by the Migration Policy Institute, the DREAM Act would help 38% of the nation’s 2.1 million young immigrants—an estimated 825,000 people.

The White House has argued that the DREAM Act would contribute to military strength by drawing recruits, improve America’s position in the global market by educating workers, and boost the national economy by increasing taxable income. Opponents of the federal law have countered that America shouldn’t reward lawbreakers with citizenship and that such a policy would only encourage more illegal immigration. They feel the influx of foreigners has weakened the economy, and will continue to do so. Some, coming from another angle, criticize the relatively small number of immigrants to whom the policy would apply: what of older people, or those who can’t finish high school for one reason or another?

Carnegie Corporation of New York supports efforts that focus on comprehensive immigration reform, including the DREAM Act. Remarks Geri Mannion, Carnegie Corporation Program Director, U.S. Democracy and Special Opportunities Fund: “While we are all very supportive of DREAM students, there is a concern that if you provide relief to particular groups of undocumented residents, you’re delaying the inevitable”—broader reform that would also assist those who have overstayed their visas, married Americans without adjusting their status, and otherwise fallen into immigration’s legal gray areas.



of poverty, lack of English-speaking ability, and undeniable racial prejudices...without an education, will become permanently locked into the lowest socioeconomic class.” Public education, he argued, “has a fundamental role in maintaining the fabric of our society. We cannot ignore the significant social costs borne by our Nation when select groups are denied the means to absorb the values and skills upon which our social order rests.” He predicted that failing to educate undocumented immigrants would increase the costs of welfare, unemployment, and crime. “It is thus clear,” he wrote, “that whatever savings might be achieved by denying these children an education, they are wholly insubstantial in light of the costs involved to these children, the State, and the Nation.”

countries that some hardly remember, and a wait of ten years before they can reapply for citizenship.

Thanks to *Plyler v. Doe*, such students can attend public school for free through twelfth grade. Yet after they graduate from high school, their fates are unclear: they can’t legally work and often cannot attend college, since state universities tend to consider undocumented students foreign nationals for tuition purposes. (The difference can be enormous: in Florida, for instance, state residents pay \$5,700 a year, whereas out-of-state students pay \$27,936.) Even if they finish college, work limitations mean they can’t apply their degrees in traditional ways.

Out of this quandary sprang 2001’s federal DREAM Act (an acronym for Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors), which would pro-

The DREAM Act has repeatedly failed in Congress, most recently in 2010. The dissent over the DREAM Act reflects, among other things, the complicated role immigration plays in the American consciousness. On the one hand, it's central to our national self-concept: as David Kennedy writes in the *Atlantic*, we tend to perceive immigrants as “the main-chance-seeking and most energetic, entrepreneurial, and freedom-loving members of their Old World societies. They were drawn out of Europe by the irresistible magnet of American opportunity and liberty, and their galvanizing influence

policy that treats American-born children of undocumented parents as non-citizens for the purposes of in-state tuition eligibility. On the other—partly inspired by the federal DREAM Act—several states have followed Texas's example in passing laws that increase access to higher education for undocumented immigrants. These measures are often called “state DREAM Acts,” but unlike the proposed federal legislation, they cannot provide pathways to citizenship.

Supporters of such laws emphasize, as Democratic Senator Rodney Ellis did in a *Houston Chronicle* op-ed, that such

state demographer, writes in the *San Antonio Express-News*: “Education pays. You see that very clearly in any data. If [people] are better educated they will make more money. If people have more money, they spend more money. They generate more sales tax. They generate more expenditures for the private sector.”

That education would not only help immigrants integrate into American society; it would also improve America's performance in worldwide markets, which—like the American economy—relies more heavily on skilled labor than ever before. Indeed,

The DREAM Act has repeatedly failed in Congress, most recently in 2010. The dissent over the DREAM Act reflects, among other things, the complicated role immigration plays in the American consciousness.

on American society made this country the greatest in the world.” Yet we have a long history of fearing immigrants as well, particularly in our own age—and particularly if that age features an economic downturn. Then, Kennedy proposes, we might perceive them as “degraded, freeloading louts, a blight on the national character and a drain on the economy.” And in the 21st century, and in the long aftermath of a recession, immigrants have been entering not only traditional havens like New York, California, and Florida, but also Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and other states unaccustomed to absorbing newcomers.

Reflecting this historical ambivalence, statewide education laws of all kinds have cropped up across the country. At one extreme, Florida adopted a

students illegally entered the United States “through no fault of their own.” And they argue, in an echo of Justice Brennan, that the United States would gain from rewarding high-achieving students.

What would the nation gain? Again like Brennan, advocates emphasize civic values, suggesting that education informs immigrants about municipal institutions and grants them the means to support themselves, helping them avoid lives of crime. Incarcerating immigrants, they point out, costs far less than educating them.

Others focus on more general economic benefits—not just to immigrants, but also to the nation as a whole. As Rice University professor Steve Murdock, who has worked as both head of the U.S. Census Bureau and Texas

education has become such a touchstone in immigration policy partly because it's grown increasingly necessary to newcomers' economic advancement over the years. While immigrants arriving in the late 19th and early 20th centuries could provide their families with a route to the middle class via the assembly lines of American factories, today's immigrants encounter an economic landscape comparatively devoid of such opportunities. Rather, skilled labor is in demand.

Even when it comes to people who cannot work legally? The *Washington Post* argues that undocumented immigrants do hold jobs, and it's only a matter of time until Congress “grants amnesty to undocumented immigrants with deep roots and clean records here.” Providing education to current and fu-

ture American workers is, according to that argument, in the American interest.

And given that Plyler v. Doe guarantees free public schooling through twelfth grade, capping that education would represent a wasted investment, argue supporters like scholar Ilan Stavans—not only financial, but also emotional and intellectual.

Such thinking has inspired several technology leaders to support initiatives that help undocumented students attend college and pursue work. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that members of the Silicon Valley technology community—such as Jeff Hawkins, who invented the Palm Pilot, and Laurene Powell Jobs, widow of Apple cofounder Steve Jobs—are helping fund efforts like Educators for Fair Education, a

Others disparage state reform because they believe it might delay national reform. Senator Andrew Roraback, a Republican from Connecticut, voted against that state's DREAM Act, not because he feels undocumented students deserve no breaks. Rather, he told Danbury's *News Times*, "in the long run, I believe it decreases pressure on Washington to afford these young people all of the rights of citizenship. When we [pass statewide measures], it lets the federal legislators off the hook." He added: "We should all be demanding that our federal legislators give some real and permanent status to these young people who are here through no fault of their own. I believe these young people should be able to vote, have a driver's license and hold elected office, but none

access is explicitly prohibited in Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, and Indiana, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures.

In states that already offered in-state tuition to undocumented students, such as California, the so-called "DREAM Acts" have added perks. California's 2011 DREAM Act allows undocumented students to apply for both private and state aid for their degrees, to the chagrin of the political opposition. Another bill permits them to serve in student governments and receive the same fee waivers and grants for doing so that citizens enjoy.

In Illinois, in-state tuition had been available since 2003. Its 2011 DREAM Act made it the first state to offer a private scholarship fund for

"We should all be demanding that our federal legislators give some real and permanent status to these young people who are here through no fault of their own." —ANDREW RORABACK (R) CONNECTICUT

nonprofit that provides scholarships and guidance to undocumented students. "We think Congress's inaction...is devastating for these students and tragic for the country," Ms. Powell Jobs said.

Detractors cite several problems with in-state tuition programs for undocumented students. They condemn the notion of giving seats at state schools to undocumented immigrants rather than to legal residents, pointing out that they "displace legal students from other states who could pay more," according to a *Washington Post* article about Maryland's DREAM Act. They emphasize that, at least as of now, undocumented immigrants cannot work. And, like critics of the national DREAM Act, they question showing favor to lawbreakers.

of that will happen at the state level." (Some—such as *The New York Times* in a 2011 editorial—have advanced the opposite argument, suggesting that state legislation would strengthen the case for federal reform, providing "a powerful rebuke to poisoned immigration politics at the national level.")

While most of the new state policies differ slightly from one another, they generally enable in-state-tuition access for students who have lived a certain number of years in the state, finished high school or earned a GED, and pledged to pursue citizenship. Such legislation has taken effect in Texas, California, Utah, New York, Washington, Illinois, Kansas, New Mexico, Maryland, Nebraska, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, but

undocumented students, good at both private and public colleges in the state. Run by a volunteer commission, the "Dream fund" enables 95,000 graduates of Illinois high schools to apply for scholarships and to avail themselves of Illinois' college tuition savings programs. Additionally, the bill encourages guidance counselors at high schools and colleges to inform undocumented students of their opportunities. Free to taxpayers, the Illinois Dream Act passed with little commotion, according to the *Chicago Tribune*.

For all the opportunities this legislation provides, the disconnect between state and federal policies creates a peculiar situation: high-achieving undocumented students, welcome on college campuses, can be subject to

California Governor Jerry Brown, right, signs AB 130 Dream Act bill on the back of Assemblyman Gil Cedillo, left, at the Martin Luther King Library at the Los Angeles City College on July 25, 2011, in Los Angeles.



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deportation if they catch the notice of the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Such was the experience of a freshman at the University of Rochester who had earned several Advanced Placement credits, a \$20,000 merit scholarship, and a spot on the soccer team. An illegal immigrant from South Africa, he was arrested at a bus station the first day of his freshman year and detained for almost a week, wrote Chris Connell in *International Educator*. A high school valedictorian who had a full scholarship to Harvard was jailed for a day while attempting to fly to Boston from his home in San Antonio. And a nursing student at City College of San Francisco spent two months in detention.

President Obama and other officials have directed ICE to target criminals rather than law-abiding college students. Yet according to a November 2011 study by the American Immigration Lawyers Association, “The overwhelming conclusion is that most ICE offices have not changed their practices since

the issuance of these new directives.” In the meantime, Obama has deported record numbers of illegal immigrants: nearly 400,000 people per year over the past three years, reports CNN. In 2011, just over half the deportees had criminal records; most of the others, according to the administration, had recently immigrated to the country.

The possibility of arrest—and the fact of being undocumented more generally—take their psychological tolls on students. “In the DREAM Act debate, people talk about the financial burden, but rarely do they talk about what happens in our heads, what happens when you are called an illegal, what happens when you have an identity that you don’t want,” wrote an undocumented student in a guide published by Educators for Fair Consideration. “I always have to tell myself that I can do it because there is always something in the back of my head that does not allow me to easily view myself on an equal platform with someone else who has already made it. I constantly tell myself

that it’s possible, that I’m human, that I have the same capacity and the same body parts as any other person.”

Religious leaders have formulated similar arguments on behalf of undocumented immigrants. In his article “No Person Is Illegal,” Donald Kerwin of the Center for Migration Studies writes: “The Catholic Church’s rejection of terms like ‘illegal alien’—whose use seems a point of pride to many—is not a quibble or a semantic point. It’s a line-in-the-sand point. People can break the law, but God’s children cannot be illegal, any more than there can be illegal mothers, or illegal fathers, or illegal brothers and sisters.”

In an article for the *New York Times Magazine*, Pulitzer-Prize winning journalist Jose Antonio Vargas described the arduous mental consequences of being “illegal.” An undocumented Filipino immigrant, Vargas only learned of his status when a Department of Motor Vehicles clerk refused to give him a learner’s permit, explaining that his green card was fake.

His response was to convince himself that, if he worked hard enough, he would “earn” citizenship—a notion in keeping with the philosophy behind the federal DREAM Act.

Work he did, joining the staffs of several national publications. “But I am still an undocumented immigrant,” he wrote. “And that means living a different kind of reality. It means going about my day in fear of being found out. It means rarely trusting people, even those closest to me, with who I really am. It means keeping my family photos in a shoebox rather than displaying them on shelves in my home, so friends don’t ask about

as undocumented: she said she “felt alone, though she knew she was not.”

That sense of isolation wasn’t helped by her fear of travel, common among illegal immigrants. “We religiously avoid airports and anything resembling a terminal because of the risk of being deported or getting caught up in an Immigration and Customs raid,” she explained. “The immobility that accompanies being undocumented can feel, at times, paralyzing.” Because of that immobility, she didn’t see her family during her four years of college. “The thought of detention and forced removal still sends shivers down my spine,” she said. “It’s the ultimate

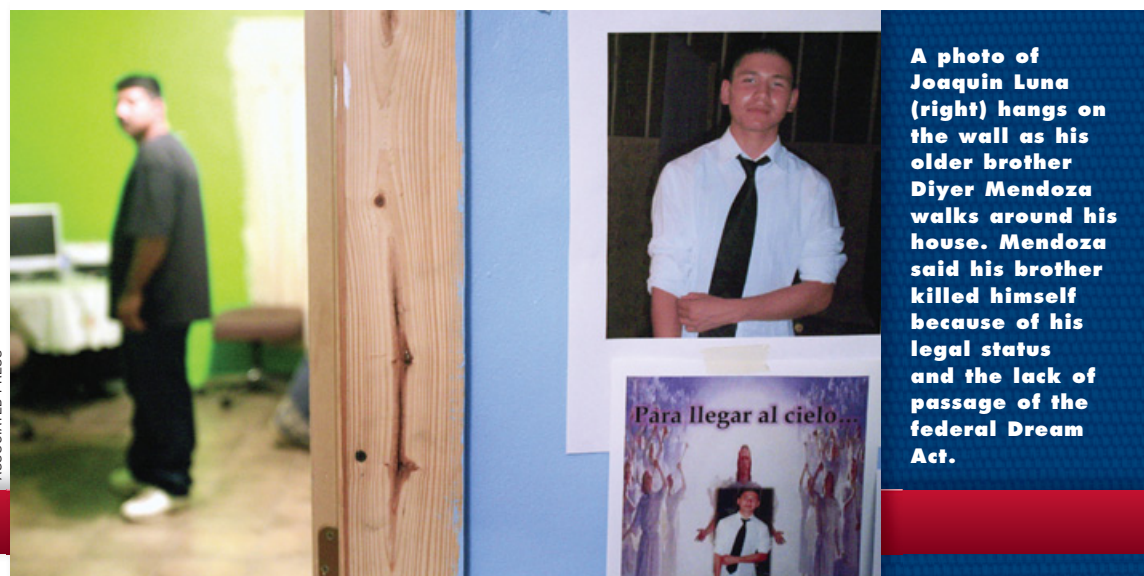
eral DREAM Act. “He got depressed real bad,” one of Luna’s older brothers, Carlos Mendoza, told *The Guardian*. “Every one of us, we all get depressed. Some of us can handle it, some of us can’t. Joaquin couldn’t.”

“Jesus,” he wrote in his suicide note, “I’ve realized that I have no chance in becoming a civil engineer the way I’ve always dreamed of here...so I’m planning on going to you and helping you construct the new temple in heaven.”

The reaction of DREAM Act supporters suggested a general identification with Luna’s plight. In Austin, college students held posters that read “I am Joaquin,” reported *The New York*

Times. A senior at Texas A&M University and the coordinator of the Texas Dream Alliance told the *Times*: “We can all share in that pain and that angst that he felt at that moment, because we’ve all been there.”

Given the deep discouragement of being unable to legally work after col-



them. It means reluctantly, even painfully, doing things I know are wrong and unlawful.” The bravery of four students who walked from Florida to Washington, D.C., to advocate for the federal DREAM Act encouraged him to “come out.”

An undocumented Yale student explained to *The New Journal*, an undergraduate publication, how this code of secrecy affects college students like her. Fearing deportation, students generally avoid discussing their status, and thus can rarely identify one another

nightmare—to be detained without justice, to be permanently separated from your family and loved ones, to be banished to a country you have literally no memory of.”

Perhaps the most extreme example of this psychological toll is the suicide of Joaquin Luna, an 18-year-old who had immigrated to the United States as an infant. While causality in suicides is necessarily tentative, his family believes he killed himself because of his despair regarding his immigration status and the failure of the fed-

lege, what motivates undocumented immigrants to seek college degrees? Cristina Jiménez, the managing director of the United We Dream network, pinpoints gratitude for parents’ sacrifices, as well as parents’ devotion to their kids’ education and to the attainment of a better life. “Immigrants come to the U.S. for a better life, for freedom and different civil rights,” she said. “That narrative drives our perspective for how to see our lives and ourselves within this country, because we’re always driving to be better, to

get ourselves more educated—driving for progress.”

Students also feel that education seems permanent, she explained: no matter what one’s professional situation is, knowledge won’t disappear. “Whether I’m deported or not, whether my life will be difficult because of my status or not, education is something that no one can take away,” she says.

She also indicates “a level of faith that drives a lot of the youth—faith that tomorrow the DREAM Act will pass, or that an opportunity will come your way.”

In this sense, the specter of the federal DREAM Act prompts support for

attain residency status. I’ll go to college with the hope that right before I get my B.A. or my master’s, the DREAM Act will pass. I think everyone has that hope.”

Yet that hope has not yet been realized, leaving undocumented college graduates with few options.



Journalist Jose Antonio Vargas, an undocumented Filipino immigrant, convinced himself that if he worked hard enough, he would “earn” citizenship—a notion in keeping with the DREAM Act.

the statewide initiatives—and inspires undocumented students to pursue education. Carlos Amador, who works for the UCLA Labor Center as the project coordinator for the Dream Resource Center and does advocacy and organizing with the Dream Team Los Angeles, cites that very hope as his motivation for attending college. When he discovered the barriers he would encounter as an undocumented student, he felt discouraged, he says. But grateful for his parents’ sacrifice, he was “motivated and wanted to become a professional, a conscious and responsible member of my community and society,” he explains. After learning that the federal DREAM Act required college attendance, he enrolled, figuring that “once the DREAM Act passes I will have that, I will be ready—I will be able to

The guide published by Educators for Fair Consideration sheds light on how undocumented immigrants can apply for their college educations despite those limitations. It explains that employers must demand proof of citizenship status—a problem for would-be workers without papers—and recommends internships as a way to join a workplace without being formally employed. It also advises on how to handle sensitive conversation topics, counseling that graduates who are unsure whether to disclose their status file an application “and once you have amazed them, then you can discuss the possibility of not getting paid or getting paid through other means, all without having to disclose status.”

The guide also points out that laws often don’t require proof of immigra-

tion status for small-business owners and independent contractors. It recommends tutoring, promotions, computer programming, child care, and party planning as examples of independent contractor work, and reminds readers: “You are not required to discuss your immigration status with any of your clients.”

Such a path seems to work well for some. The guide offers testimony from undocumented graduates who have gone on to find work, including a small business owner. “One of the greatest opportunities you can look forward to is working for yourself,” she says. “You should be creative with what you do and not end up in a dead-end job. If you work for yourself, you do not have to wait seven years to get promoted. It’s all a matter of personal-

ity. Ask yourself, what type of lifestyle do I want to live? Keep in mind that the skills you've learned getting through college are transferable to starting your own business."

Yet other contributors to the guide feel more pessimistic. After explaining that he didn't apply to jobs he knew would be unattainable because of his status, a University of California, Berkeley graduate became a tutor. "Even though my jobs are not related to my field of study, I feel okay because even people who have papers end up working in jobs not related to their field," he writes. "But if I factor in my limitations, the only reason I am doing this is because of my legal status."

Many undocumented graduates pursue the same jobs they would have without attending college: the Yale student mentioned above works in restaurants and at laundromats. In a phone interview, Fabiola Inzunza—who graduated from University of California, Los Angeles, and now works on policy for the Dream Team Los Angeles—describes the struggles of a friend whose efforts to work in the chemistry field failed because lab jobs are often federally funded. After working as a waitress, she found a job in community organizing. "There was a lot of depression around that," Inzunza says. "She at one point stopped believing things were going to change, so she had to update her expectations. I think a lot of folks go through that if they're not able to continue pursuing jobs or passions." Graduates' contentment seems to vary by field, she added.

If college can't provide these students with traditional job opportunities, what does it give them? On an emotional level, Amador says, it promotes a sense of community familiar from high school. Inzunza emphasized that she'd been able to forge networks that helped her both finish college and maneuver

through life after graduation. "Right now, I've been out of school for two years," she said, "and I've been able to find internships aligned with my interests. I've been able to develop myself professionally even if just through volunteer work, and that wouldn't have happened if I hadn't gone to college."

College also provides a political education. "Though we have a lot of young high school students who are undocumented as part of the movement, the main core is college students, and I think oftentimes in high school we don't get as political as is necessary to be a full civic participant in this society," Amador says. In college, on the other hand, students "start thinking critically and learning tools," gaining exposure by learning that their citizen classmates are able to vote, by meeting peers engaged in various social movements, and by studying history, political science, and other relevant subjects.

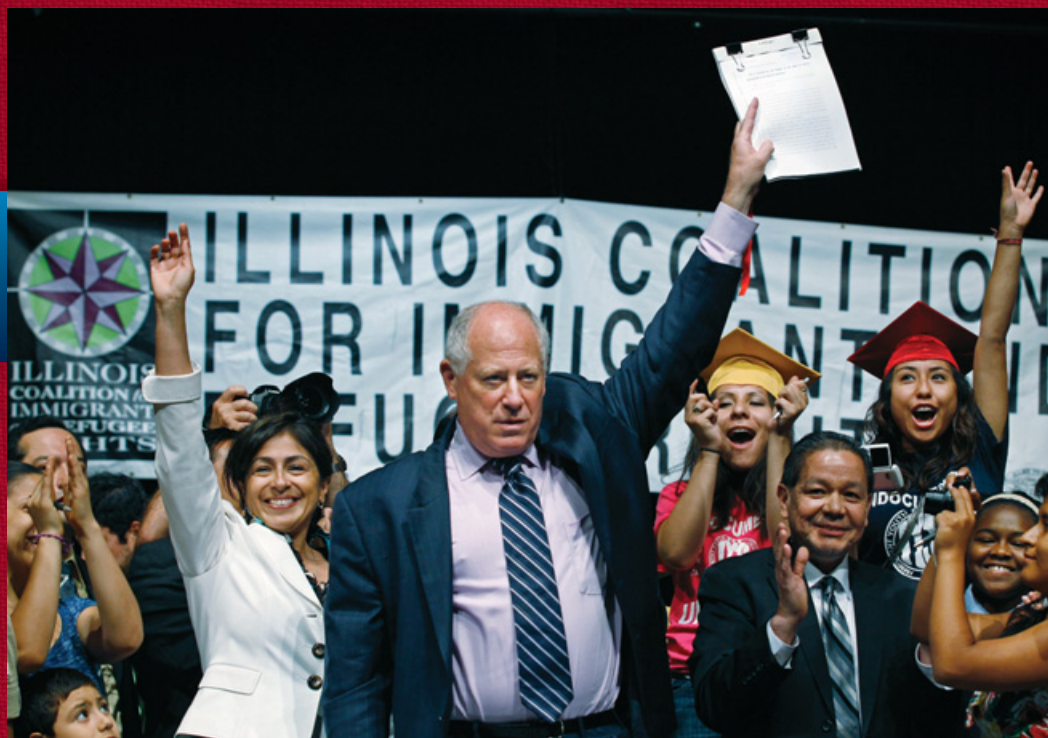
The DREAM Act struggle has led to politicization even without the help of educational institutions. "Within the movement, people have realized that it's important for all of us to be involved in the policymaking process, and that means everywhere, at every level," says Jiménez. "Most of our people have started working on the DREAM Act, and then become aware of other challenges in their communities too. We're creating very involved citizens who are critical of government, and other elements in their communities—environment, schools, teachers, even LGBTQ issues." Within families, she adds, politically active youth become liaisons between their parents and their communities. "We become known as the people who tell you what's going on; we do education in our families. So the transformation that we as individuals have gone through is transmitted to our families, and that spreads to the communities, and the impact there is huge."

Inzunza argues that such politicization will make DREAM Act activists better citizens, assuming they get the opportunity. "We've been here for so long and are so aware of our political realities," she says, adding that students like her "got involved and became part of the political process, lobbying for the first time, talking about the legislative process for the first time. Those are people who will benefit from the bill—they will be committed because they're aware of the work it took to get there. They became aware of the political process at an early age, and they know what it takes. We would assume they would be great citizens."

Some feel that such political activity marks undocumented students' best chance at effecting change. Cornell Law School adjunct professor Stephen Yale-Loehr compares this struggle to the civil rights and environmental movements, writes Connell. Agitation around both issues led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Environmental Protection Act of 1970, and other milestones. "The Dream Act students have been very good at mobilizing and marching and advocating and doing sit-ins," Yale-Loehr tells Connell. "Although it's a painful process that takes a long time, I think that is their best chance of making significant changes, rather than just sitting back and hoping that somebody's going to do it on their behalf."

Yet not everyone considers this tactic smart: Michael Olivas, who helped compose the Texas DREAM Act, counsels students against civil disobedience, Connell writes. "They are still deporting people—students, military spouses, and others with no record of criminal behavior," Olivas points out. "I keep begging students, 'Please don't out yourself.' In the civil rights tradition that this is in, they all want to be Martin Luther King writing let-

Illinois Governor Pat Quinn celebrates with students and supporters after signing the Illinois Dream Act into law on August 1, 2011.



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ters from Birmingham jail. But Martin Luther King wasn't deported when he was released from jail."

The fear of deportation has diminished, Jiménez explains, both because DREAM activists have successfully stopped some deportations and because the administration has declared that undocumented students are not a priority for deportation. More subtly, she and Amador point out, the development of the movement has itself lessened concern: "people are no longer scared because we've built a movement of young people, and people don't feel isolated, they see a community around them that will rally for them and protect them," Jiménez says.

This visible community results partly from the movement's embrace of storytelling as a central technique. Such sharing normalizes the undocumented experience among illegal and legal residents alike, and Amador calls it "the most powerful tool that we have." Previously, he says, there was "no narrative for undocumented

young people, and now you see a very concrete narrative—you see it in the media, in the public. People know, these are young people who came with their parents, they're undocumented, they work hard to go to college, they can't work—all the pieces of that story that are highlights, people know about, so the narrative and story have become so critical in helping American public understand the issue, and by now people know what the story and obstacles are." Sharing experiences empowers others to do the same, says Jiménez, further diminishing fear.

Perhaps the brashest advertiser of illegal status was the late Cinthya Felix, an activist who died in a car crash. Her vanity license plate read: "Illegal."

The statewide DREAM Acts, in addition to agitation around national legislation, have influenced the broader perception of immigrants in other ways, Inzunza says. She credits DREAM Act activism, and college attendance, with expanding the image of the immigrant beyond its usual stereotype;

now it includes students, workers, and engaged community members.

These positive developments ameliorate the discouragement that has resulted from both the failure of the federal Dream Act in 2010 and ongoing struggles at the local level. "When Obama was elected in 2008, there was lots of hope in the air," says Inzunza. "He had supported the Dream Act as senator and made it seem like something he could easily manage. But that's not the case, and we know now what the climate is."

"But we're gaining little battles," Amador says, "at college campuses, or from community-based organizations or churches or businesses, or at the state level from the governor. Even though the national political atmosphere doesn't allow for the federal DREAM Act, there's a lot of hope for undocumented immigrants, especially the younger generation." ■

RecentEvents



Original art work commissioned for the Freedom from Fear Award.

Freedom from Fear Winners

Fifteen “ordinary people” were commended for extraordinary acts of courage on behalf of immigrants and refugees at the first Freedom from Fear Awards on June 18, 2011 at the Netroots Nation conference in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The award was created by philanthropic leaders Geri Mannion of Carnegie Corporation and Taryn Higashi of Unbound Philanthropy as a way of “paying forward” \$10,000 they received as co-recipients of the 2009 Robert W. Scrivner Award for Creative Grantmaking, presented by the Council on Foundations. Friends and colleagues contributed additional funds to meet a \$100,000 challenge grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. The 15 winners received \$5,000 each and a commissioned art piece. The awards were administered and produced by Public Interest Projects (PIP).

New Libraries Open in South Africa

The Harare Library, which serves the Cape Town community of Khayelitsha, opened to the public in June 2011, to an overwhelmingly positive response. Considered vital for providing access to information as well as community violence prevention programs, the library was underwritten by the national and provincial governments, with Carnegie Corporation-provided funding for collections for chil-

dren, youth and adults. A unique feature is the library’s early childhood development section for children up to age six, known as Funda Udlale in the local language, where caregivers are encouraged to bring children for reading and activities while adults learn about child development.

The historic Johannesburg Public Library, also funded by Carnegie Corporation, re-opened in February 2012 as a model 21st century institution. It now offers greatly improved facilities and services to children, many of whom attend schools without libraries, according to former Carnegie Corporation African Libraries program officer Rookaya Bawa. “The library contributes to the country’s long-term efforts to promote social, economic and educational opportunities in a way that will have a positive effect on disadvantaged populations,” Bawa said.

Saluting Librarians as Community Leaders

Ten outstanding librarians were recognized for service to their communities, schools and campuses as winners of the 2011 *I Love My Librarian!* Award. The winners are (l. to r., above): Barbara K. Weaver, Ivy Tech



Community College Northwest, Gary, Indiana; Sandra Ross-Forrest, North Avondale Branch Library (Birmingham Public Library System), Birmingham, Alabama; Martha Ferriby, Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Michigan; Dr. Rhonda Allison Rios Kravitz, Sacramento City College, Sacramento, California; Venetia V. Demson, DC Public Library, Adaptive Services Division, Washington, DC; Elizabeth “Betsy” Long, Doby’s Mill Elementary School Media Center, Lugoff, South Carolina; Jennifer O. Keohane, The Simsbury Public Library, Simsbury, Connecticut; Jennifer U. LaGarde, Myrtle Grove Middle School, Wilmington, North Carolina; Michelle Luhtala, New Canaan High School Library, New Canaan, Connecticut; Rebecca Traub,



Caroline Kennedy

Temple University Harrisburg, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Delivering the keynote address, Caroline Kennedy paid tribute to the vital role of libraries and librarians, saying, “Libraries are no longer hushed reading rooms but busy social hubs for the exchange of life skills and information. They have become community centers in the very best sense—places where we build community and weave together lives and dreams.” The awards are a partnership of Carnegie Corporation of New York, *The New York Times* and the American Library Association. Each winning librarian received a \$5,000 prize.

Revisiting the Responsibility to Protect

Marking the tenth anniversary of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), a full-day conference was held on January 18, 2012 in New York City, sponsored by the Stanley Foundation in partnership with Carnegie Corporation of New York and the MacArthur Foundation. The day’s discus-



Councillor Anele Gabuza, Ward Councillor; Alderman Patricia de Lille, Executive Mayor of Cape Town; Tade Akin Aina, Program Director and Rookaya Bawa, former Program Officer, Carnegie Corporation; Dr. Ivan Meyer, Member of the Executive Council for Cultural Affairs and Sport.

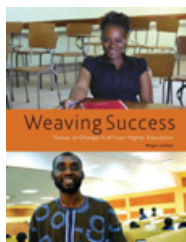


President Vartan Gregorian with Secretary General Ban Ki-moon

sions, featuring expert international panelists, traced R2P through past experience and contemporary realities. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon delivered the keynote address, which stressed the importance of global and regional cooperation. “In 2011, history took a turn for the better,” the Secretary General said. “The responsibility to protect came of age; the principle was tested as never before. The results were uneven, but at the end of the day, tens of thousands of lives were saved.

To watch videos from the event go to <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0gWqwaX3Rno>

Transforming African Higher Education



A new, color photo-filled book published by the Institute of International Education (IIE) recounts the impact of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA) and examines issues and actions shaping the future of the continent’s colleges and universities. *Weaving Success: Voices of Change in African Higher Education* offers an in-depth look at innovation across African campuses and national boundaries.

The book was launched February 1, 2012 at a panel discussion hosted by the IIE in New York City. Speakers included Olugbemi Jegede, Secretary General of the Association of African Universities; Brian O’Connell, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape; Teboho Moja, Professor of Higher Education at New York University; and Allan E. Goodman, president and CEO of IIE. In addition to inspiring tales of professors, university administrators, and students, the book details how PHEA’s support helped to catalyze social and economic development in African higher education.

Science Invades the White House

A science fair in February 2012 offered an ideal opportunity for President Obama to meet some promising young science students and to announce a \$100 million plan to train new educators in Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM). A nationwide shortage of teachers in these vital subjects threatens U.S. global competitiveness, according to the country’s business and education communities. The president asked Congress for \$80 million to support new Department of Education grants for colleges that provide innovative teacher-training programs,



Science student Joe Hudy and President Obama shoot a marshmallow from the gun Hudy created.



Leland Melvin, NASA Associate Administrator for Education, addresses the audience as Michele Cahill, Carnegie Corporation and Anthony Carnavele (right) and Stacy Shusterman, Samson Energy Company and John Ratliff, Maryland office of the Governor (left) look on.

and announced a multi-million dollar commitment from private companies to support the effort.

Carnegie Corporation spearheaded this work, and Michele Cahill, Vice President, National Program, and Program Director, Urban Education and Talia Milgrom-Elcott, Program Officer, Senior Manager STEM Teacher Initiatives attended the science fair at the invitation of the White House.

A Force for Change in STEM Education

Representatives of more than 115 organizations gathered at Google’s Washington, DC offices on February 21, 2012 for a summit of 100Kin10 partners and supporters. All have committed to bold, measurable plans to recruit, train, hire, develop, and retain 100,000 new, excellent STEM teachers in the next decade. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan addressed the summit, urging the organization’s partners—who range from museums to universities, teacher residencies to school districts, non-profits to high-tech corporations—to “raise the bar on STEM education to dramatically increase the number of talented, inspiring and diverse STEM teachers in every school in



Education Secretary Arne Duncan.

America, especially the highest need schools.”

To date, 16 donors have pledged \$25 million toward this work—funding that is available to 100Kin10 partners through a registration and proposal process. “The partners’ commitments to increase the supply of excellent STEM teachers is testament to their ability and willpower,” said Michele Cahill, Co-Chair of the Opportunity Equation and Vice President for National Programs, Carnegie Corporation of New York, which is coordinating the funders’ collaborative. “But many more innovative and audacious organizations must join if we are to reach our goal.”

Foundation **Roundup**



1,220 Applications Submitted for Open Society and Echoing Green Black Male Achievement Fellowship

In December 2011 the Open Society Foundations and Echoing Green announced a new fellowship program for individuals dedicated to improving the life outcomes of black men and boys in the United States. It is the first fellowship program of its kind that targets social entrepreneurs who are starting up new organizations in the field of black male achievement. By the close of the application period five weeks later, 1,220 applications had been submitted.

"We're proud to support innovators working to transform the lives of black men and boys and their communities," said Shawn Dove, manager of the Open Society Foundations Campaign for Black Male Achievement.

Open Society Black Male Achievement (BMA) Fellowships will be awarded in spring 2012 to up to eight fellows who are generating big, bold, new ideas in the areas of education, family and work, such as initiatives related to fatherhood, mentoring, college preparatory programs, community building and supportive wage work opportunities. Fellowships may also be awarded for efforts in the areas of communications and philanthropic leadership.

"The pioneering efforts of social entrepreneurs have real and long-term systemic impacts on society," said Cheryl L. Dorsey, president of Echoing Green. "We're excited to be partners in this new fellowship program focused on black male achievement."

Echoing Green has run a social entrepreneur fellowship

for the past 24 years. Eighty-five percent of their fellows remain in the social sector in leadership positions after their fellowships have ended.

Each BMA Fellow will receive a \$70,000 stipend in start-up capital as well as technical assistance over 18 months to help them launch and build their organizations. The stipend will enable them access to technical support, pro bono partnerships, and other benefits.

For more information on the Open Society Foundations, please visit: www.soros.org.

For more information on Echoing Green, including a roster of BMA Fellowship Semifinalists, please visit: www.echoinggreen.org.



ArtsLab: Five Foundations Renew Support for Leadership and Strategy Development Program for Arts Nonprofits

To bolster community vibrancy and cultural life, five major arts funders have renewed support for Arts Midwest's ArtsLab, a \$1.9 million, multiyear venture. Support for the program is provided by the McKnight Foundation, F. R. Bigelow Foundation, Mardag Foundation, the Saint Paul Foundation and Bush Foundation.

"Artists and the organizations that serve them are essential to the fabric of our communities," said Kate Wolford, president of the McKnight Foundation. "ArtsLab has demonstrated its ability to extend the reach of artists and our arts and culture sector, and hence our quality of life in our region."

ArtsLab was launched in 1999 as a pilot project undertaken collaboratively by six major funders seeking to learn better approaches

to building leadership and management skills in community-based arts organizations. The initial project provided excellent learning in professional development training as well as in the value of collaborative funding by foundations sharing common interests. Building on the success of and knowledge gained during that project, five of the foundations renewed their support for the project in 2008.

During this second phase, ArtsLab offered training and consultation services to nine selected arts organizations in the metropolitan Minneapolis-Saint Paul area and seven in northwestern Minnesota. Like the first phase, the program was considered highly successful, and has been lauded for strengthening the skills and resiliency of Minnesota arts leaders and organizations.

ArtsLab is now initiating a two-year peer learning community program that will promote shared learning and strengthen the organizational infrastructures of 16 organizations. In addition to the peer learning, and with significant support from the Bush Foundation, ArtsLab will also launch an idea exchange—a professional affinity group—to gather the mentors, educators and leaders who support arts organizations in their leadership and management development. "ArtsLab is a proven and powerful tool for developing courageous community leaders," noted Catherine Jordan, director for Advancing Solutions at the Bush Foundation. "We are excited about the opportunity to support ArtsLab in its work to connect and support leaders with new resources for facilitating community conversations that lead to change in their communities."

For more information on ArtsLab or the McKnight Foundation please visit: <http://www.mcknight.org>.



Department of Justice, MacArthur Foundation Provide \$2 Million to Support Juvenile Justice Reform

In a new private-public partnership, the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation are jointly providing \$2 million to support innovative and effective reforms in treatment and services for youth involved in the juvenile justice and child welfare systems.

"We need to do what's right for America's children," said Melodee Hanes, acting administrator of OJJDP. "This partnership supports state and community efforts to protect youth from harm, hold them accountable for their actions, provide for rehabilitation and improve public safety. In this tight economy, creatively partnering with a private organization such as MacArthur maximizes reform, while stretching limited public dollars." OJJDP and the MacArthur Foundation each will provide a total of \$1 million over two years to four organizations to support juvenile justice reform in four target areas. These organizations will in turn offer states and local governments training and technical assistance to improve mental health services for youth, reduce racial and ethnic disparities in the juvenile justice system and better coordinate treatment and services for youth involved in the juvenile justice and child welfare systems. The targeted reforms include:

■ **Mental Health Screening and Risk/Needs Assessment:** The National Youth Screening

and Assessment Project at the University of Massachusetts Medical School will provide technical assistance on the use of evidence-based tools for case planning to reduce out-of-home placements and recidivism.

■ **Mental Health Training for Juvenile Justice:** The National Center for Mental Health and Juvenile Justice at Policy Research, Inc. will provide comprehensive adolescent development and mental health training for juvenile correctional and detention staff to improve their ability to respond to youth with mental health needs.

■ **Disproportionate Minority Contact Reduction:** The Center for Children's Law and Policy will provide technical assistance on evidence-based strategies to measurably reduce racial and ethnic disparities within the juvenile justice system.

■ **Juvenile Justice and Child Welfare System Integration:** The Robert F. Kennedy Children's Action Corps will provide technical assistance on implementing effective practices to reduce recidivism and out-of-home placement and to improve correctional alternatives for youth in the juvenile justice system, with a history of maltreatment. The partnership will build upon the MacArthur Foundation's *Models for Change* initiative that seeks to create successful and replicable models of juvenile justice systems reform.

OJJDP and MacArthur selected these four organizations because they helped develop, field test and evaluate effective best practice models included in the *Models for Change* initiative. The MacArthur Foundation has invested more than \$100 million in promising juvenile justice reforms since 2004. For more information on *Models for Change* please visit www.modelsforchange.net.

For more information about OJJDP, please visit www.ojjdp.gov.

For more information about the MacArthur Foundation, please visit www.macfound.org.



New Report from Nonprofit Finance Fund Finds Philanthropic Equity Puts Nonprofits on the Path to Sustainability

The Nonprofit Finance Fund (NFF) has released an updated report of its ongoing comprehensive philanthropic equity campaigns, which, on average, have nearly tripled revenue and grown program delivery by 370 percent for participating nonprofit organizations since 2006.

The impact presented in NFF Capital Partners' Portfolio Performance Report provides concrete evidence of the value of philanthropic equity investments, which are typically significant, multiyear investments made by a nonprofit organization to create sustainable growth. Since 2006, NFF Capital Partners has supported 18 campaigns for philanthropic equity, totaling \$326 million in financial investments.

Philanthropic equity acts as an early-stage investment in an organization for investors seeking social, rather than financial, returns. With the infusion of this one-time growth capital investment that is distinct and separate from annual revenue that pays for program and operating costs, nonprofits can focus on building their organizations to better address the social problems they seek to solve. Using transparent and shared reporting systems, the expectation is that the funding will be used to transform an organization in a way that sticks, allowing them to grow and build.

"Often, the scale of a nonprofit isn't up to the scale of the problem it seeks to address. Often, great programs get stuck in the day to day and cannot make the leaps required to affect real change," says Craig Reigel, managing director of NFF Capital Partners. "At a time when nonprofits are facing an uphill battle to solve our nation's social problems, philanthropic equity allows nonprofits to build the businesses required to implement effective business models, scale impact and create lasting change."

The NFF performance report measures the comprehensive philanthropic equity campaigns for which multiyear data are available. Among NFF Capital Partners' nine multiyear campaigns, business model revenue excluding philanthropic equity investments has expanded by \$63 million compared to pre-campaign baselines. This growth allows organizations to sustain their programs over time.

To view the full report, please visit <http://nonprofitfinancefund.org/capital-services/2011-portfolio-performance-report>.

The Stavros Niarchos Foundation Commits \$130 Million to Help Ease the Adverse Effects of the Current Crisis in Greece

The Board of Directors of the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, concerned with the socioeconomic crisis in Greece, has committed up to \$130 million (€100 million) over the next three years to help ease the adverse effects of the deepening crisis. This decision comes on the heels of a \$1.9 million (€1.5 million) grant supporting a series of pilot programs addressing the country's mounting social needs.

The foundation (www.SNF.org) is one of the world's leading international philanthropic organizations, making grants in the areas of arts and culture, education, health and medicine, and social welfare. The foundation funds organizations and projects that exhibit strong leadership and sound management and that have the potential to achieve a broad, lasting and positive impact. The foundation also seeks to actively support projects that facilitate the formation of public-private partnerships as effective means for serving public welfare.

The organization's purpose and philosophy, which focus on vital issues in Greece as well as the rest of the world, are intended to complement rather than replace the work of state and institutional organizations. Funds will be made available only to grantees that have the capacity and ability to utilize them effectively.

"The crisis is rapidly reversing decades of economic growth," stated Andreas C. Dracopoulos, co-president and member of the Stavros Niarchos Foundation board. "Our commitment is to those most in need but is also a promise to future generations. Not only do we intend to offer immediate relief by funding social welfare and health programs, but we will invest in educational programs that should help ensure that the current crisis does not condemn future generations. We hope that today's announcement will inspire many other organizations and individuals that can and must help to do the same."

For more information on this foundation and their work please visit: <http://www.snf.org/>.

The PARTNERSHIP:

FIVE COLD WARRIORS *and* THEIR QUEST TO BAN THE BOMB

by PHILIP TAUBMAN

An award-winning author's story of five surprising allies and their campaign to dismantle the nuclear kingdom they once helped build.



In January 2007, an op ed piece appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* under the title, “A World Free of Nuclear Weapons.” The article was co-written by four prominent members of the U.S. security establishment, senior statesmen who had long supported nuclear weapons and the Cold War theory of deterrence: George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, and Sidney Drell, a respected Stanford University physicist who advised the group. In *The Partnership*, award-winning journalist Philip Taubman, a 30-year veteran of *The New York Times*,

tells the behind-the-scenes story of these unexpected allies, traces the evolution of their ideas and follows their efforts to spur U.S. and Russian leaders to dismantle their nuclear arsenals.

The bipartisan nature of the Partnership attracted as much attention at the time as its call for reducing the threat of a nuclear attack by a total elimination of nuclear weapons. Republicans George Shultz and Henry Kissinger were former secretaries of state, Democrat William Perry had been Secretary of Defense in the Clinton administration and Democrat Sam Nunn was a former U.S. Senator. Despite their political differences, all agreed deterrence was a theory that, if it had once been effective, was no longer valid decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. They saw the greatest danger now was “that the twentieth-century era of nuclear stalemate was turning into a twenty-first-century era

of nuclear terrorism, failed states and an ever expanding array of nuclear threats,” Taubman writes.

These veteran Cold Warriors, (who form the Nuclear Security Project) of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a long-time Carnegie Corporation Grantee) have been influential in shaping the ambitious nuclear agenda of the present administration. Even they are surprised at the degree of traction their campaign to eliminate nuclear weapons has gained, influencing world leaders to embrace ideas not long ago ridiculed as radical and reckless. Operating with intensity and energy, these five may have realized late in life that the world was too dangerous to hand off unaltered to their grandchildren, the author says, and the time had come to dismantle the nuclear kingdom they worked to build. This thought-provoking story of science, history and friendship was written with support from Carnegie Corporation. ■

Preventing Afghanistan *from* Becoming a Narco-State

Vartan Gregorian—continued from inside front cover

resolution or reconciliation between Kabul and the resurgent Taliban will only be compounded by leaving the fate of Afghanistan's largest cash crop—opium poppies³—to itself. Although the current U.S. administration abandoned its predecessor's flawed focus on the eradication of poppy crops, the White House and its advisors have fared little better in their own Afghan-centered "war on drugs," and, in his remarks, President Obama made no mention of how his administration will address the problem represented by the poppy fields that are the source of the opium that bankrolls corrupt government officials and the Taliban alike, providing around an astonishing 90 percent of the world's heroin. Further, the 2011 *Afghanistan Opium Survey* of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) reports that there has been a "dramatic 133 per cent increase in the farm-gate value⁴ of opium compared with 2010." The survey further reveals that "The farm-gate value of opium production alone is U.S. \$1.4 billion or 9 percent of the country's GDP; the total net value of the opiate economy amounts to U.S. \$2.4 billion or around 15 per cent of GDP, an amount that cannot be easily substituted by other economic activities." In the opinion of Yury Fedotov, Executive Director of UNODC, "Opium is therefore a significant part of the Afghan economy and provides considerable funding to the insurgency and fuels corruption." Further, says Afghan Deputy Minister for Counternarcotics Mohammed Azhar, "The price of opium is now seven times higher than wheat...so our farmers have no disincentive to cultivate poppy."⁵ This conclusion is backed by the UNODC report, which notes that in 2011, there was a 43 percent increase in the price of dry opium at harvest time compared to 2010 and that farmers surveyed in 2011 cited the high sale price as the most important reason (59 percent) for cultivating opium poppy. In that connection, it is also important to note that while the Taliban receive only a small portion of the income from poppies, the amount is still significant considering the worth of the harvest.

We can be sure that the Taliban are well aware of these facts and figures. In 1995, not long after they came to prominence in Afghanistan, they tried to eradicate opium production citing the Islamic proscription against addiction. But they soon realized that in key provinces where they needed support—particularly Kandahar and Helmand, which are also the main regions where poppies are cultivated—not only was the population resisting this edict, tribal warlords were

actually mobilizing against the Taliban in order to protect the poppy harvest. Hence, the Taliban sought an interpretation of the Qur'an that would help address this dilemma and found the answer they were looking for in the idea that such religious laws can be set aside in cases of extreme need, such as imminent starvation.⁶ Thus, if farmers were to starve without the income generated by opium poppies, then it was permissible to cultivate the plant. Recently published reports clearly show that the Taliban have now even moved decisively toward active promotion and protection of the poppy crop and its growers: in Helmand Province the chief of police—who is known as a committed opponent of the Taliban—was injured in a suicide attack that targeted him. At the same time, in a nearby bazaar, Taliban fighters tried to blow up tractors used in poppy-eradication efforts. The police chief survived, but a number of officers were killed in the police station and the bazaar. The message from the Taliban to the poppy growers and other local populations who depend on income from the crop is clear: not only will they help protect the poppy fields, they will use lethal force again those who attempt to eradicate the crop. Thus have the Taliban set themselves up as the protectors of the peasants, whose support they need.

Given this reality, America and its NATO allies cannot unwittingly stand by while Afghanistan continues on as the world's greatest source of heroin—an endeavor in which it is aided by its regional neighbors. Tajikistan, for example, is one of the world's key transit states in the international illegal trafficking of drugs. According to the United Nations Development Programme, "Up to 100 [tons] of heroin passes through Tajikistan every year," and the use of its territory "as a key conduit for drug flows from Afghanistan is set to increase." It therefore seems clear that the time has come for policymakers to revisit an idea that never gained traction but, with a few adjustments, could help ensure that a plan is put in place that will benefit the Afghan people while at the same time reduce the global scourge of the illegal drug trade.

In 2005, an international think tank, the Senlis Council, now called the International Council for Security and Development (ICSD), suggested an alternative to endless and seemingly bound-to-fail efforts to eradicate the poppy crop. Their idea was to institute an Afghan adaptation of an American-supported opium control scheme that had proven successful in India and Turkey⁷ where the controlled and legal cultivation of poppies was carried out through village-

based licensing and production of pharmaceutical morphine. It was hoped that such an approach would help many Afghans escape from the illicit grip of the drug lords and the Taliban, while providing a basis for broader sustainable economic growth. Such an approach would also address the chronic underutilization of pain-relieving opiates in much of the developing world. In that connection, it is shocking to note that 80 percent of the global population has little or no access to morphine, an inexpensive and highly effective pain medication derived from the same opium poppies that are the source of heroin. Even leaders of Human Rights Watch have weighed in on the need to expand access to morphine. Diederik Lohman, a senior researcher with Human Rights Watch, recently compared the effects of unrelieved pain to torture, noting that, “Many countries have become so zealous in trying to limit access to controlled substances that their regulations have started interfering with availability for legitimate medical purposes. You could call them collateral damage of the war on drugs.”⁸

Since the idea of promoting international as well as locally licensed opium-for-morphine production was first proposed, some critics have charged that it is infeasible and unneeded. The Afghan government’s lack of capacity to administer such a program, its endemic corruption and inability to provide adequate security and law enforcement were seen as major stumbling blocks. So too were large price differentials between licit and illicit opium. But all of the objections to the legal production of opium cannot overcome the fact that poppy cultivation is currently central to the Afghan economy. It has been so for a long time, but as Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy notes in *Afghanistan’s Opium Production in Perspective*,⁹ “Afghanistan’s opium production is the direct outcome of Cold War rivalries and conflicts waged by proxies who helped develop a thriving narcotic economy in the country.” In particular, the Soviet Union’s “scorched earth policy” of destroying agricultural acreage and processing facilities during their invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s led to increased poppy production, since the crop was able to thrive without the irrigation, fertilizers, or complex transportation network needed to bring more traditional crops to market.

Repeated efforts to find substitutes for the poppy crop have consistently floundered, including those undertaken by the United States. For example, in 2010, U.S. Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack announced plans to donate up to \$20 million to help Afghan farmers switch from poppies to other crops, but the effect has been negligible. Still, given the vagaries of the illicit opium market, Afghan farmers who grow poppies also cannot depend on a predictable income. Providing them with a stable, dependable source of income

and fair wages from the licensed cultivation of poppies so they could feed their families and plan for their futures would be an appealing alternative to the lure of illicit, but uncertain, gains.

Recent estimates of major untapped mineral deposits in Afghanistan with the potential to generate huge profits are seen by some as a panacea for the country’s enormous development challenges. Others point to the sorry record of commodity-based economies as a double-edged sword. Commentators cite the example of Africa where a combination of mineral wealth and a thriving drug trade have, in many cases, shored up corrupt regimes, inflamed civil wars, taken countless lives and caused all sorts of other mayhem at great cost to civilian populations who often receive little benefit even from the legal trade in mineral wealth and other natural resources. In terms of Afghanistan, even if the most optimistic estimates pan out, the country will not be able to reap any meaningful economic rewards from its mineral resources for many years to come. Well before then, it will have to find a way, among other pressing challenges, to continue its rebuilding, meet the basic needs of its people and support its growing, largely American-built, army.

So let us return to the idea of creating a legalized stream of economic support for Afghanistan based on the cultivation of opium poppies. Perhaps the most critical component of such an undertaking would be to widely publicize the formal approval of Afghan religious leaders, who could, as the Taliban did, make clear that the traditional Muslim injunction against addictive substances does not apply to opium if it is used as medicine to reduce human suffering. Also important to providing international legitimization to this plan without impinging on Afghan sovereignty would be to carry it out under the auspices of the World Health Organization, which could help provide price stabilization and set up parameters for acreage that would be devoted to poppies along with other types of agriculture. The business of “legal opium” could be managed by establishing a corporation with its own governing Board that would include landowners along with the Afghan ministers of health, finance and education to oversee the opium-to-morphine infrastructure and procedures. In order to guarantee the autonomy of this Board and ensure that it is not viewed as an American- or NATO-imposed scheme, neutral Switzerland could be involved as well as Afghanistan’s fellow Muslim-majority states Indonesia or Malaysia. Focusing on these and similar locations is particularly critical, since setting up facilities for the processing required to refine morphine from the poppy plant in locations distant from Afghanistan would help reduce illicit trafficking throughout the region. It would



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continuing to waste billions of dollars on ineffective, top-down “state-building” projects that serve to line the pockets of foreign advisors and undermine national capacity, the NSP works to empower Afghans at the tribal and village levels to make decision affecting their own lives and livelihoods. Locally—meaning both in Afghanistan and neighboring states—there is also the potential for the cultivation of spices; the ever-growing global demand for spices and seasonings is forecast to reach more than

also allay potential Afghan suspicions that their neighbors might simply process the poppies into heroin and distribute it throughout the region, denying income to Afghanistan.

Local tribes along with domestic and foreign private business interests could be stakeholders in this plan. Broad based buy-in would help to spread the risk and improve its viability as would designating a set tax rate on the income from the legal sale of poppies and using those funds for Afghan reconstruction, particularly to build badly needed schools and hospitals and support other projects that would improve the Afghan economy as well as the lives of the country’s men, women and children. Such investments might also aid in efforts to not only provide a secure base for Afghanistan’s economy but also stimulate social, cultural and political modernization after decades of civil war, economic dislocation, military invasions and destruction. In addition, given the plan’s potential for greatly limiting the flow of illicit opium across their borders, regional states such as Iran, Russia and China, as well as the European Union, would welcome any effort to reduce their own severe domestic drug addiction problems.

Since economic progress in Afghanistan is key to political stability, the “poppies-for-medicine” idea needs to be combined with other promising proposals for rural development that build upon some notable, though under-publicized success stories, such as the National Solidarity Program (NSP). Created in 2003 by the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development Program to promote the ability of Afghan communities to identify, plan, manage and monitor their own development projects, the largely unheralded NSP now reaches 29,000 (of some 45,000 in total) villages. Instead of

4.6 billion pounds by the year 2015¹⁰.

Naturally, the effective transformation of Afghanistan’s illicit opium production into a health industry with global potential for doing good will not solve all of the country’s many problems but it will go a long way towards providing a stable economic base for a nation that is now teetering on the brink of disaster and primed to devolve into a cycle of internecine violence that will continue to take a horrific toll on the civilian population. As the United States debates the idea of ramping up its departure from Afghanistan, the time is right—in fact, long overdue—to lead the call for measures that have real potential for helping to counter the Taliban and build a just, functioning and sustainable Afghan government supported by a stable economy. Without such efforts Afghanistan’s future as a narco-state is not just a dangerous possibility, it is fast becoming a reality. ■

¹ “Karzai Wants NATO Pullback as Taliban Rebuffs Talks,” *Bloomberg*, March 16, 2012; <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-03-16/karzai-wants-nato-pullback-as-taliban-rebuffs-peace-talks.html>

² Evaluating U.S. Foreign Assistance to Afghanistan: A Majority Staff Report Prepared for the Use of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, June 8, 2011.

³ *Opium and Afghanistan: Reassessing U.S. Counternarcotics Strategy*, by Lieutenant Colonel John A. Glaze, U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2007.

⁴ The farm-gate value of an agricultural product is the net value of the product when it leaves the farm, after marketing costs—often negligible for agrarian growers—are subtracted.

⁵ “As opium prices soar and allies focus on Taliban, Afghan drug war stumbles,” *The Washington Post*, January 14, 2011.

⁶ “Opium Brides: Why Eradication Won’t Solve Afghanistan’s Poppy Problem,” *Frontline*, January 3, 2012.

⁷ “Poppies for Medicine in Afghanistan: Lessons from India and Turkey,” by James Windle, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* December 2011 vol. 46 no. 6 663-677.

⁸ “A World of Pain,” *CBS Sunday Morning*, March 11, 2012.

⁹ *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, Volume 4, No. 1 (2006) p. 21-24, © Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program.

¹⁰ *Spices and Seasonings: A Global Strategic Business Report, 2011, Global Industry*

THE BackPage

John Schidlovsky is the director of the Washington D.C.-based International Reporting Project (IRP)

I've been hanging out with some great apes recently.

In 2011, I was in Indonesia and in Rwanda, on trips organized by the International Reporting Project (IRP), the Washington D.C.-based journalism nonprofit group I founded in 1998. In both countries, I got to spend some quality time with endangered apes: orangutans on the Indonesian part of Borneo and mountain gorillas in Virunga National Park in Rwanda.

On a personal level, spending an hour in a Rwandan jungle clearing with a group of 20 mountain gorillas is a profoundly spiritual experience—a meditation on the nature of life and the extent to which we humans have responsibilities for the other denizens of the earth.

But the experience also provided us journalists with a chance to do some rare on-the-ground reporting on such issues as the relationship between environmental protection and political stability, the conflict between development and preservation—topics that proved to be fascinating stories for *National Public Radio*, the *Boston Globe*, Triplepundit.com, and other news organizations represented on our trip.

Similarly in Borneo, when we visited orphaned orangutans rescued from their bulldozed forest homes, our band of journalists learned first-hand how Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country, was attempting to reconcile the conflict between local citizens' need for jobs with the need to preserve land for the country's 60,000 remaining orangutans, the only great apes outside of Africa.

These kinds of issues—planetary health, the consequences of development, the role of good

governance—affect all of us, Americans included. Yet journalists rarely send back stories that capture such vivid scenes far from home. Reporting from overseas in the US media is now vanishing at a rate that forced many of us on that cool Rwandan hilltop to ask ourselves the following question:

Who's more endangered: the orangutans and apes or the foreign correspondents?

International news in the U.S. media has been decreasing for some time now. A clear paradox has

arisen: new technology has given us more access to information about the world than ever before. Yet international news is reaching fewer consumers of media, most of whom still rely on the mass-market news organizations that have traditionally provided us with most of the news we think we need to know.

An increasing ignorance of the world is not a healthy trend, neither for us as individuals nor for us as a nation. At a time when more Americans are living, working and studying overseas than ever before, our mass media are providing less in-depth news about the rest of the world than at any time in the past three decades. Can we find what we need to know in niche media or on specialized web sites? You bet. But most of us don't visit niche sites every day, and if we do, we don't have time to go to enough of them to constitute an informed citizenry.

And now 2012 finds us in the midst of another U.S. presidential campaign year. As happens every



International News Coverage: *A Vanishing Species?*

by JOHN SCHIDLOVSKY

four years, a great deal of international news in our media is pushed aside by the massive amounts of horse race-style political coverage, convention hoopla and polls. I have one friend, a prize-winning veteran foreign correspondent for one of the country's best news organizations, who says he doesn't even bother filing non-crises stories from overseas during the U.S. political conventions because he knows that those stories are just going to be killed by the editors for lack of space.

Not that political coverage isn't important, of course. America's selection of a president is a critical decision for all U.S. citizens and for residents in every country in the world. But to shortchange, or to ignore, what is happening in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America or the Middle East while we focus so obsessively on the bumps and slumps of the latest political poll is to court disaster. A public that is uninformed, or under-

informed, on global issues is an open invitation to the government to make missteps in foreign policy that can cost lives and dollars.

There is no shortage of huge international stories. This spring I have been helping to judge the Overseas Press Club awards for best international stories of the year. As I review the entries, I am continually impressed with the work of so many talented journalists who in 2011 reported brilliantly and bravely on the Japanese tsunami and nuclear disaster, the Arab Spring and the fall of Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak, the war in Libya, the European financial crisis, the killing of Osama bin Laden, the ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan and other global crises.

Especially heartbreaking are the instances of journalists killed covering wars, including photo-journalists Tim Hetherington and Chris Hondros, the latter a friend and former IRP Fellow whose

stunning photos from Africa during our reporting fellowship program have been hanging above my desk for the past 10 years. Their deaths in Libya in April 2011 were a terrible tragedy. And this past February brought more reasons to mourn with the deaths, on assignment in Syria, of journalists Marie Colvin and Anthony Shadid.

For all of the momentous crises in 2011, most of which got substantial attention in the U.S. media, there were many other important stories that went largely uncovered and continue to be uncovered in 2012.

The continuing rise of China and India as global powers is a multifaceted story we need to track closely, not just in Asia and the United States. It is virtually impossible to visit any country in Africa without encountering the Chinese, building infrastructure or factories, while securing imports of key raw materials. “The Americans bring us democracy, the Chinese bring us roads,” one Rwandan journalist told us on our visit to his country last year. As we sped along an impressive divided highway, it was pretty clear which import was the most appreciated by Rwandans.

Other emerging powers—Brazil, Indonesia, Turkey and Korea—are on their way to joining or supplanting the U.S. and European countries as economic and political leaders in the world. Like it or not, the U.S. is learning to share power around the world, though much of the American public seems unaware of the new reality.

It’s hardly necessary any more to go over the reasons for the decline in international coverage by the U.S. media. The trend has been in place for two decades—the loss of advertising by newspapers and television to new online media; the merger of media companies that have consolidated once competitive bureaus; the end of the Cold War focus on global enemies, and the inward-looking nature of Americans worried

about jobs in a time of recession.

The good news is that even while much of the old media is abdicating coverage of international issues, there is a lot being done in new platforms to try to keep Americans informed about global issues. Social media play a growing role in spreading news of rapidly moving events, as we all saw in the Arab Spring last year.

Most exciting, perhaps, is the creation of new programs and organizations that are experimenting with new ways of creating and funding foreign coverage.

Quick quiz: Which media organization has sent more U.S. journalists to report from Africa in the past decade, more than any other single journalistic organization? If you guessed *The New York Times*, National Public Radio or CNN, you’d be wrong. The answer is the International Reporting Project.

Yes, that’s our Washington D.C.-based group that enabled me to spend my hour with the mountain gorillas in Rwanda. In the past 14 years, the IRP has sent more than 150 different U.S. journalists to 36 different countries in Africa. Those journalists have produced award-winning stories from countries that even wire services rarely cover, from Benin to Zimbabwe, from Burkina Faso to Namibia.

And it’s not just Africa. The IRP has sent hundreds of other U.S. journalists to report in Asia, Latin America, Europe and the Middle East. We partner with leading news organizations, so you’ve surely heard these journalists’ stories on *All Things Considered* and *The World*, watched them on CNN and *Frontline* and read them online and in print at *The New York Times*, *The Atlantic* and dozens of other publications and sites.

Is there a future to this new kind of journalistic coverage of the world? There is reason for optimism, judging by the emergence of other organizations in recent years—not just nonprofits like IRP, but also for-profit ventures such as ProPublica and GlobalPost. Many

foundations, including Carnegie Corporation, have supported new initiatives. Since 1998 the IRP has used more than \$14 million in foundation support to send nearly 400 journalists to 101 different countries around the world.

Sure, international reporting isn’t ever going to push local news, sports, or U.S. politics off the frontlines of American journalism. It shouldn’t. As citizens, we need more information about our schools, neighborhoods, crime and local government, just as we do about music, fashion, our favorite athletes and TV pop stars.

But we also need stories that tell us about our global connections, about forces that are transforming the United States as a whole as well as our local communities such as immigration, economic competition and cooperation, health issues, environmental concerns and cultural influences. And these stories need to be covered not just through social media feeds, as useful as they can be. Trying to cover a foreign country through following the posts of its Twitter users is interesting, but it’s no substitute for being on the ground oneself.

We need stories such as the one told by Julia Lyon of the *Salt Lake Tribune* about a Burmese refugee family that made its way to Utah only to suffer a shattering blow by the murder of their daughter. Lyon used a reporting grant from the IRP to go back to the village on the Thai-Burmese border where that family’s journey to the U.S. began and showed us through video, audio, photo and print coverage how the family made a journey that thousands of other new Americans make every year.

Or how about a lighter story, such as the one about the latest growth industry in Borneo, where entrepreneurs are building giant, four-story birdhouses with 24-hour electronic birdcalls to attract small birds called swiftlets? The birds’ regurgitated saliva produces edible nests that sell for about

\$1,000 a pound to Chinese restaurateurs who use it to make bird’s nest soup. This multimedia story, told by *New York Times* journalist Jeffery DeViscio from our recent trip to Indonesia, was whimsical yet touched on health, economic issues, export policy, wildlife and culinary topics—illustrating the complexity and diversity of the emerging power that is Indonesia.

There are also unexpected, and perhaps even unwelcome, revelations to be learned from reporting abroad. In Rwanda, President Paul Kagame, admired for initiating impressive economic gains in a country devastated by the genocide of 1994 but often criticized for not allowing more political and media freedoms, argued strenuously in a two-hour meeting with our group of journalists that Rwanda needed more time to consolidate its economic and social stability before allowing unchecked freedom of expression.

It was an argument that strikes most Americans as a justification for authoritarianism, and most of us didn’t buy Kagame’s rationale for what human rights experts universally describe as a repressive regime. But because we were there, and had seen so much of the country’s impressive gains, we realized the picture wasn’t as simple as might be portrayed. One of the journalists on the trip, Peter Canellos of the *Boston Globe*, wrote a thoughtful piece in which he praised the economic advances against the fact that, by stifling free expression, the government hasn’t fully dealt with the violence from the genocide that left nearly a million people dead:

The questions raised by Canellos’ article are the kind that linger in a reader’s mind. They trigger other questions, ignite debate and force us to reconsider some of our usual assumptions. That’s what good journalism has always done, and it’s what the best reporting from overseas is meant to do: make us think about things in new and different ways. ■



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