

Carnegie
REPORTER

Lincoln's Legacy

Land-grant colleges and universities

The How and Why of Engaging Russia

Following the Leaders

How Higher Education Visionaries Are Pointing Students Toward the Future

Designing a School Where All Students Will be Successful

Investing *in* Education Is Key *to* America's Future Success

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



PHOTO BY MICHAEL FALCO

As the just-concluded election season has shown, Americans seem to be painfully divided on many critical issues. Nevertheless, we all claim to be resolutely united in our commitment to the success of our nation and to its future. In that connection, it is helpful to remind ourselves that our country is certainly no more divided than it was during the Civil War, and yet, it was in the midst of that great conflict that President

Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Morrill Act of 1862, which established the land-grant colleges that now form the backbone of our public university system.* Hence, the time has certainly come to ask ourselves if we, as a nation, can do what did Lincoln do: see past our differences to invest in our future. Can we still endorse the ideal that Lincoln pointed to as a foundation of American democracy when he proclaimed in 1832—fully three decades before he signed the Morrill Land-Grant College Act—that, “Upon the subject of education...I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we, as a people, can be engaged in.” And further, perhaps it is time that we ask ourselves if we, as a society, can still muster Lincoln’s faith, foresight and the fiscal fortitude essential to educating the citizens and leaders we will need to keep our nation competitive in the globalized and knowledge-based economy of the 21st century. In this regard, we have come to a crossroads and must decide which way we want to go. Whatever direction we take, like it or not, we are going to be making the journey together.

I know that’s a difficult message to try to get across in the current national climate. After all, the partisan political gap has nearly doubled in the past 25 years. The Pew Research Center recently reported that the “values gap” between

Republicans and Democrats is wider than gender, age, race or class divides. Indeed, a recent national poll sponsored by Carnegie Corporation of New York points out that more than half of all Americans (53%) believe that substantive bipartisan legislation cannot be passed in Washington today. Given these facts, one must admit that any significant national investment faces a hard road.

Still, the problems we have, particularly in regard to higher education, are not going to go away. Access to college, the cost of higher education, the relevance of curricula both to real-world markets and to human aspirations are among the questions that are desperately in need of discussion but also, of answers that will actually have a positive impact on people’s lives. Towards that end, let me suggest that now that the presidential election has been decided and President Obama and Congress go about refocusing on reviving our economy, putting people to work and ensuring our global competitiveness, a critical element of this economic agenda should focus on addressing the challenges facing our colleges and universities, as well as the more than 21 million students who depend on these institutions to prepare them not only for an economically viable future but also to be lifelong learners who can use their ability to seek out new knowledge and employ the skills acquired from an excellent education to adjust and readjust to changing times.

American history has proven that personal and public investment in college and knowledge yields huge dividends. Following the legislation that created land-grant colleges, Vermont’s Senator Morrill, along with his colleague from Indiana, Senator Daniel W. Voorhees, successfully steered the legislation through Congress that provided the Library of Congress with a permanent home, thus giving it a major role in the life of our nation. Further, in 1863, President Lincoln signed into being the National Academy of Sciences, to “investigate, examine, experiment, and report upon any subject of science or art” whenever called upon to do so by any department of the government. And a private citizen, Andrew Carnegie joined with cities and towns to establish over 1,600 free local libraries across the United States. (He also created over 900 libraries in other countries.)

(Continued on page 45)

* See “Lincoln’s Legacy” in this issue of the Carnegie Reporter

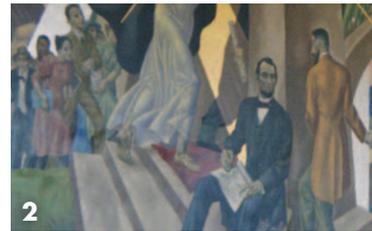
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A Special Note: Normally, this would be the Fall edition of the *Carnegie Reporter* but because production was delayed by Hurricane Sandy, this will be the Winter 2012 issue.



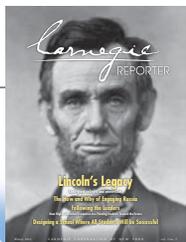
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About This Issue

As Vartan Gregorian notes in his letter, which opens this issue of the magazine, it's been a divisive time in the United States, with the wide gap in many red-state/blue-state opinions on a variety of critical issues not even close to being closed—or seemingly, even up for negotiation. Still, as Gregorian suggests, there is one subject that most everyone does agree on: education is, was, and for the foreseeable future will be, the engine of American progress and as such, it needs the attention and support of all of us. What that means in practical terms is a question that's explored in our story on “Lincoln's Legacy,” which traces the development and impact of land-grant colleges and universities; without the bipartisan support that gave birth to and sustains these institutions, many aspects of life in these United States, from the development of agriculture to scientific breakthroughs to advances in medicine as well as many other areas, would likely be diminished.

When the leaders of higher education institutions have a real vision about how their

institutions can help to enrich our national life while also helping students to fulfill their aspirations and succeed in a competitive global economy, great steps can be taken to connect education to excellence and achievement. Carnegie Corporation created the Academic Leadership Awards to invest in the educational initiatives of the men and women at the helm of America's colleges and universities who have set their sights on invigorating liberal arts education, revitalizing curricula, and reaching for other vital educational goals. The outstanding work being done by the twelve recipients of these awards is the subject of our story on “Following the Leaders: How higher education visionaries are pointing students toward the future.”

In the grades leading up to college, preparing all students for postsecondary education and equipping them with career-ready skills is at the heart of new designs for schools that are trying to teach students to both know more and do more. Rural North Carolina's Northeast Regional School of Biotechnology and Agriscience is geared up to do just that, as is detailed in the article enti-

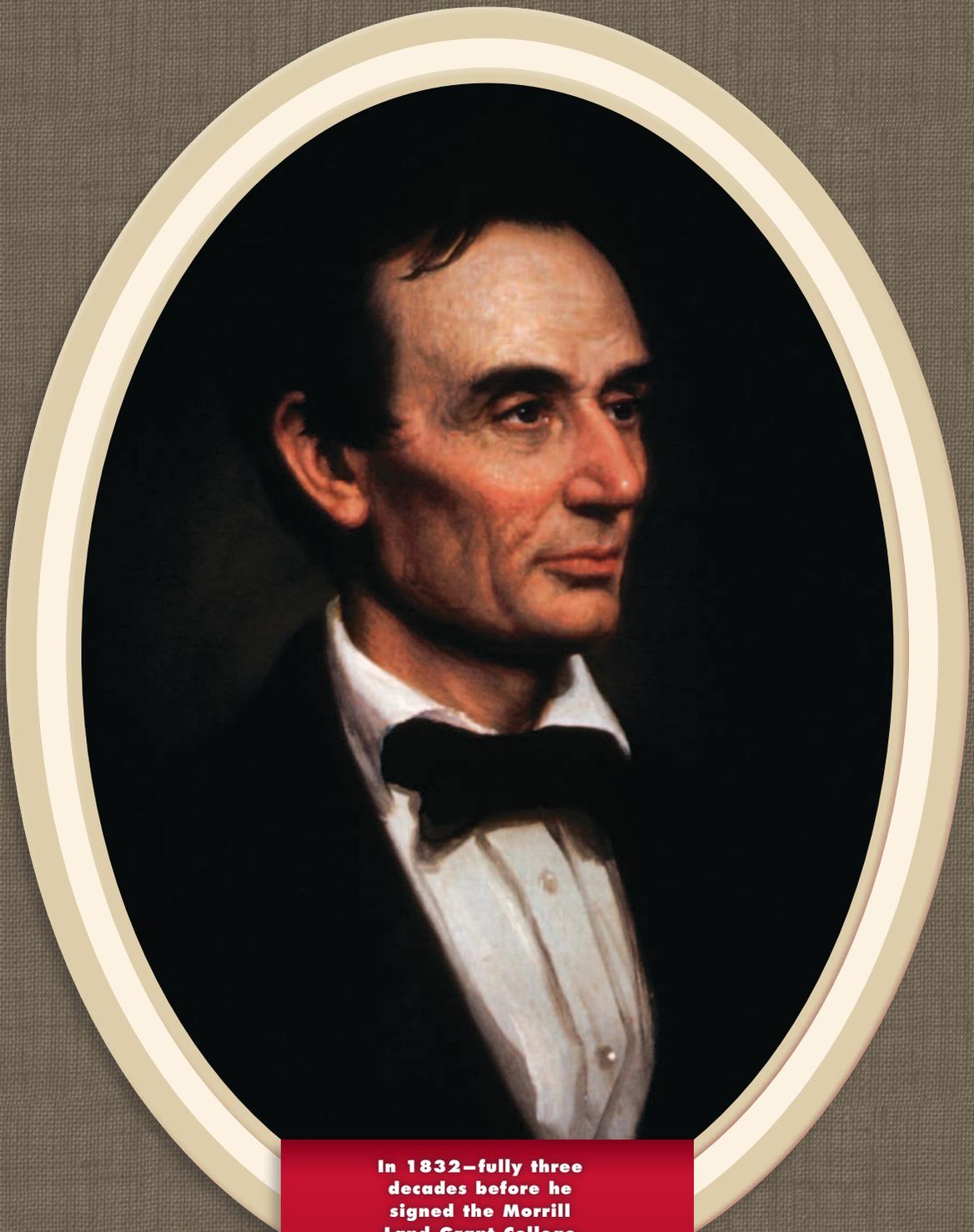
tled “Designing a School Where All Students Will Be Successful.”

In the international arena, some have speculated that the U.S.-Russia relationship should no longer be considered a matter of top-level concern to Americans. In “The How and Why of Engaging with Russia,” Thomas Graham, whose areas of interest include Russian domestic politics and U.S.-Russian relations, and who has built up a great body of knowledge about these subjects through his work both in government and at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has a lot to say about why Russia still matters.

Finally, we are pleased to publish an essay by Paul T. Mero, president of Sutherland Institute, a conservative public policy think tank in Utah, which asks—and answers—the question, “What is Conservative About Comprehensive Immigration Reform?”

We invite you to enjoy these articles along with the other features in this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*.

ELEANOR LERMAN, *Director, Public Affairs and Publications*



In 1832—fully three decades before he signed the Morrill Land-Grant College Act—Abraham Lincoln declared, “Upon the subject of education...I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we, as a people, can be engaged in.”

LINCOLN'S LEGACY

Land-Grant Colleges and Universities



150 YEARS OF INVESTMENT IN KNOWLEDGE AND EDUCATION

by ABIGAIL DEUTSCH

One winter day in 1914, joy overtook the town of Riverside, California. “Holiday shoppers danced,” writes Kathy Barton, a present-day staff member at the University of California, Riverside. “The steam whistle on the electric plant blew for 15 minutes. Mission Inn owner Frank Miller ordered the bells at the venerable hotel be rung continuously.” Why such merriment? The University of California Regents had decided to keep the Citrus Experiment Station—a research center that had supported California’s citrus industry since 1907—in its UC Riverside home.

For 150 years, land-grant schools such as UC Riverside have buttressed the development of American science and agriculture. And, as suggested by the town’s display of glee, they’ve bolstered local communities as well.

Riverside’s unique blend of civic and citrus pride sprouts from an 1862 piece of legislation called the Morrill Act, which created the American system of land-grant colleges. Before the passage of the act, higher education had been accessible to only the privileged few. Public and private universities alike had offered curricula based on their European precedents—designed for “the male leisure classes, government leaders, and members of the professions,” according to *The Land-Grant Tradition*, a booklet published by the Association of Public and Land-grant Universities (APLU). Accordingly, coursework at these universities focused on classical and pre-professional topics.

The goal of land-grant colleges was, among other things, to democratize this system: early supporters of

such schools, writes historian Allan Nevins, believed that “no restrictions of class, or fortune, or sex, or geographical position—no restrictions whatsoever—should operate.” The same went for race. Justin Morrill, the senator who proposed the act, emphasized that African-Americans and Native Americans deserved schooling too.

A diverse curriculum would match this diverse population. While more and more Americans were recognizing science as a topic worthy of study, few schools taught the subject. But for Morrill, pursuits such as engineering, agriculture, and the “mechanical

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arts” deserved just as much emphasis as literature and history. He explained, while introducing his bill to Congress, that in land-grant institutions, “agriculture, the foundation of all present and future prosperity, may look for troops of earnest friends... at last elevating it to that higher level where it may fearlessly invoke comparison with the most advanced standards of the world.” And yet, he remarked in 1887, the design of land-grant colleges “comprehended not only instruction for those who hold the plow or follow a trade, but such instruction as any person might need—with ‘the world before them where to choose’—and without the exclusion of those who might prefer to adhere to the classics.” Morrill’s ideal school was a well-rounded one.

The act operated by granting federal land to states—30,000 acres per Congress member. Each state could then sell the property, directing the profit toward founding or supporting at least one school within five years; the state was expected to maintain its college buildings.

The Morrill Act was, as Michael David Cohen recently wrote in *The New York Times*, “one of the most transformative pieces of legislation in American history, seeding the ground for scores of high-quality public colleges and universities around the country.” The act has created many universities—from the University of Illinois to the University of Nebraska—and supported some pre-existing schools, such as Pennsylvania State University and the University of Wisconsin. A few private schools, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and, briefly, Yale University, gained support through the Morrill Act as well.

Land-grant institutions haven’t merely provided instruction for millions of pupils; they’ve also exerted

a profound impact on the American economy. In the thick of the Industrial Revolution, the Morrill Act enabled research and created workers key for agriculture and manufacturing, and has helped make the United States a global leader in agricultural production.

The Educational Legacy of a Blacksmith’s Son

The senator behind the act might have benefited from a land-grant education himself. A blacksmith’s son from Strafford, Vermont, Justin Morrill hoped to go to college but lacked the money. Later, notes Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT), he wanted to provide other ordinary Americans with opportunities that had been unavailable to him. Educated largely by practical experience and by deep reading, Morrill served in the U.S. House from 1855 to 1867, and then in the U.S. Senate from 1867 until his death in 1898.

In devising the Morrill Act, the politician was knitting together strands of thought that had long run through the fabric of American life. According to M. Peter McPherson, president of the APLU, three major concepts drove the act. The first was a belief in democracy, paramount in America since the Declaration of Independence, and a corollary emphasis on bringing opportunities to as many citizens as possible. The second was the conviction that federal government should play a role in economic policy. (Morrill and Lincoln—who was president during the passage of the act—both admired Henry Clay, who supported the preservation of a strong national bank, tariffs, and other federal measures designed to bolster industry.) And the third was an increasing sense that Americans required science and technology education in order for their country to grow.

Additionally, the Morrill Act reflected a fourth longstanding

American tendency: the wish to apply science to agriculture. Writes David G. Morrison, formerly of the Louisiana Experiment Station: “The first settlers quickly learned they had to adapt or starve. With a great variety of crops and soils, Americans began, through trial and error, to answer agricultural production questions early on.” He points out that many of the founding fathers—including George Washington and Thomas Jefferson—were farmers who conducted agricultural experiments on their fields. Additionally, both men helped found societies geared toward improving agriculture “which were pioneers in agricultural science and education.”

Morrill drew not only on these great American themes, but also on more particular developments in the field of education. Many historians of the Morrill Act point to the contributions of Jonathan Baldwin Turner, a Yale graduate who moved west to teach at Illinois College. Librarian Donald Brown describes Turner as the “significant promoter of ideas underlying the [land-grant] movement”; he led a broad campaign for the establishment of colleges geared toward agriculture and industry. In 1850, he presented an influential address called “A Plan for a State University for the Industrial Classes,” which included many of the concepts key to land-grant universities—for instance, agricultural experimentation. In 1852, he set out the financial mechanics of a land-grant system in the *Prairie Farmer* newspaper. Turner’s ideas appeared often in print, and he conducted voluminous correspondences with editors, professional friends, and politicians.

But Turner did not originate such notions either. Rensselaer Institute in Troy, New York, had been providing “collegiate instruction in the fields” since 1824, Brown writes. And in 1841,

a Captain Alden Partridge of Norwich, Vermont, had proposed to Congress “endowing a national system of technical institutions with proceeds of public land sales.”

Act. Under a blazing midafternoon sun, a soldier laid a wreath at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. The Constitution Brass Quintet played Civil War tunes such as “The Battle Hymn of

to enact his legislation twice, and the first time, in 1859, it passed Congress only to be vetoed by President James Buchanan. The Civil War began in 1861, and by 1862, when Morrill pro-



PHOTO BY ABBY BRACK LEWIS

Presidents of land-grant institutions and others stand outside the Lincoln Memorial on June 23, 2012, after a wreath-laying ceremony commemorating the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's signing of the Morrill Act creating land-grant colleges.

One of Turner's more impressive accomplishments occurred during the presidential campaign of 1860. According to *The Life of Jonathan Turner*, he extracted promises from both Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas that they would sign his bill if it appeared before Congress—which was as good as a promise to sign Morrill's.

In President Lincoln, educational causes would find a friend. Himself an autodidact, he once remarked: “Upon the subject of education...I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we, as a people, can be engaged in.” The centrality of Lincoln's legacy to the land-grant college system was evident at a conference held on June 23, 2012, commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Morrill

the Republic” and “Washington Greys,” a march favored by both Union and Confederate military bands, according to a catalogue from the event.

Addressing the crowd with his back to Lincoln, Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian remarked that he didn't believe in séances, but that he hoped the President could hear him anyway. “You gave us a land of opportunity, not opportunists; you believed America not perfect, but perfectible,” he said, and turned to speak to the statue. “We need leaders like you more than once a century,” he said. “So thank you, Mr. President. Thank you for everything you've done.”

The timing of the Morrill Act was fortuitous not just because of the president in power. Morrill attempted

posed his act again, “northerners had discovered how ill-prepared they were for a crisis,” writes Michael David Cohen. “The peacetime Army had been tiny. Volunteers rallied to defend the Union, but what they brought in enthusiasm they lacked in experience.... To win the war, the Army had to create citizen-soldiers from scratch.”

And so Morrill wrote a new provision into the act, one that included military tactics among the subjects offered at land-grant institutions. This forebear to the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program lent the bill a new sense of necessity. Cannily, Morrill emphasized that urgency. Writes Cohen: “Bemoaning the unreadiness of Northern men to fight the rebels a year earlier, he blamed politicians in

Washington for having ‘long assumed that military discipline’ was as ‘spontaneous’ as patriotism. That assumption, he said, had cost many lives. Had Congress earlier passed a law like the one he now proposed, ‘The young men might have had more of fitness for their sphere of duties, whether on the farm, in the workshop, or in the battlefield.’” Even though this amendment would have no bearing on the current conflict, the act’s supporters believed that graduates of land-grant schools would be prepared for war by the time the next one began.

The timing was advantageous for yet another reason: in 1859, some Southern representatives had opposed the act. But after the secession of the southern states, those politicians were no longer present in Congress to object.

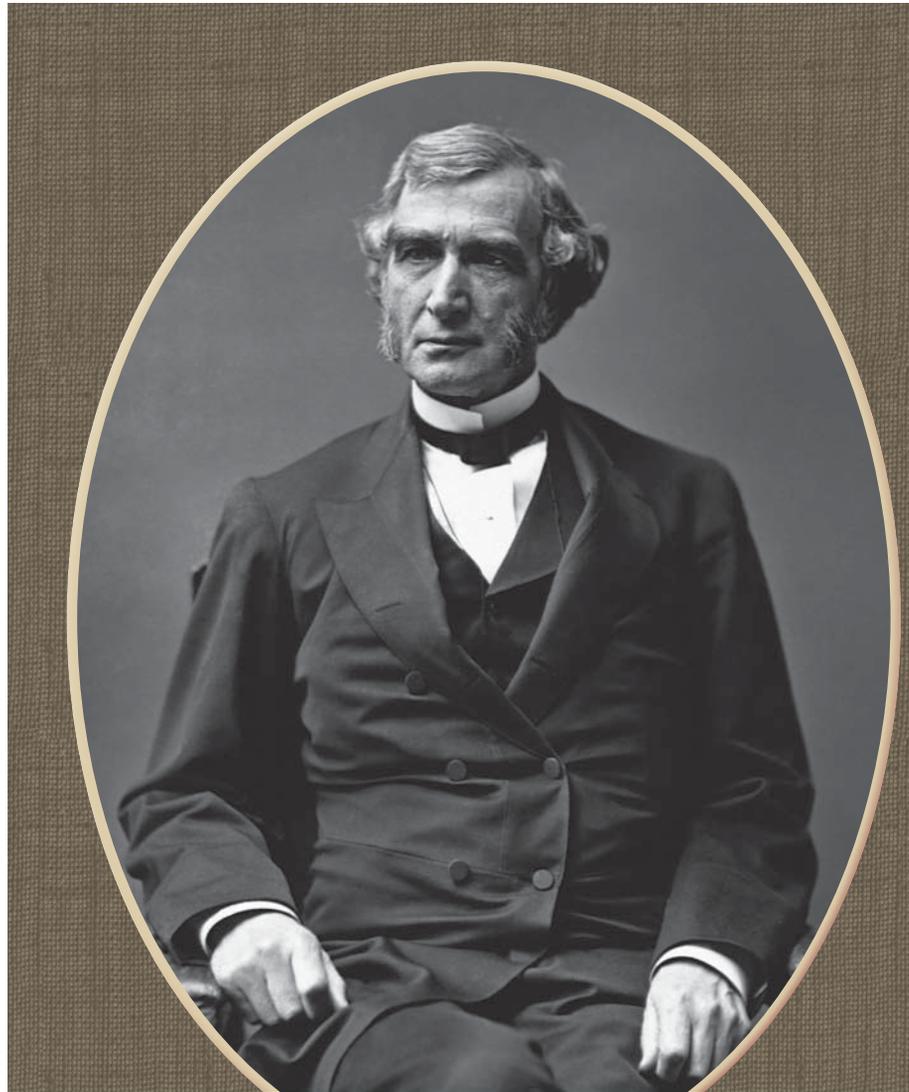
At the conference in his honor, attendees praised Morrill for seeing beyond the bloody divisions of the Civil War. “This was nation-building on a grand and national scale,” remarked Senator Leahy. And it was just one element of a historic Congressional session that laid the groundwork for a prosperous America even as the country’s very existence had come under threat. That session passed the Homestead Act, which provided free land for Americans who moved west; the first national income tax, which helped finance the war; and legislation that would enable the construction of the transcontinental railroad.

Democratizing Education

In keeping with the democratic principles behind the Morrill Act, the land-grant system has held particular meaning for the regions and groups most lacking in educational infrastructure. Perhaps ironically, the South is one such example. The Northeast had long offered excellent schools, but the South before the Civil War was “non-

industrialized, agrarian, and dependent on northern states for production,” remarked Michael Adams, president of the University of Georgia, at the anniversary conference. “It was an edu-

second Morrill Act, in 1890, demanded that states show race not to be a university admissions requirement, or else to found colleges for black pupils, too. Such states often ended up with two



Justin Smith Morrill (1810-1898), United States representative who introduced the Morrill Land Grant College Act (1862).

cational backwater. There were state universities, but enrollment was low. Our institutions in the South have probably benefited most from the Morrill Act.”

Interestingly, racism helped encourage the development of land-grant schools in the region. Once the Civil War had ended and southern states had rejoined the Union, their governments opted against integrated colleges. A

land-grant institutions, one for black students and one for white. Many historically black colleges and universities stem from this legislation, including Alabama A&M University, Kentucky State University, and North Carolina A&T University.

For westerners, too, the development of land-grant colleges proved crucial. It meant that “we need not go away from home for instruction,” noted

Edward Ray, president of Oregon State University, at the conference. He added that in his region, “being place-bound is natural.” Montana State University, the University of Idaho, several schools within the University of California system, and many other western institutions have come into being thanks to the Morrill Act.

More recently, another group has received assistance from the legislation. In 1994, the Equity in Education Land-Grant Status Act named thirty-three Native American colleges land-grant institutions. Generally located in “remote, underserved communities that lack access to higher education,” these schools “take special care to include culturally relevant curriculum and programs in their institutions so that Native American students and communities can take pride in their cultural and historical identity,” according to the United States Department of Agriculture Web site.

In many ways, the tribal colleges are distinct from other institutions of higher learning. According to *The Land-Grant Tradition*, they provide high school completion (GED), remedial work, professional training, college preparation, and adult basic education programs. They also function as libraries and tribal archives and serve as centers for elder and child care, as well as for economic and community development. “It is an underlying goal of all [tribal colleges] to improve the lives of students through higher education and to move American Indians toward self-sufficiency,” notes *The Land-Grant Tradition*. The tribal colleges enroll about 19,000 students and engage with over 47,000 community members.

Outside the contexts of these legislative acts, Congress has designated still other land-grant schools. After the District of Columbia described itself as “the last substantial area in the nation

without the services of a land-grant college,” in 1967, it gained a \$7.24 million endowment and land-grant status. Four years later, American Samoa, Guam, Northern Marianas, Micronesia, and the Virgin Islands made a similar claim: they said they were “the only areas under the American flag which have not been allowed to participate in the land-grant college program.” In 1972, they received endowments and land-grant status as well.

Morrill’s emphasis on democracy has enjoyed a long legacy in federal educational policy. In the 1940s, the G.I. Bill permitted veterans access to a university education that might otherwise have been off-limits. Similar bills accompanied the conflicts in Korea and Vietnam, and America continues to offer educational benefits to members of the military. Immediately after World War Two, Congress created the Fulbright scholarship program, which funds scholars, students, and teachers who want to pursue their research at home or abroad. The National Security Education Act of 1991 grants scholarships to Americans planning to investigate understudied languages and cultures across the world.

Federal support for individual college students has also improved access to education. The Higher Education Act of 1965 included such provisions as the Federal Family Education Loan Program, which provided students with low-interest loans; need-based Pell Grants began in 1974.

At least partly as a result of such laws, enrollment in higher education rose from 4 percent of the college-age population, in 1900, to over 65 percent by 2000. “The United States,” Gregorian remarked during a college address, “has democratized access to higher education and attempted to nationalize opportunity at a scale unprecedented in world history.” The

Morrill Act has played a crucial role in that effort.

Research and Science Aid the Progress of American Agriculture

In the wake of the Morrill Act, the federal government continued to pass bills that shaped the land-grant schools. The Hatch Act of 1887 responded to farmers’ requests to see “tangible evidence of the new land-grant colleges’ commitment to their well-being,” according to David G. Morrison. Additionally, once agricultural professors had exhausted their knowledge, they required more teaching material. The Act helped fulfill both of these needs, permitting land-grant colleges to establish agricultural experiment stations that aimed to:

...conduct original and other researches, investigations, and experiments bearing directly on and contributing to the establishment and maintenance of a permanent and effective agricultural industry of the United States, including researches basic to the problems of agriculture in its broadest aspects, and such investigations as have for their purpose the development and improvement of the rural home and rural life and the maximum contribution by agriculture to the welfare of the consumer.

The Hatch Act has affected American agriculture significantly. Research results from experiment stations have improved the conditions of both farms and farm animals, according to the Web site of Oklahoma State University’s station, largely removing “the specter of hunger and the drudgery of subsistence agriculture production.” While the system had been designed to benefit particular regions, “more often they have application in many places, and some breakthroughs

The NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

In 1863—less than a year after the passage of the Morrill Act—The National Academy of Sciences (NAS) was signed into being by President Abraham Lincoln. Like the land-grant university system, the NAS marks a partnership between public and private interests, and holds as its purpose the advancement and application of knowledge.

A private, nonprofit association, the NAS consists of about 2,000 researchers who are elected by current members based on their career contributions to science. The scientists, engineers, and medical professionals who work on behalf of the NAS counsel the government on scientific and technological concerns related to public policy and do so on an independent and volunteer basis.

The Academy's own achievements are diverse: in the early twentieth century, for instance, it hosted an influential debate on the scale of the universe; several decades later, it helped develop America's first satellite. At about that time, President John F. Kennedy credited the NAS with prompting a "great change...in the relationship between science and public policy": rather than a "peripheral concern," science had become an "active partner" of the state, an "indispensable function of government."

Today, the NAS enjoys admiration not just from American presidents but also from foreign visitors. The conference celebrating the anniversary of the Morrill Act also featured a panel on the NAS, and Ralph Cicerone, the organization's president, noted that he often receives guests from overseas who wish to set up similar associations in their countries.

Barbara Schaal, the vice president, explained that one of the NAS's major current goals is the "science of science communication." She and her peers are studying the way people form opinions about science, and sometimes intervening: said Cicerone, "When attacks on biology enter the classroom, we enter."

The NAS's reports provide one such means of outreach. (All such publications are peer-reviewed by scientists.) Recently the organization published a volume called *Science, Evolution, and Creationism* that "explains the fundamental methods of science, documents the overwhelming evidence in support of biological evolution, and evaluates the alternative perspectives offered by advocates of various kinds of creationism, including 'intelligent design.'" The book puts forth science and religion as modes of thought that, while distinct, need not conflict.

Other books indicate the organization's independence from the government. Its *Review of the Scientific Approaches Used During the FBI's Investigation of the 2001 Anthrax Letters* evaluates the science behind the techniques the FBI used and determines "whether these techniques met appropriate standards for scientific reliability and for use in forensic validation, and whether the FBI reached appropriate scientific conclusions from its use of these techniques."

How did the NAS come about? Other organizations designed to study and promote science had predated the Academy, and a particularly influential group—which dubbed itself "Scientific Lazzaroni" in self-mocking homage to the laborers of Naples, Italy—helped develop and publicize ideas that led directly to the founding of the NAS.

(Continued on page 10)

resulting directly from Hatch Act funding have literally benefitted every man, woman, and child in the United States and much of the world." The Citrus Experiment Station at UC Riverside—that cause of great glee in 1914—is just one of many stations authorized by the Hatch Act, which has also enabled soil surveys in Nevada, advances in sugar farming in Louisiana, and many other efforts elsewhere.

With land-grant schools and experiment stations firmly in place, scientists began uncovering new knowledge and producing new guidelines. Yet the ordinary farmer had no easy way to access this information—organizations such as farmers' institutes, tomato clubs, and agricultural societies proved insufficient to the task, according to the Web site of Mississippi State University's Agricultural and Forestry Experiment Station. As a result of this communication problem, Congress passed the Smith-Lever Act in 1914. The legislation founded a network of cooperative extension services, enabling land-grant colleges to provide ordinary citizens with instruction in agriculture, leadership, 4-H, and other topics—"diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects related to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same." Such instruction was carried out by agents of the extension service.

In more recent years, inspired by the Morrill Act, Congress has begun authorizing new kinds of schools. In 1966, it established the first "sea-grant" colleges. These institutions surfaced after the oceanographer Athelstan Spilhaus wrote, in *Science* magazine, that they "would be modernized parallels of the great developments in agriculture and the mechanic arts which were occasioned by the Land-Grant Act of about a hundred years ago . . . Establishment of

the land-grant colleges was one of the best investments this nation ever made. That same kind of imagination and foresight should be applied to exploitation of the sea.” Today, thirty-two

outreach, with the goal of encouraging citizens to understand and take part in NASA’s projects.

And “sun-grant” schools, so designated in 2002, partner with federally

spirited question-and-answer session, administrators started shouting out their points of pride: the University of Georgia, for instance, discovered that blueberries grow better than peaches



A mural at Purdue University, a land-grant university, depicts Lincoln signing the Morrill Act, which created land-grant colleges.

sea-grant programs aim to develop the sustainable use of American resources along the coasts, in the oceans, and in the Great Lakes, harnessing research and educational programs that disseminate information ranging from advanced scientific results to public school curricula.

“Space-grant” institutions came into being in 1989, thanks to the efforts of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. This network of American colleges and universities works to improve education in science and engineering, research, and

funded laboratories to help develop a biobased economy—an economy based on substances derived from living material. They also aim to support American farmers by developing biobased, renewable-energy raw materials.

Land-Grant Institutions: Still Evolving

The contributions of land-grant colleges to the American way of life are manifold—and as the anniversary conference made clear, university presidents aren’t shy about discussing their schools’ contributions. During a

in that state, yielding not only delicious fruit but also considerable wealth. Oregon State University has done wonders for wheat. And the University of Missouri, proclaims its representative, “saved the global wine industry.” He was referring to an episode in the 1880s when vineyards in Europe fell prey to the phylloxera bug, to which American vines were immune. At the University of Missouri, scientists started grafting French plants into American root stock, creating a vine that resisted the dreaded bug while producing the desired grape.

The schools boast impressive

In 1851 Alexander Dallas Bache, a Lazzaroni participant who also served as superintendent of the Coast Survey and president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, suggested in a speech that the federal government work with “an institution of science...to guide public action in reference to science matters.” A few years later another Lazzaroni member, naturalist Louis Agassiz, described the structure of such an organization in a private letter. Then came the Civil War, which catalyzed the development of the NAS much as it had the passage of the Morrill Act.

“Amid the din of war, the heat of party, the deviltries of politics, and the poisons of hypocrisy,” wrote Lazzaroni member Benjamin Peirce in 1863, “science will be inaudible, incapable, incoherent, and inanimate.” In response to unfamiliar technical challenges created by the Civil War, amateur scientists were crafting new inventions, and Peirce worried that frauds were besieging governmental and scientific authorities alike. Additionally, according to *The Lazzaroni: Science and Scientists in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, new technologies such as the telegraph and the railroad had altered the nature of warfare; scientists needed to organize to evaluate and respond to all the novelties flooding the scientific landscape.

Yet another Lazzaroni member, Joseph Henry, suggested that the Navy Department found an agency to appraise the new weapons that citizens had created. And a few others joined forces with a senator to draw up a bill for what would become the National Academy of Sciences. On March 3, 1863, just two weeks after its introduction in the Senate, the bill became law.

In addition to helping with the war effort—for instance, solving the problem of compass deviation in iron-clad warships—the Academy found itself charged with a variety of other tasks in its first decades. Its Web site describes early committees on “Proving and Gauging Distilled Spirits and Preventing Fraud,” on “Means of Distinguishing Calf’s Hair from Woolen Goods,” and on “Quartz Plates used in Saccharimeters for Sugar Determinations.” “While some of the topics the Academy was asked to pronounce upon may appear trivial in retrospect,” the site notes, “they do reflect the concerns of an agricultural nation in the process of industrializing.”

In the twentieth century, war again prompted growth for the Academy. The First World War, like the Civil War, saw a rise in solicitations for recommendations regarding military technology; the Academy found that it needed more members to contend with these many requests for assistance. The National Research Council, established in 1916, swelled the Academy’s membership beyond its former 150 participants, inviting more scientific and technological experts to join its ranks.

In addition to the National Research Council, the NAS has established two other organizations: the National Academy of Engineering in 1964 and the Institute of Medicine in 1970. Like the NAS, both are advisory bodies to the government that consist of elected members.

In 2009, President Obama summarized the National Academy of Sciences in an encapsulation that might describe the land-grant college system as well: “The very founding of this institution,” he remarked, “stands as a testament to the restless curiosity, the boundless hope so essential not just to the scientific enterprise, but to this experiment we call America.”

alumni as well. In 1894, George Washington Carver received his bachelor’s degree from Iowa State University, where he later became a faculty member. Maurice Hilleman graduated from Montana State University in 1941. He went on to discover eight out of the fourteen regularly scheduled vaccines, including measles, mumps, hepatitis A, hepatitis B, meningitis, chicken pox, and pneumonia. It has been suggested that he saved more lives than any other scientist. Explained Waded Cruzado, the president of Montana State: “He was a man who went to college because of an exception, and he became an exceptional man.” The combined efforts of many such exceptional scholars have impacted America hugely: according to McPherson, since 1945, half or more of the GDP has had its root in technology from land-grant universities.

Today, more than 100 land-grant institutions (including 18 historically black institutions) thrive in the United States. McPherson points to an increase of 23 percent in enrollment in public universities in the last decade, adding that universities do 60 percent of the research funded by the government. According to the APLU, the schools’ aim remains “to apply new knowledge to drive economic activity, enhance agricultural and industrial productivity, and improve quality of life.”

From a student’s perspective, how do land-grant schools differ from private schools? According to Jimmy Cheek, chancellor of the University of Tennessee, such institutions often look similar. But private schools tend to offer broader curricula and to require fewer courses in any given major, while land-grant colleges go narrower and deeper. Additionally, land-grants focus more on career, emphasizing applied knowledge rather than knowledge for knowledge’s sake; where private col-

leges would offer undergraduate economics majors, land-grants would offer business degrees. A comment by the president of the University of Georgia, Michael Adams, illustrates that career

And for better or worse, their problems have evolved, too. The challenges facing most American universities are the challenges of land-grant institutions as well. These include student debt:

That booklet also critiques the “management, productivity, and cost efficiency” among both administrators and academics, pointing to a failure to invest in campus infrastructure. It calls for briefer doctoral and postdoctoral programs that more directly provide students with career training, arguing that too many challenges face young faculty who want to start their teaching careers and research programs. It decries the lack of funding for research, and criticizes “a burdensome accumulation of federal and state regulatory and reporting requirements,” which “increases costs and sometimes challenges academic freedom and integrity.”

Citing the decreasing number of large corporate research laboratories, the Counsel also points to a need for business and industry to team up with universities “at a time when the new knowledge and ideas emerging from university research are needed by society more than ever.” And it notes changes in American demographics, encouraging measures to assist women and underrepresented minorities.

Above all, the Research Counsel recommends leadership and cooperation among universities, businesses, philanthropy, and state and federal politicians “if our research universities and our nation are to thrive.” On its Web site, the APLU suggests similar measures: “The time has come for a renewed partnership between public higher education and society. Our nation relies on a higher education system operating in the land grant tradition of integrating learning, discovery and engagement.” ■



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Lincoln University is a land-grant institution founded in 1866 by members of the 62nd and 65th United States Colored Infantry and designated a land-grant institution by the state of Missouri under the second Morrill Act of 1890. In 2007, according to U.S. News and World Report, Lincoln University was ranked #3 for economic diversity, #5 for campus ethnic diversity, and #9 for most international students among master’s level universities in the Midwest.

orientation: “students are heading to agricultural colleges because there are jobs there,” he says.

The student bodies of private and public schools differ too: land-grant institutions expect to teach more students whose parents haven’t attended college, to offer “opportunity for the masses,” as Morrill had in mind.

Yet they have evolved to keep up with the times. While all land-grant institutions were at first known as agricultural/mechanical colleges—hence the “A & M” in many universities’ names—the schools have added to their rosters computer science, marine biology, ecology, aerospace sciences, renewable energy alternatives, and more, says Edward Ray, the president of Oregon State University.

federal and state funding has decreased, particularly during the recent recession. Meanwhile, foreign nations have increased support for research and development, and their universities have grown more competitive. “While U.S. institutions have long attracted outstanding students and scholars from around the world who have contributed substantially to our research and innovative capacity, other countries are rapidly strengthening their institutions to compete for the best international students and for faculty, resources, and reputation,” notes a booklet by the National Research Council of the National Academies, *Research Universities and the Future of America: Ten Breakthrough Actions Vital to Our Nation’s Prosperity and Security*.



The How and Why of **ENGAGING** **RUSSIA**

by THOMAS GRAHAM



U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONS ARE IN TROUBLE AGAIN. After the warming trend of the first two to three years of the Obama administration, tensions began to overshadow achievements starting last fall, shortly after Vladimir Putin announced his decision to reclaim the presidency from Dmitry Medvedev. This was no coincidence. The administration had made no secret of its preference for Medvedev, whom it considered a more liberal, modern, and democratically inclined leader, and Putin had a long record of prickliness in relations with the United States. By the time he stepped down from the presidency in 2008, he had come to symbolize the vast gap in interests and values that separate the two countries. There was no way his return to the Kremlin would not have stressed relations.

As memories of the achievements of the reset—the new START, Russian agreement to tougher sanctions against Iran, and Russian assistance in supporting U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan—faded, tensions over the Arab spring mounted and the eruption of anti-Putin protests after Russia's Duma election last December led to sharpened U.S. criticism of Russian domestic affairs. That criticism, and its disregard at times for practical consequences, was on full display this past summer, as Congress failed to graduate Russia from the Jackson-Vanik amendment (which has been used to shine a spotlight on human rights abuses in Russia), concerned

that that step would reward Russia's "bad behavior," even though it was necessary to allow American companies to benefit from the market-related reforms Russia committed to upon entering the World Trade Organization (WTO) in August¹ and the amendment has had in fact little impact on the human rights situation in post-Soviet Russia.

To be sure, relations are hardly on the verge of total collapse, as occurred during the last years of the Clinton and Bush administrations. And the deterioration is less of shock now because Obama's "reset" has been much more modest in ambition than Clinton's "strategic alliance with Russian reform" and Bush's "strategic partnership." But it still marks another setback in our effort since the demise of the Soviet Union a generation ago to put relations on a firm, cooperative footing that advances American strategic interests.

This is not a tragedy. Russia rightly no longer lies at the center of our foreign policy, and its global role is much diminished from the Soviet period. U.S.-Russian discord is not going to shake the entire international order, as it would have during the Cold War. But troubled relations still raise major complications for American interests. Russia, by virtue of its location in the heart of Eurasia, huge nuclear arsenal and extensive experience in nuclear matters, vast natural resources, world-class science, and talented population, remains indispensable to any effort to maintain strategic stability, prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and combat nuclear terrorism; critical to the security equations in Europe, Central Asia, East Asia, and the Arctic; and unavoidable in any effort to ensure global energy security, master climate change, and manage the global economy.

To be sure, we can advance our interests on most issues without Russian support—after all, we did that despite vehement Soviet opposition during the Cold War. But in the current globalized world, a cooperative Russia would certainly ease our task, as all three American presidents elected since the Soviet collapse recognized. All of them sought to lay a firm foundation for long-term cooperation. Clinton and Bush failed; the jury is out on Obama.

Although the partisan rancor in Washington would suggest otherwise, the three presidents in fact approached Russia in similar ways, achieved success in similar areas, and ran into stiff Russian resistance for similar reasons. For all three, the major achievements came in the area of strategic stability and nonproliferation. Clinton worked effectively with Russia in securing the return to Russia of all Soviet nuclear weapons from the other former Soviet states, Bush signed the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions, and Obama negotiated the new START. All three worked with Russia in the framework of the Cooperative Threat Reduction program (Nunn-Lugar) to secure nuclear weapons and facilities in Russia. And all three worked closely with Russia on global nonproliferation matters, including Iran and North Korea, even if Russia has never been prepared to assent to the crippling sanctions Washington seeks.

Under all three presidents, relations were strained by geopolitical competition, in the Balkans under Clinton, in the former Soviet space under Bush, and now in the Middle East under Obama, and by U.S. decisions to develop and deploy a missile defense system. With heightened geopolitical competition came mounting discord over Russian domestic affairs, because each president

presented his policies in the regions in question as supporting popular democratic aspirations against authoritarian regimes, and each administration explained Russia's opposition in large part by its own authoritarian tendencies.

What explains this pattern of cooperation and competition? In broad terms, cooperation is only possible where Russia's great-power aspirations do not clash with our desire to promote democracy. We can, for example, cooperate on strategic stability—maintenance of the central nuclear balance—and nonproliferation because that enhances Russia's status as the other great nuclear power, while instincts of self-preservation outweigh our concerns about Russia's authoritarianism. We clash over missile defense because Russia believes it threatens strategic parity and its status as the other great nuclear power, while we are loathe to give a country that does not share our fundamental values a degree of control over a system vital to our security. At the same time, Russia looks askance at our actions in the Balkans, the former Soviet space, and the Middle East that challenge it in regions where it has historically acted

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¹ The amendment denies Russia permanent normal trade relations. Under WTO rules, the United States must grant Russia that status—as it does to all other WTO members—or else Russia is not obliged to extend accession-related market reforms to American companies.

as a great power but which we present as advancing primarily democracy, not our geopolitical interests. Discord over Russia's domestic politics is then inevitable, because we are reluctant to acknowledge conflicts of interests not ultimately grounded in opposing values and because there is in fact a deep gap between a democratic America and an authoritarian Russia. And the discord tends to extremes because there are few stakeholders in good relations in either country to moderate it.

In short, Russia's great-power aspirations and America's democracy promotion invariably clash at some point. The seeds of tension and breakdown are inherent in bilateral relations. Looking forward, can we prevent this clash or at least mitigate its consequences?

There is no simple answer, at least no simple positive answer. But we would be encouraged to seek a positive one if we could be persuaded of three things: (1) That Russia will matter over the long run; (2) that Russia will evolve in a democratic direction; and (3) that Russia's strategic interests overlap in significant ways with our own.

Will Russia continue to matter? Zbigniew Brzezinski, one of America's foremost strategic thinkers, perhaps best exemplifies the ambivalence that pervades the American foreign policy community. In his recent book, *Strategic Vision*, he writes that Russia is "destined to play a significant role on the world arena." But he still harbors doubts because of "Russia's demographic crisis, political corruption, outdated and resource-driven economic model, and social retardation."² Others

are more categorical. Ian Bremmer and Nouriel Roubini, two prominent commentators, for example, turn Brzezinski's doubts into reasons why Russia "is becoming increasingly less relevant—as a political power or as an attractive emerging market."³ More broadly, that much commentary and reporting is riddled with clichés (how often have we been reminded that Putin is a former KGB officer, as if that explained everything we needed to know about Russia?), bereft of serious analysis, and marred by simple factual errors is indicative of a waning belief that Russia matters much now or into the future.

The challenges American commentators raise are real, as Russian leaders themselves acknowledge. In 2009, in an ardent appeal for modernization, then-president Medvedev wrote that "Twenty years of tumultuous change has not spared our country from its humiliating dependence on raw materials. ... With a few exceptions domestic business does not invent nor create the necessary things and technology that people need. ... Finished products produced in Russia are largely plagued by their extremely low competitiveness. ... Centuries of corruption have debilitated Russia."⁴ Earlier this year, Putin called for a "new economy" "with a competitive industry and infrastructure, with a developed service sector, with an effective agrarian sector. An economy with a modern technological base."⁵ And Russian leaders have sought to meet the challenges. In 2005, Putin launched four national projects—in health, education, housing, and agriculture—to deal

with chronic problems in those areas. In 2008, shortly after becoming president, Medvedev identified four "I's"—investment, infrastructure, institutions, and innovation—as priorities. More recently, one of Putin's first decrees upon returning to the Kremlin laid out a set of ambitious goals for increasing investment, diversifying the economy, and enhancing global competitiveness.⁶

They have had some success. Russia is slowly recovering from the global financial crisis—it reached its precrisis GDP peak in late 2011. Although the World Bank estimates that its growth trajectory has flattened since the crisis, it remains much higher than that of both the developed Europe economies and the emerging markets in the European Union.⁷ Russia has also made progress in improving the quality of life. Male life expectancy—a datum often used to illustrate Russia's profound socio-economic problems—has risen slowly but steadily for the past decade, even if it remains well below European standards.⁸

To be sure, Russia's economic growth could be more robust with better-crafted and executed policies, but the point is that the situation is not nearly as dire as much American commentary would suggest. The same holds true for the more specific obstacles to growth commentators often note, three in particular.

First, the price of oil, a critical determinant of budget revenues (in recent years oil and gas receipts have accounted for about 40 percent of revenues⁹). This year's budget balances with oil at about \$115 a barrel (for Russia's

² Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2012), pp. 139–140.

³ Ian Bremmer and Nouriel Roubini, "Time to Blackball Russia's Autocratic State," *Financial Times*, May 29, 2012.

⁴ Dmitriy Medvedev, "Rossiya, vpered!" [*Go, Russia!*], September 10, 2009, available at <http://www.kremlin.ru/news/5413>.

⁵ "O nashikh ekonomicheskikh zadachakh" [*Our Economic Tasks*], *Vedomosti*, January 30, 2012.

⁶ Ukaz "O dolgosrochnoy gosudarstvennoy ekonomicheskoy politike" [*Decree "On Long-term State Economic Policy*], May 7, 2012, available at <http://kremlin.ru/news/15232>.

⁷ *The World Bank in Russia*, Russian Economic Report No. 27, April 2012, pp. 8–9.

⁸ *The World Bank statistics are available at* <http://databank.worldbank.org>.

⁹ Russia CEIC Database Team, "Russia's Oil and Gas Revenues: Federal Budget Dilemma," *ISI Emerging Markets Blog*, May 16, 2011, available at <http://blog.securities.com/2011/05/russias-oil-and-gas-revenues-federal-budget-dilemma/>.

Urals blend).¹⁰ The price averaged just over \$112 for the first six months of this year, but has fallen sharply in recent months as a consequence of the Eurozone crisis and unsettling U.S. and Chinese macroeconomic data.¹¹ That said, Russia has the resources to weather a period of lower prices—over \$500 billion in international reserves and a public debt of less than 10 percent of GDP, which will allow it to borrow easily on capital markets. Grave problems will emerge only if oil prices drop and remain low for an extended period, numbered in years,

country. Nevertheless, although corruption obviously slows the rate of growth, it does not prevent it, as Russia has demonstrated throughout its history and other rapidly growing countries—especially China and India—demonstrate now.

Third, technological lag. Most American observers believe that Russia can only close this gap through some political liberalization to encourage creativity, innovation, and risk-taking. Putin, however, is pursuing a different approach, one that Russia has pursued historically with greater or lesser suc-

kets. According to Goldman Sachs's latest projections, Russia will be the fifth largest economy in the world in 2050 (behind China, the United States, India, and Brazil) and, more important, a rich one. Goldman Sachs now forecasts that Russia's GDP per capita will rise from over \$10,000 in 2010 to over \$63,000 in 2050 (or from about 20 percent of the U.S. level in 2010 to nearly 75 percent of the projected U.S. level in 2050).¹⁵

Russia should then continue to matter. Will it also be evolving in a democratic direction? The conven-



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not months, and Russia does nothing to diversify its economy—a possible, but unlikely scenario.¹²

Second, pervasive corruption, which acts as a huge tax on the economy while eroding the social fabric. In the latest Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, Russia ranks 143rd out of 183 countries, behind Brazil (73rd), China (75th), and India (95th).¹³ Putin claims to want to combat corruption, as did Yeltsin, Medvedev, and indeed Putin in his first two presidential terms. None made much process. To the contrary, corruption grew with the economic recovery under Putin as money poured into the

process and one that requires at best only minor political reforms. Under Putin, Western companies will be required to provide world-class technology in exchange for access to Russia's resources and lucrative markets. This approach has already proved promising in the energy and automotive sectors, and the plans are to extend it to other strategically important sectors, such as pharmaceuticals and information and communications technology.¹⁴

In the end, however, the best argument for taking Russia seriously is that the economic and financial experts continue to predict a bright future for Russia, along with other emerging mar-

ket. The traditional American narrative is that Putin backtracked on Yeltsin's democratic advances, forgetting that Yeltsin's Russia was marked by a bitter struggle for power, the emergence of the oligarchs as a political force, the corruption of the media, and institutional weakness and that by the end the great fear was that the country would fail, as the Soviet Union had only a short decade earlier. Putin came to power with a mandate to restore order and to rebuild the state, and his popularity soared as he did just that. But as U.S.-Russian relations deteriorated, especially after Ukraine's Orange Revolution in 2004, the American explanation focused

¹⁰ See "Finance minister: oil price in budget overestimated, should be \$92," *gazeta.ru (English)*, available at http://en.gazeta.ru/news/2012/06/22/a_4637393.html.

¹¹ "Russia's Average Urals Oil Export Price Down to Six-Month Low in June," RIA Novosti, July 2, 2012, available at <http://en.rian.ru/business/20120702/174359238.html>.

¹² *The World Bank in Russia*, Russian Economic Report No. 27, April 2012, pp. 28–29.

¹³ Available at http://files.transparency.org/content/download/101/407/file/2011_CPI_EN.pdf.

¹⁴ ExxonMobil's recent deal with Rosneft, for example, requires it to share special exploration and drilling technologies and to set up a scientific center in St. Petersburg in exchange for the right to develop fields off-shore in the Arctic. See "Rosneft and ExxonMobil Announce Progress in Strategic Cooperation Agreement," April 16, 2012, available at <http://www.rosneft.com/news/pressrelease/30082011.html>. Several leading Western manufacturers agreed to build up auto and component-part production in Russia and to integrate Russia into global engineering and design networks in exchange for tariff preferences and access to a booming local market (now the second largest in Europe after Germany). See Ivan Bonchev, "Russian Automotive Industry Outlook," Ernst and Young, January 12, 2012.

¹⁵ Dominic Wilson, Kamakshya Trivedi, Stacy Carlson, and José Ursúa, "The BRICs 10 Years On: Halfway Through the Great Transformation," *Global Economics Paper No. 208*, Goldman Sachs, December 11, 2011. GDP per capita projections are found on p. 31.

increasingly on Putin's authoritarian bent as the primary reason.¹⁶

Since he announced his decision to return to the Kremlin last September, American commentators have been obsessed with Putin. First came warnings of an inevitable resurgence of authoritarian practices, after Medvedev's (now widely considered sham) liberalization. Then the unanticipated large-scale anti-Putin protests that erupted in Moscow and elsewhere after the Duma elections elicited comparisons with the Arab Spring and near breathless predictions of Putin's early demise. When Putin won a convincing victory in the presidential elections in March, commentators took to warning of an impending crackdown. After his inauguration in May, they decried his steps to undermine the opposition, including harassment of its leaders and laws sharply increasing the penalties for unauthorized demonstrations, requiring nongovernmental organizations that receive foreign money to register as "foreign agents," allowing for the removal of "harmful" content from the Internet, and reinstating slander as a criminal offense. The condemnation reached a climax in August with the fierce outcry against Putin for the trial and sentencing of a radical feminist group, Pussy Riot, for a scandalous anti-Putin performance before the altar of one of Moscow's major Orthodox cathedrals.¹⁷ (That the group's action, *mutatis mutandis*, might have led to criminal sanctions in many Western countries was ignored in the stampede to castigate Putin.)

As disturbing as these actions may be, the obsession with Putin has blunted our appreciation of two other much more important factors, which are driv-

ing the country in a democratic direction: the middle class and information and communications technology.

Although there is much debate over the size and character of the Russian middle class, we can reasonably posit that it accounts for about 20 to 25 percent of the population¹⁸ and for a much larger share in the key cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg; that it has grown richer and gained greater opportunities since Putin first rose to power; and that it finally awoke politically in the past year, demanding greater participation in policymaking and a more accountable government. Moreover, a subset—well-educated, IT-savvy midlevel professionals—is critical to the functioning of both the government and the economy, as well as to transforming Russia into a modern, innovative society. If their political demands are not met, they have options; in particular, they can take their talents elsewhere, as many have already done. Consequently, to succeed in his own ambitions for Russia, Putin cannot simply brush them aside or crush them with force; he needs to assuage and ultimately co-opt them. That will entail that he find a fine balance between reform and retrenchment, a balance that will likely move toward greater pluralism over time as the professional and the broader middle class expand and gain confidence and political skills.

Similarly, modern information and communications technology is essential to Putin's hope of building a globally competitive economy. He knows that: In 2007, he called for turning Russia into an IT power by 2015.¹⁹ But this technology poses a serious challenge to a political system in which the ruling elite prefers to make key decisions

in secrecy and operate in the shadows (particularly when it comes to its own money-making operations). As the prominent opposition blogger Aleksey Navalnyy demonstrated, an enterprising individual can use this technology to expose deep-seated high-level corruption and disrupt the system. The current unrest only reinforces the need for Putin to find a way to preserve this technology's promise while preventing it from thoroughly discrediting the ruling elite and destabilizing the system. That will almost surely require some political liberalization.

Besides social and technological developments, there is one further, more abstract reason to believe Russia is moving in a democratic direction: Russians are Europeans, as Putin himself has stressed, even if they live on Europe's fringe. Europe, or the West, remains the standard of comparison for Russia's leaders. And for the past three hundred years, Russia has in broad outline followed the European path of development toward greater democracy and liberty, albeit with a considerable lag, as the eminent historian Martin Malia argued. In his telling, Russia has lagged about fifty years behind Prussia/Germany in movement along this path, from the establishment of an enlightened autocracy in the eighteenth century to the grant of a constitution establishing a legislative Duma in 1905. Similarly, Nazi totalitarianism was crushed in Prussia/Germany in 1945, while Russia threw off its totalitarian system in 1991. The current predominance of private property and the market in Russia, according to Malia, should produce the same effect it has elsewhere in Europe: the formation of

¹⁶ Two journalists, Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, were the first to offer an extended argument on Putin's backtracking in their *Kremlin Rising: Vladimir Putin's Russia and the End of Revolution* (New York: Scribner, 2005).

¹⁷ See, for example, the editorials the Wall Street Journal, "Of Putin and Punks," August 20, 2012, and the Washington Post, "A Russian Farce," August 18, 2012.

¹⁸ Leonid Grigoryev and Alla Salmina, "The Middle Class in Russia: An Agenda for Structured Analysis," *Social Sciences* 1/42 (2011), pp. 3–22.

¹⁹ Vladimir Putin, *Vstupitel'noye slovo na zadedanii Soveta Bezopasnosti po voprosu razvitiya informatsionnogo obshchestva v Rossii* [Introductory remarks at the Security Council session on the development of an information society in Russia], July 25, 2007, available at http://archive.kremlin.ru/appears/2007/07/25/1945_type63378_138519.shtml.

a civil society and a pluralistic polity. The only question is how long. While Russia will continue to lag behind, globalization and modern information and communications technology could accelerate the pace of convergence with Western democratic values and norms.²⁰

One question remains: Is there a sufficient overlap in American and Russian strategic interests to support a broad cooperative relationship?

Russia's foreign policy boils down to one goal: to be a great power, to have a seat at the high table of global politics. That is the goal Putin set for himself and Russia when he assumed power at the very end of 1999, after a decade of profound socio-economic crisis and national humiliation. He spent his first years in power rebuilding the state and reasserting Russia's role in global affairs. He will continue in this mold in this third presidential term. As he wrote during the election campaign, he intends to conduct an independent strategic foreign policy that reflects "Russia's unique place on the global political map, its role in history, and in the development of civilization."²¹

Many Americans will take little comfort in Putin's vision, for Russia as a great power evokes dark images of aggression and imperialism. Those fears are overdrawn. The fact is that, since it emerged as a great power some three hundred years ago, Russia has conducted itself much as any other great power. Its expansion into eastern Europe in the eighteenth century came at the expense of the waning Swedish, Polish, and Ottoman states, as did Prussia's and Austria's. In the nineteenth century, Russia swept into Central Asia, as Great Britain and

France carved up Africa. Russia's two deep thrusts into Europe, in 1814/15 and 1944/45, came not as consequences of Russian aggression but as responses to the catastrophic strategic blunders of Napoleon and Hitler. Although the Soviet Union was tenacious in holding on to its satellites in Europe—as the East Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks can testify—it was much more cautious in challenging the United States farther afield. Significant support for anti-American governments and movements in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, and the invasion of Afghanistan, came only as the United States wallowed in self-doubt after the Vietnam debacle. Ironically, that aggressive foreign policy led to the overstretch that played a large role in the Soviet Union's demise in 1991.

Post-Soviet Russia has been much less aggressive,²² and more conservative and risk-averse, as it seeks to manage relations with the three regions—the former Soviet space, Europe, and East Asia—critical to its great-power status, as well as with the United States, which in the Russian mind poses the greatest challenge to that status. Despite much rhetoric about Russia's return as a major power, the results have been decidedly mixed.

To begin with, the former Soviet space. Preeminence in that region has historically given Russia its geopolitical heft. Not surprisingly, Putin has sought to reintegrate this space, witness the Customs Union with Belarus and Kazakhstan and Putin's call for a Eurasian Union (along the lines of the European Union) that would encompass all the former Soviet space. Russia has also aggressively used its eco-

nomics levers, especially control of oil and gas pipelines, in an effort to reassert its influence. Success has proved elusive. Two key countries—Ukraine and Uzbekistan—have not been particularly responsive to Russian blandishments or pressure. Ukraine—even under a supposedly pro-Russian president—still sees its future in Europe and not in Russia's orbit. Uzbekistan continues to maneuver among Russia, China, and the United States to reinforce its independence. Meanwhile, China is rapidly overtaking Russia as Central Asia's leading commercial partner, and radical Islamic movements are penetrating into both Central Asia and the Caucasus. Under these circumstances, the challenge for Russia remains what it has been for the past generation: recreating itself as the dynamic core of Eurasia, which can both attract neighboring states and reliably project influence abroad.

Second, Europe and East Asia. These are the strategic poles, between which Russia must find a balance to advance its global standing. Strategically, China offers a counterbalance to the United States, while good relations with Europe provide a strategic hedge against Chinese economic penetration of Central Asia and Siberia, as well as increased leverage in relations with the United States. Commercially, improved trade and investment relations with China and the rest of East Asia could provide a balance to relations with Europe, Russia's main commercial partner by a wide margin. The challenge for Russia is to maintain good relations with Europe and East Asia and to advance economic integration with both, while reinforcing

²⁰ *Malia lays out this argument in detail in Russia under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999). See in particular pp. 17–39, 418–419.*

²¹ Vladimir Putin, "Rossiya i menyayushchiy mir" [*Russia and the Changing World*], *Moskovskiyevosti*, February 27, 2012, available at <http://mn.ru/politics/20120227/312306749.html>.

²² *Russia's war with Georgia in 2008 was the first time Russia had sent its army across its borders to engage in hostilities since the disastrous Afghan campaign. The military's performance against a third-rate power was so uninspiring that less than two years later Moscow declined a request from Kyrgyzstan's new pro-Russian leaders for troops to help stabilize the situation in the aftermath of their overthrow of the previous leader.*

its own internal cohesion so that it is not pulled apart by the attractive powers of Europe and East Asia.

Finally, the United States. As the preeminent world power, it presents a special challenge to Russia. Behind American policies, particularly along their borders, Russian leaders see designs to weaken and contain Russia. This was particularly true under Clinton and Bush, when boasts about the United States as the “indispensable nation” or the “unipolar moment” were common fare. In response, Russia has sought to contain American ambitions, to cre-

To sum up this brief analysis: Russia will continue to matter over the long run. There is a reasonable chance that its values will slowly converge with ours. It aspires to be a great power, but must navigate with great care to maintain that status. And its goals and conduct do not preclude cooperation on issues of importance to the United States, although they make it clear Russia will demand a steep price. How then should the United States proceed?

In broad terms, our Russia policy should have three goals: consolidating and expanding current cooperation on

use of a weapon of mass destruction.

Although the administration wants to pursue further strategic reductions and bring tactical nuclear weapons into the negotiating framework, it needs to tread carefully, because they undermine Russia’s confidence in its great-power status, which is critical to progress. Further strategic reductions will approach the threshold beyond which other nuclear powers, notably China, become players in the strategic balance and our missile defense system could pose a genuine threat to Russia’s strategic deterrent. At the same time, Russia

Russia will continue to matter.... There is a reasonable chance that its values will slowly converge with ours.



ate conditions that would transform the United States into what might be called a normal great power, one that recognizes that it must take into account the interests of, and work with, the other great powers to advance its own. To this end, Russia seeks to keep issues of war and peace in bodies where it has a veto, notably the UN Security Council. It creates coalitions intended to constrain the United States on specific matters or in specific regions, such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, intended to limit American actions in Central Asia, or the BRICS with the goal of increasing emerging markets’ role in the management of the global economy at the West’s expense. But, just as important, if not more so, it seeks to restrain the United States by partnering with it where it can, preferably on the basis of juridically binding agreements, in the belief that partnership makes the United States more predictable and enhances Russia’s international standing. The challenge for Russia is to find the mix of countering and engaging the United States that most benefits its own interests.

strategic issues and nonproliferation; managing geopolitical competition in part by separating it from differences over values; and laying the foundation for long-term cooperative relations by increasing the number of stakeholders in and articulating a strategic framework for such relations.

To begin, the building blocks are already in place for a significant partnership on strategic issues and nonproliferation, including the new START, the 123 Agreement on civilian nuclear cooperation, the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, and the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism. Our focus should be on implementing the new START and expanding and deepening the cooperation within the framework of other programs, to include, for example, developing proliferation-resistant nuclear reactors, promoting best practices for the safety and security of nuclear facilities, developing technologies and procedures for finding and recovering “lost” nuclear weapons, and devising ways to mitigate the consequences of a terrorist group’s

will long continue to depend on tactical nuclear weapons for defense as it slowly rebuilds its conventional capabilities. There may be value to discussing both issues in a general way, but neither is ripe for serious negotiation.

For different reasons, we will continue to find the Russians difficult to deal with on specific countries of proliferation concern, such as Iran and North Korea. In these cases, geopolitics override WMD concerns, and, as it is true of all geopolitical issues, different priorities complicate cooperation on supposedly shared interests. To gain maximal benefit from our relations with Russia on contentious geopolitical issues (which lie primarily in Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Middle East, and the Balkans), we need to set our priorities, understand Russia’s, and then fashion a delicate balance of trade-offs within and across issues that advance our goals. At the same time, we need to guard against the ever-present temptation to demonize Russia in instances of geopolitical rivalry or posit fundamental differences in values

as their root cause. This approach does little to advance our interests on the issue at hand, while jeopardizing cooperation on other issues of importance to us. It also undermines our interest in Russia's democratic development as the Russian leadership tends to tighten the screws internally in response to perceived external threats. This does not mean that we should not criticize Russia's domestic politics, only that we need to focus that criticism on specific violations of human rights or unwarranted limitations on political rights and divorce it from Russia's behavior on specific foreign-policy and security issues. Nor does it mean that we should not support democratic development in Russia in a general way through various exchange programs and people-to-people initiatives, only that we need to avoid acting in ways that suggest a desire to change the domestic balance to suit our geopolitical interests.

Finally, as we manage current affairs, we need to prepare for the future by multiplying stakeholders and articulating a strategic framework.

Our bilateral relations have long suffered from the lack of sufficient stakeholders, who can act as ballast whenever relations between our governments sour. To nourish stakeholders inside the government and the broader public—and to advance our interests on a range of security, political, and socio-economic issues—we should reinforce and expand the ongoing work of the Bilateral Presidential Commission. Launched in 2009, the commission brings together officials and, where appropriate, private sector players, to work on such issues as agriculture; counterterrorism; education; emergency situations; energy security; health, science and technology; and space. Within the framework, our

government has promoted people-to-people contacts, including university partnerships, scientific and cultural exchanges and projects, cooperation between nongovernmental organizations, and similar activities; provided modest financial and logistical support to various initiatives; facilitated contact by easing visa restrictions and customs regulations; and encouraged the Russian government to act in similar ways. This is important work, but we must be realistic about expectations. Nourishing stakeholders takes time, and in the end there are limits to what governments can do. Individual Americans and Russians themselves must find their own reasons for working with people and institutions from the other country.

The need for realistic expectations is nowhere more true than in business-to-business relations. Many observers hold out great promise for such relations now that Russia has joined the WTO. Experts predict that U.S. exports to Russia could more than double in five years, creating thousands of new jobs in the United States and bringing substantial profits to U.S. companies.²³ Clearly, our government should energetically promote trade with and investment in Russia. But American companies and investors will make the final decisions, and Russia competes with many other and often more promising markets, so far not with remarkable success: Russia is the recipient of well under one percent of total U.S. exports and a small percentage of American outward investment. As a result, growing commercial relations are not going to radically change the nature of bilateral relations in the near future. It will take time.

As we nourish stakeholders, we need to develop a strategic frame-

work that could guide and inform current decisions. The world today is in a period of great flux, and a new equilibrium will gradually emerge to replace the Western-dominated international system, which is breaking down under multiple stresses. Ideally, the United States and Russia would work together in determining realistic scenarios for global developments and exploring their consequences for American and Russian national interests in an effort to identify overlapping strategic interests.

Ironically, such an effort could discover that one area of overlap is the region that has caused so much trouble in relations: the former Soviet space. Russia finds itself under pressure all along its periphery: China is penetrating Central Asia commercially and, in time, perhaps militarily; radical Islam groups in the Middle East are infecting Muslims in Central Asia and the Caucasus; disarray in Europe impedes the economic integration that is vital to Russia's future. At the same time, the United States needs to build security structures in East Asia, Central/South Asia, the Middle East, and Europe as the foundation for a new global equilibrium. A close look at American and Russian interests and capabilities could lead to the conclusion that, contrary to the current wisdom in Washington and Moscow, the United States needs a robust Russian presence in the former Soviet space and Russia needs an active American presence all along its borders as essential elements of the Eurasian security architecture each country needs for its own purposes. That would mark a strategic reversal in Russian and American thinking about their relations, one that could decisively break the current pattern of cooperation and competition to the great benefit of both sides. ■

²³ Anders Aslund and Gary Clyde Hufbauer, "The United States Should Establish Permanent Normal Trade Relations with Russia," Policy Brief Number PB11-20, Peterson Institute for International Economics, November 2011, p. 2.

FOLLOWING *the*

LEADERS



How higher education visionaries are pointing

“The immensely increased demand for educated talent has placed a wholly new emphasis upon the role of colleges and universities in our national life. Virtually the total future leadership of our society—political, cultural, industrial, technical, professional, educational and agricultural—is today being channeled through the colleges and universities...It follows that these institutions will play a far more weighty and powerful role on the American scene than anyone had anticipated. As the cradle of our national leadership, their vitality and excellence become a matter of critical importance.”



While these words ring true in 2012, in fact they were written in 1956. The passage appeared in an essay called “The Great Talent Hunt” in the Carnegie Corporation annual report, written by John W. Gardner, Corporation president from 1955 to 1967. A psychologist

with an abiding concern for American education, he went on to serve as U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Lyndon Johnson, founded the nonpartisan citizen’s lobby Common Cause and chaired the National Urban Coalition. It

was with Gardner’s legacy in mind that Corporation president Vartan Gregorian launched the Academic Leadership Awards in 2005. More than prizes, they were meant to be investments in education—a tradition reaching back to founder Andrew Carnegie. “Most



University of Pennsylvania President Amy Gutmann with Penn students, 2011.

students toward the future *by* KAREN THEROUX

Carnegie dollars find their way into colleges and universities,” Gardner also wrote. “Andrew Carnegie was deeply interested in these institutions, and his personal gifts to them were extensive.”

Since 2005 the Academic Leadership Award has been given periodically, as a way for the foundation to recognize, develop and sustain best practices in higher education. It recognizes leaders of institutions of higher education who have demonstrated their commitment to liberal arts and who have initiated and supported curricular innovations, and it honors leadership that actively supports K-12 school reform and emphasizes community outreach. Twelve exemplary leaders

have received Academic Leadership Awards so far; recipients have been heads of first-rate institutions large and small, public and private, from both coasts and in between. While each site presents a distinct set of challenges, what unites these leaders is their dedication to teaching and research, their firm belief in the value of higher education for all and their vigorous outreach to the wider community.

Winners each received a grant of \$500,000 to be used in pursuing their academic priorities. “At a time when resources are scarce, we hope these awards will allow outstanding leaders to maintain the momentum of their most critical and innovative educational

initiatives,” said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation, who, with the foundation’s Board of Trustees, established the award program. What did the presidents do with their half-millions? From bioethics internships to African studies, community arts outreach to international education initiatives and strengthening math and science options for liberal arts students—their plans were inventive, pragmatic and always aimed toward the future. This report reflects the diversity

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

that exists among some of higher education's brightest stars, as well as their powerful aspirations for all America's students, now and far into the future.

Henry Bienen, President of Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, was given one of



President Henry Bienen.

Northwestern student Josh Boxer helping rural Ugandans learn to farm ginger.



the inaugural Academic Leadership Awards in 2005. Bienen, a political scientist, had been a Princeton professor for 28 years, then dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Foreign Policy, before being named president of Northwestern in 1995, where he was credited with boosting the university's academic prominence as well as greatly increasing the quantity and quality of applicants. Undergraduate education at Northwestern is known for bridging

practical experience with theory across the curriculum, providing students with numerous opportunities to work with professionals in their field. President Bienen placed major emphasis on creating opportunities for undergraduate research and expanded laboratory facilities and programs. The university also teamed up with public schools in Detroit and Chicago, leveraging its expertise to improve classroom learning and build human capital.

The Carnegie Corporation grant accompanying President Bienen's award facilitated the dramatic expansion of undergraduate research at Northwestern, enabling the university to add a new research assistants' program, an intensive language training grant, support for students presenting at conferences and a program involving more humanities and creative arts students in undergraduate research. "The Academic Leadership Award allowed me to support Northwestern programs that inspired me as a scholar and teacher," said President Bienen. "They were among the University's top institutional priorities, and reflected Carnegie Corporation's focus on educational reform, international peace and security and partnerships with African universities." These efforts have led to notable accomplishments from Northwestern students, including many who have gone on to such graduate programs and fellowships as the Rhodes and the Marshall. Meanwhile, students are learning how to take responsibility for their education and discovering the pitfalls and pleasures of generating original knowledge.

The School of Education and Social Policy (SESP) at Northwestern benefited from the Corporation award, which helped in recruiting talented doctoral students to two outstanding programs: Learning Sciences and Human Development and Social Policy. In

honor of Carnegie Corporation's commitments to school reform, President Bienen specified that the funds be used for stipends and fellowships for doctoral students engaged in K-12 reform efforts.

The grant also supported undergraduate research through the Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies and the Program of African Studies. The Buffett Center aids collaborative interdisciplinary scholarship by working with a variety of organizations and communities to solve global problems. One of its hallmark programs is the Center for Global Engagement (CGE), a comprehensive student support center dedicated to preparing undergraduates to address global poverty and inequality through experiential learning. Through CGE, students from over 50 colleges and universities form small teams to work at community-based organizations in South America, Africa, the Caribbean and India. The program begins with classroom work on international and community development; team building and community consulting as well as cultural, political, social and economic explorations of their host countries. Through training, fieldwork and reflection, it aims to develop global leaders from various disciplines to work as partners with local organizations. Nearly 300 students have participated since 2007.

Northwestern's Program of African Studies (PAS), founded in 1948, has achieved international prominence for innovative scholarship and training of Africa specialists. It promotes both undergraduate and graduate study of Africa through interdisciplinary courses, language training, research and student-focused events. PAS offers awards for language study, working groups, travel to conferences and archives and summer pre-dissertation research. Today PAS serves as the academic, social and

administrative center of the University's African Studies community.

Carnegie Mellon University President Jared L. Cohon also received an award that first year. Innovation and growth have characterized the university since his appointment in



President Jared L. Cohon

1997, and Carnegie Mellon is widely seen as the leader in linking technology and education. During his presidency, Dr. Cohon oversaw a dramatic increase in the university's educational activities around the world, establishing a campus in Qatar and graduate degree programs in Australia, Portugal and China. President Cohon came to Carnegie Mellon from Yale, where he was dean of the School of Forestry and Environmental Studies after teaching at Johns Hopkins for 19 years. Known for integrating academic and co-curricular experiences, Carnegie Mellon University has earned national attention for emphasizing engineering and technol-

ogy in concert with the humanities and for advancing students' science research opportunities.

President Cohon used the Academic Leadership Award largely to expand Carnegie Mellon's global curriculum at the main campus. "Over the last several years the university has become very global in its footprint, with programs in many different countries," he says. "At the same time, we saw the need to enhance the international character of the campus in Pittsburgh. This was the focus of the leadership grant: increasing global literacy and awareness among undergraduates there.

"Every university is thinking about how to prepare students for the increasingly 'flat world' after they graduate," President Cohon explains. "Surprisingly, our students are not as globally aware as I think they ought to be. Not only is Carnegie Mellon global, we're also exceptionally international in terms of our student body. But many American kids don't see the need to embrace or at least understand global awareness while they're students." Along with many faculty leaders, he considered it vital to expand students' global awareness, and

the grant was used to fund both curriculum development and enrichment experiences outside the classroom.

"Because our students tend to be so focused on majors, the best way to get their attention is to use their majors to convey global issues. We invited all seven colleges to propose courses or modules to incorporate global content into their particular curriculum." A campus-wide effort was undertaken to define the components of global literacy—intellectual skills, social/cultural competencies and ethical dispositions. Among the courses specifically developed for this initiative were these:

- **History:** *Disastrous Encounters*
- **Computer science:** *Technology for Global Development*
- **Architecture:** *Mapping Urbanism*
- **Information systems:** *Global Project Management*
- **Philosophy:** *Health, Development and Human Rights*
- **Civil engineering:** *International Collaborative Project Management*
- **Biology:** *Biotechnology Impacting Our Selves, Society and the Sphere*

President Cohon cites one example, a course in information systems, a major separate from computer science at Carnegie Mellon. "The course created with the leadership award is Global Project Management. Information systems undergraduates from the Qatar and Singapore programs work together on project teams with U.S. students to produce something collaboratively. This gives students exposure to the realities of working across time zones and cultures."

Don M. Randel, President of the University of Chicago, completed the 2005 Academic Leadership trifecta. One of the nation's foremost musicologists, he came to Chicago after 32 years at Cornell University, first as a professor, then as provost. Don Randel's presidency was characterized by efforts to

Don Randel, former president, University of Chicago.

UChicago UTEP alum Frank Kadri with students at the Carter G. Woodson Campus of the UChicago Charter School.



strengthen the humanities and the arts on campus, as well as outreach to the city of Chicago and a buildup of the university's programs in the physical and biomedical sciences. Now president of the Mellon Foundation, Don Randel encouraged a greater awareness of the value of diversity, calling for a focused improvement in this area by the whole UChicago community.

In presenting the award, Vartan Gregorian cited the University of Chicago's support for undergraduate research along with education reform initiatives and the creation of a resilient network on Chicago's South Side among schools, the community and the university. "Vartan Gregorian is a very astute observer of higher education, and that makes this award an especially satisfying honor," President Randel told *UChicago News*. "But this is really not so much an award for me personally as it is a recognition of the character of the university. A great many people, including deans, faculty, staff and students, have contributed to the initiatives cited."

President Randel divided the \$500,000 award among five campus programs. The largest portion was allocated to the Center for Urban School Improvement, a multifaceted program of research, training and engagement with the Chicago public schools (CPS) that has since been expanded and renamed the University of Chicago Urban Education Institute (UEI). Half the Carnegie funds went to support the basic program, which at that time was developing and testing a training curriculum for CPS principals and other school leaders, now being shared with urban school districts across the country. The second half of the Carnegie funds for this work supported the Urban Teachers Education Program (UTEP), which had been launched to prepare the University's liberal arts undergradu-

ates for teaching in the Chicago public schools and has since become a well-established model program.

The university's Physical Sciences division received funding for outreach relating to scientific research programs, including activities for pre-college students based at two NSF-funded research centers—the Materials Research Science & Engineering Center and the Center for Cosmological Physics. Funding also went to collaboration between the University and the Chicago public schools for computer-assisted and Internet-assisted pedagogy and to exploring a partnership between university scientists and the Museum of Science and Industry.

The Divinity School received support for promotion of Islamic studies and general religious discussion. Michael Sells, professor of Islamic History and Literature, got funding for his own research and for his role in leading a broader discussion of Islamic studies in the university, work that led to the Mellon Islamic Studies Initiative, a multidisciplinary, cross-university program that aims to bring the teaching of Islam into the mainstream of academic study.

The Humanities Division used a portion of the grant for the university's participation in "Silk Road Chicago," a year-long partnership fostered by Yo Yo Ma and Chicago's educational, artistic and cultural institutions. And funds were allocated to a then-nascent program, the Black Metropolis Research Consortium, a collaboration of Chicago-area institutions with major holdings of materials that document African American and African diaspora culture, history and politics, especially relating to Chicago. This funding positioned the BMRC to receive major support from other foundations and federal agencies.

Matthew Goldstein, Chancellor of the City University of New York, was the 2007 Academic Leadership

Award recipient. He was recognized for reinvigorating the city system, which comprises 24 colleges and professional schools throughout five boroughs, by raising standards, strengthening student preparation and revolutionizing financing. Initiatives such as the



**Chancellor
Matthew
Goldstein**

establishment of a new honors college offering free tuition to over 1,000 of the city's highest achieving students; a commitment of over \$1 billion for expanding science facilities; and partnerships with the Department of Education to help city students meet graduation requirements and prepare for college success were all implemented under Chancellor Goldstein. Appointed in 1999 after serving in senior academic and administrative positions for more than 30 years, he is the first alumnus of the university to hold this position.

Chancellor Goldstein believes "students come to CUNY to change their lives." Yet while striving to revitalize the institution that serves the widely diverse needs of New York City's students, the chancellor has also drawn attention to what he terms "an alarming trend: fewer students enrolling and succeeding in the disciplines of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)." He sees students scared off by the accurate perception that these disciplines are difficult, that they require serious work and effort. Highlighting math talent, the chancellor has applied part of his Carnegie Corporation grant to fund the annual CUNY Math Challenge. Open to any matriculated CUNY undergraduate student, the challenge is made up of four rounds of math problems over four months. Participants submit their

answers online for each round, accumulating points along the way, with winners moving on to the final round, an in-person competition for approximately 30 qualifying students who vie for up to \$15,000 in cash prizes. Over 400 students rose to the most recent challenge.

Chancellor Goldstein is, in his own words, “a big liberal arts and science guy who would like to do away with majors and allow students to immerse themselves in an exploratory interdisciplinary journey,” as he did as a City College math student who learned to embrace music, literature and philosophy thanks to some outstanding professors. It concerns him that too many students around the United States are overly career oriented and go to college solely to get a job. Education has to be balanced, he stresses.

To broaden students’ horizons, a major beneficiary of the chancellor’s Carnegie Corporation grant was the Great Issues Forum, a series of high-profile, free public conversations featuring artists, intellectuals and policymakers, run by the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. The inaugural theme for 2008–2009 was power: political, economic, cultural, military and educational—in an increasingly globalized world. Prominent guests included Nicholas Kristof, Mary Robinson, Naomi Klein, Joseph Stiglitz, Tom Stoppard and Derek Walcott, among others. In 2009–2010, the Forum focused on religion, and featured scientists and philosophers as well as religious leaders, who examined fundamental questions about the nature of religion and secularity. In its third and final year, the Forum turned its focus to the theme of place, exploring such issues as urbanization, environment and regionalism with Malcolm Gladwell, Highline co-founder Robert Hammond and Ken

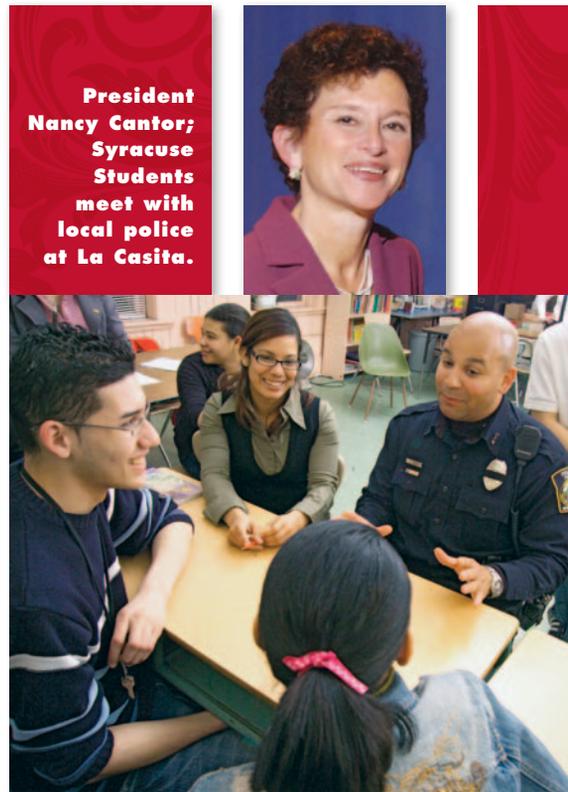
Burns. Open to the public and firmly grounded in the academy, these public conversations remain some of the most viewed events in the Graduate Center’s video archive, setting the standard for future public programming efforts.

Nancy Cantor, Chancellor and President of Syracuse University, was one of two award recipients in 2008. An advocate for diversity in higher education, her Scholarship in Action campaign helped to elevate the university’s national reputation and to attract students from all socioeconomic and cultural spheres. The alliance she forged between Syracuse University and the city’s school district to provide new opportunities for quality instruction and enable high school students to pursue higher education is emblematic of her many efforts to engage with the surrounding community and foster ongoing economic development in the region. Chancellor Cantor came to Syracuse in 2004 from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Earlier, at the University of Michigan, she was involved in the defense of affirmative action in the cases Grutter and Gratz, decided by the Supreme Court in 2003.

President Cantor’s Scholarship in Action work was a key factor in her receiving the award, and she felt the most effective fulfillment of the spirit of the accompanying grant would be to provide seed money for the campaign’s faculty-led projects. Combining the Corporation’s funds with over \$1 million from other donors, she supported a group of designated projects that bring faculty and students together in collaboration with experts from myriad sectors to address critical challenges—from multicultural community engagement to inclusive urban education. “This award allowed us to jumpstart the spreading of our vision throughout the institution,” says President Cantor.

“We were able to combine the diversity agenda with the anchor institution role of Syracuse University and demonstrate that a private institution can function as a public good.”

These projects are distinctive in that they are interdisciplinary, incorpo-



rate student learning, integrate outside experts and have the potential to bring lasting change. In President Cantor’s view, the Scholarship in Action projects offered sustainable opportunities for scholars and students to cross boundaries and collaborate with communities of experts to make an impact on the world. “We’re trying to make the argument that the challenges of this world today are very particular to local contexts, but they resonate across all frameworks. These projects emerged from really superb proposals,” President Cantor adds, “which is why we added other donor money to make them a reality. And they have continued after the seed funding was spent.”

The following are some of the programs selected for funding:

■ **The LOCAL (Laboratory of Community, Arts and Learning)**; this program aims to explore the arts as a means for collective problem solving, using campus–community partnerships to produce workshops and performances in public spaces.

■ **CNYSpeaks** encourages responsive leadership by creating mechanisms by which citizens can express their concerns, the first of which is a “Citizens’ Agenda for Downtown Syracuse.”

■ **La Casita Cultural Center**, an anchor institution in the local community, is designed to serve as a multigenerational, multicultural gathering place to aid the revitalization of the city’s transitioning West Side.

■ **Smart Kids-Visual Stories** brings voices of young students to the fore, using youth-created digital video to represent the experience of urban education and influence how schools are transformed.

■ **“Say Yes to Education” Community Outreach** works to create a college-going culture bridging the opportunity gap that prevents many students in urban schools from attending college and participating fully in the global economy.

■ **Regional Holocaust and Genocide Initiative** conducts research and creates coursework to address the fact that, despite the recurrent human catastrophe of genocide in our world, the topic is not covered in K-12 curricula.

Robert J. Birgeneau, Chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley, was also recognized in 2008. A spokesman for public higher education and for maintaining affordability, particularly for those of limited means, he introduced initiatives focusing on global poverty, climate change and multiculturalism while building strong links with UC Berkeley’s surrounding community. Chancellor Birgeneau has advocated on behalf of financial aid

for undocumented high school graduates and for students from challenging backgrounds and has launched a



**Chancellor
Robert
Birgeneau**

charter school to develop model curricula for college readiness. A fellow of the National Academy of Sciences, he was previously the president of the University of Toronto and was on the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for 25 years.

Chancellor Birgeneau decided to use the grant from Carnegie Corporation strategically in support of some of the most disadvantaged Berkeley undergraduates. He describes the commitment to providing for these students as his “guiding philosophy... a high priority that I gave myself.” When the chancellor first came to Berkeley, it was not recognized that there was a subcategory of students who were former foster children. These young people had made their way through high school and into the university, but were left completely on their own by the foster care system at age 18.

Berkeley officials became aware of their situation when they announced the intention of closing down the residences over Thanksgiving to save money. A group of students then approached the staff and explained that, since they had no families, closing the dorms would put them on the street. “It was an eye opener,” says Chancellor Birgeneau. Upon receiving his leadership award, the chancellor immediately donated \$50,000 to the Cal Independent Scholars Network (CISN), which was created to support and provide resources to undergraduates who are former foster youth, orphaned or otherwise without parental aid. Other

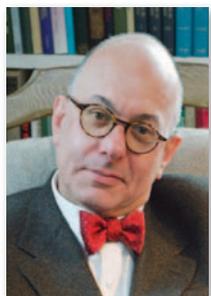
donors followed, adding hundreds of thousands more.

Recognizing the need for a staff person who would help these students deal with their unique challenges, a donor provided additional money, but “I got worried about what would happen in five years when this funding ran out,” says Chancellor Birgeneau. He then took another \$100,000 from the grant to endow the staff position. “It was unprecedented,” he says, “but as a result of my good faith funding, another donor put up an equal amount, then a third did the same and so on.” With \$1 million, CISN is close to being fully funded. “The Carnegie Corporation money is invaluable in convincing other people to match,” he explains. “\$500,000 is enough that you can give \$50,000 or \$100,000 to a bigger cause, and if the chancellor gives it, that is large enough.”

Chancellor Birgeneau has a similar funding strategy underway to help transfer students from under-represented populations, most of whom attended community colleges and are from low-income families. And he is devoting personal attention to undocumented immigrant students, who he says face severe challenges. “Once I understood how extraordinary these people were in overcoming barriers, it was clear we needed to do something for them as well.” New legislation in California has made it possible to offer state aid to these students, and the chancellor donated more of the award to seed a school fund for them, which was followed by an anonymous donation of \$300,000. “We have hopes of raising ten times that amount of money, which is what we really need,” he says, adding “I cannot imagine anything better the Carnegie Corporation grant could be used for.”

Two thousand nine was a banner year for the Academic Leadership Award, with four recipients in all, among

them **Leon Botstein, Bard College** President since 1975. He was chosen for a range of national, international and local accomplishments, including pioneering work in linking higher education to public secondary schools. In conjunction with the New York City Board of Education, President Botstein established an innovative, tuition-free, high school–early college program for highly motivated students. Under his



President Leon Botstein; Bard students in a Citizen Science Program lab.



leadership, Bard created international education programs in Russia and Palestine, a human rights program in South Africa and another that brings students from emerging democracies to study at Bard for one year. In addition, President Botstein is the music director of the American Symphony Orchestra and the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra and co-artistic director of the Bard Music Festival.

President Botstein opted to apply the \$500,000 grant accompanying his award to the project he considered Bard College’s most significant new academic initiative: the Citizen Science Program. Created to transform the way science and mathematics are taught and to encourage more undergraduates to pursue science careers, the program is a response to the inability of undergraduate institutions to educate nonscientists about significant issues related to matters of scientific analysis and policy currently facing the country and world. “I believe that for too long liberal education and general education curricula have failed to find a stable and effective place for science and mathematics,” he explained, stressing the need to equip young people to evaluate scientific claims critically and accurately.

The process of reinventing the sciences at Bard had begun in 1999 when a panel of distinguished scientists met with the college’s faculty over the course of a year. They concluded that liberal arts colleges, which produce a considerable number of science Ph.D.s, had the potential to change science education for the better, and that Bard was a good place to start. Substantial improvements throughout the college’s Science, Mathematics and Computing division resulted in a measurable jump in the percentage of majors in these fields.

Introduced in 2010, the Citizen Science Program is an intensive introduction to the sciences that all first-year students are required to take during winter intercession. Its goal is to give students the tools, attitudes and motivation to use science and mathematical concepts in their daily lives. The program is collaborative, and includes workshops, lectures and service projects. The instructors are Ph.D. level scientists from a wide range of respected institutions and the program is meant to be a national model that can be replicated at

other liberal arts institutions. Carnegie Corporation’s grant “enabled us to purchase essential equipment and hire talented instructors for this program,” President Botstein reported. “It has also given us the opportunity to focus intently on its curriculum and design.” At the end of the day, nothing less than the future of our democracy depends on the cultivation of inquisitive, critical minds, and the promotion of science literacy is an essential component of this vision.

President Botstein believes recognition for Bard sends a message about the role of liberal arts education. “We are enormously gratified that we are the only freestanding liberal arts college to have received this award,” he says. “It is very encouraging to see that the liberal arts college, one of the leading parts of the private education sector, is still deemed relevant. It demonstrates that a smaller college can make itself a significant player in the 21st century. What we took from the award is that we are in the forefront. I want to express my gratitude that we at Bard were chosen to be the one.”

Tulane University President

Scott Cowen also received an award in 2009, which paid tribute to the institution’s reputation for dedication to public service under his leadership. During the post-Katrina rebuilding of New Orleans, President Cowen was active in helping to achieve the transformation of the city’s K-12 public schools, including creation of an Institute for Public Education Initiatives as well as



President Scott Cowen

a charter school, and in sustaining the city’s health care system. He spearheaded an effort to repair the campus in time to accommodate nearly 90 percent of students in

early 2006, just months after the hurricane's devastation. President Cowen's tenure has seen a quadrupling of applications and implementation of numerous innovative academic and research initiatives. Prior to coming to Tulane, President Cowen, an expert in finance and management, was a professor and then dean at Case Western Reserve University in Ohio for 23 years.

To continue Tulane's efforts to do "real good" in the community, President Cowen allocated the Academic Leadership grant to the social innovation and entrepreneurship program. The university, which has a national reputation for its culture of public service and civic engagement, launched this initiative to empower students from all disciplines to utilize their education and ideas to solve pressing social challenges. The program nurtures and inspires social innovation in a wide variety of ways: through co-curricular programs; in academics and research and by engaging the New Orleans community.

The university's social innovators are creating ethical, sustainable, scalable solutions by aligning institutional resources to support and advance pioneering and transformative ideas. The university-wide, interdisciplinary programs are grounded in teaching, research and the practice of social entrepreneurship. Since 2009, the program has grown from pockets of activities across the campus, into a powerful intertwined strategy that includes a wide range of academic and research activity, student led projects and community partnerships.

"Funding from the Carnegie Corporation Award has enabled Tulane University to greatly expand social innovation opportunities for its students and faculty by creating a new curriculum and a cadre of social innovation professorships at the university," President Cowen said. "These

developments are inspiring all Tulane students, regardless of their major, to consider a life in which success is significantly measured by the 'good done' and not just by material gain." As a result, the first assistant provost for Civic Engagement and Social Entrepreneurship was hired to develop research and curriculum, along with the first class of Social Entrepreneurship Professors, five endowed professorships to provide a critical mass of faculty support for the program's interdisciplinary endeavors. In the fall of 2012, Tulane also began offering an undergraduate minor in the field.

On the community level, Tulane Empowers mobilizes the university's expertise and resources to support existing and future initiatives in civic engagement and social innovation. The Urban Innovation Challenge provides four \$45,000 stipends and a one-year fellowship to innovators working on ideas for system-level change in New Orleans in the areas of sustainable urban development, public education, health and economic development. These are a few of the many ways in which Tulane aims to represent the best of the mod-

ern research university, anticipating and meeting national and societal needs at the dawn of the 21st century and beyond.

Amy Gutmann, President of the University of Pennsylvania, was another 2009 awardee. In 2004, the first year of her presidency, she instituted the Penn Compact to advance the university by integrating knowledge, engaging locally and globally and increasing student access. Under President Gutmann's leadership, Penn has recruited an outstanding interdisciplinary faculty while working to make the university more fully affordable to students from all socioeconomic backgrounds. Penn's community outreach has fostered collaboration to improve public education, public health, economic development and employment as well as the physical landscape of West Philadelphia. A respected political scientist, philosopher and author, President Gutmann was formerly a professor and then provost at Princeton University. She chairs the Presidential Commission for the Study of Bioethical Issues, which promotes responsible policies for scientific research, health care delivery and technological innovation.

Dr. Gutmann with GAPSA student leaders Nina Zhao (Vice Chair, Penn Med student) and Joe Friedman (Chair, Penn Law student).



THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The Academic Leadership Award grant has been used at Penn to promote research partnerships between undergraduates and faculty mentors, and to support expanded travel opportunities for graduate and professional students. It has facilitated significant expansion of the Penn Undergraduate Research Mentoring Program (PURM) to include rising juniors as well as underclassmen. Says President Gutmann, “Neuroethics, early childhood development, haptic technologies, modernist Harlem in contemporary literature—these are just a few of the undergraduate student projects that the Carnegie award has supported since 2009 at Penn. Through this award, Penn has invested more deeply in these unique opportunities to facilitate the hands-on, face-to-face learning between students and faculty that supports teaching creativity and the integration of knowledge. Interdisciplinary student research—often where the most exciting new knowledge is emerging today—is flourishing at Penn, in part because of this support from the Carnegie Corporation.”

PURM enables students to develop one-on-one relationships with Penn faculty mentors over a 10-week period during the summer. Many of these projects extend into the academic year through informal collaborations and independent study. The award funds opened the door for students from Penn’s School of Arts and Sciences, Engineering, Nursing and Wharton, among others. Some notable examples demonstrate the range of students’ research projects:

- Heather Bromfield, a student in the College of Arts and Sciences, worked with faculty mentor Yin Ling Irene Wong in the School of Social Policy and Practice to look at a cross-cultural research agenda and social inclusion for persons with disabilities in China;

- Joanna Karaman, a student in the same college, explored architectural plastics and environmental health with Franca Trubiano, professor of Architecture in the School of Design;

- Pablo Castillo, from the School of Engineering and Applied Science, worked with Katherine Kuchenbecker from the Department of Mechanical Engineering to create an online database of haptic textures for virtual environments; and

- Catherine Lipsher, a student in the College of Arts and Sciences, explored ethical, legal and social issues in neuroscience with faculty mentor Dr. Jonathan Moreno, who holds joint appointments in Penn’s School of Medicine and the School of Arts and Sciences as a Penn Integrates Knowledge (PIK) professor.

In addition, the Graduate and Professional Student Assembly (GAPSA) used award funds to help graduate and professional students cover critical meeting and conference expenses, which has enabled them to present their research at international conferences. Awardees are selected by a review committee made up of research students, professional students, the vice chairs for Research and Professional Students and the vice chair of GAPSA. By bringing students of different disciplines together, GAPSA, the university-wide student government for graduate and professional students, has been instrumental in promoting interdisciplinary research.

William E. Kirwan, Chancellor of the University System of Maryland (USM), received an award in 2009. Chancellor Kirwan is well known for striving to make excellent higher education both accessible and affordable, and he has significantly advanced efforts to close the achievement gap in his state. A respected mathematician, he has stressed the importance of

science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) education, particularly for minority students. He is committed to serving a diverse educational community and positively impacting the innovation economy through re-



Chancellor William E. Kirwan

search activity and workforce development. Under Chancellor Kirwan’s leadership, the university system partnered with school systems throughout the state to improve teaching and student learning. Prior to becoming chancellor in 2002, he served as president of Ohio State University and of the University of Maryland, College Park, where he taught for 24 years.

Recognizing America’s urgent need for more college graduates, President Kirwan chose to leverage his award in support of USM’s initiative on college completion, furthering the university’s goal of promoting access and success for every qualified student. “The United States is falling behind our international competitors in the percentage of young adults receiving a college degree,” he explained. “It is especially important that we enable more first-generation college students and under-represented minorities to gain access to college and complete their degrees.

“Thanks to the generous Carnegie award, the University System of Maryland has been able to improve pathways to college and increase student retention and completion outcomes,” Chancellor Kirwan said. “We were able to leverage the award and attract an additional \$1.8 million of matching grants through private fundraising. Thus, the Carnegie award helped us build \$2.3 million in total funds for three initiatives—our course

redesign initiative that is resulting in higher rates of student success in gateway courses, often at lower delivery costs; a “near completer” program administered through the Maryland Higher Education Commission to benefit USM students who are just a few credits shy of graduation, but at risk of dropping out due to financial needs; and Way2GoMaryland, our information campaign to motivate more students to begin planning for college earlier.”

Maryland’s Course Redesign project increases the odds of student success once in college by getting at-risk students through the most challenging academic hurdles. Faculty members attend workshops designed to provide a deeper insight into the project, and “USM Course Redesign Fellows” are appointed and given stipends. Deserving students who dropped out of school before earning a degree because of financial or other challenges are given access to counseling and financial aid programs aimed at re-engagement. The multifaceted college-awareness effort begins in middle school and builds into high school to inspire large numbers of students to prepare early on. Regional events around the state for students and parents include a college fair, information sessions on such topics as paying for college and an ever-improving Web site.

Freeman A. Hrabowski III, President of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, one of the country’s most diverse institutions, received an award in 2011. President Hrabowski has helped lead UMBC into the ranks of the nation’s best public research universities while making success in science and engineering possible for students of all backgrounds. During his tenure, which began in 1992, an impressive number of the university’s African American graduates have gone on to earn Ph.D.’s

in the STEM fields, largely due to the Meyerhoff Scholars Program he instituted, which recruits, mentors and supports high-achieving minority students. This program has inspired similar endeavors across multiple disciplines, including the humanities and liberal arts. The university is involved in a number of community outreach programs including partnerships to improve instruction in the STEM disciplines and providing tutors and mentors to K-12 students statewide.

President Hrabowski is using the Academic Leadership grant to drive academic innovation, a concept that is already an integral part of the character of the university. The redesign of almost all of the science introductory courses and the more recent creation of a writing center equipped with interactive labs within the new performing arts and humanities building are two relevant examples. Beyond curriculum design, President Hrabowski emphasizes creating the right environment for learning, and doing so across all the disciplines. He continually encourages faculty to change the way they think about teaching in novel ways that will do more to support student success.

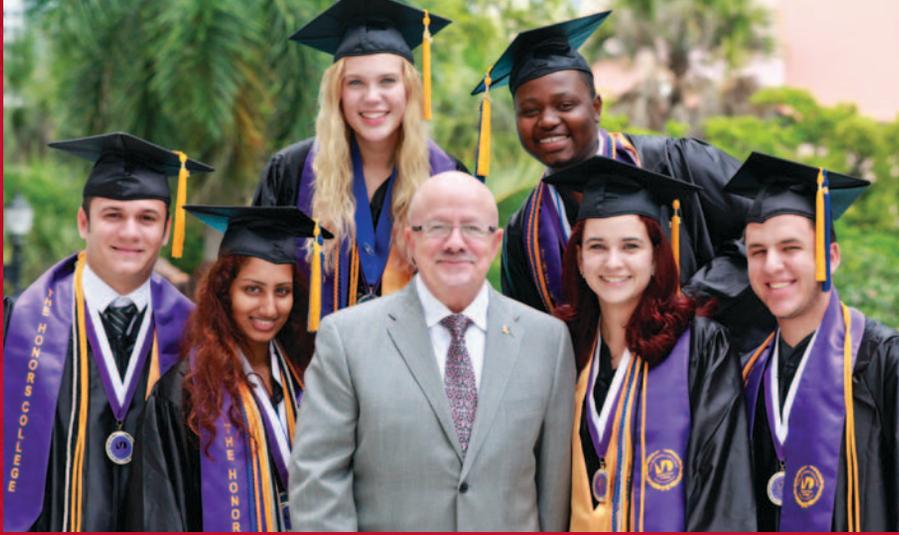
“In many ways, the challenges today are as great, if not greater than

they were years ago, particularly for poor people of all races,” according to President Hrabowski. “How do we make sure that students from different backgrounds not only enter college, but also excel? Finding answers—indeed creating answers—to this question, especially in the light of transforming demographic shifts in America, is clearly in the nation’s interest.”

Within that context, the president’s intention is to use the Corporation award to take innovation to the next level. The vehicle is a recently announced Innovation Competition that university leaders believe will stimulate great new ideas across campus. Starting out with \$100,000 from the grant in “prizes,” the competition challenges faculty members to design one-year projects that aim for maximum impact on student success. New teaching approaches, technologies or curriculum are all eligible. Instead of a new course, teachers are encouraged to take an existing course and completely rethink the way it is taught. Entries can come from any full-time faculty, individuals or groups, and entrants are eligible for one of two types of awards, seed grants of under \$3,500 for an expedited process; and awards over \$3,500 for a completely implemented redesign of a course or a series of courses.

President Freeman A. Hrabowski III





President Eduardo J. Padron

Proposals will be reviewed and ranked by a committee of the best teachers from across campus. In addition, a provost's symposium on teaching and learning will give innovators who have received awards the opportunity to assess and talk about their work. Future plans call for two rounds of competition to be held annually so that anyone with a good idea can capture it quickly rather than wait a whole year for the next competition. One very important requirement for these "innovation fellows" is to find multiple ways to disseminate their ideas, and they all must produce final reports to be published online, so their promising innovations can be pushed out all across the campus. University administrators have already seen a huge amount of interest in the competition throughout the university and anticipate receiving more applications at first than they can fund.

Miami Dade College President Eduardo J. Padron also received an award in 2011. Leader of one of the largest institutions of higher education in the United States, with more than 170,000 highly diverse students spread across its eight campuses and many outreach centers, President Padron has proven excellence and open access are not incompatible. To foster achievement and make higher education a reality for all, he has paired groundbreaking

academic programs with support for the college's students, most of whom are minorities, preparing them for careers and further education. Although nearly half the student population lives below the federal poverty guideline and many are not initially college ready, Miami Dade College (MDC) has outstanding rates of retention and degree completion. The university also connects to the greater Miami community through neighborhood revitalization, economic development, business programs, health and wellness outreach and the arts. President since 1995, Eduardo Padron began his academic career at MDC in 1970 and served as Wolfson campus president for 15 years.

President Padron has often drawn attention to the fact that America is at a crossroads with regard to education. "For us to be able to retain our position of leadership in the world, we have to wake up and make it a priority," he told *ICOSA Magazine*, referring to education as "the country's most important industry." While acknowledging that the challenge to increase access to higher education, especially for low-income and minority students, is daunting, he warned that "the price we will pay in our nation if we do not embrace this broader notion of access is impossible to calculate."

One way he plans to open the door

for motivated students is through the American Dream Scholarship Fund at Miami Dade College, which will get part of the Leadership Award grant for its endowment. This scholarship guarantees free full-time tuition coverage for two years to MDC for each graduating high school senior in Miami-Dade County, including public and private high schools. To be eligible for the scholarship students must graduate with a 3.0 (or B) average and be college-ready based on entrance exams measuring basic skill areas. These scholarship requirements have served notice to all students that serious preparation and dedication to academic success will be rewarded by MDC.

This scholarship fund was started through the generosity of local residents who saw the necessity of a college education for the community's young people and who understood its benefit to the economic and social prosperity of the community.

Support from the grant will also go to the planning phase of MDC's Student Support and Resource Center pilot project. Well aware that low-income students experience a range of challenges beyond the classroom, Miami Dade College intends to create a service and referral center to house a full range of human service support activities. Working in collaboration with United Way agencies, organizations that work to provide financial literacy, legal services and access to federal and state benefits, MDC hopes to make it possible for qualified students who enroll to succeed and graduate. "Education all the way through college is a birthright for each person in this community," President Padron maintains. "I have seen thousands of students arrive badly under-prepared for college but they found that spark of understanding within themselves. And they succeeded." ■

The Vernon G. James agricultural research center in northeastern North Carolina can be a noisy place. The center's labs and 1,500 plus acres of land are home to a constant battery of tests and experiments conducted by researchers who study corn, soybean, wheat and other crops grown in and around the inland waterways of the state.

These experiments tend to emit mysterious sounds at all times of the day and night. "There's been a boom here and a pop there," said veteran educator Hallet S. Davis, Jr., "but nothing major. I haven't gotten scared and gone home yet."

Davis is the principal of the new Northeastern Regional School for Biotechnology and Agriscience, or NERSBA, which is currently located in a few borrowed rooms at the Vernon James center. He was tapped to run the new school six months ago, and ever since he's spent long days and nights recruiting students, hiring teachers and planning for a school that is different in many ways from the one-size-fits-all high schools that have dominated the

U.S. education system for over a century. In the process he's grown accustomed to the sounds of science.

NERSBA is a regional school, which alone makes it fairly unique. It opened August 13 with 60 kids from five counties, four of them among the poorest in the state. Within a few years, it's slated to enroll 450 to 500 students, all of them engaged in an intense, research-based course of study focused largely on math and science and all of them college bound.

If all goes according to plan, a number of crucial things will happen in the northeast and then across the state: a cadre of economically disadvantaged young people from northeastern North Carolina will graduate from college, beating the odds that say a degree is only a remote possibility. They will be academically prepared to excel in their chosen fields with a significant number returning

to the area and applying their know-how to help make it thrive. As all of this begins to happen, the school itself will become a hub for math and science education in both the region and the state. In short, many more thousands will, like Davis, grow accustomed to the sounds of science.

A Regional Opportunity

The northeast is North Carolina's bread basket. It's dominated by flat open spaces where wheat, soybeans and corn are grown, in addition to tobacco and peanuts. It's interspersed



ALAN D. MEIJER

DESIGNING A SCHOOL *where all students* WILL BE SU

Lucy Hood is a freelance writer and editor who has been on the education beat for 16 years, initially for newspapers in Texas, including the San Antonio Express-News, where she was a senior reporter, and more recently as a freelance reporter

writing for a wide range of respected publications and nonprofits, including the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Her education stories have won awards and special commendations from,

among others, the Education Writers Association, the Inter-American Press Association, and the Hearst Corporation. In addition, she was a foreign correspondent in Mexico and Guatemala in the mid '80s and early '90s.



LUCY HOOD

ACCESSFUL

by LUCY HOOD



with a woody biomass that contributes to an economy partially reliant on lumber and paper products. Despite its natural attributes and pockets of economic enterprise, northeastern North Carolina suffers from some of the highest rates of poverty in the state and low levels of academic achievement. In the five counties served by the new school, the median household income ranges from \$32,000 to \$40,000 a year; the poverty rate ranges from 21 percent to 29 percent, and in a region many miles removed from North Carolina's Research Triangle Park and its three major universities, fewer than two out of every 10 residents holds a college degree. In the past, many of the jobs available in the region were available in farming or production, so college seemed less necessary.

"It comprises some of the poorest counties in the United States," said Vann Rogerson, president and CEO of North Carolina's Northeast Commission for economic development.

The reasons for the economic situation in the northeast are vast and varied. Many of the small family farms that once dominated the region have been consolidated into large corporate farms. At the same time, farming as well as the region's manufacturing plants have become much more high tech, requiring fewer workers overall but creating a need for many more workers with higher technical skills.

Some of leaders in the region are looking toward NERSBA to start to change the trajectory of the most at-risk students in the northeast, and in doing so, change the region itself. "We are trying to have the best school system there is in the state of North Carolina," said local businessman David Peele,

one of the school's biggest cheerleaders and chairman of its board. "That's our stated goal, and it's our stated goal for an average everyday kid to get to go there."

NERSBA is predicated on the idea that every child, regardless of race and class, can succeed, said Tony Habit, president of North Carolina New Schools. That idea, he said, "runs headlong into historical beliefs that some children are worthy and some are not."

The school, he said, is in "a largely agricultural poor region that is defined by poverty and divisions of race and geography... [It] cuts across geographical boundaries, across race and class boundaries [and] runs slam into the notion that some children can succeed in high-level academic work and some can't."

To ensure that every child does succeed, NERSBA is doing things very differently from the norm. For starters,

it's not located in a school building with locker-lined hallways, cemetery-style desk arrangements or school bells going off at regular intervals. Its setting is an agricultural research center jointly run by North Carolina State University and the N.C. Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services. The facility has two parts, each with distinct names: the Vernon G. James Research & Extension Center is the building. The Tidewater Research Center is the 1,500-plus acres of land, and both cater to topnotch scientists doing cutting edge research on, among other things, crop yields, soil erosion and climate change.

What these researchers study is the core of what the region has the potential to be—a vibrant area that can support large amounts of agricultural production, as well as fertile ground for scientific research. "It's the closest thing we have to the Midwest," said Marshall Stewart, one of the many people who



**Hallet S. Davis, Jr., Principal,
Northeastern Regional School
for Biotechnology and Agriscience**

Lucy Hood



LUCY HOOD

David Peele, Chairman of the Board, Northeastern Regional School for Biotechnology and Agriscience

worked to get the new school off the ground and associate director of the NC Cooperative Extension Service, which oversees the state's 4-H program. The northeast has the natural resources to become a magnet for bioscience and agriculture businesses, sectors that are projected to grow significantly over the next few decades.

NERSBA is designed, Davis explained, to give students a more than solid foundation in science, math, engineering and technology, which is commonly referred to as STEM education. STEM is a pathway through which students can explore myriad possibilities—in biotechnology, in higher-skilled manufacturing jobs, in health and in many other industries that are burgeoning, with a serious demand

for workers. Across the United States, there are approximately three million available positions in STEM industries—mostly unfilled because employers have a hard time finding enough highly skilled candidates.

The hope for NERSBA is that its dual focus on STEM education and high expectations will play a key role in the economic development of northeastern North Carolina. Rogerson, who runs the Northeast Commission, sees the school as a tremendous asset in his effort to capitalize on the region's agricultural strengths as well as high tech endeavors.

A key component of his economic development strategy is the work that's done at the Vernon James research facility. It's "the center of the wagon

wheel" he said. It's in the middle of some of the most sophisticated agricultural operations in the country, he noted, making it the perfect place for NERSBA.

When it comes to branding the region as a destination for biotech and agriscience companies, "this ag school is huge," Rogerson said. "This helps demonstrate in the ag world that we have some things that are special."

As for the students, they too will be at the center of the wagon wheel. They will be able to participate in university lab experiments. "The kids," he said, "could be on the cutting edge of many scientific developments in one of the poorest areas of the United States."

In short, Rogerson and everyone else in the new school's cheering sec-

tion want NERSBA to contribute to the revitalization of northeastern North Carolina.

At the very least they hope a much larger number of students will graduate from high school and go to college. As the school expands, they also want it to become a professional development hub for STEM education throughout the state; and they want those who benefit from the school to return the investment and give back to their communities.

Whether the new school accomplishes these goals will be determined, in part, by statistics—test scores, graduation rates, etc. Observers will also pay attention to the ripple effect NERSBA has on STEM education in other schools, and there will, no doubt, be murmurs—good or bad—in local restaurants, churches pews and grocery store aisles.

Personalized Learning in the Common Core

The 60 students enrolled at NERSBA live in five counties encompassing a combined total of 3,099 square miles. The school itself is located in Washington County, which has close to 13,000 people and is among the smallest of the five. Student demographics at the school more or less reflect those of the five-county area, which is predominantly black and white with a growing but relatively small Hispanic population. When it comes to family income, Davis said, “I’ve got the full socioeconomic range.” The balance, however, tilts toward the low end of the income scale. Sixty-five percent of the students qualify for the federal free and reduced lunch program, and pretty much the same group of kids would be the first in their families to go to college.

Academically, Davis said, the students in this year’s ninth grade class also run the gamut. “I’ve got kids who come and say, ‘I hope you can teach me

how to read, write, divide and multiply,’” he said. At the other end of the spectrum, two students have patents registered with the United States Patent and Trademark office, including one for a waterless dishwasher. The school is set up to address the needs of all of these students, and teachers and staff believe that with the right supports, every one of the students will be able to get a four-year college degree.

“Designing a program where all kids will be successful is important to me,” Davis said. “Not all our kids will need an extra math class, but a good majority of our kids probably will need a lot of assistance in math to be successful. Not all will need an additional English class, but a good number will need extra assistance in reading.”

NERSBA dovetails with Carnegie Corporation of New York’s New Designs for K-16 Pathways strategy, which is based on the idea that most of today’s schools were designed to prepare students for a different economy, one that required little more than a high school diploma.

Today’s schools, said Leah Hamilton, program director for New Designs at Carnegie Corporation, have to be designed to accomplish something new—to prepare all students for college and to equip them with career-ready skills in a knowledge-based economy.

The Vernon James center, she noted, is a perfect example of how middle and high school students stand to benefit by collaborating directly with scientists who are conducting cutting edge research that’s pertinent to the rural agricultural setting in which they live.

Northeast North Carolina is not the only region in the country that encounters the challenge of taking some students who may be one or more grade levels behind and some who may be a ways ahead and making them all

ready for college and career. It’s a common problem throughout the states, Hamilton said. Over the past few years many have been moving toward a common solution that will raise standards for all students in the form of the Common Core State Standards. These standards make the issues that NERSBA is trying to tackle even more pressing for districts and regions across the country. So far, 46 states have adopted the Common Core State Standards in English Language Arts and Mathematics.

The Common Core looks to emphasize higher, more applied levels of thinking and doing for all students to propel them toward college readiness. Aligning high school standards in particular with what is expected of students when they start college is especially difficult.

Trying to teach students to both know and do more is at the forefront of the design of every school that the North Carolina New Schools initiative partners with, and NERSBA is no exception. The New Schools is a Raleigh-based organization that for the past eight years has been taking its brand of education reform to an ever-growing number of successful schools. Founded in 2004, it strives to reconfigure public schools so all children—rich or poor—have the tools they need to excel. Right now, the implementation of the Common Core and making sure that all students are truly able to apply the skills they are learning in multiple contexts are at the top of the list of priorities for what they are trying to accomplish.

The North Carolina New Schools works closely with roughly 115 public schools throughout the state, where it’s attempting to make personalized learning, inquiry-based instruction and college readiness a reality for all of North Carolina’s students.

The results, so far, have been impressive. The 2012 graduation rate for low-income students in New Schools partner schools is 85 percent, compared to 75 percent for the state. Likewise the overall graduation rate is 88 percent in partner schools versus 80 percent for the state; and the 2011 algebra 1 passing rate in partner schools was 78 percent, compared to 70 percent for the state.

Of the New Schools partner schools, nearly a third are focused on science, technology, engineering and math, and an initiative that includes the creation of four regional, or anchor, schools also focuses on STEM education. The curriculum in these schools has been very carefully selected to immerse students in science and math while giving them exposure to real world applications in four different

blueprint, one that emphasizes serious scientific research, youth development and personalized learning that uses digital technology to bring the most options for courses and individualized instruction to students in school. The school has the potential to be a new model for the state and the country as leaders grapple with the implementation of the Common Core and how to truly make sure that all students are

NERSBA is a regional school, which alone makes it fairly unique. Within a few years, it's slated to enroll 450 to 500 students, all of them engaged in an intense, research-based course of study focused largely on math and science and all of them college bound.

In many (nearly three fourths) of the New Schools' partner high schools designated as "early college" models and located on the campuses of local colleges, students graduate from high school with both a high school diploma and as much as two years of transferable college credit or an associate's degree. NERSBA is set up to help students follow a similar pathway, so gaining college credits becomes mandatory, not an add-on to their academic program. Among schools like NERSBA that have an early college focus, graduation and college readiness results are even better than in typical New Schools partners—a 94 percent overall graduation rate and a 92 percent passing rate for algebra 1.

areas: health and life sciences; energy and sustainability; aerospace, advanced manufacturing and security; and biotechnology and agriscience.

Pathways Forward

NERSBA, which is one of the four anchor schools, is "radically different" from any other school in northeastern North Carolina, said Peele.

NERSBA is designed to put students on a direct path to college using teaching strategies that are aligned to the goals of the Common Core. Students will end up with a high school diploma and up to two years of college credit.

To accomplish these goals, the creators of NERSBA are making sure the school adheres to a carefully crafted

able to gather the skills they need to meet the new standards.

"The whole purpose is to develop a model that we can replicate across the state," Peele said.

NERSBA's relatively small 450-student size is part of a larger strategy to foster a sense of community and ensure that no one falls through the cracks. Researchers have shown that students who develop high-quality supportive relationships with adults are much less likely to have academic struggles that keep them from completing high school and entering higher education. NERSBA is designed to be small enough that students feel recognized, and because it is connected to the Vernon James research center, every



LUCY HOOD

In a science class, NERSBA students carry out an exercise called “Science Tool Box,” matching images of lab equipment with the appropriate description/definition.

student will have the opportunity to engage in hands-on scientific research.

The emphasis on personalized growth and personalized learning continues in the classroom where the student to teacher ratio is 15 to 1. It plays out in various structured activities, including small group discussions and collaborative projects that push applying skills and solving problems in groups. This emphasis on hands-on, skills-based learning that allows students to design projects according to their interests is part of the DNA of NERSBA.

The NERSBA blueprint also includes an extended school year—200 days instead of 180; an emphasis on field studies; four high school science credits (instead of three); four high

school math credits (instead of three); and the integration of agricultural education into core content areas. In addition, the school is engaging in curricular innovations—teaching science in the reverse order that high schools usually do by starting with physics and utilizing a math curriculum that seeks to combine a math sequence with rigorous real world applications.

A key part of the blueprint is technology. By mid-year every student will have their own laptop, which they can use to conduct research for class assignments or their final graduation project; they can use them to take courses online through the North Carolina Virtual Public School; and beginning in the 10th grade, they can use them to

take online college courses from N.C. State. In a rural region such as north-eastern North Carolina, where broadband Internet access is still unavailable in many homes, allowing students wireless access when they are at school and enabling them to use the many resources available on the Internet is a key part of empowering them to take on the challenges of the world around them.

But the true test of the laptop’s usefulness will be in the classroom. The computers, said Rebecca Stanley, director of STEM education for the North Carolina New Schools, are not meant to be a substitute for good teaching. They’re meant to be a tool that enhances learning, accelerates it when

need be, offers remediation on basic skills when necessary, and closes the distance gap for a student population dispersed over an area roughly the size of Puerto Rico.

The goal at NERSBA is to achieve what some educators call an instructional sweet spot—the place where technology, curriculum requirements and teaching strategies come together in a way that truly makes a difference in the classroom. “It’s easy to get caught up in the technology, because it’s whiz-bangy, flashy things and ponies,” said Dean Bill McDiarmid, dean of UNC’s School of Education “(but) we have to really think about what it is we’re trying to do and then think about what are

how they teach it—are the reason that NERSBA will be a hub for STEM education in North Carolina.

One of the math teachers will provide professional development to schools in the five participating counties, and the other will run a classroom that serves as a go-to, or demonstration, site for visiting teachers from around the state. In a similar vein, the other classes will also serve as demonstration sites for science, language arts and history. “Our school,” Peele said, “is the beta site.”

Getting to the Common Core

NERSBA will also be a showcase for the implementation of Common Core State Standards. One way it plans

discussion, guided by the teacher, leads students to discover what they need to know.

Instead of spoon-feeding students with information, said Rebecca Stanley, the goal is to help them discover the answers. As she puts it, “The answer is within you. I am going to pull it out of you. I’m not just going to give it to you.”

Angela Gard is a New Schools instructional coach who specializes in modeling instruction. A former high school science teacher, she now spends most of the school year crisscrossing the eastern part of the state to visit and assist teachers who participate in her summertime workshops.

NERSBA will be a showcase for the implementation of Common Core State Standards...one way is through an instructional strategy known as modeling.

the affordances that technology offers that are going to help us get there.” At NERSBA that will be the job of Julie Gurganus, who has a master’s degree in library science and certification from the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards. She will work with N.C. State’s Friday Institute for Educational Innovation to develop the most effective ways of integrating technology with STEM education and day-to-day instruction.

Her job is one of seven full-time positions at the school. In addition to Gurganus and Davis, there are five teachers—two for math, two for science and one who teaches language arts and social studies. These teachers—along with what they teach and

to achieve those standards is through an instructional strategy known as modeling.

In some traditional classrooms, teachers dole out facts, figures, formulas and other forms of information and expect students to memorize what they’re told. Modeling is focused on hands-on learning, and giving students the confidence to enquire and do things, not just know them. In a modeling classroom, teachers start with a demonstration. It might be a volcanic mixture of vinegar and baking soda, buggy races or putting a flame to a porous Cheeto.

Students then work in small groups to discuss what they observed. They put their ideas on whiteboards, present them to the class, and the ensuing class

“The best thing I ever heard from a teacher was, ‘I teach thinking,’” she said. “That’s really what modeling does. It teaches kids to think, and it gives them ample opportunity to support what they think with evidence as opposed to their opinion.”

The real miracle, she said, is what it does for kids at the low end of the academic spectrum. “It’s truly not leaving any child behind,” she said.

Plus, she said, students take to it very quickly. “Once you teach them how to think and communicate, they don’t want to go back and be sponges and recipients anymore. They want to be in charge.”

One local businessman who has seen these modeled practices in action

says it looks like organized chaos. “It is not a traditional setting,” Peele said. “It’s more interactive and there’s more problem solving.”

One of the consequences of the Common Core may be to push the education system, which can be stagnant, into realizing that school should not be taught the same way now that it was a hundred years ago. With techniques like modeling or project-based learning, Hamilton said, the schools will

standing in the hall, and I say, ‘This is the problem. What are we going to do about it?’” Peele has one of the most successful biotech enterprises in the region. His company extracts a waxy substance secreted by a plant called clavisage, which he grows on 15,000 acres of land in northeastern North Carolina.

The fixative extracted distilled from the wax is then used in perfume and other scented products. Known as sclareolide, it contributes to the stay-

except that it draws students from five counties, not one. It receives a share of per-pupil funding for each student from their home county.

NERSBA is also not bound by many of the regulations governing other schools on salaries, procuring materials for courses, how courses are structured or how time is used. In short, it is free to experiment with size, structure and curriculum as long as it meets state standards.

As [NERSBA] expands, they also want it to become a professional development hub for STEM education throughout the state; and they want those who benefit from the school to return the investment and give back to their communities.

move toward deeper, more engaged learning for students. A recent report by the National Research Council on the effectiveness of deeper learning notes, “The development of 21st century competencies in K-12 education and informal learning environments opens up many new opportunities... [and could] prepare a broader swathe of young people to enjoy the positive outcomes of increased educational attainment, including greater success in the workplace, improved health, and greater civic participation.”

The approach of giving a team more responsibility to problem solve collaboratively is already used in many high-performing workplaces, including David Peele’s. He explains, “I gather all my smart people here (in my office) or

ing power of fragrances found, for example, in Chanel No. 5 and Tide laundry detergent.

Peele is chairman of the school’s 11-person board of directors, which reports directly to the state Department of Public Instruction. In that and many other ways, the school’s governance structure is very different from most of the other 2,500 public schools in the state. Apart from Davis and a part-time administrative assistant, there are no other administrators. “The board,” Peele said, “runs the school.”

This arrangement is the result of Senate Bill 125, a law enacted last year that allows for the creation of NERSBA and other regional schools. NERSBA functions much like a charter school,

Many of those who supported the creation of NERSBA recognize the need to do school very differently. Marshall Stewart, of the NC Cooperative Extension Service, is one of them. “It’s been





LUCY HOOD

a long time since education has changed, really changed,” he said, noting that the rooms are the same, desks are all in a row and there’s the same grade structure that’s been in place for decades. Something new is needed, he said. “Education today is what the civil rights movement was in the 60s. It’s that significant.”

Stewart also believes NERSBA and the work of the New Schools in general have the potential to be a “true game changer” in the education world. Their comprehensive approach to school reform “is the epitome of believing any child can achieve,” he said. “They really get it. It’s a different

approach, and it’s working.”

For North Carolina in particular, many see NERSBA as important for a variety of reasons, including the fact that if it is successful it could be replicated in many other regions throughout the state. It is also important as a national model as educators and education systems begin to look for ways to implement the Common Core and help students from all backgrounds meet college readiness standards and get through college.

The NERSBA campus is small now, but its size, Hamilton said, is a way to make sure students develop relationships with the kind of cutting edge science research that can have a massive impact on northeastern North Carolina’s economy. Moreover, this

school is representative of a need across North Carolina and the United States to help young people become accomplished adults who can take on skills-based jobs that require a higher level of education than most students currently receive.

NERSBA is taking students who may be very far behind in terms of skills and academic preparation and giving them a pathway to participate in a meaningful way in some of the most challenging, engaging and rigorous occupations that are happening in the region. But the true measure of success will be determined by those who graduate from NERSBA and in one way or another do their part to fill the five-county region (and beyond) with the sounds of science. ■

RecentEvents



Powerful alliances are key to changing the country's future, says President Clinton.

President Clinton Kicks off 100Kin10 Workshop

Dozens of 100Kin10 partners and funders heard a keynote address from President Bill Clinton when they gathered in New York City on April 19, 2012 to practice getting their message out. Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian introduced President Clinton, praising him for being in the forefront of public education reform, and for sharing the Corporation's mission of advancing knowledge and understanding.

"We are here to follow up on the very important commitment that was made at last year's Clinton Global Initiative meeting for the United States, in Chicago," President Clinton said, commending the group on the progress of their 100Kin10 program. "Before the meeting even ended, eleven new organizations had approached Carnegie Corporation about training new teachers. Because the commitment was to somehow put together not just the money, but the skills network to train a hundred thousand highly qualified science, technology, engineering and math teachers in the United States.

"If all you do is give us a hundred thousand teachers to assure America's continued prosperity and growth for the next thirty years, that may be worth

a lifetime," he said, "but if you do it in a way that causes more people to understand the role of nongovernmental organizations and the essential characteristic of cooperation in building alliances so that everybody's money goes farther and their good ideas get spread and our not so good ideas get dropped, you may literally change the future of this country and the future of the nongovernmental organization movement and the world."

America's Rare Books on View

Common Sense, the *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, *Moby-Dick*, *Little Women*, *Silent Spring* and *In Cold Blood* – these are just a few of "The Books that Shaped America," an exhibition at the Library of Congress (sponsored by Carnegie Corporation) and part of the multiyear "Celebration of the Book." Vartan Gregorian attended the opening in June 2012, where he perused a rare edition of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, one of the 88 works of U.S. literature written between 1751 and 2002 that are on view. President Gregorian recalled his days as the head of the New York Public Library, where the sight

of hundreds of researchers toiling in the vast reading room would lift his spirits if he was having a difficult day.

The list of titles was determined by curators and scholars at the Library, which has an online survey to allow visitors to weigh in on the selections. "The list is intended to spark a national conversation on books written by Americans that have influenced our lives, whether they appear on this initial list or not," said Librarian of Congress James H. Billington.

New Honors for Outstanding Writers

The inaugural Andrew Carnegie Medals for Excellence in Fiction and Nonfiction went to Anne Enright's novel *The Forgotten Waltz* and Robert K. Massie's biography, *Catherine the Great: Portrait of a Woman*. The medals recognize the best books in both categories for adult readers, published the previous year in the United States. Announced at the annual American Library Association Conference in June 2012, the winning authors were chosen by library professionals who work closely with adult readers, a departure from most major book awards, which



are judged by writers and critics. "Congratulations to Anne Enright, Robert K. Massie and our finalists," said Nancy Pearl, prominent librarian, NPR commentator and chair of the selection committee. "We are so excited to have such a talented and deserving group of authors for our inaugural awards."

"In many ways, librarians are the first book critics many readers come into contact with, and hence we are deeply thankful for their insight and guidance," said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation and a former president of The New York Public Library. "The Andrew Carnegie Medals for Excellence in Fiction and Nonfiction take that notion one step further and place the librarians' seal of approval on these wonderful books." Enright and Massie each received a medal and \$5,000, and finalists received \$1,500 each. Nonfiction finalists were *The Information: A History, a Theory, a Flood*, by James Gleick, and *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*, by the late Manning Marable. Fiction finalists were *Lost Memory of Skin*, by Russell Banks and *Swamplandia!*, by Karen Russell.

Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellows

Named for a scientist and long-time nuclear arms control activist in government and private life, the Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellowship Program was established in 1987 to commemorate his accomplishments and inspire a new generation. Funded by Carnegie Corporation, the



Vartan Gregorian peruses some of the Library of Congress's rare and influential books.



2012 fellows (l to r) Que Newbill, Marcus Taylor, and Usha Sahay.

program recruits and trains the next generation of policy and advocacy leaders on a range of international peace and security issues, providing recent college graduates with an opportunity to spend six to nine months working with a public-interest organization in Washington, DC.

Scoville Fellows serve as full-time project assistants at the participating organization of their choice, contributing to the work there with research and writing, arranging conferences and policy briefings, and encouraging advocacy activities. In addition, each Fellow selects a board member as a mentor, smoothing the transition to Washington, DC. Many former Fellows continue to work on arms control and peace issues, or attend graduate programs in international relations.

Three new Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellows have been selected from among 208 applicants: Que’Nique Newbill (Grinnell College, 2011) will work with Mona Yacoubian at the Henry L. Stimson Center on Middle East security especially as it relates to the Arab transitions.

Usha Sahay (Columbia University, 2012) will work with John Isaacs at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation on nuclear issues in Iran and U.S.-Iran relations, as

well as domestic defense spending and the U.S. nuclear weapons budget.

Marcus Taylor (California State University, Sacramento, 2012) will work with Tom Collina at the Arms Control Association on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and updating of the nonproliferation and disarmament report card.

Celebrating Land Grant Universities

On June 25, 2012, some 75 college and university presidents and other leaders joined Corporation president Vartan Gregorian at the steps of the Lincoln Memorial for a wreath-laying ceremony. They came to honor the work of President Abraham Lincoln and Representative Justin Morrill of Vermont in conceiving the 1862 Morrill Act, which established U.S. land grant universities, plus the 150th anniversary of the National Academy of Sciences.

As the Civil War raged on, Lincoln and the members of the 37th Congress passed this monumental legislation for the benefit of all Americans. The Morrill Act enabled educational institutions in each eligible state to promote “the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.” Eight months later, Congress passed, and President Lincoln signed, legislation calling for the founding of the National Academy of Sciences, a guiding force in the evolution of American science and technology.

Drawing a parallel to Lincoln’s time, Gregorian said, “It is hard to argue that today we are not a nation divided. Politically, socially, culturally, and even philosophically... We have to do a better job of educating the American public about the role of higher education—both public and private. There



Carnegie Corporation’s July 4, 2012 ad in *The New York Times*.

is a kind of amnesia engulfing our country today where we are detached from our past.” James Billington, the Librarian of Congress; Richard Riley, former U.S. Secretary of Education; and M. Peter McPherson, President of the Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities, also spoke at the ceremony.

A July Fourth Salute to “Americans by Choice”

Six continents were represented in Carnegie Corporation’s ad, “Immigrants: The Pride of America” in *The New York Times* on Independence Day 2012. A celebration of Andrew Carnegie’s belief in the value of citizenship, this year’s full-page ad saluted 45 honorees along with millions of

other naturalized Americans who were born outside of the country and became U.S. citizens.

Each year on the Fourth of July, the Corporation salutes those who have demonstrated their commitment to the United States and their loyalty to the Constitution by becoming citizens, earning all the rights and privileges—as well as responsibilities—citizenship entails. At the same time, the foundation is supporting efforts to provide a clear pathway to citizenship for lawful permanent residents, and is committed to helping immigrants become integrated into the civic fabric of our nation.

President Vartan Gregorian, who was born in Tabriz, Iran, of Armenian parents and is himself a naturalized American, stressed that the United States represents a daring idea that is still being tested: “Here, in America we are trying to form a nation that transcends its limits and where the people transcend their differences in order to share a common purpose and common ideals,” he said. “We must all understand that participating in our civic life, the rich and vibrant life of our nation, is not just a right but also an obligation. And perhaps most important of all, it means being a citizen.”

(Continued on page 44)



(Left to right) Ralph Cicerone, Vartan Gregorian, M. Peter McPherson, Richard Riley and James Billington at the Lincoln Memorial.

Renowned Jurists and Scholars Hold Talks at the Hague

At the invitation of Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Endowment, the annual Yale Global Constitutionalism Seminar, which gathers the world's leading jurists to discuss the most important legal issues of the day, met for the first time ever at the Peace Palace in The Hague. Established by Andrew Carnegie as a symbol of his faith in the ultimate possibility of an end to war, the Peace Palace is home to the International Court of Justice, or World Court, the Permanent Court of Arbitration, The Hague Academy of International Law and the Peace Palace Library.

This year's special convening focused on Law's Borders, and was preceded by a half-day scholarly discussion of Andrew Carnegie's Legacy in an Age of Insecurity. U.S. Supreme Court Justices Stephen G. Breyer and Elena Kagan; Geert Corstens, president of the Supreme Court of the Netherlands; Phakiso Mochochoko, Head of the Jurisdiction, International Criminal Court and Robert Post, dean of Yale University's law school were among the



Seminar attendees gather on the Peace Palace steps. Supreme Court Justice Stephen Beyer is front row, far left and Justice Elena Kagan is in the second row, third from the left

participants. This unique event reflects a common aspiration of the Yale Law School Global Constitutionalism Seminar, the Gruber Program for Global Justice and Women's Rights at Yale University, the Carnegie Endowment and Carnegie Corporation of New York: to create an international rule of law, in which justice can flourish in peace.

The Nunn-Lugar Award for Promoting Nuclear Security

In September 2012, U.S. Senator Richard Lugar and former U.S. Senator Sam Nunn became the first recipients of The Nunn-Lugar Award for Promoting Nuclear Security, created in their honor. Vartan Gregorian presented the international award, cosponsored by Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at an event in the Peace Palace in The Hague. Senator Richard Lugar and Senator Sam Nunn authored the Nunn-Lugar Act in 1991, establishing the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program (CTR). The program sought to

help the states of the former Soviet Union safeguard and dismantle their enormous stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, related materials and delivery systems.

"The honor of receiving this award soars because of the immense credibility of the organizations and the individual with whom I share it," said former Senator Sam Nunn, Co-Chairman and CEO, the Nuclear Threat Initiative. "I am both honored by the award and excited about the future as these outstanding organizations remind the world again through this award how urgent it is, for the sake of peace and the survival of humanity, that we accelerate our [nuclear security] efforts."

"The Nunn-Lugar program is a triumph measured in more than the hundreds of missiles, thousands of warheads, tons of chemical weapons, and scores of biological pathogens now under lock and key or destroyed," said Senator Richard Lugar. "It has been the basis upon which the United States has found constructive means to engage former adversaries and new partners, united by a common vision and desire to detect and defeat new threats."

The Nunn-Lugar Award for Promoting Nuclear Security,

which carries a \$50,000 prize, is also a tribute to Andrew Carnegie, who dedicated much of his philanthropy to the goal of achieving world peace, and provided the funds to build the Peace Palace as a symbol of his faith in the ultimate realization of that goal. It will be awarded biennially by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to an individual or institution whose work has resulted in clear, discernible progress toward strengthening global security and peaceful co-existence among nations by preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and reducing the risk of their use.



Award recipients former Senator Sam Nunn (left) and Senator Richard Lugar.



Carnegie Trustee Ann Claire Williams and William Thomson, great-grandson of Andrew Carnegie, in front of Andrew Carnegie's portrait at the Peace Palace.

Investing *in* Education Is Key to America's Future Success

Vartan Gregorian—continued from inside front cover

During the past 150 years—since the passage of the Morrill Act—the United States emerged as an industrial and economic giant, democratized education through the land grant colleges and public university system, became a global leader in science and met every challenge it faced from the Civil War to World Wars I and II, through the Cold War era, and beyond. And during this time, continued growth transformed American society and kept the nation strong. It produced a new class of wealthy industrialists, a prosperous middle class, and provided opportunity for all Americans, including generations of immigrants. It also created the world's first sustained upwardly mobile labor force.

Public investment in higher education, research and knowledge continued throughout the 20th century. Congress created the National Science Foundation in 1950. After the shock of Sputnik, the nation's investment in non-defense research surged six-fold from 1960 to 1966. Further, the GI Bill opened the doors of colleges and universities to countless returning WWII veterans. Then came Fulbright scholarships, the development of community colleges, federal loan grant guarantees and subsidy programs and Pell Grants. The list goes on, but one thing remains constant: those who created and supported these advances did not see the money that brought them into being as mere expenditures. Not at all: these were long-term investments occasioned by a belief that the United States, which had re-emerged from the Civil War with a determination to take its place on the world stage, had a role to play as a global leader and did not mean to relinquish that status. In that pursuit, education was always seen as the key to America's success.

Today, however, the United States finds itself ranked 16th in the world in the percentage of populations with college degrees in a time when—by 2018—nearly two-thirds of all American jobs will require a postsecondary degree. While millions go jobless, industries needing workers with advanced skills are struggling to find qualified applicants. For many, no college means no job. At the same time, colleges, universities and research institutions must tangibly demonstrate their value, justify their costs and use public resources wisely—they are not immune from accountability.

There is no denying that higher education has many shortcomings and our colleges and universities, along with their leaders, deserve criticism where criticism is warranted. But we shortchange our nation's progress and squander our

greatest renewable resource—our intellectual capital—if we allow critique of academia or passing partisan squabbling to impede investment in higher education. The prescription is simple: we need to expand college opportunity, redouble support for research, modernize and broaden access to knowledge assets, and seek maximum value from the university and research systems born from the stroke of Lincoln's pen.

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Morrill Act and the creation of the National Academy of Sciences, we can reflect with great pride on the accomplishment of

The problems we have, particularly in regard to higher education, are not going to go away. Access to college, the cost of higher education, the relevance of curricula both to real-world markets and to human aspirations are among the questions that are desperately in need of discussion but also, of answers that will actually have a positive impact on people's lives.

Abraham Lincoln and the 37th Congress, who, in the midst of calamity, not only saw beyond the battlefields to envision America's resurgence but also set their sights on the nation's future. It is a time to celebrate those visionary leaders, including America's earliest philanthropists such as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, along with the educators, scientists, public officials, librarians, working men and women and the many, many others who have cared about our nation, served it with love and dedication, and devoted themselves to its progress. It is in their honor that we recall our national motto, *E pluribus unum*—"Out of many, one"—and remember that it was, and remains, not merely a string of words, but a true credo to live by. If those who came before us could find a way to do so, shouldn't we be able to do the same? ■

Foundation **Roundup**



10 Nonprofits Building Cultural Understanding Receive \$400,000 In Grants

Ten nonprofit organizations that use multi-media, face to face conversation and other means to build understanding about immigrants and their contributions were awarded \$400,000 in grants from Silicon Valley Community Foundation.

The grants, which were announced in July 2012, are part of the community foundation's immigrant integration strategy, which is focused on legal services for immigrants, language acquisition and breaking down barriers that keep newcomers from participating in their communities.

"Bridging those cultural gaps is important for both newcomers and the communities they settle in," said Manuel J. Santamaria, grantmaking director at the foundation. "We want to make it easier for new residents to understand the norms and rules here so they can enroll children in school, get jobs, open bank accounts and participate in their communities."

The grants, which ranged from \$10,000 to \$60,000, are funding communications campaigns that illustrate the real life consequences of policy decisions and share the stories of the journey immigrants make in leaving one home for another.

Asian Americans for Community Involvement received a \$50,000 grant for a project designed to educate people about the history and contributions of Asian American immigrants and identify policy issues affecting that community. Another organization, the Community Alliance to Revitalize Our Neighborhood, a 13-year-old project of the San Mateo County

Sheriff's Office, received \$50,000 to help fund its efforts to build participation among Latino immigrants and relationships between the immigrant community and law enforcement.

More than one third of the 2.5 million residents in California's San Mateo and Santa Clara counties are immigrants. Immigration as fueled the growth of Silicon Valley's technology industry and the community foundation has invested more than \$6 million in its immigrant integration strategy since 2009. It has built the capacity of nonprofit organizations to provide affordable and reliable immigration legal services, expanded the development of high quality English language acquisition programs and helped promote mutual understanding between immigrants and receiving communities.

For a complete list of organizations and their projects in this Bridging the Cultural Gap substrategy, please visit: <http://www.siliconvalleycf.org/content/bridging-cultural-gap-2012> or www.siliconvalleycf.org Silicon Valley Community Foundation is a comprehensive center for philanthropy.

ROBIN HOOD

NYC opens Workforce 1 Veterans Center with help from Robin Hood

With funding donated through their veterans initiative, Robin Hood—New York City's largest poverty-fighting organization—teamed up with the City of New York to open a comprehensive job services center dedicated exclusively to serving veterans. The new center, located at 60 Madison Avenue in Manhattan's Flatiron District, will provide complete employment services for veterans, including referrals and placement, career counsel-

ing, job preparation and skills building plus a variety of other support services to ease the transition from military employment to the civilian workforce.

The Veteran's Career Center is an outgrowth of the New York City's Workforce1 program, a job training and placement program run by the city's Department of Small Business Services. While the program was already assisting veterans at their Workforce1 sites throughout the city, the partnership with Robin Hood allowed the creation of a new center dedicated exclusively to serving the needs of the estimated 8,600 veterans currently unemployed and seeking jobs in the metro area. Staffed by veterans who understand the special needs of their peers, Robin Hood's grant of \$600,000 will allow the city to expand the number of veterans counseled and placed by a projected 50 percent.

For more information on this initiative and Robin Hood Foundation's work, please visit: www.robinhood.org



Helios to Invest Millions in Arizona STEM Education

Helios Education Foundation is investing more than \$4 million through a three-year grant to build a statewide STEM Knowledge Management system and to fund the Helios STEM School Pilot initiative, a new and critical part of Science Foundation Arizona's (SFAz) recently launched Arizona STEM Network.

Helios and SFAz will work to identify several schools across the state to be selected as Helios STEM Pilot School sites through an upcoming RFP process. These schools will be given seed funds

and technical support to integrate quality STEM education into their classrooms. In addition, pilot sites will be provided with the resources and technical assistance needed to integrate STEM education in whole-school and district settings.

Helios' investment of more than \$4 million to fund the Arizona STEM Network's Knowledge Management System and the Helios STEM School Pilot initiative will help SFAz build out and implement the next phase of the Arizona STEM Network which will include: Researching and developing effective models for STEM education that can be replicated in classrooms statewide, integrating best practices of STEM teaching and learning into Arizona schools and districts in support of higher expectations and academic achievement, leveraging effective education practices and teaching advances, providing web-based tools for the implementation of Common Core standards, improving data-driven decision making and measurements of progress, and creating opportunities for the business sector to engage more meaningfully with schools.

Additionally, Science Foundation Arizona in collaboration with its partner Maricopa County Educational Service Agency (MCESA), led the development of the STEM Immersion Matrix tool in response to a need articulated statewide: teachers, principals, superintendents and other administrators want accessible models, qualified information and technical assistance to help bring STEM into their daily operations. The tool is available for all Arizona schools at www.sfaz.org/stemimmersion.

"Arizona is at a crossroads in education where we have to be more intentional about embed-

ding STEM education into our classrooms if our state is going to deliver students who are academically prepared to compete in a global workforce,” said Helios Education Foundation President and CEO Paul Luna.

For more information on the Helios Education Foundation and the Science Foundation Arizona (SFaz), please visit www.helios.org and www.sfaz.org.



GE Foundation

GE Foundation Announces Medical Fellowships for Primary Care Practitioners

In the summer of 2012, the GE Foundation announced a \$2.3 million grant to National Medical Fellowships (NMF) for the creation of the GE-NMF Primary Care Leadership Program (PCLP). Intended to build a primary care pipeline, the program will provide future healthcare professionals the opportunity to experience primary care practice in community health centers across the US. NMF is a nonprofit organization dedicated to increasing minority representation in medicine and the health professions.

The two-year grant from the GE Foundation aims to draw future health professionals into primary care while building the capacity of community health centers. The partnership with NMF builds on GE's \$50 million commitment to increase access to healthcare through its Developing Health™ initiative—currently in 74 community health centers in 20 US cities.

“With an alarming shortage of primary care professionals anticipated in the years to come, PCLP enlists talented and motivated students to be part of the solution.

PCLP scholars currently enrolled in medical, nursing and physician assistant programs across the country are being assigned to community health centers located in primary care shortage areas in Los Angeles, Phoenix, Nashville and Jackson, MS. Participants will complete 200 service learning hours including a leadership development component, mentorship from academic institutions and program advisors, and networking opportunities with NMF alumni.

“These selective scholars will undergo intense exposure to the challenges facing community health centers: newly eligible populations, transitioning to electronic medical records and a shortage of primary health care providers. At this early stage of their careers, this hands-on experience will provide them with clinical skills and help them recognize their potential to make a significant and positive impact on hundreds, if not thousands of lives,” said Esther R. Dyer, President & CEO, NMF.

Scholars were accepted into the PCLP program after being ranked by a faculty and regional advisory board and NMF's National Advisory Committee based on their personal statements, academic achievements, leadership potential, and recommendations.

“Community health centers serve populations that are forgotten and left behind by other healthcare providers. These students will receive a unique experience not afforded to their peers. They will have the chance to dramatically change the lives of those in the local community by changing the way care is organized and delivered to patients,” NMF Board member, Dr. H. Jack Geiger stated.

While this is the GE Foundation's first US-focused grant to NMF, there is an estab-

lished relationship between the two entities. Since 2005, the GE Foundation has collaborated with NMF on the GE-NMF International Medical Scholars Program that enables fourth-year minority medical students to experience practicing medicine in Africa with a focus on critical regional health care needs.

To learn more about these foundations and their work, please visit: www.nmfonline.org and www.gefoundation.com.



Ford Awards Millions to Human Rights Organizations

The Ford Foundation announced the first round of grants in a new five-year, \$50 million initiative to strengthen and diversify the global human rights movement to face the challenges of a changing world.

In launching the initiative, the foundation announced awards of \$1 million each to seven human rights groups from the Global South, each of which is poised to make the leap to the world stage and contribute to a broader, more inclusive dialogue on the rights issues facing the world's most poor and marginalized people.

“The seminal and enormously successful human rights groups that Ford has funded for decades—Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and many others—are more important today than ever,” said Luis A. Ubiñas, president of the foundation. “What today's grants recognize is how powerful the idea of human rights has become in every corner of the world, and how much growth there has been in recent years among rights organizations in the South. We need to bring those southern hemisphere voices into the global human rights dialogue.”

The first seven winners of Ford funding are: Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development (Forum Asia, Bangkok), Centro de Estudios de Derecho, Justicia y Sociedad (Dejusticia, Bogotá), Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales (CELS, Buenos Aires), Conectas Direitos Humanos (Sao Paulo), Justiça Global (Rio de Janeiro), Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC, Nairobi), Legal Resources Centre (LRC, Johannesburg).

“This initiative builds on the seminal human rights voices of the past while opening a door for the human rights visionaries of the future,” said Maya Harris, vice president of Democracy, Rights and Justice at the foundation. “For human rights to thrive and grow at the global level we must deepen the movement and include those who are closest to the challenges and closest to the solutions.”

By linking the announcement of the seven winners to Nelson Mandela International Day—the South African leader's 94th birthday—the foundation is putting its money behind the idea that the global human rights agenda is best advanced by a diverse array of organizations that includes emerging voices from the Global South.

The Ford Foundation will commit \$50 million over the next five years to both new and established human rights organizations. In selecting organizations to support, the foundation will place emphasis on groups whose work focuses on improving the lives of the poorest and most marginalized people in the world, whose rights are routinely denied or abused.

For more information on the winners of the initial round of funding, please visit: <http://www.fordfoundation.org/newsroom/news-from-ford/651>

THE BackPage

Paul T. Mero is currently president of Sutherland Institute, a conservative public policy think tank in Utah. Prior to his service at Sutherland, Paul was the executive vice president of The Howard Center for Family, Religion, and Society in Rockford, Illinois, where, among other duties, he administered the Second World Congress of Families meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1999. Paul also worked in the United States Congress serving two conservative House members from 1987 to 1997. He has written many articles and given many speeches in his career and has co-authored a book, with Allan C. Carlson, The Natural Family: A Manifesto. He is a graduate of Brigham Young University in Public Policy.

tion reform? Why would a conservative political group risk offending its loyal base of support over such a third-rail issue? Why would an organization that is highly influential among Utah's overwhelmingly conservative state legislators jeopardize that influence by pushing ideas clearly contrary to theirs?

More importantly, why should other conservative political organizations, especially other state-based think tanks, pick up the gauntlet and follow Sutherland Institute's example in pressing for intelligent, comprehensive immigration reform?

The short answer to all of these questions is that it is the right thing to do. It's the prudent thing to do—meaning it's the conser-

there would be no such thing as illegal immigrants. Policies defining who can immigrate to the United States necessarily define who cannot immigrate. This otherwise obvious point is worth emphasizing: The law defines legal and illegal immigrants. There is no such thing as a human being who is inherently illegal—a point that seems to often get lost in anti-immigration rhetoric. To say “these illegals shouldn't be here” is to objectify fellow human beings as subhuman. For conservatives, this erroneous sentiment is also immoral and un-American.

Sutherland Institute's journey with immigration reform began in May 2007. As with most conservative state-based think tanks, immigration was not an issue in our policy wheelhouse. But as easy pickings for more nativist elements, especially in the Western and border states, Utah was not long immune from anti-immigration rhetoric. Many

one thing in the immigration debate was the lack of reason in the anti-immigrant voices.

No rational person wants to be on the wrong side of history, but my motivation behind this issue was a different one. A huge part of my identity as an authentic conservative is reasonableness. For me, being reasonable is a hallmark of conservatism. It digs to the core of what it means to be a human being.



What is Conservative About Comprehensive Immigration Reform?

by PAUL T. MERO

When Utah Governor Gary Herbert signed four immigration bills into law on March 15, 2011, he closed a contentious but often inspiring public debate over the state role in immigration reform. About 20 political and community leaders stood with Governor Herbert that day. It was a historic moment not just for Utah but for the nation—a redder-than-red state had just passed the most comprehensive immigration reform in the country.

I was standing that day with Governor Herbert as well. I am the leader of the most conservative public policy group in the state, Sutherland Institute, but I also helped lead the fight for comprehensive immigration reform.

Why? What is “conservative” about comprehensive immigra-

tive thing to do, if you are an authentic conservative.

A more detailed response begins with the circumstances every state faces because of the failure of the federal government to reform *legal* immigration policy.

There are approximately 100,000 undocumented immigrants living in Utah. Absent a constructive rule of law, these immigrants are literally unaccountable to society, leaving them exposed to criminal elements and forcing them to live in the shadows—harming them and their children as well as the broader social and economic interests of Utah. That equation is no different for any other state.

Illegal immigration exists because *legal* immigration exists. Quite literally, if immigration were open (“open borders”),

real problems associated with undocumented immigrants living in our communities—such as identity theft and other serious crimes—are easily manipulated by populist voices trying to gain political power. In nativist minds, *every* Hispanic living in Utah is viewed as an “illegal,” who in turn is viewed as a criminal. It is no small irony, in a debate filled with ironies, that anti-immigrant voices object to being characterized as nativists when they so easily characterize every Hispanic as illegal and, hence, a criminal—an irony I've referred to as “the pot calling the kettle brown.”

For every state-based think tank choosing which issues to entertain and which to discard, there is that one moment in time, that one “thing,” that often determines our choice. For me, that

So I asked: What would I do if I were a Mexican citizen, impoverished, with little hope for my future and my family's future? What would I do for my family if I were one step away from freedom and the hope of prosperity? Would I risk crossing the U.S. border without documentation? My alternative, at best, would be to place myself on a list that would leave me waiting for years to process legal documents. But my family is suffering now. Even so, I'm not a law-breaker. But neither am I a criminal. Is it criminal to want to feed my family, to provide decent housing for them, to see them safe? No. I realized that it was the law—a law with no rational basis—that would label me a criminal. The mere act of taking one step of ground is not immoral. Nor is it immoral to

work and provide for my family. Immigration laws are properly classified *malum prohibitum*¹, not *malum in se*, and in this case, the law alone creates the criminal.

At that point in Utah, the popular opinion was that a lack of legal documentation was more than a mere infraction. It was immoral. And that opinion, I decided, was unreasonable.

As it turned out, that was the easiest decision I had to make. Much harder decisions involved convincing my colleagues at Sutherland, our board of directors, the state legislature, and the people of Utah that looking at this issue differently was the right thing to do. First, I had to make a compelling conservative case for comprehensive immigration reform and then I had to sell it to my closest friends. Second, I had to make the case for a reasonable approach to the problem of undocumented immigrants living without accountability in Utah—a case that became infinitely more difficult to make after Arizona came down hard on undocumented immigrants.

The part-time Utah legislature meets every year for 45 days from late January to early March. The 2007 session of the legislature dealt partially with the immigration-related issue of e-Verify, an attempt to use businesses to screen undocumented immigrants. It was that debate that piqued my interest initially, and the unfinished legislative issue was sure to be revisited in the 2008 session.

Several key staff members at Sutherland were either opposed to taking on the issue in 2007 or in downright disagreement with me over policy. While I was confident that Sutherland should prioritize the issue, I was reluctant to move forward without my colleagues on board. By November 2007, I prepared an internal memo making my case. This eventually turned into Sutherland's official position on illegal immigration, *Onus or Opportunity: Conservatism and Illegal Immigration*, a paper that we released on Cinco de Mayo, 2008.

In that paper I made central arguments: (1) The American conservative tradition supports generous immigration laws and rejects nativism; (2) “enforcement-only” policies are imprudent; (3) authentic conservatives cherish the deepest meanings of a humane rule of law; (4) undocumented immigrants living in Utah are generally more “Utah” in culture and character than the state's existing residents; and (5) these new immigrants are a wonderful opportunity for conservatives to reclaim and revitalize civil society, not to expand government or create a police state.

Sutherland also made seven recommendations, including one asking the federal government for a waiver allowing the state to act independently to ensure its public safety, protect its freedom, and promote its economic prosperity. Another called upon the state legislature to create an in-state work permit.

By April 2010, Arizona had passed the most aggressive anti-immigration legislation in the country, and enthusiasm for copying Arizona's SB 1070 legislation spilled north into our state. Utah State Representative Stephen Sandstrom flew to Arizona that month and spoke at rallies with SB 1070 sponsor Senator Russell Pearce, vowing to bring Arizona's methods to Utah. Seventy percent of the Utah population agreed with this approach.

At Sutherland's annual dinner in May 2010, I sat next to a bright young Latina state senator, Luz Robles, who raised the idea of working together to create an alternative to SB 1070 for Utah. That fortuitous meeting led to the creation of a 30-person working group comprising diverse political bedfellows—from the ACLU to the attorney general of Utah—all determined to stop Utah from becoming like Arizona on this issue. Six meetings were held in June and July, and by August the working group had an idea for alternative legislation. It's important to note that several members of the working group disap-

proved of any state solution to a federal problem. The ACLU, for instance, would not endorse any proposal that even hinted at pre-emption of the U.S. Constitution.

Around the same time that our working group was meeting, another bright young mind—a public relations professional with the Downtown Alliance, a partner of the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce—imagined a document, a statement of principles, around which diverse opponents of SB 1070 could rally. By September I saw a first draft of the document that ultimately became the Utah Compact.

In my opinion, the tortured immigration debate in Utah involved two game-changing moments—two moments that changed the course of the debate. The first was Sutherland Institute's position on how Utahns should decide the issue of undocumented immigrants living among us. Having the best-known conservative group in the state take that side changed the way many elected officials viewed the issue. Second, the Utah Compact created an easily understandable message for the public: Utah is not Arizona. Utah is a distinct place with a distinct culture, and our culture does not permit us to be unreasonable toward our neighbors, whether citizens or not, and that culture was reinforced by the support of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

As we entered the 2011 legislative session that January, public opinion in heavily Mormon Utah had shifted dramatically. In just 10 months, opinion moved from 70 percent in favor of Arizona's approach to 70 percent in favor of a unique Utah solution. Notwithstanding some passionate voices within Utah's legislature that favored Arizona's enforcement-only approach, the writing was on the wall. An alternative Utah solution was going to pass.

Sutherland Institute and State Senator Luz Robles favored what we often referred to as the gold standard of state-based immigration reform, SB 60. This bill

skirted the pre-emption issue by focusing solely on undocumented immigrants already living in Utah—the collateral damage of failed federal policies. As a matter of constitutional law, we argued, Utah has a right to ensure its public safety, protect our freedoms, and promote our economic prosperity and we felt the best way to accomplish those objectives was to champion accountability for undocumented immigrants already living among us—and any others who might be forthcoming.

While SB 60 was largely ignored in legislative processes that session (Sen. Robles is a female, liberal, Hispanic Democrat), the final bill, HB 116, contains many of its underlying principles, not the least of which is the fundamental idea that undocumented immigrants ought to be lifted to the surface of society where they can be accountable and productive members of their communities.

Enforcement-only policies drive immigrants underground, where they're not only susceptible to hardened criminal elements but also powerless in improving their neighborhoods and partnering with local schools in the educational lives of their children.

In other words, enforcement-only policies are imprudent.

The Utah Solution, HB 116, is set to take effect in July 2013. It has become the envy of many other states looking to do the right thing, the prudent thing, in state-based immigration reform. For conservative organizations and other state-based think tanks like Sutherland Institute, this issue is ripe for leadership and sanity and prudence. Immigration reform certainly involves economic aspects but, more so, it gives its advocates the incomparable experience of doing the right thing. ■

¹ Generally translated as something that is “wrong” because it is prohibited by law.

² Generally translated as something that is “wrong” in and of itself.



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a League of Peace

An Address by Andrew Carnegie

For much of his life, both as a private citizen and a philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie dedicated himself and his wealth to the pursuit of international peace. Below, in an excerpt from an address to the students at the University of St. Andrews in Fife, Scotland, on October 17th, 1905, Mr. Carnegie discusses war, peace, and party loyalty, subjects that have both remained at the forefront of our national life and continue to be a global focus more than one hundred years after these words were spoken.

The question has no doubt arisen in your minds, what is your duty and how can you best cooperate in [the holy work of advancing international peace] and hasten the end of war. I advise you to adopt [George] Washington's words as your own, "My first wish is to see this plague of mankind, war, banished from the earth." Leagues of Peace might be formed over the world with these words as their motto and basis of action. How are we to realize this pious wish of Washington's? may be asked. Here is the answer. Whenever an international dispute arises, no matter what party is in power, demand at once that your Government offer to refer it to arbitration, and if necessary break with your party. Peace is above party. Should the adversary have forestalled your Government in offering arbitration, which for the sake of our race I trust will never occur, then insist upon its acceptance and listen to nothing until it is accepted. Drop all other public questions, concentrate your efforts upon the one question which carries in its bosom the issue of peace or of war. Lay aside your politics until this war issue is settled. This is the time to be effective.

