

Volume 10 / Number 1  
Summer 2018

# CARNEGIE REPORTER



GREAT IMMIGRANTS  
★  
GREAT AMERICANS

PAGE 40

# WELCOME TO THE CARNEGIE REPORTER

## Think of the Possibilities!

Welcome to the Summer 2018 issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*. Among much else, we focus our lens on the extraordinary things that happen when people around the world embrace the potential of America — when ordinary (and some not-so-ordinary) individuals step through the door of citizenship onto the vast plains of opportunity that this nation affords.

Andrew Carnegie, an immigrant himself, believed deeply that with such opportunity comes the responsibility to be part of an informed, engaged citizenry. The strength of our democracy depends on that vigilant engagement. The guiding principle of Carnegie's vision, and of our work, is to continue to advance and share knowledge and understanding, so that all of us, especially those who debate the policies of our nation, have better insights with which to engage the issues of the day.

Largely self-educated, Carnegie believed that one person with enough knowledge and enough drive can change the world. That belief in individual pioneers remains at the heart of our national hope. This issue of the *Reporter* celebrates that trailblazing spirit, and shows the ways in which Carnegie's legacy continues to invest in building and sharing knowledge.

There is much to savor and ponder in these pages.

Two remarkable women — bona fide trailblazers Marcia McNutt, president of the National Academy of Sciences, and Judy Woodruff, solo anchor of *PBS NewsHour* — sit down for a freewheeling conversation about careers, science, journalism, climate change, fake news, the #MeToo movement, philanthropy, and much more. Scholar Steven W. Witt unearths the fascinating story of the International Mind Alcoves (1917–1954), a noble effort that aimed — through books! — to put an end to war by encouraging international understanding and developing cosmopolitan perspectives across the globe. Writer Aruna D'Souza explores the dynamic efforts of science museums to get kids inspired by STEM subjects — in fact, inviting the entire family. An intriguing look at the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program demonstrates how award-winning, pathbreaking scholars and writers continue to tackle the big questions in today's Twitterverse of short attention spans. Our book reviewers take on cyberwar and cybersecurity, the rise of China and the "New Silk Road," extremism in Africa, threats to democracy, and DREAMers. Beautiful portraits of immigrants to America past (by Augustus F. Sherman) and present (by Jennifer S. Altman) add dimensionality and haunting humanity to an issue that is couched, too easily, by the media and our politicians as either/or.

I am one generation removed from the Wisconsin farmhouse that still holds the log cabin walls of my own family's pioneer story. I grew up wondering what my ancestors would think of the lives we have built upon their legacy. I strive to be worthy of their dreams.

Regardless of how we came to this country, we are all children of our ancestors' dreams. As Vartan Gregorian notes in his essay, America may not be perfect, but we believe it is perfectible. This issue of the *Carnegie Reporter* celebrates the pioneers in spirit of today and yesteryear. They embody the potential of America to change their world — and ours — for the better.

## Julia Weede

Chief Communications and Digital Strategies Officer, Carnegie Corporation of New York

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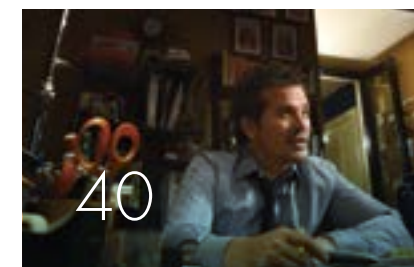
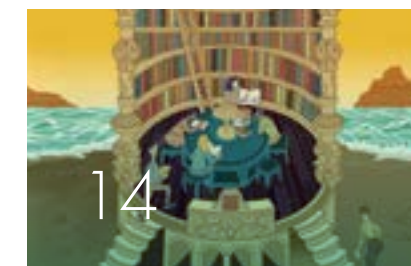


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## On the Cover

A portrait by photojournalist Jennifer S. Altman, whose compelling artistry commends this issue's Center Point section, which pays tribute to six distinguished honorees of Carnegie Corporation's **Great Immigrants Great Americans** campaign. See **The Secret of America** (pp. 40–65).

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## Not Perfect, But Perfectible

**America is not just a past; it is also a future. It is not just an actuality — it is always a potentiality.**

Each Fourth of July, since 2006, we have celebrated immigrants through our Great Immigrants initiative, honoring our founder, Andrew Carnegie. In 1848, at the age of 13, he came to America with his parents, following in the footsteps of so many who sought a better life on these shores. An extraordinary work ethic coupled with ambition, as well as a keen mind for details, led to his rapid advancement from a telegraph operator to a founder of Carnegie Steel. In 1901 he sold the company to J. P. Morgan for \$480 million, becoming one of the wealthiest men in the world.

That would have been enough for most men, but Carnegie then had to confront the problem of how to use his fortune for the common good. Thanks to his parents, he had grown up with a strong sense of his obligations to others. He decided that he would invest his fortune in a new way, to help others climb up the same ladders that he had ascended. His philosophy of giving was articulated in *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889). It is wrong to die leaving behind millions of available wealth, Carnegie wrote. Of such as these the public verdict will be: “The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced.” The result was an astonishing philanthropy that built over 2,000 libraries, and more than 20 institutions and organizations, including Carnegie Hall, Carnegie Mellon University, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, Carnegie Hero Fund Commission, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

As Andrew Carnegie would have been the first to explain, what he did was *not* charity. Rather, it was an investment in the imagination, the intelligence, and the future of the American people. Naturally, he hoped that others would lift themselves up as he had done, and remember their own obligations to the common good. He understood that the daily miracle of the United States required citizens who not only talked but also listened to each other. Carnegie’s vision, along with that of John D. Rockefeller, sparked a

philanthropic revolution in this country that continues to this day.

That is why, with our Great Immigrants initiative, we commemorate Andrew Carnegie’s remarkable legacy by paying tribute to the millions who have come to America — and who continue to arrive each year — from other countries. So far, with this initiative, we have honored more than 500 exemplary immigrants to the United States. These men and women have excelled in science, education, government, agriculture, the arts, the humanities, the law, business, technology, and the armed forces. They are Nobel laureates, athletes, generals, philanthropists, and lawmakers. They come from diverse backgrounds and from more than 100 countries. But they are united by the fact that they are now all citizens of the United States.

Perhaps the inspiring example of immigrants to America — past and present — can help to unite us again as a nation. After all, Carnegie did not castigate immigrants as a “burden” to our country. They have come here to be a *part* of America, not *apart* from America. We do not have to go far back in our history to remember how these new Americans have transformed our society. For example, in 1939, a dark period for Europe, the newly founded Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, opened its doors to displaced scholars and scientists from other countries, including such luminaries as Albert Einstein, Hermann Weyl, John von Neumann, Kurt Gödel, and many others. The simple independence given these brilliant minds to explore new horizons free from persecution sparked at least two scientific revolutions, one in quantum mechanics and the other in computing, which continue to shape our world. According to MIT estimates, more than 30,000 corporations as well as entirely new industries were born of these transformational advances.

For generations, America has offered refuge to those escaping from religious, ethnic, and political oppression. For example, the 17th century brought Quakers

Carnegie did not castigate immigrants as a “burden” to our country. They have come here to be a *part* of America, not *apart* from America.

and Puritans, who were fleeing religious persecution in England. William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, believed that in this new world “there may be room ... for such a holy experiment,” where people could worship according to their conscience. Like the Puritans, he hoped that this land of abundance would allow its citizens to build the “city on a hill” that Jesus envisions in the Sermon on the Mount.

The ideal of the “city on a hill” has been used (and abused) by orators ever since. My favorite is Ronald Reagan, who evoked it beautifully in his farewell address, adding the word “shining,” so that the city emanated light. As he said, “I’ve spoken of the shining city all my political life.... And if there had to be city walls, the walls had doors, and the doors were open to anyone with the will and the heart to get here.”

Throughout our history, those doors have remained open. After the failure of the 1848 revolutions in Europe, throngs of young immigrants came to these shores and built new lives here. In the aftermath of World War I, waves of refugees once more abandoned the disorder of the Old World for the freedoms offered by the New. Then again, during the convulsions of the 1930s and 1940s, America became a beacon for those fleeing the tyrannies of fascism and Communism.

Today, immigrants remind us more than ever of what is right about America. By going to such lengths to *become* American, they honor those of us lucky enough to be born American. Many of them come to our country from societies that are either oppressive or simply lacking in opportunity. Yet each new arrival brings with him or her an element that enriches our culture. In their faith, their love of family, and their patriotism for their adopted land, these future Americans have done so much — and will do so much more — to unite us. As Herman Melville wrote in his novel *Redburn*, “We are not a narrow tribe of men.... No: our blood is as the flood of the Amazon, made up of a

thousand noble currents all pouring into one. We are not a nation, so much as a world.”

At Carnegie Corporation of New York, we continue to stand by our founder, who believed strongly in both immigration and citizenship. Like him, we believe in citizenship as a pragmatic necessity as well as an ideal. Becoming a citizen is a social, political, and psychological act. Citizenship is also a pact. Democracy withers when citizens become mere spectators. Citizenship offers not only opportunity, but obligations as well. Andrew Carnegie understood that democracy depends on an educated citizenry, willing to make sacrifices for the common good.

As I pay tribute to Andrew Carnegie, I am not theorizing. I remember becoming an American citizen — almost 40 years ago. Such an anniversary provokes much reflection on what it actually *means* to be a citizen. I was lucky enough to be allowed to come to the shining city on a hill through one of the open doors described by President Reagan. I remember tearing up the day I swore that I would “support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America” and that I would “bear true faith and allegiance to the same.” It felt as if I were getting married again, and once more vowing my devotion till death do us part.

My naturalization ceremony took place, appropriately, in Philadelphia, the city where the great ideals of this country were written down for all the world to see. On that occasion I was invited to address what America meant to me. Since those remarks still resonate with me, I thought it appropriate to share some of them here.

We the newest citizens in the U.S., like so many of our immigrant ancestors, have come not only to enjoy the benefits of America but to work for its development and welfare. We have come to lend a hand in reaching out for democracy’s ideals. We have come to share its legacy and mission and to contribute to that “perfect

union.” We have come to the U.S. in order to be independent, not dependent; in order to be citizens, not subjects. In order to be free.

We know America is not perfect, but we see it as perfectible. For us, America is not just a past; it is also a future. It is not just an actuality — it is always a potentiality. America’s greatness lies in the fact that all its citizens, both new and old, have an opportunity to work for that potentiality, for its unfinished agenda.

In retrospect, I am amazed at the generosity my adoptive country showed me. I was a foreign student with scant financial resources and limited abilities as an English speaker. I was the first person in my family to attend a university. Had someone told me that I would go on to become a professor, a provost, and a president, I would have considered that a fantasy conjured up by an addled mind. But astonishing things happen in our country — and they will continue to happen. America invested in me and saw me as a citizen. It is a debt that I can never fully repay, though I have tried.

I was born in Tabriz, one of the major cities of Iran. I came from a rich civilization with 2,500 years of history and culture. But as I traveled from an empire to a republic, I learned the power of the rule of law. Americans lived in a relatively young country, but they enjoyed the protection of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. “We the people” did not mean that one’s entire identity was given over to the state, and becoming an American did not mean sacrificing my culture and my identity. I was not set apart, I was included. It was astonishing to me that my ethnic background as an Armenian and my Iranian citizenship were not used against me. No one denounced the university when I was offered the chancellorship at UC Berkeley. Not only was I an alumnus of Berkeley’s biggest rival, Stanford, but at the time the country was in fact in the middle of the Iranian hostage crisis. I was not even an American citizen yet, although I became one shortly thereafter. I was amazed by the fairness and generosity of Americans, and have striven to emulate those qualities in my own life. (In the end I decided to decline the chancellorship and remain in my position as provost at the University of Pennsylvania.)

I note with gladness that there is still a depth of generosity in this country unlike that of any other nation. It is this generosity that was highlighted by Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic study, *Democracy in America* (1835), which shrewdly dissected the new nation’s dynamism, resilience, and promise. The visiting French nobleman attributed the generosity of Americans to a widespread sense of obligation to repay their country for providing its citizens with the benefits of freedom. Citizens, Tocqueville

wrote, seem to have “enlightened regard for themselves,” which spurs them to “willingly sacrifice a portion of their time and property to the welfare of the state.” At its best, Tocqueville believed that this “enlightened self-interest” would help American citizens distinguish between personal gain and public interest, and, ultimately, between justice and injustice.

So as we celebrate our Independence Day in 2018, let us salute all who have maintained the values for which our republic stands, and let each of us renew the tremendous responsibility of American citizenship. This July 4th, we should remember Ronald Reagan’s words. The shining city has not only walls, but doors. We should continue to welcome those who choose the United States as their home and are willing to take part in this “holy experiment.” We are a nation of nations.

As a country, we must always be mindful of what Abraham Lincoln, our first Republican president, said about Fourth of July celebrations and immigrants during a speech he gave in Chicago, Illinois. On the evening of July 10, 1858, to “loud and long continued applause,” Lincoln spoke:

We hold this annual celebration to remind ourselves of all the good done in this process of time of how it was done and who did it, and how we are historically connected with it; and we go from these meetings in better humor with ourselves — we feel more attached the one to the other, and more firmly bound to the country we inhabit....

We have besides these men — descended by blood from our ancestors — among us perhaps half our people who are not descendants at all of these men, they are men who have come from Europe ... and settled here, finding themselves our equals in all things. If they look back through this history to trace their connection with those days by blood, they find they have none, they cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are part of us, but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence they find that those old men say that “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,” and then they feel that that moral sentiment taught in that day evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote that Declaration, and so they are. ■

#### **Vartan Gregorian**

President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

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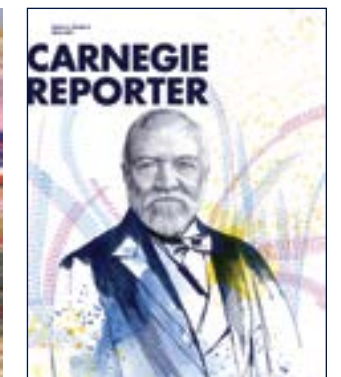
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– Andrew Carnegie

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Judy Woodruff (left) and Marcia McNutt — both trustees of Carnegie Corporation of New York — take a quick break before heading to the studio to tape the inaugural Carnegie Conversation. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK

# Pioneers!

## **Marcia McNutt & Judy Woodruff: A Conversation**

**GUTSY ... CANDID ... FUNNY ... SAVVY ... AND (WHO KNEW?) FULL OF SURPRISES**

Two trailblazing women sit down at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters for a freewheeling chat.

Both are super-accomplished, at the pinnacles of their pioneering careers.

One's a renowned oceanographer, geophysicist, and president of the National Academy of Sciences.

The other's a widely admired journalist and the recently named solo anchor of *PBS NewsHour*.

You'd be surprised: scientists and journalists have a lot in common. They search for facts, dig for the truth. They yearn for and thrill to that Eureka! moment of discovery.

**So dive right in!**

**MARCIA McNUTT:** So let's talk origin stories first. How and why did you become a journalist, Judy?

**JUDY WOODRUFF:** Well, I didn't know I was going into journalism, unlike many of my colleagues who knew from the time they were in kindergarten that they wanted to be reporters. Neither of my parents had gone to college and my father was a career military man, so I grew up as an Army brat. My mother was a stay-at-home homemaker. She didn't go beyond the 10th grade, so her mantra to me always was "Get an education! Get an education! And then you can figure out what you want to do."

I was heading into high school as John F. Kennedy was elected president. I had some interest in politics, but I did well — coincidentally for this conversation — in math. So I headed off to college thinking I would major in math. But I didn't know what I would do then. Somebody said, "You could become an actuary for an insurance company." That didn't particularly excite me.

**McNUTT:** That was still unusual, a woman in math, wasn't it?

**WOODRUFF:** Well, I had fabulous math and chemistry teachers in high school, so I really thought the sciences were going to be the place for me. But in my senior year I had a physics instructor who never called on the two women in the class for the entire year. And then in college — a women's college, Meredith College in Raleigh, North Carolina — the instructor basically thought women shouldn't be taking advanced math. So I was pretty discouraged.

But at the same time I was taking a course in political science. And I fell in love with politics. I changed my major, transferred to Duke University, and majored in political science. I thought I'd work in Washington. So I worked for my congressman in Washington for a couple of summers during college and I thought that was the place for me. But the second summer, in 1967, the woman I worked with on Capitol Hill said, "Do not come back to Washington. Women are not given any serious consideration in this city." So I went back to Duke my senior year, crestfallen, you know — completely broken. I thought I didn't have a career path.

Then my political science professor said, "Did you ever think about covering politics?" So the idea of that got into my head, my senior year in college. But when I applied for a job, the only job I could get was as a newsroom secretary for one of the television broadcast affiliates in Atlanta. And that's where I started. But I didn't go into it thinking I'm going to be a journalist. It happened very quickly after that.

**McNUTT:** So you didn't do any journalism in college?

**WOODRUFF:** I didn't. It happened so fast. I served in student government. I was interested in politics and policy, but the writing about it and the reporting was all brand new, and that didn't happen until after I was a secretary! What about you, Marcia? How did you get your start in science?

**McNUTT:** So my experience was just the opposite of yours, Judy. I had a chemistry teacher in high school who honestly should have been fired. But I had a teacher for physics in my junior year and calculus my senior year who was so inspirational that I decided to major in physics in college. And as I was graduating, I was very much encouraged by the faculty at Colorado College, where I went to school, to go to graduate school. But I couldn't quite figure out what to specialize in. I should back up a little and say my first plan was that I was going to take a year off and be a ski bum in Sun Valley with my best friend.

I had gone through college in three years and I thought I deserved a gap year. And this wonderful physics professor said, "No, you should not take a gap year. You're going to get used to having money in your pocket, you're going to get out of the study routine, you're going to meet a bartender named Sven, you're going to get married, you're going to settle down, and five years from now you're going to be in some cabin in Ketchum, Idaho, with laundry hanging out on the line and two little kids, and you're going to be wondering whatever happened to your dream.

"So," he said, "this is what you're going to do. You're going to apply to graduate school right now." And I said, "But my parents have just spent all this money on my college education. I really don't know if they should pay for graduate school." And he said, "No, you're going to apply for this National Science Foundation Fellowship. Here's the form. You fill it out. You'll get it." And I said, "Well, I don't really know what area of physics I should study." He said, "No. You're not going to graduate school in physics. Read this article." And he handed me the very first *Scientific American* article that was ever written on plate tectonics.

**WOODRUFF:** Wow!

**McNUTT:** By John Dewey, an earth scientist. It was the first one that was accessible to anyone who was not already a PhD. And although I had taken geology courses I thought earth science was this arm-wavy sort of mess. But I read this article and my jaw dropped. It was so beautiful. The theory was so expansive in its grandeur. It explained everything from the uplift of the Himalayas to the motion of the San Andreas Fault to the Ring of Fire around the Pacific — all by the motion of a handful of rigid plates on the Earth. I said this is so simple, it has to be right. So I decided right then I would go to graduate school. But I had to go to an oceanographic institution because most of the plate boundaries were under the deep sea.

**WOODRUFF:** Wasn't that a relatively new theory then?

**McNUTT:** Yes. For me, plate tectonics was like getting in on the ground floor of evolution the day after Darwin writes *Origin of Species*. Or on the ground floor of genetics right after Watson and Crick publish about the double helix. I felt like all I had to do was step on that elevator and ride it to the top. I guess I just always liked solving puzzles. I was always the kid that, you know, would go to a birthday party and everyone else is outside playing pin the tail on the donkey and I was the one collecting the frogs.

**WOODRUFF:** [Laughing] Yes! In many ways that's what journalists do too, I think — solving puzzles, using your eyes and letting the facts tell the story. At least that's what I was told journalism was when I started, but today the definition has shifted, and it continues to shift.

**McNUTT:** I see a connection between science and journalism done right. There's this whole issue of fake news and fact, and there are scientific hoaxes and facts all over the Internet.

**WOODRUFF:** What strikes me is that both of us, in our own ways, were kind of in at the beginning. There weren't many women covering politics in Washington when I started as a secretary, and there weren't many women in geology and hard science at that time, were there?

**McNUTT:** No, not many. We were lucky in having great professors in our lives at the right moments.

**WOODRUFF:** Yes, I'm reminded yet again of the importance of teachers. They can make such a difference in the life of every single student, both in a positive and a negative direction. I think if I had had a professor who was excited about physics and wanted women in the field — who knows? I might have taken a different turn. Clearly you were affected that way. And I did have that political science professor who just made me so excited.

This was the fall of 1964, right after the assassination of President Kennedy. So it was a time of a fair amount of turmoil. Then my college years were Vietnam and my senior year was 1968. Martin Luther King was assassinated that spring, and then Bobby Kennedy that June. And so, speaking of tectonic plates, we felt that the political and cultural plates were shifting underneath us. I was just determined that I was somehow going to be part of reporting on how our country and our politics were changing and how we were dealing with this moment of crisis in our country.

**McNUTT:** But wasn't your mother also a major influence on you?

**WOODRUFF:** Yes, my mother's father died when she was 14. She had to stay home and help take care of her siblings

while her mother took two additional jobs, so her mother had three jobs. She was an enormous inspiration. I'm sure you had some moments like that, didn't you?

**McNUTT:** Oh, yes. I had a great experience when I first got to college. It was the first year of an experiment, which continues to this day, called the Block Plan system, where students only take one course at a time for a concentrated immersion in a subject for a month or two, and then you take an exam. Then the next month you take another course. So as a freshman for my first two months at Colorado College I signed up to take geology because I thought what better introduction for someone who is coming from the flatlands in Minnesota to Colorado than to take geology and get out and see the mountains?

Our professor, John Lewis, had us roll up our sleeping bags, pack up our backpacks, and we went out in the mountains for two months. We had to pretend we were the first geologists on Earth. We took no books. We did no lectures. We had to figure out the geologic evolution of the southern Rockies over the past 1.6 billion years from first principles. And it was an amazing experience just to use our eyes.

That experience taught me first of all that I had a knack for that. I really had an aptitude for sitting back and letting the observations tell their story. The other thing I learned was that I really wanted to do science outside.

**WOODRUFF:** Right. As you've said, and I'm quoting here: "As a scientist working in a lab, publishing papers that only a few specialists in the field really cared about, it felt to me like being trapped in a box canyon." Tell us about the journey out of there.

**McNUTT:** Well, for a scientist there is no greater joy than that Eureka moment — you've had some hypothesis and you go out and make some discovery. So I spent most of my active science career as an oceanographer. I remember one expedition when we were out in a place where the only other ship tracks were those of Captain Cook. And we made amazing discoveries. It was like, "Oh my God! We know something about this place that no one else has ever discovered!" That's an amazing feeling. But then I realized that I can probably count on two hands the number of people who cared about that. Even convincing my mother that she should care about it was getting to be a heavy lift.

So I got an invitation to leave MIT and go to the Monterey Bay Aquarium Research Institute [in California]. That was a laboratory founded and funded by David Packard as a technology incubator, to create new tools to explore the ocean in new dimensions. As its director, I set it on a new course. Rather than just doing free ocean discovery, we set out to use those tools to answer questions that people really cared about: How are we polluting the oceans? What can we do about it? How is the ocean changing in response

to climate change? These questions had been difficult to answer because we didn't have the wherewithal to get information from the ocean. I found that researchers at the institution really enjoyed working on problems that people cared about.

From there I went to lead the U.S. Geological Survey. My portfolio expanded to problems in energy, minerals, ecology, problems in water, and mapping. USGS is a primary science provider to many other government agencies, so it was a thrill to be working with talented scientists like Steve Chu and Jane Lubchenco and John Holdren. After that I became editor in chief of *Science*, which is a premier journal that publishes across all fields of science, including astrophysics and microbiology, materials science and chemistry. And now I'm at the National Academy of Sciences, which is a great place to be, an institution that was chartered by Congress during the Civil War to be science advisors to the nation.

**WOODRUFF:** Which brings us back to fake news. Scientists working on projects or doing research with real-life implications like to get media attention because these are things people care about. But there's so much suspicion of so-called expertise now. Which experts do we believe? Who gets to decide what is scientific truth?

**McNUTT:** Yes, there are so many conspiracy theories out there. And with all these social platforms, everyone's a journalist, everyone's a pundit. How do you make the facts resonate?

**WOODRUFF:** This is a huge question. So much more is known in the world today than when I started out as a reporter in 1970. There are more facts coming at us, more research, more surveys, just more information on top of what we already have. And of course most of us have easier access. How do we know what to believe? As the country has grown more politically polarized, people focus on different parts of the set of facts that are out there.

If the vast majority of scientists who work on climate change say human activity is having an effect, then we're going to reflect that in our reporting. We're going to say, sure, there are people on the other side, including a number of people in very central positions in government, who are skeptical. But I think the public nowadays has to take more responsibility to inform themselves about these issues than they used to. But it's still up to us to decide what we're going to report, what we're going to leave in, what we're going to amplify, what we give context to.

**McNUTT:** Perhaps the point of confusion here is that science is not a belief system. Science is a structured way of uncovering the rules about how the natural world behaves. Anyone can be a scientist. Anyone can uncover and recreate for themselves those rules and behaviors.

So it's not that scientists *believe* that the globe is warming. Scientists *know* that the Earth is warming, and they know it is from the anthropogenic burning of fossil fuels. And they know that because they have independently confirmed it from several different approaches.

For example, they have been tracking the release of CO<sub>2</sub> from burning fossil fuels and watched CO<sub>2</sub> levels rise, both in the atmosphere and in the oceans, ever since the dawn of the Industrial Age. And they have seen that when they take out CO<sub>2</sub>-forcing from the models, it's impossible to recreate the current warming. You can't do it with solar impacts. You can't do it with rotational perturbations in the Earth's orbit. You can't do it with anything else but CO<sub>2</sub> burning. So when people say, "Oh, well, the models might be wrong," I'm sorry. The models may have small errors but it is only the CO<sub>2</sub> in the models that creates the current warming that we see.

We can also look back through the Paleo history of the Earth and see that every time there's a CO<sub>2</sub> spike, the planet warms. So scientists don't *believe* this. They *know* this. And they know it because they have a structured way of investigating the laws of nature. The greenhouse effect is solid physics. You might not want to believe it but you're going to have to live with it. And in fact if it weren't for the greenhouse effect, this planet would not be habitable.

**WOODRUFF:** We know this and yet there is this political divide that is determined to continue the debate.

**McNUTT:** I think arguing about the evidence of climate change is being used as a distraction to prevent taking action on it. You know, most Americans cannot name a living scientist, so it's hard to deliver trusted messages.

I have many Republican friends I go camping with every summer in the High Sierra, for almost 20 years now. We've seen changes in these Sierra meadows and the amount of water, with more frequent droughts. We talk about how we would love to have our grandchildren be able to enjoy the same experiences we've had. And when I bring up what we should do or what corporations and individuals should do, rather than government, they're completely on board. They know that these changes are happening. And deep inside they know that we are at fault. But they don't want this to be imposed by government saying, "You've got to do this." And yet it's hurting their quality of life.

**WOODRUFF:** Reaching across the divide — that has to be the way to do it. But with so many social platforms and places people argue, it gets overwhelming. I mean, it's the Year of the Woman and yet here we have the divide over that, the #MeToo movement, and the terrible stories we've heard since last fall when we learned about the sexual harassment charges against Harvey Weinstein, the Hollywood producer.



In Los Angeles to cover the 2000 Democratic National Convention, Judy Woodruff catches up on the news and gets her assignments in the CNN newsroom in the parking lot at the Staples Center. The veteran journalist, along with Bernard Shaw, anchored CNN's "Election 2000" coverage. PHOTO: AL SCHABEN/LOS ANGELES TIMES VIA GETTY IMAGES

The fact that it happened in Hollywood with a celebrity quotient gave it lift. If it had happened in a — I don't know, in an accounting firm, it might not have gotten so much attention. [Laughing]. Sorry, accountants out there. But a lot more people paid attention and started looking around and saying, "Has that happened in my workplace?" And sure enough, we found out that in a number of newsrooms, some names we thought were going to be carved in the mountaintops of journalism were in trouble.

**McNUTT:** You know, harassment came out in the sciences before Harvey Weinstein. And yet it got no play in the media or outside of science or anywhere, and it wasn't getting a lot of action. But the Harvey Weinstein case brought a lot more out and allowed the scientific community to realize that science really had a problem too.

**WOODRUFF:** Yes, and I feel so horrible for all those women whose lives or careers were ruined because of what he and so many other men have done. I know for a fact that women turned away from journalism because of what was done to them by a colleague, usually a senior colleague, whom they thought they could trust. And instead this person turned out to be a predator.

What we've got to do now in newsrooms — and I hope in every other workplace in the country — is look at how they are organized. How do we make sure that when this kind of situation arises, people can speak up and be taken

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I do believe it's crucial that our political leaders are able to find common ground so that they can come together to solve the important problems we face. But do I think they're going to be singing "Kumbaya" and holding hands and having cookouts together? No.

— **Judy Woodruff**

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seriously? We need to make sure young journalists coming into the profession right now are supported and know what to look out for, and that they don't put up with these kinds of behaviors. We need that in every profession.

**McNUTT:** In science, what makes it different from accounting or entertainment or journalism is that it still operates on almost an indentured servant model. Graduate students and post-docs get their funding, their advice, and



In June 2016 Marcia McNutt, editor in chief of the *Science* family of journals and president-elect of the National Academy of Sciences, told an interviewer that “there has been no time in human history when we’re seeing a greater profusion of scientific discoveries to benefit humankind.”  
PHOTO: GINGER PINHOLSTER/AAAS

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The image in my mind is a road with an army of women marching down it, and some of the women just keep falling by the wayside, off the road. And not from enemy fire — from friendly fire, as it were, within our own community. So that the only women making it to the other end are so tough that come hell or high water they’re going to make it. But what a horrible waste of human capital to have a system that operates that way!

— Marcia McNutt

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any possibility of future employment from the personal intervention of a single person. That person provides their support, their scientific project, their recommendations for future work, et cetera. And if that person is a harasser and the student turns them in, the student’s career is sunk. There’s nowhere to go. Too many victims cannot be whistleblowers because they have no way out. Also, it’s often the case in science that the harasser is the golden goose in the institution involved. They bring in the big research grants.

**WOODRUFF:** In many ways that’s what happened in journalism. Some of the people who’ve been found out were the ones who had their own shows: Charlie Rose. Tavis Smiley. Mark Halperin. Young people wanted to work with them because they were somebody you could learn from. You get a great opportunity, a great recommendation. So it’s a mentor system. It may not have been labeled that way but that’s what it was. And these young people just out of school, the young women were completely vulnerable.

**McNUTT:** I think this may be a watershed moment. There is no longer any tolerance, and there is also a recognition now of what it means to be a victim. So many of these young people felt, “I’m going to put up with this because of what I get out of it at the other end.” And now they’re being told, “No, you don’t have to do that.”

**WOODRUFF:** I certainly hope it’s a watershed, because so much has been lost, so many people have been harmed deeply. Year after year, decade after decade, and it’s time that we turned the corner. But we do have a terribly short attention span in this country. We tend to move from one crisis to the next, so I pray that this is one that women are going to keep talking about and not forget.

**McNUTT:** The National Academy of Sciences has a major report on all this coming out this fall, I think. It will make recommendations that I hope will work to change the culture within science, including how the funding agencies and the institutions handle harassers, because you really need to align all the players. One organization, the American Geophysical Union, has now redefined sexual harassment as scientific misconduct. So it is actually considered scientific misconduct if you are a sexual harasser, and that goes onto your professional record.

**WOODRUFF:** In journalism it’s going to be done a little differently because we don’t have the strict rules, the measurements that you do in science and academia. But we can set guidelines and we can shine a bright light on the way news organizations operate. My strong belief is that we can shame some news organizations into paying attention to this and holding people accountable.

**McNUTT:** It will certainly help when more women are in positions of power. It will be interesting to see, when the Academy report comes out, whether they find it to be true that fields with more women in leadership positions have fewer problems, and whether over time the growth of women in leadership positions in some fields has lessened sexual harassment. But the image in my mind is a road with an army of women marching down it, and some of the women just keep falling by the wayside, off the road. And not from enemy fire — from friendly fire, as it were, within our own community. So that the only women making it to the other end are so tough that come hell or high water they’re going to make it. But what a horrible waste of human capital to have a system that operates that way!

And that means here we are again at big divisions. Judy, you have said how important it is that politicians get along, and I quote you: “Because the challenges that demand our attention are huge right now and don’t show any signs of disappearing.” Are you optimistic about this? Do you think both sides can ever get along again? How can journalism help bring this rapprochement along?

**WOODRUFF:** I do believe it’s crucial that our political leaders are able to find common ground so that they can come together to solve the important problems we face. But do I think they’re going to be singing “Kumbaya” and holding hands and having cookouts together? No. I’ve watched the deterioration of the body politic in Washington for 40 years, maybe 41. The city has always had Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and

liberals, but today so many of them just don’t want to give the time of day to the other side. And the other side is not just someone you disagree with but your mortal enemy.

What kind of country are our children and grandchildren going to grow up in? Are they going to have great educational opportunities no matter where they live? Are they going to be well fed? We have a tremendous problem right now with inequality. Our democracy was founded on healthy disagreement and healthy debate. The founders knew we were going to have different political parties with different approaches. So how do we get through this? I would love to tell you. The political pressures, the money in politics, the redistricting, the gerrymandering ... I come back to the money in politics. I’m going to say it again. We are just awash in money and I think that’s a huge problem. We’ve got to find a way through it.

**McNUTT:** Is there a role in all this for the other kind of money, philanthropic donations? It’s been successful in supporting high-risk projects, cross-disciplinary projects, and some that fare poorly in conventional peer review. Private funders can also pioneer new approaches to problem-solving.

**WOODRUFF:** Yes, especially when they focus on education. It’s so important to make sure the next generations have the tools to understand the world in the way we’ve been discussing, to contribute to the advancement of their fellow human beings and to take care of one another.

**McNUTT:** So Judy, after all this, what is it that gives you hope? What keeps you from just throwing your hands up in the air and screaming and — I don’t know, getting on the first jet plane for Maui?

**WOODRUFF:** [Laughing] I’m an optimist by nature, but it’s more than that. I’m a believer that human beings are ultimately good. Not everyone, but I think most people are good and want to do the right thing when presented with alternatives. I have to believe we’re moving in the direction of getting better. I mean, we are having fewer wars, less disease as a planet than we did 100 or 300 or 1,000 years ago. Fewer people are dying in battle every year.

We tend to focus on the bad things happening now, because that’s what we do as news organizations. But we are making progress. I tend to believe the human condition is moving in the direction of getting better, even though I’ve seen things fall apart time after time after time in Washington. I have to believe it’s going to get better. I just refuse to give up. I refuse to believe that my children’s generation and my grandchildren’s generation won’t do a much better job than we’ve done.

**McNUTT:** Well, that’s a value I think we can all share. Maybe we can start there. ■





# Mind Meld

Books Libraries Peace War

By **Steven W. Witt**  
Illustrations by **Marcos Chin**

**The International Mind Alcoves (1917–1954) aimed to change global perceptions regarding armed conflict and international peace. Central to this goal: the idea that a sustained peace requires cultural understanding engendered by education and exchange.**

A boy and his father visited the Thomas Beaver Free Library in Danville, Pennsylvania. It was 1944, and dad was going to war. The boy told the librarian, “He is going soon. That is why we need all of these books so quick. Daddy and I have to learn about so many people and places before he goes away.”

The librarian brought them to the International Mind Alcove collection of books on cultures, histories, and politics around the world. Given the nation’s focus on World War II at that time, it’s easy to assume this collection was created because of the war. Its history, however, is quite different. The books had been gathered years earlier, in reaction to World War I, in an effort to change global perceptions regarding armed conflict, international peace, and organizations such as the League of Nations. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) began supporting these book collections in 1918 as part of its “international mind” campaign, which aimed to put an end to war by encouraging international understanding and developing cosmopolitan perspectives across the globe.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was established on December 14, 1910, when Andrew Carnegie transferred 10 million dollars in bonds to a Peace Fund meant to “hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization.” The organization’s main focus was establishing international law and developing mechanisms for nations to arbitrate their differences peacefully. But many of its activities were aimed at information campaigns. As Elihu Root, founding president, explained, the organization strove to educate people about international relations and promote world friendship. Libraries had great potential for advancing new perspectives that could ultimately yield peaceful solutions to global problems.

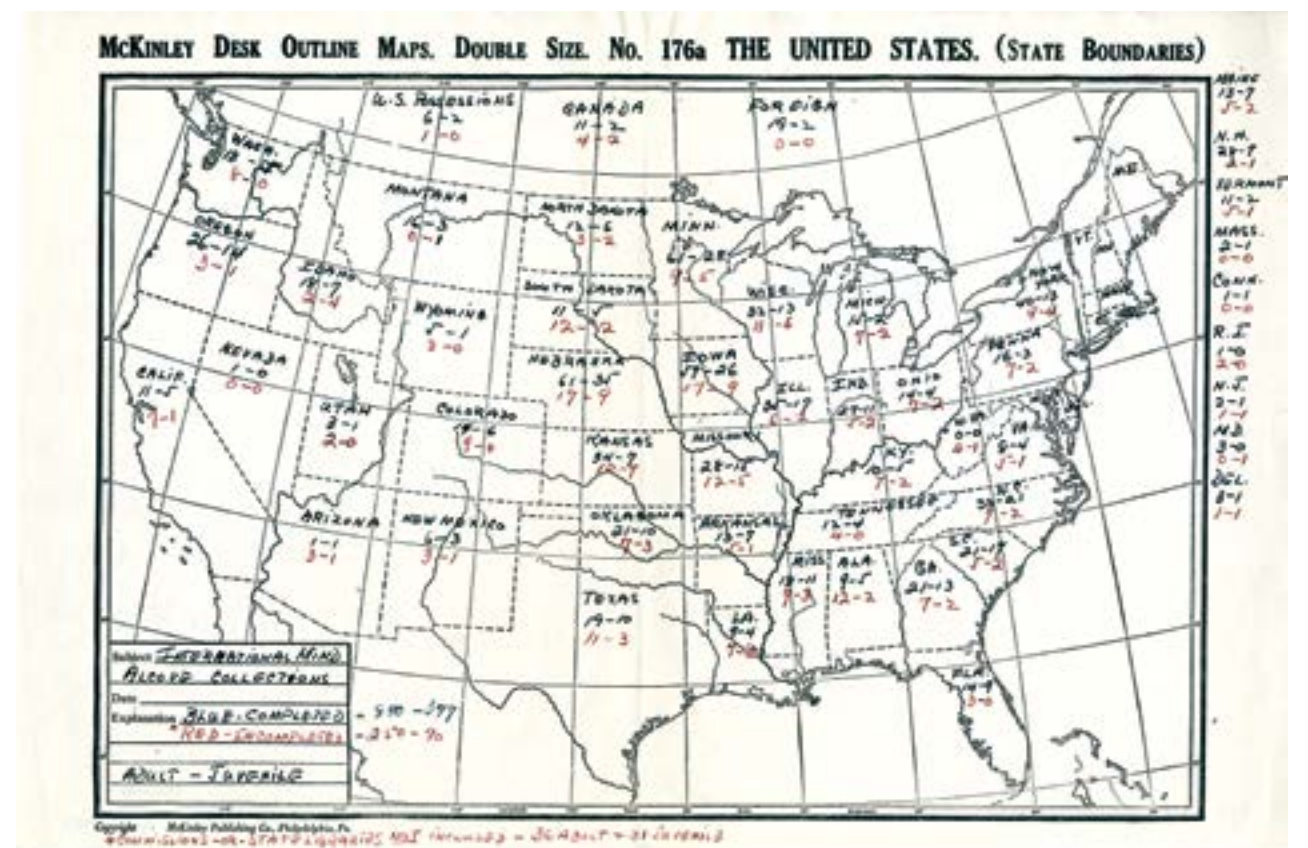
From the beginning of the Carnegie Endowment in 1910, the international mind campaign was used as a vast social experiment designed to change global public opinion and develop an international mindset that would, in the words of Nicholas Murray Butler (Nobel Prize winner and

second president of the Endowment) replace “law for war, peace with righteousness for triumph after slaughter, the victories of right and reasonableness for those of might and brute force.” One of the campaign’s first activities was to send thousands of copies of Butler’s book, *The International Mind*, to academics, government leaders, and scholarly societies across the U.S., Latin America, and Europe. People “must be taught to know the international mind, to accept it, and to guide national action and policy in accordance with it,” Butler insisted. While these advocacy efforts failed to stop the outbreak of WWI, the Endowment’s educational division maintained its focus on creating “international mindedness” among the world’s populations during the post-war years.

Many librarians seized the chance to join the international mind campaign early on and began promoting the public library as a vehicle for peace. Within weeks of the Endowment’s formal establishment, George F. Bowerman, librarian at the Public Library of Washington, D.C., a Carnegie library founded in 1903, sent detailed plans for “enlisting the aid of public, college, school and other libraries in behalf of international peace.” Other librarians and educators encouraged the Carnegie Endowment to use libraries to distribute peace literature. Frustrated by the lack of such material in the San Francisco Public Library, W. J. Rockwell asked the Endowment: “Do you not think it a good plan to supply regularly every public library in our country with the *Advocate of Peace*? . . . surely the public library is an excellent medium thru which to give publicity [to furthering the cause for peace].” In 1914 Willard Small, principal of Eastern High School in Washington, D.C., encouraged the Carnegie Endowment to send every high school library the Endowment’s annual yearbook plus titles such as Charles William Eliot’s *Some Roads Towards Peace: A Report to the Trustees of the Endowment on Observations Made in China and Japan in 1912* and Sir Norman Angell’s *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage*.

The creation of the International Mind Alcoves, a direct outgrowth of Butler’s international mind campaign, coincided with U.S. involvement in World War I. In 1917 librarians J. W. Hamilton of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Mary Chase of Andover, New Hampshire, partnered with the Carnegie Endowment to develop the first collections on foreign countries intended for small public libraries. Chase reported in the *Advocate of Peace* that “the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace furthered the movement by promising to send books, free, to any part of the world, as long as the supply lasted.”

The sets of books in the Alcoves were used to promote learning about international relations and foreign cultures. The goal was to influence people to realize what Butler described as their “duties, rights, and obligations” as humans within an international system. Beginning in



**Books from Sea to Shining Sea** This printed map indicates the distribution of International Mind Alcove Collections (completed and “incompleted”) across the United States as of January 3, 1946. The map was hand-annotated by Endowment staffer Florence Wilson, former librarian of the League of Nations, for Alger Hiss, then president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE RECORDS, RARE BOOK & MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

1918 and ending in 1948, the International Mind Alcove program established 1,120 adult collections and 447 juvenile collections in U.S. public libraries located primarily in rural communities.

By 1924 International Mind Alcoves had gone global, with 81 collections in the U.S. and 22 in Europe, Latin America, and Asia. To promote the program abroad, the Carnegie Endowment sent librarians and staff around the world. In 1927 Florence Wilson, former League of Nations librarian, traveled across Southern Europe and the Middle East to survey American educational institutions. Traveling to Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and Greece, Wilson assessed the potential of the International Mind Alcoves and other Endowment programs such as their International Relations Clubs. The staff at Near East institutions, like their counterparts at rural public libraries in the States, expressed interest in promoting internationalism among their readers and embraced the International Mind Alcove collections with enthusiasm. Wilson was confident that the collections would contribute to the development of the peoples of the Near East, who, “held in restraint by despotic rulers and the domination of foreign

governments, and without education facilities, need, as a preparation for their new democracies and to combat rather violent nationalism, a knowledge of international affairs.”

The Alcoves were seen in the U.S. and abroad as a foundation for the modern mind poised to engage with the emerging global society — a strategy promoting a new cosmopolitan worldview. As Butler stated in a 1927 report on adult education activities, “Public libraries and reading rooms, International Mind Alcoves and International Relations Clubs are to be strengthened or brought into being not in one land, but in many lands, that the public mind, which in the modern democracies is in the last resort the source of authority, may be opened and broadened and deepened and instructed in all that relates to international understanding and international cooperation.”

To prepare future generations for a globalized society, the Carnegie Endowment established Children’s International Mind Alcoves in 1925, and these soon gained favor among libraries. “The fifth-grade teacher is using the books about



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“Many Study World Topics,” announced the *New York Times* of December 7, 1930. Librarians everywhere were reporting that “the man in the street, formerly interested in fiction, detective stories and in the stock market ... has, in the last few years, been awakened to a consciousness of other countries, with their different customs, finances, and morals.”

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children in other lands for collateral reading this year and she could scarcely wait for me to get *In Sunny Spain* ready for the shelf,” wrote a librarian from Brookville, Indiana. “She began to read it aloud at opening exercises this morning. The books for the little tots are darling!” Subsequent reports described the use of these children’s collections in a range of programming, such as reading passports, travel clubs, and world friendship clubs. By 1945 the Endowment had established more than 500 of these children’s collections to introduce youngsters to the world’s cultures and languages.

The Endowment used the national and local press to further advance its mission, sharing feedback from librarians that provided evidence of a growing interest in international affairs. “Many Study World Topics,” announced the *New York Times* of December 7, 1930. Librarians everywhere were reporting that “the man in the street, formerly interested in fiction, detective stories and in the stock market ... has, in the last few years, been awakened to a consciousness of other countries, with their different customs, finances, and morals.” Local U.S. papers reported on new International Mind Alcove books and commented on their popularity. The *Charlotte Observer*, noting the library’s acquisition of a “fine collection of books” in 1922, observed that the International Mind Alcove “shall be a definite contribution toward the formation of public opinion along international lines.” Six years later the *Tulia Herald* of the Texas Panhandle described the potential of Leland Hall’s *Timbuctoo* to change people’s perceptions of Africa as a dangerous place. Just as the Mind Alcoves abroad served as links to other nations, the U.S. collections symbolized a link between seemingly isolated rural America and the rest of the world.

## “There is no Frigate like a Book To take us Lands away”

Emily Dickinson

International Mind Alcove collections for adults comprised a mixture of travel and explorer narratives, cultural studies, world-ranging fiction, and internationalist political thought. Published from 1909 to the mid-1940s, the more than 200 titles attempted to bring a wider worldview and new ideas about governance to rural Americans and to peoples across Europe, South America, the Middle East and North Africa, and East Asia. Nearly 50 nations were profiled, introducing the global public to the nations, cultures, and political systems of the world. Famous works of fiction by authors such as Pearl S. Buck (*The Good Earth*) and E. M. Forster (*A Passage to India*) provided readers with cultural escapes across China and India, among other lands. The collections also featured works now considered classics of the explorer genre, including *Across the Gobi Desert* by Sven Hedin and *The Desert Road to Turkestan* by Owen Lattimore. The fact that many of these books are still in print is a testament to the high standards of the Mind Alcoves selection process as well as to the continuing interest in the kinds of cross-cultural understanding promoted by the program.

On the more political end of the spectrum of Mind Alcove recommendations for adults are works that have all but receded into memory. Yet in their time these titles were greatly influential in the development of the study of international relations and international law in response to the last century’s series of wars and political upheavals. Of the approximately 30 volumes dedicated to international relations and politics, five were written by Nicholas Murray Butler, second president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, including *The Basis of Durable Peace*, originally written under Butler’s pen name, Cosmos. The collections helped to disseminate the perspectives of social theorists such as Harold J. Laski (*Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty*). A prominent British scholar and socialist, Laski promoted pluralism and the creation of an international democratic system that sought to transcend the problems of capitalism. Also included were prominent journalists such as Sir Norman Angell, who won the 1933 Nobel Peace Prize and was active in the World Committee Against War and Fascism. Angell’s works *The Unseen Assassins* and *Peace with the Dictators?* focused on the battle for public opinion raging between internationalist solutions and the nationalism and militarism of growing fascism in Europe. These books, although flawed by their Western-centric perspectives, presented internationalism as the solution to the scourge of war while providing strong arguments for the struggle against fascism and antidemocratic practices.

“In some parts of this country, the foreigner is still an object of suspicion, and even the fact that he eats different food and wears different clothes may open him to ridicule, if not to condemnation. One of the most vital needs in the development of better relations is for the average citizen, man, woman and child to get below surface differences and to realize that a human being is a human being no matter how widely customs and beliefs may differ.”

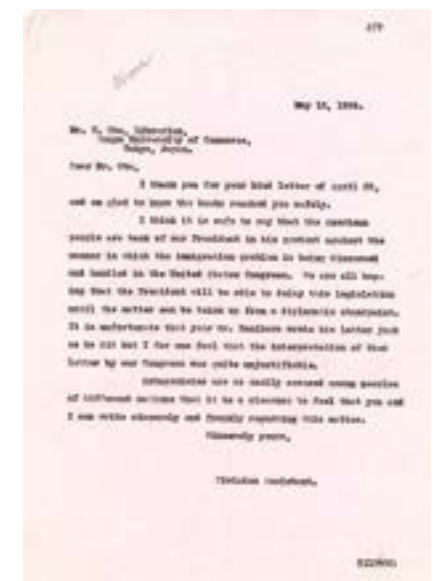
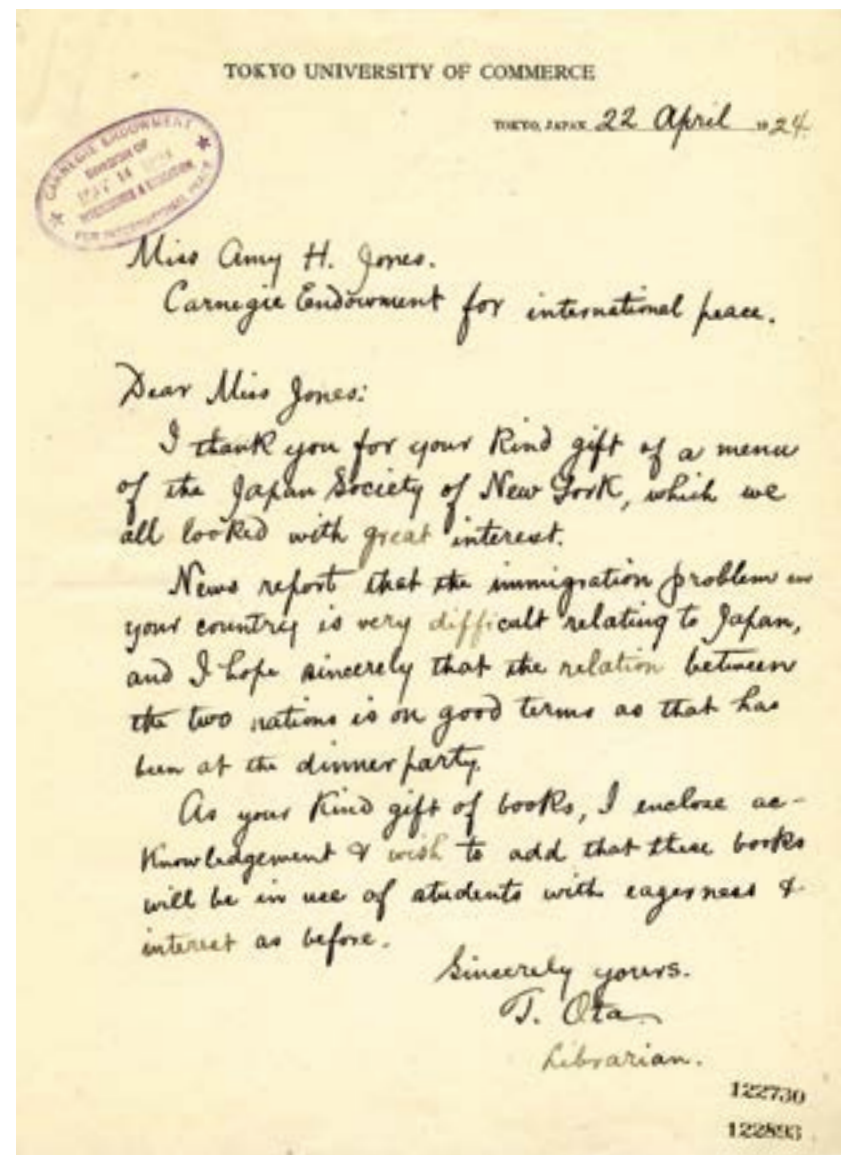
— *Annual Report, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1939*

Reviews and descriptions of the Mind Alcove collections were often provided by Amy Heminway Jones, an assistant in the Carnegie Endowment’s Division for Intercourse and Education. Jones selected books for the program, authored the International Mind Alcove booklists, and traveled extensively to promote the Endowment’s work. Jones served as more than a facilitator and assistant for the program. Her vast correspondence with librarians around the world was a conduit for international exchanges that formed a network of relations bound by the Mind Alcove collections. Her friendly communications invited candid responses. On April 22, 1924, the librarian from the Tokyo University of Commerce (now Hitotsubashi University) complained that the proposed Immigration Act of that year, effectively banning Asian immigration to the U.S., would create difficulties. Jones agreed that it was an unjust law, remarking that nevertheless it was a pleasure that she and Mr. Ota, the librarian, could “write sincerely and frankly regarding this matter.”

Jones’s letters flowed throughout the rural U.S., Asia, the Americas, and Europe, tracking shipments of books while building camaraderie among librarians through her humor and concern. When librarians in Bend, Oregon, worried that an International Mind Alcove might frighten readers, Jones suggested alternative names such as *How the Other Half Lives, Do You Want to Travel?*, or *Books on Foreign*

*Lands*. Jones also traveled extensively to support both the International Mind Alcoves and the allied International Relations Clubs. She went by train to Mind Alcoves throughout the U.S., conducting workshops, presenting to library boards, and meeting with librarians. She made stops in North Carolina, Georgia, Indiana, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Oregon, and up and down the East Coast. She also made steamship journeys to Europe and traveled across Asia, visiting Japan, China, and even Australia. Jones’s travel memoir, *An Amiable Adventure*, was published in 1933.

Despite Jones’s genial efforts, the International Mind Alcoves rankled critics who charged that the books were “arguing for internationalism as against Americanism,” and that “these activities should all come under the classification of foreign propaganda. Their purpose is the breaking down of time-honored American policies.” A 1930 *Chicago Daily Tribune* article, “Virtue for Tiny Tots,” complained that the juvenile collections were a part of a trend to water down history and children’s stories with “substitutes for the heroism of two-gun patriots.” In 1938 the Public Library board in Harlingen, Texas, noted the popularity of the International Mind Alcove collection while debating the need for “more books on Americanism” to “combat the spread of communism.”



**It’s Déjà Vu All Over Again** In a handwritten letter dated April 22, 1924, T. Ota, librarian at the Tokyo University of Commerce, sends his thanks to the Endowment’s Amy Heminway Jones for her “kind” gift of books as well as a menu from the Japan Society of New York, “which we all looked [at] with great interest.” Ota observes that the “immigration problem is very difficult in your country relating to Japan.” In her typed reply to Ota (carbon copy shown), Jones worries about how the issue is being handled in Congress and hopes matters can be dealt with from a “diplomatic standpoint.” She writes, “Antagonisms are so easily aroused among peoples of different nations.” Ultimately, the Immigration Act of 1924 limited the number of immigrants allowed entry into the U.S. through a national origins quota, and it completely excluded immigrants from Asia. CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE RECORDS, RARE BOOK & MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Americanism versus internationalism also featured heavily in a series of Congressional speeches from Representative George Tinkham of Massachusetts. As the *Milwaukee Sentinel* reported on February 26, 1933, Tinkham warned that “the manipulation of public opinion from sources which do not represent the general public will become the poisoned cup from which the American Republic will perish.” Tinkham called for “a congressional investigation of the propaganda methods of the Carnegie Endowment and its allies [to] ... insure preservation of American independence and American neutrality.” Tinkham called out the International Mind Alcoves as a particularly dangerous force that placed subversive books in public libraries, “even for children.” Although the criticism continued, the Endowment supported the International Mind Alcoves during the build-up to World War II.

As war made it difficult to partner with countries in Europe and Asia, the program shifted toward supporting U.S. understanding of forces antithetical to the internationalist mission: German fascism in Europe and the expansion of the Japanese Empire in Asia and the Pacific. In a domestic shift, the Carnegie Endowment also began to highlight the International Mind Alcove as a tool to build racial tolerance at home. Its 1939 Annual Report focused attention on the need for broader understanding and tolerance of foreign cultures and practices to promote acceptance of multicultural aspects of the U.S. The publication noted that “in some parts of this country, the foreigner is still an object of suspicion, and even the fact that he eats different food and wears different clothes may open him to ridicule, if not to condemnation. One of the most vital needs in the development of better relations is

## Think of the Children

Children’s Mind Alcove collections featured books depicting the lives and cultures of children from around the globe, authored mainly by American and other Western writers. With the aim of opening children’s imaginations to diverse cultures and the lives of their peers in other countries, many of these books would be categorized today as youth and young adult literature. Stories featured the adventures and often difficult struggles of young people in sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia, South America, and the Middle East, in addition to Europe — the motherland of many U.S. immigrants in the early 20th century.

Although by contemporary standards these books might be seen as inauthentic or biased cultural presentations, many were the acclaimed works of prominent authors. For example, *The Boy with the Parrot* by Elizabeth Coatsworth, a 1931 winner of the prestigious Newbery Medal for *The Cat Who Went to Heaven*, told the story of a boy in rural Guatemala who successfully peddles wares in the countryside to purchase a sewing machine for his mother. Elizabeth Cleveland Miller’s *Pran of Albania*, which followed the life of a traditional girl from the mountains through her experiences during times of war and peace, was nominated for the Newbery Medal and is still being reviewed on sites such as Goodreads.

Perhaps the most prominent of the Alcove authors was Pearl S. Buck, whose first children’s book, *The Young Revolutionist* (1932), followed close on the heels of her Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Good Earth*. *The Young Revolutionist* depicted the struggles and transformation of a child-soldier in revolutionary China. Like contemporary stories that call attention to the atrocities of war as they are visited on society’s most vulnerable, many of the books in the Mind Alcove children’s collections focused on refugees, young soldiers, and social upheaval in order to illuminate the realities of war for young readers.

for the average citizen, man, woman and child to get below surface differences and to realize that a human being is a human being no matter how widely customs and beliefs may differ.” Although racial tolerance was always a facet of the “international mind,” this shift strategically narrowed the goals of the Mind Alcove program from world peace to domestic tranquility.

Reports of increased use of the Mind Alcove collections poured in as war became imminent. A librarian from Salisbury, North Carolina, stressed the importance of the collections amidst the growing conflagration, stating, “we are particularly delighted to receive these books at this time when the need for better understanding is so imperative and when people are turning to the libraries for sane and unbiased information.” As soon as the U.S. entered the war, the Endowment made it known to the director of the Office of War Information that “International Mind Alcoves may without exaggeration be counted as a direct contribution to the war effort.”

A librarian from the Hutchinson, Minnesota, Free Public Library noted that “the demand for books about the Allied countries and which describe the theatres of war is great and we are grateful for all of those in our International Mind Alcove. Also, I cannot tell you how helpful the books on the subjects of peace and postwar planning which we have in our Alcove have been to study groups and the reading public in general.” He added, “parents of our boys in service are reading everything on foreign countries they can find and our Alcove gives much satisfaction.” Using the letters and reports of International Mind Alcove libraries, the Carnegie Endowment positioned the program to support a U.S. international policy that now paralleled the organization’s mission in many ways. The reports of the peace-oriented Endowment make clear, ironically, that the International Mind Alcoves became more synchronized with U.S. foreign policy when the country became involved in World War II.

After the war’s end, the Carnegie Endowment shifted its focus to postwar efforts, mainly bolstering the United Nations. Although the Mind Alcove book lists began including works such as *United Nations Primer* by Sigrid Arne, the Endowment reported in 1946 that no new Alcoves had been established since 1944, and that all Alcove commitments to libraries would be met by 1951. With new opportunities to promote internationalism through the UN and UNESCO, the Carnegie Endowment allowed the International Mind Alcove program to end.

This decision coincided with amplified criticism of the Carnegie Endowment and other foundations. By the early 1950s anti-communist sentiment in the United States once again focused attention on the activities of the Endowment and other foundations and nonprofits. The U.S.

As soon as the U.S. entered the war, the Endowment made it known to the director of the Office of War Information that “International Mind Alcoves may without exaggeration be counted as a direct contribution to the war effort.”

Congress began to investigate whether or not tax-exempt foundations were misusing funds to support activities against national interests. The hearings of the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations took place between 1952 and 1954 with Congress investigating “which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities; for political purposes; [and for] propaganda or attempts to influence legislation.” The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, a longtime critic of the Carnegie Endowment, editorialized that “huge foundations in the country have been diverted into propaganda for globalism, including international communism.” On the other hand, the *New York Times* described the “dangers to freedom of scholarship, research and thought that lie half-hidden between the lines” of the committee’s investigation.

The project and its collections were scrutinized. The congressional committee hired Northwestern University political science professor Kenneth Colegrove to review International Mind Alcove books. He concluded that titles such as Harold J. Laski’s *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* were “opposed to the ‘national interest’ and inclined toward extreme left.” Pearl S. Buck’s *The Good Earth* was labeled “slightly leftist” and other titles were categorized as “globalist” and “Marxist,” with some authors linked to reports from the House Un-American Activities Committee. Colegrove concluded that International Mind Alcove books presented a perspective that did not promote the national interest.

The hearings on tax-exempt foundations also included testimony from both Joseph E. Johnson, president of the Carnegie Endowment, and Charles Dollard, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York. In both their testimonies, Johnson and Dollard countered categorization of Carnegie activities as un-American, distancing their organizations from the high-minded internationalism

of the International Mind Alcove program. When asked about the selection of books and whether or not the collections were biased toward globalism and in support of “one world,” Johnson countered that the program had been discontinued before he became president and credited Amy Heminway Jones, who no longer worked for the Endowment, with selecting all of the books. Johnson further placed the Alcove program within the context of broader Carnegie support for libraries and asserted that “there was a feeling in the endowment that the endowment could usefully help people study international relations by making gifts of books to colleges and universities and other libraries which helped to explain and help people understand international relations.” Combined, the testimonies of Johnson and Dollard clearly sought to limit the scope of the Carnegie Endowment’s involvement in the program while recasting the purpose of the Mind Alcoves from one of the primary tools to transform global public opinion to a simple collection of books on international relations.

The committee’s findings implicated American foundations in subversive activities, broadly accusing them of employing vast funds to mount information campaigns to influence educators, manipulate public opinion, and — ultimately — impact foreign policy. In a statement apparently aimed directly at the International Mind Alcoves, the report claimed that overall “some of the larger foundations have directly supported ‘subversion’ in the true meaning of that term — namely, the process of undermining some of our vitally protective concepts and principles and the result of these combined efforts has been to promote ‘internationalism’ in a particular sense — a form directed toward ‘world government’ and a degradation of American ‘nationalism.’”

The report singled out the Carnegie Endowment’s campaign for the “international mind” as particularly dangerous because it had proven so successful in using publishers, libraries, the media, universities, and other organizations to aid in disseminating information that reached nearly the entire U.S. population. The focus of the committee’s concerns was on the ability of well-funded organizations to create international networks that advanced alternative political agendas running counter to prevailing governmental policies. While highly critical, in the end the committee report did little to increase government oversight or change how foundations and NGOs could operate in the United States. The International Mind Alcoves, however, were never revived. ■

It may seem that the International Mind campaign ended in failure, but many of the ideals of internationalism live on in the work of UNESCO and other international organizations. The debate between globalism and nationalism continues, as do attempts to influence public opinion through targeted information campaigns, including the use of psychographics in social media. The battle for minds continues.

# Engaging Imaginations, Making History

The scholars and writers selected for the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program are tackling the big questions in the Twitterverse of clicks, shares, sound bites, likes, and short attention spans

By **Gail Robinson**

**O**n March 10, 2018, Harris County Sheriff Mike Jolley apologized for a crime committed before he was born: the 1947 murder of Henry “Peg” Gilbert in a rural Georgia jail.

“We should have protected him,” said Jolley. “It should have never happened.”

The statement came as Gilbert’s descendants and members of the community rededicated the graves of

Henry and his wife, Mae, 71 years after he was brutally beaten to death in Harris County. The facts of Gilbert’s death and the impetus for the ceremony came from the work of the Civil Rights and Restorative Justice (CRRJ) Project at Northeastern University School of Law. CRRJ is compiling a database of racially motivated killings in mid-20th-century America — as many as 500 deaths that share some elements with Gilbert’s murder. The project’s director, Margaret Burnham, is a 2016 Carnegie fellow. Nearly 1,000 miles north of Harris County, in a quiet corner of Brooklyn, New York, historian Jared Farmer



**Life and Death** As he studies trees and longevity, Jared Farmer, a 2017 Andrew Carnegie fellow, often visits Brooklyn’s Green-Wood Cemetery, observing how its various elements — trees, flowers, graves, flags — exist on different timescales. “If life had turned out differently, I’d be a landscape photographer,” he says. PHOTO: JARED FARMER

walks among the graves in Green-Wood Cemetery, a park-like swath that holds an array of curious and gaudy tombstones marking the remains of luminaries such as Leonard Bernstein, Horace Greeley, and Samuel F. B. Morse.

To Farmer, the most noteworthy denizens of the cemetery are not the interred souls but the living trees, many of them 150 years old. He believes that studying these trees and their older cousins can offer insight into not only trees but into longevity and the value of long-term thinking in a physical environment being radically altered by humans.

Farmer was named a Carnegie fellow in 2017, one of 99 exceptional individuals selected for the program since 2015, each of them receiving a grant of up to \$200,000 from Carnegie Corporation of New York to pursue a special project.

With their very different backgrounds and projects, Burnham and Farmer demonstrate the broad range of the fellows as well as traits the fellows share. All are doing serious work in the humanities or social sciences. Their research is aimed at advancing scholarship in their



**Marking Time** In Green-Wood Cemetery, centuries-old trees shade graves honoring lives that proved much shorter. CLOCKWISE FROM UPPER-LEFT: A tattered flag and a pod from a sweet gum tree; the grave of American composer and conductor Leonard Bernstein, whose centennial is being observed this year; a scrap of a plastic flag that could survive for years and years in the ocean or a landfill; headstones of Union soldiers who perished in the Civil War. PHOTOS: JARED FARMER

own fields or beyond. “We want people who are doing forward-thinking work. We want people who are going to push their field to the next level,” says Zoe Ingalls, special assistant to the president of Carnegie Corporation and head of the program.

As the fellows research, write, engage, and speak out, they defy popular ideas about the world we live in. “In the age of information, when we are bombarded from all sides, every minute, every hour of the day and night, it can seem that we are living in the least analytical, the least insightful of times,” Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian has written.

Our culture seems to debase expertise, knowledge, and fact-based investigation. “There is an alarming rise in ‘anti-public intellectual’ discourse. It is fed by populism, nationalism, isolationism. It is also fed by social media and a modern world with a shortened attention span,” Turkish novelist and political scientist Elif Shafak recently wrote in the *Guardian*. “The demise of the public intellectual across the world is a bad sign.”

In Gregorian’s view, the challenge facing public intellectuals and others “calls for integrating and resynthesizing the compartmentalized knowledge of disparate fields: the ability to make connections among seemingly different



**Money and Brains** Carnegie Corporation of New York has a long and distinguished tradition of supporting scholarship. Authors who have produced landmark works with foundation support include (L-R): Henry Kissinger, whose *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (1957) has been described as “the template of U.S. nuclear weapons policy since the Kennedy administration”; Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal, whose influential study, *An American Dilemma* (1944), documented race relations in the United States; and Robert Caro, whose biography of Robert Moses, *The Power Broker* (1974), delved into how the “master builder” forever altered the face of New York City. PHOTOS (L-R): BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES; AUTHENTICATED NEWS/GETTY IMAGES; BARBARA ALPER/GETTY IMAGES

disciplines, discoveries, events, and trends and to integrate them in ways that benefit the commonwealth of learning.”

The Carnegie fellows have taken up that challenge. Their work demonstrates that humanities and social science research matters. By crossing lines between disciplines, Carnegie fellows seek to break through the bubbles that surround us. And their activism and commitment show that, while instant experts dominate cable television, serious, curious people who care about the world continue to play an important role in the public discourse.

Carnegie Corporation’s embrace of groundbreaking scholarship goes back more than a century. The foundation funded Swedish economist and sociologist Gunnar Myrdal, whose *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, published in 1944, documented the chasm between the professed ideals of white Americans and the country’s treatment of black Americans. This work was cited in the Supreme Court’s 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which struck down “separate but equal” education for black children. Henry Kissinger’s first book, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, and Robert Caro’s *The Power Broker*, about Robert Moses and the reshaping of New York, were also written with Corporation support.

The foundation launched the current fellows program in 2015, largely in response to a worrisome shortfall in funding for the social sciences and the humanities. While colleges and universities spent a total of about \$62.7 billion on research and development in the physical and biological sciences, engineering, and math in 2015, these institutions spent only about \$2.3 billion on research in the social studies and just slightly more than \$430 million on the humanities, according to figures compiled by the National Science Foundation. At the same time, some

colleges and universities have reduced classes in these fields and even eliminated entire departments.

Despite such trends, these disciplines remain essential, says Christopher Nichols, a 2016 fellow who directs the Oregon State University Center for the Humanities. “We need the humanities now more than ever,” he says. “We need them to help us consider the complex and seemingly intractable, so-called ‘wicked problems’ we confront, such as climate change, nuclear nonproliferation, and rising inequality. In short, we need the humanities to understand how we arrived at this moment, to sort fact from fiction, to find shared values, to create alternative ways of being and living, and to ask and address profound questions about society, nature, justice, religion, art, community, and so much more.”

The Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program selects up to 35 people a year, culled from about 300 nominations. After applications are read by outside experts in the candidates’ fields, a jury, working by consensus, whittles down the list. Gregorian sees the quality of the jury as a defining characteristic of the program. Chaired by former MIT president Susan Hockfield, it comprises current and former university presidents and leaders of foundations and scholarly research institutions.

As the program unveils its fourth class, the earlier groups are well along in their research, and their explorations and ideas are already having an impact. Masha Gessen, a journalist and 2015 fellow, won the National Book Award last year for *The Future is History: How Totalitarianism Reclaimed Russia*, which the program funded. Described by Gessen as a “long (nonfiction) novel,” the book revolves around four narratives to describe how authoritarian leadership and a populace burdened by the past have upended efforts to create a liberal, democratic Russia.

“It is a book about trauma,” Gessen says, although she does not use that word until the end “because I wanted to stick to the rule of show and not tell.” Her aim was to change the way people look at Russia, and that has certainly happened. But Gessen cites such events as the arrest of Pussy Riot, the Russian punk provocateurs, and the Russian meddling in the 2016 U.S. elections as playing a bigger role than her book in changing perceptions of the country.

Gessen has certainly changed the way we talk about Russia — and the way we talk about the United States. Her article in the *New York Review of Books*, published right after the 2016 election, led to widespread use of the term “autocrat” to describe both Russian president Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump. As a “stickler for precision in language,” she says, the word is “a good term for our times to describe Trump’s aspirations and Putin’s reality.... It harkens back to the imaginary, simpler past.”

Yale University historian Timothy Snyder, another 2015 fellow, won attention for his 2017 book *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. His new book, *The Road to Unfreedom*, based on Corporation-funded research, appeared in April 2018. “I am trying to show a pattern that has emerged throughout the northern hemisphere — a new form of authoritarianism,” says Snyder. “I’m asserting that the 2010s were a turning point, and I’m trying to show how.”

Snyder stresses that such knowledge and understanding are essential. “We are in a mess in large part because we accepted that history was over, declared that there were no alternatives, and then educated a generation largely without the humanities,” he says.

Although the fellows are not required to weigh in on public policy, many do. Class of 2015 fellow Louise Shelley, for one, thrives on the practical applications of her research. Her project focuses on illicit trade. In the course of her work, she made a discovery that, she says, surprised even her: looking back over 4,000 years, Shelley, a professor at George Mason University, found the most profound changes in illicit trade had taken place in just the last three decades. “In the most advanced forms of illicit trade, we’re dealing in botnets and malware and things that are based on algorithms that have nothing tangible, and they’re being traded in Bitcoins and cryptocurrencies. So, we’ve gone through a total transformation of what is trade and what is illicit trade. And with that has come an incredible speeding up of how illicit trade functions,” she says.

As she finishes writing her book, Shelley testifies before Congress and international bodies, speaks to journalists, and urges policymakers to look at connections among many frightening problems facing society. “People talk about how we’ve got to have a strategy to deal with opioids

and we have to have a strategy to deal with human trafficking and smuggling. And we have to have a strategy to deal with wildlife trafficking. The truth is that the criminals and the corrupt people do whatever brings in money and these are not separate phenomena,” she says. “We only perceive the act and we therefore address ... the act, but the people behind the act and the facilitators are all the same people. So, we need a much more integrated approach.”

Séverine Autesserre, Barnard College professor of political science and 2016 Carnegie fellow, also seeks solutions to what many view as an intractable international scourge — violence. She is looking at peacekeeping (she prefers the term peacemaking) not from the usual perspective of failed attempts, but from the vantage point of success. “What’s going to enable a village or a community or a district or a province to be peaceful?” she asks. “What are the kinds of projects that can work?”

Autesserre has concluded that peacemaking must be led by “the actual people on the ground who are experiencing the conflict and are suffering from the conflict. It has to be led, it has to be designed, it has to be spearheaded by local actors.” She quickly adds that outsiders can help, but says they “have to help in a much smarter way and in a much better way, more efficient and more effective.”

In her view, there’s no conflict between being an academic and being involved in advocacy. “The academy is a great place to think, to research, and to write because you have a lot of freedom and a lot of time,” she says. “I have the time to gather a lot of information, digest it, write it in a very accessible way, and then give it back to policymakers, to practitioners, to people who are interested in changing the world, and telling them, ‘Look, this is what I found. You can take it from there.’” She concludes: “That’s why academia is a good place to be an activist.”

To accomplish change, Autesserre hopes to reach beyond academics and specialists: “We need to find a way to make peace very sexy, to make peace be as sexy as war, because to me it is much more sexy than war.... We have to find a way to make peace be a thing that people want to talk about and think about.”

Many of the fellows strive to bring the public into the humanities conversation. Historian Christopher Nichols, who studies American isolationism, is going beyond his own work to host a conference this spring on “the role of ideas, ideologies, and intellectuals in the history of U.S. foreign relations.” The participants hope to produce a book and attract media coverage aimed at a broader audience.

The Citizenship and Crisis Initiative Nichols directs already has had a wide reach. It has organized town halls and other events using a major occasion, such as the centenary of World War I, as a springboard for discussions

Restorative justice seeks not to punish crime but to repair the harm done by crime. In cases of racially motivated killing, the damage scars so many aspects of U.S. society, one could say understanding these cases is integral to understanding America.

about the meaning of citizenship and its obligations. “Having done this with thousands of people, it strikes me that there is a rising clamor for deep thought and more informed discussion and analysis, and for ways to find common ground without reducing or dismissing difference,” he says.

Reaching out is also a major part of Margaret Burnham’s work on the Civil Rights and Restorative Justice database, which builds on a project launched in the late 1980s to compile information on lynchings in 10 Southern states from 1882 to 1930. Such work has a variety of applications. Burnham says she expects the data she is assembling and interpreting “will allow social scientists to completely reinterpret the Jim Crow period by looking more carefully at the role of violence and the role of law enforcement.... What is it that makes this period distinctive?”

Burnham sees the data as having a significant impact for law enforcement, high schools, colleges, and libraries. But the first purpose, she says, “is to bring dignity to the lives of the victims and their families, their survivors.”

Restorative justice seeks not to punish crime but to repair the harm done by crime. In cases of racially motivated killing, the damage scars so many aspects of U.S. society, one could say understanding these cases is integral to understanding America. “I think we’re experiencing a moment where we are investigating these issues, pulling cases together, and adding to our understanding,” Burnham says.

“This is not the brightest moment as far as our racial history is concerned, in part because our country is so deeply divided along lines that could be described as

political but certainly have racial dynamics,” she adds. “So this is a time in which we need to understand why we look like we do as a country.... History can enlighten our inquiry and *has to* enlighten our inquiry into all of this.”

Also seeking to shine a light on history is 2017 Carnegie fellow Monica Muñoz Martínez of Brown University. She is exploring thousands of killings of Mexican migrants by police and vigilantes in the Texas-Mexico borderlands between 1910 and 1920.

Some Carnegie fellows go even farther afield. Caleb Everett, an anthropologist at the University of Miami and 2015 fellow, explores languages few people speak and that probably will not exist in 100 years. Everett is the son of linguist Daniel Everett, who studied the Pirahã, an indigenous people of the Amazon rain forest. Caleb Everett spent part of his childhood near the Pirahã and later studied them himself. As he explains in his 2017 book, *Numbers and the Making of Us*, he realized that the Pirahã did not have words for numbers. This led Everett to conclude that knowing numbers — counting — is not innate human behavior but a cultural convention.

Everett’s Carnegie-sponsored research extends this work into other areas where language reveals differences in how humans think about basic things such as color, odor, and time. “Some really interesting data have surfaced from a variety of languages showing the disparities in how people refer to time,” he explains. “When we talk about events in the future, we tend to talk about them being in front of us, past events being behind us. In a number of languages it works the opposite way, where the past is seen as being in front of you and the future behind you. There are more exotic systems too, where the future might be uphill.”

While Everett rather cheerfully admits that there may not be immediate practical applications of his work, he and his colleagues do address very big questions. “To ultimately understand ourselves as a species, people like me believe you need to understand human cognition, human thought, and to do that you have to look at these diverse populations and diverse languages.” He asks: “Why are we here? What does it mean to be human? And then, interrelatedly, what does it mean to be human from the perspective of diversity? How much do humans actually vary?” Everett concludes: “That to me is one of the central questions of my research.”

As they study important issues and break down barriers between disciplines, a number of fellows look at the changing physical environment. Although much environmental research is done by atmospheric scientists and geophysicists, among others, some Carnegie fellows are approaching environmental issues from the humanities.





**Into the Fray** (L): Séverine Autesserre, a 2016 Carnegie fellow, talks with a United Nations peacekeeper in North Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo, in 2011. (R): 2015 Carnegie fellow Masha Gessen speaks at a Russian LGBT Pride march in Brooklyn in 2017, the first ever Russian-speaking Pride march in the U.S. PHOTOS (L-R): PHILIPPE ROSEN; MISHA FRIEDMAN/GETTY IMAGES

Jared Farmer calls himself a geohumanist. “I was struggling to describe to people what I do because I’m trained in history, but then I’m kind of a geographer, I’m kind of an environmental scientist, there’s some overlap with geomorphology,” he explains. While he thinks *environmental* is an ugly word that has been politicized, for him “*geo* is such a beautiful prefix that pertains to Earth. So geohumanist — I like it because it puts Earth first.”

He focuses on trees, some of which live thousands of years, partly because, “people care about trees. I have yet to meet a person who tells me, ‘I hate trees.’ They are useful, a symbol for many other things,” he says, “and encourage a wonder about world and time.... They help us think in these longer durations in a way that animals can’t.”

Farmer thinks trees also offer hope. “I’m really pessimistic about animal extinction and changing oceans and human refugees, the rising sea levels increasing the intensity of storms. That’s all in the pipeline. But I’m not worried we’re going to destroy the Earth.... Earth has been through a lot.

“Our time will end at some point,” he adds, “but I’m pretty confident plants will be here long after we’re gone, and in a weird way I find that kind of comforting.... Maybe there will be another creature of high intelligence that does a better job than us of keeping things going.”

“Hopelessness is one of the major challenges facing scholars who work on climate change issues,” says María Cristina García of Cornell University, a 2016 fellow who is studying environmental migration in the Americas. “The scientific data is sobering, and our politicians are making things worse.” But García sees hope in her students who want to discuss ideas, do meaningful work, and make a difference. She believes “human beings are creative and resilient, and innovations, policies, and programs could help us adapt to accelerated unnatural climate change.”

While they may be hopeful, Carnegie fellows recognize these are difficult times for scholarship. “This is a challenging moment for humanities and social science scholars to have an impact,” Nichols says. “The degrading of expert knowledge and facts, epitomized by the term *alternative facts*, is repugnant to most scholars and thinkers I know.”

Despite this, he says, “I very often find large, appreciative audiences and groups enthusiastic about facts derived from serious scholarly research, who are eager to discuss, analyze, and also find and develop action plans based on history and humanities insights.”

For Timothy Snyder the very fact of scholarship offers some solace. “Today’s world is overwhelming and enervating and isolating,” he says. “It is very easy to get pounded by the daily news cycle, to be frustrated by apparent polarization, to disappear down the silo of what we already believe. Books allow us to get some distance from the day’s events, to find a better language that we can use to share and to grasp new ideas that change what we believe. This happens. I see it happen.”

For Masha Gessen, studying the humanities is a “necessary condition” for dealing with our present and our future. “Not having the skills to make sense of what happened to Soviet society has made it impossible for Russia to move forward.... If you can’t think about something, you can’t fix it,” she says.

But that is not enough. “The failure has been not only in not studying history — but in not engaging the imagination. We need imagination when we talk about the past and the present but particularly when we talk about the future.” Without imagination, Gessen warns, we have “completely handed the future over to *stuff*.... We don’t think about what kind of society we want to live in in the future. We don’t have a vision.” ■

# Downright Prescient

Two Carnegie fellows, some political pundits, and a brace of cable news prognosticators walk into a bar ...

**R**egardless of their politics, most Americans can agree on one thing about the 2016 presidential election: political pundits and forecasters suffered a humiliating defeat.

They are neither pollsters nor television cable news panelists — and they did not predict Donald Trump’s victory — but demographer Kenneth Johnson and election law expert Nathaniel Persily did better than most. Many months before Trump received the Republican nomination, these two 2016 Carnegie fellows identified key developments that contributed to Trump’s election. Today their work is attracting attention and making both fellows seem downright prescient.

In 2015 Kenneth Johnson, a professor at the University of New Hampshire, proposed to study rural America, notably the changes that the Great Recession had brought to the 74 percent of U.S. land area that is home to 46 million people. Way back in 2015, says Johnson, rural America, was “outside the spotlight of where all the media and foundation attention tends to be.” It has, though, been Johnson’s field of expertise since he received his doctorate in the 1970s.

Trump’s victory gave Johnson’s area of expertise immediacy among a broader public. “The 2016 election turned out to be a great indicator that rural America still matters in the political process,” he says. Delving into the results with political scientist Dante Scala, Johnson found that while Republicans generally tend to do better than Democrats in rural America, Clinton did particularly badly. He and Scala are now probing the reasons why.

As reporters rushed to cover a population they had long ignored, some made mistakes, such as assuming all rural people work in agriculture or have little education. The biggest error, according to Johnson, was “lumping all of rural America together.... People who can discuss the subtleties separating Manhattan’s Upper East Side from its Upper West Side somehow think all of rural America is alike.”

Meanwhile, in 2015, Stanford law professor Nathaniel Persily had been considering how — with the advent of the Internet — campaign finance regulation needed to change. When he received his Carnegie award, Persily expected that, from a digital perspective, the likely narrative for discussing the 2016 campaign would revolve around a Clinton victory and focus on digital campaign geniuses, small-dollar fundraising, and microtargeting. It did not quite work out that way.

Before the election, few saw the digital age as a “political Utopia,” says Persily, but since 2016, “people see it as more dystopian.” His project has shifted to address this concern. Discussing his research, he observes, “The whole Russia incursion is a result of the Internet not just here, but elsewhere. The web is worldwide.” The Internet, he believes, poses a unique threat to democracy because of a number of factors, including the volume of material, the speed at which “information” spreads, the lack of gatekeepers, and anonymity.

While technology has exposed what Persily calls “the soft underbelly of democracy,” his project focuses on how we might respond and make our institutions less vulnerable. Some of his suggestions, such as deleting or censoring hate speech and trying to crowd out false stories with better quality news, are already used in a number of countries. Others, such as creating digital “trip wires” to delay the spread of stories, are more novel.

Persily acknowledges that any change is challenging when things are moving so fast, and that such fixes cannot begin to solve all democracy’s problems. As he wrote in “Can Democracy Survive the Internet?” (an essay published in the *Journal of Democracy*, April 2017): “With the deterioration in democratic values occurring both on- and offline, we should not expect technology to rescue us from the historical and sociological forces currently threatening democracy, even if that same technology facilitated the disruption in democratic governance in the first instance.”

# ALL IN THE FAMILY

Science museums and centers around the country are discovering innovative ways to inspire students' interest in STEM subjects — including getting the whole family involved in exploring the wonders of science.

By **Aruna D'Souza**



**Science Smarts** The American Museum of Natural History in New York City has been a leader in developing school and community engagement programs in the largest public school system in the country — including Urban Advantage, which allows middle school students and their teachers and families to take advantage of the educational resources on offer at science-rich cultural institutions around NYC. PHOTO: EMMANUEL DUNAND/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

How do kids learn best? That perennial question gained new traction after President Barack Obama's 2011 State of the Union address, in which he called for a sharper focus by America's education system on science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) in order to prepare students for the challenges facing the nation and the world in the coming decades. His call has led to large-scale attempts to transform education in the United States. These include ambitious projects like 100Kin10, an initiative that aims to recruit and develop 100,000 excellent teachers in STEM fields by the year 2021, and the development of the Next Generation Science Standards (NGSS), a new vision for K–12 science education that integrates science and engineering practices with disciplining core ideas and crosscutting concepts in science.

But for all the focus on what happens in the classroom, education leaders are increasingly aware that children learn in a complex ecosystem that extends well beyond formal educational settings. Science and natural history museums, zoos, botanical gardens, and other types of science centers increasingly position themselves as important contributors to children's overall science education, as spaces of informal learning that can deepen

and extend what schools and families have to offer. This is especially the case as more states and individual school districts around the country adopt Next Generation Science Standards, which emphasize hands-on, experiential learning driven by students investigating science phenomena and designing solutions to problems — a sweet spot for science centers and museums, which have long emphasized this type of engagement. Fortunately, these types of institutions also have a degree of freedom to think creatively about how best to spark students' curiosity. As a result, many science museums and centers around the country are working to help develop classroom resources and bolster professional learning opportunities for science teachers in their communities, and to otherwise support overburdened public school systems.

At the same time, education leaders are paying new attention to an old truth: that kids do better in school when their families and communities are involved in their education. This renewed interest in family engagement may be the result of a hard-won lesson of recent years — namely, the widespread resistance to the Common Core educational standards, a backlash largely attributed to the failure to involve families in the process of overhauling the K–12 curriculum nationwide. It is based, too, on well-established research that shows the importance of families

in a child's learning ecosystem, especially for kids from immigrant and low-income families.

These insights have spurred major funding organizations, including Carnegie Corporation of New York, to explore ways to connect with parents and communities beyond school settings, as a way to spur students' success. "As Carnegie Corporation's strategy to engage parents as key stakeholders in their children's education evolved, we began looking for the greatest points of influence and most effective strategies to reach families and communities at a local level — in short, how to reach parents where they are," explains Ambika Kapur, a program officer in education.

Consequently, with the support of Carnegie Corporation of New York and other grantmaking bodies, some of the leading science centers and museums around the country are developing a "two-generation approach" to science education that emphasizes teaching parents at the same time as teaching kids. Here's how some of these institutions are increasing their focus on families.

### Creating Science Superheroes

When asked to give an example of how the New York Hall of Science (NYSCI) measures its success at engaging visitors, president and CEO Margaret Honey recalls one young child's feedback about his visit: "This exhibit makes me feel like a superhero!"

Much of NYSCI's work with its community in Corona involves just this kind of empowerment — making kids and their families feel like STEM concepts are within their grasp. The museum's Queens neighborhood is notable for its high proportion of immigrant families: two-thirds of households are first-generation immigrants, largely from rural communities in Central and South America. Many are undocumented, and most are what sociologists term "working poor" — meaning parents often hold multiple, low-paid jobs to make ends meet. The community is deeply aspirational. Many residents came to the U.S. in difficult circumstances with the sole purpose of giving their children opportunities they would never have in their home countries.

NYSCI is, for many of its visitors, their first museum experience ever. Honey is acutely aware of this fact, as she is of the barriers that the museum must break down in order to make everyone feel welcome — starting, quite literally, at the front door. "In a community where many are undocumented, staring at a building with what we think of as big, beautiful, fascinating NASA rockets outside, can actually be very intimidating. To them, it indicates something quite different — the presence of the government."

To get the families in Corona engaged, convincing them to walk past those rockets is crucial. "Part of our thinking

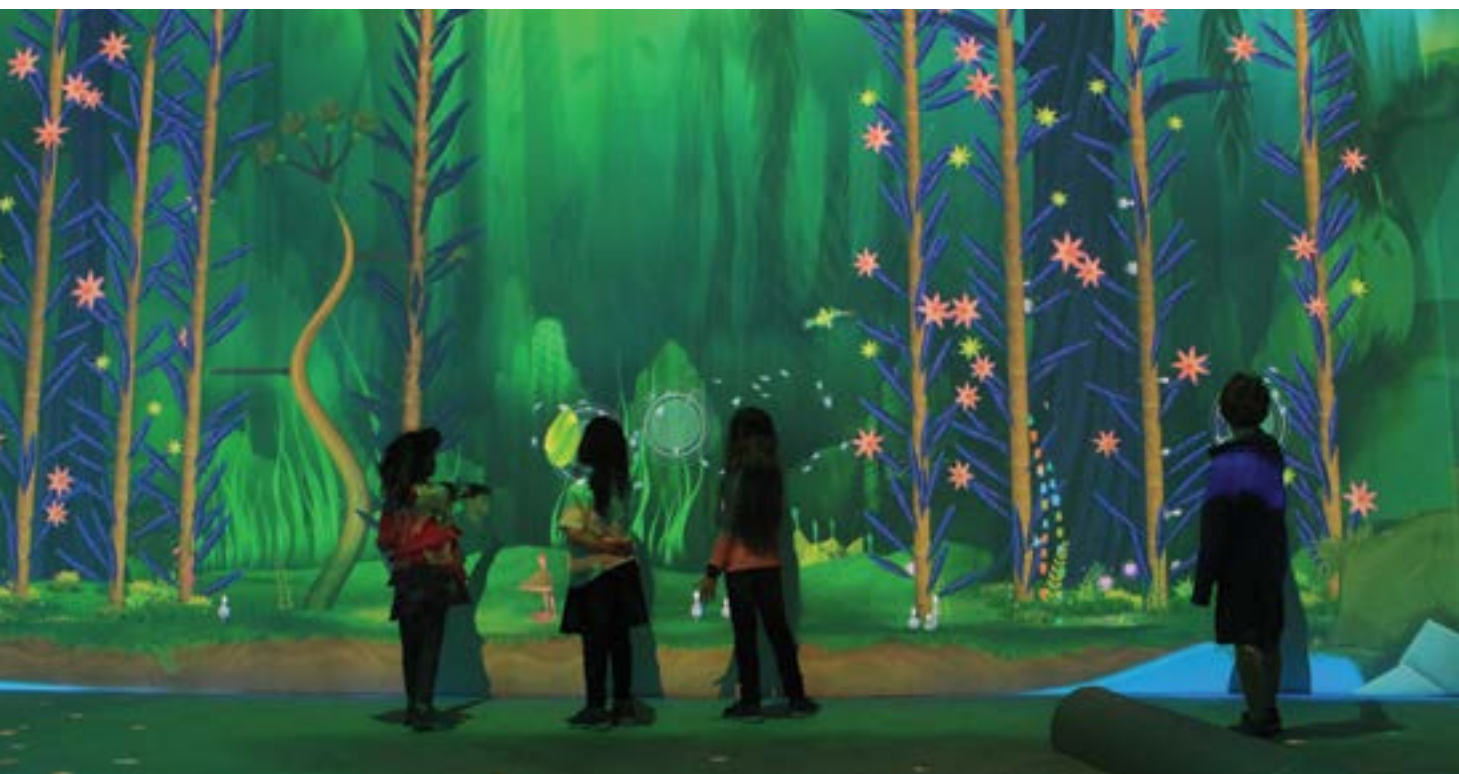
As Carnegie Corporation's strategy to engage parents as key stakeholders in their children's education evolved, we began looking for the greatest points of influence and most effective strategies to reach families and communities at a local level — in short, how to reach parents where they are.

— Ambika Kapur, Carnegie Corporation of New York

about the two-generation approach to STEM learning has to do with building trust," Honey explains. "Parents need to feel that the museum is a safe and welcoming environment, they need to know there are people here who can converse with them in their native language, and who will make them feel at home and make them feel comfortable. Because many parents in the community are only conversant in their native language, largely Spanish, they rely on their children to do a lot of interpretive work for them, too. When it comes to education, the more we can build experiences and create opportunities for parents and children doing things together, the more effective our work can be."

With this in mind, NYSCI has developed a number of innovative approaches to involve parents in their children's exposure to STEM, and to help them develop a vocabulary that allows them to be more actively involved in their kids' education both inside and outside the classroom. This means, in effect, educating parents while educating the child — whether by offering free or discounted entry to about 700 local families through its Neighbors program, running activities designed specifically for parent-child engagement, or working with parent coordinators who are embedded in local schools to act as liaisons with families trying to navigate the New York public school system. STEM nights offer an opportunity for parents to meet professionals in science-related fields, an important starting point for imagining their own child's potential career path.

A new program called Parent University, being developed with support from Carnegie Corporation of New York, is part of this work. Its goal is to make finding and using resources available at the museum, in the schools, and in



**Only Connect!** At the New York Hall of Science in Corona, Queens, kids delight in *Connected Worlds*, an exhibition created by Design I/O that uses cutting-edge interactive technology to demonstrate the feedback loops that shape our ecosystem. The experience is driven by kids' own curiosity: by manipulating water sources in any of six virtual biomes, they can see the effects on the other connected environments. PHOTO: DAVID HANDSCHUH AND DESIGN I/O

the community easier for parents, and to help them guide their children into STEM learning. The program also aims to help them view NYSCI as a community hub where children, their caregivers, and their teachers can dive into creative learning opportunities.

The museum hopes that Parent University will put families in the driver's seat, turning them into effective advocates when it comes to their children's exposure to STEM. "We're moving away from the position of expert and more into the position of facilitator," says Honey. "It's a way of being responsive to the organic way in which our families work, in which children are central to the process of navigating the world. It helps everybody find their voice in a place that may feel very unfamiliar to them."

### Scalable Results

The American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) is one of the most visited science museums in the nation, with an audience that spans the globe. But it is very much part of its community, too: the five boroughs that make up the City of New York — some 8.5 million residents and the largest public school district in the nation, serving 1.1 million students representing a breathtaking diversity.

AMNH has long been a leader in developing community partnerships and large-scale approaches to augmenting and extending formal educational opportunities for students in New York. It was a leader in developing the Urban Advantage (UA) program 14 years ago. Funded by the New York City Council and the New York City Department of Education (DOE), Urban Advantage has so far reached approximately 450,000 students through multiyear experiences with its programs, and over 2,000 teachers. In partnership with New York City's Department of Education and other science-rich cultural institutions including the New York, Brooklyn, and Queens botanical gardens, the Bronx and Staten Island zoos, the New York Aquarium, and the New York Hall of Science, Urban Advantage teams with public middle schools by offering free entry for students and their families, class trips (including pre-planning opportunities for teachers), paid professional development for teachers, and funds for classroom materials. Perhaps most importantly for parental engagement are the Family Science Days, running throughout the year, and the annual Science Expo, which draws the participation of 900 middle school students. Both events offer important opportunities for parents and caregivers to see what their kids are learning in and out of the classroom.

Since the establishment of New York City's Urban Advantage, similar programs have sprung up in other cities around the country. This is wholly by design — the museum sees its role as an incubator for rethinking what science museums can do and how they can engage the public. This commitment has been at the heart of

President Ellen V. Futter's leadership of AMNH. "Ellen really challenged us to think deeply about the assets of the institution, and the impact we could have at a social scale, as well as an individual scale," says Lisa Gugenheim, senior vice president for institutional advancement, strategic planning, and education. "One feature of the institution is that it's grounded in New York City, with the largest school system in the country. We have some confidence that if a model can be robust in New York given the economic diversity, the language diversity, the transportation and geographic issues, and so on, then we can share that work very broadly and very openly. That's been the case across our programs, whether it's family programs or teacher development programs."

For AMNH, the takeaway from Urban Advantage has been that science centers and museums can have tangible results when it comes to success in STEM education — a finding that has led to a shift in how such institutions conceive their roles in relation to formal education of K–12 students. "The research has taken us to ask how young people involved in the UA program are doing on intermediate science exams," explains Gugenheim, "and lo and behold we discovered they're doing better. That was a major finding for the museum community, because I think the idea for so long was that museums were seen as a place of inspiration and of beauty for schoolchildren, but not necessarily as a partner that could support academic outcomes. It also pushed us to see our work in terms of accountability — we started to think about what these third spaces can offer in terms of the larger education ecosystem."

### Feedback Loops

One of the cities that adapted the Urban Advantage model is Denver. The Denver Museum of Nature & Science, the Denver Zoo, and the Denver Botanical Gardens have partnered with the city's public school district to expand educational opportunities for students. The decision was prompted at least in part by sheer need. Colorado's public schools are severely underfunded: the state ranks 39th in the country in terms of per student funding for its schools, despite being the 14th wealthiest. Institutions like the Denver Museum of Nature & Science saw an opportunity to bolster educational offerings in their city. Within this context, the museum noted that one of the fastest growing groups in the city — the Latino community — was visiting the museum at disproportionately low rates, raising concerns about widening access and opportunity gaps.

By setting its sights on increasing visitation among this one demographic, the museum ended up reimagining how such institutions operate at a deeply structural level. "One of the most transformative things that came out of identifying that strategic audience focus was the way that we view ourselves and the way that we work with and for our community," explains Liz Davis, director of programs.



**Curious, Creative, Playful** The Denver Museum of Nature & Science set its sights on making sure that every student has the access, opportunity, and interest to take advantage of science education opportunities in the city. They've turned the tables on how science museums operate — not telling their audience what they need to know, but listening to what their audience is interested in. Their mission: "Be a catalyst! Ignite our community's passions for nature and science." © DENVER MUSEUM OF NATURE & SCIENCE

"Prior to this, we were doing what other museums traditionally do: we saw ourselves as the experts, and we would come up with what you need to know — whoever you are. It was always sound and accurate science, but we were paying very little consideration to what our audience might desire or what our audience might be interested in."

"What this work has allowed us to do is reframe how we operate," Davis continues. "Right now our model starts with, and is powered by, our community." After an initial year-and-a-half-long community collaboration project, in which volunteers from the city — including those who do not regularly visit the museum — volunteered their time to offer feedback on questions of what kinds of programs they might be interested in and what the museum's priorities should be in future, the museum developed a set of fundamental principles about how best to interact with their community. For the museum sector as a whole, notes Davis, this has been a revolutionary change. It prompted the institution to restate its strategic focus to make clear that it strives to design its programs to serve the needs and interests of its audience: "We're looking to attract more and diverse people to connect with nature and science in ways that are meaningful to them."

This approach has had a significant effect on initiatives like Denver's Urban Advantage program, which is supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York. The program there is being continually refined in response to feedback from Denver Public Schools administrators, teachers, parents, and students. This responsive model has also driven the

museum's work in developing offsite programs in collaboration with local science teachers. "It's been a very iterative process. Usually for museums, our definition of finished product is 'it's perfect and it's done,' whereas this is very different, and it feels so much stronger because of that," says Davis. "For example, separate from the UA program, teachers asked us to develop team-based or collaborative projects that they could use in the classroom to teach science, so we created them. And the feedback from the teachers has been very positive — it helps with a sense of co-ownership of the project, and it helps us. We are always learning now. What we heard in refining the offsite programs helps us think about how we do things onsite."

### Meeting People Where They Are

Chicago is notable for its racial diversity: almost 30 percent of its residents are Hispanic and almost 30 percent are African American. Its public school system, which serves 381,000 students, has faced underfunding, falling enrollments, and school closures in recent years — closures that left a number of primarily black areas without a single neighborhood school, to the chagrin of residents.

In this context, the Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago (MSI) has a strategy of moving its programs outside the institution's capacious walls — a quite radical approach to access. (The museum stands as the largest science museum in the western hemisphere, with more than 400,000 square feet of hands-on experiences.) As



**Take a Number!** The Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago cultivates science curiosity through offsite programs, including its Science Minors clubs, and onsite exhibitions like *Numbers in Nature*, which includes an 1800-square-foot mirror maze that provides endless fun while teaching kids about mathematical patterns in nature. PHOTO: J. B. SPECTOR/MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, CHICAGO

Andrea Ingram, vice president of education and guest services, explains, getting young people to engage with what the institution has to offer doesn't mean simply eliminating barriers to accessing the museum — it means being strategic about how to get them through the door. And that process starts where they live. "Our Welcome to Science Initiative is laser focused on providing access and opportunity for youth where they are — that means in their families, in their schools, and in their communities."

The initiative incorporates museum-designed Science Minors Clubs — supported by a range of philanthropic, government, and corporate funders — that take place at out-of-school and afterschool sites where students are already spending their time. At the moment, 180 libraries, community organizations, and schools in underserved neighborhoods around the city receive curricula, materials, and instructional training through this program. Career fairs expose students and their families to the possibilities of STEM education by allowing them to meet professionals and discuss their interests and aspirations. And in a city where almost a third of the residents are African American, the museum's Black Creativity initiative offers culturally relevant science education programming to the community, showcasing the contributions of African Americans to STEM-related fields and offering targeted information on career and educational opportunities for black families. The program reaches tens of thousands of students, along with their teachers and families, in Chicago's underserved communities.

In all of this, explains Ingram, the goal is to increase capacity in the neighborhoods themselves: "With our community initiatives, we're really trying to build a synergistic relationship with the community organizations, with the families they serve, and with the children. We want families to see that the museum is a partner in their kids' education. Our approach is to give the people who are teaching our kids the tools they need to do so, whether that means parents, teachers, librarians, or even summer camp counselors who run programs in Chicago's parks."

### Listening at the Local Level

For Carnegie Corporation's Kapur, much of this type of work with museums and centers fills a crucial gap in how foundations approach education. The ideal of meeting parents where they are has spurred investments in organizations working locally and directly with parents and communities, with an eye to increasing impact and effectiveness. "We hope that the local nature of the initiatives we're supporting will have a national impact — as well as resonance in other local communities."

"The lessons of the past years have told us that we all have to listen more," she explains. "We're always asking parents to buy into a concept — whether it's technology in the classroom, or personalized learning, or charter schools. But we can't always be telling — the listening piece needs to be there, too. That's what our attention to parent engagement is trying to achieve." ■

## Learning in Space

**Immerse Yourself!** Design I/O combines high tech tools and an artistic sensibility in its exhibition design, which aims to encourage children's imaginative exploration in wondrous spaces. The design of *Connected Worlds* balances scientific accuracy and playfulness, focusing on getting kids to grasp complex concepts in a hands-on environment. PHOTO: DAVID HANDSCHUH AND DESIGN I/O

New approaches to getting kids engaged in STEM learning are driving new forms of architecture and design in science centers across the country. As more museums deepen their embrace of hands-on, experiential, inquiry-driven models of engagement, they are tailoring their spaces to make such activities possible.

Theo Watson and Emily Gobeille are partners in Design I/O, a creative studio specializing in immersive installations. Watson says that the company began working with science museums only a few years ago. It was a moment when institutions like the New York Hall of Science (NYSCI) had begun searching for ways to make their exhibits more engaging — less focused on information delivery and more on sparking curiosity and allowing for child-driven inquiry. "Up until that point, we hadn't seen our work as belonging in a museum context; we saw it as working in an intersection of art, design, and technology, without the pedagogical content needed for a typical science museum," he says. "But that was also the time when I think science museums were trying to be a little less typical as well — they were moving away from the pedagogical a little bit."

Design I/O's first foray into the world of science museums was a collaboration with NYSCI that resulted in the museum's wildly popular exhibition, *Connected Worlds*. Combining design, illustration, projected image, and technology, museum visitors can shape one of several biomes — jungle, desert, wetland, mountain valley, reservoir, plains — by rerouting a common water supply and seeing how it affects plant and animal life. They soon discover that whatever happens in one part of the exhibit triggers changes in the others — so damming a stream in the wetlands might lead to transformations in the desert. By focusing on fun, imagination, and a sense of playfulness, *Connected Worlds* teaches kids and adults alike about such high-level concepts as feedback loops, dynamic environments, equilibrium, and causal links between what we might think of as discrete geographic places.

Watson and Gobeille had developed some of these ideas in a smaller project, *Funky Forest*, done for a children's festival in the Netherlands a few years earlier, but bringing this work into a science museum created new opportunities and challenges. For one, there was the novel experience of collaborating with top scientists and researchers from MIT Media Lab, NYU's Games for Learning Institute, Columbia University's Earth Institute, and so on, who were part of NYSCI's development team.

"There was some early discussion about how realistic or scientific the system we were building should be, and there were talks about whether we should be incorporating the real way that, say, aquifers and water systems function, and about whether we could even realistically model that in a real-time installation," says Watson.

"There was a push and pull between the science and the art," he explains. "What we realized was that we had to prioritize the learning goals — encouraging systems thinking and sustainability. We realized the world doesn't have to be a realistic world — if what we want kids to understand is feedback loops, then the creatures don't have to be real creatures, the plants don't have to be real plants, and so on. And in fact what we found is that the more unfamiliar the creatures were the more likely kids were to approach the experience with fresh or neutral eyes. It was a great encouragement for us to keep things weird."

"When we were thinking about what the exhibition would look like, we had a sense of what we wanted and what we didn't," says Margaret Honey, the museum's president and CEO. "We wanted it to make you feel powerful. We wanted it to make you feel like you had superpowers. We realized as soon as we saw their previous work that Emily and Theo were creating exactly that. Design I/O pushed us to up our game. They understand the importance of play and discovery and exploration, and they are computational and artistic geniuses on top of that. They raised the bar on what is possible in a science museum."



GREAT IMMIGRANTS  
\*  
GREAT AMERICANS

# THE SECRET OF AMERICA

President **John F. Kennedy** knew what it was.

Photography by **Jennifer S. Altman** | Produced by **Kenneth Benson**

In the posthumously published *A Nation of Immigrants*, Kennedy wrote: “This is the secret of America: a nation of people with the fresh memory of old traditions who dared to explore new frontiers.”

Every Fourth of July since 2006, Carnegie Corporation of New York’s **Great Immigrants Great Americans** campaign has celebrated an inspiring group of men and women, naturalized citizens who enrich the fabric of American life through their lives, their work, their example. In this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, we help launch this year’s Great Immigrants campaign by looking back at five past honorees. It wasn’t easy choosing — to date, more than 500 have been named Great Immigrants by Carnegie Corporation of New York! And we also get to meet a dynamic member of the dynamic class of 2018. So this time, the Center Point section of the magazine, the visual heart of each issue, is devoted to a special portfolio of the work of acclaimed photojournalist Jennifer S. Altman, whose compelling and stylish portraits of these six extraordinary, and extraordinarily interesting, men and women capture something of their grace, their gravity, and their good humor. And each is — don’t forget — an immigrant to this great nation. They and the millions of other immigrants who have made, and who continue to make, our nation strong and vibrant are **The Secret of America.**

So, with this special issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, the Corporation’s “magazine of ideas,” we salute the legacy of our founder, Andrew Carnegie, himself an immigrant, even as we honor the men and women, the pioneers and the trailblazers, from every walk of life and from every corner of the globe, who have chosen to make America their new home. And speaking of ideas, here’s one of Andrew Carnegie’s great ones. He was committed to helping immigrants become a part of the civic fabric of our nation because he rightly understood that enlightened citizenship is the strength of our democracy. Our nation’s motto — “E Pluribus Unum” (Out of Many, One) — remains an inspiration we can all aspire to and a guiding light for our nation.



Immigrants know America is not perfect, but see it as perfectible. For us, America is not just a past; it is also a future. It is not just an actuality — it is always a potentiality. America’s greatness lies in the fact that all its citizens, both new and old, have an opportunity to work for that potentiality, for its unfinished agenda.



**Vartan Gregorian**

President, Carnegie Corporation of New York





GREAT IMMIGRANTS  
GREAT AMERICANS 2018

Art Acevedo

Chief of Police, Houston, Texas born Cuba





## From here to the moon, there's no better place than the United States of America



My dad raised us kids with a real appreciation of history — an appreciation of great history. And for me, one of my dreams would have been going to a place like West Point; it would have been incredible. The hair on the back of my neck stood up thinking about MacArthur, Eisenhower, Robert E. Lee — all the great leaders, all the names throughout our history that walked those grounds. And I knew you had to be a U.S. citizen to go to West Point. So as a kid I kept bugging my dad to become a citizen: ‘Dad, you need to become a citizen and then I automatically become a citizen, right?’ My dad wouldn’t do it and I was so upset. But I’m a person of faith and I believe that God opens doors that only he can open, right?

Then my dad finally did become a citizen — and I got *my* citizenship! And I was sworn in and the judge asked us to raise our right hands. I mean, I had tears coming down from the dream — the greatest dream — of finally being a citizen of the greatest country on earth. As imperfect as it is, my dad used to tell us, ‘from here to the moon, kids, there’s no better place on Earth than the United States of America, right?’ Think about it.



Art Acevedo ★ April 3, 2018 ★ Houston, Texas

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Chief, Houston Police Department (HPD), Houston, Texas (November 2016–) ★ Chief, Austin Police Department (APD), Austin, Texas (2007–2016) ★ Chief, California Highway Patrol (2005–2007) ★ Field Patrol Officer, East Los Angeles, California Highway Patrol (1986) ★ @ArtAcevedo

**PREVIOUS** Chief of Police Art Acevedo in the main conference room at Houston Police Department headquarters on Travis Street. “It’s just the story of my life. They used to call me *el policía*, the policeman, when we played cops and robbers because you’d be in for a fight if you wanted me to be the robber.”  
**OPPOSITE** Chief Acevedo in his office at HPD headquarters. “I grew up wanting to be one of three things: a West Point graduate, a police officer, or a deputy district attorney. I got my citizenship and I became a cop. It’s just where I was supposed to be. Everything happens for a reason. That’s the story I share with kids. I tell them, “Always have a Plan A, a Plan B, a Plan C.”





GREAT IMMIGRANTS  
GREAT AMERICANS

2017

Kwame Anthony Appiah

Philosopher and *New York Times Magazine* Columnist born England, raised Ghana





## A citizen of the world: honor, love of country, citizenship, responsibility



Why did I become an American? Well, I came to these thoughts because I wrote that book about honor a while back. And you know, people always talk about love of country. But I think, just from my own experience, this is what you feel as a patriot: a sense of investment in the honor of your country. So when your country does great things, it's uplifting, but it's also depressing and shaming when your country does bad things. And if you didn't identify with the country, those things wouldn't matter to you. The point of talking about 'love of country' is a connected thought. It's like family: it doesn't really matter, like with people you love, even when they do wrong things, they're still your people. But when a stranger does a bad thing, it's just a bad thing. When somebody you love does a bad thing, it's very different. So people who think that patriots will never criticize their country, I think that's just wrong. Precisely because patriots care that their country should be doing good things, and they notice more when it isn't, and they are motivated to want to pull it back in the right direction. It's that moment of pride that makes you feel, 'OK, we're going the right way here.' Criticism can be a form of love, of admiration. A stranger spits on the sidewalk, you don't care much. A child spits on the sidewalk? You want to correct it. It's embarrassing and it affects you, but you can only be affected by people if you have some share of identity.

So why did I become an American? You have to be able to say — you want to be able to say — *we not you*. I'm talking about the country that I live in. My father was a politician, a member of the opposition in several parliaments. But what he taught us was: 'I don't require you to live in Ghana, but I do require you to be a good citizen wherever you do live.' Truly invested in your country, wherever it is.



Kwame Anthony Appiah ★ April 5, 2018 ★ New York City

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National Humanities Medal (2011) ★ Professor of Philosophy and Law, New York University (2014–) ★ Laurance S. Rockefeller University Professor of Philosophy and the University Center for Human Values Emeritus, Princeton University (2002–2014) ★ Author of numerous award-winning books, including *As If: Idealization and Ideals* (2018), *The Ethics of Identity* (2004), *The Honor Code: How Moral Revolutions Happen* (2010), *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race* (1996), *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (1992) ★ Began writing "The Ethicist" column for the *New York Times Magazine* (October 2015–) ★ Per [appiah.net](http://appiah.net), his parents' 1953 marriage "was widely covered in the international press, because it was one of the first 'inter-racial society weddings' in Britain; and is said to have been one of the inspirations for the film *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*." ★ @KAnthonyAppiah

**PREVIOUS** Kwame Anthony Appiah at his home in New York City. "My sisters and I live in four different countries ... it's just me here in America. I like that idea of taking your roots with you — whether it's deep in your family or your faith or whatever, you take them with you. You bring that to your new nation and your new culture. So [laughing] that's why I believe in rooted cosmopolitanism."

**OPPOSITE** Appiah with his husband, *New Yorker* editorial director Henry Finder, in their Tribeca home.



GREAT IMMIGRANTS  
\*  
GREAT AMERICANS

2007

Arianna Huffington

Author and Media Entrepreneur born Greece





The media mogul and author on trying to lose (and subsequently learning to love) her Greek accent and embracing the angels of our better nature during politically turbulent times ...



One of the first things you realize as a foreigner and as an immigrant is that you sound different so the accent is a big deal because immediately it sets you apart. And I actually tried for a while to get rid of my accent.... I haven't done a very good job as you can hear (*Laughs*). And then I kind of embraced it. I realized that it was really complicated — changing your accent. In a sense, it's now part of my identity....

America is a nation of immigrants, and you cannot imagine America separate from the whole story of immigration.... Very often politicians find it easy to appeal to the darkest part of our nature, by appealing to the anti-immigrant feeling ... basically they look for scapegoats. The look for scapegoats is perennial throughout history. Looking for the outsider to blame for what's not working in your life.\*



Arianna Huffington ★ April 12, 2018 ★ New York City

\*As told to *Dreams Across America*, 2007

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Author and Media Entrepreneur ★ Founder and CEO, Thrive Global (2016-) ★ President and Editor in Chief, The Huffington Post Media Group (2005–2016) ★ Author of numerous books, including *The Sleep Revolution* (2016), *Thrive* (2014), *Third World America* (2010), *Right Is Wrong* (2008), *On Becoming Fearless...In Love, Work, and Life* (2007), *Fanatics & Fools* (2004), *Pigs at the Trough* (2003), *How to Overthrow the Government* (2000), *Greetings from the Lincoln Bedroom* (1998), *Picasso: Creator and Destroyer* (1996), *The Fourth Instinct* (1994), *The Gods of Greece* (1993), *Maria Callas: The Woman Behind the Legend* (1981; 1993), *After Reason* (1978), *The Female Woman* (1973) ★ Emigrated to the U.S. in 1980 ★ [ariannahuffington.com](http://ariannahuffington.com) ★ @ariannahuff

**PREVIOUS** Arianna Huffington photographed in her SoHo apartment. "How do I define being an American? For me, it's just the optimism of the country. Right now, this very sort of tragic moment, is a departure from the American journey. But I think for me the optimism of the country is compounded by the fact that I'm Greek, and that's another optimistic culture. Zorba the Greek!"

**OPPOSITE** Huffington wants you to work smarter, not harder. That's the mission of her new wellness company, Thrive Global.



GREAT IMMIGRANTS  
GREAT AMERICANS

2016

Sally Jewell

Conservationist and Public Servant born England





## When the former U.S. secretary of the interior talks about what we owe our children (and grandchildren), you'd better listen



I'm optimistic because of this next generation coming up behind us. I feel like it is our obligation to be a big part of the solution and not just a knowledge transfer, but actually really helping change the course of history. Tools and support, financial resources and access — you name it.

*We don't inherit the earth from our ancestors; we borrow it from our children.* I think about that.

What are we leaving? Right now we're kind of leaving a mess. And we were left a mess that people didn't understand was a mess: the Industrial Revolution, the use of fossil fuels, the use of the Earth to satisfy the colonial mindset of 'it's there for the taking.' And now some of us understand, what a devastating impact we've had on the planet. It's hard not to do something about it. It's not just because I'm a grandmother, although I think about what kind of a world am I leaving to my own descendants? Am I OK with that? No, I'm not OK with it. I've got to do something about it. That's why the focus on young people.

In terms of Native American youth: there is so much wisdom that we have ignored. When you say 'traditional ecological knowledge,' which is kind of a current term, people glaze over a little. When you say 'thousands of years of observation,' scientists are like, 'Oh, yeah, yeah, that's useful.' Changing the vernacular around some of these things, putting it on people's radar, saying: 'How were people living in greater harmony? How were they handling scarcity? What do they have that we might learn?'

What's happening in the Arctic, where it's warming twice as fast as anywhere else? When you talk to indigenous people there who are still involved in subsistence for their own livelihoods, they will tell you, the permafrost is melting. It's heartbreaking when you actually talk to them about what they're seeing on the ground. You'd better listen.



Sally Jewell ★ April 11, 2018 ★ Washington, D.C.

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"public land enthusiast, science nerd" (2018 Twitter bio) ★ renamed "Faraway Woman" by Blackfeet Nation ★ Distinguished Fellow, College of the Environment, University of Washington ★ 51st U.S. Secretary of the Interior (2013–2017) ★ COO (2000–2005) and President and CEO (2005–2013), Recreational Equipment, Inc. (REI) ★ 2009 Rachel Carson Award Honoree ★ Trained as a petroleum engineer, began her career with Mobil Oil Corp. in the oil and gas fields of Oklahoma ★ @SallyJewell

**PREVIOUS** Sally Jewell photographed in front of a large mural in the staff break room at the Washington, D.C., headquarters of the National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA). "You don't want to get that close to bison anyway. They charge if they feel threatened."

**OPPOSITE** Jewell: "We moved to the States when I was three. I did have a pretty thick accent in first grade. And it persisted through high school with some words. But then I graduated from college and moved to Oklahoma, and that killed any shred of an English accent."



GREAT IMMIGRANTS  
GREAT AMERICANS 2013

John Leguizamo

Actor and Playwright born Colombia



America is still the greatest human experiment —  
and you can quote him on that!



You're telling me that more than 100,000 teenagers just preregistered to vote in California? Oh, man. Wow, dude, that's amazing. How exciting is that? I guess I tend to look at the bright side. You can quote me on this. This whole thing about people saying that all these illegal aliens, immigrants are coming in here ... but we have to do the right thing. These people are coming here not as terrorists. The amount of violence that's coming from there is like less than 1 percent. It's the moral thing to do. Back in the 1800s during slavery if a runaway slave came to your house, it was illegal to have them in your house, but it was the moral thing to do. Anne Frank — to board and hide Anne Frank — was illegal during Nazi Germany. But it was the moral thing to do.

It's the same thing right now. These immigrants coming here — the moral thing is to give them shelter and give them an opportunity, not to turn them away or lock them up. They're fleeing danger, poverty, hunger, the same thing that all the Pilgrims were coming here for, freedom of religion. All the immigrants from Europe were coming here because they needed jobs and opportunity. It was easy to come to America back then. You didn't need a visa ... all you needed was to be able to cough — to make sure you didn't have TB. That was the only reason. You didn't have to be, like, super-skillful or brilliant, or the best.

What is an American now? I think an American is somebody who's a citizen of this country and respects everyone equally. I think that one of the beautiful things about America is the freedom of speech and the opportunity or the belief that we were all fighting for equality. It's still the greatest human experiment, this country. It's still the best. It hasn't been taken down yet.



John Leguizamo ★ April, 17, 2018 ★ New York City

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"I'm a neurotic paranoid schizoid mestizo mulato underachieving overachiever!" (2018 Twitter bio) ★ 2108 Tony Award nominee for Best Play for *Latin History for Morons*, his one-man tour de force, and on top of that honor, the 2018 Special Tony Award for "his body of work and for his commitment to the theatre, bringing diverse stories and audiences to Broadway for three decades" ★ Oh, and acting and playwriting credits galore ★ [johnleguizamo.com](http://johnleguizamo.com) ★ @JohnLeguizamo

**PREVIOUS** From his meticulously disorganized desk, John Leguizamo surveys the scene of his characterful if rather chockablock office, located in the basement of his Greenwich Village home. "I like to have everything I'm working on close at hand."  
**OPPOSITE** Leguizamo in Washington Square in the heart of the Village. "I personally take a lot of optimism in the kind of marches and the kind of organizing that's going on. Look at how the youth are politicized. These kids are sacrificing their lives. So eloquent, so politically savvy."





GREAT IMMIGRANTS  
★  
GREAT AMERICANS

2011

Gary Shteyngart

Author born Russia





The best-selling author and satirist on the writing life and its role in facilitating his assimilation to America ...



I didn't lose my [Russian] accent until I was about 14 years old. I tried so desperately to lose it. I would listen to these records by Neil Diamond — especially "Coming to America."... And that was how I practiced losing my accent....

But then I started writing books. I realized that when you write books, you don't have an accent. The words on the page don't have an accent. I would write down books with titles like *Invasion from Outer Space* and *The Challenge*.... That's how I made my first American friends — by writing. The interesting part of [my] immigrant experience is that after a while I stopped being known as "The Russian," and I started ... [being known as] "The Writer."\*



Gary Shteyngart ★ March 23, 2018 ★ New York City

\*As told to Random House, 2015

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"book writer" (2018 Twitter bio) ★ *Lake Success: A Novel* (September 2018), *Little Failure: A Memoir* (2014), *Super Sad True Love Story: A Novel* (2010), *Absurdistan* (2006), *The Russian Debutante's Handbook* (2002) ★ Winner of the Bollinger Everyman Wodehouse Prize, the Stephen Crane Award for First Fiction, and the National Jewish Book Award for Fiction ★ Family arrived in U.S. when he was 7; born Igor, name changed in America to Gary so he would suffer "one or two fewer beatings." ★ garyshteyngart.com ★ @Shteyngart

PREVIOUS Gary Shteyngart photographed in his New York City apartment. His books have been translated into 29 languages. Is he read in Korea? "They translated one book, I don't think anyone read it."

OPPOSITE Shteyngart at work: "Immigrants, yay!"

## WHAT WE'RE READING

### The Next Generation of Security Scholars Try to Parse Cyber and War

Lucas Kello, Ben Buchanan, Tim Maurer

### The Next Factory of the World: How Chinese Investment Is Reshaping Africa

Irene Yuan Sun

### A Moonless, Starless Sky: Ordinary Women and Men Fighting Extremism in Africa

Alexis Okeowo

### How Democracies Die

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt

### The Making of a Dream: How a Group of Young Undocumented Immigrants Helped Change What It Means to Be American

Laura Wides-Muñoz

#### Are You Being Served?

Server racks in a server center in Berlin, Germany, January 18, 2018.

PHOTO: THOMAS TRUTSCHEL/PHOTOTHEK VIA GETTY IMAGES



### The Virtual Weapon and International Order

Lucas Kello

Yale University Press. 319 pp. 2017.



### The Cybersecurity Dilemma: Hacking, Trust, and Fear Between Nations

Ben Buchanan

Hurst & Company. 290 pp. 2016.



### Cyber Mercenaries: The State, Hackers, and Power

Tim Maurer

Cambridge University Press. 246 pp. 2018.

## The New Cyber Normal

Closing the gap between the ideal of international order and the reality of global chaos

by **Scott Malcomson**

The cyber wing of the international relations academy, a creature of just the last decade, seems to be undergoing a generational sorting out. The central question is whether cyber — encompassing offensive and defensive practices, weapons development, espionage, and surveillance — is so revolutionary as to necessitate change in existing concepts of conflict. Three new books by young scholars address this question and, while they don't resolve it, they do show why it is important and (through reporting more than analysis) why it is not going away.

The most Oedipal of the three authors is Lucas Kello, who maintains that the poli-sci establishment is in denial. Cyberwar (or, previously, netwar), information warfare, and electronic warfare were regular preoccupations of military planners in the United States, Russia, China, and elsewhere from the early 1980s. Cyberspace as an anti-state, libertarian utopia ran strongly alongside, though its geography was more limited to the U.S. Yet, as Mary Manjikian wrote in 2010, “despite the Internet’s undeniable presence in contemporary international society, international relations analysts have devoted remarkably little ink to pondering its evolution, its meaning, or its significance.” No less a figure than Harvard’s Joseph Nye gave his measured assessment the same year that, while cyber was significantly transformative, “States will remain the dominant actor on the world stage, but they will find the stage far more crowded and difficult to control.”

By 2012 a brace of scholars began the first great offensive: Thomas Rid with his essay “Cyber War Will Not Take Place,” Brandon Valeriano and Ryan C. Maness with “The Fog of Cyberwar: Why the Threat Doesn’t Live Up to the Hype,” and Erik Gartzke with a mop-up operation in 2013, “The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War on the Internet Back Down to Earth.” Valeriano and Maness later summed up the arguments in their 2015 book, *Cyber War Versus Cyber Realities: Cyber Conflict in the International System*, which included the magnificently weary line: “cyber conflict is pretty much the least a state can do to challenge a rival.”

Kello, on a postdoctoral fellowship at Harvard, hit back in fall 2013 with an essay in *International Security*, “The Meaning of the Cyber Revolution: Perils to Theory and Statecraft.” His new book, *The Virtual Weapon and International Order*, is meant to “add new theoretical content to the view — derided by traditionalists — that the contemporary world confronts an enormous cyber danger.” The “cyber revolution,” he writes, “may be the first technological revolution of the first order in the international system.... Vanished is the secure belief in the state as both the supreme source of threats to national security and the supreme protector against them.... Deniers of the revolution are troubled by these incomplete but notable trends of systems change. They are more adept at devising new formulas to mask weaknesses in old concepts than they are proficient at closing the gap between the statist

ideal of international order and the fluid reality of global chaos.” He’s not holding back.

Kello’s strongest arguments are that non-state third parties can play a significant role in cyber conflict — leading to a “sovereignty gap” and thus undermining the state-based system and the conventional theories that support it — and that cyber conflict creates a novel condition of chronic confrontation among states, which he calls “unpeace.” Political science has a rich history of semi-successful neologisms, Thomas Schelling’s “compellence” from 1966 being among the better known. (A companion to deterrence, it connotes actions that compel an opponent to give something up.) “Unpeace” may not enjoy widespread adoption, but Kello is right to extract cyber conflict from the dyad of cyber peace and cyberwar. Cyber conflict has become an everyday aggression among states, particularly (though not exclusively) larger ones. It might not be “pretty much the least a state can do,” but it is something that states so inclined do constantly.

Leaving aside states’ motivations, the chief reason for this ubiquity is that cyber conflict of the serious kind begins in network intrusions. These can involve finding your way into the network of an actual enemy; they can also involve, as Ben Buchanan astutely points out in *The Cybersecurity Dilemma: Hacking, Trust, and Fear Between Nations*, infiltrating other, nonthreatening networks to see what your actual enemies are up to next door. Network intrusions are neither offensive nor defensive. They are an exploratory presence that then creates the possibility for offense, defense, or simple information gathering — not least the gathering of information about what cyber capabilities a rival might have and what it might intend to do with them. Network intrusion is, up to a point, like espionage, which is why states are allergic to regulating or even acknowledging it. But unlike most spies, intrusion code is weaponizable, sometimes to devastating effect. Creating and deploying the Stuxnet virus took years and a lot of work; ultimately it succeeded in disabling Iran’s uranium production.

It is worth pausing to consider how deep and wide these network intrusions are and have been for some years. Stuxnet had a successor called Nitro Zeus. “The victims included power plants, transport infrastructure, and air defenses all over Iran,” Buchanan writes. “Planners describe it as the largest combined cyber and kinetic effort the United States — and almost certainly the world — has ever conceived. The plan required extensive unauthorized access to Iranian systems. The United States obtained this access through the efforts of thousands of American military and intelligence community personnel. It invested tens of millions of dollars and intruded into vital networks all across Iran.” The Iran nuclear deal of 2015 put Nitro Zeus on the shelf, though who knows for how long. Buchanan further writes that the U.S. was able (as

early as 2007) to infiltrate the Basic Input/Output System (BIOS) that is underneath a computer’s operating system, and even the firmware that runs individual hardware components.

In *Cyber Mercenaries: The State, Hackers, and Power* — a book about much more than its title suggests — author Tim Maurer quotes the China cyber authority Nigel Inkster’s claim that “more than 80 percent of the industrial control systems in China use foreign technologies, and this use is increasing.” These are very real vulnerabilities, and it would be foolish to imagine the U.S. does not have a share of them too, although the country and its partners (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom) in the Five Eyes intelligence alliance have, as Maurer shows, the advantage of access to the most basic internet plumbing. Perhaps there hasn’t been a cyberwar yet because there hasn’t been a real war between cyber-competent states. By all accounts, Iran learned fast after Stuxnet. Given the potential of Nitro Zeus, any “kinetic” conflict between the U.S. and Iran might be assumed to have a significant cyber component. This possibility puts the importance of the 2015 agreement in a different light. It is not difficult to imagine the state of unpeace getting even more unpeaceful.

Kello stresses the escalatory potential of cyber: for example, cyber moves interpreted as preparatory to physical war might receive a physical response, which would then cause an escalatory spiral. Since most network intrusions don’t have an intention beyond exploration — the payload, if there is one, would come later — the possibilities for bad strategic decision-making seem infinite. The culminating disaster has been foreshadowed for some time. In 2013 the U.S. Defense Science Board recommended that “existential cyber attacks” be included within the scope of nuclear deterrence policy. A similar assertion in the Trump administration’s draft Nuclear Posture Review made headlines earlier this year. It’s unclear what this amounts to. Existential attacks can be expected to meet existential responses. Meanwhile, other attacks continue, yet it’s hard to say by whom or why, and, as Michael Warner (official historian of U.S. Cyber Command) has written, “every year since 1998, cyber attacks have been misattributed, but so far such mistakes have not caused any wars. One wonders how many years it takes to notice a pattern here.”

Kello also emphasizes the malign power of third parties. Barriers to entry are indeed relatively low. In 1998, during the Iraq war, American military systems came under attack, triggering deep alarm that an enemy state might disrupt U.S. command and control. As it happened, the intruders were three teenagers — two Americans and an Israeli. In 2015 and again in 2016, an intruder breached the email accounts of the director of the CIA, among others; the culprit turned out to be a 15-year-old in Britain. There is never a good time for major militaries to act in a

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There is never a good  
time for major militaries  
to act in a hysterical  
fashion. That was true  
before the Internet.  
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hysterical fashion. That was true before the Internet. Much depends on how you define “third party.” Tim Maurer usefully adopts a broad definition that reaches from snooping teens through terrorists and criminals to state-sponsored cyber militias and private-security contractors, including very large companies like CACI and SAIC. This enables him to construct what amounts to a partial military-industrial sociology of cyberspace. He positions third parties relative to the states that use them, depend on them, and fear them. The analogy is to the mercenaries and *condottieri* of yesteryear, a comparison that leads him to the intriguing proposition that hackers are most like pirates, in that a state will engage them up until it has built itself a proper navy.

Maurer devotes individual chapters to showcasing his excellent reporting on how major nuclear countries have handled cyber third parties. Iran mobilized the student networks that had been so central to solidifying (and shaping) the 1979 Islamic revolution. Russia and Ukraine made a virtue out of the underemployed surplus of Soviet-trained computer scientists and engineers; these cyber *ronin* could be pressed into state service when they weren’t financing themselves through cyber crime. Maurer emphasizes the rule that hackers were “free” to hack as long as their victims were located *outside* the ex-Soviet sphere of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Those who argue that territory is irrelevant to cyber conflict haven’t tried hacking from Russia. Maurer finds a similar dispensation in China. Playing cyber catch-up in the early 2000s, China mobilized a militia tradition that dated back to imperial times. Eventually it brought cyber militias more firmly under state control and imposed draconian penalties on those who dared to hack within China.

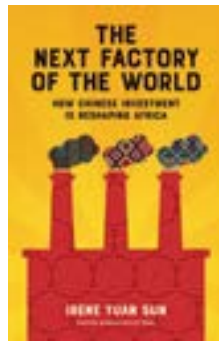
Most originally, with creative use of documents released by Edward Snowden, Maurer demonstrates the profound dependence of the U.S. on private players to develop and extend its cyber capabilities. This is often seen as a vindication of American industry and entrepreneurship:

our cyber capabilities are better because our tech sector is simply superior to any other. Maurer takes a more comparative view. The vast hinterland of security-related tech firms is the American equivalent of Russia’s week-end-warrior patriotic hackers, Iran’s students, and China’s militias.

The American approach is not without problems. The dominance of the profit motive makes American technologists difficult for governments to hire, retain, and manage. (Government will never be able to outbid private companies for talent.) Snowden himself was a contractor. American tech companies with global ambitions face the challenge of divided loyalties, just as many of their products are dual use. One person’s social network is another’s surveillance apparatus; Client A’s weather satellite is Client B’s targeting system. When representatives of Google, Twitter, and Facebook were asked at a Senate hearing whether or not they were American companies, they didn’t have a very convincing answer. In the latest National Security Strategy, the Trump administration has expressed its desire to corral U.S. tech into an ill-defined National Security Innovation Base, perhaps analogous to China’s declared goal of “civil-military fusion.” Yet to transform Silicon Valley into a club of patriotic hackers would hinder American economic prosperity.

Where this leads is not hard to see, and it doesn’t only concern the U.S. (or China). Australia recently premiered a defense plan that stressed the export of high-tech security capabilities; the domestic market is not big enough for Australia’s ambitions. For now it aims at the Five Eyes markets, but, as Gregory Colton of the Lowy Institute has pointed out, those are already the most competitive tech markets in the world. The likely result will be expansion into nearby Asian markets where Australian companies should have a better chance of success. In order to thrive in a highly technological era, national defense-industrial bases will reach outside the boundaries of their respective states, which places them, willy-nilly, at odds with the priorities of their own defense departments.

Does this mean that existing international-relations models of state conflict need to be revised? Not necessarily. Ben Buchanan writes penetratingly of the “cyber-security dilemma,” a variation on the classical security dilemma: states cannot be certain of the capabilities or intentions of rivals and so develop counter-forces, which in turn inspire rivals to yet more countering, and so on. This process is the status quo in what mainstream international relations defines as the basic condition of “international anarchy”: a world in which states are the one irreducible unit in the eternal turmoil of interstate competition. “At some point in the future,” Buchanan writes, “cyber operations might be so joined [to traditional military operations] that the cybersecurity dilemma will be so mainstream as to be called just the security dilemma.” That day does not seem far away. ■



**The Next Factory of the World: How Chinese Investment Is Reshaping Africa**

Irene Yuan Sun

Harvard Business Review Press.  
211 pp. 2017.

## On the (New Silk) Road

Factories are the bridge connecting China to Africa — but is China in it for the long run?

by **Sarwar A. Kashmeri**

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Africa's land area is larger than that of China, the United States, India, and all of Europe, combined.  
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**C**hina's One Belt One Road Initiative (BRI), or the New Silk Road as it is popularly known, is a massive, multiyear project that will connect China to more than 60 countries in Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. China expects to spend over a trillion dollars on building ports, high-speed railway links, and infrastructure in these countries to create a web of trade connections. Besides the commercial benefits, the soft-power implications of the BRI could place China at the center of influence in scores of countries, many of which are United States allies.

Just as the West is waking up to the impact of the BRI, this engaging and highly readable book by Irene Yuan Sun has come along to illuminate how Chinese investment and leadership have been reshaping Africa and winning the continent's hearts and minds for decades.

This is a big deal. Africa's land area is larger than that of China, the United States, India, and all of Europe, combined. According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, by 2025, Africa's household-consumption will total \$2.1 trillion. By 2050, the continent will be home to over 2.5 billion people. Africa is poised to become the largest business opportunity since China embraced capitalism.

Add the commercial and soft-power benefits of China's African investments to those that will accrue to it from the BRI, and one begins to understand that China's grand strategy aims at replacing the United States as the world's dominant commercial player and influencer.

What is particularly intriguing in Sun's book is the revelation that the strategy being used by Chinese investors in Africa is the same one that China used to transform itself into the world's powerhouse economy. Disregarding Washington-led financial and development organizations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which hold that developing countries should focus on limited government and privatization, China chose the policy of government-fueled industrialization executed by entrepreneurs to convert itself into the factory of the world. The results of that contrarian decision speak for themselves.

In the 1980s, when China began to rebuild its broken economy following the Cultural Revolution and Great Leap Forward, it had one-fifth of the world's population but only three percent of global manufacturing output. It was poorer on a per capita basis than many African countries. But rebuild it did. China's gross domestic product grew nearly 10% a year for three decades, lifting 750 million people out of poverty — the largest and fastest growth in recorded history. The country now accounts for over a quarter of the world's manufacturing output, and within the next decade will overtake the United States as the largest economy in the world.

As Sun writes, "Despite the current hype about the rise of robotics and the possibility of fully automating production, the current factory model, in which real people make tangible goods, is far from dead." And, the author continues, as the history of countries around the world demonstrates: "*if you want to get rich, build yourself a manufacturing industry.*" [emphasis the reviewer's]

"Factories are the bridge that connects China, the current Factory of the World, to Africa, the next Factory of the World," Sun tells us. "Industrialization is how China reshaped itself from a poor, backward country into one of the largest economies in the world in less than three decades. By becoming the next Factory of the World, Africa can do the same." This book provides ample evidence that Africa is well on its way toward reaching that goal.

Manufacturing is not just a bridge that connects China to Africa; it is a 16-lane super highway moving Chinese manufacturing expertise, entrepreneurs, and factories to the continent. To explain this phenomenon, Sun uses the "flying geese theory," business school jargon for the rapid industrialization of East Asian countries in the 20th century. The theory postulates that manufacturing firms act like flying geese, migrating from country to country and from product to product as costs and demand change and factories become uncompetitive.

For example, Japan became the first East Asian country to bootstrap itself into one of the world's leading economies by industrializing. Its rise in living standards was then the fastest ever seen. But rising costs of production forced Japanese firms to relocate abroad, in Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan — a move that triggered a new wave of rapid economic development in those four countries. Formerly rickety economies were transformed, and the Four Asian Tigers — rich, industrialized — were born.

"A wave of Japanese entrepreneurs spawned a wave of Taiwanese entrepreneurs who spawned a wave of Chinese ones," Sun explains. "The fact that these Chinese entrepreneurs are now running factories in Africa gives rise to the possibility that the next wave may very well be African." Her book provides impeccably researched evidence that this wave has been well underway for decades, under Chinese stewardship.

In 2000 Chinese companies made a mere two investments in Africa. Jump ahead to today. A recent research project, coheaded by the author for the global consulting firm McKinsey & Company, showed that there are already more than 10,000 Chinese firms in Africa. In Nigeria — where the population will be greater than that of the United States by 2050 — Chinese carmakers, construction materials producers, and consumer goods manufacturers are busy competing for its vast business market. "In Lesotho,

Chinese garment factories make yoga pants for Kohl's, jeans for Levi's, and athletic wear for Reebok. Almost all of Lesotho's production is trucked out and packed onto container ships bound for American consumers," Sun reports.

Even more important is the level of private sector Chinese manufacturing investment in Africa. The author surveyed nearly 200 manufacturing firms with average annual revenues of \$21 million and found that most of them were privately owned. In a telling conversation, Yang Wenyi, a Chinese investor in multiple manufacturing plants in Nigeria, told her, "I have no use for the government. I'm not doing anything illegal, and I'm not looking for government contracts." This level of foreign manufacturing investment in Africa is unique, according to Sun. She compares it to the \$14 billion of U.S. private sector investment in Africa announced by the Obama administration in August 2014, which focused mainly on banking, construction, and information technology. The explanation for this focus is straightforward: "after decades of relocating their factories to developing countries, the United States and other developed nations have very little manufacturing left to offshore.... Only China has enough of a manufacturing sector left to offshore, and much of that appears to be moving to Africa."

But what about the oft-heard criticism that Chinese firms do not hire Africans? Sun's study of more than 1,000 Chinese firms employing more than 300,000 people showed the opposite: more than 95 percent of the employees in manufacturing were Africans. Another fact worth noting is that most Chinese factory owners in Africa work for themselves, not for the Chinese government.

Born in China, Sun is a graduate of Harvard Business School, Harvard Kennedy School, and Harvard College. She coleads McKinsey & Company's work on Chinese engagement in Africa, where she has lived. Her personal anecdotes are a highlight of this book. For instance, she recalls for the reader her excitement as a little girl when her father brought back a box of plastic wrap to the family home from Japan. "I wasn't allowed to touch the precious, glimmering film brought from afar," she writes.

Sun has chosen four widely diverse African countries to illuminate the book's argument:

**NIGERIA** Behemoth ... largest population and largest economy on the continent

**LESOTHO** Landlocked within South Africa ... population just two million, scarce resources

**KENYA** Flagship economy of East Africa ... GDP growth of 5–6 percent ... labeled the Silicon Savannah

**ETHIOPIA** Transitioning to a market economy from a brutal Marxist dictatorship ... strict capital controls and state monopolies

The book is divided into two parts: the first describes what it looks and feels like to be inside Chinese factories in Africa; the second covers the possibilities — economic, political, and social — that these factories bring to the continent. Both the choice of countries and the book’s structure make this difficult subject accessible for a lay reader.

The characters that populate the narrative are each worth a book unto themselves. We are introduced to Mr. Sun (no relation to the author), a native of Wenzhou, China, birthplace of ceramics, who discovered ceramics as his worldly calling and built a \$40 million ceramics factory in Nigeria. The Lee family, who own the market in Nigeria for flip-flops, were paid the ultimate compliment when Walmart came calling to do business. The Lees turned them down! Other equally remarkable Chinese entrepreneurs include Lawrence Tung, an American of Chinese ancestry and a Wharton grad, whose family came to Africa 50 years ago. He recently gave up his American citizenship for Nigerian, explaining, “We’re here for the long run. This is our second home.”

Sun is most persuasive as she conveys the sense of the *personal* for Chinese investors, managers, and workers in Africa who have seen China change in their lifetimes. They grew up and lived in the kind of poverty they see in Africa today, and they think there is no reason Africa will not become as rich as China, and soon. “There are no pilot projects, no NGOs, no theorizing about paths to development — only the blunt attempt to re-create what China built for itself over the past three decades,” Sun writes.

This book graphically illuminates how China continues to outflank the United States in the world’s potentially biggest business market. “Chinese factories in Africa: This is the future that will create broad-based prosperity for Africans and usher in the next phase of global growth for a large swath of the Chinese economy,” the author concludes.

The industrial transformation of Africa by China is a sobering prospect if you are an American. Unless you agree with former Vice President Biden, that “Nobody has ever made money betting against America!” ■



**A Moonless, Starless Sky: Ordinary Women and Men Fighting Extremism in Africa**  
Alexis Okeowo  
Hachette Books. 240 pp. 2017.

I woke up in a cold sweat. Alexis Okeowo’s *A Moonless Starless Sky: Ordinary Women and Men Fighting Extremism in Africa* had transported me from my Harlem apartment to an uncomfortably warm night in the bush of northern Uganda. Her stories had infiltrated my dreams.

*A Moonless Starless Sky* tells true stories of individuals’ relationships with extremism. At first glance, each story may seem far away, alien, and unrelatable. However, Okeowo’s narratives are focused on people. Emotions are universal. You don’t have to know where Uganda is on the map, or the history of Somalia before and after the Black Hawk Down episode, to connect with the memoirs she recounts. Her descriptions evoke from you emotions, relationships, and dreams.

I’ve spent the majority of my career focused on conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. My first trip to Africa was in the mid-2000s. I spent a semester at King’s College Budo, an elite Ugandan private school just outside Kampala. Okeowo’s sentiment in her forward is applicable to me, too: “I didn’t plan on becoming obsessed with Africa.” From 2011 to 2015 I worked on various projects in Somalia and lived in Mogadishu for part of that time. Despite my exposure to the region, Okeowo’s stories from Uganda and Somalia are still well outside of my own life experiences, yet they resonate.

In one powerful story, Okeowo follows a Ugandan couple, Eunice and Bosco, who were abducted by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). The LRA became known in the United States principally through the Kony 2012 campaign, produced by the organization Invisible Children, Inc. Eunice and Bosco’s story begins with their abduction, continues with a version of the Stockholm syndrome, and ends with their attempts to return to normalcy. Gut-wrenching at times, the couple’s story is ultimately one of partnership.

The Ugandan context around Eunice and Bosco will be new to most people. Landlocked and comparatively small, Uganda remains little known outside of the Africanist community. Despite the time I’d spent there, it took me a long while to become aware of the realities in Uganda’s north. The LRA is a rebel group that originated as a form of civilian resistance to the newly formed southern-heavy government led by Yoweri Museveni. The group has had multiple mutations, creating an ebb and flow in its strength and size. The most recent iteration is a pseudo-Christian rebel group notorious for small-scale bush warfare and abductions of young people. Today’s LRA pales in comparative strength to the LRA that Eunice and Bosco were caught up in.

In Somalia, Okeowo turns to the story of Aisha, a teenager who loves to play basketball. But the presence of Al Shabaab makes her passion a game of life and death. Somalia remains one of the most misunderstood countries in the world. Framed by Black Hawk Down and not much else, the perennial perception of the country as the most dangerous place in the world remains. Emanating from local governance and militia structures, Al Shabaab came to prominence in 2007 as a result of the Ethiopian-led, U.S.-backed invasion of Somalia. Now an Al Qaeda-affiliated terrorist group, Al Shabaab has had a fluctuating jurisdiction in the country. At one point it controlled large swaths of territory. Today, while the group still controls some land, Al Shabaab has been reduced to a more traditional terrorist organization that organizes one-off high-causality attacks. Aisha’s story is one of resistance, perseverance, and the pursuit of her dream to play basketball.

Context is ultimately secondary to the fact that these are people. While the situations they are going through may be incomprehensibly far from the experiences of most people, their emotions and what they deem important remain hauntingly familiar.

Descriptions of Eunice and Bosco’s life, without context, could place them anywhere: “He wasn’t sure therapy would help much, and he valued doing, taking care of his responsibilities, more than talking about the past. Edimon [his son] was still sick, but at least Bosco could watch over and protect him.” Bosco could be any one of us. The stresses of fatherhood and grappling with one’s past

Okeowo’s storytelling style is uniquely and evocatively one of connection. At the beginning, despite her role as narrator, she remains mostly removed from the stories. Slowly, Okeowo becomes increasingly entwined.

are not unfamiliar feelings to many of us. Aisha’s story is similarly relatable. Okeowo describes her, at the moment, as “the embodiment of a feminine Somali woman, one who was giggling about her boyfriend and constantly checking her phone.” It is easy to forget that, at the same time, she is being threatened by Al Shabaab militants who say they will cut her throat.

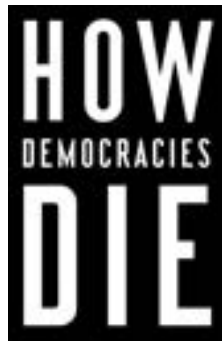
Okeowo’s storytelling style is uniquely and evocatively one of connection. At the beginning, despite her role as narrator, she remains mostly removed from the stories. Slowly, Okeowo becomes increasingly entwined: “It had been sad, but that was only part of why the story had consumed me. I had conducted an extensive, invasive procedure on Eunice and Bosco, pried into their lives and had them tell me their most personal thoughts and encounters. The end result was sometimes unsettling, sometimes surprisingly familiar. I had become part of their lives, and they were now part of mine.” Her increasing personal integration into the stories she so beautifully weaves provides perspective, exemplifying how one New Yorker was able to engage with stories so seemingly alien, so far from her own.

Beyond proving herself such an engaging storyteller, Okeowo offers a template to those who want to connect with lives falling so far outside their own experiences that they appear all but incomprehensible. The connective tissue here is the unironic universality of personal emotions. The author is able to capture these emotions efficiently and succinctly, sharing relatable stories that are transporting, and which will transport you, as they did me. ■

## An Almost Unrelatable Relatability

Stories of Life Under Extremism in Africa

by **Aaron Stanley**



**How Democracies Die**  
Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt  
Crown. 312 pp. 2018.

## It Can Happen Here

When the call comes from inside the house

by **Jeanne Park**

In the days immediately following the 2016 election, a passage from Richard Rorty’s *Achieving Our Country* started trending on my social feeds. Friends who, just weeks before, had seemed blasé about the election’s outcome had begun to immerse themselves frantically in works of political theory and history that they hoped could shed some light on the forces that brought Donald Trump to power.

Perhaps one of the most surprising — and welcome — consequences of the 2016 electoral upset has been the resurgent attention to political science as a general interest category. Once relegated to small print runs and academic conferences, books about democracy and its lesser cousins have become a cottage industry for a growing number of scholars who have been recruited to explain the seismic shifts in U.S. politics since 2016.

This Trump-era cannon includes such notable titles as Timothy Snyder’s *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*, David Frum’s *Trumpocracy: The Corruption of the American Republic*, and Yascha Mounk’s *The People vs. Democracy*. The latest entry in this ever-burgeoning field is Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt’s *How Democracies Die*.

Unlike many of their contemporaries, Levitsky and Ziblatt, both political science professors at Harvard, steer clear of the polemics that have become the lingua franca of MSNBC and politics Twitter. Rather, they opt for an equanimous approach that has produced a clear, readable study of democratic decline and what we can learn from both historical precedents and the events breaking live in our newsfeeds.

For the book’s authors, the first step in protecting democracies is properly identifying would-be authoritarian leaders. To this end, they offer a convenient cheat sheet of defining behaviors and characteristics that should activate our suspicions. Their chart includes leaders who show a weak commitment to democratic rules, deny the legitimacy of their political opponents, tolerate or encourage violence, and curb civil liberties and the free press.

If that list makes you anxious, Levitsky and Ziblatt want you to know that you’re not alone. “With the exception of Richard Nixon, no major-party presidential candidate met even one of these four criteria over the last century.... Donald Trump met them all,” they write. But for these authors, the sitting American president is the logical product of a dysfunctional politics that have been chipping away at our democracy for decades. In other words: Trump is merely a symptom, not the cause, of what ails the United States.

The book makes the point that modern democracies, contrary to popular imaginings, are rarely done in by military coups or violent revolutions. Instead, they’re

much more likely to be subverted by elected autocrats who undermine institutions over time. Numerous examples cited somewhat haphazardly throughout the book — Fujimori’s Peru, Chávez’s Venezuela, Putin’s Russia, Erdoğan’s Turkey — illustrate the authors’ conclusion that the greatest threat to democracies originates with leaders who trample upon democratic norms and institutions, often under the guise of defending them from outside threats.

Levitsky and Ziblatt set great store by the tacit rules that serve as the bedrock of democratic governance. In particular, they credit two “guardrails” for successfully protecting the U.S. from the political “death spirals” that devastated Europe during the 1930s and Latin America during the 1960s and ’70s: “Mutual toleration, or the understanding that competing parties accept one another as legitimate rivals, and forbearance, or the idea that politicians should exercise restraint in deploying their institutional prerogatives.”

While the authors clearly long for the restoration of this kind of order, they also acknowledge the profoundly anti-democratic origins of this social contract. “The stability of the period between the end of the Reconstruction and the 1980s was rooted in an original sin: the Compromise of 1877 and its aftermath, which permitted

the de-democratization of the South and the consolidation of Jim Crow. Racial exclusion contributed directly to the partisan civility and cooperation that came to characterize twentieth-century American politics,” they write.

By linking the democratic norms that held firm for much of the 20th century to white supremacy, Levitsky and Ziblatt underscore the ways in which existential conflicts over race and religion continue to polarize our current politics. But unlike contemporaries such as Mark Lilla, who blame “identity politics” for fracturing the polity, the authors explicitly reject the idea of shifting focus away from minority interests as a way to mollify the dominant culture. Rather, they call for the harder, more principled path: an inclusive set of norms that “must be made to work in an age of racial equality and unprecedented ethnic diversity.”

While the book’s careful prose will not leave many readers in doubt about the authors’ academic day jobs, its dispassionate tone should not be confused with a lack of conviction. Levitsky and Ziblatt’s clarion call for yet-to-be-realized American exceptionalism is both stirring and daunting — since they leave us with a clear understanding of the stakes should we fail to meet the challenge. ■



**The Making of a Dream: How a Group of Young Undocumented Immigrants Helped Change What It Means to Be American**  
Laura Wides-Muñoz  
HarperCollins. 384 pp. 2018

## Dream On

A new civil rights movement calls on America to live up to its ideals

by **Joseph J. Jung**

For many Americans, today’s immigration debate has been a rude awakening to the controversies surrounding the country’s borders and core identity. Those who live in so-called “welcoming cities” know immigrants as their neighbors and community members. Outside such places, immigrants may promise new cultures and other ways of life. In the United States today, 11 million undocumented immigrants live in the shadows as a result of lawmakers’ failure to reform an antiquated immigration system. These immigrants rent and own homes in small towns and in big cities. They work blue- and white-collar jobs. They have families. Contrary to some reports, undocumented immigrants also pay taxes, even though they do not expect to benefit from federal programs such as Medicare and Social Security. Instead, they await a day when they can live without fear of being torn from their communities, their homes, and their families.

On June 15, 2012, President Barack Obama established Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), a program that provided nearly 800,000 young undocumented immigrants work authorization and protection from deportation. These young people are known as Dreamers — immigrants who arrived in the United States as young children and were raised as Americans in schools and communities throughout the country. Many people viewed DACA as a broad amnesty initiative, but the truth is far

more complex and significant. DACA is a legacy, a victory won by young Dreamers who ignited a movement and challenged Americans to deconstruct their understanding of themselves as a people.

*The Making of a Dream: How a Group of Young Undocumented Immigrants Helped Change What It Means to Be American*, by journalist and former Univision vice president Laura Wides-Muñoz, charts a cogent timeline of the movement. Beginning with high school sophomore Marie Gonzalez’s advocacy for the bipartisan DREAM act in 2004, Wides-Muñoz follows the years of organizing by young immigrants that compelled President Obama to take action in 2012. Much like the movement itself, the book is grounded in the lives and stories of Dreamers, including the Trail of Dreams activists who famously walked the 1,500 miles between Miami and the White House in 2010.

The Dreamers’ stories do not begin with politics or activism, but with the weight of their parents’ sacrifices. Hareth Andrade-Ayala’s parents forfeited a government job and a promising future in architecture in Bolivia; Dario Guerrero’s parents abandoned their small businesses in Mexico; and Gonzalez’s parents sold their restaurant in Costa Rica — all in exchange for a dream of peace and prosperity in a country that boldly celebrates its own freedom.

Instead, they were met with an unfeeling, broken immigration system that often separates undocumented immigrants from incapacitated family members and underage children. Gonzalez, for example, was only 16 years old when a judge told her father, a valued employee of the Missouri governor’s office, that after 12 years of contributing to their community, his family had no right to live in the United States:

I’ve worked hard to become the person I am, with good grades, athletics, Christian service, and other community involvement.... What makes me angry is that our nation’s immigration laws don’t take any of that into account. — Marie Gonzalez, Untitled speech, April 20, 2004

In the mid-2000s, young immigrants, despite their own vulnerable status, began to emerge as outspoken critics of the country’s immigration policies. They found themselves unable to work or pursue higher education, while witnessing the forced disappearance of their families, friends, and neighbors. The few undocumented activists who were students protested the government’s deportation of their peers and separation of families. The Dreamers thus shed light on the impact outdated policy prerogatives and aggressive enforcement were having on real people:

The Trail of DREAMs is a loud cry for justice, but on a more personal level, it’s been an affirmation of my identity. I am a man who dreams of one day being considered equal in the eyes of society next to my partner...the wonderful man I fear being separated from at any moment when all I wish is to spend the rest of my life with him. — Felipe Matos, “Thoughts Running Through My Mind,” Trail of Dreams, April 27, 2010

The activists organized marches, rallies, sit-ins, even hunger strikes, placing pressure on policymakers to act. The Dreamers demanded and earned seats at strategy tables on immigration policy, as well as in conversations with congressional leaders. Although much of the activism appeared disorganized — even reckless, in the eyes of veteran policy advocates — the Dreamers and their grassroots appeal were an electric force that could not be contained. “We are tired of waiting,” one Dreamer said, “we have people [who’ve been undocumented] here for ten years, for nineteen years, since they were one year old.”

Following years of relentless advocacy by Dreamers and immigrants’ rights groups, President Obama’s launch of the DACA program was a powerful testament to their activism:

It makes no sense to expel talented young people, who, for all intents and purposes, are Americans — they’ve been raised as Americans; understand themselves to be part of this country — to expel these young people who want to staff our labs, or start new businesses, or defend our country simply because of the actions of their parents — or because of the inaction of politicians. — President Barack Obama, “Remarks by the President on Immigration,” June 15, 2012

DACA gave Dreamers legal clearance to participate in civil society without the looming threat of deportation. Yet this achievement did not halt their activism or reduce its intensity. DACA had excluded protections for parents and minors, serving only a fraction of the undocumented population Dreamers were fighting for. The executive order received fierce criticism from immigration hawks and moderate policymakers alike, and the Obama administration oversaw the deportation of nearly three million people — more than the sum of all past administrations’ in the twentieth century, according to a report by ABC News.

On September 5, 2017, the Trump administration officially rescinded the DACA program. This action was met with heavy resistance from advocates and policymakers. Two federal courts imposed national injunctions on the grounds that the directive was “arbitrary and capricious” and would cause “irreparable harm to DACA recipients.” Failed discussions around DACA even resulted in a shut-down of the federal government in January 2018.



**Notorious RBG Was in the House!** Candidates for U.S. citizenship were in for a delightful surprise when U.S. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg — affectionately dubbed “Notorious RBG” by her legions of admirers — took her seat on stage at a naturalization ceremony at the New-York Historical Society on April 10, 2018. Justice Ginsburg delivered the Oath of Allegiance to the more than 200 candidates, hailing from 59 countries, who participated in the morning ceremony. “My fellow Americans,” she began, “it is my great privilege to welcome you to citizenship in the democracy that is the U.S.A.” It is true that at the start, Ginsburg said, the union was “very much in need of perfection.” But stressing America’s constant state of change, she quoted Alexis de Tocqueville: “The greatness of America lies not in being more enlightened than any other nation, but rather in her ability to repair her faults.” PHOTO: SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES

Since then, policymakers have been at a standstill, unable to pass legislation protecting Dreamers from deportation as President Trump calls for radical immigration policy changes without the support of the Republican majority in Congress. Lorella Praeli, director of immigration policy and campaigns at the American Civil Liberties Union, issued the following statement in January 2018:

President Trump created the crisis facing Dreamers by ending the DACA program in September. Now, his administration is seeking to undermine efforts to reach a legislative resolution for Dreamers by adding unrelated and nativist poison pills to a potential bipartisan breakthrough. More than 16,000 DACA recipients already have lost their DACA status. It’s up to members of Congress to stand up for Dreamers and a vision of America that seeks to embrace, rather than expel, young immigrants.

Due in no small part to the continued advocacy of invigorated Dreamers and immigrant rights activists, a vast majority of Americans (74 percent according to the Pew Research Center; 80 percent according to Quinnipiac University) support legal status for Dreamers today. Nevertheless, several bipartisan immigration proposals

have failed to garner sufficient Republican support in Congress. Democrats have blamed the failure of the bills on a lack of compassion on the part of the majority party. However, an increasing number of Republicans in Congress are demanding an end to the months of gridlock. In May 2018 a group of 18 House Republicans filed a discharge petition in hopes of forcing debates and votes on immigration bills that have been thus far blocked. There may be hope for Dreamers on the horizon.

At the heart of all of these developments are the Dreamers across the country who continue to organize and tell their stories.

*The Making of a Dream* is a comprehensive chronicle of the roots and history of the DREAM movement. By focusing on the individual stories of numerous undocumented youth and leaders, Wides-Muñoz reminds us that immigration reform is not only a matter of policy, but also of human lives. As the author writes, “Although many Americans might still distinguish the DACA-protected immigrants from their parents and even their peers, the very recognition of their claim to the American dream, the recognition of their humanity, has changed the broader conversation.” ■



# PODCAST

## D/FFUSION

**Diffusion** is a podcast of Carnegie Corporation of New York, established by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 and the first grantmaking foundation in the United States. Our mission is to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding around issues of peace, education, and democracy. Available at



Carnegie Corporation's Aaron Stanley and independent political analyst Sagal Abshir recording in Nairobi, Kenya, February 2018

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- **Sagal Abshir**, Independent Political Analyst
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- **George Gathigi**, University of Nairobi
- **Elissa Jobson**, International Crisis Group
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- **Pamela Mbabazi**, Institute for Peace and Security Studies
- **Nicodemus Minde**, United States International University
- **Wilfred Muliro**, Technical University of Kenya
- **Caroline Njuki**, Intergovernmental Authority on Development
- **Nanjala Nyabola**, Independent Political Analyst
- **Sharon Anyango Odhiambo**, African Technology Policy Studies Network
- **Susan Woodward**, CUNY Graduate Center
- **Getachew Zeru**, Ethiopian Civil Service University

## NOTABLE EVENTS



Michael S. McPherson, president of the TIAA Board of Overseers, delivers a toast from Vartan Gregorian at TIAA's 2018 Forum, held in Scottsdale, Arizona. TIAA marks its 100th anniversary this year, and Gregorian's words honored the company as part of its centennial celebration this past April. PHOTO: TIAA

#### ANNIVERSARY

### TIAA Celebrates a Milestone

In 1918 Andrew Carnegie and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching founded the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America (TIAA) to provide fully funded pensions to college and university professors. As part of the celebrations marking the company's 100th anniversary this past April, TIAA's Michael S. McPherson delivered a toast prepared by Carnegie Corporation of New York president Vartan Gregorian. We here publish President Gregorian's remarks.

*Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of Carnegie Corporation of New York, I send my greetings to the commonwealth of TIAA, its leadership, its governing board, its staff, and most importantly its beneficiaries. I would especially like to single out two individuals for special recognition; my friend Roger Ferguson, the outstanding president of TIAA, who has led this organization with zest and imagination. He is a great leader, and we owe him a debt of gratitude for his wonderful work. I would also like to thank Mike McPherson, the president of the Board of Overseers of TIAA. In that capacity, his integrity and proven leadership have helped maintain the confidence of a vast public that TIAA can be trusted to secure and maintain a viable pension plan for the current and next generation of educators. Their security is vital for the fate and destiny of our educational system.*

*Erik Erikson once remarked that human beings are the "teaching species." I believe it to be true. I also believe teaching is a noble profession, perhaps the noblest of all. Our teachers bear an awesome moral, social, and*

*historical responsibility in instructing new generations and, hence, creating the future. As Henry Adams eloquently put it: "Teachers affect eternity. They never know where their influence ends."*

*I believe Andrew Carnegie felt the same, which is why he was so shocked when, while serving as a trustee at Cornell University, he found that teachers earned less than his clerks and lacked retirement benefits. We all know that, as a result, he established an \$11 million endowment to provide free pensions to college and university teachers, which eventually became the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America. Now called TIAA, it serves over five million individuals and fifteen thousand institutions. In the scope of Carnegie's philanthropic giving, these donations were fairly ordinary. Yet, they have had a lasting impact on the United States. Ensuring that strings were attached to the money, Carnegie required participating institutions to have the highest academic admission standards of the day. Of the first 421 applications, only 52 institutions were deemed eligible for the free pension program. Faced with the ensuing professorial revolt, colleges and universities across the nation raised their standards to join the pension system.*

*Andrew Carnegie was a true difference maker. In helping others, he strengthened both educational institutions and those who served them. Reminded of his foresight and generosity, let us strive to carry out his vision and follow his example.*



Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger displays the Nunn-Lugar Award prism during the awards presentation. From left: President Vartan Gregorian, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger; Governor Thomas H. Kean; and Senator Sam Nunn. PHOTO: MUNICH SECURITY CONFERENCE



The Order of Liberty medal awarded to Carnegie Corporation of New York by President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa and the government of Portugal.

PHOTO: CELESTE FORD



The OECD's Andreas Schleicher leads the first panel session at the 2018 Best in Class Summit. From left: LaVerne Srinivasan, vice president, National Program and program director, Education, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Charles Chew, principal master teacher, Academy of Singapore Teachers; Andreas Schleicher, director of the Directorate of Education and Skills, OECD; Wendy Kopp, CEO and cofounder, Teach For All; and Dylan Wiliam, emeritus professor, University College London Institute for Education. PHOTO: MARION CURTIS, STAR PIX PHOTOGRAPHY



Carnegie Corporation's Deana Arsenian, vice president of the International Program and program director for Russia and Eurasia, welcomed Bruce W. Jentleson and guests to the event at Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs in New York City. PHOTO: CARNEGIE COUNCIL FOR ETHICS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## HONORS

### Ischinger Honored With Nunn-Lugar Award

**W**olfgang Ischinger, a former German ambassador to the United States and high-ranking negotiator, was honored with the fourth Nunn-Lugar Award during the Munich Security Conference, which the ambassador chairs. The biennial award, which was presented on February 17, 2018, recognizes individuals or institutions whose work has helped prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and reduce the risk of their use.

Established in 2012 by Carnegie Corporation of New York and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), the award is named after former U.S. senators and inaugural recipients Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar. The two authored the Nunn-Lugar Act in 1991, which set up the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program credited with helping former Soviet republics such as Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan rid their territories of nuclear weapons. Other past recipients include Russia's Colonel General (Ret.) Evgeny Maslin, former U.S. secretary of defense William J. Perry, former U.K. secretary of defense Lord Desmond Browne, and former Russian foreign minister Igor S. Ivanov. The honor carries a \$50,000 prize.

## AWARD

### Corporation Awarded Liberty Medal from Portugal

**C**arnegie Corporation of New York was awarded the title of Honorary Member of the Order of Liberty by the government of Portugal for its longstanding commitment to providing displaced students with access to higher education. William Thomson, great-grandson of Andrew Carnegie and former chair and now honorary president of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, received the award on behalf of the Corporation from President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa at a ceremony held at Lisbon's Palácio Nacional da Ajuda on April 5, 2018.

The Order of Liberty, or the Order of Freedom, is one of the highest honors bestowed by the Portuguese government to individuals or institutions for advancing democracy, freedom, and human dignity. The Institute of International Education (IIE) was also honored at the ceremony, which was part of the International Conference on Higher Education in Emergencies sponsored by the Global Platform for Syrian Students and the Portuguese government. Founded by former president of Portugal and Carnegie trustee Jorge Sampaio in 2013, the Global Platform for Syrian Students is a nonprofit organization dedicated to supporting Syrian students displaced by the country's eight-year civil war.

## CONVENING

### Educate to Elevate

**T**he Sutton Trust, a London-based foundation that aims to improve social mobility in the United Kingdom, hosted an all-day summit on education and social mobility at The Paley Center for Media in New York City on April 19. The 2018 Best in Class Summit, supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York, explored international perspectives on teaching, the impact of professional learning on teachers, and the role of evidence-based instruction.

The summit featured distinguished practitioners, policymakers, and researchers from both the United States and the United Kingdom. The keynote address was delivered by Andreas Schleicher, director for the Directorate of Education and Skills at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Other notable speakers included LaVerne Srinivasan, vice president of the National Program and director of the Education program, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Sir Peter Lampl, chairman and founder, the Sutton Trust; Wendy Kopp, CEO and cofounder of Teach For All and founder of Teach For America; Roberto J. Rodríguez, president and CEO of Teach Plus; Shael Polakow-Suransky, president of Bank Street College of Education; and Dave Levin, cofounder of the KIPP foundation.

The Sutton Trust also released the results of its annual survey of British teachers and school leaders, including a sampling of perspectives from U.S. teachers, in April 2018.

## BOOK EVENT

### Forging the Future with *The Peacemakers*

**A**uthor and international affairs expert Bruce W. Jentleson led a discussion about his most recent book, *The Peacemakers: Leadership Lessons from Twentieth-Century Statesmanship*, at an event cohosted by Carnegie Corporation of New York and Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs on April 26, 2018. Jentleson is a professor of public policy and political science at Duke University, and a leading scholar of U.S. foreign policy.

The event was the first in a series of programs produced by the Carnegie family of institutions to commemorate the centennial of Andrew Carnegie's passing. In addition to celebrating his philanthropic legacy of doing "real and permanent good," this series will also address the national and international challenges that lie ahead.

Over the next 18 months, the 22 Carnegie institutions in North America and Europe will sponsor events to commemorate its founder's lasting achievements in international peace, education, the arts, science, culture, and philanthropy. The series will culminate in October 2019, when the Carnegie family of institutions will award the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy to several outstanding philanthropists who reflect the values of Andrew Carnegie and his philosophy of giving — that the surplus wealth of the few should be administered "for the good of the people." The private ceremony will be held in New York City. ■



ELLIS ISLAND PORTRAITS  
**Three Scottish boys, possibly brothers**, ca. 1905–14  
OPPOSITE **Romanian woman** (detail), ca. 1905–14

# A NATION OF NATIONS

Early in the 20th century, an amateur photographer turned his camera to new arrivals — many attired in their national costume — at the Ellis Island Immigration Station in New York Harbor. The result: gorgeous, haunting portraits of pride, determination, hope, wariness, spirit — and the future of America.

By **Kenneth Benson** | Photographs by **Augustus F. Sherman**

In *Triumphant Democracy* (1886), Andrew Carnegie expressed no reservations. He wrote: “There is no class so intensely patriotic, so wildly devoted to the Republic as the naturalized citizen and his child, for little does the native-born citizen know of the value of rights, which have never been denied.” A benefactor of many causes during his philanthropic career, Carnegie is perhaps most manifest in the public imagination — and for good reason — as the “Patron Saint of Libraries.” And so it is somehow fitting that in a proverbially dusty library archive, the marvelous photographs of Augustus F. Sherman should have been preserved for future generations — for at the time his subjects posed for him, many dressed in their Sunday finest, the portraits may have seemed of little import except to the sitters. It is certainly true that research libraries have always struggled with exactly which cultural artifacts should be collected and safeguarded, and which should be discarded. It is a difficult puzzle, for history has a way of changing the ephemeral into the documentary, and then the documentary into history. History that needs to be remembered.

A self-taught photographer, Augustus Francis Sherman (1865–1925) began work as a clerk at the United States Bureau of Immigration’s screening station in 1892, rising to chief registry clerk at Ellis Island in New York Harbor, a position he held until his retirement in 1917. Some of the subjects of his camera were detainees waiting for a companion or for sufficient funds to continue on to the mainland. His subjects, approaching what they hoped would be their final destination, often dressed up for the occasion, and so were photographed wearing their best holiday finery or national costumes.

Sherman may have — or may never have — heard of Walt Whitman. (And even if he had heard of the Good Gray Poet, he may not have approved of him. Many didn’t.) But Whitman knew, believed, and fervently embraced Sherman’s subjects in his masterwork, *Leaves of Grass*:

These States are the amplest poem,  
Here is not merely a nation, but a teeming nation  
of nations.



ELLIS ISLAND PORTRAITS  
**Guadeloupean woman, 1911**

ELLIS ISLAND PORTRAITS  
**Wilhelm Schleich, a miner from Hohenpeissenberg, Bavaria, ca. 1905**





ELLIS ISLAND PORTRAITS  
**An Albanian soldier**, ca. 1905-14

ELLIS ISLAND PORTRAITS  
**A Slovak woman with her two children**, ca. 1905-14



## Contributors

Photojournalist **Jennifer S. Altman** specializes in editorial, reportage, environmental and celebrity portraiture, and corporate and commercial work. She contributes regularly to the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *Bloomberg Businessweek*, the *Boston Globe*, and many other publications. Her corporate clients include American Express, Lincoln Center, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the United Nations. An adjunct assistant professor at Columbia Journalism School, Altman teaches photojournalism, mobile photography, and videography classes as well as portrait, lighting, and postproduction workshops. [jenniferaltm.com](http://jenniferaltm.com)

Currently editor/writer at Carnegie Corporation of New York, **Kenneth Benson** has written, edited, and curated print, digital, and exhibition projects for The New York Public Library, the Museum of Biblical Art, The New York Botanical Garden, and other cultural institutions. He recently edited and annotated a new edition of Andrew Carnegie's most famous work, *The Gospel of Wealth*, a pair of articles first published in 1889.

Originally a transplant from Toronto, **Marcos Chin** has been living and working in New York City as an illustrator for over 12 years. An instructor at the School of Visual Arts, he has created illustrations for companies such as Google, Target, HBO, Starbucks, Michael Kors, and the *New York Times*. [marcoschin.com](http://marcoschin.com)

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A program assistant with Carnegie Corporation of New York's International Peace and Security program, **Aaron Stanley** focuses on peacebuilding in Africa, Asian security, and the bridging the gap portfolios. He came to the Corporation from Finn Church Aid, where he managed peacebuilding programs in Somalia. Stanley holds an MS in violence, conflict, and development from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and a BA from Boston University, where he studied international relations with a concentration in African studies.

An award-winning scholar of library and information history, **Steven W. Witt** is director of the Center for Global Studies and head of the International and Area Studies Library at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His research focuses on the trajectory and impacts of international developments in library and information science, placing global trends in librarianship and knowledge production in the context of wider social and technological developments.

p. 79: Vartan Gregorian's toast at TIAA's 2018 Forum has been lightly edited for length.

pp. 82-87: All photographs are from the collections of The New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, William Williams Papers.

The views, conclusions, and interpretations expressed in the *Carnegie Reporter* are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of Carnegie Corporation of New York, or those of the Corporation's staff, officers, trustees, partner organizations, or grantees.

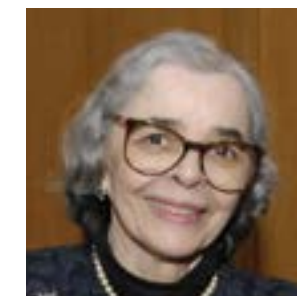


## IN MEMORIAM

# In Honor of Lives Well Lived



**Clare Gregorian**  
1937-2018



**Beatrix Hamburg**  
1923-2018

Carnegie Corporation of New York, its board of trustees and staff, mourn the loss of Clare Russell Gregorian and Beatrix "Betty" Hamburg, who both passed away in April 2018.

Clare, the wife of Corporation president Vartan Gregorian, was a lifelong advocate and leader in education, literacy, and women's issues. Betty, the wife of past Corporation president David Hamburg, was a pioneering child and adolescent psychiatrist.

As vital members of the Carnegie Corporation of New York family, Clare and Betty played important roles in supporting the work of their husbands at the foundation. They will be long and affectionately remembered for their personal and professional accomplishments, and not least for their dedication to the work and mission of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

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**THE SECRET OF AMERICA** In this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, we look back at five past honorees of Carnegie Corporation's **Great Immigrants** **Great Americans** campaign, as well as at a member of the "class" of 2018, in a portfolio by photojournalist Jennifer S. Altman (see Center Point, page 40). And who made it on the cover? We couldn't choose — so we printed six different covers!. ROW 1, L-R: Art Acevedo, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Arianna Huffington  
ROW 2, L-R: Sally Jewell, John Leguizamo, Gary Shteyngart

