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## SPECIAL

# Centennial

## EDITION

Part 3





PHOTO BY MICHAEL FALCO

# The Keys to the Future: *Unlocking Solutions to the Challenges Ahead*

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

The mission that Andrew Carnegie bequeathed to Carnegie Corporation of New York, the philanthropic foundation he created in 1911 by endowing it with the bulk of his fortune, was to promote “the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding.” It would have been understandable, perhaps, if the men and women who served the Corporation as staff members and Trustees over the past century interpreted those words in a straightforward and studious fashion. Doing so would have set this foundation on a path that might have seen it investing, growing and disbursing Mr. Carnegie’s wealth—a process that he wanted to continue in perpetuity—in relatively safe projects that would simply help to circulate whatever learning and information humanity added to its ledger books of knowledge as the years marched on.

That, however, is what the Corporation most decidedly did not do. It did not engage in grantmaking that avoided the need to make difficult decisions or to take chances. It did not support only programs that were free of risk or focused on middle-of-the-road solutions. And it did not do these things because it was—and remains—inspired by the great challenge that is embedded in Mr. Carnegie’s charge to his foundation. His own efforts toward advancing and disseminating knowledge centered around education and included helping to build over 2,500 public libraries in the U.S. and abroad and supporting an extraordinary range of institutions of higher education in the United States (notably including Tuskegee University, co-founded by a former slave), Great Britain, and Scotland. In an era when more people were likely to find jobs stoking the engines of the industrial age than to spend any extended period of time in the classroom, this was philanthropy that looked beyond the horizon of society’s often limited expectations of the vast majority of its citizens.

Yet there was also one deeply personal and painful failure Andrew Carnegie experienced that continues to spur Carnegie Corporation’s work to this day: his passionate campaign on behalf of world peace. Mr. Carnegie believed that the advancement of humankind, as well as reason, logic and global economic progress required all men and women of good will to work toward the goal of peace among nations.

As war clouds gathered over the nations of the globe in the early years of the twentieth century, Mr. Carnegie devoted himself to the cause of averting international conflagration by engaging in a program of personal diplomacy focused on former President Theodore Roosevelt and Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. He wrote to these leaders, as well as others, met with them and penned endless articles about the need to find a peaceful solution to global conflicts, which he suggested might lie in the creation of a “League of Peace.” Mr. Carnegie envisioned that this body would be led by what were then the five great international powers—the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia and France—who would agree never to go to war with each other and to dedicate themselves to the peaceful arbitration of international disputes. Mr. Carnegie believed that if only he could get Roosevelt and the Kaiser to sign onto his plan, “Then and there,” as one of his biographers, Joseph

Wall, wrote, “war would be doomed, the lion would lie down with the lamb, and all the world’s spears would be beaten into plowshares.”

Mr. Carnegie had been encouraged about the ability of nations and leaders to marshal both the will and the power to bring about the end to deadly regional and even international conflicts, as demonstrated by Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia, who had helped to engineer the end of the First Balkan War in 1912. Hence, he was both surprised and distraught in 1914 when he received word that World War I had broken out. It was clear to Andrew Carnegie’s wife Louise that her “[husband’s] heart was broken.” Mr. Carnegie even wrote an addendum to his just-completed autobiography, an otherwise sunny and optimistic book, which begins, “As I read this to-day [1914], what a change! The world convulsed by war as never before! Men slaying each other like wild beasts! I dare not relinquish all hope.” A few lines later, however, the manuscript entries stop abruptly, as if hope had indeed finally flickered out.

But that is not how the story of Andrew Carnegie’s quest for peace actually ends. In fact, it lives on in many ways. One of the most important is through the work of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of the Corporation’s sister Carnegie organizations, which

*Andrew Carnegie’s philanthropy looked beyond society’s often limited expectations of its citizens.*

Mr. Carnegie created in 1910 to “hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization.” Carnegie Corporation has been an ardent supporter of the Endowment’s work while pursuing related grantmaking through the Corporation’s programs focused on promoting international peace.

Even further, one might say that, challenged by what our founder could not achieve on his own, Carnegie Corporation has studied, explored, responded to and acted upon pathways to peace that have wound through many different landscapes and in many different directions over the years, but always with the unswerving belief that progress toward international peace could and must be achieved. Looking, in part, to Andrew Carnegie’s experiences, the Corporation has built on the realization that neither individuals alone, no matter how powerful or well intentioned, nor all the world’s wealth, can prevent an accumulation of injustices, the march of militant nationalism, the fervor of ideologies and ideologues—along with countless other reasons and causes—from leading to armed conflict if there is an absence of strong and reliable international mechanisms and organizations working tirelessly to keep the dogs of war from being let loose upon the world.

Today, these conditions are exacerbated by the remarkable advances in technology and communications that almost instantaneously spread news of conflict and catastrophe across the world, hence also adding the potential of their multiplying effect. In the

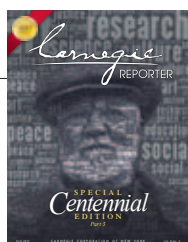
*(Continued on page 48)*



# Carnegie

## REPORTER

- 2** The Responsibility to Protect: An International Norm Comes of Age
- 14** Libraries in South Africa: Transforming Lives, Advancing Education
- 26** The New Americans Citizenship Collaboration
- 27** Inspire and Educate: How Math and Science Mobilization can Transform American Education
- 32** Advancing the Carnegie Legacy in the U.S. and on the Global Stage: Interviews with Two Corporation Vice Presidents
- 40** Great Journalism Schools: Why They Belong at Great Universities
- 46** Putting Knowledge Into Motion: Title VI and Academia in the Public Sphere
- 50** Recent Events
- 52** From Andrew Carnegie to Bill Gates: A Philanthropic Legacy



## A Note About This Issue

We end our Centennial editions of this magazine focused on the future. When we began planning for this 100-year milestone in the Corporation's history, we didn't want to become distracted by our storied past or a list of our great accomplishments. Instead, our aim was to explore our values, our commitments, and our successes as a way to position the Corporation for another century and to help reinvigorate the Corporation as it takes on 21<sup>st</sup> century challenges. The philanthropic world is much different today than when Andrew Carnegie established Carnegie Corporation in 1911. We have less financial clout compared to newer foundations, but a history that challenges us to greatness. Vartan Gregorian, an historian as well as our president, focuses on this Centennial challenge in the letter he wrote for this issue.

In this third Centennial edition of the *Carnegie Reporter*, you will see how colleagues are translating Andrew Carnegie's mandate in current times. Nationally, we continue to focus, as did Mr. Carnegie himself, on education and immigration. Readyng the nation for a competitive future with stu-

dents understanding science, math, engineering and technology demands, as you will read, a strategy and collaboration, as does the renewed emphasis on naturalizing new Americans stuck in the very stalled process of acquiring citizenship. Internationally, we continue to stress the need for scholarship and for a deep understanding of cultures and peoples. Our goal is to ensure that knowledge contributes to the policy demands of a frenetic world. Michael Barnett's anatomy of the Responsibility to Protect norm explores how the Corporation's recent grantmaking led directly to the recent NATO decision to act in Libya. In the Gregorian years, we've also gone back to our library roots—not so much in the U.S. but in Africa—and Kenneth Walker documents the difference a decade of building model libraries in South Africa has meant to this growing democracy. My interviews with our vice presidents for program, I hope, will give a deeper insight into how they shape strategies for today's grantmaking. Nicholas Lemann, the dean of The Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University, offers a personal essay on how one recent initiative can influence higher education and journalism education in particular.

As we face the future, the challenges of “the knowledge century,” and a world changing at warp speed, we continue to see the man, Andrew Carnegie, and his dream for a better society as our touchstone. Our cover depicts our founder in his Scottish cap conceptualized in a modern, edgy graphic style that reveals touchstone words that are his legacy.

Andrew Carnegie was a very rich man who did not believe his wealth was for him alone, but rather, the dividends of capitalism. Mr. Carnegie deeply believed that private wealth should be dedicated to the public good, an idea we continue to celebrate and one that has challenged new philanthropists like Bill Gates who took the business innovator of another century as a role model for a new century. Jean Strouse, in our *BackPage* article, has more on that parallel between Carnegie and Gates.

It's been a powerful exercise for the Corporation to explore our past. We have much to live up to. We hope you have found reading about the roots of one foundation informative and challenging, as well.

SUSAN KING, *Vice President, External Affairs and Program Director, Journalism Initiative, Special Initiatives and Strategy*



by MICHAEL BARNETT

# The Responsibility to PROTECT



## An International Norm Comes of Age

*Editor's Note: Carnegie Corporation has long been interested in how the values and accepted behavior—the norms—of states affect international relations. From Andrew Carnegie's early interest in a "League of Peace," to the Corporation's sponsorship of a Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict in the 1990s and support for the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty on the eve of the new century, the transformation of norms into policy has figured prominently in our work. In this essay, Professor Michael Barnett—writing before the death of Muammar Qaddafi—analyzes the origins of the norm of protecting vulnerable populations around the globe and its development into a practical doctrine, the "Responsibility to Protect" that is increasingly being invoked and implemented but whose trajectory remains uncertain.*

Ed Luck, the UN's Special Adviser on the Responsibility to Protect and a former Corporation grantee, anticipated meeting an ornery group of delegates when they gathered at the UN this past June to discuss how regional organizations and the UN might work together to implement the Responsibility to Protect. Miraculously adopted by member states at the 2005 UN World Summit with a General Assembly resolution and then affirmed by the Security Council the following year, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) asserts that when states are unable or unwilling to protect their citizens from genocide, ethnic cleansing and other situations of large-scale violence, then the international community has a responsibility to do so. Although at the time states publicly congratulated themselves on

their sense of ethics, in fact, most harbored considerable misgivings. It is not that they (openly) worried about ceding their sovereign-given right to murder their citizens. Instead, they objected to this principled attack on their sovereignty. Those states with a history of human rights violations worried about landing on a "watch list" for intervention. Nearly all Third World states had been colonized by European countries with self-proclaimed civilizing missions, and, consequently, were highly sensitive to the whiff of second-class status and possible intervention by Great Powers in the name of humanity. Even Western states were wary, fearful that they might lose control over their foreign policy and accept an open-ended obligation to turn their militaries into welfare workers on steroids.

Although the UN had voted in favor of the R2P, its existence was hardly assured. Some opponents pledged a rematch. Others expressed buyer's remorse. There was the constant danger that these criticisms, alongside the lack of tangible support from its chief sponsors, would turn R2P into the 21<sup>st</sup> century's version of the Genocide Convention—good for wrapping a cheese sandwich but not much else, as memorably captured by a military official, in conversation with Phillip Gourevitch, when discussing the Rwandan genocide. In 2009 and 2010 the General Assembly's debate on the implementation of R2P quickly became another hearing on its very legitimacy, with politicians such as Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez playing the lead prosecutor and intellectuals such as Professor Noam Chomsky



offering expert testimony for the prosecution. On these and other occasions R2P's defenders had to rebut the accusation that it was a stealth instrument for Great Powers to further their military, political and economic interests. Then, in March 2011, the UN Security Council, explicitly citing R2P, authorized military action against the Libyan government; UNSCR 1973 became Exhibit A for the anti-R2P camp. And a few weeks later French forces, with the backing of the Security Council, led an intervention in Cote d'Ivoire, its former colony, citing the need to defend civilians and democracy, triggering charges of neocolonialism.

So, Luck had every right to worry that this meeting would set the stage for a more deadly attack on R2P. In his opening address, he acknowledged that Libya triggered longstanding concerns, but he counseled delegates to distinguish between R2P as principle and R2P as policy. As predicted, some delegates used Libya as proof of their past criticisms. Yet the real surprise of the meeting was that the discussion focused not on R2P's right to exist but rather on its proper implementation. Some delegates even had a kind word to say. There was remarkably little drama. The story was the absence of barking dogs.

Libya might eventually become R2P's high-water mark, but this episode suggests that R2P has turned the corner. In their discussion of international norms, scholars talk about the life-cycle of a norm—from norm creation to norm cascade to norm internalization—with each stage distinguished by how widely accepted the norm is, the rate of compliance and the need for violators to justify their illegitimate and ill-mannered behavior. Using this metric, R2P is somewhere between norm creation and norm cascade: it is hardly taken for granted, but it no longer lives in daily fear for its life; it is uncertain when a

situation merits an R2P designation, but so far it has name recognition and commands attention; it is not clear what the international community is supposed to do when called upon to protect civilians, but it is expected to do something; and states give lots of excuses for why they are unable to contribute to the international rescue party, but neither the illegitimacy of R2P nor the goal of protecting civilians is usually cited. Regardless of where it is in its life, it has come a long way in a short time, certainly faster and further than any of its original creators had imagined or had a right to expect. Responsibility to Protect is very much a work in progress, but this *is* progress. Yet as a work in progress it can evolve in expected and unexpected ways, particularly as both opponents and proponents fight to define what, precisely, conceptually and operationally, *is* R2P. More specifically, Libya and Cote d'Ivoire exposed some weaknesses in R2P, some of which were present at creation and some of which are, ironically enough, an effect of the attempt of some of its advocates to widen its basis of support.

### How Did We Get Here?

Many trends, events, governments, organizations, and people can rightly claim some responsibility for the Responsibility to Protect. Going in order of appearance, and not in order of importance, several factors deserve recognition. There is a century-long history of states claiming that the “international community” should protect the weakest and most vulnerable populations. Following World War I, states created the League of Nations' mandatory system and minority protection clauses, premised on the recognition that the international community needs to step in when states are unable or unwilling to protect their societies. Following World War II and the Holocaust, states created the Genocide Convention and

United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and adopted additional protocols to the Geneva Conventions. These and other international efforts posted limits on what states could do to citizens and civilians.

Warm thoughts of human rights, though, were roughly cast aside by the post-World War II globalization of the countervailing übernorm of state sovereignty and its principle of non-interference. States were always jealous of their sovereign prerogatives and suspicious of any possible diminution. And international society's weakest and most recent members—namely, the newly decolonizing Third World countries—had the most reason to defend the purest version of sovereignty. The former colonies had experienced enough civilizing missions from exploitative colonial powers to last several lifetimes, wanted to put an end to the paternalistic lectures from the West concerning their lack of fitness to self-govern, and saw sovereignty as a weapon of the weak against the brute military and economic power of the West. For much of the postwar period, states loyally defended sovereignty against all foreign agents.

The end of the Cold War, however, sparked a change in the practice and meaning of security and led to a new reading of sovereignty. After decades of worrying about nuclear Armageddon, the West discovered it was a zone of peace. Much of the rest of the world, though, was not so fortunate, as the combination of the detritus of the Cold War and long-simmering grievances erupted into zones of war. These were not run-of-the-mill, conventional, wars.

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These were “new wars.” Fought by irregular armies, paramilitary organizations and warlords, they paid no mind to the distinction between civilians and soldiers. Civilians were no longer a tragic consequence of war but rather its intended targets, leaving thousands of dead and millions of scared, hungry, and vulnerable refugees massed in improvised camps the size of small cities. New terminologies, including

*Whereas once the UN was roundly criticized for even the thought of humanitarian intervention, it was the failure to stop these genocides that led to its disgrace.*

1919

The post-World-War I Paris Peace Conference recognizes the rights of minorities within states and societies.

1920

The League of Nations is created and adopts the rights of minorities as a basic principle of international policy.

“complex humanitarian emergencies” and “ethnic cleansing,” were invented to try and capture these obscene developments, but the categories could not do justice to the horrific realities.

These patterns of violence produced a shift in the meaning of international peace and security. Whereas during the Cold War international security implied militarized disputes between states, now policymakers and scholars began to talk about economic security, environmental security, health security, food security and terrorism. Whereas once what mattered was the security of the state, usually equated with “national” security, now there was a growing concern with the security of people, defined as “human” security. Once assumed to be the nation’s protector, the state was now treated as a threat to its citizens. The grisly change in the pattern of violence led to a rethinking of the security architecture. Some commissions renewed the call for new forms of protection along the lines of a UN standing army that would defend civilian populations. Other commissions, most famously the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, which was led by then-

Corporation president David Hamburg and carried out its work from 1994 to 1997, made the case for prevention. Regardless of whether they were moving along the protection or prevention tracks, international thinking and practice were descending from international to domestic security.

The changing meaning and practice of security was particularly evident at the UN. In 1992 the Secretary-General’s office produced *An Agenda for Peace*, an ambitious and forward-thinking blueprint for giving the UN the tools for conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Whereas once the Security Council ignored the Biafras and the Cambodias because they were domestic issues, now the Security Council defined these kinds of emergencies as within its job description. The number of peacekeepers and operations exploded, the vast majority of those operations addressing issues of domestic security and helping states navigate the journey from civil war to civil society.

Another reversal came in the area of humanitarian intervention. Whereas once it was widely reviled, the inter-

national community began to see its redeeming qualities. Something had to be done when the lives of hundreds of thousands of civilians hung in the balance. Force was now on the table of options. But there seemed to be little rhyme or reason for why and when the UN Security Council reached for the forceful alternative.

In Somalia it authorized the use of force to protect civilians who were dying of famine and to advance the cause of nation building. In Bosnia it authorized the use of force to protect the peacekeepers who were protecting aid convoys, but told the blue helmets not to use force to defend civilians. In Kosovo the Security Council recognized that things were bad and could get worse, but was unable to act because of a threatened Russian veto, leading NATO to self-authorize intervention, a move later deemed “illegal but legitimate.” The UN responded with cowardly indifference in response to the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica. Whereas once the UN was roundly criticized for even the thought of humanitarian intervention, it was the failure to stop these genocides that led to its disgrace.



In his “The Two Sovereignties” address to the 1999 UN General Assembly, Secretary-General Kofi Annan, building on a decade of precedents to argue that sovereignty was not sacrosanct but rather depended on how states treat their people, challenged states to develop rules to guide their future debates on humanitarian intervention. As a veteran of the UN and former Undersecretary General of

emergent areas of program interest, from conflicts over self-determination to new conceptions of sovereignty,” said Stephen Del Rosso, Director of Carnegie Corporation’s International Peace and Security Program. “We were hopeful that once the Commission sorted out some of the key normative issues involved, it would point the way toward some viable policy options.” Much has been written about

just an unconditional right but imposed certain obligations, including an obligation to protect the people. What happens if the state is unable or unwilling to fulfill that basic responsibility? Then “the principle of non-intervention yields to the international responsibility to protect” (i.e., don’t say intervention). The idea of sovereignty as responsibility was not an abstract proposition. Various international bodies, including

1945

The United Nations (UN) is founded to replace the League of Nations.

1948

The UN adopts the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Peacekeeping, he spoke from personal experience. He’d watched the UN Security Council apply different principles to different episodes of mass atrocities, had himself failed to do what he could to stop the genocide in Rwanda and had recently witnessed the West go around the UN when the UNSC was unwilling to use force in Kosovo.

The problem, though, is that the United Nations tends to be a place where great ideas go to die because it subjects them to the lowest common denominator. Knowing this, various supporters of the principle of intervention, including sympathetic governments, most notably, the Canadian government, and independent foundations, including Carnegie Corporation, created the Independent Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), co-chaired by former Australian Foreign Minister, President of the International Crisis Group, and Corporation grantee Gareth Evans, and Special Advisor to the UN Secretary General on Africa, Mohamed Sahnoun. “The Corporation decided to support the Commission because it addressed an array of post-Cold War issues that linked past grantmaking to

the Commission and its path-breaking report, “A Responsibility to Protect,” but four aspects deserve special mention precisely because they provided the foundations for its acceptance and prophesied the current challenges.

The first was the conceptual and linguistic shift from “the right to intervene” (or “the right of humanitarian intervention”)—the language in which the debate had until then been wholly conducted—to the formulation of the issue as “the responsibility to protect.” “Right” became “responsibility.” The commission owes a considerable debt for this reformulation to Francis Deng, a prominent Sudanese academic and diplomat and former Corporation grantee who currently serves as the UN’s Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, who several years before had written of sovereignty as responsibility. And the language of “intervention” became the much less neuralgic language of “protection.” Humanitarian intervention was the bogeyman for the commission, because while humanitarian was part of the sacred, “intervention” was part of the profane. The commission’s starting point was that sovereignty was not

the UN, had been implicitly endorsing the idea. As important, over the previous decade, African regional organizations had been moving in this very direction in response to various humanitarian horrors. The Organization of African Unity, soon to be renamed the African Union, which had a history of defending sovereignty at all costs, had quietly moved in this direction in response to recent atrocities on the continent. And the Nigerian-led Economic Council of West African States (ECOWAS) intervened in Liberia and Sierra Leone on humanitarian grounds. Practice was running far ahead of principles.

The commission also had to grapple with when, precisely, the state was failing in its responsibilities. It wanted to set the bar high enough so that it did not rankle sovereignty-sensitive states and did not seem to justify an endless number of interventions, but not so high that it failed to act when it was most needed. It eventually rested the bar at “large scale loss of life, actual or apprehended, with genocidal intent or not, which is the product either of deliberate state action, or state neglect, or inability to act, or a failed state situ-



ation; or large-scale 'ethnic cleansing,' actual or apprehended, whether carried out by killing, forced expulsion, acts of terror, or rape."<sup>1</sup> Addressing the argument that the international community should not wait until it is too late, it also advanced a "responsibility to prevent." By widening the international community's responsibility from reaction to include prevention, the commission also was signaling that stopping mass

There was no good reason to believe that the ICISS might succeed where other equally worthy commissions had failed. The UN is typically a black hole for well-meaning commissions, and even in the best of circumstances, most commissions leave behind no trace except a framed photo of the commission presenting its findings to the UN-Secretary General. And its timing could not have been worse. It finished

from the worlds of practice and thought and from all regions of the world.

It had emotional resonance, evident as the tenth anniversary of the Rwandan genocide in 2004 unleashed a flood of commemorations and introspection. It demonstrated to key constituencies, especially those that made a connection between failed states and the new security threats, that this was not only about doing the right thing but also about

## 1949

The Geneva Conventions establishing standards of international law for the humanitarian treatment of the victims of war are ratified by 149 countries.

atrocities did not begin and end with a militarized humanitarian intervention; instead, it should be prepared to act before the killing begins and be ready to use nonviolent tools. (In addition, the commission inserted, almost as an afterthought, a responsibility to rebuild in order to mitigate the return of violence.)

The ICISS also had to address how to respond to violence. Although the commission did not focus exclusively on military tools or neglect prevention, a driving concern that remained was, under what conditions can and should the international community use military force to protect civilians? Drawing from "Just War Theory,"<sup>2</sup> it enumerated stringent criteria for legitimacy, and recognized, with a nod to Kosovo, that there might be extraordinary situations when states would be morally justified in acting without UN Security Council approval, even though military action without such approval before the event could never be legal under international law.

its first draft in August 2001, just weeks before September 11 ended any conversation about humanitarianism and put all of the world's attention on terrorism. Consequently, the commission scrapped its original plan to forward the report to the General Assembly for debate and adoption, begin the process of creating soft law around intervention and perhaps even establish institutions modeled after the decolonization resolutions. "We thought 9/11 was going to bury us," Gareth Evans recalled. Yet Responsibility to Protect caught on. The literature on norm creation provides various insights into why R2P defied the odds. Norm entrepreneurs, including Gareth Evans, were dogged and articulate champions. Unlike other commissions, such as the Commission on Human Security and on Preventing Deadly Conflict, it was a response to an urgent question in world affairs that was unlikely to go away. When human rights violations in Darfur began to spiral to obscene proportions in 2004, those advocating intervention (and even those who were more cautious) used the language of R2P to make their cases. It had a broad base of support

international security. And while the United States justified its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan on traditional security claims, others saw these countries as longtime candidates for humanitarian intervention. For these and other reasons the Commission's work found its way into the Secretary-General's report on the future of the United Nations, and then unexpectedly became the one bright spot in an otherwise demoralizing World Summit in 2005.

At this moment R2P was on its way. Following the World Summit, the UN created a Special Adviser on Responsibility to Protect. Through meetings and reports, the UN is constantly monitoring R2P's progress. Corporation grantee Tom Weiss, Presidential Professor and Director of the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies at the Graduate Center, the City University of New York, helped to establish a Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect in New York, one of many such initiatives undertaken by the academic and policy community. There is now a journal bearing its name. Various governments have pledged support in one way or another.

<sup>1</sup> *Responsibility to Protect*, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> A doctrine of military ethics with roots in classical Greco-Roman and Christian values.

Most recently, the Obama administration established an interagency Atrocity Prevention Board for the prevention of genocide and war crimes. The R2P has considerable grassroots support, helped in no small part by its introduction into school curriculums around the world. As one UN diplomat told Ed Luck, R2P has probably the broadest base of support of any recent initiative. Responsibility to Protect owes its survival, standing and

### Conceptual Overreach

According to the ICISS, a Responsibility to Protect has three elements: a responsibility to prevent, a responsibility to react and a responsibility to rebuild. But because the commission's motivating concern was how the international community should react to future Rwandas and Bosnias, R2P became nearly synonymous with a responsibility to react. From the very

If the Burmese government refused aid, and thus allowed tens of thousands to die from exposure, disease and hunger, it could be held directly responsible for these deaths. In short, if Burma, then why not North Korea, where the government was starving its population to death? And if North Korea because of a state-induced famine, why not Zimbabwe, where Robert Mugabe's politically driven economic policies

1977

Protocol I, relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, is added to the Geneva Conventions.

1977

Protocol II, relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts, is added to the Geneva Conventions.

success to more than the simple fact that it is a compelling cause, and to more than having the right message at the right time. Much credit goes to the hard work by a broad coalition of concerned policymakers, practitioners, foundations, academics and citizens.

### Now What?

As R2P gained acceptability it also began to show signs of (premature) middle age spread, as its focus shifted from stopping mass atrocities that were imminent or in motion to consider long-term prevention. Some of this expansion owed to the understandable reaction to new and unanticipated circumstances. But another cause was the attempt by some of its supporters to improve R2P's popularity, believing that moving beyond the close association with military force would reduce its negatives and increase its positives. The recent episodes of Libya and Cote d'Ivoire will open a new chapter in the evolution of R2P, quite possibly refocusing attention on the fundamental issues of when a situation is worthy of a R2P designation, the strategic use of force and alternatives to R2P.

moment it was launched, though, it moved in two different directions that expanded what situations might justify a R2P label.

Although the ICISS was primarily concerned with death from armed violence, mass deaths also could emerge from the failure or unwillingness of the state to protect its citizens. Sometimes this failure might be because it is willing but unable to meet the needs of its populations. These situations, though, don't require running roughshod over sovereignty because the government is nearly always willing to accept help from the international community; lots of natural disasters, for instance, fall into this category. Yet there are times when the government is responsible for the extermination of its people not because of sins of commission but rather because of sins of deliberate omission. In May 2008 a cyclone hit Burma, leaving hundreds of thousands at risk. The Burmese junta, already on the world's most wanted list for its abysmal human rights record, refused international aid because of the (not unjustified) fear that the international community would use the aid as a lever against it.

were leading to preventable death, disease and devastation? Suddenly, some leading politicians, including former French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner, began arguing that Burma was ripe for R2P, implying that an R2P that was originally imagined for those rare instances of mass killing from armed violence was being applied to the less rare instance of mass deaths due to "natural causes" and irresponsible public policy. In part because in 2005 R2P became more narrowly defined by the "four crimes" of genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity, those who wanted to reserve R2P for episodes of armed violence won the day. But the language of a responsibility to protect civilians from unnecessary harm will undoubtedly continue to pull R2P into these nonviolent situations.

Responsibility to Protect also expanded to include prevention, and in particular to include not just imminence but also root causes. With the examples of Rwanda and Kosovo shadowing its discussions, the ICISS wanted to act before the killing began, and signal to the international community that its



responsibilities did not begin and end with military force. For similar reasons, the 2005 World Summit also endorsed prevention. But soon thereafter, prevention broadened to include interventions long before there is evidence that mass murder is a real and immediate possibility. Why? Some of R2P's biggest champions feared that its close association with response put too much attention on military force, and that the

ning to lose its focus. I first became aware of this through my students. When I first taught R2P, I assigned the ICISS report, and the students had an immediate understanding of what R2P meant and alighted on its core controversies. In the last few years, though, I assigned more recent statements, including Gareth Evan's excellent *Responsibility to Protect*, and one unexpected result was that students spent considerable

limited interest in the suffering of others. Moreover, because many prevention strategies are closely associated with a liberal agenda—human rights advocacy, democracy promotion and the rule of law—R2P can potentially become too closely associated with an ideological agenda, thus losing a mobilizing legitimacy owed to its perceived impartiality. The strategy of some R2P advocates to emphasize prevention (and

1992

The UN Secretary-General's office produces *An Agenda for Peace*, an ambitious and forward-thinking blueprint for giving the UN the tools for conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding.

1994

The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict is established to address the threat to world peace posed by intergroup conflict and to advance new ideas for averting mass violence and achieving just and humane solutions to fundamental international problems.

shift to prevention would elevate the role of diplomacy and therefore make it more popular with states. This is one reason why UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon's "narrow and deep approach" to R2P, although identifying three pillars to support it (a timely and decisive response, prevention and helping states develop their capacity to implement R2P), stressed the latter two. The emphasis on prevention also was pushed by forces of opportunism. The long-suffering prevention crowd believed, with good reason, that prevention had been the neglected stepchild of international peace and security; although states readily agreed that prevention was cheaper, more efficient and more humane than response, they had always been more willing to spend money to stop raging fires than they were to install fire alarms and sprinkler systems. Importantly, the prevention crowd was open to just about anything that might conceivably reduce the risk of war, including democracy promotion, the rule of law and other dimensions of peacebuilding. In any event, those who advocated prevention hooked their cause to R2P's rising star.

Responsibility to Protect was begin-

ning to figure out what is an R2P situation, because it seemed to include everything from long-term prevention to post-conflict peacebuilding. The drift into prevention was slowly turning R2P into a synthesis of *An Agenda for Peace*, the Commissions on Human Security and Preventing Deadly Conflict and other visions of making the world more peaceful. If one reason for R2P's success is that it has addressed a very defined problem, is it in danger of losing its caché as it becomes indistinguishable from these other initiatives?

More worryingly, while being all things to all people might help increase its popularity, it might come at the expense of its mobilizing power. What matters is not whether R2P remains on the lips of the international community—what matters is that the international community feels stirred to act when a warning is issued. If more and more situations are eligible for R2P status, then it will be more difficult to get people fired up when attention is most needed. We have enough experience with compassion fatigue to know that the international community has limited resources, limited attention span and

even rebuilding) might be "politically correct," as Tom Weiss observes, but might lose R2P its political advantage.

Responsibility to Protect's expansion into prevention also radically expands the number of situations and countries of potential concern. What are the distinguishing criteria that make a situation or country a candidate for a watch list? Armed conflict is one likely factor, as the history of genocide suggests. But there is a lot more armed conflict than there are episodes of mass atrocity, so it takes more than armed conflict. In fact, it does not even take armed conflict. In 2008 the international community debated applying the R2P label to Burma and the election-inspired violence in Kenya. If R2P can occur even without a gathering storm of internal violence, then prudence requires that we expand the criteria even further; perhaps it takes more than an illiberal government, state-society conflict and internal divisions. (In that context, it is worth remembering that Libya was on very few lists prior to March 2011.) Like the Pentagon trying to prevent the next terrorist attack, those involved in the early detection of mass violence are often

*If R2P is susceptible to its own version of ADHD, then perhaps it needs Ritalin to refocus on its original motivating concern: to halt the immediate death of thousands of civilians.*

its similar drift into long-term prevention, the very real possibility is that R2P becomes seen not as an impartial protector of civilians but rather as a covert promoter of democratic change. The irony is that while some proponents wanted to expand R2P into prevention in order to rid it of the imperialist tone of humanitarian intervention, the toolkit for prevention plays into the hands of those who see R2P as a vehicle for the

1999

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan delivers his “The Two Sovereignties” address, arguing that sovereignty is not sacrosanct but rather depends on how states treat their people and challenges states to develop rules to guide their future debates on humanitarian intervention.

2000

The Independent Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, an independent body intended to support the UN, is established to promote debate on the relationship between intervention and sovereignty, with a view to fostering global political consensus on how to move from polemics towards action within the international system.

dealing with “one percent scenarios” in trying to predict those rare events. There is the distinct possibility that the UN Office for the Responsibility to Protect will look like a less well-funded and less well-staffed International Crisis Group, an NGO that analyzes developments and advocates for action in many states under stress around the world.

This move into prevention also lowers the bar to intervention and recommends more invasive action at an earlier point in the hypothesized conflict cycle. Recall that one of the ICISS’s prominent concerns was identifying the threshold for action: if it set the bar too high, then it might neglect clear moments of need, but if it set the bar too low, it might become involved in endless interventions. By setting the bar where they did, the commission was hoping to act when it was needed but not worry sovereignty-sensitive states that it would become too deeply involved in domestic matters. In other words, the ICISS seemed to be signaling that Responsibility to Protect would not be triggered by an authoritarian regime killing “only” hundreds of people, rounding up the opposition or sending its tanks into the streets to crush

a pro-democracy movement. Yet the Office of R2P (which recently merged with the Office for the Prevention of Genocide) is getting involved in more and more countries at a much earlier point, moving into a gray area between acting before it is too late and acting at a much earlier moment in the conflict cycle. Its recent involvement in Syria illustrates this trend. When the protesters hit the streets in Syria, and the Assad regime began to hit back, the UN’s advisers on R2P and Prevention of Genocide jumped into action, issuing warnings. Why act at this earlier level when the deaths were in the “mere” dozens? This owed partly to the history of Syria, where 30 years before, President Hafaz al-Assad killed tens of thousands in towns that dared to rebel against him. In other words, they were acting within the original spirit of R2P. But it also is consistent with the logic of prevention and the attempt to anticipate those “one percent scenarios.” Are the advisers prepared to act when similar scenarios might be believably constructed? And does this imply that R2P is a means of defending human rights reformers and pro-democracy movements? Much like

powerful to overturn the sovereignty of the weak and impose their liberal values in the process.

If R2P is susceptible to its own version of ADHD, then perhaps it needs Ritalin to refocus on its original motivating concern: to halt the immediate death of thousands of civilians. The concept of imminence might be the drug. The international law governing the initiation of war provides a possible insight. As is well known, in contemporary international law, self-defense is the primary justification for the use of force. But states do not have to wait until they have suffered a blow before they can defend themselves; they can act preemptively. As famously stated in 1842 by U.S. Secretary of State Daniel Webster, preemption is justified when there is a “necessity of self-defense, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment of deliberation.” Preemption is different from preventive use of force, which occurs when states go to war to deliver a lethal blow to an adversary who might acquire the means to launch a potential attack in the future. In contrast to preemption, the preventive use of force does not demand evidence



of an attack in hours or days, but rather that an opponent who harbors us ill will might, someday, be in a position to initiate a lethal blow.

The ICISS's original conception of prevention was much closer in meaning to the preemptive use of force than to the preventive use of force. It imagined that the planes were about to take off, that the machetes were being uncrated, that "to be killed" lists were being distributed,

people—in other words, it might come to mean nothing at all. As a co-chair of the ICISS he supported the introduction of the language of prevention, continues to work on behalf of long-term prevention efforts and recognizes the relationship between prevention and protection, but Gareth Evans worries about prevention's watering down effect on R2P. As he recently wrote, "...let us recognise that there is no particular utility, and

might occur at any moment. Yet, to the best of my knowledge, the United States did not show its file to the UN Security Council. The UNSC needs credible evidence before deciding on the use of force. Sometimes that information is available from the UN's staff (General Dallaire in Rwanda possessed the information), sometimes (and probably more often) it will come from (the most powerful) member states. Second, if armed

## 2001

The Independent Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty releases its groundbreaking report, *The Responsibility to Protect*. Its central theme is that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe, but that when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of international states.

that government forces were approaching the gates of the city. Imminence was critical to the case of Libya. Muammar Qaddafi threatened to punish everyone that opposed him, warned that "any Libyan who takes arms against Libya will be executed," and, most chilling because it was most reminiscent of Rwanda, warned that "officers have been deployed in all tribes and regions so that they can purify all decisions from these cockroaches." And the world took seriously Qaddafi's threats of wanton violence—this is someone widely called unpredictable, irrational and crazy. With Qaddafi's forces gathering at the door of the rebel-controlled, densely populated city of Benghazi, there were good reasons to fear the worst. There was little reason to believe that reason would work with Qaddafi and lots of reasons to believe that if the UN waited then it would have waited too long. With little time and having exhausted all other options, the UNSC acted preemptively.

Although the language of prevention might have increased its acceptability to more constituencies, the apparent danger is that it is losing its focus and becoming all things to all

some downside risk, in *labeling* [long-term prevention] strategies as responsibility to protect ones—just describe them as related to conflict prevention or the advancement of human rights. Let us confine the responsibility-to-protect label, at least when we are talking about countries of responsibility-to-protect concern, to that small subset of cases where atrocity crimes are occurring, imminent, or likely to occur in the readily foreseeable future if effective preventive or reactive strategies are not immediately embraced." By more clearly separating long-term prevention from R2P, Evans hopes that R2P will be better able to fulfill its original function "to improve the international community's lamentable record of inaction in the face of mass atrocity crimes actually occurring."

This discussion highlights three additional issues for further thought. The first is that if the UNSC is asked to use force preemptively, then it requires good intelligence. Washington claimed that it was swayed to move from caution to action in Libya because it had worrying evidence that Qaddafi's threats should be taken seriously and that another Rwanda

protection and preemption are going to be real options, then the international community must feel as if war is the last resort. The problem is that the UN and its members have been willing to put more resources into response than prevention. But if the UN, the United States and others get serious about long-term prevention, they might feel more confident that when they are asked to use force, everything else really has been tried. In short, putting more money into prevention should be seen as good for R2P and good for the potential victims. And, as Corporation grantee and director of NYU's Center on International Cooperation, Bruce Jones, suggested, it would help retain the distinction between prevention and R2P. Last, the UN's Office of Responsibility to Protect needs to demonstrate self-control regarding when it will get involved, avoiding involvement in long-term prevention. As it focuses on existing and rapidly emerging situations of concern, it must use its discretion. Sometimes this means letting others take the lead and staying on the sidelines until it must act and can make a real difference. At other times, the office must work against the UN's

## 2004

The Secretary General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change issues its report outlining how to adapt the UN to meet the future global challenges, including an endorsement of the concept of Responsibility to Protect.

instinct to err on the side of inaction and be prepared to use its bully pulpit to call attention to grave situations.

### Is War the Answer?

Although R2P has become increasingly attentive to prevention and non-coercive tools, Libya and Cote d'Ivoire are dramatic reminders that force can be necessary, and that alternative policy options might not be persuasive without

It might be a necessary war. But it is still a war. If so, why doesn't the international community call it a war? In part because it believes that it is operating in the name of humanity, humanity is about ethics, and calling this operation anything but a war allows it to believe it can act without dirty hands.

Why is this misnomer so crippling to the campaign? Because, according to Rieff, it leads to muddled strategic think-

not to jump too quickly on the "give war a chance" bandwagon. There is an argument for the soft sell. It is unclear whether the Arab League or the UNSC would have authorized the use of force if regime change had been part of the resolution. If not, then calling it a war, as Rieff suggests, might hinder action. Politics needs half-truths. In other words, Rieff's consequentialist reasoning—call it a war and fight as a war and this will

**2005**

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is adopted at the UN World Summit with a General Assembly resolution affirmed by the Security Council the following year.

**2008**

A cyclone hits Burma, leaving hundreds of thousands of people at risk. The Burmese ruling junta refuses international aid, sparking debate about whether R2P should apply to natural disasters.

the threat of force looming in the background. Specifically, both for practical and ethical reasons, sometimes war is the answer. At other times, diplomacy is most persuasive when there are credible threats of harsher action to come. The failure of R2P to address the issue of coercive diplomacy is hardly unusual, but rather is a prominent feature of many UN-based interventions, including peacekeeping. These recent episodes also draw attention to several issues that dogged the ICISS and that many policymakers have failed to confront adequately, but must.

The first is the need for greater consideration of the strategic use of force. Although there are lots of reasons for the current failure of strategic thought, arguably a central cause is the delusion that militarized humanitarian intervention is not an act of war. Recently, David Rieff forcefully argued this in his discussion of the military campaign in Libya. The war did not go as well as first imagined by NATO forces, and one reason, he suggests, is that military planners and political leaders saw Libya as a humanitarian action rather than the war it is. It might be a just war.

ing, which is at its most blatant when considering what are the aims of the campaign. The UNSC's debate leading up to the Libyan authorization revealed that regime change is the phrase that cannot be spoken. Soon thereafter, political leaders intimated that their ultimate objective was Qaddafi's removal, even though they kept insisting that their limited goal was civilian protection. The consequence was an air campaign that gingerly widened its targets closer and closer to Tripoli and tried several decapitation strikes against Qaddafi, but never quite put the required muscle into defeating him because it claimed that the UNSC only authorized civilian protection. What if NATO had simply called the operation what it was: a war to oust Qaddafi. Certainly such honesty would have not made many friends, and would have complicated future debates on the application of R2P, but it also might have "taken the gloves off," which might have shortened the war and thus limited the death toll. In other words, calling Libya a war might not only have been accurate, it also might have led to a more humane outcome.

Rieff has a point, but it is important

shorten the length of the war and reduce the number of casualties—might have the effect of making it more difficult to mobilize action in reaction to the next Libya or Rwanda. Also, not all situations that are R2P-worthy occur during war or require regime change. And there might even be times when there are no good military options. A bright line should be drawn, to demarcate instances in which nonmilitary tools might prevent atrocities—and especially so where military intervention is not a good option.

Yet when the international community has decided that a decapitation strike is needed to protect civilians, then it must not only consider the use of force as a last resort but also recognize the strategic value of credible threats during the entire bargaining process. This is certainly one lesson to be learned from Cote d'Ivoire. For months, the international community used various approaches there, trying to oust Laurent Gbagbo, the strongman who wouldn't leave after being defeated in a democratic election, and put into office the democratically elected Alassane Ouattara. The UNSC tried everything but threatening force—a ready option



because there already were peacekeepers on the ground. In the meantime, the situation worsened and more suffering ensued. It was not until April 2011, just a few weeks after the start of the Libyan invasion, that a French intervention force landed, worked with the existing peacekeepers and put an end to the confrontation. If the UN Security Council was reluctant to issue the “all necessary means” declaration early on,

*The international humanitarian order has expanded dramatically over the last two decades, and the Responsibility to Protect is both an example of and beneficiary of this expansion.*

2009

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon offers a “three pillar” strategy for implementing R2P: the first pillar encompasses the protection and prevention responsibilities of the State; the second calls for the international community to help states carry out their responsibilities; and the third recognizes that, in the event of looming or existing mass atrocities, the international community has a responsibility to react through “timely and decisive action.”

it is partly because there are members, namely, Russia and China, that are hardly ready and willing to issue such threats. There is a simple lesson here: it is difficult to be strategic in any possible way when dealing with an “international community” or UN Security Council that has many minds, interests and ulterior motives. Both Libya and Cote d’Ivoire and the goals of the campaign also suggest something else that comes with the humanitarian label that might not be healthy: the belief that it is possible to use force with impartiality. Although the ICISS and the UN World Summit avoided an explicit use of the term “humanitarian,” there is little doubt that for many current disciples and interpreters, R2P shelters under the humanitarian roof. As we have seen time and again over the last two decades, whenever the international community intervenes it is taking sides, whether intentionally or not. Intervention is favored by some camps on the ground and opposed by others precisely because it alters the strategic and political balance of power. By buying into the “humanitarian” label, outside interveners can delude them-

selves into neglecting this fundamental fact. By giving up the label, not only are they more likely to see themselves as political, but they will also recognize how their interventions change the political and strategic calculations of rivals on the ground—sometimes making it easier to resolve the conflict, at other times exacerbating it because it encourages extremism and an unwillingness to compromise.

### **Let’s Do Something— Something Else**

Responsibility to Protect must fight for survival not only in a world of states but also in a world of competing norms. The international humanitarian order has expanded dramatically over the last two decades, and the Responsibility to Protect is both an example of and beneficiary of this expansion. But so too are other kinds of interventions, including a right to feed (relief) and a right to accountability (end impunity for war crimes).<sup>3</sup> But do the imperatives to protect, to provide relief and to punish outlaws go hand in hand? Sometimes they do work together. Relief includes

<sup>3</sup> See Kurt Mills.

features compatible with protection. Ending impunity might have a potential deterrence effect—would-be criminals might sober up if they thought there was a chance they would have to pay for their crimes.

Yet these norms can conflict. If a responsibility to protect leads to military intervention, then it will invariably be more difficult for aid agencies to get access to populations in need, especially if these populations are located in territory held by the accused party. The goal of protection might be met not only by military force but also by negotiation, which means that those who are accused of war crimes must be parties to an agreement. Yet if the International Criminal Court (ICC) decides to get involved and indict standing leaders of war crimes, then what incentive do they have to negotiate? And is exile, which used to be a viable option for ending a standoff, no longer available because outlaw regimes will believe that they will never be left alone? In other words, the desire to end impunity potentially undermines the protection of civilians. These quite familiar “peace vs. justice” dilemmas are becoming a prominent feature in situations of white-hot

conflicts, made more complicated by the fact that different organs of the international community tend to favor different resolutions to the dilemma. For instance, the International Criminal Court and the human rights community are developing a reputation for aggressively investigating the possible war crimes violations of standing leaders, while those associated with the R2P might be more willing to provide amnesty, exile and other “get out

to stop the killing because if they did then they would sacrifice their access to the Bosnian populations. In other words, rather than peacekeepers becoming an instrument of civilian protection they became an instrument for looking good without doing good. In this spirit, states that otherwise might be called upon to put their own forces on the line might prefer deferring to the aid community and the ICC. Consequently, although

the Office of the UN Secretary-General, has a role to play in overcoming neglect. But there also is no reason to exaggerate the dangers posed by selectivity. All international norms are selectively applied, especially norms that include the use of force. If selectivity and inconsistent use doomed international norms, then there would probably be no international norms to speak of.

## A Messy World

The real measure of R2P’s success is whether it helps those marked for death. But R2P can be considered a “success” merely for having survived, and it is important to be realistic about what R2P can accomplish—and what it has accomplished in a remarkably short period of time. As a “wannabee” international norm in its infancy, it has already done more than many of its champions imagined possible. And, as an international norm, regardless of its stage of development, it will continue to exhibit problems of compliance, selectivity, inconsistency and full contribution. The ultimate metric is premised on a counterfactual: is the world—and more precisely are the world’s vulnerable—better off because of R2P?

Good does not necessarily mean good enough or that it could not get better. The post-Libya debate is likely to force the international community to dial into some very familiar issues, including when should the international community use force, what should be the goal of force, and how should force be weighed against and integrated with other options that might also be available to protect civilians at risk? When discussing these fundamental questions, the conversation might be driven by Libya, which is natural given its precedent-setting quality, its prominence and its importance. Yet it also is possible to focus too much on Libya. Libya has

*Continued on page 47*

## 2011

Citing R2P, the UN General Assembly authorizes military action against the Libyan government. In the same year, French forces, with the backing of the UN Security Council, lead an intervention in Cote d’Ivoire, a former French colony.

of jail free” cards if government officials exit and stay away. In order to minimize mixed messages from the international community, it will be important that these different parts of the international protection, aid and justice community find ways to coordinate their actions in the interest of the victims. As Ed Luck put it, “R2P and the ICC are like cousins: they have a close association, but they should never marry.”

Which norm wins? The norm that states prefer. Which norm do states prefer? Although it would be terrific to think that states are motivated to reduce harm to civilian populations, it is probably more accurate to say that they are prepared to try and reduce harm if it does not cost them much and that they much prefer options that give the appearance of caring but, in fact, do not demand that they care too much. More to the point, states do not like to use military force unless they have good strategic and political reasons for doing so. This observation has two immediate implications. States crave humanitarian “fig leaves.” The term was first introduced in Bosnia, when the West and the UNSC said that they could not use force

several member states grumbled that the ICC’s intrusion in Libya and Syria was making its life more difficult, if their goal is to do something but not militarily intervene, then its intrusions are hardly unwanted. However unwelcome, such an outcome is hardly unusual. “Good” norms can be hijacked for ulterior purposes. It happens all the time.

The second implication is a variant of the constant concern of selectivity. If a R2P does demand military action, military action will have to be delivered by states. But we still face the chronic collective action problem: states will only contribute if they have a strong interest in the outcome, which means, of course, that action will never be purely apolitical—instead, R2P is a continuation of politics by other means. Selectivity obviously harms R2P’s legitimacy. If R2P is viewed as partial and enacted only when it serves the interests of the powerful, then it will lose legitimacy. At the same time, issuing threats and declaring an R2P when it is well known that these are empty promises will play havoc with R2P’s legitimacy. There is no reason to be cavalier about selectivity, and the Office of the R2P, just like





Two views of the Bessie Head Library in Pietermaritzburg in South Africa.

by KENNETH WALKER

# Libraries IN South Afr

*Transforming Lives, Advancing*

*Andrew Carnegie thought that access to books should be a part of the birthright of every youngster. During the presidency of Vartan Gregorian, Carnegie Corporation has invested in that vision in South Africa, creating model libraries to help promote educational progress on many levels, from pre-school on through graduate studies at top South African universities.*



PHOTOS BY THOMAS KHOSA

public libraries in South Africa and to revitalize the libraries of several universities on the continent.

Today, the Corporation is nearing completion of more than \$35 million in recent grants to libraries in South Africa. The investments have helped to unleash enormous pent-up demand for library services from a wide variety of South Africans, from toddlers and teens, to postgraduate university researchers.

The impacts are widespread and fundamental. Public libraries are being transformed into multipurpose community centers that seek to foster a lifelong culture of reading and library attendance. These new “Centers of

Libraries, like universities, are levers of change within societies. They serve a critical role in improving literacy levels, and act as information hubs, often providing a community’s only access to electronic communication. African libraries are generally given a low priority by governments and international funders and most have severely deteriorated infrastructure, stock and service. Reflecting the interests of Andrew Carnegie, the Corporation, which first provided funding for library services in South Africa more than eighty years ago, has been making major investments in sub-Saharan African libraries. These investments have leveraged other funding, including from governments, to rebuild

\_\_\_\_\_ Kenneth Walker currently runs Lion House Productions, a South African media company. He has had a distinguished career as a journalist. In the U.S., he worked for ABC News, covering the White House as well as the U.S. Justice Department and also served as a foreign correspondent. Before that, for 13 years he reported for The Washington Star newspaper, which assigned him to South Africa in 1981 where his work earned several of the most prestigious awards in print journalism. In 1985 he won an Emmy for a series of reports he did on South Africa for the ABC news program Nightline.

•  
ica:  
Education



Excellence” include early childhood development sections, teenage computer game rooms, and performance and meeting spaces and are also serving as integral components of violence-prevention projects in previously crime-ridden cities and sections of black townships.

Internet access is another critical resource that is being vastly extended through upgraded library facilities and services. In fact, 10 years ago, there was practically no free Internet access in South Africa, but Corporation funding pioneered the way and has been largely responsible for advancing the spread of free Internet access in the country.

Corporation investments have also helped to transform university post-graduate research libraries that the government is relying upon to help create a “knowledge economy” in South Africa within 14 years. At the same time, a variety of training programs have been created, and these are totally energizing the profession of librarian, which had long been insular, marginalized and demoralized.

### Schools Without Libraries

The root of the demand for public libraries can be found in the failure of a public school system still struggling with the legacy of apartheid’s “Bantu education” for black children. Over 90 percent of South Africa’s schools—virtually all of them in black areas—have no library at all.

In 2011, in the largest youth demonstrations in South Africa since the Soweto uprising in 1976, more than 20,000 Cape Town students joined a protest march to Parliament demanding school libraries. Most public librarians feel the problems of the schools have been dumped in their laps and many cite a lack of civic and governmental will to face up to the problem.

In an interview with *The Carnegie Reporter*, South Africa’s finance minister Pravin Gordhan said: “The fact that only around 8 percent of South Africa’s schools have libraries is a legacy of apartheid. We wish it were otherwise. But there’s only so much we can do.” Gordhan added, “South Africa may never decide to build all the brick and

mortar libraries that are needed.” He believes the government’s commitment to connect every school to the Internet, “should be the equivalent of libraries.”

Robert Moropa, the past president of the Library Association of South Africa, criticized that view as “Wrong thinking,” asking, for instance, “Who will train the teachers to train the students how to use computers and the Internet for research? It’s the wrong way of looking at this thing. The politicians don’t understand the importance of school libraries, because most of them never had them.”

Sixteen-year-old Thabisile Mkhize is a good example of how inadequate resources at public schools are driving students into public libraries. Thabisile arises every Saturday at five in the morning to begin a 25-mile journey to the Bessie Head Library in the center of Pietermaritzburg, the provincial capital of the South African province of KwaZulu Natal, off the Indian Ocean. The library is named for a renowned South African writer who was raised in an orphanage after being born in 1937



Students lining up to enter the Bessie Head Library.

<sup>1</sup> The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was a South African law that codified several aspects of the apartheid system including enforced separation of races in all educational institutions.



of an illegal union between a white mother and a black father. Many of her writings reflect the rejection and alienation she experienced from an early age. Thabisile has to spend the equivalent of \$4 to catch three minivans used as taxis in South Africa before she arrives at her destination, the main downtown city library.

Thabisile is one of five children and three adults who live with her impoverished grandmother in a one-room shack

Our house has one room and there is not even a place to sit at a table to study. It's always too much noise and too many things going on to be able to study. And we use paraffin lamps, which don't have much light." Thabisile has yet another motive for making her long trip to the library. "I need to do my school work," she said, "but I also love to read about faraway people and places and I imagine myself going there."

Thabisile is one of more than 1,400

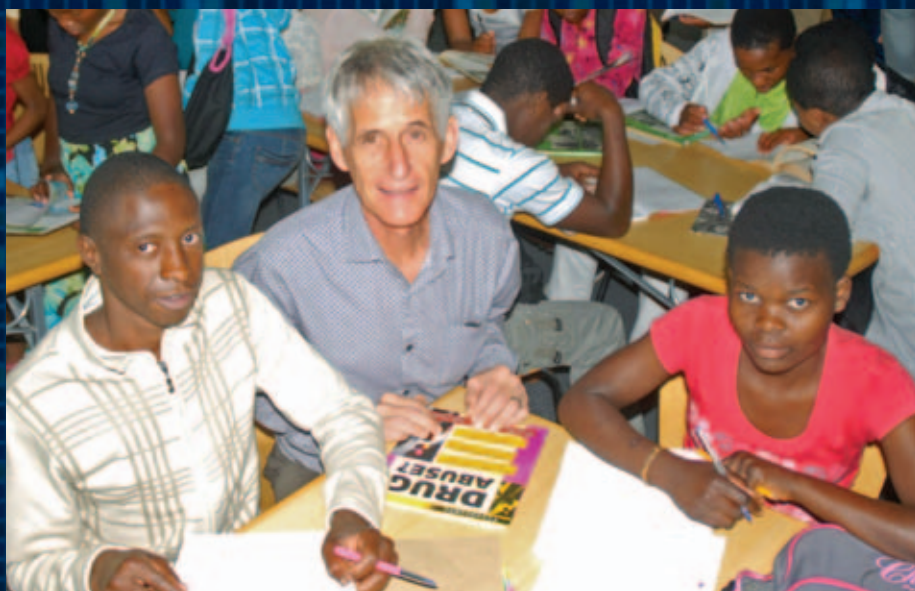
times, we don't have time to put the books away. If we had ten more libraries like this, they would be used to their full potential."

Library director John Morrison said funding from Carnegie Corporation has served as "the stopgap for the many schools in South Africa with no libraries." In recent years, Corporation grants to public libraries in several cities, including Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, as well as to the National Library in Pretoria, have typically helped to leverage government contributions for the construction or rehabilitation of the libraries. Corporation funds are used for books and other content, such as periodicals, music and audiovisual materials. Library staff also conduct training sessions for students to learn how to use computers and the Internet as well as how to use the library itself. Local schools and city workers also use the café for training and research.

Corporation funds have also provided book trolleys, chairs, filing cabinets and new storage facilities. "Basically," Morrison said of the Bessie Head Library, "the province paid to have the new wing built and the Corporation paid for everything else. Their contribution came to about \$5 million. The impact has been huge," Morrison added. "It's opened up a whole new world for the children of this city."

In addition, Corporation contributions enabled the development of the adult reference library and the purchase of new shelving for unique collections, such as publications in the province going back more than 100 years, including the first black and Indian newspapers. One particularly notable item in the collection is a newspaper called *Indian Opinion*, published by Mohandas Gandhi.

But arguably, one of the most important effects of Corporation grantmaking



Bessie Head Library director John Morrison with students.

in the rural township of Sweetwaters, so \$4 is a considerable sum for a family struggling to feed itself. The shack has no running water or electricity. Yet Thabisile takes the trip every week, on Saturday. The library, with its recently opened new wing, has become a kind of home away from home. She starts her trips so early in order to get there an hour before opening time to assure herself a spot in the line of students that snakes around two corners of the library building, through the front door, past the reading rooms and on up a circular stairway to the second floor.

"I must come here," said Thabisile, adding, "It's the only place I can learn.

students in the Saturday morning line. Most, like Thabisile, have traveled from rural areas far away to do assignments from their schools that don't have enough textbooks to go around. And most of the students have never been taught how to use a library, so they are jam-packed into the library's reference room and wait for the staff to hand them the books they need. There is hardly any elbow room, and there are so many children in the space that they overwhelm the building's air conditioning, and most are sweating.

"The moment we open our doors, we are packed," said senior library assistant Haren Chutterpaul. "Some-

has been to help public libraries throughout the country respond to the virtual absence of school libraries. In this regard, the Corporation made a choice to focus on central libraries with many branches. Rookaya Bawa, program officer, Higher Education and Libraries in Africa and manager, African Libraries Project, Carnegie Corporation International Program, spearheaded the project for the Corporation. She explains, “We wanted to put in enough money to compel the government to agree to construction costs. It had to be too attractive for them to walk away from.”

In terms of the Corporation’s grant-making, a focus on South African libraries has a long history, dating back to the early twentieth century. In 1928, for example, it provided a grant for a survey of libraries in South Africa and supported the medical library at the University of the Witwatersrand. In 1934, the Corporation donated \$125,000 to an endowment fund for library development in South Africa. In a concession to the segregated realities of the day, the Corporation first gave grants to libraries in white communities. Eight years later, library grants were made in nonwhite areas and continued over the years to libraries in the black townships.

### **Eagerly Awaiting a New Library**

For weeks before the planned June 2011 opening of the new public library in Khayelitsha, an impoverished township just outside Cape Town, children came every day just hoping to get a glimpse inside. The spontaneous gatherings started after library officials were heard on the radio announcing the opening of the new library dedicated almost entirely to children, ages three to sixteen.

The official opening had to be suddenly delayed for two weeks, but on the day it was supposed to open, a group of about ten youngsters showed

up. They all pressed their faces against the locked glass doors to try to get a glimpse inside. The sight of the disappointed children broke the librarians’ hearts so they opened the doors and gave the students a tour. Word soon spread and every day after that until the actual opening different groups of students made their way to the library to accept the offer of the tours.

The library is also part of a violence prevention project that is funded, in part, by the German government. Upgrades to the community around the library have helped to create a new and vibrant public space, with shops and new residences in what had previously been an area of barren, poorly lit lots where violent crime flourished. The library is the anchor tenant of the development. And now, said Alastair Graham, the manager of the program, called Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, “Murder is down 33 percent and crime is down 20 percent. Crime often happens around poorly designed and unoccupied public spaces,” he added. “We had very broad consultation with the community. They told us they had three goals—improve safety, advance socioeconomic development, and bring about improvement in the quality of life.” The project is proving so successful that other communities in Khayelitsha began clamoring for “their” library, so the city is planning to build one in a different section of the township. And the national government is using Khayelitsha as a model for projects in other provinces across the country.

Lulu Langeni, the library director, brims with excitement when talking about it. “The specific focus of this library is on children, from very young children to early to mid-teens. No other library looks like this or feels like this,” said Langeni, who spoke during a tour of the facility, which includes early



**Alastair Graham, manager of the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading program in Khayelitsha, South Africa.**

childhood development rooms, outdoor play areas, group reading areas, audiovisual rooms and a computer game room for teenagers.

The library has aggressive community outreach programs, including a focus on youngsters aged three to six. “Most of the day care centers here are just the homes of women who have no training,” Langeni explained. “In most of these places, the kids just eat and then they sleep. There is no real devel-



**Lulu Langeni, director of the Khayelitsha Public Library.**



opment.” But a plan is in place to try to change that situation. “I will go out every week,” Langeni declared, “and prepare a reading corner and advise them about getting old tires for swings and things for the yards so that the children can develop motor coordination and such. Then they must come here with groups of children and visit our early childhood development room, which we call *funda udlale*, which



**Teacher Salaelo Mopanyane of the Lodirile primary school in Soweto and students.**

means ‘read and play’ in the Xhosa language. We read stories to the children and then divide them into two groups so some can go outside for structured play.” Further, she explains, “The [day care providers] will then get training from early childhood education specialists regarding some of the activities they can do with the children. We also teach them how to handle a book and teach some of the nine-to-ten-year-olds to help the younger ones.”

Langeni has also entered into partnerships with nearby primary schools. “Most of the students here have never

been exposed to libraries,” she said. “The teachers bring groups of their students and we make book loans to the schools and the teachers will structure reading and writing lessons around them. We will train the students how to use the library, and hopefully, they will get cards and take out books on their own. For those students we will have games, like reading competitions and a game called Hunt for Knowledge where they will hunt for certain information in books based on clues we’ll give them. And we will have a reader loyalty program where kids get prizes for reading a certain number of books. Perhaps most importantly,” Langeni continued, “when they come to the library, the children will see that people care and try to motivate them.”

Similarly, the Johannesburg public library has reading competitions for many of its primary schools, including those in townships. One such school, in Soweto, is the Lodirile primary school. Salaelo Mopanyane, who teaches grade four students, describes the competition. Students aged eight-to-ten compete in what is known as a Book Skirmish. Older students compete in Battle of the Books. “The rules for both are pretty much the same,” Mopanyane said. “We register with the library at the start of the school year and they give us 15 titles, two of each. All grade four students—more than 80 children—participate. They read aloud in groups of four and then exchange books when they are finished. Later, we choose those who will represent each class. The classes compete and then we choose the best class, which will represent the school. The schools then compete in their regions against other schools, and finally the regional champions compete for the citywide championship.”

Mopanyane has been with the program since it started in 2005. “It is very popular. Everybody wants to be in

it. When we do the school round, the other children watch the competition and they all want to be there. It helps them enjoy reading and it improves their vocabulary, their spelling and their schoolwork. Even after the competition, they usually go to the library and collect books to read.” So far, more than 27,000 students have participated in the competitions.

The Central Library in the city of Cape Town is leading the way in the growing nontraditional use of the libraries. There are areas for watching videos and movies, conducting chess games and tournaments, weekly dance classes, video conferencing, live jazz, comedy and karaoke performances, a knitting and poetry circle, art exhibitions and book readings, and a local business group uses one of the rooms for network breakfasts.

“Before,” said library director Ninnie Steyn, “you could never imagine all these activities as being part of a library. But our approach is to build a center of excellence that also serves as a community center that people will use throughout their entire life.”

Steyn proudly pointed out all the new books and toys in the early childhood development area. “We have baby hour in the morning. Parents and crèches [day care centers] bring small children here. We introduced one-on-one reading and the children’s schools are reporting an improvement in reading skills.” Steyn paused outside the public Internet access room with its 80 computers. There is a perpetual line of people waiting to use them, so the library has imposed a 45-minute time limit. Often people get back in line several times to complete their projects.

Carnegie Corporation provided almost \$4.5 million in grants for the Central Library, Steyn said, with which the library was able to leverage an equal amount from the city, the prov-





Children's section of the Cape Town Library.

ince of the Western Cape and the U.S. Embassy. (The Corporation provided an additional \$3 million for the new library in Khayelitsha.) Corporation funding included support for the book collections, staff training and information and communications technology (ICT). Notably, the ICT infrastructure will eventually enable each of the city's 99 branch libraries to access the collections.

In addition, the library was able to install information kiosks and equipment enabling it to digitize its extensive historical collection of newspapers and pamphlets extending back to the early nineteenth century. "These col-

lections contain the most amazing stuff. It's a lot of precious local history. We really want to digitize it, preserve it for the future, and make it available to everyone," Steyn added. "Materials are provided in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, the three official languages of the Western Cape." Materials in the other eight official languages of South Africa are actively collected at Central Library where a special collection is maintained. Materials are supplied on



BOOKS ARE  
PRECIOUS

TEARING  
OUT  
PAGES  
MEANS  
THE INFO  
IS LOST  
FOVEVER

request, free of any reservation fees, to other libraries throughout the city.

The new city library in Johannesburg is similar in scope to the one in Cape Town. Nobuntu Mpendulo, the direc-

tor of Johannesburg's Library and Information Services, said that with a Corporation grant of more than \$2 million, the library was able to convince the city to put up about \$8 million to completely upgrade the original, classic 1935 library building, and add a three-story addition. Corporation funds also provided for the creation of an Internet center for the public with 200 computers, as well as for the provision of wireless access and to purchase digitization equipment. Said Mpendulo, the grants "also helped us upgrade our collections and database, train staff to work with specialized reference collections and to link the stock of our specialized collections." Those include the Michaelis Art Library, the Performing Arts and Film Library and the Harold Strange Library of African Studies, which is world-renowned and widely regarded as the best in Africa. "Now," Mpendulo said, "we will be able to share all this electronically with our branches and with the world. Sometimes our communities were not even aware of all the things we had in the collection." Corporation grants also allowed the city to upgrade the children's sections in 17 of their library branches.

Training for public librarians in a number of areas has been another priority. Staff has been trained to work with specialized reference collections and in how to link the stock of specialized collections. Experienced librarians train new graduates and help train other librarians in how to work with children. And to ensure the future of library services, the Leadership Academy in Pretoria helps to identify and retrain the next generation of library leaders so that they can be effective in the twenty-first century knowledge-based environment. An additional strategy to aid staff development involves support for librarians to attend national and international conferences or visit libraries in

other countries, such as in the United States and Europe. These programs provide "a skills and knowledge transfer that serves as a motivation for the staff," director Mpendulo noted. "After such experiences, staff come back with new ideas." However, enhanced staff training opportunities have spurred some librarians to pursue better paying jobs, such as those in university or business-related libraries. This, Mpendulo admitted, is a problem that has not yet been solved.

In Durban, the only large South African city without a major central library, there will soon be improved library services with leverage provided by Corporation funding. Guy Redman, who heads the Durban City Library, explained that currently, library facilities are scattered in several different downtown buildings. "We want to consolidate everything," he said, and to that end, "Carnegie Corporation contributed \$3 million and the city, province and national government have to come up with \$18 million more."

The National Library of South Africa has also been focused on carrying out a major upgrade of its services. The library houses a number of valuable collections comprising a rich record of much of South Africa's heritage dating back to 1818. However, for far too long, these materials remained uncatalogued and stored in inaccessible locations, making them unavailable—and largely unknown—to the public. Corporation support changed all this, enabling the library to consolidate and catalogue the collections, capturing more than 400,000 records and providing public access to these materials—not just in South Africa, but around the world. In addition, the library was able to purchase over 500 computers, which enable free, public Internet access as well as computer training. As with other libraries where computing and

online technology has been made available, the public demand is so huge that the library was forced to put time limits on individuals' use of the computers.

Planning for the future, the National Library has also leveraged Corporation support to create the only de-acidification facility in Africa. Acid treating collections increases their durability for another hundred years.

### **For University Libraries, a Different Strategy and a New Consortium**

Compared to its approach to public libraries, the Corporation has focused on a completely different strategy for assisting university libraries, one that emphasizes supporting the next generation of African academics and researchers.

An important impetus for this strategy is rooted in the unfortunate reality that of the relatively small number of African students who pursue postgraduate degrees, even fewer remain in universities choosing, instead, to enter careers in the more lucrative private sector. In South Africa, one way this problem is being addressed is through efforts by the country's six major research universities—spurred, in large part, by government pressure—to develop programs that will help South Africa become more competitive in the global knowledge economy. The government has set a target of increasing the number of doctorates and other postgraduate degrees by more than 300 percent in 10 years: from 1,400 per year to more than 6,000 annually. It's a goal most academics believe is unachievable. Still, the government is using a carrot-and-stick approach. While increasing the number of research grants, the government has also warned it will cut postgraduate subsidies for students who don't complete their postgraduate studies soon enough.



As Robert Moropa, director of the University of Pretoria's library, explained, "The government used to give universities money according to the number of students they had. Now, it will only pay the subsidy based on the number of people who graduate in a timely fashion. If a three-year degree is completed in three years, then the university gets the full subsidy. For each additional year the student takes to get the degree, the government decreases the subsidy by 10 percent. Now, they want to revise the subsidies even further since South Africa, for example, is producing fewer engineers than Singapore, India, Brazil or China."

One reason often given for students' inability to complete their degrees in time is the lack of facilities at South African universities. An emphasis on greatly improving university libraries is therefore considered key to keeping students on track and thus adding to the pool of highly trained men and women with advanced degrees. These efforts are seen by many as not only a way to help deal with the country's economic concerns, but also to address worries about how to replace the current generation of academics, who are mostly white and nearing retirement.

The universities of Cape Town, KwaZulu Natal, Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Rhodes and the Witwatersrand produce the majority of South Africa's research work and its Ph.D.s, and so Corporation funding has been concentrated on assisting with substantial improvements at the libraries of these institutions. The universities themselves have formed a consortium to manage the grant funds as well as to share findings and results. But to move even further—and faster—the Corporation sought to leverage its grants by obtaining commitments from the universities to build new library spaces, which have been dubbed "Research Commons," and to not only



**Job seekers at the Cape Town Library.**

equip them with substantial, cutting-edge resources, but also to reserve them for the use of students and researchers pursuing postgraduate degrees.

The University of Cape Town's chief librarian, American-born Joan Rapp, directs the consortium project. Rapp, who holds a Master of Library and Information Studies degree from Rutgers University and an MBA from the University of Southern Illinois, explained that the concept of a consortium "required a change of thinking by both researchers and librarians." She noted, "The culture of libraries was very insular here. When I first took this job in 1998, I went into the director's office and tried to make an international call. I asked the secretary and she said the director didn't have international access on this line. I said, 'your boss never calls anyone outside South Africa?' She replied, 'no, why would he?' So I said, 'Let's change a few things here.' I started sending people to conferences and academic libraries in the UK, the United States and elsewhere."

What was also critical, Rapp said, was recognizing the differences in

postgraduate education systems. "What struck me," she said, "was that in the United States, postgrads have at least one year of class work and a cohort of people going through the same program. But the system in South Africa is principally adopted from the British system. You are thrown from undergrad into postgrad research immediately, and you either sink or swim on your own. Therefore, we wanted to design a support structure for postgraduates that would provide people with the highest level of technology, the highest level of support, internationally trained support specialists, limitless time, limitless bandwidth, and limitless access to resources."

Rapp said the Research Commons provide environments "where students can either work very hard on their own or they can sit and chat and read journals and network with others." The new facilities, she added, "help students find whatever they need to write a proposal or carry out their research. We try to keep them focused and provide them with a sanctuary."

And in fact, the effort seems to be



succeeding. The Research Commons concept has proved wildly popular. Several universities are responding by rushing to build more Research Commons for individual postgraduate faculties, such as those devoted to science, medicine, law and engineering.

The current Research Commons facilities at all six universities are notably similar. They have comfortable furniture and workstations with computers for those who need them and wireless access for those with their own laptops. There are rooms where groups can come together and collaborate on research projects along with areas where students can study alone.

The libraries also subscribe to a survey of library users called *Libqual*, which evolved from a popular tool for assessing service quality in the private sector. The libraries all report findings similar to those of the University of Cape Town, which was the first African university to employ this resource. “The survey uses a scale of 1 to 10 and rates the library on information resources, space and service,” said William Daniels, the university’s Research Commons manager. “On every question, our scores have gone up.”

Dr. Eli Mabaso, a facial surgeon, spoke of his encounter with a Research Commons at the University of the Witwatersrand. He used the facility while researching the thesis that would make him the only physician in South Africa with an advanced degree in cranial, maxillofacial, and oral surgery. As Dr. Mabaso explained, there were no libraries in the Soweto schools he attended as a child and he didn’t have much use for those he encountered during most of his college career. He said, “When I first got my medical degree there was nothing at Wits [the University of the Witwatersrand] like this. I was pretty much on my own. But now, the research hub is fantastic. The

staff is trained and friendly and they frequently offer very helpful suggestions when I find myself getting stuck. They can suggest databases and other resources I hadn’t thought of. These days, I think of new reasons to go to the Commons just to do new research.”

The comments are typical across all six campuses. George van Reenen and Taryn Herbst are pursuing master’s degrees at Stellenbosch, his in business administration and hers in environmental ethics. Both say that one of the most popular features of the Commons is the fact that they are limited to postgraduates.

Van Reenen got his undergraduate degree at Stellenbosch University in 1997, which makes him a bit older than many other postgraduates at the institution. “As a senior guy,” he said, “it’s nice to have a separate place so I don’t have to listen to the noise of the youngsters.” Herbst agreed. “Last year,” she said, “I used to have to bring ear plugs. I would want to strangle the undergrads babbling on in their cell phones about how their weekend went.”

Practically, all the universities’ Commons get crowded, and that really is one of the rare complaints. Some universities have tried to respond by expanding their present facilities, while others just keep adding more Commons. They are trying to strike a balance between the intimate feel that everyone appreciates and expanding access to more postgraduates.

The Research Commons have really taken off at the University of KwaZulu Natal since opening in 2008. “The student reaction has been overwhelming,” said Nora Buchanan, director of libraries. “They begged us to stay open later hours. There are often queues because our current facilities are really too small.”

The law school was the first to build its own Commons, with the medi-

cal school to follow shortly. The university is spread over five campuses, following the consolidation of several tertiary institutions into the University of KwaZulu Natal. “Eventually,” said Buchanan, “we will have six Research Commons.”

But comfortable spaces and exclusive access are not enough to advance students’ ability to do first-class research. Computer resources, including top-level software, are critically important. Therefore, explained Joan Rapp of the University of Cape Town, the library directors of the six consortium universities sent their systems people to look at the very best available software and systems with help from a U.S. consultant. “They came back with something called Primo, which they had seen in use at Tel Aviv University. It’s very high-end software that many institutions even in the States would love to have.”

Gwenda Thomas, director of library services at Rhodes University, explains how the software works. “It links and connects all online catalogues and electronic resources that all consortium universities share. Previously, the content was siloed. You had to run several different searches to find anything.”

“Primo,” she continued, “is very powerful in bringing everything together. It’s almost like Google—very intuitive. Users want that. They really don’t want to know about a lot of very complicated search strategies. The software also allows users to see the results of others who have made similar search requests.”

Among the consortium universities, Stellenbosch University has the newest Research Commons, but the oldest Carnegie relationship in South Africa. In 1912, Andrew Carnegie donated the sum of £6,000 toward the extension and maintenance of the library of the Victoria College. An

additional donation of £1,500 from Carnegie Corporation to the University of Stellenbosch in 1938, as well as contributions from alumni, enabled the University to build a new library.

Ellen Tise is the senior director of the university library and recent past president of the International Federation of Libraries, which represents 141 national associations or institutions in 40 countries. Tise has tried to take her Research Commons beyond even the transformative goals set by the consortium. “We have partnered with various departments in the university,” Tise said. “We work with people from the writing lab, student counseling, and also help them with intellectual property rights. We do a lot on how to publish and upload. It’s much more than traditional services.” She adds, “Our Research Commons compares with some of the best. People come from Sweden and other places and say this is the best they’ve seen. This is world class. This is tops.”

There has been one totally unexpected benefit from the Research Commons at Stellenbosch University. Long regarded as the pinnacle of white Afrikaner academia, the new black vice chancellor, Professor Russell Botman, is convinced the project “will become an important part of the ongoing transformation of the Stellenbosch community.” He further explained, “We need to find ways of advancing transformation that don’t make whites feel it is something being done to them. It is much better that transformation be undertaken in a way that is inviting and voluntary. The principles underlying the Research Commons are collaboration, exchanges, synergies, sharing among and between students and among and between universities. It invites everyone involved into the larger world into collaborating with a wider network of South Africans and Africans generally,



Students at the Research Commons of KwaZulu Natal University.

and to involve them in research aimed at addressing the developmental challenges of the country.”

Elda Nolte is the library’s director of client services and human resources administration. In matters related to Stellenbosch, Nolte coordinates consortium-related training and development efforts. In that capacity, she helps to select Stellenbosch librarians to participate in professional training activities. “A whole world opens up for the librarians,” Nolte said. “I’ve seen that in our own library: people come back with a completely new outlook. The impacts are absolutely profound. People grow so much—even staff who have worked here for many years; the enthusiasm and the growth that’s taken place in people is remarkable, and very gratifying.”

### **Elevating the Profession of Librarian**

For librarians, the opportunity to increase their skill level and enrich their work is particularly important because the library profession in South Africa has become marginalized over the

years. “People who choose to become librarians in South Africa often feel there’s nothing better they can do,” said Joan Rapp of the University of Cape Town. “South African librarians are viewed in the same way as nurses here, in distinction from the United States. Nurses in the United States are highly trained and do many things that doctors do, including assisting in operating rooms. But here, unfortunately, those two professions are not well trained,” Rapp continued, “and therefore, they are often not viewed with as much respect as they should be. In the international community, academic librarians have postgraduate degrees. It is a highly regarded profession. If you go into research librarianship you have at least two postgraduate degrees and you work within faculties from day one. By contrast,” she added, “librarianship education in South Africa has been watered down. It’s carried out at the undergraduate level and often results in a technical degree.”

At a time when most South African universities no longer offer degrees for library science, Carnegie Corporation

funding has spurred the development of a master's program for academic librarians from five English speaking African countries: Uganda, Nigeria, Tanzania, Ghana and South Africa. Based at the University of Pretoria, the program is run by Professor Theo J. D. Bothma, head of the Department of Information Science and chair of the School of Information Technology. The school has received 120 applications from across the continent since the program was launched in January 2011. As the University notes, one critical aim of the program is "To empower the next generation of library and informa-

becoming much more widespread. And so, the world's information resources will become more available to Africa's academic libraries. The new generation of highly trained research librarians can provide better support for these institutions. And, in this way, international librarianship can also impact on the wider African environment."

Because a master's program of this sort does not exist anywhere else in Africa, it serves not only its main purpose of producing exemplary research librarians but also as a model that other institutions can replicate. Said Bothma, "The whole idea is to get a core of librarians who can have widespread impact. They can become champions and catalysts for change in their own environments."

To help bolster development and training for academic librarians in South Africa, Corporation funding has been used to open a research academy in the Western Cape, where about 20 academic librarians spend two weeks in annual seminars and workshops. The country's leading professors and researchers are brought in to help the librarians learn about international best practices. In the next phase, a smaller group of about nine is selected to visit the United States. The first step is an intensive two-week stay at the Mortenson Center for International Library Programs at the University of Illinois. Top academic librarians from across the United States are brought in to help with the training. For the visiting South Africans, the experience serves as an introduction to how postgraduate research is done at a major American university. Each person in the group is then matched with a major U.S. university library where they intern for two-and-a-half months.

In several cases, interns returning from the United States describe the experience as having transformed

their lives. "I came back with such a wonderful sense of confidence," said Fiona Still-Drewett, a research librarian at Rhodes University. She added, "The internship changed my life. It was inspiring to see what's being done in American libraries. The whole experience has led us to be much more confident in how we see our roles going forward."

Collectively, all these efforts to upgrade university library services and to plan out a more inviting and rewarding path for research librarians seem to be making a measureable difference. At the University of the Witwatersrand, for example, Paik Muswazi, the school's deputy librarian, said there has been a definite improvement in the status of the library among the academics. "Because of the increased confidence in our facilities and our librarians, we have elevated the role of the library across the university community. We have developed sustainable relationships with the postgraduate office. Our work and our resources are highlighted in all of the workshops they run, which means we must be giving them something of value and that we have moved a step up in terms of standing with our faculties."

Robert Moropa at the University of Pretoria agrees—and cites Carnegie Corporation's contributions as an important factor in library advances across the board in terms of South Africa's libraries. "Going back many years," Moropa said, "the Corporation has played an enormous role in developing our libraries, not only in terms of money but in terms of support and leverage—for example, in getting the decision-makers to come to the table in terms of investing in South Africa. The fact that we have a public library system can be credited, to a large extent, to the role Carnegie Corporation has played in South Africa." ■



**Joan Rapp, director of the Research Commons Project Consortium.**

tion professionals within sub-Saharan African countries with knowledge and skills to apply modern information and communication technologies (ICTs)."

To Bothma, this goal is vital to the development of countries across the African continent because, as he said, "The information technology environment in Africa is changing dramatically. Internet access, for example, is





by ANDREW GERAGHTY

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# The New Americans Citizenship Collaboration



New citizens take the Oath of Allegiance at a naturalization ceremony in Mount Vernon, Maryland.

PHOTO BY MAURICE BELANGER/  
NATIONAL IMMIGRATION FORUM

## Overcoming the Challenges to Civic Participation



PHOTO BY NALEO EDUCATIONAL FUND

Legal permanent residents (l) receiving assistance from volunteers (r) on their N-400 applications to become U.S. citizens during a citizenship workshop in Long Beach, CA in 2011.

Listening to the rhetoric that surrounds the ongoing immigration debate in the United States, it can be difficult to sort out the complexities of the issue that exist beyond the roughly 12 million immigrants currently in the country illegally. A lesser-known figure is that of legal permanent residents currently living in the U.S: 12.5 million. Despite having overcome what might be considered the most challenging hurdle of the naturalization process—earning permanent resident status—a large number of these individuals do not take the final step and become citizens. There are many reasons for this, among them, the process is burdensome and costly: applicants must fill out many forms, indicating when and where they have left the U.S. since becoming legal residents; they must be fingerprinted and pass a background check from the FBI; and they must pass English and civics tests. Finally, they must be interviewed in person. The entire process can take several years and cost \$680 in application fees.

Without citizenship, individuals and families remain in limbo, residents of a country in which they cannot participate in the civic process: vote, serve on juries, or run for elected office. Legal permanent residents, 8.2 million of whom are currently eligible to naturalize, are not the only ones missing an opportunity. As Andrew Carnegie noted, “There is no class so intensely patriotic, so wildly devoted to the Republic as the naturalized citizen and his child...”

While the Corporation has supported naturalization services since the early 1990s, primarily as part of its ongoing work to engage marginalized populations in voting and civic life, new census data demonstrates the need for a more concerted effort to advance immigrant civic integration. The sheer size and demographic diversity of the current citizenship-eligible population in the United States, the scale of needed expansion of English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) instruction and legal services warrants a new way of working together for current naturalization nonprofit providers and funders. Recognizing this need and in collaboration with the John S. and James L. Knight and Grove Foundations and the Evelyn and Walter Hass, Jr. Fund, the Corporation launched the New Americans Citizenship Collaboration, housed at the Immigrant Legal Resource Center (ILRC) in San Francisco, California.

The collaborative brings together national and local funders to support a range of immigrant-serving nonprofits which, in addition to ILRC, include Catholic Legal Immigration Services, Pro Bono Network, Immigrant Advocates Network, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, the International Rescue Committee, the National Immigration

Forum, and the Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California. The goal of the collaborative is twofold: “1) to encourage eligible legal permanent residents to become U.S. citizens and assist them with the process and 2) to increase the long-term sustainability of charitable and community-based direct legal service providers that support the naturalization process by increasing their capacity to provide services.”

To achieve the scale needed to make a real impact, the collaborative will utilize innovative approaches and technologies to train naturalization service providers and execute group processing workshops that enable providers to more efficiently carry out their work. Specifically, a piece of software—dubbed “Citizenship Works”—is being developed by several of the partners and with support from the Silicon Valley Community Foundation. The software will allow processors at naturalization workshops to single out and help applicants that require special attention, such as legal assistance, while allowing other applicants to proceed more efficiently through group processing. All the application screening and form completion can be done online.

To date, the Corporation has invested \$2 million in the initial fifteen-month, \$4 million phase of the project. During this period, the New American Citizenship Collaboration has set a goal of naturalizing at least 8,475 individuals. In order to evaluate the success of the project, the Migration Policy Institute is developing metrics. Additionally, Doris Meissner and James Ziglar, former Commissioners of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services in the Clinton Administration and the second Bush Administration, respectively, will chair a bipartisan national advisory committee for the project. ■



# INSPIRE *and* EDUCATE

## How Math and Science Mobilization can Transform American Education

*It's no secret that American schools need to do a far better job of teaching math and science. The Carnegie Corporation of New York-Institute for Advanced Study Commission on Mathematics and Science Education reached that conclusion two years ago and argued it forcefully in its June 2009 final report, The Opportunity Equation: Transforming Mathematics and Science Education for Citizenship and the Global Economy. As the Commission wrote at the time, "As a society, we must commit ourselves to the proposition that all students can achieve at high levels in math and science, that we need them to do so for their own futures and for the future of the country, and that we owe it to them to structure and staff our educational system accordingly."*

*The Opportunity Equation report resonated widely, and many voiced their support for its message and recommendations. So where do we stand today? Is American education beginning to get on track to deliver powerful math and science learning to all students? And, conversely, could real change in science and math education be an ongoing engine for the transformation of American schools?*

The world has changed, and American education has not kept pace. This news was brought home in 2009 when international assessments showed U.S. students lagging far behind many of their peers. Education Secretary Arne

Duncan termed the results a wake-up call for education reform, saying the country would now "have to deal with the brutal truth." That same year, *The Opportunity Equation*, a report from the Carnegie Corporation of New York-Institute for

Advanced Study Commission on Math and Science Education, sounded the alarm about the nation's critical need to transform our educational system, with math and science leading the way. Nothing less than our economic survival is at stake, the report warned, as well as the preservation of a vibrant democracy. For American workers to thrive in the fast-changing global economy, they would need far better preparation in science, technology, engineering and math—STEM, for short. Full-out mobilization, of people, policy and resources, would be needed to produce a country of STEM-capable workers and citizens.

"For us, 'mobilize' means awakening the U.S. to the need to change our schools dramatically," says Michele Cahill, vice president for national program at Carnegie Corporation and co-chair of Opportunity Equation, an initiative founded to advance the recommendations of the *Opportunity Equation* report. "Everything we know about the future of the American economy and the workforce says that all workers will need at least some postsecondary educa-



tion, and STEM skills and knowledge are essential for that. Political and business leaders, parents, and students themselves are challenging our schools to do a better job in math and science. But schools also need supports—especially in the form of talent and resources that make the excitement of STEM real for all students. That’s what Opportunity Equation is all about.”

The goal is to retool the education system to meet the needs of *all* students, not just a select few, or those fortunate enough to attend certain schools. Getting there will require significant changes to classroom teaching at every level, as well as to the way schools are designed and run. It will also mean paying special attention to developing the talents of students from underserved populations. The good news is that many powerful ideas and effective practices already exist, along with a growing consensus in the field on the need for genuine and immediate change. The Opportunity Equation initiative highlights model programs that can be expanded, customized, or combined now, then assessed and modified over time. “Real progress would come from bringing these strategies together and leveraging them to solve the country’s current math and science crisis,” explains Opportunity Equation co-chair Phillip Griffiths, past director and professor of mathematics emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study.

### **Making It Real**

The need for action on a massive scale has echoed from academia to the White House. In 2009 the Obama administration launched the largest and most wide-scale federal education reform strategy in decades through the U.S. Department of Education’s \$5 billion Race to the Top competition, which strongly emphasized STEM education. A 2010 report from the President’s Council of Advisors on Science and

Technology (PCAST) added federal recommendations designed to improve K-12 STEM education for all students, and the U.S. Congress reauthorized the America COMPETES Act to increase STEM research and education programs.

President Obama also launched the “Educate to Innovate” campaign to improve American students’ STEM performance not only through the efforts of the federal government but with help from leading companies, foundations,



*The Opportunity Equation, a report from the Carnegie Corporation of New York-Institute for Advanced Study Commission on Math and Science Education, sounded the alarm about the nation’s critical need to transform our educational system, with math and science leading the way: “Nothing less than our economic survival is at stake.”*

nonprofits, and science and engineering societies. In response, Carnegie Corporation helped pull together the private-sector initiative Change the Equation (CTEq), along with partners Xerox, Intel, Kodak, Time Warner Cable, former astronaut Sally Ride, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. CTEq’s founders soon recruited 100 additional corporate CEOs to join them. Together, the member corporations are working to prepare teachers and inspire students, aiming to produce a next generation of innovators who can meet our country’s 21<sup>st</sup> century economic, environmental, and community challenges.

The Opportunity Equation web site has become an important hub for tracking progress and sharing STEM resources with stakeholders from all sectors. Maya Lundhagen, who has been the project director for two intense years, eagerly ticks off a few of many promising examples of activity in key areas that

align with the major recommendations of the *Opportunity Equation* report: the adoption of the Common Core State Standards in mathematics by 45 states and the District of Columbia; a new initiative, 100Kin10, to recruit and retain STEM teachers, and the Statway project on college-level developmental math, to name a few. These and other developments are featured in a special two-year update, *Growing Opportunity*, recently published by Opportunity Equation.

“More and more programs are advancing the Opportunity Equation recommendations,” Lundhagen explains. “We see lots of evidence that people are working at all levels to make STEM education more relevant, more rigorous, more inspiring. The last can be the especially powerful. When a high school student gets super excited about science as a result of meeting an astronaut who visits her classroom, that experience can make a lifetime difference.”

### **Whatever It Takes**

Sign up 100,000 new, excellent STEM teachers in the next 10 years—this challenge in President Obama’s 2011 State of the Union Address motivated educational, corporate, and government partners (80 to date) to form 100Kin10, a coalition aimed at increasing the number of qualified STEM teachers by preparing new teachers, retaining top performers, and build-

ing up STEM education throughout the U.S. The 100Kin10 partnership was announced in June 2011 at the Clinton Global Initiative America gathering in Chicago—a meeting dedicated to getting more Americans into the workforce over the next two years. President Clinton stressed the importance of 100Kin10 to the overall objective of the CGI conference: “If we don’t address this looming shortage of STEM teachers,” he cautioned, “everything done in the next two years will be undone.”

100Kin10 will jumpstart its efforts by focusing on the first 20,000 teachers; Carnegie Corporation and partners NewSchools Venture Fund and the S. D. Bechtel, Jr. Foundation have provided an initial \$8.5 million toward that effort. 100Kin10 will seek more commitments from new sources to create a base of \$20 million to fund up to 100 innovative programs. While calling for applications from nonprofits, foundations, corporations, school districts, and other concerned organizations, the partnership has also joined with innovators outside the education sector.

Commitments to grow the supply of new STEM teachers have been impressive: 1,200 from the Woodrow Wilson Fellows; 2,800 from the USC Rossier School of Education; 4,000 from the National Math and Science Initiative; 11,000 from Teach for America, and the list keeps growing. Organizations including Google, the Broad Institute of Harvard and MIT, Los Angeles Unified School District, New York Hall of Science, and the Teaching Institute for Excellence in STEM have committed to retaining excellent STEM teachers via programs that train, develop, and recognize top talent. Meanwhile, organizations such as KIPP, the National Science Foundation, Creative Commons, and the University of Chicago Urban Education Institute are providing money, staff, guidance, and other services toward building

a national STEM teaching movement.

With its staff of more than 200 science researchers, the American Museum of Natural History is well equipped to make good on a promise to prepare 130 certified science teachers for high-need schools by 2015. The museum will also offer a new teacher induction program for 1,000 educators a year, and will continue its work of developing models for partnerships among districts, teacher prep programs, and cultural institutions. As museum president Ellen Futter explained to Congress, schools will always remain at the center of any effort to reform K–12 STEM education, “but they cannot and need not shoulder this responsibility alone...Each science-based institution has a unique and valuable combination of assets and resources to offer,” she explained, “ranging from the 65-million-year-old T. rex to a 34-ton meteorite to a towering totem pole...presenting complex topics in science for a broad public in ways that inspire, engage, and educate.” The museum already provides a range of opportunities that help educators keep pace with rapidly changing scientific knowledge through mentorships and professional development. And STEM learning opportunities “anytime, anywhere” are readily available through its onsite and online programs—not to mention the museum’s world-renowned collection of more than 32 million specimens and artifacts.

The 100Kin10 coalition is a new type of collaboration, one that links the efforts of partners that, like the museum, are already engaged in bringing more excellent STEM teachers to the classroom and encourages them to step up their efforts and share ideas and information. Meanwhile, Carnegie Corporation is also working with the U.S. Department of Education to leverage public dollars to reach its goals. “100Kin10 is not just about numbers,” says Corporation program officer Talia

Milgrom-Elcott, who is leading the effort. “It’s about bringing deep STEM knowledge and strong teaching skills into American classrooms, and getting the best outcomes for all students. In the larger sense, it’s about charting a new way to respond to an urgent public call for change, and doing whatever it takes to give every child a chance to succeed.”

Recently, the search for a solution to the STEM teaching crisis took on a new dimension: looking beyond teachers alone to expand the pool of STEM talent available to our nation’s schools. To explore the possibilities, Carnegie Corporation and Opportunity Equation teamed up with Ashoka’s Changemakers, an online community dedicated to social innovation. The three organizations teamed up to host a competition designed to entice companies, universities, and other sources of STEM expertise to connect with public schools that need their talent. The competition, *Partnering for Excellence: Innovations in Science + Technology + Engineering + Math Education*, sought to uncover creative model programs that tap into nontraditional STEM resources and enhance student learning in new ways. Especially intriguing are models that connect STEM professionals with schools as “long-term, part-time” volunteers in various capacities, from enriching teachers’ STEM knowledge to providing internships for students. Winners are eligible for more than \$120,000 in cash and prizes. More than 250 entries were submitted, and winners will be announced in mid-November 2011. Submissions include programs that are already up and running and others still on the drawing board.

### **Designing for STEM Effectiveness**

As the Carnegie-IAS Commission argued in 2009, every element of a school’s design, including its use of



time, money, talent, and technology, is a potential asset for improving instruction and fostering student success. In other words, the work of changing math and science education can't begin and end with what happens inside the nation's math and science classrooms. Change on the scale that's needed will mean redesigning our schools and school systems to use and combine resources creatively to help all students learn.

The challenges of redesign are especially daunting in a system as siloed as American public education. In general, our educational system is not well structured to advance new ideas or spread the best ones, yet pockets of innovation have opened up around the country. Newer models are addressing impediments that have limited past efforts to deliver excellent, equitable STEM learning to all American students. Some of the most successful are beginning to serve as "existence proofs," showing both that change is possible and that models exist that can be applied more widely.

To cite one example, the New Tech Network has made real headway in addressing a central design challenge for the future of STEM education: how to integrate technology into student learning in ways that deepen the educational experience and help students develop essential skills. It is now widely understood that today's students will need to leverage technological resources throughout their lives to learn, manage information, solve problems, and create new products; yet, as the National Science Foundation and others have noted, few American public schools have fully realized the promise of technology. New Tech seeks to change all that. Unlike traditional high schools, where classroom lectures and textbooks prevail, New Tech high schools design real-world projects that fulfill state and district standards, build on students' interests, and are customized to meet the priorities of

particular schools or communities. New Tech has achieved strong results, producing classroom environments where students are deeply engaged in learning and develop skills such as critical thinking and collaboration. New Tech's is an unusual STEM model, integrating math and science into multidisciplinary projects that enable students to build STEM skills and knowledge through learning experiences that are motivating and relevant. To bring the model to scale, New Tech works nationwide with schools, districts, and communities—currently 62 high schools in 14 states—to help schools rethink teaching and learning as they implement the New Tech approach.

Another example, the Statway initiative, is a collaboration among the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Charles A. Dana Center at the University of Texas, and 19 community colleges around the country. Statway takes on a different STEM design challenge: how to teach developmental mathematics to community college students, including those with weak math preparation, so they can learn the math they need for further study at an accelerated pace, fulfill their requirements, and become fully numerate citizens. The new labor market demands that all young Americans achieve higher levels of education than previous generations and that they have well-developed math skills, yet mathematics continues to be a "gatekeeper" course—the barrier that halts the quest to earn a college credential for many students. Today, approximately half of students entering community college require developmental math before they can even enroll in a required, credit-bearing math course; as many as 70 percent of those students never complete the sequence.

Statway is aggressively reinventing developmental math, using new instructional techniques and a promising new

alternative pathway through statistics, with its real-world relevance and appeal. The initiative features a sophisticated set of feedback loops that link community college teams with design consultants, who work together to identify problems, prototype immediate solutions, and transfer knowledge rapidly to other institutions. The Statway partners have created a shared learning platform, where faculty from participating institutions can work together to develop curriculum, beta test lessons, and share results. Within the next year, Statway should become the largest repository of open education resources in mathematics in the country.

### **Fewer, Clearer, Higher Standards**

Of all the changes taking place today, the most fundamental and far-reaching may be the leadership states have shown in developing, adopting, and implementing the Common Core State Standards in mathematics and English language arts. Acceptance of the standards has exceeded all expectations, with 45 states and the District of Columbia adopting them in the very first year. "The speed with which this has taken place speaks to the huge demand for really good, strong standards, especially in math," says Carnegie Corporation program officer Andrés Henríquez.

The new standards, shared across states, set a high bar for student achievement. They make clear what teachers need to teach and what students need to know and be able to do if they are to succeed in college, thrive in the global workforce, and participate in civic life. When fully implemented, the new standards, and the tests that will go along with them, will give policymakers, teachers, parents, and students a far clearer picture of how our schools are doing and what more needs to be done. Right now, two consortia of states are

working to develop assessments that will align with the new standards and do a far better job than current standardized tests of measuring what students know, how well they know it, and, by extension, how well they have been taught.

*The Opportunity Equation* stressed the urgency of adopting fewer, clearer, and higher math and science standards, along with rigorous assessments. A year after the report was released, in 2010, the National Governors Association Center

The nation also needs new science standards, but developing them required a different, separate process—again with active participation by states. The work began in early 2010, when the National Research Council (NRC) convened a panel of scientists and other experts to lay the groundwork on which detailed new standards could be built. After a year and a half of drafting, deliberation, and extensive public comment, the panel released the

wonder of science, and know enough to absorb, analyze, and discuss scientific information and continue to learn about science outside school.

Because the framework maps out proficiency requirements, it can be used now by state education officials and others to begin working on curriculum and professional development expectations for teachers. Meanwhile, the framework has been taken up by interested states and the education organization Achieve and its partners, the National Science Teachers Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, so they can write the next generation science standards over the coming year. “It’s very encouraging. Right off the bat, twenty states signed up to participate in the development of the new science standards,” says Henriques. “They are committed and very eager.”

Will this enthusiasm hold up when the going gets rough? Experts acknowledge that the newly minted math and science standards will represent a huge leap beyond the way those subjects are currently taught, and schools will need major support making the transition. If teachers are to meet these higher expectations, many will need deeper knowledge of STEM and how to teach it. Under present economic conditions, the possibility that some states will lose sight of this important goal is a real cause for concern.

Most American students are not yet benefiting from better approaches to STEM education despite measurable progress, and, if current mobilization efforts flag, the effect for the nation could be grim. Still, “there are many hopeful signs,” says Michele Cahill. “Educators and state leaders in all parts of the country have stood up just in the past two years and said, ‘Yes, we recognize that we need to raise expectations for all students. We know it’s going to be difficult, but this is work we need to do.’” ■

*Sign up 100,000 new, excellent STEM teachers in the next 10 years—this challenge in President Obama’s 2011 State of the Union Address motivated educational, corporate, and government partners (80 to date) to form 100Kin10, a coalition aimed at increasing the number of qualified STEM teachers by preparing new teachers, retaining top performers, and building up STEM education throughout the U.S.*



for Best Practices and the Council of Chief State School Officers released the Common Core State Standards in English language arts and math, which they had developed in collaboration with teachers, school administrators, and other experts, for states to adopt voluntarily. On the math side, these internationally benchmarked guidelines stress math principles and how they can be applied to a wide range of problems. The new standards require growing levels of expertise over time, going from fundamental skills such as reasoning and proof, to such higher-level processes as adaptive reasoning, and the ability to carry out procedures flexibly, accurately, and appropriately. The intention is for students to see mathematics as useful, interesting, and worthwhile, and to recognize that diligence and persistence matter.

Next Generation Science Education Conceptual Framework in July 2011.

The new framework aims to refocus science instruction, often criticized as “a mile wide and an inch deep,” and it promotes giving young people more opportunities to practice both scientific inquiry and engineering design as part of the learning process. “For kids to really understand an idea, they have to work with that idea. So what you need to do is have fewer facts and more development of ideas,” explains NRC framework committee chair Helen Quinn, a physicist at Stanford University’s National Accelerator Laboratory. Core scientific concepts should be revisited as students progress through school, according to the framework, so by the end of 12<sup>th</sup> grade, all students understand core science concepts, appreciate the beauty and





# Advancing the Carnegie Legacy in the U.S. and on the Global Stage



Deana Arsenian (l) and Michele Cahill (r).

## Interviews with Two Corporation Vice Presidents

*Andrew Carnegie envisioned Carnegie Corporation of New York as a foundation that would “promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding.” In keeping with this mandate, the Corporation’s work builds on our historic role as an education foundation but also honors Andrew Carnegie’s passion for international peace and the strength of our democracy. In support of these efforts, Carnegie Corporation’s current grantmaking is organized around two programs: National and International, which also include various short-term initiatives. Here, the leaders of both programs—Deana Arsenian, Vice President, International Program and Program Director, Higher Education in Eurasia and Michele Cahill, Vice President, National Program and Program Director, Urban Education—are interviewed by Susan King, Vice President, External Affairs and Program Director, Journalism Initiative, Special Initiatives & Strategy.*

### DEANA ARSENIAN

**Susan King:** This is our Centennial year. There is a legacy that we are all aware of, and that you as the leader of the International Program must build on to create a legacy for the future. Is there a sense of being part of the continuum of Carnegie Corporation?

**Deana Arsenian:** More than just a sense, there’s the sense and the reality of being on the continuum of both Andrew Carnegie’s own thinking and his vision for international peace, security and prosperity, as well as for the Corporation’s approach to these challenges over the past 100 years. We’ve been looking at our program in the

### MICHELE CAHILL

**Susan King:** We think so much about Carnegie Corporation as a platform of history, how do you think of yourself as building on the past to really move us forward as a country and in the field of education?

**Michele Cahill:** Carnegie Corporation has a rich history which, if you come here as I did, first as a program officer, then as a vice president, is a challenge to live up to! It’s our job to find the unique niche that a foundation and philanthropy can have in contributing to education reform and to helping to create a stronger democracy in the U.S. The Corporation has done that through some signature

context of what the Corporation has done—or tried to do—over the past century. I think we're very mindful of how we fit on this continuum. And it's interesting because while creating the foundation, Andrew Carnegie was wise enough to give the trustees the right to change the areas of our programmatic activities as they see fit. In reality, the trustees have recognized that some of the key values of Andrew Carnegie's vision have remained relevant throughout a century, so there hasn't been a major change in direction in many of our program areas even though the world is very different today.

In the international field, the challenges are perhaps deadlier than they were in the past; they're also more interdependent and require a multilateral approach to seeking solutions. But many of the problems, if not the same as before, remain similar in nature. The issues that preoccupied Andrew Carnegie, whether it was war and peace, the prevention of conflict, disarmament, or promoting advancement through access to knowledge and libraries, are all issues that we continue to focus on today.

We know from Andrew Carnegie's biography that he was a realist. He was a man who believed in the ability of an individual to change the course of history. He was strongly against a set of principles that preoccupied his era, namely war and imperialism. We know, for example, that he tried to prevent WWI by exercising personal diplomacy. He hoped to bring Kaiser Wilhelm together with other leaders, including former president Theodore Roosevelt, to come up with a deal to prevent WWI from erupting. He was also a major promoter of the League of Nations. He thought he could single-handedly change the course of history.

I think my program colleagues working in the area of peace and security realize, looking 100 years back, that establishing a more peaceful world cannot be achieved by one individual alone, though certainly, individuals can make a substantive difference in either causing or ameliorating conflicts. Still, none of the passions that occupied Andrew Carnegie and that he devoted so much of his time, effort and resources to, actually panned out the way he wanted them to. And we're mindful of that. But we're also mindful of the fact that there is a role within the nongovernmental expert community in advancing certain positive international developments and internal dynamics, and at the very least, to try to reduce or minimize the more dangerous ones.

**SK:** Some say that Andrew Carnegie, by the force of his personality, thought he could negotiate a preemptive peace and prevent war. You use different tools to offer solutions

activities for many years. In particular, I would point to our strong record of supporting effective teaching and research, and to the Corporation's constant commitment to equity and excellence at the same time.

But today, we are in a different time. We're in a time that is very challenging for the United States. Our country is becoming more divided, obviously politically divided, but it's also very divided along socioeconomic lines, more so than ever before in our modern history, and certainly ever since WWII. That makes for a particular challenge for education since two things are happening at the same time: the changes in the labor market and global economy are requiring higher levels of knowledge and skills from all young people while, at the same time, many more of our children come from disadvantaged backgrounds, so schools face enormous challenges.

As program strategists, our challenge is to find out what philanthropy can do to ensure a better-educated population that will contribute to creating a stronger democracy. We must build on Carnegie Corporation's solid history of integration and standing for what is best in American democracy. You could say part of our current challenge is to modernize what Andrew Carnegie did himself when he was president of the Corporation and supported the Americanization movement, which focused on helping immigrants become part of American society. Similarly, in today's global world, that means working on the integration of immigrants into the fabric of American life so that we have a stronger nation.

**SK:** So part of what you saw as you developed the strategy for National Program was this clear intersection between education and immigration as being two important streams of moving American democracy forward?

**MC:** Yes. Being a citizen in 2011, 2012 is demanding. We don't always see it that way, and much of our culture is moving the opposite way, which is to demand less of people in the civic sphere. However, the kinds of decisions that are required now of citizens—even acting through their representatives—mean understanding certain basic ideas about science, for example. They require us to be aware of geography and culture in ways that we haven't been at other times as a citizenry. They also require our country and all of our citizens to grapple with what our most basic values mean in a global world where migration is common and often necessary. We have always been a country of immigrants, and that's really critical to our strength, yet, as a society, we have not had a government that actually helps to integrate immigrants who are here through comprehensive immigration reform.



to complex world problems. What are those tried-and-true values and strategies you turn to?

**DA:** The International Program tries to impact and influence policy and policy outcomes. That is our ultimate goal. And some of the tools are the same ones that were available to Andrew Carnegie and his staff, while others are different because the needs are different. But fundamentally, we are true to Andrew Carnegie's vision. We believe that you need to have a better understanding of global issues and you really need to have the expertise and the intellectual community that can bring to bear experience and knowledge about these complex global issues to help address them. So our first priority is to remain true to our mission of advancing and diffusing knowledge and understanding. The second, and this is very important, is that we also need to bridge the academic expert community that we support with the policy community that stands to gain from the wisdom, advice, and expertise of these scholars. Unfortunately, the bridge between the two groups over the years has gotten wider, not narrower, as the policy community became more involved with complex global challenges, with little time or opportunity to reflect on the big picture, while the academic community became a lot more specialized and more preoccupied with theory rather than applicable research on international matters. So closing the gap is an important element for us.

The third priority is that we must create a bridge between American and international policymakers and experts. One way we create that bridge is by supporting international interactions. Another venue, aimed more at policymakers, is through Track II dialogs that Andrew Carnegie initiated with his personal intervention in trying to prevent WWI. This model connects opinion-makers across international divides to seek solutions that might be mutually acceptable, as well as inform mutual understanding of what drives different sides in any particular conflict or issue.

Also key to everything we do, and what the Corporation has done since the beginning, is to invest in people. We invest in the next generation of scholars in Africa and on the issues of our concentration in the United States. Through Carnegie Scholars and the Islam Initiative, we have also invested in strengthening the capacity of the American experts on Islam and Muslim-majority states to better inform the American public about these issues. So investment in people is absolutely crucial for us. But here, too, we can go back to the legacy of Andrew Carnegie, because in addition to believing that individuals can make a difference in history, he also believed that individuals need access to information and libraries in order to make informed choices. The fact that he

It's important to understand that immigrant children represent about a third of children living in poverty. These are our future citizens and they need to be educated and they need to be educated well. We need to build on their strengths and, in conjunction with that effort, find new and more effective ways of advancing English language learning.

**SK:** And you see education as the key lever on both these fronts in making the kind of change that this country needs?

**MC:** Education is the foundational critical lever. In the immigration area, there is the additional governmental political lever that can make a difference. When we are educating some of our immigrant students well, for example, those students who are now called the Dream kids<sup>1</sup> and who came here when they were young children but with parents who entered the country illegally, many find themselves excelling. When I was a leader in the New York City school system in the early 2000s, we had a number of valedictorian students, for instance, who had no future in the U.S. if they couldn't win legal status.

**SK:** So we lost all their talent!

**MC:** Absolutely. Such a waste for our democracy.

**SK:** You've worked on education reform all your life. This is not easy to accomplish. How do you describe this moment in history? It seems many groups are coming together on the education front. Are you optimistic about the opportunities?

**MC:** I think we have an enormously important moment of opportunity in this country and it's also an enormously important time to not squander that opportunity because we don't have much room, as a country, for recovery from the way we have fallen behind in terms of education.

Let me tell you why I think it's a moment of opportunity. We have states coming together for the first time on common core standards in English language arts, which comprises literacy, reading, writing, speaking, and mathematics. We now have 45 states and the District of Columbia that have agreed on far more academically rigorous standards for gradu-

<sup>1</sup>*The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act—and other bills similar to it in content—have been debated by both houses of Congress since 2001. The bill would provide conditional legal status and a pathway to citizenship for immigrants already in the U.S. who entered the country illegally as minors and graduated from a U.S. high school. To be eligible, applicants must complete two years of service in the armed forces or two years of a four-year college degree. Twelve states—including California, Texas, Maryland, Kansas, and Washington—have passed similar legislation granting in-state tuition to Dream kids.*

created over 2,500 public libraries in the U.S. and abroad speaks to his vision in terms of what contributes to individual change. So our continued support for public libraries—at this time, in South Africa—as well as our investment in university libraries and in academic and scholarly communities in a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa and in post-Soviet Eurasia are the tools we currently use. But these tools also match Andrew Carnegie’s own vision for how to promote positive societal change.

**SK:** I want to follow up on that policy impact idea since it is one of the key goals for your work. So many people think the way to impact policy is all about advocacy. You choose a different tool: really good research, scholarship and deep knowledge to inform policy. Why?

**DA:** If you look at the history of how Andrew Carnegie created our sister organization, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, his primary goal was, in fact, for it to serve as an advocacy organization promoting peace. But the trustees of the endowment very quickly figured out that the best way to actually affect policy was by enhancing research and analytical capacity—essentially, developing information that could lead to certain policy positions that, in turn, could then strengthen peace.

Now, I’m sure that Andrew Carnegie himself believed in advocacy. He personally intervened on the world stage with world leaders, he wrote numerous articles, he made endless speeches, he called American presidents and foreign leaders directly. But I think that people who try to implement an end to conflicts very quickly realize that you cannot change policies like that. Andrew Carnegie’s own failure—I hate to use this word, but it was a failure, ultimately—to impact policy through the means that he himself pursued, suggests that there have to be other ways. And I also say that because influencing and impacting policy is an enormous challenge. Policies are made on the basis of leadership views, on the basis of internal policy considerations, on the basis of a leader’s perception of national interests and how other global players may or may not affect them. Sometimes decisions are forced by external developments. There is such an enormous mechanism of policymaking and so many factors go into it that certainly, we cannot assume that we or anybody else can influence policy from outside. However, I think that we all should aspire to make contributions that help shape strong policy solutions.

**SK:** So the commitment at the Corporation, the value and the strategy, is to get the best minds doing deep research and analysis in order to inform decision makers.

ation from high school. This is the states’ recognition that their young people are no longer competing simply North Carolina vs. Tennessee, for instance. They are competing with the world and we must have high standards.

I also think that there is a recognition that we have to raise the bar and close the gap at the same time, and that we have to build some momentum for that. We have to build greater understanding in the country of what it means to be well educated and educated for a productive life and for productive citizenship. So this agreement around a common core—what students need to know in English and math, for example—is really the first time in this country that there’s been agreement. Now what is the pathway to producing higher performance for American students? I’m also optimistic that we’ll find answers on that front because we know more than we’ve ever known.

If we take advantage of what we know as a field of education about how students learn science and mathematics, for example, I believe we can make the elementary grades more productive on each level and allow children to also move more quickly through the education system.

So I’m excited about the common core agreement. The National Research Council (of the National Science Foundation) has also come out with a framework for next generation science standards. Twenty states have already agreed to work with one of our grantees, Achieve, to create the science standards for their students. So you can see there is state leadership. There has also been federal leadership with the Race to the Top competition.

In education, there is always a certain amount of criticism and conflict, but at this time there are also real areas of agreement. We may not all agree on how we’re going to get high-quality teachers in every classroom, but everybody knows that we should be focusing on that goal.

**SK:** As a foundation, people may look at our work and understand that we support research and then we might fund some examples of education programs that work, but you also see us playing a significant role in helping make people understand the opportunities for change and building public will, correct?

**MC:** In my time here, a very important step that we took was establishing a joint commission on mathematics and science education with the Institute for Advanced Study. The Commission issued a report called *The Opportunity Equation: Transforming Mathematics and Science for Global Citizenship and the Economy*, which had the backing of a diverse group of experts both from math and

**DA:** That's right. And I would add to that the need to support the best minds, not just in America but also abroad, recognizing the advantages and benefits gained by international contacts and engagement with the policy and scholarly communities outside of the United States, particularly in today's interdependent and interrelated world.

**SK:** The International Program's efforts in sub-Saharan Africa focus on higher education. How does that fit in with your strategies for international peace and security?

**DA:** The news about a number of countries in Africa is that they are among the fastest growing economies in the world, with rising populations. Through national policies, as well as through some interventions of multinational players, a number of African countries have invested more than ever before in primary and secondary education and have essentially produced the cohort for universities. The universities in Africa have grown tremendously over the past decade, but they cannot absorb the growth. The universities remain weak and still somewhat isolated from the global international academic community. So the challenge is for Africa as a continent—but more importantly for a number of countries in Africa because they really should be looked upon as individual states rather than as a continent—to create the human capital that is required to propel these countries into becoming the kind of economies that can sustain their growth. But even more, as countries that can reduce internal and external conflicts and create an environment that will enable Africa to move toward much greater development, stability, and prosperity.

So I think that globally, peace and security cannot really be achieved without investments in the countries where many challenges still remain. But why has Carnegie Corporation chosen the higher education sector to be the area where we make our intervention? The reasons can be traced back directly to Andrew Carnegie, to his notion that if you give people proper tools to access knowledge and information, they will make wise choices. So we in the International Program today try to complete the loop. I think investing in libraries, in universities, in capacity building for the next generation of African academics and scholars is exactly what Andrew Carnegie would have thought as being critical to advancing the countries on the African continent. And, this is also the vision that is shared by our president, Vartan Gregorian, who steered the Corporation toward investing in African higher education.

**SK:** And I take it, because you believe so much in the

science, from education, from government and from the corporate world. When we issued the report, we didn't want to give the world another report calling for major change that would end up just sitting on the shelf. We specifically wanted the Commission's report to identify levers of change that could help build public understanding, that would require fewer, clearer, higher standards, higher-quality assessments, and that focused on strengthening our talent in teaching and leadership and "doing school differently." With this Commission work, we were very clear that philanthropy can stimulate a mobilization movement to help improve math and science teaching in this country—in other words, not talk about the need for change but help mobilize different sectors of the society to make that change happen.

What we said in the report was, this is what the country has to do and this is how we have to go about doing it. We not only identified many organizations that could help make the change but also, as a philanthropy, realized that we could help start organizations that would enable leaders to emerge who want to do this kind of work. Another of our steps was to support mobilization through the corporate sector. We are one of the two founding funders of Change the Equation, which is a corporate leadership organization. The chair of the board is Craig Barrett, CEO of Intel, and other board members include Ursula Burns, CEO of Xerox, and Sally Ride, the astronaut. In just a year, they have attracted 110 CEOs who are a part of Change the Equation, and who are encouraging every state in the country to strengthen math and science education. And lastly, we believed there was a need for a coordinated effort around the teaching issue. The National Academy of Sciences, ten years ago, called for ten thousand more science and math teachers in two or three years, but there have been many barriers to getting young people who are math and science majors—and who have many options—into the classroom. So we did something kind of interesting, which was to do a design charette with a new company focused on the design of ideas. The company we worked with is called Ideo, and they invited thirty partners to generate innovative ideas on how to attract science and math majors into teaching. A foundation has the power and the financial strength to jumpstart an effort like this, which happened to coincide with President Obama's call for a hundred thousand new STEM (science, technology, engineering and math) teachers. The organizations that Ideo brought together then joined in this initiative, and are now addressing increasing the supply of STEM teachers, retaining excellence, and building the movement. The timing has been right. We met



power of the individual, strengthening the individuals of a country also strengthens global security.

**DA:** Absolutely.

**SK:** Andrew Carnegie's vision married to a 21<sup>st</sup> century strategy.

**DA:** It's absolutely the case. And our strategy in Africa now is not focused only on universities but on strengthening the next generation of African academics, which is really more of an individual strategy, exactly as you said. Our aim is to help strengthen the capacity of the next generation of African leaders, who are going to be very much needed to cope with the demands of moving Africa toward being an effective member of the global community.

**SK:** And lead to a more secure world.

**DA:** Yes, because clearly, education and human capital are essential ingredients in fostering societal changes that could lead to policies that strengthen international peace and security, as well as increase prosperity.

**SK:** As you are talking about all these different strategies for what you are doing, I realize you're really talking about individual intellectual growth, whether it's scholars, think tanks, or leaders and policymakers. Who pays for all this growth? Universities around the world focus on knowledge, but universities come to foundations for support. So it appears that when you create a strategy for grantmaking, you have to focus on how you believe you can affect international peace and security, and on the regions you want to work in, and be clear about goals, as well. But you also want to create a strategy that will help these institutions, which right now can only exist with philanthropic support, to become stronger on their own. Is that right?

**DA:** I think that it's important to remember that the core mission of foundations is to provide the financial means to grantee institutions that will advance mutually agreed upon agendas. That's the mission of non-operating foundations, which is what the Corporation is. Now, since we do not run programs on our own, we can only make things happen by providing the financial support to organizations that do carry out programs and projects. But our support is not only financial. With financial support comes, of course, our involvement in shaping programs, guiding program decisions, overseeing implementation. So the

with Secretary of Education Arne Duncan in May 2011 to inform him about what the 30 organizations were doing. After that, the Clinton Global Initiative took up the issue, and now we have 80. We at Carnegie Corporation are coordinating the raising of a \$20 million fund to really get this movement to put math and science majors into the classroom into high gear.

I should say that every partner had to make commitments, actual real concrete commitments to either increasing the supply of teachers, retaining excellence or building the movement. We have already raised almost half the funds needed!

**SK:** So would you say this is the twenty-first century addition to the foundation's work: not just analyzing a problem but mobilizing for solutions?

**MC:** Yes, I think the country needs to mobilize. We can do our part in that as a foundation and that's what I think we should be doing. We're not alone in doing it. I think mobilization can't be something that happens from one locus. We have to identify the problem, identify leadership, help support it, and then ride along with it.

**SK:** But, in the Corporation's Centennial year, as we unlocked our past, I haven't found that mobilization was a key strategy for change. They weren't doing that in 1915, for example.

**MC:** You're absolutely right. That's really right. Partially because today, there really does need to be greater public understanding of what we have to do as a nation. Mobilization is important because the education systems are broken, and they are broken because they were developed for a different time. So we are very much focused on the design of schools, in new school development, and we are supporting new kinds of high schools. The old comprehensive high school was designed for America's industrial era, and part of what it did well was carry out a sorting function to identify those who were college bound and those who were not. For most of the country—though it was different in some affluent suburbs—the whole idea of a comprehensive high school was to send only a portion, sometimes twenty five percent, sometimes up to fifty percent, but on the whole, about thirty percent of its graduates on to postsecondary education.

**SK:** The rest went right to work and you say today that's not good enough.

financial support allows us to actually be partners with the institutions we fund because they implement a mutually agreed upon agenda. Nonetheless, it's these institutions that actually work on the ground; they are the doers, they are the practitioners, and they carry out their work with support from us and other funders. That is their *raison d'être*. So I still say that our mission is to empower and enable important scholars, individuals and institutions to do what they do best.

**SK:** So, humbled by the fact that our founder was not able to engineer peace in his time, looking ahead 20 or 30 years from now, what would be success for you? What do you hope you leave behind in your years here as a leader of one of our programs?

**DA:** I am daunted by the scope, the reach, and the depth of the international challenges facing the world. And I'm probably not the only one who feels this way. The world is going through some fundamental shifts, the outcome of which are unclear. The global architecture is changing as countries, primarily in Asia, but also elsewhere in the world, are rising in terms of economic power and geo-strategic potential. Of course, at the top of the list is China, followed by India, followed by Russia. But also add to the list Brazil, Turkey, South Africa, Indonesia and an array of other countries that are challenging the established international norms, the post-WWII or post-Cold-War international order. What does this mean for the United States? For the international community at large? For the institutions that govern the global economic, political and security order—the entire Bretton Woods set of institutions,<sup>1</sup> from the U.N. to the IMF to the World Bank? All of these are open-ended questions and it will take time for the picture to become clear. That's one very big challenge out there.

Another challenge, one that is new but no less significant, is, of course, the changes that are taking place in North Africa and the Middle East. These changes are building up from within and they are absolutely fundamental because they are affecting a large segment of the world's population, giving a sense of empowerment and a voice to citizens who have largely lacked both for decades. So the challenges that are being posed by turbulence—positive turbulence in my view, although with yet unclear ramifications—would need to be addressed by the countries in the region and outside for years to come.

<sup>1</sup> *The Bretton Woods Institutions, specifically the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, were set up at a meeting of 43 countries in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944. Their mission was to help rebuild the global economy in the wake of World War II and promote international economic cooperation.*

**MC:** It's nowhere near good enough. Other countries have raced ahead of the U.S. in understanding that dynamic. How do we make that change, that leap into a new system? It isn't enough to scold the comprehensive high school and insist it has to do better and more. We need to actually understand the whole organization of the high school, its culture and expectations, how standards are set, who is prepared to teach in the new high school and what do they teach? And for many of America's students, for whom expectations have been low for many years, it means that experience in secondary education, both in middle school and high school, is going to have to be a time of acceleration.

That's why we have to be thinking about student motivation and new more personalized learning. I'm optimistic that we can reach this new level because we know a lot more. But I'm also pessimistic because people have to understand that there is no single solution to helping students accelerate. Technology, for example, can be enormously valuable in personalizing learning, but it doesn't do everything to solve the problem. A teacher has to know what he or she is going to be doing with the technology and what the students are going to be doing to accelerate their learning.

**SK:** And that leads to this is complicated work that you are doing in National Program on a few fronts. It's building on the past, but also putting together pieces for the future. It's a long term kind of commitment. Are you seeing a vision of a 21<sup>st</sup> century education model that can surface twenty, thirty, forty years ahead that you are working toward? What will that look like? Can you kind of define it, design it?

**MC:** Sure. Let's say twenty years from now, if we're successful, there will be high expectations for children from early childhood on. We as a country will have an investment in early childhood, and of course, Carnegie Corporation invested in the field of early childhood education and made the case for it. But this is now something that needs to be a public sector investment. There is research, and we do understand so much more about the brain, so much more about learning, that we will have the capacity through technology for personalized learning and mastery of knowledge and competencies to put what we know into action in a very different way than we are doing in our system today.

I know that we will have the capacity for helping young people to accelerate in their learning and for changing the grade structures in school. But the great challenge

I think that yet another big challenge is the growing global disparity between the haves and the have-nots which, to some extent, fuels a lot of negative tendencies that we see. Arguably, it could be linked to the growing fundamentalism that we've been seeing around the world since it was brought to its peak by 9/11. It's the growing disparity, the dislocation, the isolation, the joblessness, particularly of young men around the world who are not engaged in a productive economic pursuit that fuel extremism. How you deal with these is a fundamental question and a task, but it's difficult for us as a foundation to directly tackle these issues.

So what do we want to leave behind as a legacy? Quite honestly, if we manage all of these transitions without major global disruptions, without nuclear exchanges and wars between nations, without involving the United States in more international conflicts, without involving the United States directly in conflict or confrontation with Russia, China, or other powers, I think that will be a phenomenal accomplishment. So I see our role as helping provide the know-how, the judgments, the assessments, the skills, the expertise, the connections in order for the United States most directly—because so much of our grantmaking is focused in the United States as mandated by our charter—but also internationally, to be able to manage these evolving global situations and promote economic prosperity in the countries of our concentration.

**SK:** So fundamentally, you are optimistic that individuals can progress, as Andrew Carnegie would say, by pursuing knowledge. And that through understanding, we are better able to answer some of the thorniest problems of our generation.

**DA:** I think it's a critical element in a much larger set of tools that are needed to navigate this very complex world. And I am an optimist because I have a fifteen-year-old daughter and I want her to live in a peaceful, secure and prosperous world. But I am extremely concerned by the global trends that are emerging because while I think that the knowledge community can begin to surface effective solutions to help manage these complex challenges, unfortunately, so much of what is happening is because forces outside the control of any government or any institution are coming to the fore. Again, the world is getting very complex and complicated, with problems that are difficult to fix both today and in the long run. But we, as a foundation, are trying to help identify and promote actions and policies that could contribute to solutions. That is our mission as a philanthropic institution dedicated to international peace, security and prosperity. ■

I see in the next twenty years is whether can we do that in order to achieve equity as well as to advance education for everyone.

One danger right now for our country is that with so much economic stress, middle class and affluent parents will pay for any advantage that they can give their children on the education front—legitimately. But we cannot afford, as a country, to have a system of haves and have-nots. It's clear that private investment in a private sector for education will greatly expand. I've talked to venture capitalists in the education technology area who've told me that their market is “the creative classes” in opportunities for everything that will happen outside of school because it's too hard to work inside of schools.

So my vision for the future is that we make sure that investments, creativity, change, opportunity are all happening in school and that they are happening for all young people. And also that we are working to raise the bar for and the status of teachers. One key way to do that is to change the definition that many people have about the job of teacher. We want it to change from, “a teacher is someone who is just delivering content” to “a teacher is someone who is managing the learning of their students.” That means a teacher is someone who uses content from many sources to guide students to work on many projects that will build their critical thinking skills and the skills that they need for a 21<sup>st</sup> century world of work. Reaching that goal will require many changes, including redesigning classrooms and redesigning schools. I think we can get there. I want us to get there for all students.

**SK:** So your job description could almost be that you create strategies for change, but more what your work really is at this time in our society is having a vision and developing a vision of what can be.

**MC:** Developing a vision and enriching it with the ideas of others, and then investing in great people with great minds who are actually working on creating the kind of educational change needed. And it means supporting the people with the vision of an America that sees immigrants being integrated in our society.

We must have a vision, but there are many leaders and organizations in the country who share our vision and are doing extraordinary work. Our job is to help them, support them, and engage with them and have them support and engage with one another to continuously build knowledge.

**SK:** Now I know why you're an optimist. ■





by NICHOLAS LEMANN

# GREAT Journalism Schools

## Why They Belong at Great Universities

A couple of years ago one of my students came back from Thanksgiving break with an old book he'd found in his grandmother's attic: *Views and Interviews on Journalism*, by Charles F. Wingate, published in 1875. The book is mainly transcripts of a series of conversations White conducted with the leading American journalists of the day—some still remembered (Horace Greeley), others not (George P. Rowell). What struck me, as a journalism-school dean, about the book is that even back then, a kind of proto-interest in journalism education was emerging. Wingate repeatedly asks his interview subjects how they think a journalist should be trained; then, at the end of the book, he publishes the texts of letters he had written several years earlier to two of the country's most prominent college presidents, Robert E. Lee of Washington College (yes, that Robert E. Lee) and Andrew Dickson White of Cornell University, asking whether the rumors that they were thinking of starting academic training programs for journalists were true.

Wingate's book was published at a modernizing moment in American society when ideas about ambitious social improvements and the creation of new institutions filled the air. In journalism, it was a time when urban newspapers were emerging as a significant, self-sustaining commercial sector, as opposed to a subsidized or voluntary aspect of political discourse, usually allied with one of the major political parties. Commercial newspapers had more full-time employees than partisan newspapers, and what their journalists did was also different: they were, mainly, reporters, rather than purveyors of hotblooded political argument. They roamed the city and the world gathering news at first hand, and then turned the contents of their notebooks into generally accessible "stories" that the public could use as a device for understanding their society. It was this relatively new definition of journalism that gave rise to the perceived need for university training for those who engaged in it.

American universities were going

through significant changes of their own at the time. In 1862, Congress passed the landmark Morrill Act, which introduced two new ideas: that the federal government should support a great expansion of higher education (via grants to state universities of free land it owned), and that colleges and universities should move beyond their traditional subjects of instruction and embrace more practical ones that would equip young people with economically useful skills—in particular, "agriculture and the mechanic arts." Also, in the late nineteenth century, the leaders of the elite American universities were becoming entranced with the European ideal of the research university, whose professors were meant not only to teach, but also significantly to advance the frontiers of knowledge and thought through their own published work. Because life isn't conceptually neat, these two somewhat contradictory trends, one practical-minded and the other distanced from the commercial world, have both been powerfully and enduringly influential in American



Nicholas Lemann (left) along with journalism students and some of the founding deans of the Carnegie-Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education.

higher education. Today it's hard to find one of the institutions spawned by the Morrill Act that doesn't proudly declare itself to be a "major research university," and it's also hard to find any American university that entirely eschews practical, commercial instruction.

### **Journalism Education: An Ongoing Debate**

Journalism schools, like all professional schools, are inescapably part of two worlds at once: the profession and the university. It's natural, because of the fragmented nature of the conversation about them, to think about them only in the context of the profession or only in the context of the university, but that isn't very productive. In order to thrive, and to be maximally significant and useful, journalism schools have to find a zone of natural, comfortable overlap between the profession's mission and the university's. This can be especially challenging when there is profound, ongoing disagreement about mission both within the

profession and within the university.

The nature of journalism education moved rapidly from distant prospect to consistent, if intermittent, topic of debate, which it has been for more than a hundred years. In 1904, less than a year after Joseph Pulitzer announced that he would be making a major gift to Columbia University to create a school of journalism and a program of prizes for journalists, one of the country's most influential magazines, the *North American Review*, published a sarcastic attack on the idea by a leading journalist, Horace White, the former editor of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Post*.

White made a series of arguments that one still hears today. First he said that journalism is all a matter of innate abilities (chief among them a "nose for news"), common sense, and things one can pick up on the job, such as how to use a typewriter. "Columbia would no more think of embracing these things in her curriculum than she would of establishing a chair of headlines, a chair of interviews, or a chair of 'scoops,'" White

wrote. Then he said, somewhat contradictorily, that what journalists really need to know—English composition, the science of law, political economy, political science, and history—they can obtain simply by getting a college education; in other words, higher education is useful, but there can be no higher education that is particular to the needs of journalists. Finally, taking yet another tack, White made an argument that, like the others, is very much still with us:

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What's the use of educating journalists, anyway, if then they'll be sent out into a field that, over the past half-century, has descended from high professionalism and public-spiritedness into a parlously low condition from which there is no evident escape?

Pulitzer felt moved to defend himself, in a long essay that appeared in a subsequent issue of the *North American Review*. Every soaring quotation about journalism from Pulitzer that you may have encountered comes from this essay. Offstage, Pulitzer had already been thinking for years about what journalism education should be. He dangled his big gift before both Columbia and Harvard, asking both universities to submit proposals for their schools of journalism; the one from Charles William Eliot, the president of Harvard, seems to have turned Pulitzer off in part because it envisioned a highly practical program of instruction, with the two main courses titled "Newspaper Manufacture" and "Newspaper Administration." In his *North American Review* essay, Pulitzer set forth a far more academic vision of the proper education of journalists—one that rejected what he called "business instruction" in favor of "university work," especially study in the complex subjects that future journalists would be called on to cover. "Why not divert, deflect, extract, concentrate, specialize them for the journalist as a specialist?" he wrote.

But since then, once you get past Horace White-like arguments from the profession that journalism schools are useless and into the more specific debates over what they do, the critique from the university has on the whole outweighed the critique from the profession. That is, the main gripe has been that journalism schools are "trade schools," with not enough intellectual and analytic content. You can find variants of this argument in such celebrated

places as Walter Lippman's *Public Opinion* (1922), A.J. Liebling's wonderfully dyspeptic memoir of his student days at Columbia Journalism School, "How to Learn Nothing," (1947), and the high-minded report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, chaired by Robert Maynard Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press* (1947). Meanwhile, over the years, American journalism education grew and thrived, mainly in the state universities, mainly as a field of undergraduate instruction, mainly focusing on teaching practical newsgathering skills.

In 1997, when he was appointed president of Carnegie Corporation, Vartan Gregorian gave an interview to *The New York Times* in which he expressed dissatisfaction with journalism schools for "teaching techniques rather than subject matter." In saying this, Gregorian, a lifelong university educator, was implicitly agreeing to some extent with all those years of the critique from the university of journalism education and promising to do something about it. Nearly fifteen years later, the Carnegie-Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education, encompassing two major foundations and twelve of the country's leading journalism programs, is drawing to a close. It represents a big part of my own life as a journalism school dean. It's too early to assess whether the initiative accomplished so much as to bring the long-running arguments about journalism schools to an end, but its completion makes for a good occasion to assess where the argument stands now.

### **The Carnegie-Knight Journalism Initiative**

I attended my first Initiative meeting in the spring of 2003. At that point, the Knight Foundation had not yet joined, only five universities were involved, and we were only beginning to discuss

our program. But even in our small group there were already significant differences in vision about what journalism education ought to be. One idea was that our main project should be to link the journalism schools to their surrounding universities more closely, through the mechanism of teaching journalists about subjects in depth. That was where Gregorian's heart was, and of course

PHOTO COURTESY MARTIN DIXON



Nicholas Lemann.

it's quite close to the mission set forth by Joseph Pulitzer in 1904. Another idea was that the schools should make themselves into originators of journalism, especially journalism with high social value that wasn't being undertaken sufficiently by news organizations themselves. And another idea was that we should be a collective context-setter for the profession, generating a stream of thought and comment on the proper practice of journalism that news organizations themselves don't have the ability to produce because they are too busy covering the news. Finally, it was clear that the advent of the Internet was profoundly changing journalism, and there was more and more discussion



about how journalism schools could use that as an opportunity for systemic improvement.

We wound up doing what groups usually do: rather than focusing on one idea and rejecting the others, we tried them all. The initiative has had three main parts, one on curriculum, one on news production (called News21) and one on larger questions about journalism (called the Task Force). And the digital revolution has been playing itself out across all three. A result of all this variety is that the initiative has not produced one big finding that

ate a culture of significance, of regular intramural communication, and of energy among the member schools. Its success has been of a kind that leaves more work to be done. It ends not having produced a single clearly defined and widely agreed upon new model for journalism education, but a set of possibilities that seem very promising and need to be explored further.

This will be a large, exciting, long-running project that can't be neatly resolved in one short essay like this, but I do think it's possible to set forth some guiding principles as we all continue to

need journalists who know something about computer engineering. So that would be an area of clear comparative advantage for journalism schools. News organizations are not equipped to teach the history of journalism, or to compare journalistic practices across countries and cultures, but it would be useful for them to have journalists who know something about these things—and it is, again, relatively easy for journalism schools to teach them. So that's another fruitful area. The list grows naturally and would vary from place to place; what's important is to develop an

*At journalism schools, a good question for us to ask ourselves is: Which things that would be useful for a journalist to know can't simply and easily be picked up on the job, but can be taught in a university? Then we would focus especially on teaching those things.*

has swept all else before it. All the member schools have to some extent moved forward with all of the ideas. At Columbia, for example, we launched a new masters degree program that embodies Gregorian's ideas about in-depth subject matter expertise for journalists; we are launching a year-round news Web site that will succeed our News21 efforts; and we have begun publishing periodic research reports about the state of journalism.

The initiative was fortunate in its timing: the years it was running have been generally good ones for the leading journalism schools, and very challenging ones for many news organizations. Journalism schools have been able to operate expansively, and their place within the overall ecosystem of the profession was being enhanced almost automatically because so many news organizations were shrinking. The initiative has helped to gener-

try to meet the challenge that Gregorian set before us. In formulating these principles, it is useful to look outside the confines of journalism education, at other areas of professional education that have developed successful models, and try to derive some common themes.

Most professional schools succeeded apprenticeship programs out in the world of professional practice; they should be something more than apprenticeship programs shifted in location to a campus. At journalism schools, a good question for us to ask ourselves is: Which things that would be useful for a journalist to know can't simply and easily be picked up on the job, but can be taught in a university? Then we would focus especially on teaching those things. For example, it's relatively easy to teach computer engineering in a university, and almost impossible to teach it inside a news organization—but news organizations

educational mission that is distinctively different from merely teaching students "what it's like in the business."

### **Teaching and the Profession**

Every realm of professional education should develop a clear sense of what its profession does distinctively—"does" defined as a social function and an intellectual process, not merely as employment in a defined economic sector or possession of a specific set of skills. A doctor, for example, isn't someone who can take an x-ray, she's someone who can perform a diagnosis and devise a plan of treatment; medical school confers a way of thinking that serves as an organizing principle for the acquisition of knowledge and skills. What journalists do is define an area for inquiry; gather evidence about it with great intensity, under time pressure, using a number of different techniques; assess the evidence for truth value; and

then find ways of presenting what they have found that will be clear and engaging to the public. We do practical, on-the-fly epistemology. A number of other professions have similar missions, so it's useful for journalists to be in touch with and to learn from fields besides our own—but our field is distinctive in its speed, its dazzling breadth of subjects and techniques, and its directive to present truth narratively, so as to attract a substantial, engaged audience. We should reason forward from this mission to how we operate our schools, rather than reasoning backward from how newsrooms are organized.

Most other forms of professional education began their university life using teachers who were retired practitioners. Journalism schools are still set up substantially in this way. Eventually every kind of professional school ought over time to develop its own distinctive faculty career path, and this is another important project facing journalism schools. At Columbia, the great majority of the journalism faculty, including me, spent their early careers in news organizations and only came to the university in middle age; the exception is our four faculty members who are primarily associated with our Ph.D. program, who have had more conventional academic careers. Many journalism schools encourage journalists who have joined their faculties to pursue midcareer masters degrees and doctorates. Our own most recent faculty hire is under 30, and seems headed for a career more like that of a typical law professor—a few years in practice, followed by many years on a faculty. I suspect paths like hers will become more typical in journalism education, as journalism schools grow in prestige and the profession itself fragments.

What matters here is not the specifics of professors' resumes and credentials, but, instead, how journalism schools find their way to definitions of their faculty

members' work that feel distinctive to our profession and that take advantage of our position as both journalists and academics. Our ideal should not be faculty members who only teach and don't do any research. It's impossible to be a truly respected part of a university if that is what your faculty does, and ex-journalists who define their mission solely as teaching will almost inevitably wind up losing touch with the profession and teaching material that has become out of date. On the other hand, there is no need for journalism school faculty research to be defined as traditional scholarship published in juried academic journals.

There are other kinds of research that journalism schools can encourage that are academically nontraditional but that fit perfectly with our schools' teaching and leadership missions. *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, by Michael Pollan, Knight Professor at Berkeley, is an excellent example: clearly enriched by the intellectual and time resources that the author's university location gives him, and widely resonant in a way that higher journalism can be and traditional scholarship usually cannot. Another example is the much downloaded recent report on the economics of digital journalism by Bill Grueskin of our faculty at Columbia, and his two co-authors: it's research about journalism, rather than journalism about another topic, but it demonstrates a distinctively journalistic speed and reach and accessibility and provides information that isn't available anywhere else.

To outsiders, the question of what kind of research journalism professors do may seem narrow and technical, but it's actually central to journalism education. Defining it determines who gets hired and promoted, what gets taught, who comes to study, and what students do as journalists after they graduate. Successful professional schools develop an ecological system in which their



PHOTO COURTESY BRIAN FRIEDMAN

**Vartan Gregorian, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York, speaking at The Paley Center for Media Journalism Summit, 2010.**

distinctive teaching and research missions fit comfortably into that of the larger university, and generate students whom the profession is eager to hire. They earn their way to ownership of a portion of the discourse in their profession—the portion that schools are better positioned than practitioners to address. (An excellent example of this principle in operation in the Journalist's Resource Web site recently launched by Harvard's Shorenstein Center, which briefs working reporters on complicated topics and points them toward relevant academic research.) It has been exciting to watch the Carnegie-Knight schools, prodded by the two foundations, move in their different ways toward this goal, but the journey is only partly complete. We have all greatly broadened our traditional mission of turning out well trained general assignment reporters for daily newspapers (though we all still do that); what isn't clear yet is whether we will wind up training our students for broader professional responsibilities, or for new media, or for more specialized and technical roles, or all of that.

Journalism schools have always been heavily oriented toward producing journalism. We have newsrooms and television studios. We operate news ser-

vices. The University of Missouri publishes a daily newspaper. In the Internet age, the dramatically enhanced ease and richness of publication, combined with the loss of editorial resources at traditional news organizations, has set off a great flowering of journalism at journalism schools. The News21 portion of the Carnegie-Knight Initiative, headquartered at Arizona State University, is perhaps the leading example of this nationally, but it is one of many examples. It's mainly great that we are collectively pushing so hard in this direction. It is a public service. It provides our fac-

should resist, not to teach classes if their assignments can't be news stories. Our students will be working for news organizations and writing stories for decades, but after they leave us they won't have access to other forms of learning that may be applicable in journalism. More fundamentally, we are schools, not news organizations. We all want to be innovative, but it's hubris to believe that we are better positioned to innovate in every area than the non-school regions of journalism. It may be easier for us than for news organizations to undertake not

iversity location to do certain things that the practicing profession is not as well equipped to do. We should put a great deal of our energies into identifying those things and focusing on them. When we have, we may finally be able to dispel the long-running doubts about what we do, once and for all.

For me, and for my colleagues, participating in the Carnegie-Knight Journalism Initiative has been an exhilarating experience. I hope that in the long run it will turn out to have been a firm, sustained shove that set us all off on a much longer journey forward. ■



**Vartan Gregorian, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York (seated, second from left) and Hodding Carter, then-President of the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation (seated, third from left) meeting with top university officials at the June 2005 launch of the Carnegie-Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education.**

ulties and students with a visible work product. It is consistent with our traditions. It creates the kind of tight relationship between learning and application that makes pedagogy stick. It encourages a culture in our schools that honors teaching and reveres close student-faculty relationships. But I'd still like to sound a cautionary note.

Not everything journalists should learn in universities fits the model of instruction-as-production; there is a constant temptation, which we

immediately applicable research projects, but it's harder for us to lead the way in learning how to build very large audiences for news. We may be better positioned to experiment with new, experimental journalistic methods, but we may not be the ideal institutions to launch significant new business ventures in journalism. We may add more value in covering city halls than in riding on presidential campaign planes. And so on. We are a specialized zone within journalism that can use its uni-

## A Personal Next Chapter for the Carnegie-Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education

After a decade of working with some of America's most prestigious journalism schools and a community of deans who have moved these institutions forward into the digital era, I am about to join their ranks. In January 2012, I will become Dean and John Thomas Kerry Distinguished Professor of the school of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. I've never worked for any institution as long as I have for Carnegie Corporation, this storied foundation. I leave to continue the work I've been privileged to do here: challenging higher education to prepare students to become the leaders at this exciting and dislocating era of change in communications. For me, the work defined by Vartan Gregorian for the modern era of Andrew Carnegie's legacy continues.

—SUSAN KING, *Vice President and Director, Carnegie Corporation Journalism Initiative*





by HILLARY S. WIESNER  
*Program Director, Islam Initiative,  
International Program,  
Carnegie Corporation of New York*

# Putting Knowledge *into* Motion

## Title VI and Academia in the Public Sphere



In September 2011, the Duke University Islamic Studies Center hosted an SSRC-funded gathering of the Religion Newswriters Association focused on “Muslims in America: The Next Ten Years.” In addition to reporters, participants included students and faculty members.

PHOTOS COURTESY DUKE ISLAMIC STUDIES CENTER AND KIMBERLY MCCRAE AND MADELINE BARROW

This year brought fresh debate on how to achieve the global competence required of America’s next generation. In the spring, one-year cuts of 40-to-50 percent were made by the U.S. Department of Education to its historic Title VI Fulbright-Hays support for language and international studies.

What we call the Title VI system was born in 1958, when Title VI of the National Defense Education Act created university centers “to ensure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States.” Over the next fifty years a range of programs grew in which federal funds often worked as matching funds, attracting and leveraging more than their weight in dollars to cover the teaching of hundreds of vital languages, as well as the regions in cultural depth. The Title VI centers that became the national backbone of area studies and language education are chosen on a competitive basis among America’s leading public and private universities. Now numbering 125, these premier centers also hold a congressional mandate for public education and outreach, but little

funding went toward communicating with the public.

In 2007, as the fiftieth anniversary of Title VI approached, Carnegie Corporation joined forces with an institutional leader in the field of area studies and academic communication, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), to create Academia in the Public Sphere. This SSRC program, like Carnegie Corporation’s Islam Initiative, responded to a sharply rising demand for academic-caliber information about the diversity of Muslim cultures, societies and thought, as well as the shared histories and continuities among cultures and regions often imagined as separate and distinct.

Beginning with the Title VI university centers, the SSRC program has offered scores of competitive grants to projects bridging academic expertise to policy makers, the media, and wider publics. Information grounded in research, language and social science data was popularized in articles, broadcasts, public events and online resources. As its coverage of the field increased to scale, the program expanded to make grants to

a wider spectrum of academic research centers, not strictly limited to Title VI.

The program’s evaluators have found particular success in partnering with journalism schools and public broadcasters, and noted “grant funding inspired recipients to master new formats and technologies of media production.” While area studies formed its original mandate, the vibrant worlds of Muslim American writers, artists, musicians and scholars were often in the spotlight.

Many of the projects have won prizes and enduring audiences, including: the award-winning *Voices and Visions: Islam and Muslims from a Global Perspective* at Indiana University; *Inside Islam: Dialogues and Debates* from University of Wisconsin Madison and Wisconsin Public Radio; Michigan State University’s IMAJE partnership with journalism schools; Washington State University’s *Islam on Main Street* online course for journalists with Poynter; and this September at Duke Islamic Studies Center a program on “Muslims in America: The Next Ten Years” with the Religion Newswriters Association.

Like the world-class universities that it helped to build, Title VI has proved to be a uniquely American system for connecting the widest array of learners with global opportunities, while pushing the frontiers of cutting edge research. Among those who have spoken out for the programs are former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, whose Russian and East European studies were supported by it; former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright; and current Defense Secretary Leon Panetta. That system is now called upon to demonstrate its resiliency and the logic of its economical design, as the nation charts its way forward in a challenging new century. ■

some characteristics that make it a special case, perhaps unlike other cases of R2P that are likely to arise in the future.

After all, in Libya the stars lined up in ways that might not happen again, or might rarely happen—a friendless leader, who controlled a country with considerable geostrategic importance, confronted an open rebellion that drew inspiration from an entire region that was desperate to end decades of authoritarian rule, and threatened to kill all of the people to save his regime. It is quite possible that Cote d'Ivoire will be the more typical case; here was a military leader who was voted out of office but refused to go, the international community responded with various sanctions in order to try and hasten the transition, the conflict on the ground turned bloody and nasty and the international community confronted the dual challenge of protecting civilians and trying to enforce the results of the elections. My point is that it is possible to draw lessons from Libya and Cote d'Ivoire, but the lessons will be a lot more convincing, a lot more robust and a lot more useful for future situations if we try and identify the defining characteristics of these cases, how these characteristics have or might play themselves out in other cases and generalize from a set of cases—and not to try and derive too much from these cases on their own.

The post-Libya debate on R2P and the use of force is also likely to recalibrate R2P away from long-term prevention and toward issues of reaction and prevention in situations of active danger. In other words, the debate over R2P is no longer focused on its survival but rather its meaning—and this is a debate to be fought not simply between the advocates and opponents of R2P but rather between different wings of the pro-R2P camp. R2P might continue on the road to expansion, or it might be reigned in and restricted to situations of urgency. In either case, it reinforces some fundamentals about all norms. Their meaning can change over time and evolve in directions not necessarily intended by their creators. Norms can be applied to situations once believed to be outside their proper scope, and be appropriated by groups for ulterior (though still well-meaning) reasons.

Sorting out the lessons learned from these recent events is too important to be left to policymakers or academics alone. Responsibility to Protect would not be where it is today had it not been for the collective and persistent efforts of a broad-based coalition of public and private agencies, states, NGOs and private foundations, and of world leaders, academics and citizens' groups. Each brought something very powerful to the table. Citizens' groups, human rights activists, aid workers and NGOs, and those

who had experienced personally the appalling horrors, kept alive the possibility of change by mobilizing continuously and pointing to possibilities that might be inconvenient for states but were necessary for the world community. As Deana Arsenian, Carnegie Corporation's Vice President, International Affairs, notes, "The R2P is one of those notions, demand for which is likely to grow as the world becomes more complex and interdependent, threatened less by conflicts between states than by instabilities within them. This is why it is critical to develop norms and principles that could guide decisions of countries and multilateral institutions on the basis of agreed-upon criteria rather than impulse or purely national interests."

Nothing happens, though, without states, international organizations and others in positions of international public power. Sometimes motivated by a sense of guilt at not having done what they could in the past, sometimes motivated by a vision of what is right and sometimes motivated by a desire to live up to their high-minded claims, states have been and will continue to be powerful players in the future of R2P. If each community brings its passion, pragmatism and analytical toolkit, and remembers R2P's core concern, then R2P could live a long life—and, more important, help vulnerable populations do the same. ■

## **BackPage** *Continued from page 53*

that when you make a mistake in business the marketplace kicks you around, whereas in philanthropy it's much harder to get accurate measures of success. The foundation has gone to great lengths to set up benchmarks and secure outside evaluations. Its leaders know they will make mistakes. They already have; they hope to discover errors relatively early and change course accordingly.

For years, Warren Buffett had said that he would concentrate on making money, since that was what he was good at, and leave more to his heirs to give away. But as he saw the Gateses devoting their intelligence, dollars, high profiles, and prodigious energies to priorities he shared, he decided there was no point in duplicating their efforts, and in 2006 he effectively doubled the Gates Foundation's assets with about three-fourths of his own fortune.

It would be hard to overestimate the power of being Bill Gates and Warren Buffett. With their enormous resources and extraordinary renown, they can attract public attention, political will, and additional dollars to the problems they decide to take on. They have had major impacts not only on specific projects but also on public policy and the ongoing American conversation about philanthropy. Needless to say, not everyone agrees with their methods

or liberal agenda, but even conservative critics acknowledge that they've earned the money and can do with it whatever they like.

### **The Giving Pledge**

For more than a decade Bill Gates has been urging other techno-billionaires to think about philanthropy. In 2010 he, Melinda, and Buffett founded "The Giving Pledge" ([www.givingpledge.com](http://www.givingpledge.com)), personally inviting the wealthiest individuals and families in America to commit to giving at least half of their wealth to charitable causes. The pledge is a moral commitment, not a legal contract, and though it has focused so far on "the wealthiest," it aims to encourage givers at all financial levels to think about what they can do with what they have. Those who have signed the pledge to date include: Paul Allen, Michael Bloomberg, Eli and Edythe Broad, Warren Buffett, Jean and Steve Case, Larry Ellison, Charles F. Feeney, Ted Forstmann, Bill and Melinda Gates, Carl Icahn, George Lucas, Michael and Lori Milken, Pierre and Pam Omidyar, Ronald O. Perelman, Peter G. Peterson, Julian Robertson, Jr., David Rockefeller, David M. Rubenstein, Jim and Marilyn Simons, Ted Turner, Sanford and Joan Weill, Shelby White, and Mark Zuckerberg.

David Rubenstein, co-founder and manag-

ing director of the Carlyle Group, hosted many of the Giving Pledge signers at a dinner at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., the night before they met with President Obama in July 2011. Rubenstein was the first member of his family to go to college, and points out that most of the people who give away large amounts of money come from modest backgrounds and earned the wealth themselves. Like him, they are looking to give resources back to the society from which they benefited. Now 63, Rubenstein has already given away a great deal and is considering how he can do something "transformative." He offers three pragmatic reasons for giving money away:

- You feel better about yourself, make your own life better and therefore probably healthier
- There's a reasonable chance you'll actually help someone, make another person's life better
- No one knows whether or not there is a heaven—why not take out an option?

At a bridal shower the day before Bill Gates married Melinda French in 1994, Bill's mother, Mary—who, like her husband, was a prominent civic leader active in Seattle's "old" philanthropy—read aloud to the couple a letter paraphrasing *Luke 12:48*: "unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."

Andrew Carnegie's sentiments exactly. ■

# The Keys to the Future:

## Unlocking Solutions to the Challenges Ahead

Vartan Gregorian—continued from inside front cover

21<sup>st</sup> century, neither time nor geography can contain ignorance and hatred within any man-made boundaries, let alone the quite literal fallout in terms of the spread of radiation and the resulting human devastation that would result from the use of nuclear weapons.

Thus, from its earliest days, the Corporation has approached the issue of international peace by investing for the long-term in institutions and organizations that could actively engage on the global stage through the power and expertise provided by deep knowledge and scholarship. One example of this work is the Corporation's \$1 million grant in 1927 to create the Brookings Institution, which, along with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is among the grandfathers of all today's think tanks dedicated to working with thought leaders on the development of policies and practices that will bring about a more peaceful world. A post-World-War II focus on helping Americans to understand more about the dynamics of international relations and of the societies, politics and economies of both international rivals and allies, along with nations emerging from colonialism whose loyalties, in many cases, were up for grabs—knowledge that was sorely lacking at all levels of American society—resulted in Corporation support for a wide range of centers for international and foreign area studies. Among them was the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, created with a Corporation grant in 1948. Today, in the post-Soviet era, the interests of the Center—now called the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies—span virtually all of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia. During the same era, the Corporation financed similar work at other universities, including Southeast Asian studies at Yale; Japanese studies at Michigan; Scandinavian studies at Wisconsin and Minnesota; Indian studies at Pennsylvania; Latin American studies at Vanderbilt, Tulane, North Carolina, and Texas; Near Eastern studies at Princeton; European studies at Columbia; and African Studies at Northwestern.<sup>1</sup>

Like the Corporation itself, many of the organizations seeded with Carnegie Corporation funds have responded to changing times by reinvigorating their mission, adjusting their focus and being willing to engage with new ideas and innovative methods of achieving their goals. Other Corporation-supported organizations and efforts aimed at exploring new ways of approaching seemingly intractable international problems have included the Carnegie Commission on Deadly Conflict,<sup>2</sup> which aimed to address the threat to world peace posed by intergroup conflict and to advance new ideas for averting mass violence and achieving just and humane solutions to fundamental problems. Sixteen international leaders and scholars in the field were on the Commission, which was co-chaired by then-President of the Corporation, David Hamburg<sup>3</sup> and former Carter administration Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. In addition, a 42-member advisory committee contributed their efforts to the more than 30 publications, including the comprehensive final report, *Preventing Deadly Conflict*, issued in 1998, which was disseminated to the highest levels of governments and international organizations. More recently, the Corporation has supported the Nuclear Threat Initiative, co-founded in 2001 by former Corporation Board member Senator Sam Nunn to reduce the dangers from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, established in 2006, to work with states emerging from conflict as

well as ongoing Track II diplomacy focusing on North Korea and Iran, as well as the conflict between India and Pakistan, to engage in unofficial dialogues that may lead to future official agreements.

While cherishing our past and acting in the present, the Corporation has always had its focus on the future. It could not be otherwise, because Andrew Carnegie's vision of a world that would provide not only a more peaceful but also a more rewarding life for humankind extended far beyond his own lifetime. That is clear from Mr. Carnegie's letter of gift that created the Corporation, in which he noted that "Conditions upon the [earth] inevitably change," and so urged his Trustees and all who followed after them to "change policies or causes hitherto aided, from time to time, when this, in their opinion, has become necessary or desirable. They shall best conform to my wishes by using their own judgment."

The golden thread that is woven through all our work, however, as I noted earlier, begins with the ever-shining promise of education, which is central to the progress of our society. Andrew Carnegie believed in educational opportunity with the utter conviction of a man who knew, from experience, that those who were denied access to learning had little hope of improving their lives or becoming engaged citizens who understand the legacy of our democracy and feel a deep connection to our democratic institutions. Mr. Carnegie, an immigrant from Scotland who was a self-taught, self-made man, understood that education and knowledge held the key to how one better oneself.

Toward that end, over the course of a century, Carnegie Corporation's educational investments have been both original and substantial. The Corporation, for example, was among the first philanthropic institutions to support adult education, an interest that stemmed from one of its first major undertakings, begun in 1918. What came to be known as the Americanization Studies ("Study of Methods of Americanization or Fusion of Native and Foreign Born") focused on assimilating immigrants. The results went to the federal Bureau of Naturalization and of Education as the first step toward developing national immigration policy; ten volumes were ultimately published in 1921. With many immigrants and working Americans unable to complete traditional schooling while making a living, the American Association for Adult Education was formed in 1926. Carnegie Corporation was so invested in this area that it was the Association's sole support until 1940. In recent years, immigrant civic integration has become a major emphasis of our grantmaking, particularly efforts built around a pathway to citizenship. The ultimate goal of our work in this area is to contribute to the strength of our democracy and our democratic institutions. In that connection, every July 4<sup>th</sup> for the past six years, the Corporation has honored Andrew Carnegie and his legacy by placing a full-page ad in *The New York Times* acknowledging many prominent immigrants from dozens of countries who have become American citizens by choice.

Another landmark was support of James Conant's work on U.S. high schools. *The American High School Today* literally changed the shape of American schools after it came out in 1959. Conant's Corporation-supported studies helped fuel the movement away from small, isolated schools with limited offerings to the modern American high school—which, spurred by innovative educational thinkers who may be viewed as Conant's successors, is once again being "rethought" in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Carnegie Corporation remains deeply involved in this work by grantmaking aimed at promoting and preserving a robust American democracy by expanding opportunity through education, which includes reforming our K-12 education system, in part so that students are better prepared to go



on to higher education, and excel once they're in college. Overall, the Corporation's aim is to enable many more students, including historically underserved populations and immigrants, to achieve academic success and perform at the highest levels of creative, scientific and technical knowledge and skill. Of particular concern is helping to build students' college and career readiness by supporting the development of high-performing systems of public secondary schools characterized by high standards, data-driven management and instruction, and high-quality leaders and teachers, among other rigorous and academically challenging innovations.

Today, those efforts are enriched by Corporation-funded projects such as *The Opportunity Equation: Transforming Mathematics and Science Education for Citizenship and the Global Economy*, which started as a 2009 report and by 2011 had become a mobilization of the corporate, educational, scientific, research and other sectors of American society incorporating a vision for excellent, equitable science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) learning. The goal of this effort is to reach all U.S. students and prepare them for full participation as citizens and as workers in an increasingly global economy. Related initiatives supported by the Corporation include the campaign to recruit and train 10,000 great STEM teachers over the next two years and 100,000 STEM teachers in ten years. Another

*Initiatives funded by the Corporation reflect not only important things that must be done but the right things.*

is working to help states, teachers, schools, and districts incorporate the Common Core Standards, evidence-based, internationally benchmarked guidelines having the potential to transform teaching and learning across the United States, thus advancing students' access to higher education and economic success.

Our commitment to educational access extends to our investments in sub-Saharan Africa, where, along with six other foundations, we have supported the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa. Since 2000, with grants totaling \$440 million, this initiative has worked in nine African countries, directly and indirectly improving conditions for 4.1 million students at 379 universities and colleges. Increasing educational opportunities for African women has been a particular concern of the Corporation, which alone has provided higher education scholarships to over 5,600 female African students. And, believing in the capacity of individuals, given support, training and opportunity, to help bring about not only institutional change but also contribute to national development, the Corporation has invested in enriching the capacity of African universities to develop their own leaders who will help to design their nations' future. Such initiatives include the Corporation's joint work with the Science Initiative Group, an international team of scientific leaders and supporters whose administrative activities are based at the Institute for Advanced Study, one of the leading teaching and learning institutions in the U.S., and dedicated to fostering science in developing countries. One result of this collaboration is the Regional Initiative for Science and Education (RISE), aimed at capacity building through regional networks of universities. Though focused on university collaborations, RISE is pointed toward the end product: furthering the ability of talented men and women to advance in the science and technology fields by reducing the isolation of postgraduate students and faculty and helping them to gain increased

access to colleagues, mentors, laboratories, instrumentation and the team-level research habits on which modern scholarship is based. In addition, RISE has emphasized participation by African women who have long been underrepresented in the sciences.

Libraries, like universities, are also levers of change within societies. They serve a critical role in improving literacy levels and act as information hubs, often providing a community's only access to electronic communication. African libraries are generally given a low priority by governments and international funders and most have severely deteriorated infrastructure, stock and services. Reflecting the interests of Andrew Carnegie, who provided support for public library buildings in South Africa beginning in 1911<sup>4</sup>, the Corporation has been making major investments in sub-Saharan African libraries and our grants have leveraged other funding, including from governments, to rebuild public libraries in South Africa and to revitalize the libraries of several universities on the continent. Notably, our support in this area has helped to create children's libraries and library facilities in townships that are among South Africa's poorest neighborhoods, and a number of model libraries in South Africa to help promote educational progress on many levels, from preschool on through graduate studies at top South African universities.

In its century of work, Carnegie Corporation of New York has made grants totaling over \$2 billion—\$1 billion in the past decade alone, thanks to the careful stewardship of our investments by our Trustees and Corporation investment staff whose efforts have made it possible for Andrew Carnegie's philanthropic legacy to endure. This essay has provided only a brief sketch of the countless projects, programs and initiatives funded by the Corporation, but taken all together, they reflect not only important things that must be done in the world but the *right* things. To return to the theme with which I began, that doesn't always mean that we will succeed in achieving the goals we set for ourselves as an institution, but it does mean that we must learn from everything we do in order to do better in the future.

In 1911, when the Corporation was founded, International Women's Day was celebrated for the first time. The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire killed 146 workers and brought to light the plight of immigrant labor. Dutch physicist Heike Kamerlingh Onnes discovered superconductivity. The Wuchang Uprising started the revolution that led to the founding of the Republic of China. In reviewing those events, what comes to mind is the old saying that things change and yet they remain the same: international upheavals, scientific discoveries, migrating populations and humanity's quest for knowledge, understanding and inclusion go on and on. In the Corporation's Centennial year of 2011, we want to acknowledge the contributions this foundation has made to Andrew Carnegie's dream of "doing real and permanent good in this world." But we also recommit ourselves to walking the road ahead with all the hope, intellectual rigor, innovative thinking, good will and human ingenuity that our first one hundred years have proven to us are the right keys to unlock the solutions to whatever challenges lie ahead, both for our nation and the world. ■

<sup>1</sup> *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy*, by Ellen Condliffe Lagemann (Wesleyan University Press, 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Over the course of the Corporation's history, some dozen Carnegie Commissions have focused on issues ranging from poverty in South Africa to the state of American higher education to public broadcasting to early childhood education, to adolescents at risk, to math and science education, among other national and international concerns.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. David A. Hamburg served as President of Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1982 to 1997.

<sup>4</sup> Carnegie Corporation of New York made additional grants for library support in South Africa, Rhodesia and Nyasaland beginning in 1928.

# Recent Events



**Bill Keller, former executive editor of *The New York Times*; Lionel Barber, editor of the *Financial Times*; Karen Elliott House, former publisher of *The Wall Street Journal* and Fred Hiatt, editorial page editor of *The Washington Post*.**



**Vartan Gregorian and Jessica Matthews, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.**

## Honoring the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

On June 7, 2011 Governor Tom Kean, chairman of the Carnegie Corporation Board of Trustees, and Vartan Gregorian, the Corporation's president, hosted a Centennial Tribute to Andrew Carnegie's Legacy honoring the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The event took place at the Morgan Library and Museum in New York City, also 100 years old, which had recently undergone an extensive restoration of its interior spaces. Once the private study and library of financier Pierpont Morgan, the building is considered one of New York's architectural treasures. The event included a panel discussion moderated by Lionel Barber, editor of the *Financial Times*. The panelists were Fred Hiatt, editorial page editor of *The*

*Washington Post*; Karen Elliott House, former publisher of *The Wall Street Journal*, and author of a new book on Saudi society; and Bill Keller, former executive editor of *The New York Times*.

## Communications Training for Human Capital Grantees

Thanks in part to Corporation support, a new and important education community focused on human capital management strategy has taken shape. To help strengthen that grantee community, Carnegie Corporation's Public Affairs program staff hosted a workshop aimed



**Strategic communications consultant Douglas Gould (standing) with Education program officer Talia Milgrom-Elcott and human capital management grantees.**

at expanding the group's communication work and outreach to the larger public. Thirty-five participants attended the event at the Corporation's New York City headquarters on June 14<sup>th</sup>, 2011. Earlier, the Corporation had commissioned online focus groups to test how messages and themes associated with the human capital initiative were being perceived by teachers and engaged citizens – people who vote, donate, volunteer and/or participate in civic life. Besides sharing the lessons learned, this dynamic session presented how-to's on messaging and framing of issues to facilitate transformation of the multi-lateral strategy for managing teacher and principal talent into a communications campaign with traction outside of policy circles.

## A Tribute to Newton Minow

Celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his historic "Vast Wasteland" speech, on April 29, 2011, Northwestern University held a symposium to both honor Newton Minow, who earned his undergraduate and law degrees there, and to explore what the future may hold for television. In his 1961 speech to the National

PHOTO COURTESY OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY



**Newton Minow.**

Association of Broadcasters, Minow, then head of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission, famously termed television a vast wasteland, and implored industry leaders to provide vastly improved content. He also said, "Broadcasting cannot continue to live by the numbers. Ratings ought to be the slave of the broadcaster, not his master." President Vartan Gregorian delivered the opening remarks for the occasion (via video) honoring Minow, a former Chair of the Board of Carnegie Corporation, for his more than half-century of public service.

## White House Fellows Take Manhattan

On June 22, 2011 an evening reception was held at Carnegie Corporation of New York for the outgoing class of White House Fellows. Founded in 1964, with the help of Carnegie Corporation of New York and under the leadership of former Corporation president John Gardner, the White House Fellows is a highly prestigious program for leadership and public service, offering exceptional young men and women first-hand experience working at the highest levels of the federal government. Selected by a nonpartisan commission, the fellows typically spend a year working as a full-time, paid aide to senior White House Staff, Cabinet Secretaries and other top-ranking government officials. Corporation president Vartan Gregorian was appointed to the White House Fellows Commission in 2009 by President Obama and has served with General Wesley Clark; John Hockenberry, the Peabody





**Front row (l. to r): John Hockenberry, journalist; John R. Phillips, chair, The President's Commission on White House Fellowships; George E. Thibault, president, Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation; Vartan Gregorian and Cindy S. Moelis director of the Commission. Back row: The thirteen White House Fellows of the class of 2010-2011.**

Award-winning journalist; Pierre Omidyar, Ebay founder; and other distinguished individuals.

### A Giant Step for Science Education

Carnegie Corporation Trustee Ralph J. Cicerone, president of the National Academy of Sciences, spoke at an event in Washington, D.C. on July 19, 2011, announcing the release of the new framework for K-12 science education. The framework identifies the key scientific ideas and practices all students should learn by the end of high school

and will serve as the foundation for the next generation K-12 science education standards intended to replace those issued more than a decade ago. Sponsored by Carnegie Corporation of New York, the framework was issued by the National Research Council, the operating arm of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering—all independent, nongovernmental organizations. “We believe that the education of the children of this nation is a vital national concern,” Cicerone and Charles M. Vest, President of the National Academy of Engineering, wrote in the foreword. “The understanding of, and interest in, science and engineering that its citizens bring to bear in their personal and civic decision making is critical to good decisions about the nation’s future.”

### 100Kin10 Meets the Clinton Global Initiative

At the Clinton Global Initiative (CGI) America Meeting in Chicago in June 2011, President Clinton urged corporations, foundations, and other interested organizations to become part of 100Kin10—an effort to respond to the national imperative to prepare, deploy, and support 100,000 excellent STEM teachers over the coming 10 years. More than 80 partners—from NASA and Google to the New York City Department of Education, Stanford University, and Teach for America—have joined



**(Center) Michele Cahill, co-chair of the Opportunity Equation and vice president for National Programs with President Bill Clinton; representatives of partner organizations from the 100Kin10 Initiative and (far right) Talia Milgrom-Elcott, Education program officer.**

100Kin10, their single, ambitious goal: to prepare all students with the high-quality science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) knowledge and skills needed to address the most pressing national and global challenges of tomorrow. The effort, led by Carnegie Corporation of New York and Opportunity Equation, is a multi-sector mobilization that invites any organization, including but not limited to corporations, school districts, museums, institutions of higher education, foundations, federal agencies, professional associations, states, and nonprofit organizations, to apply their particular assets to creatively and strategically address the challenges of increasing the supply of and retaining excellent STEM educators.

### US-DPRK Track II Talks Take Place at Carnegie Corporation

On August 1, 2011 an important example of the Corporation’s Track II work took place as the National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) hosted a meeting at the Corporation’s offices with a high-level delegation from the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, led by First Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. Kim Kye Gwan. Kim is a veteran negotiator and was Pyongyang’s chief nuclear envoy for years before being elevated to his current position in 2010. The focus of the meeting was “The Future of U.S.-DPRK Relations.” Henry Kissinger was among the participants, as were

MARTIN DIXON



**Henry Kissinger and Mr. Kim Kye Gwan, First Vice Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.**



MARTIN DIXON

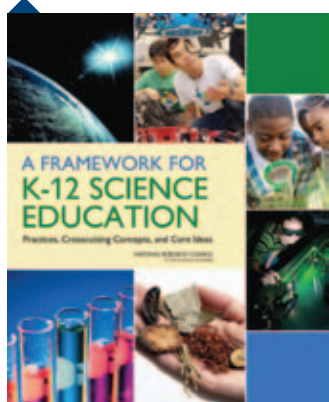
**Representatives from the U.S. and DPRK with Vartan Gregorian.**

Vartan Gregorian, Corporation president, Deana Arsenian, vice president, International Program and Stephen J. Del Rosso, program director, International Peace and Security. American scholars and former officials also attended the session, which followed an official “Track I” meeting in New York between Kim and U.S. Special Representative for North Korea, Stephen Bosworth. Funding for the Track II meeting was provided by the Corporation along with the Luce and MacArthur Foundations. ■



ANDRES HENRIQUEZ

**Ralph Cicerone, president of the National Academy of Sciences.**





# THE BackPage

Jean Strouse is the author of *Morgan, American Financier* (1999) and *Alice James, A Biography* (1980, 2011), which won the Bancroft Prize. Her essays and reviews have appeared in publications including *The New Yorker*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New York Times*, and *Slate*.

Carnegie's legacy remains alive in less tangible ways as well: in the work of more than twenty philanthropic organizations and institutions he endowed—among them, Carnegie Corporation of New York—and in the models he established for later generations of philanthropists.

cial to the community... requires the exercise of not less ability than that which acquired it." And he predicted that the world would condemn millionaires who kept their fortunes intact, with the verdict: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced."

Carnegie began devoting himself to philanthropy full time at the age of 65 in 1901, after he sold Carnegie Steel for \$480 million to J. Pierpont Morgan, who was organizing United States Steel. Believing that lack of education was the cause of many

to his biographer David Nasaw, "by the inexorable logic of compound interest." He had been giving away \$10 to 20 million a year, and earning more than that in interest on his U.S. Steel gold bonds. His lawyer urged him to set up a trust with the remainder of his estate and to run it himself, which is just what Carnegie did. He established Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1911 with \$135 million. Now celebrating its 100<sup>th</sup> birthday, the Corporation was Carnegie's largest single gift, intended for "the advancement



LAUREN REDNISS

by JEAN STROUSE

## From **Andrew Carnegie** to **Bill Gates:** *a Philanthropic Legacy*

She has received fellowships from the Guggenheim and MacArthur Foundations, served as President of the Society of American Historians, and worked as a consultant (oral historian) to the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. She is currently Director of the Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman Center for Scholars and Writers at The New York Public Library.

Andrew Carnegie's legacy is written across the American landscape.

Hundreds of small towns and large cities still have Carnegie free public libraries. The name "Carnegie" is visible on railroad tracks crossing a small bridge over a remote quarry in Vermont, on the steel I-beams supporting the stacks in The New York Public Library at 42<sup>nd</sup> Street, and on countless other pieces of the country's infrastructure built one hundred years ago. During a taping of NPR's "Wait Wait Don't Tell Me" in an iconic New York building in October 2010, guest Nora Ephron stopped the conversation for a minute to say, "I cannot believe I am on stage at Carnegie Hall."

Born to a poor family in Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1835, Andrew Carnegie had little formal education but was an avid early reader who attributed much of his success to what he learned from books. He moved to America with his family at 13, got his first job as a bobbin boy in a cotton mill, worked his way up through telegraphs and railroads until, by the time he was 50, he dominated the booming American steel industry. A shrewd, tough competitor, he could out-produce and undersell everyone else in the business.

While still running Carnegie Steel he determined to give away all his wealth, explaining in a series of essays on the subject (published as the "Gospel of Wealth") that the rich held their fortunes in trust for the communities that had made them possible. For "selfish millionaires" who did not give their earnings back during their lifetimes, he proposed heavy inheritance taxes. Moreover, he believed that the owners of great wealth should not leave it for others to give away after their deaths, since "to use wealth so as to be really benefi-

cial ills and that "an enduring civilization" could be based only on popular education, he built over 2500 free public libraries in the U.S. and other parts of the English-speaking world, at a cost of over \$50 million.

He did not, of course, use such 21<sup>st</sup> century buzzwords as "leverage," "strategic giving," the "catalytic" dollar, or sustainability, but his ideas about giving make eminent sense today. He aimed to get at the root causes of social problems rather than simply ameliorate their symptoms. In 1903 he said he was as much a "concentrator" in philanthropy as he had been in steel, and that he was now "in the library manufacturing business." And since he did not want his philanthropic gifts to foster passivity and dependence in their recipients, he made the gifts conditional: he built libraries only for towns that contracted to provide the land, books, librarians, and enough money to keep the facilities going.

Having said that "the man who dies... rich dies disgraced," Carnegie realized in 1910 that he was being "defeated," according

and diffusion of knowledge and understanding." He served as its president until he died in 1919.

### "Concentrating" at the Gates Foundation

The fortunes created in the United States in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries dwarf those made one hundred years ago. According to *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, the \$350 million Carnegie gave away before he died would be approximately \$3 billion in today's dollars, and the \$540 million John D. Rockefeller dispensed by 1937 would be equivalent to about \$6 billion now.

In 1999 the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation became the largest in the world, with assets of \$21.8 billion. Seven years later the Gates' good friend Warren Buffett added \$31 billion of his own to endorse and join their efforts. Since the foundation was created in 1994, it has awarded grants amounting to over \$25 billion. Even after making huge gifts to the foundation, Gates is reportedly still worth about \$56 billion.

One of the unusual attributes of the new American fortunes is the

youth of their owners. Gates at 55 is practically an elder statesman. Probably never before in history has there been so much freshly minted money in the hands of people who are so young. Facebook's Mark Zuckerberg and Google's Larry Page and Sergey Brin could, if they choose to, spend five or six decades giving it away.

The geography of wealth has changed as well, moving from east to west. The first great American foundations at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century came from East Coast fortunes in oil, steel, and coal. A few decades later, new foundations grew out of mercantile and manufacturing empires in the Midwest. In the 1960s and '70s, significant fortunes were made in real estate, oil, and electronics in the Southwest and on the West Coast. And now, of course, much of the country's "new money" has its headquarters in Cupertino, Mountain

View, Palo Alto, and Seattle.

Bill Gates has repeatedly said that he will, like Andrew Carnegie, give away most of his fortune before he dies. He plans to make sure his children are well taken care of but does not want to leave them the burden of tremendous wealth.

He and his wife focused their first major philanthropic energies on the immense disparities they had observed in global health, such as that millions of children in poor countries die every year from diseases that could be prevented by existing vaccines. They set up the William H. Gates Foundation, run by Bill Gates, Sr., with an initial stock gift of \$94 million. Then in 1997 they enlisted their friend Patty Stonesifer, a former Microsoft executive, to run a \$200 million Gates Library Program that would address the "digital divide" by providing computers, Internet access, and technical

support to libraries in the poorest communities of the United States. Gates called the teams of kids who conducted the computer training the "Internet Peace Corps." This initiative consciously followed the Carnegie model of providing the basic gift (in this case computers, software, and staff training) and requiring local communities to take over from there with their own people and resources. Ultimately, the Gates program helped "wire" more than 11,000 libraries in all 50 states, and the foundation now funds similar programs around the world.

The common theme uniting the global health and domestic education programs was redressing inequities that the marketplace ignores, and as the two entities succeeded and expanded, Gates combined them into the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, co-chaired from 1999 to 2008 by his father and Stonesifer, who was also CEO.

Like Carnegie, the Gateses are "concentrators": in order to be effective, they focus on areas in which their work can have the greatest impact. They are tackling some of the toughest problems in the world—trying to arrest or cure its most fatal diseases, including HIV/AIDS and malaria; alleviate global poverty; ensure that every American has a chance at a decent education. And the five people who now run the foundation—co-chairs Bill, Melinda, and Bill Gates, Sr., CEO Jeff Raikes, a former Microsoft executive, and trustee Warren Buffett—would echo Carnegie's pronouncement that "to use wealth so as to be really beneficial to the community... requires the exercise of not less ability than that which acquired it." In fact, it may require more. Gates, who retired from Microsoft in 2008 to play a full-time, hands-on role at the foundation, has often pointed out

*Continued on page 47*

## Passing on a Philanthropic Legacy: *Bill Gates Pays Tribute to Vartan Gregorian*

*On December 1, 2009, Vartan Gregorian, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York, was named the recipient of Common Cause's first annual Andrew Heiskell Lifetime Achievement Award. These remarks by Bill Gates, founder of Microsoft, were played on videotape at the event, and highlight the connection between the development of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York, the foundation created in 1911 by Andrew Carnegie and currently headed by Vartan Gregorian.*



**Bill and Melinda Gates.**

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Good evening. Melinda and I are sorry we can't be there tonight to celebrate the work of Common Cause, and the contributions of tonight's award winners. I was honored when I was asked to pay tribute to my friend and colleague, Vartan Gregorian.

Many of you know of Vartan for his leadership of the University of Pennsylvania, the New York Public Library, Brown University, and today, of course, Carnegie Corporation of New York. Our culture and our society are better off for his stewardship of these remarkable institutions.

Vartan's many awards and honors are well known, like his scores of honorary degrees and the Medal of Freedom. But if you've spent time with Vartan, you know something more about him: his philosophical style, his encyclopedic knowledge of history, his warmth and his decisiveness, his humor, his new ideas, even the occasional bear hug.

As it turns out, I almost didn't get to meet Vartan. About ten years ago, we'd scheduled a meeting at Microsoft's headquarters to discuss our mutual interest in libraries and preserving literature in the digital world. And Vartan told his assistant he needed to go to Microsoft in

Redmond. And so, his assistant found a flight to Redmond. But when he got off the plane and asked about getting to Microsoft, he found out he was in Redmond, Oregon. And that's pretty far away from Microsoft up in Redmond, Washington.

So, we did eventually get to meet. Vartan has been all over the world, but this one trip threw him off, and it was great when we finally did get his advice. He came in and helped Melinda and I, and the first CEO of the foundation, Patty Stonesifer, lay the foundation for our philanthropic efforts. He was a board member in those early days and helped with things like our library efforts. He was a big help as we thought through where to go, how to do the most good, and always bringing his wonderful sense of history and street smarts and lots of creative ideas. He may not know it, but Vartan himself is a great example to us, a testament to the impact that one life, well lived, can have.

So, many thanks to Common Cause for recognizing Vartan for his lifetime achievements, and congratulations to all of tonight's award winners.



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Carnegie Corporation of New York is a philanthropic foundation created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States. Subsequently, its charter was amended to permit the use of funds for the same purposes in certain countries that are or have been members of the British overseas Commonwealth. The goal of the *Carnegie Reporter* is to be a hub of ideas and a forum for dialogue about the work of foundations.

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# 2011 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy

In recognition of the tenth anniversary of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy, ten individuals and families were honored for their fidelity to Andrew Carnegie's core belief that private wealth should serve the public good.

The recipients of the 2011 medal are: The Crown Family of Chicago; the Danforth Family of Saint Louis; Stanley and Fiona Druckenmiller of New York City; Li Ka-Shing of Hong Kong; Fred Kavli of Santa Barbara, California; The Lauder Family, Leonard and Evelyn Lauder and Ronald and Jo Carole Lauder, of New York City; Pierre and Pamela Omidyar of Hawaii; The Pew Family of Philadelphia and the Pritzker Family of Chicago. These awardees represent a wide spectrum of philanthropic endeavors, benefiting scientific research, the arts and culture, religious freedom, education, health and medicine, world peace, alleviation of poverty, social justice, civic affairs, the environment and more.

Every two years since 2001, the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy has been presented by the more than twenty organizations established by Andrew Carnegie to honor the founder's philanthropic spirit and celebrate the philosophy of giving shared by individuals and families of exceptional generosity. Through this event the Carnegie family of institutions highlights the continued importance of philanthropy in modern society. The medal has been presented to 33 individuals and families. This year's presentation ceremony took place on October 20, 2011 at the New York Public Library.

Andrew Carnegie began his philanthropic career in the 1870s and wrote about its underlying philosophy in his 1889 book, *The Gospel of Wealth*. By the time of his death in 1919, Carnegie had invested nearly all of his fortune—approximately \$350 million—to advance such causes as education, science, culture and international peace.

