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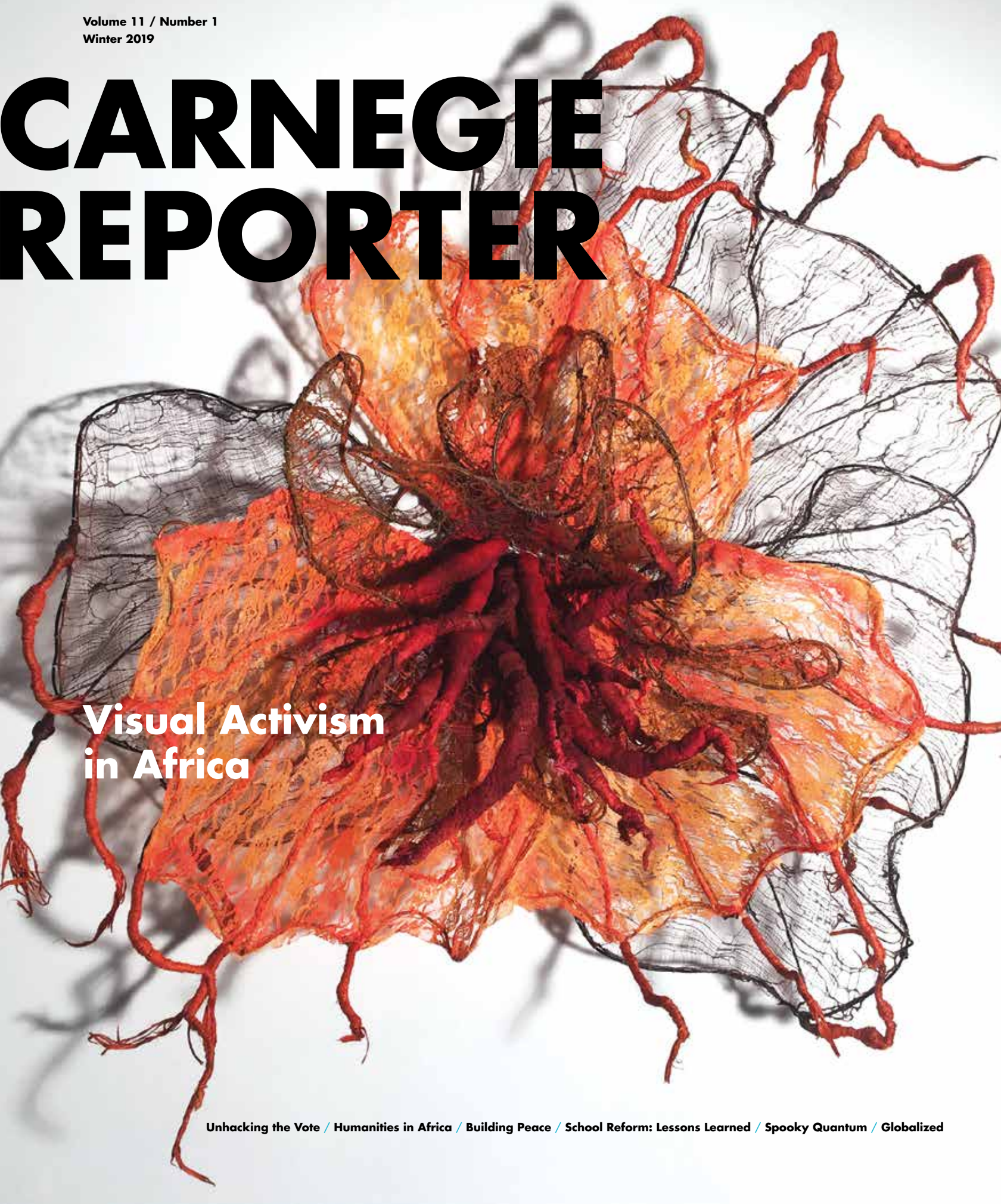
CARNEGIE REPORTER



Visual Activism in Africa

Unhacking the Vote / Humanities in Africa / Building Peace / School Reform: Lessons Learned / Spooky Quantum / Globalized

WELCOME TO THE **CARNEGIE REPORTER**

At Home in the World

For the Winter 2019 *Carnegie Reporter*, we set our sights on horizons — near and far — to explore the ripple effects of the Corporation's long-standing work in cultivating knowledge in the service of peace and democracy.

We range widely. From Africa and postglobalism to The Hague and quantum theory, in this issue we offer a discussion that reflects the symbiotic relationship between knowledge and peace — and between Carnegie Corporation of New York and the larger world.

As Corporation president Vartan Gregorian writes in his letter, "Andrew Carnegie formed Carnegie Corporation of New York because he understood that peacemaking and knowledge are interdependent." That vision continues to guide the work of the Corporation today: investing in research, scholarship, and knowledge — the precursors and prerequisites for peace.

For our cover story, we turn to a lesser-known but critical corner of African scholarship, namely the researchers and academics who will write Africa's history and teach the next generations of policymakers and leaders on the continent. Writer and art critic Aruna D'Souza explores the Corporation's support of African humanities scholars. Both keepers and transmitters of Africa's history, these academics continue to forge new paths in postcolonial scholarship which in turn become the groundwork for new understandings of national identity, policy, and development. We also celebrate the scholars, artists, and creators who are in the vanguard of Africa's vibrant and thriving visual arts scene.

From Africa we head to our offices in New York City, sitting in on a conversation between two well-traveled citizens of the world, philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah and *Financial Times* editor Lionel Barber, as interviewed by Scott Malcomson, global journalist and author. They parse globalization and its discontents, the free movement of people, the complex forces driving nationalism both at home and around the world, and much more.

Many may not know that Andrew Carnegie was a key figure in the history of international law and justice. Despite relentless ridicule, Carnegie worked tirelessly for world peace, arguing that systems — including world courts — be set in place to resolve conflicts without resorting to bloodshed. Both the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the International Court of Justice (the principal judicial arm of the United Nations, commonly known as the World Court) are housed in the Peace Palace in The Hague, built with Carnegie's financial support and opened in 1913. Architectural writer Fred A. Bernstein explores the connection between Carnegie's vision for peace and democracy and the (often fraught) architectural competition from which his magnificent "Temple of Peace" was born.

Closer to home, LaVerne Srinivasan, head of the Corporation's Education program, and education author Jeff Archer review how lessons learned from past decades of school-reform efforts are informing the Corporation's current thinking on American education. A lot has changed in 35 years since the modern school-reform movement was born. And famed "technosociologist" Zeynep Tufekci gives America's voting system the once over. The verdict? We've got work do to.

Finally, our peripatetic issue would be incomplete without a nod to the fourth dimension: don't miss the essay on quantum technology by Stephen Del Rosso, program director in International Peace and Security at the Corporation. The possible implications of quantum for the future of peace and security are — well — spooky.

As this issue goes to press, it seems that the forces aligned against peace are growing globally, and the debate about how to build peace is as heated and, sadly, as relevant as it was a century ago. But if working for peace is foolish, then, with our founder, we count ourselves "fools for peace." It is a cause that demands our vigilance, our best minds, and our whole hearts — now and in the coming new year.

Julia Weede

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

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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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On the Cover
Nnenna Okore's *Ethereal Beauty* (2017) | AHP fellow Nkiruka Nwafor places Okore at the center of her study of women artists. See "African History, Written in Africa": 26–37, and "Visual Activism in Africa": 66–67. Full caption: 100.

Built to Last

Andrew Carnegie's peace project was ambitious, audacious, visionary. The work was — is — difficult, often stymied, never-ending. But what is the alternative?

When Andrew Carnegie agreed to fund the construction of the Peace Palace at The Hague in the Netherlands, he was, as usual, building for the *longue durée*. The Hague was no ordinary location. As Carnegie knew very well, the city was strongly linked to the history of international law. Settling in The Hague in 1599, the Dutch scholar, jurist, and diplomat Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) would go a long way to define the legal frameworks and foundations for peaceful cooperation between nations. Grotius had to battle a great deal of resistance in his quest. And centuries later, so did Andrew Carnegie, whose passionate commitment to ending war was considered unrealistic if not downright dangerous. "Refusal to arbitrate," he boldly asserted, "makes war, even for a good cause, unholy." Neither man surrendered. Today, the great edifice of international law stands as a tribute to the visionary labors of each man. Like the magnificent Peace Palace, it is built to last.

"No name is entitled to rank with his." For 19th-century peace activists, including Andrew Carnegie, the Dutch philosopher and jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) was a towering figure, widely hailed as the "Father of International Law." Grotius's epoch-making treatise, *The Rights of War and Peace* (1625), is a key document, as Carnegie put it, "in the progress of man from war, lawless and savage, to war restricted and obedient to International Law." In the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which brought an end to the Thirty Years' War, Carnegie saw the direct imprint of Grotius's "advanced ideas," founded as they are "upon his doctrine of the essential independence and equality of all Sovereign States, and the laws of justice and mercy." PHOTO: RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

An avid reader from a young age and a keen student of history throughout his life, Andrew Carnegie knew that history taught a simple lesson: conflict is inevitable. The reasons varied — dynastic ambitions, or land hunger, or simply a desire to avenge an actual or perceived wrong. But the resulting wars were always depressingly the same, as armies poured across borders, cities were plundered, and civilians paid the heaviest price of all. Even in times of relatively advanced intellectual achievement — the Enlightenment, for example — ideals and theories rarely became reality. The more ardently reformers promised that a New World was beginning — witness the French Revolution — the greater the likelihood that another war was about to begin.

But the work of peace advanced all the same, strengthened by a growing conviction that, at heart, human beings were rational creatures. No one did more to advance this premise than Hugo Grotius. With his faith in legal standards, the eminent jurist laid the groundwork for the concept of an international order based on the rule of law.

In his treatise *The Rights of War and Peace* (1625; *De jure belli ac pacis*), Grotius maintained that nations are bound by natural law, which derives its authority from two fundamental human needs: self-preservation and community. His theories were severely tested by the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), but finally helped to pave the way for the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the war, restoring peace between the Catholic and Protestant powers. But Grotius's ideas were not codified into a functioning international system, and, over the course of the centuries that followed, religious conflicts gave way to wars sparked by nationalism and authoritarianism.

Even as the 20th century was dawning, with its seemingly limitless potential, war remained an uncomfortably realistic possibility. That was simply unacceptable to Andrew Carnegie, who believed that a better world was not only possible, but necessary.

Even as the 20th century was dawning, with its seemingly limitless potential, war remained an uncomfortably realistic possibility. That was simply unacceptable to Andrew Carnegie, who believed that a better world was not only possible, but necessary. He believed in the call that President Lincoln issued in a now famous address at Cooper Union in New York City, on February 27, 1860. Lincoln closed: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it." As his biographer David Nasaw has written, Carnegie became a "fool for peace." Carnegie understood his duty.

"Right makes might" is a dramatic phrase, but there was nothing "foolish" about the seriousness of Carnegie's purpose. He admired Grotius, and believed it was possible to strengthen the foundation of international law. By establishing a network of legal instruments and institutions, the nations of the world could reduce the inevitability of war and establish peaceful ways to adjudicate their various disputes and claims.

Unfortunately, at the dawn of the 20th century most of the world showed little interest in preventing armed conflict. President Theodore Roosevelt considered Carnegie naive, and even called some of his ideas "twisted." But Roosevelt failed to grasp how much thought Carnegie had put into the project of peace, or how stubborn he could be. As history would prove, it was even more naive to think that civilization could survive the kinds of wars that were coming. In fact, Carnegie's vision of the future was more realistic than Roosevelt's. Although Roosevelt had done important work toward peace earlier in his career, earning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906 for helping to end the Russo-Japanese War, his strident rhetoric was a contributing factor to the rise in tensions as he pursued his quixotic political goals in the aftermath of his presidency.

In those same years, armaments continued to multiply and tensions grew between sprawling empires. With confidence, vision, and a vast fortune, Carnegie began to transform his dream into a reality, built from bricks and mortar. In 1903 Carnegie agreed to donate the $1.5 million ($43 million today, adjusted for inflation) needed for construction of the Peace Palace, which would serve as home to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, as well as housing a library of international law. At last, the edifice of international law would be grounded in an actual edifice.

With the cornerstone laid in the summer of 1907 midway through the Second International Peace Conference, the Palace opened to the public, with much fanfare, six years later. The Palace soon housed other international bodies, including the Permanent Court of International Justice, the official court of the League of Nations. In the words of American diplomat Andrew Dickson White, the friend who helped convince Carnegie to invest in the initial venture, the Peace Palace would serve as a "temple of peace where the doors are open, in contrast to the Janus-temple, in times of peace and closed in cases of war." Finally, after many long centuries, a court "has thrown open its doors for the peaceful settlement of differences between peoples."

There were grounds to believe that White's lofty sentiments would prove true. It is a notable paradox of history that international cooperation was deepening in the years preceding the outbreak of World War I. Many countries — including Germany, Austria-Hungary, the United States, France, Great Britain and Ireland, China, Japan, Persia, Russia, and Turkey — joined the peace conferences of 1899 and 1907 at The Hague, resulting in some genuine

Bountiful Hope The opening of the Peace Palace in August 1913 aligned fortuitously with the centennial celebrations of Dutch independence later that year. (In November 1813 William I returned to the Netherlands, marking the restoration of the House of Orange-Nassau and the end of French rule.) This poster announcing celebratory exhibitions in 30 Dutch towns uses the new Palace as its focus. A horn of plenty and a fleet of merchant ships (in the background at left) represent Dutch prosperity. The image, by Arie Martinus Luyt (1879–1951), suggests that there is new hope for a peaceful world. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

breakthroughs. But unfortunately, the international system was not yet mature. Carnegie was devastated when war engulfed the great powers in 1914, less than a year after the Peace Palace opened its doors. In a way, the outbreak of war proved how necessary his palace was; but it was a sobering setback all the same. Withdrawing from public life, Carnegie seemed to be nursing a broken heart. Yet he never entirely abandoned the project of peace, late in life telling an interviewer for the *New York Times* that the barbarities of the Great War might well shock human nature back into the "realms of reason." And to quote Carnegie, "the realms of reason are the realms of peace."

For a time, it was fashionable to deride the League of Nations as a failure, and in many ways it was. President Woodrow Wilson, its foremost champion, could not even persuade his own citizens to join, and the outbreak of World War II only confirmed that the league had failed in its principal object of preventing global conflict. But at the same time, the war demonstrated that ever-stronger institutions were needed to make sure war on such a scale never happened again.

Carnegie would have been proud to see the role played by the Peace Palace following the First World War in the development of new frameworks for the international order. After the disbanding of the League of Nations and the founding of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the principal judicial body of the UN, was established in that great edifice, Carnegie's "Temple of Peace" in The Hague. Together with the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the ICJ (commonly referred to as the World Court) continues to work to advance Carnegie's vision of settling disputes between states through arbitration, mediation, and adjudication — rather than contending parties resorting to war.

It is easy to lose faith in an age where peace still seems like an evanescent dream. Still, we should not underestimate the achievement of seven decades of relative peace in Europe since 1945. Armed conflict in Western Europe has been largely unthinkable. For that, we have many people to thank, including of course two who helped lay the foundation: Hugo Grotius and Andrew Carnegie. In the hundred years since the christening of the Peace Palace, peace *has* spread in much of the world, due in no small part to the hard work of such "fools for peace." International agreements are not perfect, but, in general, they work. Trust can exist between nations. The Marshall Plan channeled $13 billion (nearly $100 billion in 2018 dollars) in economic and technical aid to 16 European countries, in a spirit of generosity that Carnegie would certainly have recognized. Since its creation in 1993, the European Union (EU) has brought about unprecedented stability for most of its member nations, largely because economies have been intertwined and systems are set in place to resolve conflicts without resorting to bloodshed.

Yet, as the poet W. H. Auden reminds us in "The Cave of Making,"

> More than ever
> life-out-there is goodly, miraculous, loveable,
> but we shan't, not since Stalin and Hitler,
> trust ourselves ever again: we know that, subjectively,
> all is possible.

All is possible indeed, in a world that is increasingly indifferent to the structures Carnegie left to posterity. But knowing the scale of depravity and horror to which we can sink, is it not also imperative to work toward and trust in the promise of peace? Shall we strengthen the edifice or simply walk away from it?

Carnegie knew the answer. Seeking to prevent deadly conflict is both idealistic and realistic. The danger of nuclear weapons has not receded, while the threat posed by biological and chemical weapons has increased. In such a world we have no choice but to try to build better structures, beginning with bridges of trust, finding long-term common interests that transcend political and ethnic divisions. It is only through building these bridges that reason will ultimately prevail.

Just as the bricklayers were erecting the Peace Palace, Carnegie was constructing the institutional edifices that represent some of his most enduring legacies. In addition to his work in The Hague, Carnegie established and endowed four U.S.-based foundations dedicated to the cause of peace, including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), working with partners to sponsor the reconstruction of various cultural landmarks in Europe destroyed in World War I.

Carnegie put his final "structure" in place in 1911, endowing the philanthropic Carnegie Corporation of New York with an astonishing $135 million (nearly $3.6 billion in 2018 dollars) — at that time the largest permanent philanthropic trust ever recorded. The Corporation's mission is clear: "To promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding." And it has always remained true to that mission. For more than a century, we have been proud to continue the work of Andrew Carnegie.

The Corporation's work in peace and diplomacy has embraced initiatives connected to the Balkans, Russia, North Korea, and Kashmir, as well as efforts to resolve all kinds of international conflicts. Since the 1920s the Corporation has also been active in Africa, operating under the belief that education is the key to providing new leaders for the continent and its institutions, including the development of a new generation of African peacebuilding scholars and practitioners. In Carnegie's view, it was the responsibility of the wealthy nations of the world to establish a network of legal instruments and institutions to codify man's natural impulse toward war — and thus enable the new century to be free from the scourge of war.

Throughout its history, one constant theme in the Corporation's grantmaking has been the need to integrate deep knowledge and scholarship of the highest quality into the development of policies and programs aimed at advancing global peace and security. In August 2019 we mark the centennial of Andrew Carnegie's death, and in concert with that occasion, the Carnegie family of institutions is organizing a series of programs, under the title Forging the Future, to celebrate Carnegie's philanthropic legacy of "doing real and permanent good in this world," while addressing the many national and international challenges that lie ahead.

As part of Forging the Future, the Corporation joined with the Netherlands-based Carnegie Foundation–Peace Palace and its partners for three days in September 2018, convening the Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations, an international conference in The Hague that connected people from various backgrounds and generations around conflict-related themes. Some 300 participants — government officials; public and community figures and leaders; activists directly involved in conflicts; experts from civil society, science, politics, business, and philanthropy; and students and teachers working in conflict resolution — heard from a number of our grantees, sister institutions, and partners worldwide, focusing on ways to deal with the causes, not just the symptoms, of our greatest challenges, including advancing world peace.

In furtherance of this pacific and hopeful world view, we were proud to support the Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations. When treaties and compromise are disparaged, from the South China Sea to the Rio Grande, it becomes all the more important to defend the mission embodied by the Peace Palace. For what is the alternative? Without international law and justice, the world is at risk of reverting to an anarchic, Hobbesian state of nature — a permanent state of "war of all against all." Carnegie had a deep faith in the utility of due process for managing relations among the great powers, but he also believed in providing face-saving alternatives for smaller powers buffeted by forces beyond their control. Carnegie's Enlightenment-inspired commitment to reason remains an affirming antidote to the darker trends in our troubled world. The conference built on Carnegie's peacebuilding legacy while underscoring the relevance of his belief in the ability of states to find solutions to their disputes through cooperation, dialogue, negotiation, and understanding.

Given the internal weakness of many societies, the task of building a new international order seems especially daunting when the bricks themselves are crumbling.

In such an iconic setting as The Hague, comparisons between the present moment and the years when Carnegie supported the construction of the Peace Palace were hard to avoid. His was a time of unbridled nationalism, and for him a central challenge was creating a framework in which powerful countries could resolve their conflicting claims. As one conference participant pointed out, while we are witnessing a resurgence of nationalism across the globe, it is a nationalism based largely on nostalgia, far removed from the conquering spirit of the early 1900s. Citizens of many countries compare their current status unfavorably to a romanticized earlier era. Compounding this view, a common theme of the PeaceBuilding Conversations was the fragility of human communities, not only in the so-called Global South, but even in the most developed countries of the world. A variety of factors conspire to create this fragility: the increased mobility of people, capital, ideas, and weapons, abetted by the spread of new and disruptive technologies; the complexity and interconnectedness of global challenges; and the ongoing deficiencies of governance at multiple levels. In this context, the rules-based "liberal international order" — which some have argued was never as liberal, international, or orderly as was claimed, but which nevertheless has helped avert war by the major powers — appears to be breaking down, with no clear replacement in sight. Given the internal weakness of many societies, the task of building a new international order seems especially daunting when the bricks themselves are crumbling.

But despite the apprehension provoked by these developments, a spirit of Carnegian optimism prevailed at the Peace Palace. Many in attendance would have rallied to Carnegie's own words, delivered in a 1905 address to the students of the University of St. Andrews in Scotland: "I ask your attention for a few minutes to many bright rays, piercing the dark cloud, which encourage us." The voices of younger participants, in particular, reminded those gathered in The Hague that, while there was much work to be done to repair the world and build sustainable peace, there are many talented people committed to the task — a sentiment echoed by peace activists and officials alike.

It can be easy to doubt idealism and hope in the face of a world that at the moment does not seem to value either. But becoming a "fool for peace" does not mean acting foolishly. It means standing up for reason, self-control, and the hard work of international understanding. It means affirming the value of justice, reciprocity, and the rule of law. It means affirming our solidarity as fellow inhabitants of a small planet in a vast universe. It is essential that we reject cynicism and despair. Andrew Carnegie formed Carnegie Corporation of New York because he understood that peacemaking and knowledge are interdependent. He understood that genuine enlightenment — steeped in history and constantly enriched by current and changing events — provides a sturdy foundation for building understanding between societies, cultures, religious beliefs, and political systems. Understanding can be a bridge to peace and, ultimately, is powerful enough to help man triumph over war — in Rousseau's words, "the foulest fiend ever vomited forth from the mouth of Hell." But Andrew Carnegie was an optimist. A realistic optimist, but an optimist nonetheless. As he instructed his "young constituents" at St. Andrews that day in 1905:

> You are busily preparing to play your parts in the drama of life, resolved, I trust, to oppose and attack what is evil, to defend and strengthen what is good, and, if possible, to leave your part of the world a little better than you found it. ■

Vartan Gregorian
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

More Than Matter The marble floors of the great entrance hall in the Peace Palace were designed by the distinguished Dutch architect, designer, and typographer Hendrik Wijdeveld (1885–1987). Perhaps best known as the conceiver and editor in chief of *Wendingen* (1918–32), the influential avant-garde architectural journal, Wijdeveld said of the Peace Palace that it was more than a building, more than a form of matter — it was "an expression of spirit: a call to peace." The Latin motto "Sol Justitiae Illustra Nos" (The Light of Justice Shines Upon Us), the thematic heart of Wijdeveld's elegant design, is only partially visible in this photograph, taken on September 24, 2018, the opening day of the Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

On the Terrace Carnegie Conversationalists (L–R) Lionel Barber, Scott Malcomson, and Kwame Anthony Appiah pose for a group portrait at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters in midtown Manhattan, Madison Avenue streaming uptown down below. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK

THE UNITY IN DISUNITY

Looking at the World after Globalization

Why has identity politics become a major theme of our time? What happened to globalization? And has the West simply lost the plot?

To illuminate these and a few other questions, we turned to three people who have examined similar issues throughout their careers.

From *In My Father's House* (1992) to *The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity* (2018), **Kwame Anthony Appiah** has been thinking and writing about identity politics in Africa (his paternal home), Europe (his maternal home), and the U.S. (his home by marriage and long residence) for three decades.

Carnegie Corporation of New York board member **Lionel Barber** has been a student of modern history — Germany's in particular — since his undergraduate days at Cambridge. His work as a journalist took him across Europe and the United States; since 2005 he has been editor of the *Financial Times*.

The discussion was moderated by former Carnegie Corporation of New York media fellow **Scott Malcomson**, who has reported on nationalism and empire around the world since the mid-1980s (as well as serving in government).

The conversation took place at the Corporation's headquarters in New York. What follows is an edited transcript.

What Remains?

SCOTT MALCOMSON: Was Brexit an instance of identity politics?

LIONEL BARBER: It certainly wasn't about economics, because any serious discussion of economics would have ended in a different result.

MALCOMSON: Do you think that the economic arguments made on behalf of Brexit were of great importance to the people voting for Brexit, leaving aside the quality of the arguments themselves?

BARBER: I think that the so-called Remainers, led by the then-prime minister, David Cameron, made the fatal mistake of assuming that they could win the referendum through a rational argument, and they misunderstood emotion and identity politics. The idea that you could have several identities — you could be English, British, and European — was never addressed.

KWAME ANTHONY APPIAH: There was always this thing that a lot of Britishness has always been defined against the continent. The English, the Irish, the Scots, and the Welsh have that in common.

BARBER: Part of what was going on here had to do with the rise of Englishness, which hadn't been a very important political identity in the British Isles.

MALCOMSON: And there weren't any political parties that openly, or even covertly, at least since the Second World War, tried to fuel that sense of Englishness or of British nationhood. It was not part of what political parties did.

APPIAH: No, and one has to remember that in the immediate postwar period, the emotionally conservative position, in the small-C conservative sense, had to do with Empire. It had to do with Britishness and being connected with a wide world of English-speaking peoples, especially the white Commonwealth, but the Commonwealth more generally. That notion of Englishness was a notion of Britishness. One of the things about Englishness — I have an English mother — is that it's not something you theorize or talk about very much. It's a given.

Within the European Union, however, England is an entity. It's viewed as distinct from Scotland because the Union has all these regional policies, and so England became differentiated from the other parts of the British Isles because European thinking is that there are regions as well as countries.

BARBER: The country itself has become more fragmented. The Scottish independence movement also accentuated or triggered a greater sense of awareness of English identity.

APPIAH: You could say that in Britain, the Scots, the Welsh, and the Irish have always had a sense of a double life. They know what it is to be both Scottish and British, or Welsh and British, or Irish and British, or to be Irish and not want to be British. They have a clear sense that England was the default identity. Also, people watched African Americans in the United States discovering pride in being African American and thought, "Hey, we don't have anything like that here, so we should develop something like that."

I also think a lot of identity politics amounts to saying, "Hey, we're going to do whatever it is that those guys don't like." So the fact they're all telling us we should stay in the European Union, or saying Muslim immigration isn't bad, or that we shouldn't build a wall across the southern border — that makes it attractive to the kind of identity that's reacting against that, to pull the trigger.

Honor Among Nations

BARBER: That brings us to immigration, which was a very important factor in the referendum. We know that the Labour government under Tony Blair [ca. 2004–5] did spurn the chance to say, "Well, actually, we're not going to open up the doors completely. We're going to wait." Instead they said, "Look, we'll have a few tens of thousands from Central Europe." In fact, we got 500,000 to 600,000 Poles who came because the British economy was thriving. It certainly brought economic growth, but certain communities — not in London — like Peterborough were overwhelmed, the social services were overwhelmed, and it wasn't talked about enough. People would just say: "Immigration is a good thing."

Interestingly, there also were places in England that voted overwhelmingly for Brexit but which are virtually untouched by immigration. The Brexit vote was almost the fear of immigration. There was some very effective advertising and campaigning, particularly by members of UKIP, the populist right-wing UK Independence Party.

MALCOMSON: I was in Hungary recently and there was an official emphasis on the Christian identity of Hungary and how that was part of a larger European Christian identity. The counter-example was Islam, and one of the really striking things in Hungary is the nearly complete absence of Muslims. You can arrive at identity politics based on a conception of an enemy who isn't actually there.

APPIAH: Yes. A lot of the counties in the U.S. that voted for Donald Trump, presumably endorsing his anti-immigrant attitudes, are counties with almost no immigrants at all. So those voters never met people of the sort they were supposed to be worried about. And London may be the center of England, as well as Britain, but the English countryside is central to the image of Englishness …

We were out of touch. We also failed to grasp an essential truth about globalization, which is its emotional effect.

— **Lionel Barber**

BARBER: Yes, a "green and pleasant land."

APPIAH: Yes, green and pleasant, William Blake's *Jerusalem*, all that stuff. If you think of those places going away, or being filled with Poles or Muslims or something, you think, "We really are losing something." It's the sense in England that there is a real England and that it's under threat. Well, these spaces will change. After all, they are not as they were when Blake was writing, so they've always been changing. The small towns in Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire were made rich by the wool trade in the Middle Ages, which depended upon connections into France and into the Muslim world. They've always been affected by the world, but they didn't have a lot of people from the world showing up in their town or in the village. Nor did anyone propose that there should be a mosque in Tetbury or even in a big place like Stroud.

MALCOMSON: In Hungary there were many decades of experiencing government from Moscow replaced after only a heartbeat of independence with government from Brussels. The foreign arrivals were associated with the idea that control over who does and who doesn't get to live in Hungary is not going to be in Hungarians' hands, and the government went to great lengths to make this association as tight as possible: it's going to be in Brussels' hands. So some Hungarians' emotional reactions to the Soviet Union are similar to their reactions to the European Union.

BARBER: That sense that "We're not in control of our borders" is important. All these unknown people are coming, not just from Central and Eastern Europe, but also from North Africa and the Middle East. This is about security and the fears about that, as well as identity. The other side of the coin, which I think is not irrelevant, is another economic argument: that the best people are leaving the country, they're going to the West, and the country is being diminished.

APPIAH: Another thing populist nationalism draws on is that sense that the task of the party or the leader is to raise us up again in the eyes of the world. Not being in control of your own policies and territories is associated with disrespect. This resentment of historical losses is also very much behind the responses of Muslim radicals around the world. Something is shared between Hungarian nationalism and Islam, the sense that "We've been put down in the world and our task is to bring ourselves back up, but internal enemies are going to get in the way." So the idea becomes that we have to purify the nation or to purify Islam in order to do this big project — to bring Islam or Hungary or wherever back into a place of honor in the world.

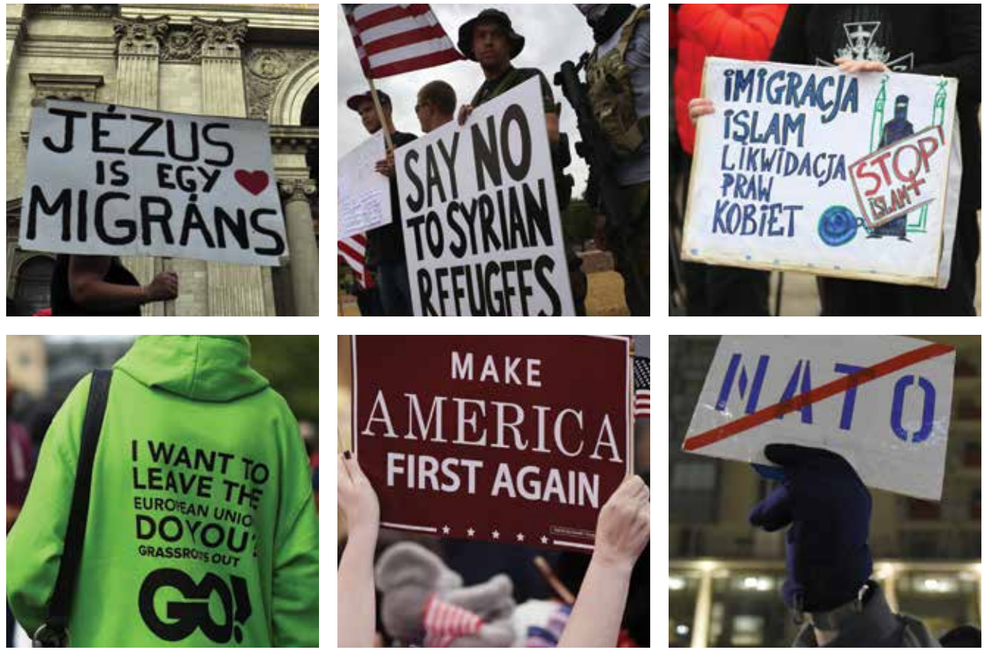
The Establishment

MALCOMSON: In 2016 I did a very informal sampling of what we might call establishment opinion, and it was that Brexit wouldn't happen, and Trump would never become president. So was that a failure to see the strength of identity politics or was it a failure to understand globalization from the point of view of people not in the establishment? Or are those the same thing?

BARBER: At its most basic, it was the views of people who were not prepared to make the effort to travel outside London. For the *FT*'s coverage of Brexit, one of my colleagues had a great idea: bring back five foreign correspondents and send them to the corners of the country. To a man and woman, they all came back saying: It's going to be Brexit. And most of us didn't believe it, which is pretty shocking.

MALCOMSON: That is certainly cause for some reflection.

BARBER: We were out of touch. We also failed to grasp an essential truth about globalization, which is its emotional



Signs of the Times (CLOCKWISE FROM UPPER LEFT-HAND CORNER): Activists in front of St. Stephen's Basilica in Budapest rally against Hungary's construction of an anti-immigrant fence on its border with Serbia, July 2015 ("Jesus is also an immigrant"); counterprotestors greet a demonstration against Islamophobia, Richardson, Texas, December 2015; hundreds gather in Warsaw, Poland, during an anti-immigration demonstration, February 2016 ("Islamic immigrants will liquidate women's rights"); a supporter of PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West) displays an anti-NATO sign during a protest in Dresden, Germany, January 2017; a delegate holds up a sign during the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, July 2016; a campaigner attends a UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party) pro-Brexit event in Birmingham, England, May 2016. PHOTOS: GETTY IMAGES

effect. Back in the 1980s, a lot of people worried about the impact of the free movement of goods. What would that do to brands, like Dijon mustard in France? Actually, this turned out to be trivial. Then they worried, in the wake of the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s, about what the free movement of capital could do in terms of economic disruption, high unemployment, and economic shock. But the really visceral thing is the free movement of people, because that gets you into identity politics. So that's where immigration is such a powerful weapon being used by politicians, by Trump, by the Leave voters in the Brexit campaign. The media just went rational and missed these emotional points. I definitely missed Brexit. I think also that many people in the media found Trump's personal conduct offensive and missed a very basic point about him as a candidate, which is, like it or not, that he was offering a positive, very clear message, which was "Make America Great Again," and he was in his own way offering a message of hope, which was not true of the deeply flawed Democratic candidate, Hillary Clinton. There were all these signals which people missed, mainly because of an excess of rationality and groupthink.

APPIAH: Most people in the intellectual world simply couldn't understand why everyone couldn't see what an awful president Trump would be, and they weren't interested in finding out why anyone might find him an attractive candidate. And so we had from the media just little bits of evidence — he was getting big crowds and they were pretty enthusiastic, and the lines that got the biggest applause were about things that seemed completely idiotic as policy. Everybody who knows anything about walls and borders knows that's not the best way to reduce migration. Everybody who was following it knew immigration from Mexico was actually in decline. And so on.

Trump was so *not* their kind of person. They just couldn't imagine him in the White House. There was a failure of imagination, a failure to think what it might be like to be someone for whom these were attractive ideas, and to think about why.

BARBER: This is about failure to recognize that Donald Trump was challenging a stale consensus, a complacent consensus that said we need to get involved in conflicts around the world; we need to trade with China. That view is about managing, it's about accommodation. But his very clear *America First* is very powerful. It was from the gut, and while we may find that offensive or irrational, it had and has real appeal for people in the Midwest who depend on manufacturing jobs — real jobs, by the way, not financial engineering; middle-class jobs that are disappearing.

APPIAH: Some of those communities that went to Trump had voted for Obama. They were not historically Republican. That shift, I think, is late in coming, because the betrayal of that class of people has been going on for a very long time. The fact is that most of the financial rewards of globalization have gone to a very small part of the population.

MALCOMSON: Within the U.S., yes; but not within China, for example.

APPIAH: Yes, and that's one of the reasons you can't be against globalization — in the very same period, massive amounts of people have been taken out of poverty around the world.

MALCOMSON: That's such a good example of an argument that makes a lot of sense to us and people we know, but what you see in the stressed parts of Europe and the United States is: "Yes, but."

Economic nationalism is a response. Whether it's a creative or even an intelligent response is another set of questions. But two-plus years ago, you either didn't talk about globalization or you talked about it in positive terms. In the Clinton campaign, for example, globalization was the default position. It was assumed there was a rational globalization that would take care of economic issues on its own, so that politics could occupy itself with other things, like identity. I think some identity politics is a reaction against a kind of power grab by globalization, as well as by …

APPIAH: The people who profit most from it. Well, I agree. But I don't think it's the right response. A better way of doing it would involve some fine tuning, saying let's have a basic structure of international trade that's relatively open, but let's agree that there are winners and losers in every market system. Then we need to think, nation by nation, about securing the interests of the people who lose in our countries, and to think about arranging the system to minimize the number of such people.

The China Price

BARBER: It may hurt some to say this, but there is a kernel of truth in what President Trump is saying about the way globalization has worked. If you look at the trade relationship between China and the U.S., there's no question that this has not been a level playing field. People forget that America and the other Western countries consciously decided to give China an extra margin for maneuvering in 2001, when it joined the World Trade Organization, by treating it as a developing country. China likes to emphasize at times that it still has tens of millions of people living in poverty in the countryside. But the other side of China is highly competitive in traditional manufacturing industries.

Now, the interesting thing, and I think it's relatively new, is a change of mind in the American boardroom. They see a threat from China in technology, in the way China wants to become number one in artificial intelligence. Corporate America is concerned about Chinese competition, so they do want to reset the rules of the game. They don't support tariffs but they sure as hell support a tougher stance in dealing with China. That is why economic nationalism goes far beyond where it first appeared in the globalization debate.

MALCOMSON: I was recently looking at trends in foreign direct investment in the 1960s and '70s. After 1958, as currencies became convertible between the United States and Europe, the U.S. invested steadily in Europe, still in some ways recovering from the war. The U.K. also invested on the Continent. By the early 1970s, two-thirds or more of global ODI — overseas direct investment — was within the Euro-American sphere, and there was a huge amount of technology transfer from the U.S. — and to some extent from the U.K. — to the Continent. The West was in a virtuous circle of investing in itself in a sort of mini-globalization, with relatively free technology transfer. That was no doubt partly because it didn't seem like technology transfer. It seemed more like building companies across the Atlantic that would naturally share technology because there was no point in not doing so. As with China until recently.

BARBER: Well, you can't draw a comparison between the two, in my view, because first of all, China's internal market is on a different scale. And secondly, we are now talking about serious technology advancement. What the Chinese are doing now, and the way they're thinking about artificial intelligence, bears no comparison to American investment into machine tool companies in the 1960s, or that kind of thing. I just think that when you look at China, where it has come from, the speed of its growth and technological advancement and its ambitions — they may not be stating it explicitly, but this country wants to be Number One.

Saving the State

MALCOMSON: Let's switch to Africa for a minute. The continent in many ways is expanding economically but is nonetheless at a low level in manufacturing and services compared to Europe or the United States, or indeed China. The European Commission president, Jean-Claude Juncker, recently laid out yet another plan for Europe to solve what it sees as its immigration problem, and that's by investing in Africa in a way that would reduce migration.

Is that possible to do, and do you think Europe will actually do it? Or is the idea a psychological vestige of globalization's vision, the proverbial win-win?

BARBER: One of the most important factors in changing the flow of immigrants was what looks now to have been a very mistaken decision, to destroy the integrity of the Libyan state. I mean, Libya under Moammar Qaddafi was the great European security buffer in North Africa.

APPIAH: He was very important in the African Union.

BARBER: He was, yes. This is a very important point in terms of European security and controlling the refugee flow. My second point is that the notion that Germany was somehow open for refugees was a real trigger point. This wasn't just about Syrian refugees. It was open day, so to speak.

So what can we do to help the growth of an African middle class, where people actually feel that there is enough political stability on the continent that they want to remain, and that they have economic prospects? You could argue that in the last five years the political record is not actually too bad. If you think of what happened in Gambia, or in South Africa with Cyril Ramaphosa coming to power and toppling Jacob Zuma, for example. What happens to Nigeria is very, very important, and what happens to Kenya; it's also interesting in Ethiopia. The politics doesn't look too bad.

MALCOMSON: I would add, since I was just in Ethiopia, the importance of Ethiopia's making peace with Eritrea, in terms of European immigration. Eritrea is a small country but it's an outsized contributor to African migration to Europe.

BARBER: That's a very important point.

APPIAH: I think these stories remind us that it's perhaps not super helpful to think of migration as mostly economic. People want to stay home, and if home is okay, they'll stay. When you get, as we have now had in Ghana, a generation of political stability, with elections where different parties are coming back and forth and no soldiers show up and say "Sorry, we don't like that"; with a little bit of oil money — those sorts of things have changed Accra astonishingly. It really looks like a modern place now, and it has all the problems of modern places, like impossible traffic.

The challenge is political as well as economic, and in a way that's deeply connected, because you can't get economic development in northern Nigeria while Boko Haram is there. Being helpful to the people who are doing the right thing, and rewarding them symbolically, can be very useful.

Still, I don't think anybody has a real answer to the fact that the African continent hasn't really participated yet in this huge global removal from poverty that is the great achievement of this millennium so far. Figuring out how to bring Africa onto that path is a serious problem, and I think that Juncker is not helping if he gets people to think this is just a matter of building factories or something. It's not.

BARBER: We also need to be not so West-centric. China is investing an awful lot of money in Africa. You can debate whether they're contributing to debt to encourage a slightly subservient relationship, but they're important players in economic development. So are the Emirates.

MALCOMSON: It's a mixed bag, because in Somalia and Libya, you have external Muslim actors who simply pick their preferred local fellow Muslims to support. And other proxies from other powers are doing similar things.

APPIAH: In Libya, it was a very complex set of intertribal deals that Qaddafi was managing in order to create a functioning Libyan state. You could put your kid on the bus in the morning and she'd show up at school, and then the bus would show up in the afternoon, and your kid would get home. "First do no harm," the Hippocratic principle, is really, really important in international interventions, and I think one of Hillary Clinton's great errors was to encourage the destruction of a functioning state.

BARBER: I think we do have to put our hands up, though, because the British and the French were in the front row on that. If the United States had said to the British and French, "Look, this is a terrible idea," it's conceivable that it would not have succeeded.

MALCOMSON: The Obama administration did seek a greater role for the main European players in global governance decisions, and the experiment just didn't work out.

BARBER: It certainly didn't. We couldn't even conduct the war. We ran out of shells! Frankly, when historians look back at the way the Americans and the European allies made judgments on how to deal with the various Arab uprisings, they will see that in each case they overcorrected from the last time and massively underestimated the costs of intervention and of what would happen afterwards.

Societies are very complicated. Things work for reasons that are very hard to figure out, and stopping them from working as they are because you think you can do something better is usually a mistake. It's usually the case that even if you can get to something better, it turns out to be much harder than you thought.

— **Kwame Anthony Appiah**

MALCOMSON: That was always Sergey Lavrov's point, based on the Libya experience.

APPIAH: But we don't know what Russian policy would have been if the NATO countries had been more sensible. You shouldn't get rid of a leader unless you are pretty damn sure you can put in something better that will include public order. That's the great thing states are for.

After Globalization

MALCOMSON: Maybe what we're experiencing is partly a bursting of what we might call the Blair-Clinton bubble, the assumption that bad government is what stands between people and good government, and that if you remove a bad government then things will work out for the best. That sort of worked in Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991, but not so much anywhere else.

BARBER: This also touches on a certain Western arrogance in politicians like Tony Blair. They dressed up interventionism as the "responsibility to protect," but that underestimated how much you would need to put the state back together if you really broke it. We've seen this on numerous occasions now. Blair overinterpreted the success of the intervention in Sierra Leone, for example, which essentially was gunboat diplomacy updated to 2000.

I remember meeting Blair in Jerusalem in 2012 to do an interview, five years after he stepped down as prime minister. I talked about Iraq, and the most interesting thing he said was, "We underestimated the forces of religion and ethnic tribalism in this conflict." Well, frankly, the so-called cheese-eating surrender monkey, also known as President Chirac — I was there at the time in 2003 — this is what the French were saying in 2003, and the French know these countries.

MALCOMSON: You could probably quote any number of people in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in that way. Either they are prejudiced or they have deep historical knowledge, depending on your point of view. This was also true of the administration of George W. Bush; I discussed it with him and with Condoleezza Rice, and they both connected the prejudice against black and African self-
government to the "freedom agenda" in the Middle East.

The idea was that history no longer defined people, so they would be capable of a kind of universal freedom. This is a very old American idea, and indeed a very old idea period, and we are now seeing it disappear, although not perhaps deliberately or explicitly. It's the end of that post-'91 moment when there was a consensus: A) that globalization was rational, and B) that historic ethnic content is merely a nice thing to have, rather than a critical shaper of people's worldviews. The Trump-Brexit dispensation after 2016 has buried these ideas.

APPIAH: Societies are very complicated. Things work for reasons that are very hard to figure out, and stopping them from working as they are because you think you can do something better is usually a mistake. It's usually the case that even if you can get to something better, it turns out to be much harder than you thought.

MALCOMSON: So, Lionel, we're favoring a Burkean gradualism, then?

BARBER: I'm absolutely in favor of reforming in order to preserve, as Edmund Burke said. Also, it's worth pointing out that the military forces are often lambasted as being cautious, but they are a bit more serious and modest about what an imposed change can achieve. And again, this is not about just the intervention. It's about what comes after. ■

Conversation recorded at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters in New York City on September 13, 2018.

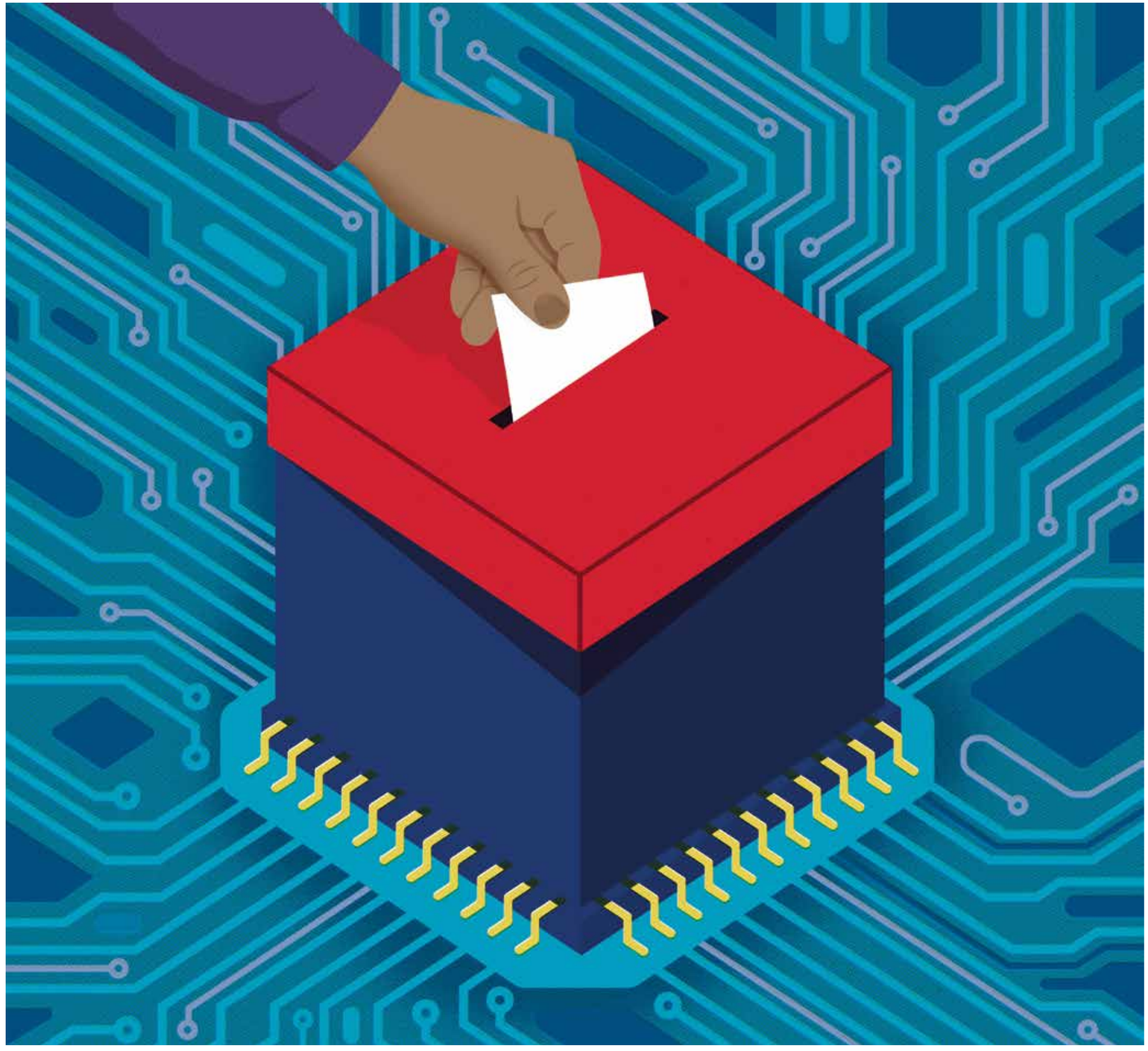


ILLUSTRATION: MITCH BLUNT

SECURE THE VOTE

While the totality of the National Academy of Sciences report on voting technology is sobering, a country with the resources and technical expertise of the United States can make great progress, and quickly, if it garners sufficient political will and resources

By **Zeynep Tufekci**

Picture this: the state of electoral infrastructure in the United States. What comes to mind? Perhaps dispiriting photos of election officials during the historic 2000 Florida recount, squinting at chads on punch-card ballots and debating whether they were *hanging*, *dimpled*, *indented*, or possibly even *pregnant* with voter intention. But maybe that's not even the lowest point.

The worst electoral failing? Perhaps it's the terribly designed "butterfly ballot" in Palm Beach County from that same election. The ballot's confusing layout made it difficult to tell whether one was voting for Reform Party candidate Pat Buchanan or Democratic candidate Al Gore. Almost 20,000 votes were spoiled because many voters punched the hole for both candidates. Buchanan also gained thousands of overvotes because many Gore voters likely punched the wrong hole.

Out of almost six million votes cast in Florida under these contentious conditions, George W. Bush was certified as 537 votes ahead — and was thus awarded all of Florida's electoral votes and, with them, the presidency. Suddenly,

the not-so-healthy state of U.S. election infrastructure leaped into national prominence. Consequently, in 2002, the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) was signed into law with overwhelming bipartisan support, and billions of dollars were allocated toward its goals. It looked like the machinery of elections was finally being taken seriously. Hopefully the system would be fixed — or, at the least, greatly improved.

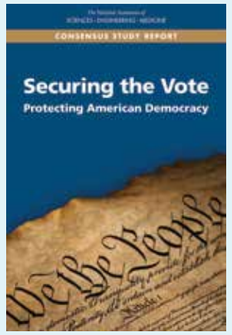
Eighteen years after the chaos of dimpled chads, a new report from the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (NAS), *Securing the Vote: Protecting American Democracy*, documents in exacting detail the still-insecure, still-troubled state of electoral infrastructure in the United States. The 156-page report conjures up an even more unfortunate image than those of hanging chads: a virtual "404 error" page, symbolizing the lack of available methods and implementations to reassure Americans that voters will have an expeditious voting experience, where all voters can verify that their vote is counted accurately, and that there are system-wide and systematic procedures in place for meaningful audits to guard against tampering at all stages of the electoral process — from pollbooks/voting to tallying/certification.

There is one electoral infrastructure–related issue that *has* gotten widespread attention: voter fraud, allegations of which have been repeated at the highest levels of government. Yet multiple investigations have found that voter fraud remains a vanishingly rare occurrence in the United States. Unfortunately, while many of the vulnerabilities and insecurities outlined in the NAS report remain unresolved, unsubstantiated claims of mass voter fraud have been used to push through stricter voter-ID laws and other implementations that in effect can restrict the right to vote.

For example, shortly after the report was released, it was revealed that the state of Georgia has invoked the "exact match" law, which requires that voter registration applications perfectly match information on file with the state's department of motor vehicles or the Social Security Administration. (In November 2018 a federal judge subsequently ruled that Georgia's exact-match voter ID law would not apply to the midterm elections because it placed a "severe burden" on prospective voters.) Such "exact matching" procedures tend to disenfranchise minorities, who are more likely to have names with hyphens or less common spellings.

Elderly people and students without driver's licenses are also more likely to be prevented from voting by strict voter-ID laws, as are Native Americans, many of whom do not have standard residential addresses, living on reservations without named and numbered roads. Compared to the middle class, poor Americans as well as young people tend to move frequently, increasing the likelihood of being purged from the rolls because their current address does not match voter registration records.

About the **NAS Report**



Securing the Vote: Protecting American Democracy, a report from the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (NAS), was released on September 6, 2018. Supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the report identifies steps to secure Americans' votes, emphasizing the need for coordinated preparedness at the federal, state, and local levels.

"This is a critical time for our country," said Committee on the Future of Voting cochair and Columbia University president Lee C. Bollinger. "As a nation, we need to take collective action to strengthen our voting systems and safeguard our democracy. In addition, the nation's leaders need to speak candidly and apolitically about threats to election systems. The American people must have confidence that their leaders place the larger interests of democracy above all else."

nap.edu/read/25120

Reading the NAS report, it's hard to decide which of its revelations is most worrying. For example, we learn that the bipartisan U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC) — created by HAVA as a national clearinghouse tasked with various electoral duties, including certifying voting systems and guiding the use of HAVA funds — is currently short two commissioners out of the possible four, and is thus unable to sustain a quorum to carry out its business. This isn't a temporary aberration either; the EAC had no quorum of commissioners in 2010 and then no commissioners at all from 2011 to 2014, no executive director from 2011 to 2015, and no general counsel from 2012 to 2015. Congress simply hasn't filled these seats. In July 2018 President Trump nominated former Virginia elections official Donald Palmer for a Republican seat, and Ben Hovland was next nominated to fill the Democratic vacancy. However, still lacking a quorum, the commission was unable to take any policy action going into the 2018 midterm elections. (On January 3, 2019, the Senate confirmed both men by voice vote, giving the Election Assistance Commission a quorum for the first time since March 2018).

According to the NAS report, actors "sponsored by the Russian government" were found to have "obtained and maintained access to elements of multiple U.S. state or local electoral boards" in the run-up to the 2016 election. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) accordingly designated electoral infrastructure as "critical." However, this designation only allows DHS to give support to "the private sector and state, local, tribal, and territorial governments in the management of their cyber risk" and "provide technical assistance in the event of a cyber incident, as requested." The locally administered nature of elections in the United States creates significant challenges to addressing the vulnerabilities embedded in our system.

Audit and Verify

Perhaps the biggest and most obvious problem is one that has received a lot of public attention: about one-third of the country uses some type of direct-recording electronic (DRE) voting system. Manufactured by a handful of companies, DREs deploy proprietary software, which is typically accessible only to the manufacturer. Some DRE voting systems do produce a voter-verifiable paper audit trail (VVPAT), but these are used in very few actual audits because there are no systems in place for such reviews. The electronic count is the figure used.

At least 14 states (in some or all jurisdictions) use electronic machines with no means of audit or recount via a paper trail. In some precincts, DREs are used to meet accessibility requirements, while other forms of voting are available for people who do not need special accommodation. After years of effort by academics and security researchers, a number of states have allocated funding for upgrades and ditched their DRE machines. However, Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, New Jersey, and South Carolina still rely exclusively on DREs. Verified Voting, a foundation that keeps track of voting-machine types by precinct, lists 9,396 precincts with DREs that have no paper trail whatsoever — about 7.5 percent of the total number of voting machines.

What if a system is hacked? What if a tally is altered? What if voter intentions are distorted? In an electronic-only system, it can be quite difficult — if not impossible — to determine that any of this happened, let alone to figure out the actual results of the election. Clearly, this presents a challenging set of circumstances, especially in an already polarized environment characterized by extremely close elections governed by a winner-takes-all system. Unsurprisingly, the NAS report strongly recommends the removal of machines without audit options "as soon as possible." In reality, this is unlikely to happen by the 2020 election unless there is a major policy push accompanied by adequate funding (many jurisdictions that would like to replace their DRE machines are hobbled by the enormous expense of this undertaking).

The report presents other troubling details. For example, the fact that there are only a handful of voting-systems manufacturers creates a vulnerable choke point. According to NAS researchers, a mere three firms, Election Systems & Software, Dominion Voting Systems, and Hart InterCivic, "comprise 92 percent of the voting-systems market by voter reach." The largest of the three has only about 460 employees. These firms are prime targets for insider and outsider hacking. (Insider threats are notoriously difficult to guard against in the world of software development, requiring extreme vigilance and attention.) Overall, the report recommends that voting machines without audit options should simply be phased out as rapidly as possible and that systematic audits should be put in place for the rest.

The small number of voting-machine manufacturers underscores one of the more ambivalent aspects in our system: the lack of uniformity of voting systems across the nation. As the NAS report states, the United States is almost alone among nations in having "no centralized, nationwide election authority"; instead, regulations differ state by state and implementations vary county by county. On the one hand, this is surely one of the biggest challenges to overcome in the quest to improve electoral infrastructure. However, it makes the threat of mass hacking somewhat harder to execute, since individual precincts have different combinations of vendors, machines, and configurations. Hacking such systems, which requires local presence and specific knowledge, is not easy to do at scale. In the past, election officers have cited this as a reason to have confidence in voting in the United States, saying that our "decentralized, low-connectivity electoral process is inherently designed to withstand such threats." But if the great majority of American voting machines are produced by just three centralized companies, much of the protective shield of decentralization evaporates.

While systematic mass hacking is difficult to pull off, the Electoral College system and the winner-takes-all structure of our elections mean that it would be possible to hack or disrupt a small number of electorally critical states — and thereby potentially change the outcome of a presidential election. For example, Florida and Pennsylvania

have large numbers of Electoral College votes (29 and 20, respectively) and a history of close elections. Both states also use electronic voting machines (and in both states some precincts use machines that are not equipped with VVPATs). In the 2016 election, Pennsylvania was decided by 44,292 votes out of more than six million cast, a negligible difference indistinguishable from preelection polling or exit polls. Think about it: if an election came down to Pennsylvania, with such a small difference between winner and loser, any allegation of cyber fraud could trigger enormous chaos. Furthermore, there would be no realistic way of settling the claim, as it would not be possible to conduct audits in some districts of the state. (It may be possible to demonstrate fraud or cyber-hacking, but it is nearly impossible to prove its *absence* without paper trails, audits, and similar mechanisms. Claims of cyber intrusion are also difficult to prove, as digital fingerprints can easily be erased without leaving a trace.)

Paper vs. Digital

The potential hacking of voting machines receives a lot of attention, as it should, but the process of voting has many other moving parts in the United States. With the exception of North Dakota, voters must register to vote proactively (several states do now offer same-day registration on Election Day). The fact is that voter information is held by states with varying degrees of security, meaning that security at the polling place — the integrity and accuracy of registration lists and pollbooks used to verify voter eligibility — takes on added importance.

Voter registration rolls and pollbooks exhibit a tension between their paper and electronic forms: paper is safer and harder to hack, while electronic records are dynamic but less secure. Paper can cause inconveniences that discourage voter participation. Right now, a voter can arrive at a polling station only to be turned away due to an outdated paper pollbook. But even if she's allowed to cast a provisional ballot, the process can involve long lines and plenty of frustration. Such scenarios suggest that using electronic pollbooks, which are already employed in a number of states, should be a positive step toward making voting easier through technology.

Unfortunately, electronic pollbooks are not standardized, nor are the security protocols meant to safeguard them. The integrity of pollbooks falls squarely under the jurisdiction of each state. Ideally, the EAC and DHS would create standardized systems and recommendations for these databases to ensure their security. But the current system is far from ideal. Many jurisdictions use a mix of electronic and paper pollbooks, and some states provide little or even no guidance at all on how e-pollbooks should be kept or secured.

The NAS report lists several incidents of breaches of voter registration lists held by states: in Illinois, Russian actors penetrated an online voter database; in California, hackers gained access to personal information of a large number of voters; and in Georgia, a server error exposed 6.5 million voter records. The fact remains that states seem unable to secure data despite the best intentions.

The threat isn't limited to deliberate and advanced hacking. In some cases, disrupting and sowing confusion is enough to significantly undermine the integrity of elections and erode our trust in the process. There could be a connectivity issue. Or an easily launched distributed denial-of-service (DDoS) attack, when a network of websites, possibly using bots, ping a single site so often that it is overwhelmed. Or outright hacks rendering electronic pollbooks inaccessible on the day of an election.

Hacked or stolen voter information, as the report notes, can also be used to fraudulently request absentee or mail-in ballots. Security protocols for absentee and mail-in ballots, such as signature verifications, make it difficult to actually engage in voter fraud, but stolen information could be used to simply gum up the process and sow confusion. Therefore, despite the low probability of voter fraud, given the record of past breaches, even states that seem to do well with absentee or mail-in ballots could fall under suspicion.

Pollbooks and e-pollbooks, which contain lists of registered voters, also play an important role in facilitating the voting rights of vulnerable communities. Many civil rights organizations, like the Brennan Center for Justice, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), argue that voting rights have come under attack as a deliberate method of voter suppression. Inadequately maintained voter rolls or excessive purging of registration lists can result in a voter being inconvenienced (e.g., being forced to vote via provisional ballot), or, worse, she can be turned away at the polls, completely barred from voting.

The NAS report also addresses the human side of the electoral infrastructure, pointing out that many jurisdictions have a hard time hiring an adequate number of poll workers. Training them properly is difficult because the job is seasonal, the pay is low, and the hours are long. Furthermore, elections are held on weekdays, which limits the pool of potential applicants because people with the requisite skills may not be able to take the day off from work. Under current conditions, it's hard for a precinct to recruit and train a large enough pool of workers with the technical savvy required by a voting environment that is becoming ever more digitized.

Given the current realities of the U.S. electoral system, the report accordingly recommends that, for the foreseeable future, electronic pollbooks be used in tandem with paper ones. Ideally, the report's fundamental recommendations — that we pay more attention to voter registration and pollbook security, and that improvements should be urgently coordinated by the EAC, the DHS, and state officials — should be followed to the letter.

Given the current realities of the U.S. electoral system, the report accordingly recommends that, for the foreseeable future, electronic pollbooks be used in tandem with paper ones.

Internet Voting, Blockchain Voting

Two questions come up often: whether Internet voting is feasible, and whether newer ledger technologies like blockchain or end-to-end verified voting can help prevent voter fraud while also providing voter verification.

The NAS report notes that no Internet-based voting scheme can come close to providing the kind of assurances needed. For one thing, all Internet-based schemes are vulnerable to DDoS attacks. Any web-based system can be attacked this way, regardless of its underlying security. More importantly, the threat of malware and cyber intrusion simply cannot be eliminated using current technologies, making Internet-based voting systems infeasible.

Furthermore, blockchain — a system of decentralized ledgers that creates append-only logs (meaning a database can only grow and not be altered backward) — is not suitable because elections, as the report describes, are "inherently centralized." Election administrators make many of the decisions about ballots, eligible voters, and more. These actions need to be verifiable, and a blockchain system would require software verification, which, once again, brings up the threat of malware and cyber intrusion. A blockchain can also be manipulated through collusion by multiple actors or stakeholders (those who can add items to the blockchain). In fact, these concerns apply to any digital scheme: malware and hacking are threats that we are simply not able to fully guard against using current technologies in connected systems.

Advanced software technologies allowing high levels of integrity and security are one thing, but in the end voting requires political legitimacy and verification processes that are relatively transparent to ordinary people. For example, with systems like optical-scan ballots, which are counted by computer but subject to risk-limiting audits (RLAs), it's at least theoretically possible for political parties and ordinary citizens to participate in the verification process. (RLAs are audit procedures where a random sampling of ballots is chosen for verification.) So, if an election outcome is called into question, it is possible to recount the vote of an entire state, using optical-scan ballots as the basis of a recount overseen by multiple, adversarial observers (people from different political parties) as well as a selection of randomly chosen ordinary citizens. Such a process provides something that Internet and digital schemes cannot: assurances that offer more than a "trust the experts" rationale. The NAS report carefully examines digital-only solutions, correctly recommending that they should not be considered.

Dear States: You're on Your Own

Why hasn't HAVA funding, totaling billions of dollars at the act's inception plus substantial funds allocated subsequently, made more progress tackling the issues with voting in America — or even solved the problem?

In fact, some real improvements came out of HAVA. For one, the dreaded punch-card voting machines were phased out, replaced with electronic voting machines providing increased access to voting for people with disabilities — one of HAVA's goals. A positive change, but this obviously is not enough, and the lack of progress on a broader scale is tied up with other aspects of politics in the United States.

The truth is that state and precinct officials can find themselves overwhelmed by the range of technical options — more than willing, but unable, to implement the required digital security. The Voluntary Voting System Guidelines (VVSG), advanced under HAVA by the EAC and the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST), can provide direction. Forty-eight states rely on the VVSG to certify voting equipment, using the guidelines as a basis for their own standards, while some states utilize an EAC-certified test lab to do their testing. These are promising developments, but as the report finds, many election offices have few, if any, dedicated staff, let alone employees with the requisite IT skills. And even when the money is allocated, as it was in the 2018 omnibus budget bill, researchers suspect that cash-starved localities will find it very tempting to direct federal dollars toward replenishing ongoing activities rather than using the new funds to shore up security practices. After all, many localities can barely pay for their existing functions. Moreover, even when election offices invest in the latest technology, they need updated guidelines to ensure that their new machines meet standards. The VVSG are in the final stages of revision and may be ready for a vote soon.

Despite lingering problems, there are bright spots — and we can outline concrete next steps. Currently, almost

> Voters need verifiable assurances that everything *did* work out exactly as planned. Hence, audits are as much about providing confidence to the public as they are about anything else.

two-thirds of counties in the United States use either optical-scan ballots or paper ballots, both of which provide the potential basis for sensible next steps for election integrity, at least in terms of tallying votes. I use the word *potential* because, as the NAS report makes clear, the possibility of meaningful audits is important — a possibility denied by electronic machines with no paper trail. But in and of itself a paper trail isn't enough without a procedure in place for system-wide audits.

Given all the risks outlined, it is more important than ever that trustworthy and systematic audit processes are in place and functioning, to assure voters that their votes are counted as cast — especially now that optical-scan ballots are increasingly stored as digital snapshots. This means that optical-scan ballots are counted by computers, which means that they can be hacked and election outcomes distorted. And, as history has shown, without oversight even human counting is prone to many types of fraud and mistakes.

What would meaningful audits look like in the United States? The important point here is that it's not enough for us to hope that everything will work as planned, or even that the experts *believe* that everything probably did work out as planned. Voters need verifiable assurances that everything *did* work out exactly as planned. Hence, audits are as much about providing confidence to the public as they are about anything else.

Nothing terrible needs to actually happen for electoral chaos to ensue; widespread suspicion alone can disastrously undermine the legitimacy of elections — and thus of governance. According to polls, in 2016 fewer than half of all Americans had a great deal of confidence that their votes would be counted correctly. In 2018, after the widely publicized attempts by Russia to meddle in the 2016 election, one in three Americans believed that a foreign country could change vote tallies, and almost half believed it was very likely or likely that votes would not be counted correctly. Whether hacking happened in 2016 or 2018 (or will happen in 2020), widespread distrust in the electoral process is inevitably damaging to any democracy, especially in the absence of strong audit and assurance mechanisms.

Luckily, there are methods that can reassure voters, at least in places that use optical-scan ballots or electronic machines with paper trails. For example, a random sampling of ballots can be subjected to a risk-limited audit for verification: Were the ballots recorded as filled? Were they counted as recorded? The RLA can provide confidence — with a high degree of probability — that the results weren't tampered with. As long as the random selection is truly random, the audit is quite difficult to corrupt. Colorado became the first state to establish RLAs statewide, for the 2018 election, and Michigan piloted such audits in some precincts. This method of auditing election results can and should be implemented as quickly as possible — anywhere the voting method allows. (This is another reason to replace all DRE machines.)

Securing the Vote makes several recommendations, including: routinize and standardize the integrity of voter databases; create a reporting system for breaches and probes; cross-match voter databases so that eligible voters are not removed from voter rolls; and subject organizations engaged in managing voter information to external audits to ensure the security and integrity of these important files. Much work has already been done on developing Common Data Formats (CDFs) for elections: a voter registration information spec is currently in its final approval stages at NIST, while the election results reporting spec is in use in a handful of states. Also, the Election Registration Information Center is a consortium of states leveraging their department of motor vehicles records and other data sets both to maintain more accurate voter rolls and to reach out to eligible but unregistered voters. All of this work needs to be continued, broadened, and implemented as soon as possible.

Looking Forward

In September 2018 President Trump signed an executive order outlining a review and sanction process for any foreign party caught meddling in U.S. elections. As the NAS report documents, U.S. intelligence agencies, as well as other independent investigations, have demonstrated that substantial foreign meddling occurred in the 2016 election, including misinformation campaigns and hacking. However, as important as it is to prevent foreign meddling in the public sphere, U.S. electoral infrastructure should be designed to be secure from any interference, whether foreign *or* domestic.

After years of warnings from academics and security researchers, a number of states have been making progress on their own. Some have begun replacing their electronic-only systems with paper-based voting technologies such as optical-scan ballots. Virginia has replaced its insecure voting machines with paper ballots, and other states are considering making such a move. All of this is a good start, but much more needs to be done. The NAS report provides a clear look at the vulnerabilities, along with a concrete list of suggestions that would go a long way toward securing elections in the United States. At a minimum, RLAs should be put in place as quickly as possible, and local election authorities should allocate more resources to grapple with potential Election Day problems, including using backup paper copies for poll-books and beefing up the training of poll workers so they are prepared for all contingencies.

The totality of the NAS report is sobering. But a country with the resources and technical expertise of the United States can make great progress, and quickly — with sufficient political will and a commitment to devote the resources needed to fix the problem. One hopes that people from across the political spectrum will grasp the importance of this issue, and take up the report's sensible, doable, and terribly urgent recommendations with all due speed. If they do, come next election, we will be fully assured of the integrity, safety, and security of the vote, the most important element of a truly democratic government. ■

Tech Is Not the Enemy

With proper safeguards in place, technology can improve the voting experience — expanding accessibility, boosting turnout, and bolstering democracy

by **Adam Ambrogi**

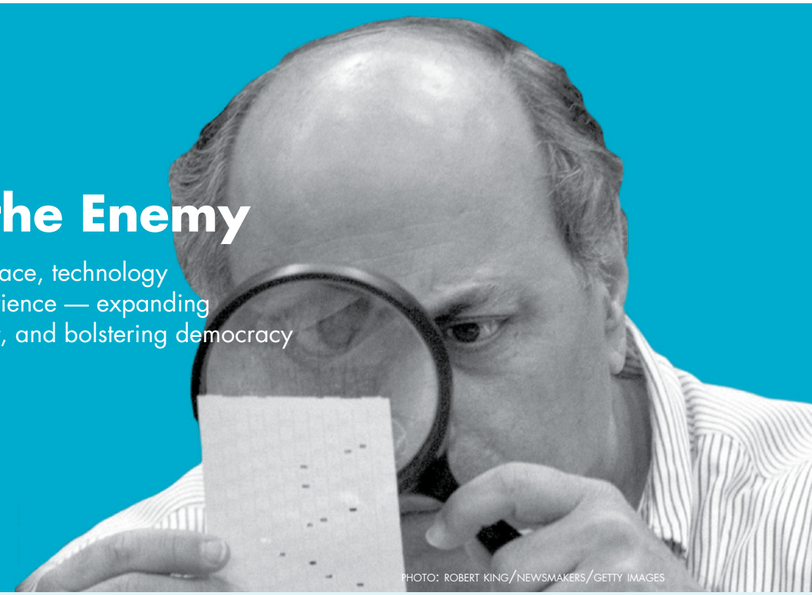


PHOTO: ROBERT KING/NEWSMAKERS/GETTY IMAGES

With the 2018 midterm elections, the United States yet again found itself struggling to shape policies around how it casts and counts votes. Alarm bells were set off by everything from voting machine paper jams to the security of paperless electronic voting machines. Politicians and pundits debated against the uneasy backstory of foreign interference in our most recent presidential election, underscoring the work that remains to be done to improve the efficiency and security of our voting systems. But how did we get here? Why is it that one of the most technically advanced nations in the world is experiencing such an acute crisis in the tallying of votes? The answer is not simple — nor does it have a simple solution. However, at this moment, when faith and trust in our democratic system is in jeopardy, it is crucial that we understand the history of voting technology in this country. It is only then that we can begin to understand how the problem can be fixed.

The counting of votes is organized around two potentially competing priorities or values: *accuracy* and *timeliness*. Accuracy requires that the final vote tally reflect the correct aggregate of votes cast by eligible voters. However, a city or county could spend months and months counting and recounting its votes under a system that valued *only* accuracy. Nevertheless, governance requires the smooth transition of power, which explains the pressure to count ballots quickly — that is, the value of timeliness. The faster an initial tally can be completed, the more confidence the community will have that an election was not meddled with. Both considerations — accuracy and timeliness — are important. It is the tension between the two that drives the conversation around voting technology and voting reforms.

Joseph P. Harris's seminal *Election Administration in the United States* (1934) provides a survey of earlier vote tabulation systems. Lever voting machines were used throughout the country for much of the 20th century. These hulking machines provided voters with a confidential way to cast ballots, accounting in large part for their popularity. However, they were very challenging to operate, and a wayward jolt could reset — erroneously — the vote tabulation system. Beginning in the 1960s and '70s, lever machines started to give way to paper-based systems like punch-card voting machines (the vote is "punched" out of the paper ballot) and optical-scan machines (voters fill in the oval connected to the candidate of their choice).

The debate around voting technology rose to national prominence after the 2000 presidential contest between George W. Bush and Al Gore and the subsequent Florida recount. Who can forget the images of election officials holding up paper punch-card ballots to a magnifying glass, attempting to discern a voter's intent? Public frustration with *hanging chads*, *swinging chads*, and *dimpled chads* (each representing a dysfunction of the punch-card ballot) became a national scandal. The multiple points of failure were certainly compounded by the closeness of the election. In the ensuing policy debate Congress and President Bush acknowledged the importance of guaranteeing state-to-state consistency in federal elections and setting forth baseline requirements for voting-systems security. In 2002 Congress passed the Help America Vote Act (HAVA), which authorized more than $3 billion for voting modernization, including voting machine replacement and the establishment of statewide voter registration lists. The act also created the bipartisan U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC), which developed and approved voluntary standards for voting systems, distributed HAVA funds, and established best practices.

With the advent of the new law and the promise of new funding, more states made the move to electronic voting machines. These systems were developed by private-sector companies and were already in use in some jurisdictions, but large-scale purchases had been infrequent

> Many jurisdictions (with some notable exceptions) have adopted paper-based voting systems for most processes.

because of inadequate funding. That changed with HAVA. Jurisdictions used the new funds to purchase new equipment, but whether that equipment complied with election law was not entirely clear.

At the same time, questions were emerging about paperless electronic voting equipment and whether it could be relied upon in a recount or audit. Some advocates of verified voting, inspired in part by then-Congressman Rush Holt (D-NJ), pushed for voter-verifiable paper audit trails (VVPATs), which are produced at the same time that an electronic vote is cast. Given that many jurisdictions had just purchased electronic voting machines with HAVA funds, there was some reluctance on the part of states of having to "go back to paper." Efforts to pass Rep. Holt's bill at the federal level failed, but his work to promote a paper backstop would have a lasting impact.

While many jurisdictions continued to purchase new paperless voting machines, efforts at the state level to promote optical-scan ballots or voter-verifiable paper records have gradually gained traction over the last decade, with a number of states passing laws requiring paper ballots. Many jurisdictions (with some notable exceptions) have adopted paper-based voting systems for most processes. For example, only five states (Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, New Jersey, and South Carolina) did not produce a paper record associated with each individual vote cast in the 2018 midterm elections. Given these trends, the relatively small community of voting-systems vendors has also adjusted its approach, and today there are almost no options to purchase paperless voting systems. (A steadier stream of funding could help establish a voting-system "replacement cycle," reducing the market's reliance on the one-time purchases of machines and allowing vendors to focus more on research and development, while also lowering the cost per system.)

Enter the 2016 presidential election. While it is clear that there were foreign attempts to provoke and promote misinformation connected to the political campaign itself, there were also attempts to interfere with our voter registration and tabulation systems. Thankfully, much work has already been done to respond to these threats. The

Maine Has It All People wait in a long line to register to vote at Merrill Auditorium in Portland, Maine, on Election Day, November 6, 2018. As the editors of the *Portland Press Herald* proudly observed that day, "Mainers vote in high numbers not only because we have a clear sense of civic duty but also because we make voting convenient for all residents. Same-day voter registration, motor voter, early voting, no-excuse absentee voting, plenty of well-run polling places — Maine has it all." PHOTO: DEREK DAVIS/PORTLAND PRESS HERALD VIA GETTY IMAGES

> The key to improving the voting process is straightforward: expand accessibility while also prioritizing security.

Department of Homeland Security has worked with the FBI and the chief election officials in all 50 states to identify and close gaps in security. In March 2018 Congress appropriated $380 million dollars for grants to the states to help fortify their election infrastructures, with an additional $300 million to combat Russian cyberattacks. Many experts and nonprofit organizations have worked to educate election officials and the public on better ways to secure their election systems. All states have accepted the federal grant dollars, and the vast majority of states have begun to use those funds. One way that states can utilize grant funding to increase security is to purchase voting systems that allow for audits and recounts.

While much attention has recently been paid to how technology has introduced vulnerabilities into our elections process, there are numerous examples of the ways that it has also improved the voting experience for millions of Americans. HAVA stipulated that voters with disabilities must be able to vote "privately and independently." The recent emergence of "ballot-marking devices" allows voters who are blind or have other disabilities to navigate a ballot using audio and tactile interfaces. Since 2002, 38 states plus the District of Columbia have moved toward a system of online voter registration, with many of those states allowing voters to check and update their registration via a single online portal rather than being forced to undertake a series of cumbersome trips to the county courthouse. But it's the new technology of electronic pollbooks that offers the greatest potential to ease the voting process — providing directions to the right polling places, updating registrations on the spot, and even accommodating same-day registrations. Election offices have also started to employ wait-time measurement tools via websites and mobile apps to show voters when lines are shortest at a particular voting location. The key to improving the voting process is straightforward: expand accessibility while also prioritizing security.

The next steps in improving voting technology policies rest with election officials, policymakers, and voters. Commissioned by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Hewlett Foundation, *Securing the Vote*, a 2018 report from the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, examines and provides recommendations regarding key components of U.S. elections. The report makes a compelling case for using verifiable, auditable, and accessible voting systems, and should be heeded by states not currently employing them. Furthermore, the U.S. Election Assistance Commission needs to adopt the next iteration of voting-systems standards. Finally, Congress should develop a plan in conjunction with state funding mechanisms to deploy a steady stream of grant dollars to improve election security. The resource question is a key driver and determinant of whether election offices can plan for secure technology, and whether voting-systems vendors can devote the resources needed to guarantee transparency in this process. Technology continues to facilitate great advancements in our electoral infrastructure, which is why we must prioritize cybersecurity measures that will continue to safeguard the heart of our democracy. ■

AFRICAN HISTORY, WRITTEN IN **AFRICA**

The African Humanities Program has built a vast community of engaged scholars — creating opportunities for intellectual exchange across the continent

By **Aruna D'Souza**

Site-Specific Doung Anwar Jahangeer, a Mauritian-born artist based in South Africa, was included in Ruth Simbao's groundbreaking *Making Way* exhibition, featuring artists from the Global South tackling questions of mobility. Part of Jahangeer's project involved a performance, *The Other Side with the Matebese Family* (2012), in which he ground a special reddish-brown soil traditionally used by the Zulu people for self-adornment and protection from the sun's rays, and applied it to the faces of the (white) figures that compose the 1820 Settlers Monument in Grahamstown, South Africa. The gesture, says Jahangeer, "welcomes this history into the present" — instead of taking down a monument to white colonialism, the artist modifies the sculpture to spark conversations about often-unquestioned aspects of the past. An art historian at Rhodes University whose research ranges widely, from performance theory and site-situational art to the geopolitics of knowledge and "Western-driven theories of diaspora and globalization," Simbao was a 2010 African Humanities Program fellow. COURTESY OF DOUNG ANWAR JAHANGEER; PHOTO: RUTH SIMBAO

A fellowship from the African Humanities Program in 2013 allowed Amanda Tumusiime, an artist and senior lecturer in the Department of Visual Communication, Design and Multimedia at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, to do many things: take a year off from teaching to pursue her research on gender and the visual arts in Uganda; complete a residency at Rhodes University in South Africa, where she met colleagues working in her field; and connect with an important journal of African arts, to which she contributed and eventually edited. It also helped her to enrich her own painting practice by situating it in a larger theoretical field.

But as important, to Tumusiime, was what happened after her fellowship year was complete, which saw her mentoring students and sharing professional development skills and publishing opportunities with her peers. "Through the AHP," she says, "I have been able to influence the communities around me by creating a ripple effect."

The African Humanities Program (AHP) is one of several programs focusing in recent years on the humanities in African academia — most notably, the Mellon Foundation's International Higher Education and Strategic Projects (IHESP) program. These initiatives are largely driven by energetic scholars and university administrators in Africa, with the support and financial backing of global foundations. The program is funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York in partnership with the New York–based American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), an organization dedicated to "the advancement of humanistic studies in all fields of learning in the humanities and the social sciences and the maintenance and strengthening of relations among the national societies devoted to such studies."

> "No knowledge-led development strategy can succeed without a solid core of humanistic understanding and humane values. To envision the future, we must understand the lessons of the past. To act in the present, we must be sensitive to current cultural complexities."
>
> — *Recommendations for Reinvigorating the Humanities in Africa* (2015)

Though supported by American organizations, the AHP is a decidedly African affair, administered, in part, by a small secretariat located in South Africa and guided by an advisory group made up of senior scholars from the five countries in which it operates (Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda), along with two U.S.-based experts. Since its establishment in 2008 the program has supported hundreds of researchers by providing pre- and postdoctoral fellowships, offering travel grants, creating mentoring opportunities, and more. Many of these scholars, like Tumusiime, have subsequently taken on the role of mentor within their own academic communities. Plugging into networks of scholars, they deepen the role of the humanities in Africa while expanding AHP's influence and effects. Now in its tenth year, the AHP is taking stock of its considerable achievements in supporting scholars and institutions of higher education in Africa, and looking toward the future of the humanities on the continent.

Why the Humanities?

In the wake of decolonization across the African continent in the mid-20th century, political leaders of newly independent nations saw education as one of their most urgent priorities. How do you build the infrastructure and gain the knowledge — whether in medicine, science, engineering, economics, or a host of other scientific and technical fields — to improve the lives of their citizens? And, equally important, how do you write a new, postcolonial story of Africa — of its histories, its arts, its philosophies and literatures, its musical and cultural traditions — told not through the eyes of its colonizers, but by its own makers, scholars, and thinkers?

The answer to these questions involved investing heavily in higher education. Among countries in sub-Saharan Africa, between 10 percent and 25 percent of all government spending went toward education in the postindependence era, with up to a quarter of this amount dedicated to colleges and universities; even 50 years later, in African countries an average of 16 percent of all government spending goes to education, more than the U.S. (13 percent) or European nations (11 percent), according to the World Bank.

This investment resulted in great payoffs in the 1960s and 1970s, which many refer to as a "golden age" for higher education among African nations. But challenges emerged in the decades since — a combination of economic shocks, changes in government (including the rise of military and authoritarian regimes), and debt crises leading to interventions by the World Bank and the IMF — that have taken their toll on institutions of tertiary education in a number of countries on the continent. Recent years have witnessed a movement "to build education, training and innovative ecosystems that have local relevance, global competitiveness and mutual recognition to enable us to equip the African citizenry with the necessary knowledge and skills needed to build the Africa we want," said Sarah Anyang Agbor, commissioner for human resources, science, and technology for the African Union. Speaking at a pan-African conference on education held in Nairobi in April 2018, Agbor stressed, "Quality education is imperative if Africa is to attain this vision, generate home-grown solutions to African challenges, and participate fully in, and influence the global knowledge economy."

However, this recommitment to higher education across a number of African nations has tended — as it has in the U.S. in recent years — to focus a vast proportion of resources and attention on STEM areas (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) along with other policy-based subjects, including many in the social sciences and business. In this context, says Professor Bertram Mapunda, principal of Jordan University College in Tanzania, the humanities are at an extreme disadvantage. "Generally, the humanities are undermined. Affected by economic hardship, most leaders become shortsighted, and consider the humanities a noncontributor to the economy. Across the continent, emphasis is placed on technology and research that is seen to alleviate poverty. In fact, direct efforts are sometimes made to undermine humanities scholarship — in Tanzania, for example, student loan programs deliberately favor students in the natural sciences at the expense of the humanities."

This lack of robust support for the humanities has wide-ranging implications. One of them is the fact that much scholarship about Africa is being produced outside the continent. As Andrea Johnson, program officer in Carnegie Corporation of New York's Higher Education and Research in Africa program, puts it, "How do you ensure that African history is written in Africa? The research and ideas of African scholars based in Africa should be elevated at least as high as those of scholars based in the Global North. The challenge is to find ways to sustain humanities research in the continent when financial resources are scarce."

At the same time, there is a growing recognition among education leaders in Africa that the expansion of science, technology, and applied social science must be accompanied by a broader understanding of the human condition, of history, and of the arts. A group of scholars from Tanzania, South Africa, Uganda, Nigeria, and Ethiopia recognized this urgency in a report — titled *Recommendations for Reinvigorating the Humanities in Africa* — prepared for the AHP in 2015. "It is clear," the authors write, "that the marginalization of the humanities must be remedied, because no knowledge-led development strategy can succeed without a solid core of humanistic understanding and humane values. To envision the future, we must understand the lessons of the past. To act in the present, we must be sensitive to current cultural complexities."

The ACLS at 100

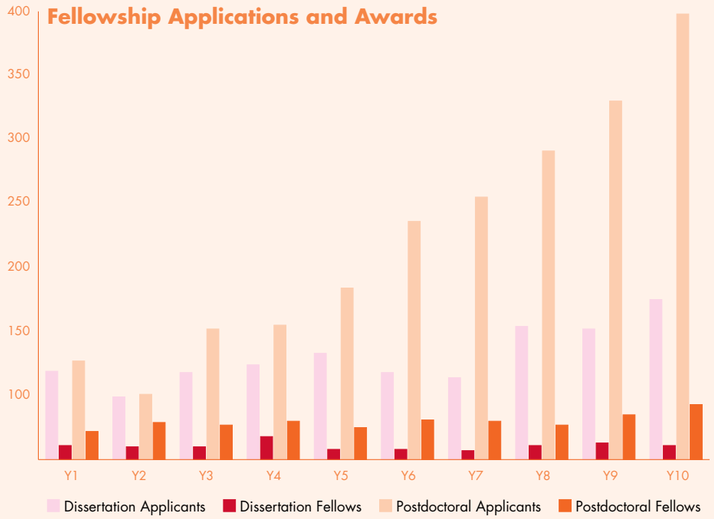
Treasure Hunt In the aftermath of World War II, the U.S. government deployed a group of "Monuments Men" to Europe to recover artworks and artifacts looted by the Nazis and their collaborators. Armed with data compiled by the ACLS and other scholarly bodies in the States, this elite squad — composed primarily of art history professors — retrieved treasures, including the ones pictured here, which were hidden in a cave by Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, one of the most powerful figures of Nazi Germany and Hitler's designated successor. PHOTO: WILLIAM VANDIVERT/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) advances humanities scholarship and fosters connections among societies devoted to the humanities and social sciences. Established in 1919, the organization supports a nonprofit federation of 75 scholarly organizations, including the Modern Language Association and the College Art Association. The ACLS gave out its first grants to scholars — in the amount of $4,500 — in 1926; in the 2016–17 competition year it awarded more than $20 million to 325 humanities researchers worldwide. Over the century of its existence, the organization has also supported conferences, underwritten the publication of reference works, and backed innovations in scholarly communications. In the wake of World War II, addressing the threats posed to important art and artifacts as troops withdrew from the European theater of war, the ACLS created maps, guides, and dossiers to assist the so-called Monuments Men in securing the continent's cultural treasures.

In recent decades the ACLS, a Carnegie Corporation of New York grantee, has expanded its support of humanistic scholarship to countries in the former Soviet Union (Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine), Vietnam, China, and now the five countries in Africa supported by the African Humanities Program (Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda). ■

2008–2017

African Humanities Program by the numbers



Reinvigorating the Humanities in Africa, Visualized A Carnegie Corporation of New York grantee, the African Humanities Program supports scholars based in five countries on the continent pursuing research in a wide range of topics in the humanities and the interpretive social sciences. A good deal of this work, as it happens, is directed toward study of African languages, history, literature, and various aspects of African identity — thus furthering the goal of supporting the study of Africa by Africans. The program is highly selective — only about 16 percent of applications receive funding. In light of the extreme gender imbalance in academia on the continent, it is significant that 34 percent of successful applicants are women.

More recently, Professor Kwesi Yankah, a former associate director of the African Humanities Program who now serves as Ghana's minister of state for tertiary education, made the case. Speaking at a 2018 gathering in Accra, he reminded stakeholders in higher education that the humanities have long played a specific and urgent role in ensuring the sovereignty of African nations in the face of the overwhelming forces of globalization in the postindependence era. Ghana's early leaders were convinced that "through the arts, Ghana could fashion a unique national identity that would be used as a tool for resistance and also for accelerated development," Yankah said. The question that faces Ghana and other African nations now is how to reclaim that legacy.

Reinvigorating the Humanities

The African Humanities Program is one of a number of initiatives focused on shoring up humanities education in the face of such challenges. It emphasizes support for individual researchers in the hopes of strengthening and revitalizing institutions and scholarly networks. This has partly to do with its history, coming on the heels of similar ACLS initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe, according to Andrzej W. Tymowski, director of international programs at the American Council of Learned Societies. "The AHP emerged in the wake of another Carnegie-sponsored program, which was focused on the former Soviet Union. The broad purpose of both was similar — to support individuals in the humanities so that they could continue to build the scholarly infrastructure in their home countries."

The choice to focus on individual researchers is especially crucial within the context of the region. Among the many challenges faced by the humanities in African tertiary education, the stresses placed on the shoulders of university lecturers and professors are near the top of the list. This is in part due to sheer demographic realities — as the population increases and as governments expand access to primary and secondary education, more and more students are pursuing degrees. In fact, university enrollment across all sub-Saharan African countries has grown from 181,000 in 1975 to approximately 8.8 million in 2016, while the number of higher education institutions grew from 130 in 1990 to more than 1,500 in 2014, according to UNESCO's Institute for Statistics and the World Bank, respectively.

Many politicians and policymakers would like to see more students take up STEM and other fields seen as relating directly to development goals in order to train a homegrown citizenry to confront economic, environmental, health-care, and other immediate concerns. But elementary and secondary training in STEM subjects is often lacking, and at the university level these courses of study are expensive to offer, making few seats available. As a consequence, many students end up taking humanities courses instead. This means bigger classes, more demands on lecturers, and less time for mentoring graduate students toward their PhDs, which in turn results in fewer and fewer qualified teachers completing their degrees and entering the academic pipeline, and even less time for research. Salaries for university lecturers are poor, research funding is hard to come by, and working conditions in general are challenging — prompting some of the most qualified researchers and thinkers to move abroad to better-resourced institutions, and others to risk professional stagnation by staying close to home. Financial constraints make traveling to international conferences in one's field difficult, and the relative parochialism of the academic communities in the Global North means that few scholars outside Africa have access to, or cite the work of, their African peers, leading to intellectual isolation on both sides.

The result is startling: while Africa is home to 13.5 percent of the world's population, it accounts for less than one percent of its scholarly output in the humanities, despite producing some of the world's great public intellectuals and demonstrating — throughout the continent — a deep commitment to higher education.

Enriching the Scholarly Experience in Africa

Supporting humanities scholars in multiple ways, the AHP

- offers predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships to individual scholars, allowing academics at different stages of their careers to take time away from teaching and administrative duties in order to complete their dissertations or the manuscripts of their first books
- works with the U.S. African Studies Association to sponsor scholars from the continent to travel to annual conferences, where they are able to present their work to an international audience and make connections with peers
- sponsors intensive manuscript development workshops and publishes a book series, helping select fellows get their scholarly contributions out in front of a global readership
- sponsors intraregional meetings and colloquia, enabling scholars in Africa to develop networks for mentoring and intellectual exchange
- gives scholars the opportunity to do a residency outside of their home country at one of a number of residency centers in the five AHP countries as well as at the West African Research Center in Senegal, giving them the opportunity to focus on research and writing outside of the demands of day-to-day life and to meet peers and senior colleagues abroad

Moreover, although perhaps less easily measured, the support offered by the African Humanities Program allows ambitious scholars to imagine a professional life in Africa,

Thanks to a history of colonization, many African universities tended to be oriented toward Europe and America, drawing their curricula, exams, external examiners, and other structures and traditions from outside the continent.

without feeling the need to emigrate in order to pursue their research.

The American Council of Learned Societies will mark its 100th anniversary in 2019. As part of the celebrations, in August 2018 it was announced that 11 PhD candidates and 43 early career scholars — drawn from a record number of applicants — had received over $940,000 in fellowship funds. In the decade since its launch in 2008, the AHP has invested more than $14 million to fund 107 predoctoral fellows and 299 postdoctoral fellows working at 66 universities in the five countries in which it operates. The research areas supported include the linguistics of African languages, African histories, and African literatures, but fellows also pursue work in art history, philosophy, gender studies, film and media studies, and English literature, as well as a host of other fields.

The impact of the African Humanities Program, including the communities it has generated, is already visible in myriad ways. Bertram Mapunda, who has been a core advisor to the AHP since the third year of the program, sees several tangible effects. "First, of course, it provides research opportunities for young humanities scholars. This spills over into more publications, and, consequently, into accelerated promotions to senior lectureships and professorships. Thanks to the predoctoral fellowships, we also see students completing their PhDs faster than before. Both junior and senior scholars are able to travel within the continent — junior scholars have the opportunity to take up residencies at research institutions during their fellowship year, and senior scholars, who act as mentors and assessors within the AHP structure, receive travel grants."

Mapunda adds: "The mobility offered by the AHP has resulted in the development of a strong scholarly network, enabling researchers to share experiences and enrich their research."

Only Connect

Creating the right conditions — so that scholars and ideas could move freely within the continent — was very much at the heart of the conception of the African Humanities Program. Kwame Anthony Appiah, professor of philosophy and law at New York University and chair of the board of the ACLS at the time the program was conceived, notes that thanks to a history of colonization, many African universities tended to be oriented toward Europe and America, drawing their curricula, exams, external examiners, and other structures and traditions from outside the continent. "Against that background, it seemed like a good idea to create interconnections within the continent," Appiah explains. "And this is something that the ACLS knows how to do very well. ACLS is the collection of the American learned societies, the academic professional organizations of various fields. And those organizations connect departments and programs across universities. The ACLS has helped create networks that develop professional fields, develop and raise standards, and so forth.

"It's expensive to do that, and African universities operate with severe economic limitations, by American or British standards. There's not money sitting around just waiting to be used. But our idea was if you could set this up and get it going, then the institutions themselves might realize that there was a value in connecting your faculty with other people outside your university. You could show the yield that comes from collaboration."

Appiah notes that in the 1980s and 1990s, the main professional and scholarly group for historians of Africa was in fact based in the U.S. That scholarly landscape is starting to change. AHP fellows, along with the scores of scholars who have worked with the program as advisors, application reviewers, and mentors, are beginning to coalesce into a cross-continental network of advocates for the humanities in African higher education. Some of these networks are informal, while others are being formalized as structured bodies, including the newly formed Network of Nigerian Historians, the Nigerian Humanities Society, the African Humanities Forum, and the African Studies Association of Africa. Fellows who connected through the AHP have organized transcontinental comparative research conferences, making the work of geographically distant scholars available to a pan-African audience.

A Ripple Effect

As Bertram Mapunda points out, a significant increase in mentoring is one of the most important consequences of the African Humanities Program. Former fellows and

Carnegie Corporation of New York **in Africa**

When Andrew Carnegie established Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1911, the foundation focused on giving money to organizations in the United States. But the philanthropy quickly expanded its program to include the British dominions and colonies in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa. (The attention to former British colonies accounts for the fact that the African Humanities Program operates in the five countries that it does.)

The Corporation's involvement in Africa dates to the 1920s and 1930s, a period in the foundation's history described by Patricia L. Rosenfield in her book *A World of Giving: Carnegie Corporation of New York — A Century of International Philanthropy* as one of "energetic internationalism." This involvement ramped up in the 1950s and 1960s, in concert with the rapid decolonization of many African nations. The Corporation worked with leaders of the newly independent states, while encouraging other donors and U.S. policymakers to pay attention to the region.

"Along with the Ford and Rockefeller foundations," notes Rosenfield, "Carnegie Corporation recognized that you could not impose a particular worldview on newly developed and newly independent nations. They wanted to strengthen those nations so that they could participate actively in the world."

In FY 2017–18, nearly 40 percent of the $156 million Carnegie Corporation of New York gave away was directed toward international activities, $15.8 million to African programs specifically. The Africa grantmaking focuses on two broad areas: extending access to knowledge and ideas (including through the support of educational institutions and libraries), and the promotion of peace, democratic institutions, socioeconomic development, and international engagement.

"Starting in the 1920s, when there were not a lot of external donors in the African region, Carnegie Corporation's grantmaking was based on its mission, its programmatic interests, opportunities it identified from site visits, and its experience in the United States," says Rosenfield. From the 1950s onwards, as more foundations and agencies began to support activities in the region, Carnegie Corporation focused on working with colleagues in African countries to identify under-addressed grantmaking opportunities — areas where limited resources could make a significant difference. This meant, for example, a shift in the 1960s from broad-based funding of African universities to a more strategic focus on human capital within those institutions.

Turning Seaweed into Subsistence Carnegie Corporation of New York has long been involved in working to strengthen a number of universities in selected sub-Saharan countries. But the Corporation has also focused on more individual efforts, for example in 2007 joining with the Science Initiative Group to create the Regional Initiative in Science and Education (RISE), a program dedicated to bolstering regional university networks by supporting postgraduate students and faculty in their pursuit of scientific research. The Kenyan marine biologist Grace Mutia was able to undertake her PhD fieldwork at the Institute of Marine Sciences in Zanzibar, part of the University of Dar es Salaam in neighboring Tanzania, thanks to WIO-RISE (Western Indian Ocean Regional Initiative). Her work has focused on developing seaweed as a commercial crop in coastal regions in ways that are economically and environmentally sustainable. PHOTO: ALAN ANDERSON

Rosenfield notes that under its current president, Vartan Gregorian, the Corporation has extensively reshaped its efforts in Africa, "combining its earlier support for universities and libraries with a more recent focus ... on information technologies, women's advancement in higher education and the sciences, and the next generation of university faculty." Spearheaded by Gregorian, the African Humanities Program, created in partnership with the American Council of Learned Societies, is a key part of these efforts. ■

Globalizing **Knowledge**

One of the major challenges facing scholars in Africa is the relative invisibility of their work to their peers. A recent study in the British medical journal the *Lancet* notes that the work of Africa-based researchers represents significantly less than one percent of all global citations — an important marker of the reach and influence of ideas.

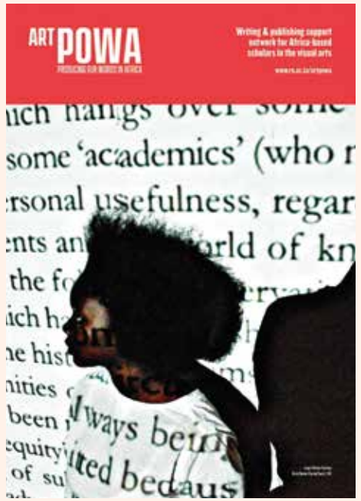
According to Dr. Steven Nelson, director of the African Studies Center at UCLA, this fact has hamstrung academic publishing on the continent: "If scholars publish in African-based journals, the work doesn't get distributed and cited by American and European scholars. The lack of attention from a global community of scholars in turn makes it hard for publications to get funding and support — you have no international profile. And if researchers publish their work abroad, that does little to support the development of a robust conversation among African scholars. It's a push-and-pull situation, that needs in part to be rectified by American and European-based scholars paying attention to and citing the work of our peers in Africa."

One of the ways the African Humanities Program (AHP) is tackling this problem is by making excellent research from the continent available to a global academic readership, thanks to its African Humanities Series. Launched in 2014, the series was initially established by Sandra Barnes of the University of Pennsylvania and Kwesi Yankah, minister of higher education in Ghana. It has since developed under the guidance of Fred Hendricks of Rhodes University in South Africa and Adigun Agbaje of the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, who hope to develop the series into a global showcase of the important humanities research being pursued by a new generation of Africa-based scholars.

Submissions are solicited from fellows of the AHP, and cover African histories, literatures, languages, and cultures. The series aims to publish work of the highest quality, foregrounding the best research being done by these emerging scholars.

Titles in the series include *Gender Terrains in African Cinema* by Dominica Dipio, Makerere University, Uganda; *What the Forest Told Me: Yoruba Hunter, Culture and Narrative Performance* by Ayo Adeduntan, University of Idaban, Nigeria; *Nation, Power and Dissidence in Third Generation Nigerian Poetry in English* by Sule E. Egya, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Nigeria; *The Anglophone Literary–Linguistic Continuum: English and Indigenous Languages in African Literary Discourse* by Michael Andindilile, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; and *Parading Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa* by Sylvia Bruinders, University of Cape Town, South Africa. In 2019 the series will continue with new titles on African intellectual history, the Nigerian novel, notions of democracy in Africa, and Ghanaian boxing.

Making such studies available to a worldwide audience is crucial, notes philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah, author of *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2006) and, most recently, *The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity* (2018). "In the humanities, more than in the natural sciences, African scholars have access to important material that is difficult to get access to except through them. Of course an African physicist must keep an eye on what's going on in the European nuclear reactor, or MIT, or the South African observatory, but the details of physics don't depend on where you are. But in the humanities, the details *do* depend on where you are. It's a waste not to take advantage of that. We can't do it right if we don't have these voices as part of our understanding of the humanities. It's not just politically correct to do so — it's intellectually correct." ■



Networked Founded in 2017 as part of Rhodes University's Arts of Africa research initiative and comprising a significant number of former AHP fellows, Art POWA ("Producing Our Words in Africa") is a writing and publishing network that aims to support Africa-based scholars whose work focuses on the visual arts. Continental researchers are often separated by vast geographical distances, with few opportunities to convene in person. The Mellon-funded program allows them to participate in publishing workshops, share publications, and discover new opportunities to create connections with other engaged thinkers. COURTESY ART POWA; PHOTO: RUTH SIMBAO

"Because the humanities study the natural human propensity to tell stories, it is easy to see why the humanities are crucial for understanding African cultures. The goal of the African Humanities Program is to encourage and enable Africans to tell their stories in as many ways and to as many audiences as possible."

— **Andrzej W. Tymowski**, American Council of Learned Societies

program advisors are enthusiastically passing along their expertise to their PhD students and peers in many ways. They're organizing professional development workshops at their home institutions; they're guiding next-generation and new-generation academics in grant writing and manuscript development; and they're holding writing retreats. Such initiatives, often begun at the major research universities spanning the continent, are sometimes replicated at smaller institutions, expanding the reach and impact of the larger schools.

At Makerere University in Uganda, Angelo Kakande, chair of the Department of Industrial Art and Applied Design and a former AHP fellow, began conducting writing workshops for his students and colleagues. "When I returned from a manuscript development workshop in Dar es Salaam [Tanzania], I wanted to test out how someone could write an article in 12 weeks. I got the opportunity to introduce what I learned there to the doctoral students at the art school."

"There were students who had been writing their proposals for five or six years," notes Dr. Kizito Maria Kasule, dean of the school. "Since Dr. Kakande introduced this platform, we have been able, during the previous two or three years, to have about seven students who have successfully defended their PhD proposals or their doctoral theses. So I requested that he coordinate the PhD seminar."

Such efforts have resulted in a sharp uptick in published research. "The academic staff and students have published over 23 papers" since the workshops began, says Kasule. Furthermore, according to Dr. Henry Alinaitwe, principal at the College of Engineering, Design, Art and Technology at Makerere University, "Most of the faculty who have taken part in the manuscript development workshops have been promoted to the rank of senior lecturer" thanks to their increased scholarly output.

African-Focused and Sustainable

Funding for the African Humanities Program was to end in 2018. But at its December board meeting, Carnegie Corporation of New York approved an additional centenary grant to ACLS to support the work of the AHP for a further three years, allowing its African partners to usher the program into its next phase of existence. "The goal now is to build on the network and mentoring successes of the AHP, so that in the near term it can become not only Africa-focused but also African-directed. The legacy of Carnegie funding would be, we hope, an autonomous and self-sustaining African Humanities Program," says ACLS's Andrzej W. Tymowski.

"This means deploying the tremendous capital that has been accumulated by the program so far. The active community of AHP scholars can build bridges across the continent to catalyze intellectual exchanges," Tymowski continues. "Because the humanities study the natural human propensity to tell stories, it is easy to see why the humanities are crucial for understanding African cultures. The goal of the African Humanities Program is to encourage and enable Africans to tell their stories in as many ways and to as many audiences as possible."

The goal of centering the priorities of their African partners and achieving sustainability is also at the heart of another major funding initiative on the continent — The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation's International Higher Education and Strategic Projects (IHESP) program, created in 2014 and headed by Saleem Badat.

While the African Humanities Program offers fellowships to individual scholars, the Mellon Foundation's work in the region focuses on supporting universities and other institutions — in South Africa (where Mellon has been working for 30 years), plus institutions in Uganda, Ghana, Egypt, Lebanon, and Senegal. "So what exactly do we

Visual Activism In *Flora III* (2010), the Nigerian artist Nnenna Okore uses cast-off paper and rope, glued together in complex coils and swirls, to create an abstract arabesque design that evokes a blossom — transmuting detritus into an image of the organic. Art historian Nkiruka Nwafor, a 2014 AHP fellow, is interested in the younger generation of African artists like Okore, whose artistic projects "constitute contemporary visual activism, intended to bring to the fore political, cultural, societal, and historical issues in Africa." For more on both women, see pp. 66–7. COURTESY OF NNENNA OKORE

support?" asks Badat. "We support *their* priorities in the arts, humanities, and interpretive social sciences."

This support may be in the form of research, faculty and graduate development initiatives at each individual university, collaborations with other institutions in their countries, and transnational collaborations with other institutions, located mainly in the Global South. It also includes building scholarly infrastructure, which could encompass the establishment of archives, digitization, library development, and the creation of graduate programs. (Physical infrastructure is not a priority for IHESP, although the foundation has supported increasing internet bandwidth, a crucial prerequisite for scholarly research and one that is often lacking.)

Badat emphasizes that the work the Mellon Foundation does in supporting institutions in Africa is done with an eye to — and in conversation with — other agencies working in the field, including the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, the Ford Foundation, The Kresge Foundation, the Canadian International Development Research Centre, and Carnegie Corporation of New York. "We talk to each other about our grantmaking and experiences. We know each other. We know that we don't need to put resources into certain areas because our colleagues at other agencies are doing that, so we can focus our attention where it makes sense to us and our mission. We meet regularly with Carnegie around questions of who we are supporting, and what issues are important. We share information and ideas, because we have a common commitment to helping build institutions in Africa and the Middle East."

Badat was, after democracy in 1994, the first head of the policy advisory body to the South African minister of higher education, and served as vice chancellor of Rhodes University in South Africa before taking up his current role at the Mellon Foundation. He is pragmatic about what it means to promote, defend, and advance the arts and humanities — the mission of the Mellon Foundation — in the context of African nations: "Because of the particular history of Africa, and of countries shaped by colonialism and neocolonialism and by unequal economic relationships and trade, these societies have major challenges in addressing the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, inequality and poverty, and of creating and ensuring a better life for their citizens and their people. In that context, governments by and large devote much of their scarce resources to economic and social development, and to the STEM areas. So even when, on occasion, there is a recognition that the arts, humanities, and social sciences are important and not just for narrow developmental or instrumental purposes, the budgets simply are not adequate to sustain and support those areas."

At the same time, Badat insists, sustainability is an issue: "A key challenge that the Mellon Foundation and anyone else working in this context has to contend with is how to provide support wisely, but also how to help leverage other support from states, the corporate sector, and other sources. Sustaining universities and the arts and humanities — which is the Mellon Foundation's interest — cannot just be a philanthropic commitment. It has to be a larger commitment. So our grantmaking is constantly looking at how we may engage with universities and simultaneously engage with the state and other potential partners, and how we can build partnerships, so that ultimately we make progress both via Mellon support and via the internal resources in each of these countries that can be galvanized and leveraged to support the arts and humanities.

"Any progressive funder has to constantly think about how you sustain initiatives, how you ensure that important programs and projects are institutionalized," Badat continues. "Not to see themselves as the key and all-knowing actor. That kind of modesty is important if you wish to be a genuine development partner."

Bertram Mapunda agrees that sustainability must be baked into the grantmaking — and for him, the three-year transition period that Carnegie Corporation is funding is a model: "It is important because it offers an opportunity for humanities scholars in Africa as well as their collaborators across the globe to ensure that the gains accrued over the past 10 years are not only sustainably maintained but multiplied." He continues, "We need to turn the AHP into a full-fledged Africa-based program, and to do that we need to make clear to the public, to our governments, and to private and public funders (both inside and outside of Africa) of its considerable achievements so that they will take over support. And we need to continue to develop the network of AHP alumni (both fellows and mentors) so that they become a united block that can then expand outwards, bringing others into the fold so that there is a real strength in numbers among humanities researchers across the continent." ■

Strategic Partnerships = Maximum Impact

One of the most ambitious foundation collaborations ever undertaken, the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA) was the brainchild of the presidents of four prestigious American foundations at the turn of the 21st century, including Carnegie Corporation of New York's Vartan Gregorian. As Fabrice Jaumont writes in his 2016 study of the initiative, the PHEA sought to support the "indispensable contribution of higher education to social and economic development" in Africa and accelerate the "processes of comprehensive modernization and strengthening of universities in selected countries."

Spearheaded by the Ford Foundation, The Rockefeller Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and Carnegie Corporation of New York (and later, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, The Kresge Foundation, and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation), the endeavor emerged amid a new global push for development in Africa. Through coordinated investment in higher education, the PHEA sought nothing less than to, as Jaumont puts it, "unleash the talents of the continent for the well-being of its people and those beyond its borders."

Carnegie's Gregorian, who wrote the foreword to Jaumont's study, cites the late Kofi Annan, former secretary-general of the United Nations, as "the primary source of inspiration" for the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa. The initiative, Gregorian stresses, "should not be considered an end, but a beginning and, we hope, an inspiration to those in the philanthropy, education, and development fields."

Foundations have long played a central role in the development and sustenance of the social sector. Today, when federal budget cuts could put the work of nonprofit and educational institutions substantially at risk, many expect foundations to fill this widening funding gap. Indeed, as cuts to federal funding for both education and international development take hold, philanthropic institutions, where the political will exists, may seek to partner in an effort of solidarity to fill potential funding gaps. The PHEA stands as a timely case study worthy of consultation. ■

"A Laugh from the Gallery" Carl Hassmann's 1907 cartoon (a detail shown here) for the American satirical weekly *Puck* shows the visitors' gallery at the Second International Peace Conference in The Hague. The benches overflow with a rogues' gallery of tyrants, invaders, and conquerors, including Frederik II, Oliver Cromwell, Ramses, William I, Hannibal, Attila the Hun, Alexander the Great, Richard the Lionhearted, Caesar, Saladin, Napoleon I, Charlemagne, and Theodoric. They are all laughing at the idea of international cooperation. PHOTO: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

A "FOOL FOR PEACE"

How can we use Andrew Carnegie's legacy today to strengthen the case for democracy and peace, as well as the values and institutions that uphold those ideals?

By **David Nasaw**

The Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations, a three-day program presented by Carnegie institutions worldwide and their partners, was held at the Peace Palace in The Hague in September 2018. Among the event's roster of speakers, David Nasaw, the biographer of Andrew Carnegie and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Distinguished Professor of History at the CUNY Graduate Center, examined the great Scot's legacy both historically and in terms of more recent developments. Here follow Professor Nasaw's prepared remarks.

September 24, 2018 | The Hague, Netherlands

We are here today because of a funny-looking little Scotsman, who, in his high-heeled boots stood no more than five feet tall, a strange-looking gnome of a man who resembled Santa Claus in a top hat or a miniaturized Karl Marx.

We are here today because that little man believed in evolution, in reason, in humanity.

We are here today because that little man had a big voice and the money to make himself heard and be taken account of.

We are here today because in an age too much like our own — an age of armaments escalations, build-ups, and races, an age where military men were saluted for their bravery and stout hearts and peace activists ignored or ridiculed as utopians, cranks, dreamers — that little man dedicated himself and a good part of his fortune, his welfare, his health, and his reputation to campaigning for peace.

We are here today to celebrate, learn from, and carry on the legacy of a child of the Scottish Enlightenment; a man of the 19th century, the century of light and progress; an enthusiast, a utopian, a fool, a crank, a dreamer, but also a pragmatist and politician who preached the gospel of peace on earth.

Andrew Carnegie had learned from Herbert Spencer that the laws of evolutionary progress guide change over time, that history has both purpose and direction, that the world was getting more prosperous, more civilized, more humane. The age of barbarism had been marked by savagery, the inability of men to settle disputes other than through violence, the organized killing of innocent men by innocent men. The age of civilization would, on the contrary, be marked by the replacement of violence with reason in the settling of domestic, personal, and international disputes.

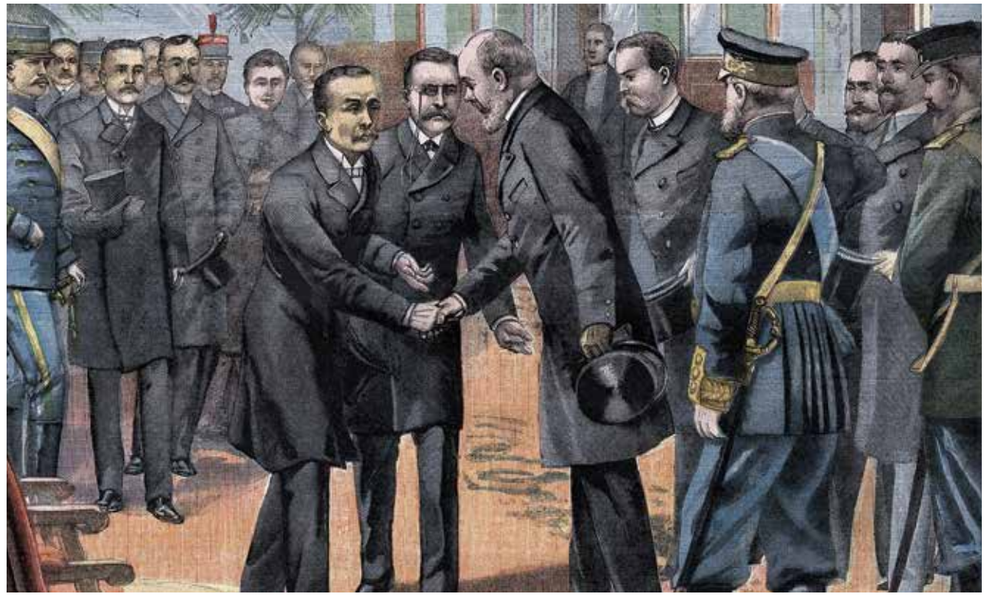
"You will find the world much better than your forefathers did," Carnegie declared in his second rectorial address to the students of St. Andrews, delivered just five years into the new century. "There is profound satisfaction in this, that all grows better; but there is still one evil in our day, so far exceeding any other in extent and effect, that I venture to bring it to your notice.... There still remains the foulest blot that has ever disgraced the earth, the killing of civilized men by men like wild beasts as a permissible mode of settling international disputes."

Carnegie was not alone in campaigning for peace. The first half of the 19th century, in the U.S. and Britain and on the continent, witnessed the proliferation of local, regional, and national peace and arbitration societies, congresses, and campaigns. A major international peace conference in 1849, to which the American peace societies sent as a delegate a former slave, condemned war and called for compulsory arbitration, reduced spending on armaments, the creation of an international "High Tribunal," and a Congress of Nations.

The early 19th-century peace movement did not end well — it was a victim of the Crimean War, of disagreements about what constituted good and bad conflicts, just and unjust wars, and of unresolved and perhaps unresolvable questions about whether the citizens of enslaved nations in Europe, like the Italians, had the right to fight for their freedom. This organized peace movement did not die — it instead entered on a new phase, one led by international lawyers and statesmen who argued that after centuries of warfare, peace would have to be built, step by step, through the creation of a body of international law and arbitration treaties that called for the peaceful resolution of disputes.

Peace, disarmament, and arbitration activists like Andrew Carnegie had, by the last quarter of the 19th century, come to believe that their cause was not only just, but achievable. They pointed, with pride and hope, to 1872 and the peaceably arbitrated resolution of the "Alabama Case," which had pitted Great Britain against the United States over the American demand for compensation for the damage caused by British-built confederate warships, and to 1895, when the Americans and the British peaceably settled another dispute over the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. "Truly," Carnegie wrote Prime Minister Gladstone, arbitration as a substitute for war "seems to me the noblest question of our time." The Americans and the British would set the example which the rest of the world would soon follow.

The scaffolding for a new, civilized world order was already in place — here, at The Hague, where a Permanent Court of Arbitration had been established at the international conference in 1899, called by Czar Nicholas II, and attended by the representatives of 27 nations. The promise of peace through arbitration at The Hague was affirmed when, in December 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt persuaded Britain, Germany, Italy, and Venezuela to submit their dispute over Venezuela's refusal to pay its debts for arbitration by the Permanent Court of Arbitration.



Peace in His Time In this illustration from the French newspaper *Le Petit Parisien* (August 27, 1905), President Theodore Roosevelt introduces Japanese foreign minister Komura Jutarō to Russian prime minister Sergius Witte at the Portsmouth Peace Conference of 1905. For his efforts brokering peace between Japan and Russia and an end to the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize of 1906. The Norwegian statesman Gunnar Knudsen's award ceremony speech read in part: "The United States of America was among the first to infuse the ideal of peace into practical politics. Peace and arbitration treaties have now been concluded between the United States and the governments of several countries. But what has especially directed the attention of the friends of peace and of the whole civilized world to the United States is President Roosevelt's happy role in bringing to an end the bloody war recently waged between two of the world's great powers, Japan and Russia." PHOTO: LEEMAGE/UIG VIA GETTY IMAGES

"The world took a long step upward yesterday," Carnegie wrote the president the day after the four states had agreed to arbitration, "and Theodore Roosevelt bounded into the short list of those who will forever be hailed as supreme benefactors of man." In a "New Year Greeting" published in the *New York Tribune,* Carnegie declared that Roosevelt, in "breathing life into The Hague tribunal, the permanent high court of humanity, for the peaceful settlement of international disputes," had moved humanity a step closer toward the "coming banishment of the earth's most revolting spectacle — human war — *the killing of man by man*.... The complete banishment of war draws near. Its death wound dates from the day that President Roosevelt led ... opposing powers ... to the Court of Peace, and thus proclaimed it the appointed substitute for that which had hitherto stained the earth — the killing of men by each other."

To celebrate the dawn of this new era, Carnegie, in April 1903, committed $1.5 million (about $43 million today) for the erection of a Peace Palace to house the Permanent Court of Arbitration and a library. Mankind was now set on the path to peace — and progress along it appeared inexorable.

In October 1904, U.S. Secretary of State Hay issued a call for a second peace conference at The Hague.

In June 1905 Japan and Russia ceased hostilities and agreed to negotiate peace terms, with President Roosevelt as arbitrator, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Carnegie, buoyed by events, stepped up his personal and now full-time campaign for peace. In October 1905, in his second rectorial address at St. Andrews, he delivered an overly long treatise — how anyone sat through it is beyond me — on the history of peace activism, on the folly, the madness, the immorality, the inhumanity of war, and the need to eliminate it from the face of the earth through "Peaceful Arbitration." He urged his hearers, university students, to resist the clarion call to arms. There was no glory to be had by putting on a uniform and killing one's fellow men. "We sometimes hear, in defense of war, that

"Although we no longer eat our fellow-men nor torture prisoners, nor sack cities killing their inhabitants, we still kill each other in war like barbarians. Only wild beasts are excusable for doing that in this, the twentieth century of the Christian era, for the crime of war is inherent, since it decides not in favor of the right, but always of the strong. The nation is criminal which refuses arbitration."

— **Andrew Carnegie**, letter to the trustees of the Carnegie Peace Fund (which would become the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), December 14, 1910

it develops the manly virtue of courage. This means only physical courage, which some animals and the lower order of savage men possess in the highest degree. According to this idea, the more man resembles the bulldog the higher he is developed as man." It was to educate the public to the true meaning of courage, of heroism, that Carnegie had the year before created his Hero Funds. He was prouder of his Hero Fund than of any of his other endowments. "It grew out of his intense conviction," his friend and one of the original commissioners Frederick Lynch insisted, "that it took just as much heroism to save life as it did to take it, whereas the man who took it got most of the recognition."

"Most of the monuments in the world," Carnegie had discovered, to his dismay, were "to somebody who has killed a lot of his fellowmen." That was not heroism. His Hero Fund would call attention to, recognize, and reward the true heroes of the world.

With every utterance, Carnegie made new enemies and enflamed old ones. Teddy Roosevelt, whom Carnegie regarded as his partner in peace, was near apoplectic at the Scotsman's dismissal of the manly military virtues, at Carnegie's delight that fewer and fewer young men appeared to be volunteering for military service, and his call on university men to resist putting on uniforms and defending their nations. In November 1905 he wrote Whitelaw Reid that he had tried hard to like Carnegie

> but it is pretty difficult. There is no type of man for whom I feel a more contemptuous abhorrence than for the one who makes a God of mere money-making and at the same time is always yelling out that kind of utterly stupid condemnation of war which in almost every case springs from a combination of defective physical courage, of unmanly shrinking from pain and effort, and of hopelessly twisted ideals.... It is as noxious folly to denounce war per se as it is to denounce business per se. Unrighteous war is a hideous evil; but I am not at all sure that it is worse evil than business unrighteousness.

Carnegie was undeterred by the criticisms, by the caricatures, by the insults to his manhood. What worried him was that, while mankind appeared to be progressing toward peace, there were fearful signs of war on the horizon. The British and the Germans were engaged in an escalating battle to build bigger and bigger dreadnoughts, with other nations now entering the fray. Though Carnegie Steel was making a fortune outfitting new battleships with steel armor, Carnegie insisted that armor was for defensive, not offensive, purposes. And, to his partners' dismay, he campaigned for an end to this arms race.

Carnegie hoped and expected that the subject of disarmament would be discussed at the Second International Peace Conference in The Hague, which, after postponements, was scheduled to meet in June 1907, or at a disarmament conference in London, which he actively proposed and promoted. In the meantime, in preparation for the Hague conference, he took an active, oversized role in funding, organizing, and convening a massive and massively publicized meeting of the National Arbitration and Peace Congress at Carnegie Hall in April 1907.

The meeting was a triumph — but it was only a meeting, an exhortation, and a prayer. The real work of peace was to be accomplished at The Hague that summer. Carnegie was not content to leave the business of peacemaking to the delegates. In early June 1907 he attended Kaiser Wilhelm II's annual regatta at Kiel in northern Germany, hoping that he would be able to arrange a personal meeting and a personal connection to the kaiser. He did not get much of a chance to do so — the kaiser was more interested in his yachts than in talking peace to the strange little loquacious Scotsman about arbitration and The Hague.

From Kiel, Carnegie and his wife, Louise, boarded a special railroad car provided him by the kaiser, which, with the Dutch government's cooperation, arranged for his through passage to The Hague. He arrived — as a private citizen — while the conference was in process and spent the next few days as cheerleader and publicist. The second Hague conference would continue to meet through the fall, long after Carnegie had departed. The fact that little was accomplished on naval disarmament, compulsory arbitration, a League of Peace, or the organization of an international police force neither deterred nor discouraged Carnegie. More nations had participated in 1907 than in 1899 and the conference had adjourned with a resolution to meet again, though no date was set for a third conference. (A date was eventually set: 1915, but by then it was far too late for peace. There would be no third peace conference at The Hague.)

Despite the failures of the second Hague conference, Carnegie remained confident that naval disarmament, compulsory arbitration, and a League of Peace would come to pass, but perhaps not just yet. The nations of the world had failed to bring about the desired end at their conference at The Hague, but Carnegie would succeed where they had failed, through the power of personal diplomacy. He had already established firm connections with the leaders of the U.S. and the U.K., helped along by healthy contributions to the Republicans in America and the Liberal Party in the U.K. He had lesser but still friendly personal relationships with the leaders of France and Italy. He had failed, however, and failed rather spectacularly, to make any headway with Kaiser Wilhelm II. But he did not despair. He would enlist as his surrogate peacemaker a man who would have no trouble gaining an audience with and sitting down with the kaiser. Theodore Roosevelt would be his representative, his agent, his envoy, his liaison to the European heads of state. While president, Roosevelt had been prohibited by custom from leaving the country. His term of office would, however, end in March 1909 and he would be free to travel the world on Carnegie's behalf.

Roosevelt's first priority, however, was not making peace, but shooting as many large animals as he could in Africa. Carnegie made a deal with the ex-president. He would provide the funds Roosevelt needed for his African expedition. When the killing was finished — after the slaughter of over 500 African animals, 55 species of large mammals, and 11 elephants — Roosevelt would leave Africa for Europe to do Carnegie's bidding. "After Africa, then the real 'big game,'" he wrote Roosevelt. "Meet the men who rule European nations, then you have a source of power otherwise unobtainable — You promise to become the 'Man of destiny.'"

Carnegie barely took a breath now — he was more frightened than ever by the escalating naval arms race and tensions in Europe. Bigger and bigger armies and navies did not ensure peace, but rather provoked war. Men with pistols in their hands were more likely to shoot one another; nations with armies and navies more likely to engage in war, he proclaimed at the annual meeting of the New York Peace Society at the Hotel Astor in April 1909. It did not require much imagination to envisage a scenario where a minor incident might lead to world war, perhaps a drunken altercation between British and German marines. "Under the influence of liquor ... one is wounded, blood is shed, and the pent up passions of the people of both countries sweep all to the winds."

In April 1910 Roosevelt arrived in Europe from his African adventures and was greeted like a conquering hero in Paris, then in Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway (where he received the Nobel Prize for his role in arbitrating an end to the Russo-Japanese War). Carnegie's plan was that Roosevelt meet first with Kaiser Wilhelm II in Berlin and enlist his support for a compulsory arbitration treaty, and then go to London to meet with the leaders of the British government to secure their approval. This grandest of schemes was derailed, temporarily, when on the eve of Roosevelt's arrival in Berlin, Edward VII of Britain died, and all future diplomatic activity ground to a halt. But even had the king (who happened to be

the kaiser's uncle) lived, Carnegie's grand scheme was destined for failure. Roosevelt had no intention of doing his bidding.

"Carnegie … had been asking me to try to get the Emperor committed to universal arbitration and disarmament," Roosevelt wrote his friend George Trevelyan in Britain. "Carnegie's purposes as regards international peace are good, although his methods are often a little absurd." Roosevelt refused to present the kaiser with Carnegie's "absurd" peace proposals. He indirectly raised the possibility of Germany's slowing the naval arms race with Britain, but indicated he would not be disturbed if there were no movement towards disarmament. Roosevelt assured the kaiser that he was "a practical man and in no sense a peace-at-any-price man."

Roosevelt not only failed to secure the agreement of the kaiser to move forward but, in the wake of King Edward VII's death and the hubbub over succession and the coronation of a new monarch, he gleefully postponed and then canceled his meetings with the leaders of the ruling Liberal Party in Britain.

Carnegie's plans had fallen flat — there would be no arbitration treaty, no disarmament conference in London, no League of Peace in The Hague. But he did not give up hope. Instead he shifted his focus from Europe to Washington, where he intended, under the leadership of President Taft, to secure passage of a meaningful, near compulsory bilateral treaty of arbitration between the U.S. and Britain, after which similar treaties would be negotiated with France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan, culminating in the creation of a functioning League of Peace.

To help Taft get his proposal through the Senate, Carnegie organized — and donated $10 million dollars to establish — his "peace trust," the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP). He named Elihu Root, former secretary of war and state and now senator from New York, as its first president. His letter to his trustees made clear his intentions: "Although we no longer eat our fellowmen nor torture prisoners, nor sack cities killing their inhabitants, we still kill each other in war like barbarians. Only wild beasts are excusable for doing that in this, the twentieth century of the Christian era, for the crime of war is inherent, since it decides not in favor of the right, but always of the strong. The nation is criminal which refuses arbitration."

Taft's treaties ran into trouble almost immediately, when it became clear that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was not going to sign a treaty which obligated the nation to arbitrate issues of "honor" or "national interest" without the Senate's explicit approval. Teddy Roosevelt, now on the warpath against his successor, declared, in no uncertain terms, that the nation that pledged to arbitrate its differences would end up dishonored and impotent, like the man who, when his wife was assaulted by a ruffian, took the ruffian to court instead of attacking him on the spot. Carnegie wanted to fight back against Roosevelt and treaty opponents by launching a publicity campaign organized and funded by his new Endowment, but Elihu Root refused to do so. Carnegie did not argue — as a matter of principle, he did not overrule the men he had chosen to run his various philanthropic endeavors. Instead he took $10,000 of his own money to pay for clergymen to travel to Washington and lobby their senators. Again, his efforts came up short and Taft's arbitration treaty bill was eviscerated by amendments.

Carnegie blamed Taft's lack of political skills for the defeat, refusing to recognize the frightening insularity of America's leaders. He had never paid much attention to public opinion, believing that he had the money and the skill to educate the public to his thinking. It was a fateful, terrible mistake to build peace from the top down, as Carnegie had attempted to do, without simultaneously working from the bottom up. Carnegie's trust in the American public and in politicians — his optimism that they too were reasonable men and women — was falsely placed. There was work to be done — then and now — in the United States. He did not do it, but we must. As I wrote the final draft of this talk, the front page of the *New York Times* carried an article, bylined The Hague: "On War Crimes Court, U.S. Sides with Despots, Not Allies."

The Hague conference had failed, Roosevelt's mission for peace had ended in failure, and the treaties of arbitration which Taft had attempted to push through Congress had been destroyed by Congress. The arms race in Europe continued apace.

And still, the "Star-Spangled Scotsman," as he proudly called himself, refused to give up. In February 1914, bowing to Elihu Root's wish to keep the Endowment out of political controversies, Carnegie endowed a second agency, the Church Peace Union (known today as the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs) with $2 million, with the understanding that it would take a more activist role than the Endowment could. With the leaders of the new organization, an ecumenical group of churchmen, all peace activists, he planned an international conference to be held in Germany in August.

And then, the unthinkable. Carnegie, as had been his routine for decades, spent the summer of 1914 in Scotland, when, as he had predicted, the spark he had spent the last 20 years trying to extinguish took flame, and absent any compulsory arbitration mechanisms or institutions, the nations of Europe resorted to violence to settle a local dispute between Austria and Serbia. His first task was to rescue the Church Peace Union delegates from Britain and the United States who had been trapped in Germany when war was declared. That accomplished, he returned

Peace Illusion For Andrew Carnegie, the opening of the Peace Palace was a triumph, and he began 1914 with great optimism, declaring himself "strong in the faith that international Peace [was] soon to prevail." History had a different idea. Less than a year after the opening of the Peace Palace, World War I — "the war to end all wars" — erupted. This detail from a 1914 postcard shows the Angel of Peace being expelled from the Peace Palace by the Demon of War. For Carnegie's skeptics, WWI was proof that arbitration — and his beautiful "Temple of Peace" — could not prevent war, and that conflicts between states could only ever be settled on the battlefield.
PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

to the United States and went immediately to Washington, where he implored President Wilson and the American government to do what it could to broker some sort of peace agreement. He failed, the war ground on, the killing accelerated.

Carnegie celebrated his 79th birthday in November 1914. In December he predicted that if a League of Peace were not established at the end of the war now raging, the vanquished would rise up again to renew the cycle of bloodshed.

In March 1915 he was asked in an interview with the *New York Times* if he had "lost faith in the peace impulse which centers at The Hague."

"Certainly not. I verily believe that in this war exists the most impressive, perhaps the only argument which could induce humanity to abate forever the curse of military preparation and the inevitably resultant woe of conflict.... This war staggers the imagination.... I do not underestimate its horror, but I hope, and I believe that this very horrible, newly barbaric excess will so revolt human nature against all things of the kind that the reaction will be great enough to carry us into the realms of reason. And the realms of reason are the realms of peace."

This was to be his last interview.

He retreated into silence, stopped writing, seeing visitors, speaking, corresponding; he refused to read the newspapers. His friends were distraught, as, of course, was Louise, his wife, who did not recognize the once voluble, active little man who could not stop talking. They were convinced he had suffered some sort of a nervous breakdown, brought about by his failure to do anything to stop the Great War. The supreme optimist had in the end been defeated by the reality of man's inhumanity to man. And had ceased to communicate with the world around him.

On November 10, 1918, the day before the armistice was signed ending World War I, he took up pen again to write a last letter to Woodrow Wilson. "Now that the world war seems practically at an end I cannot refrain from sending you my heartfelt congratulations upon the great share you have had in bringing about its successful conclusion. The Palace of Peace at the Hague would, I think, be the fitting place for dispassionate discussion regarding the destiny of the conquered nations, and I hope your influence may be exerted in that direction."

Wilson's response was generous. "I know your heart must rejoice at the dawn of peace after these terrible years of struggle, for I know how long and earnestly you have worked for and desired such conditions as I pray God it may now be possible for us to establish." While Wilson did not know where the peace talks would be held (they would end up at Versailles, not The Hague), he was sure that Carnegie would "be present in spirit."

And Woodrow Wilson may have been right.

We are here today because Andrew Carnegie remains with us in spirit. He was a man of the 19th century who hoped for better in the 20th century. We are now nearly two decades into the 21st. Might we not take something away from Andrew Carnegie's crusade for peace, failed though it was. Let us pause — at this moment, in this grand Palace of Peace, and look back across the desolate dark century that has passed, the world wars, the genocides, the killing fields. Without forgetting the horrors of our recent past and the dismal failures to build a lasting peace, let us remember, celebrate, and build upon this little man's dreams. Let us renew, with him, our commitment to work towards a future when reason and humankind take the final step forward on the path from barbarism to civilization. ■

(NOT) GOING DUTCH

The architectural competition to design a temple of peace for the entire world

By **Fred A. Bernstein**

Goddess Gates The impressive main gates to the grounds of the Peace Palace in The Hague were a gift from the government of Germany. Designed by the architect Bruno Möhring and manufactured by the firm Schulz und Holdefleiss of Berlin, the gates hang off large sandstone columns crowned by putti. Their four central brass medallions, installed in November 1912, feature relief sculptures of the goddesses Concordia, Amicitia, Pax, and Justitia (Concord, Friendship, Peace, and Justice). The government of Germany has twice funded restorations of the gates, most recently in 2010.
PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

The magnificent Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands, built thanks to the largesse of Andrew Carnegie, soars as testament to the American philanthropist's unshakable belief that for the progress of mankind, the tide had turned at last, and that "even the smallest further step taken in any peaceful direction would soon lead to successive steps thereafter."

Big philanthropic initiatives on peace and security have become few and far between, according to a recent article in the *Nation*, ruefully titled "You Never Give Me Your Money." Carnegie Corporation of New York's Stephen Del Rosso told the *Nation* that he has seen a "retraction of funding" over the course of the past 20 years in the area of peace and security, adding, "It's lonely out here." But Carnegie Corporation of New York has peacebuilding in its DNA: its programs build on Andrew Carnegie's efforts to banish war, which he called "the earth's most revolting spectacle." Perhaps Andrew Carnegie's most tangible such effort was building a home in The Hague for the Permanent Court of Arbitration, an intergovernmental organization created in 1899. "At last there is no excuse for war," Carnegie said of the court in a 1905 speech to the students at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. "A tribunal is now at hand to judge wisely and deliver righteous judgment between nations."

In 1913 Carnegie spoke at the dedication of the Peace Palace, the structure designed as the permanent home for the Court of Arbitration. Financed by Carnegie, it "became the physical manifestation of his desire to bring about world peace, the same desire that fuels the Corporation's work today," says Del Rosso, program director for international peace and security at the Corporation. Indeed, the Palace now accommodates not only the arbitration court but also the International Court of Justice (the principal judicial arm of the United Nations, commonly known as the World Court), as well as an international law academy and a research library holding the world's largest collection of materials on international peace and justice.

To ensure that the building would be as lofty as its mission, the planners held an architectural competition — a tradition dating back at least to 1419, when Filippo Brunelleschi was selected to design the dome of the famed Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. By the 20th century, architectural competitions had become de rigueur for significant public projects. The Peace Palace competition presaged several better-known contests: in 1948, Eero Saarinen's design for the Gateway Arch, on the St. Louis waterfront, was chosen from among 172 entries (including one submitted by his father, Eliel Saarinen). And in 1957, Jørn Utzon, a young Danish architect, triumphed in a competition to design the Sydney Opera House, known for its iconic, sail-like roofs. Tellingly, the Florence cathedral, the Gateway Arch, and the Sydney Opera House are among the world's most recognizable structures.

At their best, competitions elicit compelling designs, often from little-known architects who wouldn't otherwise have been considered for such high-profile commissions. To the list of relatively obscure architects who have won important competitions, add the name Louis-Marie Cordonnier (1854–1940) of Lille, France, whose Peace Palace design was selected in 1906 from among 216 entries. More than a century after its completion, the red-brick and sandstone building stands as an "icon of the development of international law," in the words of Arthur Eyffinger, author of the definitive study *The Peace Palace: Residence for Justice, Domicile of Learning* (1988). It is also a major tourist draw. Upon entering the building, visitors immediately sense that it "is a 'palace' in the true sense of the word. The distinguished impression of the building's exterior is heightened still by the soberness, the quiet of the interior, which has no room for 'overcrowding.' ... Even a layman could guess at once that choicest materials from all corners of the earth have been gathered and lovingly made into what they are by artists' hands," wrote C. H. de Boer, author of a guidebook to the Palace (1948; 1951).

Such extravagance was made possible by the deep pockets of Andrew Carnegie, whose fondest hope was that the work conducted within the Palace walls would make war obsolete. This aim was shared by Russia's Czar Nicholas II, who in 1899 convened the Hague Convention to address the problem of international weapons proliferation. Although the 26 nations participating in the meeting failed to reach a significant arms agreement, they did succeed in founding the Permanent Court of Arbitration as a means of resolving future international disputes.

Because the court had no home of its own, in 1900 Russian diplomat Frederic de Martens traveled to Berlin to enlist the aid of the U.S. ambassador to Germany, Andrew Dickson White, in securing funding for an appropriate structure. White immediately thought of Carnegie, whose interest in world peace was well established. Initially, the philanthropist offered to donate a library to the new court, but after protracted negotiations he pledged $1.5 million (more than $43 million in today's dollars) toward construction. In 1904 the board of the Carnegie Foundation, which is based in The Hague, assumed control of the project, and a year later the Dutch government bought the Foundation two properties, totaling 16 acres, in an idyllic spot alongside the extensive royal woods known as the Zorgvliet. The Foundation, advised by a leading Dutch architect, began planning the competition.

Every architecture competition involves trade-offs, and this one was no exception. As Eyffinger, a classicist, law historian, and former head librarian of the International Court of Justice, recently explained in an email: "Prize competitions are highly interesting, if mostly saddening stories in which, more often than not, human nature and rivalry prevail over technical and strictly professional issues." However, the ultimate success of the Peace Palace design speaks highly of the process followed by the Carnegie Foundation.

Symbols of Peace The dove has been a symbol of peace at least as far back as the biblical story of Noah. The Dutch artist Herman Rosse (1887–1965) was only 24 years old when he was selected to design much of the interior of the Peace Palace. The Hague-born artist painted doves throughout the building — on the tiles, on plaster ceilings, and even on stained-glass windows (like this one in a courtroom antechamber). Rosse compared his work as a decorative artist to composing for an orchestra: both the aesthetics and the meaning of his decorations, he said, "are to be connected into one 'symphonic' whole." The Palace was only the first of many commissions for Rosse, who enjoys the distinction of being the first Dutchman to win an Oscar — for his art direction of 1930's *King of Jazz*. And on a personal "note": he met his future wife, Sophia Luyt, at the Peace Palace, where she was an assistant to Thomas Mawson, the landscape designer for the complex. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

The first thing the organizers of an architectural contest must decide is whether to allow all architects, or only a preselected group, to enter. An open call may bring a flood of submissions, but few from established architects (who are likely to be deterred by the low odds of winning). Conversely, an "invited competition" would exclude lesser-known architects who might have the most original ideas. In the case of the Peace Palace, an additional question arose: Should the competition be limited to Dutch architects, as the Royal Institute of Dutch Architects demanded at the time, or should it be open to architects of any nationality, the view — not insignificantly — of Andrew Carnegie himself?

Eventually, the Carnegie Foundation board decided on a competition that was both open and closed. It would be international — as befits an organization dedicated to world unity — but limited to entrants nominated by the 26 countries that took part in the 1899 Hague Convention. (The single exception was the nomination of American architects, which was left to Carnegie himself; he chose Peabody & Stearns of Boston and Carrère & Hastings of New York.) The Foundation board, besieged by requests from foreign architects and their professional associations that the competition be open to anyone, eventually relented, although only the invited firms were paid a stipend for participating.

Another issue in architecture competitions is whether to solicit fully developed designs or mere conceptual sketches. The former approach, requiring hundreds of hours of work, might discourage all but the best-funded practitioners. The latter, a so-called ideas competition, may result in the choice of an exciting scheme by an architect who then turns out to have little practical experience.

In this case, the board set the bar very high: the "Programme of the Competition for the Architectural Plan of the Peace Palace for the Use of the Permanent Court of Arbitration with a Library," distributed worldwide on August 15, 1905, informed architects that they had seven months to produce plans, elevations, sections, and perspectives for a finished structure meeting hundreds of precise requirements. The process proved overwhelming, and, as the deadline approached, the participating architects were granted an extra month.

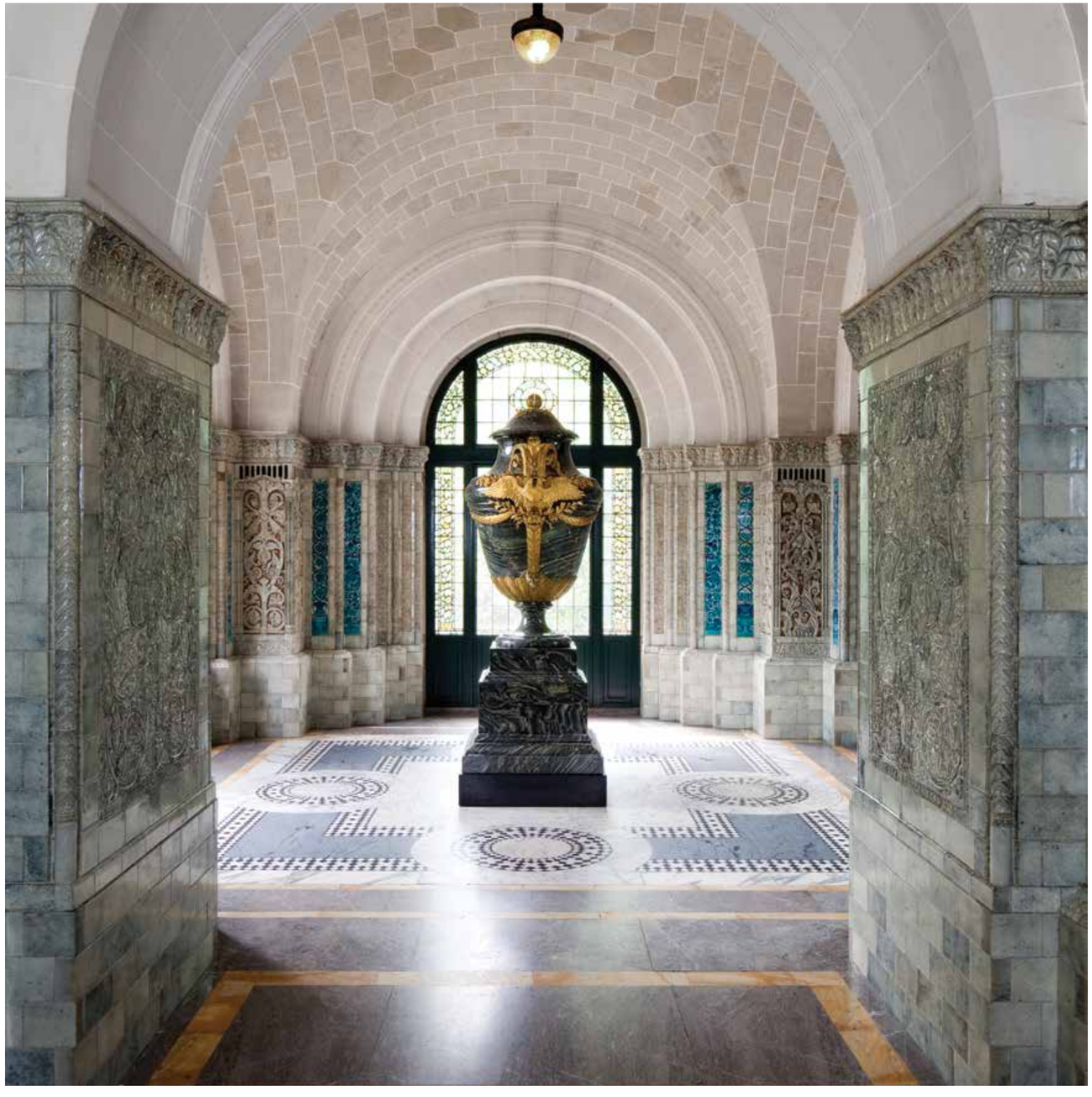
More than 200 entries arrived by the (revised) deadline, April 15, 1906. The six jurors (chosen by the Carnegie Foundation board) included the president-elect of the

Stairway to Heaven Cordonnier modeled the building's main stairway, made of "blanc clair" marble, on the much larger grand stair of Charles Garnier's Paris Opera (1861–75). The standing candelabras were gifts of Austria. The bohemian crystal lamps flanking the stairway were gifts of The Hague. The statue on the landing at the top, *Peace Through Justice* by Andrew O'Connor, was a present from the U.S. government, though not given until 1924. O'Connor's modern version of Lady Justice is without the usual blindfold, scales, and sword. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

Royal Institute of British Architects, the architect of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and the German emperor's personal architect, among other grandees of the profession. The one American was William Robert Ware of Milton, Massachusetts, founder of the architecture school at Columbia University.

Altogether, the entries comprised more than 3,000 drawings — so many it was hard to find a place to hang them, until Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands offered the walls of her Kneuterdijk Palace. There, in May, after reviewing the proposals privately, the jurors convened to pick a winner. They began by naming their favorite projects. Forty-four plans received at least one nod, and thus qualified for further discussion. The field was eventually narrowed to 16. Several jurors were unsatisfied with the pool of entries and suggested, to no avail, that the contest be reopened.

The jury took a final vote on May 11. In first place was Cordonnier's scheme for separate courthouse and library buildings connected by a corridor, with four large corner towers, all in a richly decorated, neo-Renaissance mien. The jury, in a written statement, praised the design for "following the local traditions of XVI Century architecture." But Eyffinger succinctly notes that this was not the case. "Cordonnier's design," he writes, "was in no way linked to Dutch tradition." Nor did the choice of period make sense to everyone. "Why on earth the 16th-century style?" one critic asked mockingly. "Is it because Holland was engaged in war (with Spain) most of that period?" (In a detailed critique of the completed palace, the *New York Times* would later peg the style "Sicilian Romanesque," explaining that the design reflected "in some degree both the Norman and the Oriental influence resultant from the many political mutations of the island of the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages.")



Weighty Matters The huge jasper vase in the entrance chamber to the small courtroom was a gift from Czar Nicholas II, whose initiative led to the creation of the Peace Palace. But then, in a manner of speaking, he almost destroyed it: the urn (together with its base) weighs an incredible 3,200 kilograms; the builder had to reinforce the concrete floor before it could be installed. Gold embellishments include the double-headed eagle insignia of the Romanovs. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

More positive attention was focused on the fourth-place design, by the Austrian architect Otto Wagner, a leader of the Vienna Secession movement and one of the great figures of 20th-century architecture. In fifth place was the New York firm of Greenley & Olin, whose design hued to the neoclassical style exemplified by The New York Public Library's central building at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. A plan by another highly influential architect, Eliel Saarinen of Finland, didn't make the top six, nor did any proposal from the Netherlands. Modernism was also nowhere to be seen among the finalists.

The selected plan prompted not just criticism but also litigation. Between 1907 and 1911 a group headed by Hendrik Berlage, a celebrated Dutch architect, fought to annul the result of the competition, claiming, among other things, that the cost of Cordonnier's scheme would far surpass the announced budget. Although the board ultimately won dismissal of the suit, at one point it seriously considered scrapping the jury's verdict and going with the Saarinen plan. Not legally bound by the jury's decision, it also at one point thought of moving forward with the Greenley & Olin proposal.

In the end, however, the board set out to make the Cordonnier proposal work. So in July 1906, shortly after announcing the winning entry, board members traveled to Dunkirk, France, to see that architect's town hall. That building so closely resembled Cordonnier's Peace Palace design that, in Eyffinger's words, the board members might have felt "downright cheated by the plagiarism."

Moreover, Cordonnier, busy at his office in Lille, had little interest in relocating to The Hague, or even in making regular visits. The board persuaded him to collaborate with a Dutch architect so as to move the project forward, and eventually Cordonnier brought in the Haarlem firm of Johan van der Steur.

Van der Steur's first task was to cut costs by modifying the original design. As Eyffinger recently noted, "The building was, both on financial and aesthetic grounds, stripped of its all-too-elaborate decorations (Cordonnier was an artist first, an architect second), and two bell towers were cut out altogether. The dimensions were reduced, the ground plan altered, and the overall appearance adapted to the more modest Dutch taste — van der Steur was a very sober architect, the opposite of Cordonnier, but not exactly a creative genius." The building, now a 234-foot square surrounding a courtyard of 102 by 132 feet, was not universally beloved in its time. Reviewing the finished building in 1913, the *New York Times* called van der Steur's interventions "detrimental to a general scheme which already was by far too conventional."

Grand Illusions This handsome watercolor rendering is part of the submission that won Louis-Marie Cordonnier the Peace Palace commission. But sticking to Andrew Carnegie's budget meant eliminating many of the flourishes of the original design. Cordonnier's four corner towers were reduced to two — the highest of which was adorned with a clock donated by Switzerland — and the ornamentation was simplified considerably by the project's "executive architect," Johan van der Steur. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

Even with the simplified design, the board had to ask Carnegie for additional funds — which led to his belated discovery that a brick-and-mortar library was to be a major part of the building. (When he initially offered to provide the funds for a library at the Peace Palace, Carnegie explained, he had meant a collection of books, not a library structure.) "I am positively wounded.... To speak of 'The Library and Court of Arbitration' is as if a bereaved husband were to ask plans for a sacred shrine to 'my nephew and my dear wife,'" Carnegie wrote in a letter to David Jayne Hill, the U.S. minister in The Hague. However, through an exchange of letters and some personal diplomacy, matters were eventually smoothed over.

Meanwhile, work proceeded in the van der Steur offices. The Peace Palace's cornerstone was laid on July 30, 1907, during the Second International Peace Conference, which was held, like the first conference (1899), in The Hague. This symbolic act preceded the actual groundbreaking by months, and splendid gifts soon began pouring in from around the world. The Russian czar sent an ornate and very grand vase — so heavy that the floor below it needed reinforcement. America's offering was perhaps less impressive, although today the marble figure of *Peace Through Justice* is given pride of place at the top of the great staircase in the main entry hall, greeting visitors to the Palace in her own way. As Eyffinger, the Dutch historian, explains wryly:

> America's official gift was the marble statue representing *Peace Through Justice*, as it was named. After WWI, with President Wilson furious at the profitable neutrality of the Dutch during the war, the U.S. Congress did not vote in favor of a gift to the Peace Palace, and the statue (by Andrew O'Connor, and not produced until 1924) will initially have been meant for different purposes altogether. The marble lady of peace wears a wedding ring and has hands like shovels. Perhaps the records of O'Connor's life will tell you more of the provenance of the statue!

The result is an edifice rich in allegorical detail and metaphorical allusion. Here's de Boer, the guidebook author, describing just a bit of the decor of the Great Hall of Justice, the nobly proportioned and beautifully appointed room in which the International Court of Justice sits in session:

> Remarkable for this room are its four stained-glass windows, which are a present of Great Britain. They were painted by Douglas Strachan and represent the development of mankind from its primitive days to the period when war as a means of international politics will have been banished. The painting by Albert Besnard is a gift from France. It represents a young woman separating two horsemen to prevent their fighting, while the men standing on the rocks are trying to settle their dispute by arbitration.

A grand opening was scheduled for August 1913, a month during which peace conferences were held throughout The Hague. As Eyffinger writes in *The Peace Palace,* "All in all, it looked very much as if the whole universe of pacifism had gravitated to The Hague — indeed, the atmosphere ... was that of a joyful world reunion." The high point came on August 28, as hundreds of dignitaries turned out for the inauguration of the Peace Palace. Old world met new, with Andrew Carnegie bowing deeply to the Dutch queen. However, as Eyffinger observes, to the Dutch public that day, it was Andrew Carnegie who was visiting royalty, likening his ride to the Peace Palace to a Fifth Avenue ticker-tape parade. Carnegie was profoundly moved by the occasion. His diary for that day reads:

> Looking back a hundred years, or less perchance, from today, the future historian is to pronounce the opening of a World Court for the Settlement of International Disputes by Arbitration the greatest one step forward ever taken by man, in his long and checkered march upward from barbarism. Nothing he has yet accomplished equals the substitution for war, of judicial decisions founded upon International Law, which is slowly, yet surely, to become the corner stone, so long rejected by the builders, of the grand edifice of Civilization.

Taking his turn at the lectern that day, Carnegie predicted that the end of war was "as certain to come, and come soon, as day follows night."

Tragically, Carnegie's certainty did not become a reality. Exactly 11 months to the day after the opening of the Peace Palace, World War I — "the war to end all wars" — erupted when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. All seemed hopeless.

And yet ...

The Peace Palace endures, and the seemingly never-ending work of the world's peacebuilders continues.

In late September 2018, at the Peace Palace, Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations connected leading stakeholders from various backgrounds and generations, including underrepresented players and those directly affected by conflict and war. Presented by Carnegie institutions worldwide and their partners, the three-day program was designed to generate unexpected insights and routes for progress in promoting world peace.

At the closing event, held in the Great Hall of Justice, the winners of two notable peace prizes were announced and their extraordinary achievements celebrated. Youth-led organization BogotArt received the first Youth Carnegie Peace Prize for its "Letters of Reconciliation" project, which creates a dialogue between disconnected groups in Colombia, addressing the challenges of promoting youth participation in peace transition processes. For Leonardo Párraga, BogotArt executive director, the prize is "a direct demonstration of the power that the youth have to transform conflict and build sustainable peace."

War correspondent Rudi Vranckx, winner of the 2018 Carnegie Wateler Peace Prize, has for more than three decades put his life on the line to give voice to people caught in some of the most dangerous conflict areas in the world. "Every word has consequences," Vranckx reminded the audience. "Every silence does too. Silence is not an option."

Again, old world met new. Next-generation peacebuilders are ready. Dr. Bernard R. Bot, chairman of the Carnegie Foundation–Peace Palace, forcefully invoked Andrew Carnegie, who made both the Peace Palace and the Carnegie Foundation tangible realities. "In all his ideas, he was dominated by an intense belief in the future, in progress, in education, and in a future without war. His spirit as well as his faith in the ability of individuals to better themselves, and thus the society in which they live, is a beacon of light for future generations to follow." ■

NOW, DON'T BE SPOOKED!

The **quantum revolution** rolls on, and philanthropy is falling behind

By **Stephen Del Rosso**

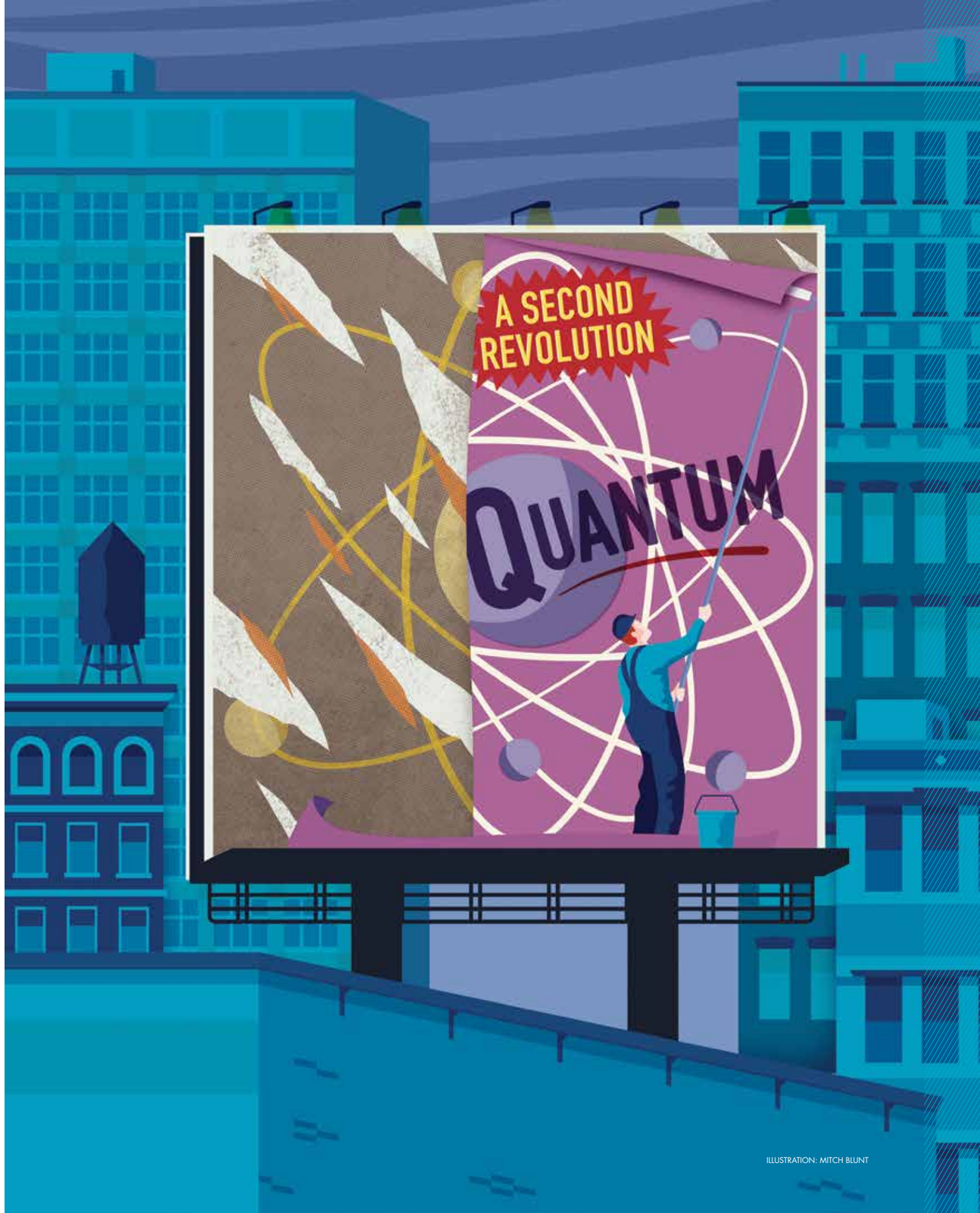


ILLUSTRATION: MITCH BLUNT

Two years ago I wrote an essay for the *Chronicle of Philanthropy* exhorting my colleagues at other philanthropies to join Carnegie Corporation of New York in its initial, exploratory funding of efforts to better understand the far-ranging implications of the "quantum revolution."

What's that, you say?

This new quantum moment is as revolutionary as the dawn of the nuclear age, which, in Einstein's oft-quoted line, "changed everything save our modes of thinking."

Chronicling some of the quantum field's most eye-popping features, I professed that I had become a born-again proselytizer for this cause. It was high time, I argued, for philanthropy to get in on the quantum action and promote the required new modes of thinking in the social sciences.

Now you might be asking why.

My answer starts with the stark fact that quantum inquiry upends our understanding of the nature of matter and energy. It overturns classic Newtonian physics that says atoms are particles and light is a wave.

Quantum theory says, no, they each can behave like the other under certain conditions. Nothing is certain; all is potentiality. And when two quantum particles are somehow connected ("entangled"), any action performed on one affects the other, even if they are very far apart — what Einstein famously called "spooky action at a distance."

When applied to computing, this means that where an ordinary computer processes bits of data one at a time, quantum computing can process entangled bits simultaneously, doing calculations at exponentially faster speeds. A linked network of quantum computers would create a "quantum internet," revolutionizing the way we communicate.

Medicine, Encryption, and More

At the University of Sydney, the innovative, multidisciplinary, Carnegie-supported Project Q is asking important questions. Will the second quantum revolution lead to sentient computer programs, feral algorithms, and nonhuman forms of intelligence? To what extent will quantum applications be weaponized? Are social media and data mining already producing quantum effects in world politics? What new kinds of scientific inquiries will it make possible? What are the philosophical and ethical implications?

Quantum developments could transform our lives, processing "big data" in mind-boggling ways — mimicking huge chemical reactions, for example, to create new medicines and materials.

Quantum discovery could create superpowerful satellites, cameras, and sensors and interlink their data with historical information and on-the-ground observers in real time for battlefield use.

It could crack encrypted data almost instantly and create far better encryption methods. It could also, in the wrong hands, undermine our democracy by flooding our information systems with "fake news" to mislead and control a population.

As I noted previously, investments are pouring in on the technology side — from tech behemoths like Microsoft, Google, and IBM; from major universities; from federal agencies, including NASA and the National Security Agency; from public- and private-sector players, most prominently in China, but also in Australia, Canada, Europe, and elsewhere. The Department of Energy's 2019 budget proposal allocates $105 million to quantum investigation, citing the "emerging urgency of building U.S. competency and competitiveness" in the field. All these public and private players are cramming to develop a fully functional quantum computer, and in the process, they are finding all kinds of new quantum angles to explore.

Still, despite the huge implications of all this furious activity, the public scarcely knows the field exists beyond vague and often hyperbolic references in popular culture. Foundations are no further along.

Modest Support at Best

As quantum technology evolves at unprecedented speed, philanthropy lags in fostering appreciation for its impact and its potential for both good and ill. Much useful research needs to be done, but social scientists have not generated many projects on this theme. If anyone should be helping scholars and analysts make sense of all this for the rest of the population, it's us.

But foundations are just not playing their part. The most recent survey of the 65-member Peace and Security Funders Group showed $47 million in annual grantmaking on nuclear issues and tens of millions more on a host of other security challenges, from peacebuilding to counterterrorism. Quantum study did not even merit a category. Carnegie's own support for this work remains modest, an attempt to maintain momentum in hopes that others will join in.

There is encouraging news from the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, which last month announced a $95 million investment over six years for research in "quantum materials" — an important but esoteric subfield that explores ways in which quantum properties can be applied to new technologies — on top of nearly $100 million it had already committed.

Traditional foundations, especially in the field of international peace and security, are continuously searching for ways to be more relevant and cutting-edge. The so-called New Philanthropists, with their funding derived largely from information technology, seem to be on a constant quest for the next shiny new thing. Quantum issues fill the bill for both.

But as significant and worthwhile as this development is, it is focused on basic research in the hard sciences. What is still needed is getting social scientists into the game — as they have on other security challenges — to study the effects of such advances on humanity, as highlighted by the far-ranging questions posed by the University of Sydney.

This apparent philanthropic indifference to the broader societal impact of developments in quantum is not only shortsighted, it's baffling.

Traditional foundations, especially in the field of international peace and security, are continuously searching for ways to be more relevant and cutting-edge. The so-called New Philanthropists, with their funding derived largely from information technology, seem to be on a constant quest for the next shiny new thing. Quantum issues fill the bill for both.

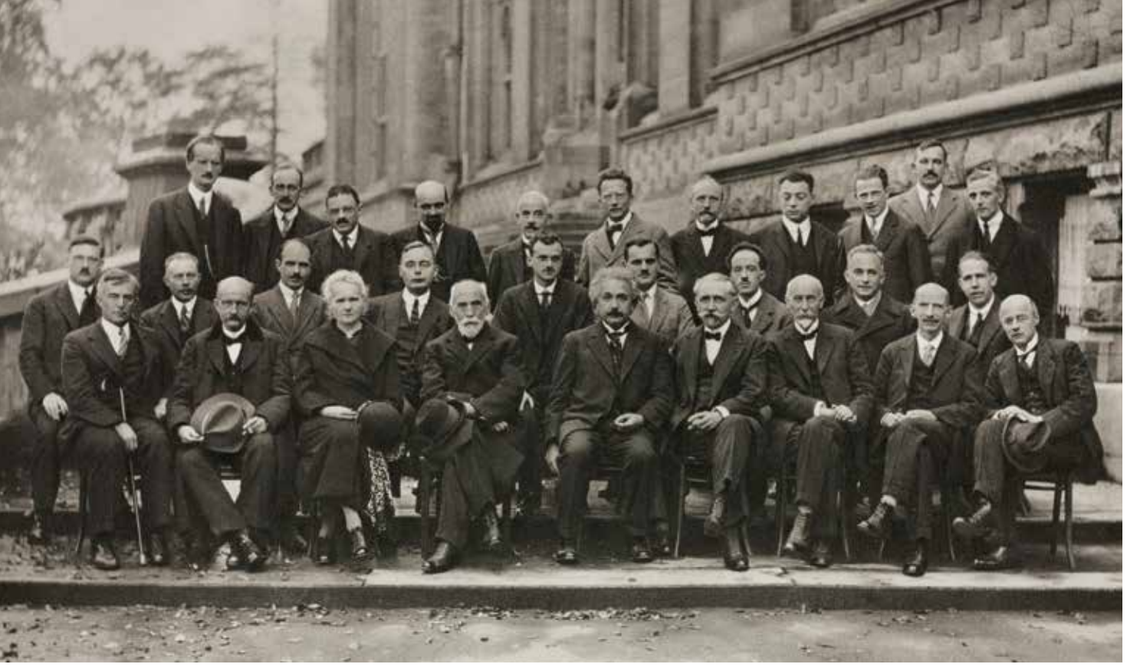
Why is philanthropy not all over this seemingly revolutionary development? One explanation begins with nuclear fission. The image of a mushroom cloud vividly captures that complex process and its implications. Recall that nuclear power was once touted as a civilian energy source so plentiful that it wouldn't have to be metered, but it was the potential for planetary destruction that lodged in the popular psyche. Among donors active on peace and security issues, including Carnegie Corporation of New York, it was a fairly straightforward decision to support research to understand and deal with the effects of this potent force. Quantum potential is much harder to characterize; it has no mushroom-cloud equivalent. As theoretical physicist Michael Nielsen has pointed out, "Everything you've ever seen or done in your life, driving a car, walking in the park, cooking a meal … can be directly simulated on a conventional computer. Not true when explaining how a quantum computer works."

Paraphrasing Nielsen: If this could be simulated on a conventional computer, then it couldn't be an accurate model of a quantum computer because a quantum computer, by definition, does what no conventional computer can do.

The Challenge of Writing a Grant Proposal

The quantum revolution's pride of place as a shiny new thing has been overshadowed by other recent developments, especially in artificial intelligence and cybersecurity. These technologies are increasingly and inextricably linked to — even reliant on — quantum issues, but a key difference is that those technologies can be visualized in the form of thinking robots or villainous computer hackers.

While physicists have long recognized quantum theory's relevance and shine, there is an additional complication facing social scientists that does not apply to nuclear fission, AI, or cybersecurity. Although we've been solving problems with quantum theory for about a century, even natural scientists still don't really know how it works — and they are unlikely to figure it out anytime



The Smart Set Many of the greatest names in 20th-century physics were present at the Fifth Solvay Conference, held in Brussels in October 1927. The conferences were initiated by Belgian chemist and industrialist Ernest Solvay (1838–1922). Considered a turning point in the world of physics, the fifth one was held shortly after an explosion of research into quantum mechanics, to investigate the theories surrounding electrons and photons. The delegates shown here included such luminaries as Max Planck (front row, second from left), Marie Curie (front row, third from left), Albert Einstein (front row, fifth from left), and Erwin Schrödinger (back row, sixth from left). This group photograph has been called "probably the most intelligent picture ever taken." Of the 29 attendees, 17 were or became Nobel Prize winners. PHOTO: SSPL/GETTY IMAGES

soon, if ever. That's because, unlike classical physics, there is nothing in the observable world that can duplicate quantum behavior. Objects at the subatomic level have no definite state before they are measured; it's something that confounded even Einstein.

So, a key remaining challenge is how to design a theoretically rigorous and empirically driven research agenda for quantum issues, despite their essentially impenetrable nature. How can a grant proposal be written to persuade a foundation that the implications of this fuzzy phenomenon warrant study and support, given the myriad other security challenges facing the world?

The latest developments in new quantum technologies suggest a rich and consequential research agenda that awaits further investigation and investment. Beyond studies that probe the implications of quantum applications, quantum perspectives — with their counterintuitive reality and recognition of entanglement across time and space — can loosen rigid modes of thinking and help us make sense of the burgeoning international peace and security agenda. Phenomena such as terrorism and populism demonstrate that events in one country can affect those in another. These quantum-like characteristics don't fit traditional models.

Philanthropy is in an ideal position to support research that applies new, quantum-informed ways of thinking to this agenda. At the same time, it can help explore whether social science can anticipate and suggest responses to a world in which quantum-fueled technologies begin to outpace governmental and even human control. We ignore these questions, and fail to answer them, at our peril.

Despite my initial failure to win converts to this view, I continue to believe that my fellow grantmakers will one day share my zeal and find other entry points into the mysteries of quantum. I will remain an evangelist for this cause, even if that requires a leap of faith on my part — quantum or otherwise. ■

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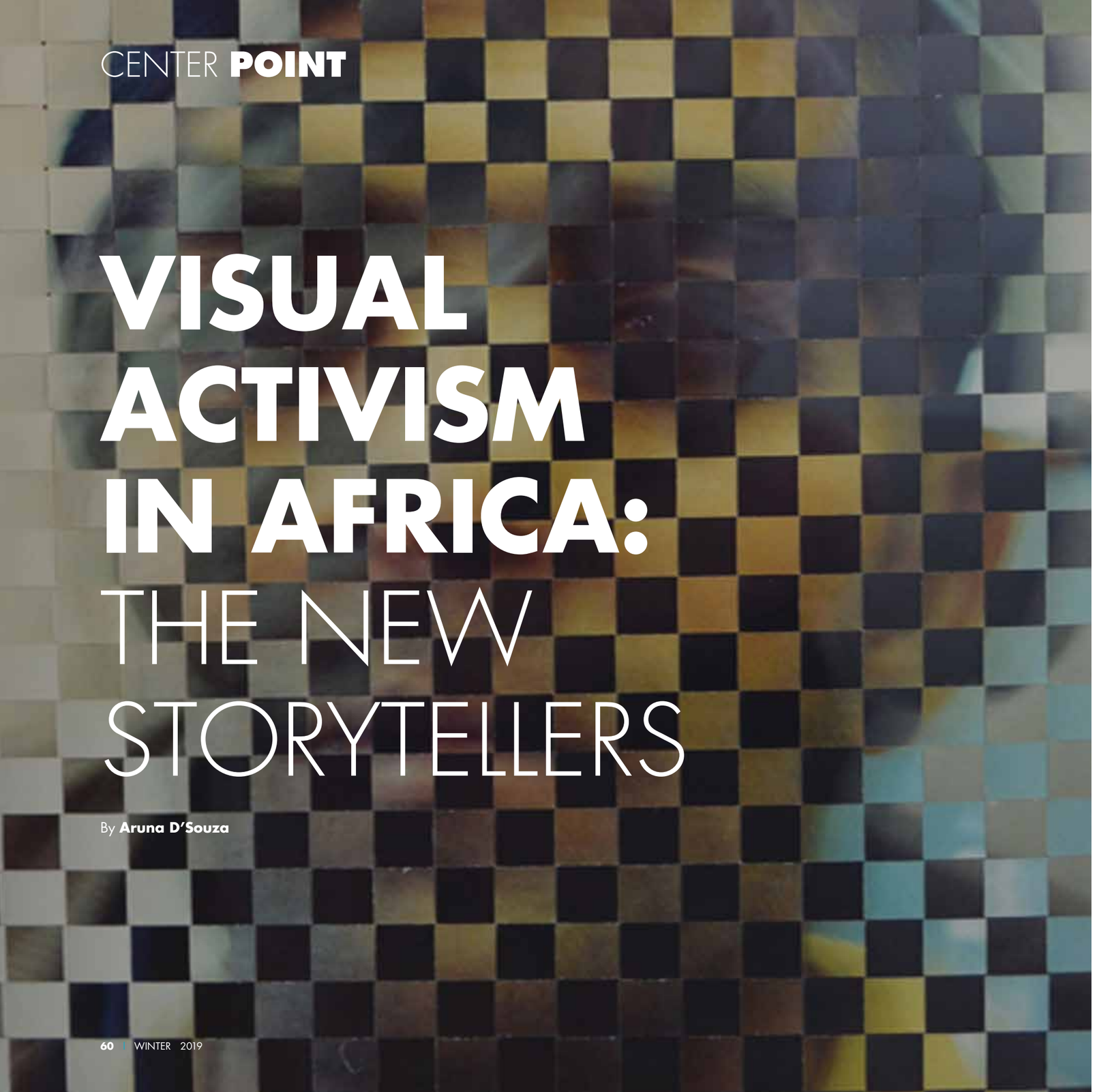
VISUAL ACTIVISM IN AFRICA: THE NEW STORYTELLERS

By **Aruna D'Souza**



Nomusa Makhubu
Untitled, 2005. Two woven color photographs. From the *Fragments* series.
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

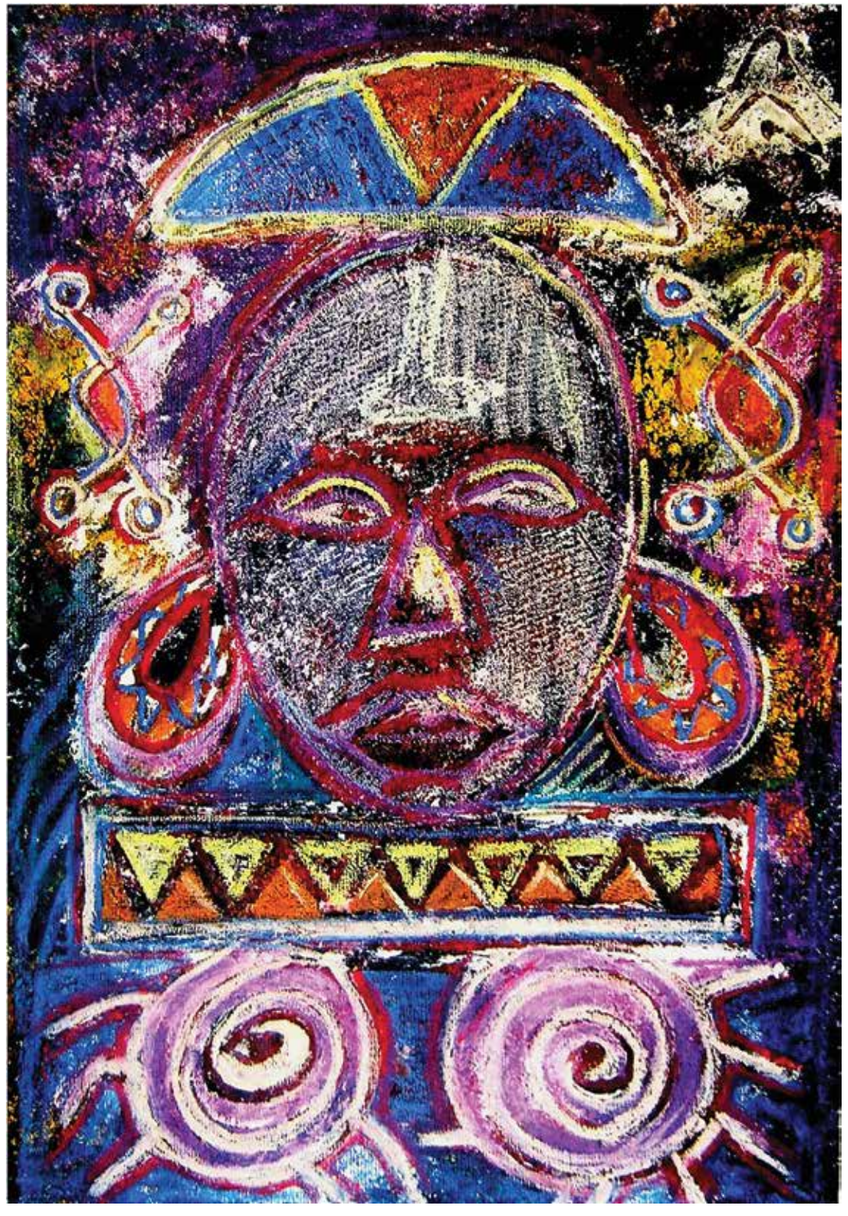
Scholars and practitioners of the arts all across the continent are transforming the ways their histories, past and present, are told

Africa is a continent of 54 nation states, more than 1,500 languages, and roughly 3,000 ethnic groups, making it the most diverse and culturally rich place on earth. It is impossible to speak of it as a singularity. This is why many scholars on the continent refer not to African art, but to the *arts of Africa* when speaking of the visual and material cultures produced across a vast range of eras, spaces, and traditions.

While much writing on the arts of Africa is produced outside of the continent, especially in the U.S. — *African Arts*, the most important journal in the field, is published by UCLA with MIT Press, for example — there is a growing network of Africa-based scholars who are working to develop an African-centric approach to understanding the arts produced there, both historical and contemporary.

For some, this means challenging and transforming long-entrenched art historical curricula in the academy. Others are delving deep into histories of gender, race, inequality, colonial power, material culture, sociopolitical economy, and more to deepen their own artwork. And yet others are developing and supporting new generations of scholars who will join in the efforts to rewrite the history of the arts in Africa — in Africa itself.

Here are some of those researchers, scholars, and artists, all alumni of the African Humanities Program (AHP), a partnership of the American Council of Learned Societies and Carnegie Corporation of New York that, since 2008, has been working to reinvigorate the humanities in Africa through fellowship competitions and related activities. These thinkers and makers are telling new stories about some of the myriad cultural forms, past and present, that are shaping — and reshaping — the lived experience of contemporary Africa. Art POWA, the recently established network of Africa-based scholars whose work focuses on the visual arts, put the message right in their name: **P**roducing **O**ur **W**ords in **A**frica. ■



Eyitayo Tolulope Ijisakin's ongoing study of the history of Nigerian printmaking was born of and continues to shape his own work as an artist. His collagraph print *African Bride* (2007) incorporates a complex symbolic and coloristic language to represent Yoruba conceptions of the role women are expected to play in marriage. COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Eyitayo Tolulope Ijisakin

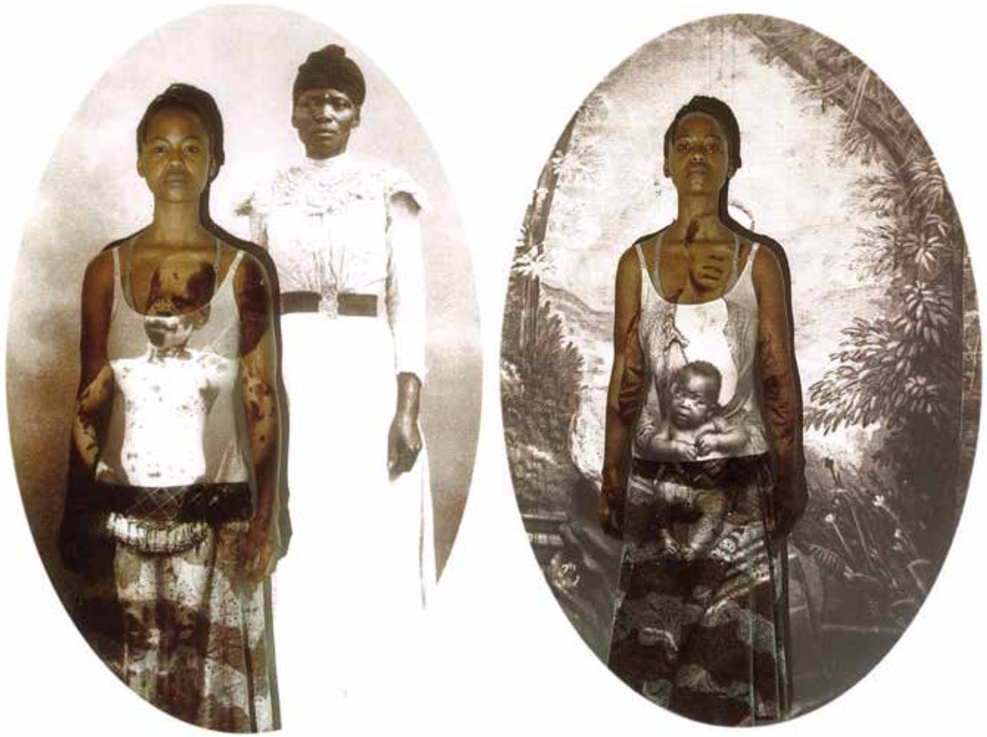
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria
2015 and 2018 African Humanities Program Fellow

A Nigerian artist and art historian offers the first comprehensive study of printmaking in his country

I benefited from two fellowships from the AHP (one predoctoral fellowship, the other postdoctoral): an AHP Manuscript Development Workshop in Ghana and an AHP residency at the International Institute for the Advanced Study of Cultures, Institutions, and Economic Enterprises at the University of Ghana in Accra. I am presently using my postdoctoral fellowship to rework my PhD dissertation into a book on the evolution and development of printmaking in Nigeria, with a view to extending the frontiers of knowledge on art history in my country. As a printmaker myself, this knowledge also deepens my own work in the medium, and allows me to place my practice in a larger context.

Compared to sculpture and painting traditions, printmaking practices in Nigeria have been grossly neglected, with very little available literature to draw on — a few exhibition catalogues, scanty newspaper reviews, and autobiographical sketches here and there. No single text exists to tell the story of how printmaking evolved in the country, to note the landmark events, to identify printmakers and their techniques, and to assess their significant contributions to the development of contemporary art praxis in Nigeria.

Collecting data for my study was almost overwhelming. Literature was scarce, and I had to track down individual printmakers all across the country — in the end, I identified 220 practitioners! Many of these ... well, I met and interviewed some of them one-on-one — at the Harmattan Workshop (a meeting point for visual artists from across Nigeria and abroad). I met others in their homes or studios, or I spoke with them by phone. My work argues that Nigerian printmaking artists — appropriating cultural heritage, aesthetics, and sociopolitical thoughts from their environment — are defining new perspectives of national identity.



The research pursued by **Nomusa Makhubu** informs her own artistic practice. In *Umasifanisane I* and *Umasifanisane II* (*Comparison I* and *Comparison II*; both 2013), she explores the way colonial photographs "reduce human beings to specimens." By projecting historical images over her own living body, the artist is commenting on how living subjects are informed by and can resist such modes of representation and classification. COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Nomusa Makhubu

University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa
2016 African Humanities Program Fellow

A South African artist and researcher uses colonial photographs to highlight the deep history of South Africa's ethnic divisions

Often when one presents oneself as an African artist, the question of ethnic background arises — are you a Zulu artist or a Xhosa artist? But we live in such a complex time, and ethnic identities are complicated and fluid — they don't necessarily define you. My creative research focuses on the representation of ethnic identities in colonial photographs and in museums. My work is a response to the ways in which ethnic divisions in South Africa were constructed under colonialism through British Indirect Rule, and later through Apartheid policies established to create Bantustans (homelands) that separated races and ethnic groups.

The colonial photographs I used in the *Self-Portrait Project* series were presented as scientific evidence, documenting different 'tribes' of the Zulu people or Xhosa people and so on. They are often labeled with the titles of the ethnic group that's being represented or they have classification numbers. Many of them were made in photographic studios, with people posed in front of painted backdrops. These so-called documentary photographs are actually factitious works, rooted in the colonial imagination — fantastic fictions of the colonial archives that were presented as truth.

During that research, I was also interested in how museums are organized. I focused specifically on a museum in Grahamstown, where I used to live, that was divided into two sections — it had a Xhosa side and a British settler side. On the British side, objects were associated with specific names. But on the Xhosa side, things were only identified by ethnicity — 'Xhosa beaded skirt,' for example. By locking people into ethnic categories, museums tend to reduce complex sociopolitical identities into these static, ethnic identities. In the museum, we cease to be human. How is it possible to subvert and rewrite the political implications of these photographs, which are part of our history and our collective memory? Of what use are they to contemporary politics? Of what use are the tools of memory if they serve a denigrating history?

Even though it is my body depicted in these works, rather than being explorations of the self, the project explores the representation of African women. Colonial photography is the documentation of violation and the terror of dispossession. Reenacting these scenes brought me closer to this terror. For me, the past is living memory — this work is a way of coming to terms with the persistence of the same repressive structures.

Nkiruka Nwafor is seeking to write new histories of the art of Nigeria, in part by highlighting the work of women artists, including that of Nnenna Okore. Okore's installation *Emissaries* (2011), made from handmade paper, dye, yarn, and burlap, engages questions of environmentalism and the fragile quality of earthly existence by recycling the detritus of everyday life through labor-intensive processes. COURTESY OF NNENNA OKORE

Nkiruka Nwafor

Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria
2014 African Humanities Program Fellow

A Nigerian art historian changes the narrative by writing about women artists

When I was deciding on my dissertation, someone said to me, 'You are a woman, and most women artists in Nigeria have not been researched at all. Who will do that? Who will change that narrative if not other women?' And so I decided to write on two artists, Nnenna Okore and Lucy Azubuike. What interested me was that they had diverse themes in their art — while Okore was interested in repurposing waste into valuable works of art, Azubuike was using photography to talk about female degradation and other subjects. But at the same time, there was a connection between their practices: I see their works as forms of visual activism.

Okore uses discarded materials like jute, paper, plastic, and fired clay to create works that talk about consumerism. And there is another dimension, too, because these materials degenerate over time, so the artwork goes through a process that is sort of like the life of a person: it's created, it ages, and eventually it 'dies.' In that sense, the work reflects an African concept of ancestral existence, which connects the past with the present, and the living with the dead.

In fact, some of Okore's works use the concept of the ancestral emissary or messenger — an entity that links the ancestors and communicates between the dead and the living in many African cultures. My writing on Okore tries to connect the materials she uses with these traditional notions. Usually these ideas are the purview of men in Nigeria — it's men who create, produce, and practice these roles. But now, she's able to claim this aesthetic in her art, and create her own vision of it. Art gives her the opportunity to delve into a space she wouldn't normally be able to enter in everyday African life.

One strategy for resisting the colonialist assumptions and biases of the art historical discipline is to expand its purview to encompass not just traditional media (such as painting and sculpture), but much broader swaths of visual culture. This goal animates **Okechukwu Nwafor**'s study of the ways a particular textile — the *aso ebi* cloth — is used to define community in new and disruptive ways when it is gifted by brides to their wedding guests. COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Okechukwu Nwafor

Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria
2013 African Humanities Program Fellow

A visual historian trains his eye on contemporary wedding practices in Nigeria

I studied *aso ebi* textiles — fabrics that are distributed by brides to wedding guests, and used to make outfits for the event — in western and southeastern Nigeria. The idea behind this long-standing practice is that by dressing in matching textiles, your guests are defining themselves as part of your community. In return, the bride gives gifts to those wearing the special clothing. Aso ebi is the name for the fabric, but it's also a practice in which people dress in similar uniforms and then attend social ceremonies, such as weddings, parties, and funerals. It's one of the ways in which Nigerian society constructs and reconstructs things like friendship.

I wasn't just looking at the textiles themselves — I was thinking about the political and visual economies that surround them, too.

Over the past 20 years, new ways of using aso ebi have emerged. The altruistic intention of the original transaction, where textiles were given freely to family members, has been complicated by commercialization. Brides now sell the fabric to wedding guests, even those she doesn't know well. It's become a sign of social status — the number of people that attend a wedding in aso ebi tells you how successful the wedding has been. But this has also caused friction among friends, instead of creating feelings of inclusion and belonging. The use of aso ebi plays into the visual hype of contemporary Nigerian society, and a culture of conspicuous consumption. I'm interested in how the intersection of aso ebi, popular photography, and fashion magazines have actually transformed the local visual cultural landscape in Lagos and other parts of Nigeria.

When it comes to art history, the first question you *need* to ask is, 'What do we really need to study when it comes to material culture or visual history?' Art history should not revolve only around paintings, sculpture, graphic arts, and so on — a limited range of objects. It should embrace the political and economic and social networks that circulate around things, too. You can't study objects in a vacuum. Art history should go much, much deeper than the way it is often studied — when I teach my students, I go beyond that to teach them what they need to know to understand their own world.

Freeborn Odiboh is interested in the way that global perspectives on the art histories of African nations often focus on abstraction and modernist "primitivism," resulting in significant omissions. One of these "disappearances" in the global narrative of contemporary art is the Nigerian painter Abayomi Barber, one of his country's most influential artists, whose naturalist style — demonstrated in shimmering, monumental, naturalistic landscapes — has shaped a generation of Nigerian painters who have studied at his art academy. COURTESY OF ABAYOMI BARBER

Freeborn Odiboh

University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria
2010 African Humanities Program Fellow

Through the lens of what he calls "critical citizenship," a researcher and educator decolonizes the African art history curriculum

Art history is taught in Africa largely from Eurocentric points of view, with an emphasis on anthropological methods rather than art historical ones — a legacy of colonialism. My work focuses on creating a new curriculum for the study of African art, one that is situated within the larger discourse of global art historical studies, but that looks at African art from a genuinely African point of view.

For our students, many of whom arrive at university with no understanding of the history of art, it is necessary to start with what is known and to then move on to the unknown. Our art history curriculum starts with the question of geography, and how it determines the art that arises in a place — both in terms of, say, the kinds of materials available to an artist (the types of wood or stone they might choose), as well as economic, political, linguistic, and other factors.

When it comes to contemporary art, much of what is recognized in international exhibitions and biennials as 'African art' (or even 'Nigerian art') is work that fits into certain frameworks that make it legible to non-Africans. Because the West still largely orchestrated the tempo and character of art in postcolonial Africa, many artists here continued to adopt Western, modernist ideas of the grotesque, the naive, or the primitive in their work. But if colonialism brought abstraction and modernism to African colonies, it also brought realist and naturalist art — a fact that is often overlooked. Abayomi Barber, for example, one of Nigeria's foremost artists and the founder of an influential art school in the country, was committed to depicting African subject matter, but rejected primitivism in favor of pictorial naturalism and a focus on technical excellence.

For me, the goal of creating an African approach to the history of art is both to get students to understand their own place — their history — and to get them to understand how they are situated in a global context. I'm interested in the idea of critical citizenship — understanding what it is to be Nigerian, for example, but knowing that you exist in a larger context.

In her curatorial project *Making Way*, **Ruth Simbao** brought together works that complicated the idea of globalization's effect on African nations, especially the idea that the new phase would usher in an almost frictionless movement of labor and capital across borders. Works by artists like Athi-Patra Ruga reflected on questions of how bodies moved through settler colonialist spaces. Ruga's performance *Obscura, Grahamstown* (2014), in which official art viewers missed the most spectacular part of the performance, involved the artist walking through the countryside covered with balloons. COURTESY OF ATHI-PATRA RUGA; PHOTOS: RUTH SIMBAO

Ruth Simbao

Rhodes University, Grahamstown, Eastern Cape, South Africa
2010 African Humanities Program Fellow

Embracing what she calls "strategic southernness," a South African art historian rethinks the study of the arts of Africa

My AHP fellowship project was about representations of Africa-China relations in the visual arts, which was still a fairly new theme for many artists at the time. That led me to curate an exhibition in 2012 called *Making Way*, which included art being produced in China and South Africa that connected the ideas of movement and crossing borders. The exhibition challenged simplistic valorization of fast-paced movement and celebratory approaches to globalization that tend to ignore its underbelly and negative aspects. I focused on artists who represented slower and often painful ways of moving — such as walking, crawling, and scraping their bodies along the ground.

Drawing from this research, I am now thinking about ways we can resituate the study of Africa and its epistemologies within the Global South. Collaborating with various Africa-based scholars, I am asking how we can rewrite art history on the African continent in a way that embraces 'strategic southernness.' What are other ways of looking at the arts of Africa — not 'African art,' which is a largely European and American-produced category? How do our Africa-based art histories reflect what the Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o refers to as a 'quest for relevance'?

I was recently invited to be part of the consortium that publishes *African Arts*, an influential journal based at the UCLA African Studies Center and published by MIT Press, and in 2017 I came on board as the Rhodes University editor. I edit one issue a year of the journal, and I decided to make it my goal to include as many Africa-based authors as possible. (Up until that point only about 12 percent of the journal's contributors were based on the African continent, and only 1.5 percent were based in Africa outside of South Africa.) To achieve this, I founded the Art POWA network that offers publishing workshops that are similar to the AHP manuscript development workshops. I managed to obtain funding from the Mellon Foundation to run this program, and in the first issue I edited, the vast majority of the authors are indeed Africa-based.

Evassy Amanda Tumusiime's practice combines art and activism. Her oil painting *Another Place, Another Time* (2002–16) is believed to be the most expensive artwork ever sold in Uganda, and the proceeds are destined toward funding a hostel for female students to support them in successfully completing their education. COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Evassy Amanda Tumusiime

Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda
2013 African Humanities Program Fellow

A Ugandan artist-scholar is empowering marginalized communities in her homeland

Before 2003 I was creating images that were not different from the mass-circulated images which subtly — but purposely — reinforced the silence and subordination of women in Uganda. My images tapped into the narrative of what an ideal woman should be in a patriarchal order. Clearly, I contradicted the position of woman enshrined in the 1995 Uganda Constitution, which was hailed for having given voice to women.

But laws, however progressive, are not enough to build a woman's capacity to challenge deep-seated stereotypes that are circulated through art. The right education and research are very essential to nurture the kind of woman who can unmask layers of control perpetuated through traditions.

After 2003 I pursued graduate studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of South Africa in Pretoria. I gained the knowledge I needed to interrogate the issues of gender in art, and to make paintings that would advocate for women's advancement. My themes and symbolism changed.

This is the context in which in 2016 I mounted *Another Place, Another Time: Million-Dollar Masterpieces from Uganda and America, 2003–2016*, an exhibition showcasing work I made during my sojourn in the U.S. as a Fulbright Scholar the previous year. This was the first time a painting would be sold at that price in Uganda. In 2016 I also presented the million-dollar painting titled *Another Place, Another Time* in Uganda. This canvas took me 13 years to complete. My goal was two-pronged: first, to raise funds, and second, to achieve my dream of supporting girls' education in Kabale, the district where I grew up.

My work has now taken me into the realm of thinking about empowering other marginalized communities — the deaf and other people with disabilities, the elderly, and so on. I am finding ways to use the power of art to empower people.

Champing at the Bit Commissioned to create an opening illustration for "Carnegie on the Ground," a new section of the magazine honing in on facets of the Corporation's programmatic work, illustrator Marcos Chin was struck by visions of Pegasus, the winged horse of Greek mythology. Chin elaborates: "The Pegasuses have multicolored bodies and fiery red manes for a reason because I feel it helps to express a feeling of extraordinariness that can occur when people embrace learning, which has the power to transform a person and lift them to a place much higher than where they used to be." Furthermore, there is in fact a Carnegie/Pegasus connection! In 1933 famed American Art Deco sculptor Paul Manship was tasked with designing a medallion for Carnegie Corporation of New York, and some years earlier he had even crafted a handsome ashtray for the Corporation — both featuring the sleek steed of legend.

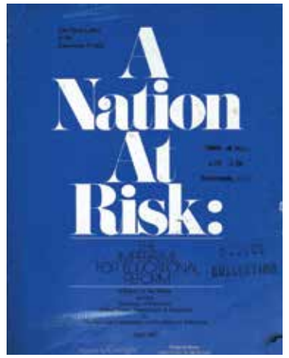
EDUCATION

Education in Complex Times

Lessons learned from decades of school reform have led the Corporation to clarify a new set of strategies to better align its philanthropic efforts

by **LaVerne Srinivasan** and **Jeff Archer**

Spring 2018 marked the 35th anniversary of the landmark report from the U.S. Department of Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. The study was an urgent call to action lamenting the "rising tide of mediocrity" in American schools, and it helped launch the modern school reform movement. As has tended to happen every five years or so, this milestone prompted renewed criticism of the significant gap between the report's aspirations for a "Learning Society" and the current state of American education. Such critiques serve an important purpose: we need honest assessments of the extent to which our efforts as a nation have fallen short of our commitments.



Crisis Counseling Released in April 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education's report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, warned ominously of "a rising tide of mediocrity" in American schooling.

Any agenda for meeting those commitments, however, must be informed by a present-day perspective. The nation has changed tremendously since the early 1980s, when U.S. Secretary of Education Terrel Bell appointed the panel of experts who went on to produce arguably the most cited document in the field. The U.S. population in 1983 was far more homogeneous than it is today. The biggest concerns at the time were the Cold War and economic competition from Japan, especially its auto industry. Social media was decades away, and widespread applications of artificial intelligence were only just beginning.

Meanwhile, in the decades since *A Nation at Risk* we have learned a great deal about how to teach all students to ever-higher standards. Thanks to advances in cognitive psychology, we know more than we ever have about effective learning activities and techniques, student motivation, and what makes an environment conducive to learning. We have new school designs with a track record of preparing at-risk youngsters for success in college and beyond. And, while we have yet to achieve such successes at scale, recent work in educational reform has greatly clarified the problems that still need to be solved.

The current portrait of America's students is one of great complexity. Within the past few years, the country's school-age population has become, for the first time, majority nonwhite. A record number of Americans are foreign born. More young people are economically disadvantaged than at any time in recent history. A majority of students in public schools now qualify for free or reduced-price lunches under federal guidelines, a commonly used indicator of family poverty. The diversity of languages, life experiences, and needs among today's students is unprecedented.

At the same time, the level and quality of education required for success are at all-time highs. Since the 1980s the overall number of jobs in the United States has grown by 35 million, but in that time the number of jobs that require only a high school diploma fell by 7 million.[1] This gap in economic prospects, between those with and those without a postsecondary education, has only increased in the years since the Great Recession of 2007–10.

There is little debate as to what is driving this divergence. Automation and outsourcing have dealt a blow to once decent-paying occupations involving routine activities (e.g., manufacturing and administrative support). Meanwhile, many of the jobs that entail nonroutine activities fall into two categories: low-skill, low-paying jobs such as home health care or cleaning; and high-skill, high-paying jobs in technical and professional fields that require a postsecondary education and advanced training. With recent advances in robotics and artificial intelligence, we can envision a not-too-distant future in which many nonroutine jobs will have either been eliminated or will involve working with sophisticated new technologies.

The upshot is that all of today's students will need more than the traditional foundational literacies in reading, writing, and mathematics. Everyone will need to be able to think critically, assess and make use of new information, work effectively in teams, and use reasoning to formulate and evaluate various and often competing solutions to novel problems. When adaptability is the coin of the realm, everyone must be equipped for a lifetime of learning.

Lest one think education is simply a matter of employability, consider the importance of critical thinking to civic life in the modern world. As has become strikingly clear, civic engagement today involves sorting through a tsunami of information, much of it from unknown sources whose motivations are not readily apparent.

Any dispassionate appraisal of our progress in meeting the nation's educational challenges would be mixed at best. Results from the most recent National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), regarded as the nation's report card, prompted lamentations of a "lost decade of educational reform." For the country as a whole, fourth-grade performance in reading and math was virtually the same in 2017 as in 2007; eighth-grade results were only slightly better. Meanwhile, large achievement gaps remain among racial groups.

Other recent data show that we also have a long way to go at the postsecondary level. While we have seen some significant gains in both high school completion and college enrollment, great disparities persist among racial groups when it comes to college completion.

On a more positive note, we have seen significant growth in the number of pathways available to students as they prepare for and progress through college. Nontraditional college students are becoming the new norm: around 40 percent are 25 or older, and more than one-third are enrolled part time.[2] Postsecondary education is accommodating students from a wider array of circumstances.

Meanwhile, the field of education has generally embraced the idea that all students need more than just the fundamentals. The most significant sign of this has been the adoption of the Common Core State Standards. Compared with earlier K–12 standards, the Common Core presents a more rational sequence for developing depth of understanding in reading, writing, and math. While one might infer from recent political rhetoric that the country has retreated from Common Core, the reality says otherwise. About half the states have responded to criticism by reconsidering the standards, but ultimately all but a handful have put in place expectations that embody the Common Core's most critical attributes.

Meanwhile, 19 states and the District of Columbia have adopted the Next Generation Science Standards (NGSS), a primary goal of which is enabling all students to gain a deep understanding of core scientific ideas and practices. Another 23 states have adopted their own standards based on the framework for science education around which NGSS was developed.

Perhaps one of the biggest findings to emerge in recent years is that these new standards require new and often unfamiliar methods of teaching — the kinds of techniques and approaches that few teachers have much experience with. For example, working with early learners in developing the ability to construct a well-supported argument takes a special skill set, as does helping students understand complex concepts, such as why a smaller number results when multiplying a larger number by a fraction.

Fortunately, major developments in the science of learning over the past two decades have afforded us an unprecedented window into how children acquire the kinds of knowledge and skills needed for college and career readiness. We know that students draw extensively on their own previously constructed mental models as they devise new ones. This puts a high premium on a teacher's ability to surface, and then gently redirect, students' reasoning processes. It also means cultivating a classroom climate that encourages risk-taking — by teachers and students alike.

[1] *America's Divided Recovery: College Haves and Have-Nots*, Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce, 2016.

[2] *The Future of Undergraduate Education, The Future of America*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2017.

Unfortunately, we as a nation have not adequately prepared for the challenges posed by these new expectations. This has prompted pushback against Common Core, as teachers objected to being required to take on something very new and very difficult — and without guidance. Parents saw that educators were stressed, especially since teachers were being additionally subjected to new evaluation systems — all while coming to grips with the new standards. Furthermore, families felt left out of the loop about the transition that was underway.

Carnegie Corporation of New York has thought hard about these developments and their implications. The lessons learned in recent decades of school reform have led us to clarify a set of strategies to better align the Corporation's philanthropic efforts.

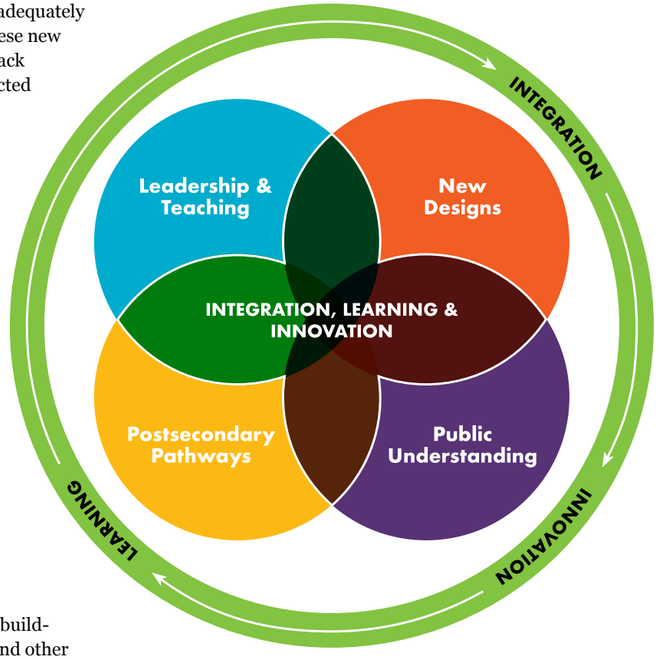
Central to these strategies is the goal of building the capacity of educators, parents, and other stakeholders to provide all students with the experiences needed to become successful lifelong learners. To accomplish this, we have identified three shifts in the field that the Corporation will promote:

- A **broader learner orientation.** We must better attune to the learning needs of educators and other stakeholders, including students. We also must promote a more expansive view of learner objectives — one that includes social-emotional qualities as well as academic mastery.

- More **coherent efforts within systems that learn and adapt.** Reforms have too often been pursued as a series of isolated initiatives, developed without truly understanding the needs of the people involved. The field needs greater capacity to effect change through more integrated approaches.

- A more **engaged and informed public.** Nothing can doom an agenda for social change like an alienated constituency. The goals and strategies of educational improvement must be owned by more than just those who work within the system.

Finally, we must commit to a **sustained focus on equity.** A society as diverse as ours cannot thrive without the full participation of every individual from every background.



Core Components The Education Program invests in five interconnected areas: managing human capital to ensure strong teachers for all students; designing systems to meet the diversity of student needs; creating new pathways for postsecondary completion and careers; engaging the public in a conversation about education reform; and coordinating all efforts into a strategic framework.

These shifts represent a significant reframing of the problems presented in *A Nation at Risk*. The overarching concern back then was that students in the United States were not sufficiently challenged. Hence, most of the report's prescriptions were aimed at raising the bar through additional requirements (e.g., more high school coursework, more homework, and higher entrance requirements for teacher-preparation programs). Little in the report dealt with the process of learning itself.

To be sure, the bar did need to be raised. But what we better understand today is what it takes to support adults and children in meeting new expectations. Part of that understanding is knowing that equity — a term that appears just once in *A Nation at Risk* — is not simply a matter of providing everyone with the same supports.

If we can act on what we have learned in the last 35 years, and make doing so the focus of our work, then we may yet become the "Learning Society" we need to be. ■

DEMOCRACY

Down for the Count

The nation's leading philanthropies are banding together to ensure a fair and accurate 2020 Census

by **Joanne Omang**

Until a few months ago, Arturo Vargas's worries about the 2020 Census mostly involved ways to help Latinos get online to fill out their forms. The U.S. Census Bureau is moving online for much of this decade's required count of America's population, and Vargas thinks Latino American participation could suffer, especially in lower-income areas.

"They use cell phones rather than desktops or tablets mostly, and it's hard to do the forms on those," says Vargas, chief executive officer of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund, which promotes Latino engagement in civic life. NALEO is one of nearly 100 nonprofit, business, and lobbying organizations funded since 2015 by a group of 75 donors known collectively as the Funders Census Initiative 2020, in hopes of ensuring a fair and accurate 2020 count.

But time is limited, and census problems have proliferated, culminating in increased tensions between the members of the census initiative and census authorities.

The current national climate over immigration issues has increased overall distrust of government to new heights this year within immigrant communities, and members fear that census data could be illegally abused to target noncitizens for deportation. "The toughest thing to crack is finding trusted voices to overcome the intense fear immigrants have about filling out the form," says Gary Bass, executive director of the Bauman Foundation and cochair of the collaborative.

Rather than offering reassurance, the U.S. Commerce Department announced in March 2018 that it would add a question to the census form asking all U.S. residents whether they are U.S. citizens. Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross claimed it would be useful in enforcing protections for minority voters. Some civil rights groups and other census experts disagree, saying the Census Bureau's American Community Survey already provides adequate data.

Vargas and many census donors were outraged by the citizenship question. "It means we're back to trying to get people to respond at all," he says. Millions of immigrants, documented and undocumented, are already leery of any government attention and are now more likely to avoid the census, going uncounted as a result. More than 300 grantmaking executives agreed and recently signed a letter asking the Commerce Department to reconsider. (On January 15, 2019, a federal judge in New York ordered the Trump administration to stop its plans to include the citizenship question in the 2020 Census, a ruling that is expected to be appealed ultimately to the U.S. Supreme Court.)

"Adding the citizenship question in this climate of fear and distrust will have a disproportionate impact on hard-to-count communities" of minorities and rural residents, the letter states. "We urge you to … instead focus on making sure everyone in the U.S. is counted once, only once, and in the right place."

Over the past three years, the collaborative funders have awarded grants totaling $25 million toward that goal, arguing that an accurate count of every woman, man, and child living in the United States is crucial. That is because the results affect nearly every area of American life. Knowing who lives where determines how some $700 *billion* in federal funds gets distributed to states and localities for education, health care, transportation, and infrastructure, among other things. It also helps better enforce civil rights and housing laws, as well as expand the reach of services such as child welfare, school lunch, and disability programs.

The count also provides useful data to businesses deciding where to locate and how to attract customers and workers. Congress uses it in its determination of the number and boundaries of congressional electoral districts, while state and local lawmakers use it to define school districts, voting precincts, and their own domains. Adults or children who don't get counted get shortchanged in these types of decisions.

"What's at risk is political power and resources for our community — for *any* community — for an entire decade," says Vargas. "There's no alternative but to be counted."

In the 2010 Census, blacks were undercounted by over 2 percent and Hispanics by 1 percent, while nearly 5 percent of Native Americans on reservations were missed, according to the Census Bureau. Nearly 5 percent of all children under age 5 were not counted — one in every 20 kids — evidently because many people wrongly assumed that the census only counts adults. Meanwhile, white residents were *overcounted* by about 1 percent, apparently because of second homes or college residencies.

The Census Bureau recognizes these problems and has promised to work on fixing them. However, Congress, which usually steps up its decade-long census funding in years seven and eight, left FY 2017 and 2018 budgets all but flat — half the level budgeted in the previous decade. An extra $1 billion is slated for FY 2019, but it's not enough: two of three critical "dress rehearsals" have already had to be canceled for lack of adequate funding. And during all of this, the Census Bureau has had no permanent director. (Nominated for the position by President Trump in July 2018, Steven Dillingham, formerly director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, was confirmed director of the Census Bureau in January 2019.)

"We understood early that Congress was not going to fund the 2020 Census adequately," says Geri Mannion, director of the Carnegie Corporation's U.S. Democracy Program. "The census is a constitutional requirement, but government doesn't always have the resources to do everything it should. Philanthropy can step in to fill some of the gaps — like supporting advocacy to make sure census forms are accessible and that there is adequate funding. We can also educate our colleagues and the public about why the census is so important, so that there is adequate public and private support to ensure that 'Get Out the Count' is successful in 2020, especially in hard-to-count communities and areas of the country with limited resources."

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Carnegie and Bauman were among 15 major philanthropies that began work in 2015 on an action plan to bring in donors and set up the collaborative, using tool kits, fact sheets, networking webinars, and technical assistance. They warned that the Census Bureau was far behind in the research and education campaigns needed to fix its problems and to remind people of what's at stake.

A chief concern is how information in the new online forms will be kept secure and confidential, especially in light of recent hacking campaigns to spread disinformation in other areas. Funding lags have meant that new computer programs and systems haven't been extensively tested, raising the prospect of major crashes such as those that plagued the rollout of the Affordable Care Act.

How will the bureau reach the millions of residents with limited or no English fluency? Or rural and low-income people who lack Internet access? In 2010 the bureau hired 685,000 people to go door to door, many of whom were

Billions on the Line An activist looks on during a press conference — held at the headquarters of District Council 37, New York City's largest public employee union — announcing a multistate lawsuit to block the Trump administration from adding a question about citizenship to the 2020 Census form. The lawsuit was filed on April 3, 2018, by a coalition of 18 state attorneys general, six cities, and the bipartisan U.S. Conference of Mayors. Complainants contend that demanding citizenship information "would depress turnout in states with large immigrant populations, directly threatening those states' fair representation in Congress and the Electoral College, as well as billions of dollars in critical federal funds for education, infrastructure, Medicaid, and more." The Trump administration has stated that the citizenship question will help enforce voting rights. PHOTO: DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

legal permanent residents with useful language skills. But in 2020 only 280,000 enumerators are slated to participate — and they must all be U.S. citizens.

The collaborative's grantees are doing innovative work, Bass says. At the CUNY Graduate Center, Steven Romalewski has created an interactive map of hard-to-count census tracts that will allow advocates to target attention and resources. Andrew Reamer at George Washington University has identified the federal programs that rely on census data in their formulas for optimal fund distribution, allowing users to more clearly see what's at stake for various programs in their areas.

Several grantees are doing opinion research to craft outreach campaigns encouraging census participation, for testing and use this autumn. Others are mobilizing maternity hospitals and institutions that serve pre-kindergartners and young parents to remind them that children have just as much right to be counted as adults do. Parish priests, pastors, and other religious leaders are being contacted to urge their congregations to fill out the forms. And a national Latino Commission on the 2020 Census is sponsoring hearings in hard-to-count areas to get recommendations for Census Bureau action steps. The overall drive now has a presence in more than half the states, many of them mirroring federal-level awareness efforts.

With further funding, stakeholder groups could partner with cities and businesses to create Wi-Fi hotspots, promote census days at libraries, and offer mobile vans with Internet access, Bass suggests. Social media could be used to promote culturally resonant messages about the importance of completing the forms. And a Census Navigator program could assist people with the paperwork.

The collaborative is now focusing on raising another $35 million to get out the count, bringing in new voices to deliver the message, especially at state and local levels. Donors can choose to support individual grantees directly or contribute to a funding pool through the New Venture Fund.

"What we want to do is leave a legacy beyond the census to build the capacity of communities of color and low-income groups to be more involved in civic life over the long term," Bass says.

"We can get that across if we have the funds," Vargas adds. "But we're running out of time." ■

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

Facing the Nuclear Truth

A new program aims to hack America's culture of apathy toward nukes

by **Karen Theroux**

Americans don't like thinking about nuclear weapons. This is a big problem, nuclear experts believe, because when a crisis occurs — such as Hawaii's recent missile false alarm — fear without preparedness breeds panic. The time has come for a meaningful shift in public understanding of nuclear risk, *before* disaster strikes.

"Most people in the U.S., most of the time, don't think or talk about nuclear weapons," says Alex Wellerstein, assistant professor of science and technology studies at Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey. "Except when there's a period of crisis, and then people become extremely anxious. Then they want to talk about them a lot." Wellerstein, a historian of science, is a principal investigator for Reinventing Civil Defense, a Carnegie-supported project at Stevens Institute that aims to restore a broad cultural understanding of nuclear risk. Kristyn Karl, also a principal investigator on the project, is an assistant professor of political science at Stevens with a background in political psychology. Both have given the issue much thought.

Wellerstein expounds on the problem: "After the Cold War, many people took away that [the nuclear threat] was something of the past, which we no longer have to worry about. We stopped talking about it as a culture, and now there is very little education about nuclear issues, from the early grades through college. Contrast that with how hard it would be to come out of elementary school without learning about germ theory or earthquakes or hurricanes. Nuclear risk is not part of the conversation, and therefore it's not part of their world."

But nuclear danger is still very much part of the world: approximately 15,000 nuclear weapons and 1,800 metric tons of weapons-grade nuclear material still exist. Any type of nuclear event, intentional or otherwise, would dramatically change the world. Without daily awareness of this risk, an entire generation of Americans has lost track of the fact that we all still live in a world of nuclear threat.

"The nature of nuclear risk has changed," says Carl Robichaud, program officer with Carnegie Corporation's International Peace and Security program. "Most people think the risk is gone, or they might think only about North Korea. But the new dimension is nuclear terrorism. It wasn't part of the Cold War, but it's a real threat now, if a remote one."

The prevailing mentality among the general population today is characterized by an array of misconceptions. A common sentiment tends to be: "Why worry? When they drop the big one, it's the end of the world." But this attitude and accompanying existential dread stem from Cold War thinking more than present-day reality. At the other extreme, young people tend to believe that the world's nuclear weapons have been eliminated, so they've got nothing to worry about. Regardless of one's stance, what the public needs to know, and the reason the Stevens Institute program exists, is that while there are serious nuclear risks, there are also effective survival strategies.

"As awful as the experience was for people who received the false alert, the incident was a useful natural experiment. We learned how unprepared we are," Robichaud says. "Hundreds of thousands of people were panicked and

> "The fact is that you can take measures in the face of an attack to make survival much more likely."
>
> — **Carl Robichaud**, Program Officer, International Peace and Security, Carnegie Corporation of New York

didn't know what to believe or what to do." In contrast, during the Cold War, Federal Civil Defense Administration drills trained the public in nuclear response tactics ("duck and cover") — though we later learned how ineffective those measures would actually have been. "The fact is that you can take measures in the face of an attack to make survival much more likely," he says. Many of the steps recommended in other emergency situations offer good guidance, Robichaud stresses. Instead of trying to escape, go inside and stay there until more information is available about the incident, including the direction in which the radiation is moving — whether it's a nuclear detonation or a nuclear accident.

So what is the best way to inform the public of the potential dangers and hard facts without causing alarm? And to whom should messaging be directed? "We're most interested in targeting young adults — millennials, high school and college age," Wellerstein says. "This group is extremely interested in political issues but has low nuclear salience. They're quite interested when it comes up, but haven't had exposure yet."

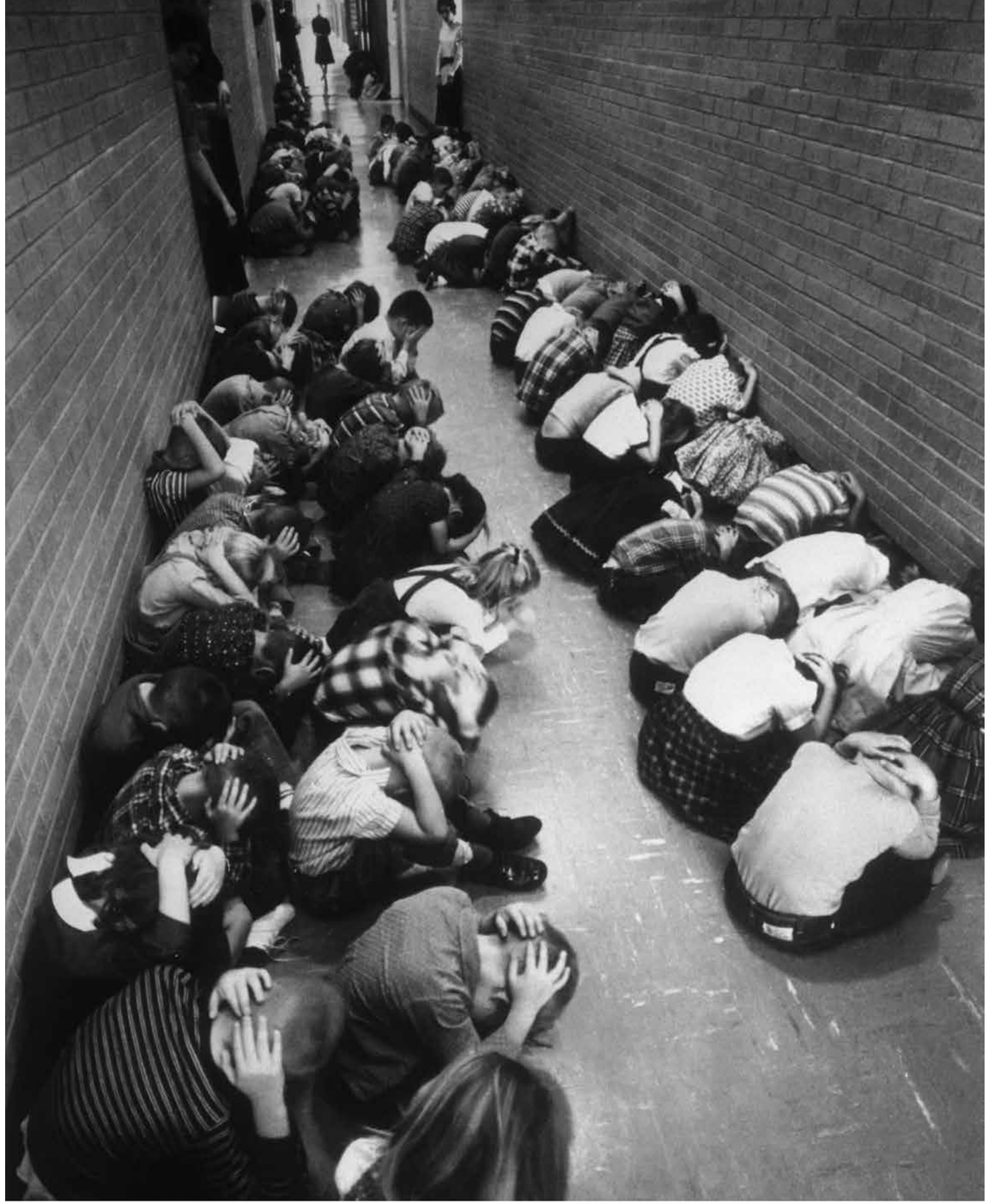
One thing is clear: new communication strategies are essential for young digital natives. Impactful media messaging that makes the nuclear risk personal is a primary focus of the Stevens program. Comic books, podcasts, and plays, as well as multiplatform media products such as apps, video games, graphic novels, and virtual reality, are all being tested. And researchers remain mindful that millennials typically find civic engagement — volunteerism, activism, and civic use of social media — more relevant than traditional political activity.

Several seed projects chosen for initial funding are now in the pipeline, and the Stevens team is assessing results before deciding where to allocate further investment.

Robichaud says that this approach "allows trying out lots of things at low cost to find out which ones are working. People from different disciplines are looking at the problem from different angles. This is true of some of our most successful projects."

The first of the program's three communications workshops was held in June 2018 at the Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island in New York, and brought together a range of participants: academics, scientists, emergency-management workers, artists, writers, and game developers. Enthusiasm was high as groups discussed how to mobilize and move beyond timeworn government publications. The goal was to reinvent old-school civil defense messaging, which kept nukes in the public consciousness but disseminated misleading information, ultimately serving as fodder for satire. Wellerstein describes the workshop as an "odd group to bring together, but it worked. Everyone got something out of it. They formed connections and kept communicating."

Conveying accurate information would do more than improve emergency response. The Stevens program also aims to affect policy — to use nuclear preparation to change the conversation. When no one outside of expert and activist circles is listening, there's little practical action or public support for policy efforts. In the long run, this creates a lower likelihood of motivating the next generation of talented arms-control practitioners. But with the nation's recent change in administration and resulting tough talk regarding nukes, the need for effective, nonpartisan communication about nuclear risk has never been greater. The program leaders view this as an opportunity: nuclear anxiety, for better or worse, is back again. But with the right strategy, it might produce some much-needed political action — and perhaps less panic. ■



Duck and Cover Schoolchildren in Topeka, Kansas, practice survival methods during a civil defense test in December 1960. As sirens wailed, thousands of students left their desks that day and took shelter in school hallways. PHOTO: BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES

Harnessing the Power of the Diaspora

Born under apartheid in a small hamlet in South Africa, today Dr. Kokila Lakhoo is an internationally renowned pediatric surgeon

by **Karen Theroux**

You Can Go Home Again Kokila Lakhoo performs an abdominal cyst biopsy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where she is leading the development of pediatric surgery services. PHOTO: KOKILA LAKHOO

How did Kokila Lakhoo, a woman of color who grew up under apartheid, become one of the first female pediatric surgeons in Africa?

Born in South Africa, Lakhoo is now a consultant pediatric surgeon at the Children's Hospital in Oxford and the University of Oxford in the U.K. In addition to neonatal surgery, her interests include global health, prenatal counseling, and pediatric tumor surgery. She is the editor of several textbooks, has contributed to more than 70 chapters in pediatric surgical texts, and has written more than 300 peer-reviewed publications. Hers is a powerful story from the diaspora: her journey to becoming a pediatric surgeon, achieving international recognition, and giving back to the continent's next generation of physicians.

"I grew up in a tiny hamlet in South Africa," says Lakhoo. "I lived with my extended family, and my grandmother was a self-taught health worker. She dealt with childbirth, sprains, and minor wounds." In apartheid, there was no facility for people of color in remote areas to receive medical care, she says. "I saw her work, and I got interested in the joy and appreciation of the people that she looked after."

Under apartheid, there were also no schools in small towns like hers for nonwhite children past the age of nine. So Lakhoo was forced to leave her family and move to Pretoria alone to continue her schooling. "My family had no money," she explains, "but they cared about education." Though difficult, the experience of leaving home by herself at such an early age made her "very independent," she says.

Later, when Lakhoo decided to pursue a medical degree, she found that her choices were limited to black medical schools. After that, she found that "black hospitals were run by black doctors, who all had gone abroad to get training," she explains. "They had studied in countries where there was sympathy toward working against apartheid." Even after completing her medical education, Lakhoo was given low status and little guidance. She was sent to Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto for further training, but also made the effort to attend monthly state-of-the-art lectures at the University of the Witwatersrand — a 70-kilometer trip. She was forced to sit in the back of the lecture hall. "Surgery was for white males," she says. "We were invisible."

With support from such organizations as Carnegie Corporation of New York, Kokila Lakhoo and other alumni from African institutions are bridging gaps in important ways.

To ensure that she received world-class training, Lakhoo left for a yearlong fellowship in London, at the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children. When she returned to Johannesburg, however, "it was a really rough time in South Africa," she says. "Some of my colleagues were murdered or hijacked … some in the hospital." By that time, Lakhoo was pregnant, and she learned that Oxford was looking for someone with her experience. So, for the sake of her family's safety, she immigrated to England — and thus became part of the African academic diaspora.

The term "brain drain" is often used to describe the loss of highly trained individuals from less-developed regions, such as Africa, who relocate to economically advanced countries. Although these successful graduates have left their universities behind, many maintain strong connections with them and feel strongly motivated to give back. And with support from such organizations as Carnegie Corporation of New York, Lakhoo and other alumni from African institutions are bridging gaps in important ways.

"It's 'brain circulation' as opposed to 'brain drain,'" says Claudia Frittelli, Carnegie Corporation of New York program officer for Higher Education and Research in Africa. "Lakhoo is able to do so much because of her international experience. But today, instead of leaving their home countries, highly skilled graduates can have contacts all over the world. They can stay in Africa because of their networks with leaders in their field."

Higher-education enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa has grown nearly fivefold in the past several decades, and today South African universities function as training hubs for academics throughout the continent. At the same time, graduate school enrollment in South Africa has more than doubled, and the country's universities no longer have enough staff with doctorates to train this new generation.

But diaspora programs supported by the Corporation are helping in key areas: graduate supervision and training, use of laboratories and equipment, and access to research funding and collaboration, to name a few.

Support for Kokila Lakhoo's work came via the University of the Witwatersrand ("Wits") Health Sciences Research Office (HSRO). Established in 2010, and funded in part by Carnegie Corporation of New York since 2014, the Carnegie-Wits Alumni Diaspora Programme stimulates research collaboration among leading health sciences alumni working in academic institutions abroad and their counterparts at Wits. So far, the program has developed exchange partnerships with universities in England, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

"In most cases, visiting alums do much more than come back for one trip," notes Frittelli. Long-term linkages formed at Wits have led to the coauthoring of articles and manuscripts, the acceptance of joint abstracts at conferences, joint grant proposals, guest lecturer visits and seminars, access to laboratories for testing purposes, and more. One growing partnership with U.S.-based Wits alumnus Roy Zent, vice chair for clinical affairs at Vanderbilt University's Department of Medicine, has supported visits to Wits by Vanderbilt students, researchers, and faculty, as well as reciprocal visits to Vanderbilt by Wits personnel, collaborations in various medical fields, and even support for a medical bioinformatics system at Wits.

The Wits diaspora story started in South Africa, but it doesn't end there. When a baby girl living near Oxford, England, developed a disfiguring facial birthmark that grew into her eye socket and threatened her sight, Lakhoo, by this time practicing in Oxford, saved the child's eyesight and restored her perfect appearance. But a baby in Kigoma, Tanzania, far from the capital, born with a life-threatening tumor can be saved too, thanks to Lakhoo's efforts in leading the development of pediatric surgery services throughout the country, which previously did not have a single pediatric surgeon.

"Once my children were out of the house, I could do global work," Lakhoo says. For the past 16 years she has spent her vacations training surgeons from all regions of Tanzania. The above scenarios illustrate more than the accomplishments of one woman; they demonstrate the immense global potential of African diaspora networks.

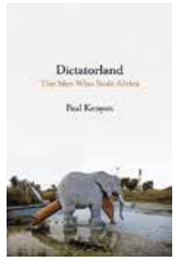
"Kokila Lakhoo serves as one example of a scholar giving back to another whole country and saving multiple lives every day," Frittelli says. In South Africa in 2018, in an especially gratifying example of giving back, Lakhoo delivered a state-of-the-art lecture at Wits titled "Pediatric Surgery, Then and Now" — in the same auditorium in which she had previously been made to sit in the back. ■

Dictatorland: The Men Who Stole Africa
Paul Kenyon

What the Eyes Don't See: A Story of Crisis, Resistance, and Hope in an American City
Mona Hanna-Attisha

Ghosts in the Schoolyard: Racism and School Closings on Chicago's South Side
Eve L. Ewing

Expelled
Taken on November 19, 2017, this photograph shows a vandalized billboard depicting Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe, in front of the ZANU–PF (Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front) political party headquarters in Harare. Two days before, ZANU–PF leaders had recommended Mugabe's expulsion from the very party he had led since before Zimbabwe gained independence and achieved majority rule in 1980. Mugabe's days were "numbered," said Chris Mutsvangwa, leader of the country's influential war veterans' movement that had traditionally been seen as Mugabe's core supporters, as pressure built on the authoritarian leader to resign after a military takeover. PHOTO: JEKESAI NJIKIZANA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Dictatorland: The Men Who Stole Africa
Paul Kenyon
Head of Zeus. 432 pp. 2018.

Power Trip

A BBC correspondent's new survey of seven African despots makes the case that the continent suffers from a resource curse. He tells his tale vividly, but even despotism deserves a more nuanced, comprehensive, and above all *contextual* approach.

by **Aaron Stanley**

"Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Or so Lord Acton's much-invoked truism goes. We have only too many examples of manipulation and corruption from world leaders, but what do we actually know about why some leaders gravitate toward moral depravity as they seek to retain power while others willingly relinquish their reigns?

It would be easier to identify examples of where despotism is happening than where it is not, and Africa offers much low-hanging fruit. Since the wave of independence from European colonial powers concluded in the 1970s, most African countries have experienced some combination of authoritarianism, one-party rule, military coups, and leaders who held office for more than 15 years. At the same time, human development across the continent has stagnated.

Insert Paul Kenyon's new book, *Dictatorland: The Men Who Stole Africa*. Elegantly written and entertaining, the book provides historical vignettes of the rise and sometimes fall of seven African strongmen. The book is organized according to the natural resources Kenyon credits for each despot's wealth. Zimbabwe and Democratic Republic of Congo, aka Zaire, fall under "Gold and Diamonds." Libya, Nigeria, and Equatorial Guinea are connected to "Oil." Côte d'Ivoire and Eritrea are outliers: Côte d'Ivoire is linked to the nonnative cocoa plant, and Eritrea is associated not with any natural resource but with "Modern Slavery."

The storytelling is engaging, but why did Kenyon write this book, and what's his point? We learn some political history of despotic rule in countries we may not have been familiar with previously, but a general conclusion is lacking. Kenyon's depictions suggest he may be making a circuitous argument for the "resource curse," the theory of an inverse relationship between a country's natural resource riches and economic growth and democracy. British economist Richard M. Auty posited in the early 1990s that if you have a lot of oil or mineral wealth, you will usually not have development, but corruption and poverty instead.

Kenyon's vignettes make it hard to argue against the theory. However, critiques of the resource curse have found its theoretical and empirical framework lacking. One criticism is that it cherry-picks its examples. Norway and its oil wealth, for instance, do not fit the model.

Dictatorland can also be accused of such cherry-picking. Africa has had its fair share of despots, and still does, but some countries also have political systems that are evolving based on local context and histories. Democracy is not entirely a foreign-imposed concept, nor are other political arrangements.

Zimbabwe is highlighted in the book, but its neighbor Botswana is one of the largest diamond exporters in the

The storytelling is engaging, but why did Kenyon write this book, and what's his point?

world, yet is politically stable, managing its resources while being a de facto one-party state. Ghana, the continent's second-largest cocoa exporter after its neighbor Côte d'Ivoire, has emerged from turbulence and one-party rule to become a stable democracy. While the book details the history of corruption in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana is not discussed.

For those without a background in the history and political economy of the continent, the book could reinforce stereotypes and reaffirm erroneous assumptions. The countries that Kenyon picks to highlight or to exclude raise questions that obscure his likely thesis more than they explain it.

Kenyon's choices also beg another question: why focus on Africa? Africa is not the only continent with dictators past, present, and future. To establish a connection between resources and dictators, however tenuous, a broader sight line should include the Middle East, Central Asia, and Latin America — and, arguably, European colonialism as well.

Neither does corruption in Africa or elsewhere require a dictator. Jacques Pauw's *The President's Keepers* investigates corruption during the Jacob Zuma administration in South Africa and makes it clear that democracies are in no way immune to using state mineral resources for private enrichment.

Leadership and the skills required change over time. Africa expert Funmi Olonisakin, speaking of pre-1980 Zimbabwe, said, "[Former president Robert] Mugabe could be considered an effective leader at a particular time in the history of his country when that situation required a particular kind of direction. But that situation then changed. Would you say he's effective now, today?" Olonisakin's point is that leadership requires different skills and traits for different situations. Formerly effective leaders are prone to changing dynamics and can, and often do, fail to rise to those occasions.

Kenyon provides background on the path that each of his dictators took to power. Mugabe, for example, fought for majority rule in the former Rhodesia. Does the fact that he went on to terrorize parts of the Zimbabwean population and bankrupt the country negate his leadership in liberating the country from another repressive regime? How does a legacy get judged? To misuse a phrase, maybe Mugabe's ends justified his means.

In defense of *Dictatorland*, at no point does Kenyon say his portraits are representative of the entire continent, nor does he compare one leader to another. The varying geographic and historical contexts are enough to take care of that.

Mahmood Mamdani of Makerere University in Uganda has argued against "those who would de-historicize phenomena by lifting them from context, whether in the name of an abstract universalism or an intimate particularism, only to make sense of them by analogy." That's Kenyon's problem: his selection of stories leads the reader to certain conclusions, many of which are either simplistic or debunked.

Dictatorland provides a broad overview of Africa's despotic landscape, but the short histories can feel sparse and lacking in depth. We already have a surfeit of good writing on the topic. One could point to the book by Herman J. Cohen, former U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, *The Mind of the African Strongman: Conversations with Dictators, Statesmen, and Father Figures*, or Arthur Agwuncha Nwankwo's *African Dictators: The Logic of Tyranny and Lessons from History*.

Ryszard Kapuściński's *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*, focuses on Ethiopia's Haile Selassie, while Michela Wrong's *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo* arguably provides a more defined and accurate picture of Mobutu Sese Seko's dictatorship than Kenyon does while remaining accessible and entertaining.

It would be hard to say that *Dictatorland* is not a good read. However, one hopes that readers will page through with a critical eye and an understanding that the stories presented are neither comprehensive nor representative. Otherwise, the book will only reinforce existing biases and skewed interpretations. ■

What the Eyes Don't See: A Story of Crisis, Resistance, and Hope in an American City

Mona Hanna-Attisha

One World. 364 pp. 2018.

Invisible Crisis

The pediatrician-turned-whistleblower who publicized Flint's water crisis offers a powerful story of activism, solidarity, and resilience

by **Joseph J. Jung** and **Nehal Amer**

Three years have passed since the American public learned about one of the most alarming human-made catastrophes in the country's recent history: some 99,000 Michigan residents had been exposed to water contaminated with lead for more than a year and a half.

The news caused nationwide consternation, and with reason. When internalized, lead can erode the brain's gray matter, impair cognitive ability, affect emotions and impulse control, elevate risks of early dementia, and more. Yet for 18 months, state and local officials had insisted that the water was safe and that the community drink it, bathe with it, and feed it to their infant children. So the community did.

Flint's water source had been switched in April 2013 from Lake Huron to the cheaper Flint River, an austerity measure expressly designed to reduce government spending. Although local activists, scientists, and Flint residents immediately expressed concerns about the inferior water quality, state and city officials assured the community that the new water met federal safe-drinking-water standards.

In reality, the inadequately treated water was corroding the city's lead pipes, causing lead to leach into the tap water. It was not until September 2015 — when Dr. Mona Hanna-Attisha and her team of scientists publicized alarming data revealing heightened lead levels in children's blood — that the public had irrefutable evidence that the switch had in fact triggered a major health crisis.

In *What the Eyes Don't See: A Story of Crisis, Resistance, and Hope in an American City*, Hanna-Attisha offers an impassioned account of her efforts to alert the public that — unequivocally — the tap water was endangering the Flint community, especially its youngest children. An associate professor of pediatrics and human development at Michigan State University, she is also the founder and director of the Michigan State University and Hurley Children's Hospital Pediatric Public Health Initiative, a model program to mitigate the impact of the Flint water crisis. According to Hanna-Attisha, even the slight possibility of lead in the drinking water should have been cause for alarm and government action. Brain scans show that exposure to lead in children critically affects brain development. Lead-poisoned children are far more likely to struggle or fail in school, compared with their unafflicted peers, and they may even be more prone to violent criminal activity as adults. In a city such as Flint, where toxic stresses such as poverty, malnutrition, and inadequate access to health care already affect children's development, the added threat of lead poisoning was devastating.

Yet in spite of scrupulous analysis by Hanna-Attisha's team and the urgency of their findings, state officials made numerous attempts to undermine the study's methodology. With vivid detail, Hanna-Attisha recounts the

Crisis Management, August 2016 "It started out of frustration," said Angie Thornton-George of Flint, Michigan. "I was only able to receive one case of water at each fire station. I was at work and I was frustrated. I figured there has got to be a better way. I started making phone calls to find out if I could set up a water station or receive water. I had not consulted the pastor or the trustee board. I just had faith in God that it was going to happen." That's how Thornton-George began a water distribution site for the neighborhood around St. Mark Missionary Baptist Church in Flint. PHOTO: RYAN GARZA/DETROIT FREE PRESS/TNS VIA GETTY IMAGES

humiliation and anxiety she suffered when state officials claimed she was an "unfortunate researcher" who had "spliced and diced" the data. In fact, government records show that state agencies knowingly worked to dismiss, discredit, and criticize many claims, including hers, of lead in the water, rather than evaluate the scientific validity and public-health implications of the warnings.

After the months of public scrutiny and media attention that followed Hanna-Attisha's study, however, Flint finally declared a state of emergency in December 2015. The state took an additional three weeks to follow suit.

Even without the toxic stress of polluted tap water, the city of Flint was no stranger to adversity. In addition to low life expectancy, high infant mortality, and troubling rates of chronic health issues, the majority African-American city has also struggled with a decades-long decline in jobs and wages. Eighty percent of workers make $40,000 or less per year, and 45 percent of Flint residents live below the federal poverty line. Navy SEALs even train in Flint because of its similarity to a site ravaged by war.

Hanna-Attisha argues that Flint's present challenges are echoes from as far back as Michigan's auto boom in the early 20th century, when the growing African-American population endured unjust labor practices and other forms of discrimination. Even after the successes of the civil rights movement, African Americans in Michigan were subjected to discrimination in workplaces, school districts, and the housing market, where redlining and steering practices locked them into mostly urban enclaves with fewer and often inferior resources. By 2013 downtown Flint had lost a fifth of its jobs. Moreover, nearly half of Flint residents must commute 25 miles or more for work, but 18 percent of Flint households do not even have access to a vehicle.

Woven into her account of the challenges confronting this American city, Hanna-Attisha tells the engaging story of her own family, which immigrated to the United States in the 1980s. Thousands of Iraqi immigrants, including Hanna-Attisha's parents, came to Detroit in search of the American dream. After years of repression in their home country, they saw the United States as a place of refuge and expanded opportunities for their families. In Michigan, Hanna-Attisha's parents were able to flourish as working professionals — her father as an engineer and her mother as a teacher. Alongside Hanna-Attisha's own career accomplishments, theirs is the Iraqi-Michigan version of the classic American success story.

Hanna-Attisha's prescription for the water crisis goes beyond ensuring clean water — beyond measures like the restoration of Flint's previous water source, or such stopgap remedies like bottled water and filters, or even the replacement of all of Flint's lead pipes.

Yet Hanna-Attisha reminds us that for many of the children she serves in Flint, "life is a struggle from the very beginning. That can make a baby a fighter.... Every little thing — sometimes things as simple as a meal or clean water or a bath — can require a fight." Her own family's experiences contrast with the challenges of systemic racism and economic isolation faced by many of the citizens of Flint, and other American communities have endured long histories of discrimination and unjust policies that continue to affect their ability to thrive. But her family's history of activism, struggle, and eventual success does offer a hopeful message about the power of persistence and resilience.

Indeed, despite the difficult circumstances it documents, *What the Eyes Don't See* is not a book of despair. Although reluctantly, and not without mistakes, both the city and the state ultimately acknowledged their roles in prompting the crisis and have been working with community leaders to remedy its effects. Multiple officials were charged with felony and misdemeanor crimes, including misconduct in office, willful neglect of duty, and involuntary manslaughter. Flint is also on track to become one of just a handful of cities to fully replace its water pipes with lead-free alternatives.

However, Hanna-Attisha's prescription for the water crisis goes beyond ensuring clean water — beyond measures like the restoration of Flint's previous water source, or such stopgap remedies like bottled water and filters, or even the replacement of all of Flint's lead pipes. Right from the start, Hanna-Attisha talks about "[giving] the kids of Flint a glimpse at what a healthy environment might look like ... to show them that they deserved nothing less." But the city needs more than bottled water. Substantive support for Flint must be grounded in "an investment in the tomorrows of our children."

While the effects of lead poisoning are irreversible, Hanna-Attisha and other medical professionals agree that people who have been exposed to lead benefit significantly from the mitigation of other sources of toxic stress in their environment. Early education, family support, proper nutrition, and quality child care are just a few of the recommendations neuroscientists have put forth for mitigating such stresses.

Flint's situation falls outside the scope of Carnegie Corporation of New York's typical grantmaking. However, in 2016 the Corporation teamed with other philanthropic institutions to provide immediate relief to the city through a collaborative funding initiative that funded independent water testing, supported the health needs of Flint families, fortified early education programs for children age six and under, promoted civic engagement and local decision-making, and more. Investments in these sorts of interventions are designed to build a community's resilience and its capacity to overcome environmental stress. As the effects of lead poisoning in Flint residents continue to be observed, long-term collaborative efforts such as these will continue to be essential.

At a time when many cities across the country struggle to secure access to clean water and basic services, *What the Eyes Don't See* offers a powerful and engaging account of the Flint water crisis from the perspective of a medical professional who serves that community on a daily basis. Hanna-Attisha does not speak directly to the longstanding dedication of local activists in Flint advocating for clean water, but in every chapter she captures the distress and frustration that local public health and community advocates felt as they grappled with a government that not only refused to address the crisis, but also refused to recognize its very existence.

The problem of lead in water is far from over. This past September, Detroit Public Schools shut off drinking water at all of its 106 schools after finding elevated levels of lead in the water. Many Flint families are also still unable to use their tap water for cooking and bathing. *What the Eyes Don't See* is a story of triumph by a resilient city that will — one hopes — only grow stronger, but foremost, it is an important primer on a public health crisis that must never be allowed to happen again. ■

Ghosts in the Schoolyard: Racism and School Closings on Chicago's South Side

Eve L. Ewing

The University of Chicago Press. 240 pp. 2018.

Race, Power, History, Schools

Black communities like Chicago's Bronzeville see the closing of their schools — schools that are certainly less than perfect but that are theirs — as one more chapter in a long line of systemic racism, inequality, bad faith, and distrust that stretches deep into the city's history

by **Mojgan Rastegar**

Growing up as a first-generation American, I was lucky to receive an excellent public school education, with peers as diverse as my hometown of Los Angeles. School was my joy, just as it was my stepping stone, and it's with this sort of pride that I decided to teach in a Newark public school through Teach for America in 2015. Introducing pristinely uniformed ninth graders to Toni Morrison for the first time, I remember my heart beating with urgency as if it were a siren coming from a fire truck on Central Avenue. Each day I was confronted by what Eve L. Ewing calls "moments of intense focus and commitment where trying to help someone understand seems like the most important thing in the world."

Ewing's *Ghosts in the Schoolyard* is a hybrid book — equal parts 20th-century American history, education sociology, and personal memoir. The author, a sociologist of education at the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration and an acclaimed poet, looks at the 2013 closures of 50 Chicago public schools (the largest mass closure of public schools ever in an American city) from the perspectives of the students and families who were most affected. She connects these developments to the housing, legal, and education policies that are inextricably intertwined with the ugly realities of racial and socioeconomic politics.

Bronzeville, a historic neighborhood on the South Side of Chicago and a final destination for many black Americans during the Great Migration from the Southern states, is where Ewing grounds her narrative. A former resident of the neighborhood and Chicago Public Schools teacher, Ewing gracefully channels the struggles of the community's students, educators, and parents who fight valiantly to keep their schools open despite local politicians' efforts to enact large-scale "reform." These efforts beg the question that frames much of the book: If the schools are so terrible, why do people fight for them so adamantly?

In 2012 the Chicago Board of Education announced its intention to close Walter H. Dyett High School, a Bronzeville stalwart since its founding in 1931. Ewing takes us to press conferences held by Chicago Public School officials making the case for why Dyett should be shut down. But through the eyes of its students and parents, we see how attempts by local officials to close Dyett look like attempts to "get black history to go away."

Schools aren't merely the sum total of their test scores and attendance levels; they're spaces that facilitate an understanding of a shared past and culture. Or as Ewing puts it, a school is "a place of care, a home, a site of history." By looking at decades of racist housing policies and opaque school board processes that consistently under-resource schools in black communities, the author exposes the structural inequalities that can undergird our public education system and make any objective evaluation of individual schools quite challenging.

Taking It to the Streets Thousands of demonstrators rallied in downtown Chicago on March 27, 2013, to protest the city's plan to close 50 public schools, primarily in Hispanic and African American neighborhoods. The closings, which the city claimed were necessary to rein in a looming $1 billion budget deficit, would be the biggest one-time shutdown ever by a U.S. city. Organized by Chicago's Teacher's Union (CTU), the protest drew parents, students, teachers, community activists, and other critics of the plans, loudly making the case that "Closing Schools Really Stinks!" PHOTO: JOHN GRESS/CORBIS VIA GETTY IMAGES

Ewing gracefully channels the struggles of the community's students, educators, and parents who fight valiantly to keep their schools open despite local politicians' efforts to enact large-scale "reform."

By looking at the multiple roles schools perform in a community, Ewing explains why these families wage such fierce battles to keep them open, just as the depth of their resistance — for example, a month-long hunger strike — debunks a common myth about low-income and minority families being disinterested in their children's education. In fact, the commitment of these families contrasts with the bureaucratic indifference of the public education system that marginalizes them.

However, one tension I confronted in Ewing's work comes from my own experience as a classroom teacher: What *should* be done with schools that fail to adequately educate their students according to commonly accepted standards? Ewing herself acknowledges this tension when she writes that her "purpose in this book is not to say that school closures should never happen." Paradoxically, the undeniable power of Ewing's book is that she steers clear of offering blanket solutions. Rather, she underscores the importance of understanding how power and politics intersect in our communities, validating the experiences of all families and nurturing our young people in environments that preserve their cultural legacy. ■

Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions On September 24, 2018, the opening day of the Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations, the official flag was raised as part of the launch of the Peace Palace as "SDG 16 House," the first of its kind in the world. Successor to the Millennium Goals, the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) came into effect in January 2016. The promotion of "just, peaceful, and inclusive societies" was included as an essential goal for the first time. This is SDG 16 — an excellent match to the ideals which animate the work of the Peace Palace, an international symbol of peace and justice. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

NOTABLE **EVENTS**

All in the Family Following lunch on the first day of the Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations, members of the widely scattered "family" of Carnegie institutions, friends, and distinguished guests gathered on the front steps of the Peace Palace for a group portrait. Institutions that were partners and/or sponsors of — as well as participants in — the Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations included Carnegie Corporation of New York, Carnegie UK Trust, Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, Carnegie Europe, Carnegie Institution for Science, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, Carnegie Foundation – Peace Palace, and delegations from American and European Carnegie Hero Funds. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

EVENT

"Bringing Peace Together"

The Peace Palace in The Hague hosted the first edition of the Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations, which in late September 2018 brought together more than 300 professionals from government, business, NGOs, philanthropic organizations, and knowledge institutions, as well as representatives of Carnegie institutions worldwide, to generate fresh perspectives on peacebuilding and conflict resolution. In view of the increasing urgency and interconnectedness of situations involving conflicts and peace, new ideas — and especially the voices of new generations — are much needed. That was a signal theme of the three-day gathering: the importance of involving young people in the process of envisioning and working toward creative solutions to a more peaceful and equitable world.

Peacebuilder Leonardo Párraga, BogotArt executive director, holding the citation for the inaugural Youth Carnegie Peace Prize, awarded for the organization's Letters of Reconciliation project. PHOTO: © CARNEGIE FOUNDATION – PEACE PALACE

As Mayor Pauline Krikke of The Hague observed at the opening reception, on September 24:

> The challenges of the 21st century demand 21st-century solutions, which means working together in network organizations, using the latest technology and sharing all the available data and knowledge. It also means listening more than ever before to what young people have to say on these matters. Because in the end it's all about tomorrow's world. The world that they will shape.... Would Andrew Carnegie have even dreamt that 100 years later young people would be keeping his ideals alive? He lived in the age of silent movies and the hand-operated telegraph, while we live in the age of Netflix and WhatsApp. But our goal is precisely the same: *Bringing Peace Together*.

The Carnegie PeaceBuilding Conversations closed on September 26 with an uplifting award ceremony held in the Peace Palace's magisterial Great Hall of Justice. War correspondent Rudi Vranckx was named laureate of the biannually given Carnegie Wateler Peace Prize. And the first Youth Carnegie Peace Prize was awarded to BogotArt (Colombia), an organization whose work demonstrates the power of youth to transform conflict and build sustainable peace. At the closing ceremony, Dr. Bernard R. Bot, chairman of Carnegie Foundation – Peace Palace, could only look forward: "It gives so much hope to see the younger generations being so engaged with peacebuilding, working on a better future, on a more peaceful world. Not only for their own generation, but for all of us."

Jimmy Rhodes and Vickie Tillman were honored by the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission at a ceremony held on June 12 at Carnegie Music Hall in Pittsburgh. PHOTO: DOWNS CREATIVE

Students discuss the impact of gun violence on their communities at EWA's 71st National Seminar at the University of Southern California. From left: reporter Evie Blad and students David Hogg, Emma González, Alex King, and Jackson Mittleman. PHOTO: PHIL CARTER/EWA

GALA

A Celebration of Heroes in Pittsburgh: 10,001 and Counting

The Carnegie Hero Fund Commission, Carnegie Museums of Pittsburgh, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, and Carnegie Mellon University — the four Pittsburgh-based Carnegie institutions — came together on June 12 in the Steel City to mark a special milestone in the history of civilian acts of heroism. A special luncheon was held at the Allegheny HYP Club in downtown Pittsburgh to honor Vickie Tillman and Jimmy Rhodes, respectively the 10,000th and 10,001st Carnegie Heroes. Later that evening, representatives of the Carnegie institutions convened at the Carnegie Music Hall for a gala event, helmed by NPR host Scott Simon. After acknowledging Tillman and Rhodes for their acts of bravery, Eric P. Zahren, Carnegie Hero Fund Commission president and secretary, unveiled the Carnegie Heroes Roll of Honor. Academy Award–nominated actor and Pittsburgh native Michael Keaton was also on hand to pay tribute to the Good Samaritans who set an example for us all.

Throughout the 114 years since the Carnegie Hero Commission Fund was established, more than 10,000 Carnegie Medals have indeed been awarded and many millions have been disbursed in one-time grants, scholarship aid, death benefits, and continuing assistance. But most importantly, the Fund keeps the heroes' stories alive, ensuring that their acts of personal bravery will ripple across generations.

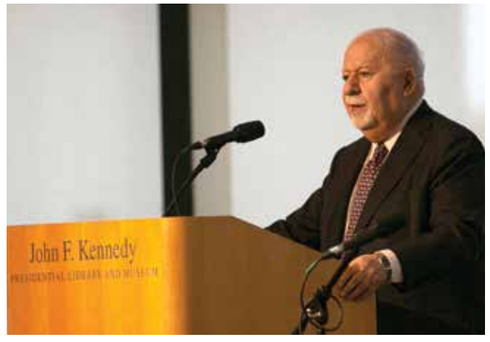
SEMINAR

Education Writers' Conference Tackles Thorny Issues

The Education Writers Association held its 71st national seminar at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles from May 16 to 18. This multiday conference is the country's largest gathering of journalists covering education and provides participants with hands-on sessions for covering the topic from early childhood through graduate school.

The theme of this year's seminar was "Room for All? Diversity in Education & the Media." Several panels focused on helping journalists understand how today's shifting demographics and cultural dynamics impact both the classroom and newsroom, with an eye toward helping attendees cover issues ranging from immigration and integration to free speech, gender identity, and mounting political polarization.

Students took center stage at a panel discussion about school shootings. High-school students David Hogg and Emma González of Parkland, Florida, Alex King of Chicago, and Jackson Mittleman of Newtown, Connecticut, joined *Education Week* reporter Evie Blad for a wide-ranging conversation about guns, violence, school safety, and student activism.



Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, welcomes new U.S. citizens following a naturalization ceremony on July 18 at the JFK Library and Museum. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD

The University of the Witwatersrand's Adam Habib and the Corporation's Claudia Frittelli discuss the "Fees Must Fall" student protests in South Africa at a staff luncheon on August 1. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD

HOMECOMING

President Gregorian Welcomes New Americans at JFK Library

On July 18, 200 people from more than 50 countries of origin gathered at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in Boston to share one unforgettable moment: they stood side by side, holding small American flags, to become naturalized United States citizens. Vartan Gregorian, the Iranian-born Armenian American president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, delivered the keynote, which was adapted and published by the *Boston Globe*.

Gregorian urged the new citizens to help America do better. "As citizens of this country we can — and we must — participate in the work of our democracy. That means undertaking a myriad of small actions, most of which do not take place on Election Day. Read, learn, listen to others, help your neighbors, speak out against injustice, and vote! Study our nation's glorious past as well as its trials, tribulations, and tragedies. By doing so, you fulfill your rights and obligations as citizens."

Carnegie Corporation of New York supports immigrant integration and civic engagement through its portfolio of philanthropic grants dedicated to democracy.

MASTER CLASS

Understanding the South African Student Protests

At a Carnegie Corporation of New York staff luncheon held in New York City on August 1, 2018, Adam Habib, vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand and Spring 2018 fellow at Hutchins Center for African and African American Research at Harvard University, discussed the 2015–2017 "Fees Must Fall" student protests in South Africa and their implications for the advancement of social justice movements around the world. Habib discussed the importance of peaceful social mobilization, the role of in-state actors, strategy and framing of movements, decision-making, and the ethics of social mobilization. He also made the point that the country's students achieved in 10 days what vice-chancellors have been endeavoring to accomplish for more than 10 years, thanks in part to South Africa's strong civil society tradition. (However, Habib was also quick to note that when the protests turned violent, it fractionalized the movement.) A long-standing Corporation colleague and grantee, Habib is an academic, researcher, activist, administrator, and renowned political commentator and columnist. The talk was based on a chapter of his forthcoming book. ■

Contributors & Credits

Adam Ambrogi is the director of the Elections Program at the Democracy Fund, a bipartisan foundation working to ensure that our political system is able to withstand new challenges and deliver on its promise to the American people. He previously served as chief counsel to the Senate Rules Committee.

A former writer and editor at *Education Week*, **Jeff Archer** is president of Knowledge Design Partners LLC, a communications and knowedge-management consulting firm with a focus on K–12 education research and innovation. Through KDP he supports education nonprofits, academic organizations, and businesses in sharing the lessons learned from their work to improve teaching and student learning. This includes working with the Education program at Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Fred A. Bernstein studied architecture (at Princeton University) and law (at NYU) and writes about both subjects. He has contributed more than 400 articles, many on architecture, to the *New York Times*, and is a regular contributor to such magazines as *Architectural Record* and *Architectural Digest*. He has also published in journals like the *New York University Review of Law and Social Change*. In 2008 Bernstein won the Oculus Award, bestowed annually by the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects for excellence in architecture writing.

A British illustrator primarily creating conceptual work for newspapers, magazines, and advertising, **Mitch Blunt** has enjoyed providing illustrations for a diverse range of clients, including *Bloomberg Businessweek*, HarperCollins, *Esquire*, *Foreign Policy*, the *Atlantic*, the *New York Times*, *Wired*, and more. mitchblunt.com

A transplant from Toronto, **Marcos Chin** has been living and working in New York City as an illustrator for over 13 years. An instructor at the School of Visual Arts, he has created illustrations for companies such as Google, Target, HBO, Starbucks, and the *New York Times*. marcoschin.com

Stephen Del Rosso is director of the International Peace and Security program at Carnegie Corporation of New York. Previously director of programs at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, he also managed the Global Security Program at The Pew Charitable Trusts. Del Rosso served for a decade in the U.S. Foreign Service with overseas postings in Central America and the Caribbean, and in Washington as staff officer to Secretary of State George Shultz, among other assignments. He holds a PhD in political science from the University of Pennsylvania and an MALD from The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

Aruna D'Souza is a writer based in western Massachusetts. Her new book, *Whitewalling: Art, Race & Protest in 3 Acts*, was named one of the top art books of 2018 by the *New York Times*. She is a regular contributor to and member of the advisory board of 4Columns, and her writings have appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Bookforum*, CNN.com, and other publications. @arunadsouza | arunadsouza.com

A program assistant with Carnegie Corporation of New York's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program, **Joseph J. Jung** manages grantee relations, supports and informs program strategy, and contributes to internal projects. His work focuses on a range of national issues, including immigrant integration, voting rights protection, and voter engagement. Prior to joining the Corporation, Jung was a development professional at a New York City–based nonprofit organization empowering immigrant communities. He holds BA degrees in English and government from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

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A member of the inaugural class of Andrew Carnegie Fellows in 2015, **Zeynep Tufekci** is an associate professor at the University of North Carolina and an opinion writer at the *New York Times*. Her research revolves around the interaction between technology and society. Published by Yale University Press in 2017, Tufekci's first book, *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*, examines how digital connectivity has transformed the public sphere, social movements, and politics. She is currently working on a book on the impact of artificial intelligence on society. @zeynep | technosociology.org

On the Cover In fiber works like *Ethereal Beauty* (2017), Nnenna Okore transforms largely recycled materials (in this case cheesecloth, jute string, lace, and wire), employing repetitive, everyday techniques inspired by or adapted from traditional women's practice — such as braiding, weaving, twisting, and tearing — to compose delicate, intensely beautiful three-dimensional forms that blur the line between the handmade and the organic. African Humanities Program fellow Nkiruka Nwafor places Okore at the center of her study of women artists. See "African History, Written in Africa": 26–37, and "Visual Activism in Africa": 66–67. COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Page 12 Photos (clockwise from upper left-hand corner): Mehmet Yilmaz/Anadolu Agency/Getty Images; John Moore/Getty Images; Anna Ferensowicz/Pacific Press/LightRocket via Getty Images; Omar Marques/Anadolu Agency/Getty Images; Jeff Swensen/Getty Images; Paul Ellis/AFP/Getty Images

Dream On The architectural competition for the Peace Palace in The Hague was launched in August 1905. Architects and utopian thinkers of all stripes were inspired by the Andrew Carnegie–supported "Temple of Peace," which would house the newly established Permanent Court of Arbitration and a library of international law. The Dutch physician, theosophist, pacifist, and internationalist P. H. Eijkman (1862–1914) proposed a wildly ambitious plan for a new World Capital in The Hague (detail shown here) — with the Peace Palace as both its inspiration and centerpiece. Eijkman's visionary (but never realized) project "would provide shelter within its limits for all the international universities, academies, institutes, bureaus, theatres, etc., which at present are scattered aimlessly about the world." See pp. 46–53. CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE RECORDS, RARE BOOK & MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

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