



Carnegie

REPORTER



SPECIAL
Centennial
EDITION

Part 2



PHOTO BY MICHAEL FALCO

The Role of the Individual in History: *A Centennial Essay*

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

The Centennial of Carnegie Corporation has led me to reflect on the fact that the great endeavor that is the philanthropic foundation Andrew Carnegie brought into being one hundred years ago was the creation of a single man who felt he had a moral imperative to give away his wealth. His goal was for the money that he'd amassed during his lifetime to be used, as he put it, "to do real and permanent good in this world."

Toward that end, Mr. Carnegie gave away \$350 million, an unimaginable fortune in an era when there was no income tax and hence, no tax incentive for philanthropy. It is not only the Corporation that carries on his legacy but the more than twenty-two other organizations he founded during his lifetime that are dedicated to advancing teaching and education, promoting international peace and ethical leadership, enriching knowledge about science and technology, preserving and sharing the cultural heritage of our nation and others, and recognizing what is extraordinary in "everyday" men and women, among other goals.

The work of these groups continues today, though one can imagine that even these entities could hardly contain Andrew Carnegie's vision, which was always centered on improving the human condition. Perhaps his ideals can be best expressed in the simple yet profound mission he gave to Carnegie Corporation of New York, the philanthropic foundation he created in 1911, which was to support "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding."

In that connection, it is remarkable to think about the impact that this one individual has had. Andrew Carnegie came to the U.S. as a poor boy, an immigrant from Scotland who first found work in a cotton mill, but eventually became a great steel baron and then one of the most important philanthropists the world has ever known. In addition to the many organizations he created and personal benefactions he was responsible for, perhaps his crowning glory was the creation of more than 2,500 public libraries in the United States and abroad. As he wrote in his autobiography, "It was from my own early experience that I decided there was no use to which money could be applied so productive of good to boys and girls who have good within them and ability and ambition to develop it, as the founding of a public library..."

As dramatic as Carnegie's story is, it is certainly not without precedent. After all, he found his footing and made his fortune in the land that had been described by Alexis de Tocqueville as the embodiment of "individualism," a term he coined in his seminal 1835 work, *Democracy in America*, which recounted his travels through the U.S. That was Tocqueville's way of describing the

self-reliant character of Americans, who reveled in their freedom from paternalism and aristocratic rule. In Mr. Carnegie's time, the same as today, individuals with the will and the persistence to nurture and build on their ideas have shown that time and time again they can not only move the proverbial mountain but also whole societies, as well. And individuals can literally change history.

Naturally, the role of the individual in history has been the subject of debate and discussion throughout recorded time. Conservatives, liberals, radicals, and those all along the spectrum¹ have offered their verdicts. But it should be noted that while political theorists, scholars, and leaders may diverge on many issues, what they all have in common is an acknowledgment that human will, individuality and creativity cannot be devalued. The political philosophies of even the most autocratic governments have been first articulated and then defended by

For Americans, the concept of the individual...has been the driving issue at the heart of our society.

individuals. Individuals carry the banners of despots as they march in support of their regimes. But it is also individuals who raise the flag of freedom and revolt in opposition to those who would impose repressive diktats on the populace. Our Founding Fathers are examples of such extraordinary individuals. We all remember, for example, how boldly John Hancock signed the Declaration of Independence. A committee did not put their names to that remarkable document. Individuals did.

For Americans, the concept of the individual and his or her centrality to the very nature of the social and political compacts that define our national life has been the driving issue at the heart of our society. What we often think of as "rugged individualism" is ingrained in the ideals and principles of our nation. Nevertheless, within this context, questions arise that relate to individual rights, self-reliance, the relationship and tensions between private and public good, local autonomy and national sovereignty, states' rights and federal power, even to what extent an individual perceives himself or herself to be part of the connective tissue of a nation represented by the term "citizen." One also may find that the ambiguities inherent in honoring the rights and dignity of the individual are not only difficult to reconcile but also extraordinarily challenging. For example, Americans in particular must confront the reality that "Individualism, the first language in which [they] tend to think about their lives, values independence and self-reliance about all else...[yet] American cultural traditions define personality, achievement and the purpose of human life in ways that leave the individual suspended in glorious, but terrifying isolation."²

(Continued on page 25)

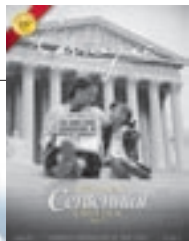


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About the cover: In May 1954, Nettie Hunt and her daughter Nickie sit on the steps of the U.S. Supreme Court holding a newspaper heralding the decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case that ended segregation in U.S. public schools.



A Note About This Issue

Midcentury. That's where we begin our Centennial look at the accomplishments and culture of Carnegie Corporation for this second special edition of the Carnegie Reporter. Midcentury. After World War II left the U.S. a global superpower and U.S. leadership was put to the test—both abroad and on the home front.

You'll notice the design of this magazine moves away from the paneled wood Old-world elegance of our first Centennial edition, which highlighted how Andrew Carnegie's vision for philanthropy focused on building institutions that could help to build America. In this, our "midcentury" issue, textures of modern plastic and color have replaced wood paneling and the spotlight turns to individuals who came to the Corporation with a vision for change.

John Gardner and Alan Pifer joined right

after the Second World War and set goals that reflected their clear priorities for a new America. Both became Corporation presidents and it is clear, as we trace the Corporation's history, that our presidents have always defined our work. The power of one of those president's, John Gardner, comes alive through the memories of one of America's foremost journalists, Bill Moyers whose tribute is our extended BackPage article.

There were decision points for the Corporation at this midcentury mark and we trace those made by Alan Pifer, who succeeded Gardner and put social justice issues on the agenda. Writer Abigail Deutsch documents the amazing arc of grants during the 1960s and 70s and their impact. Corporation staff member Patricia Rosenfield traces the decision points that focused a significant aspect of the Corporation's international grantmaking on higher education in Africa, particularly after the last gasps of colonialism. And because

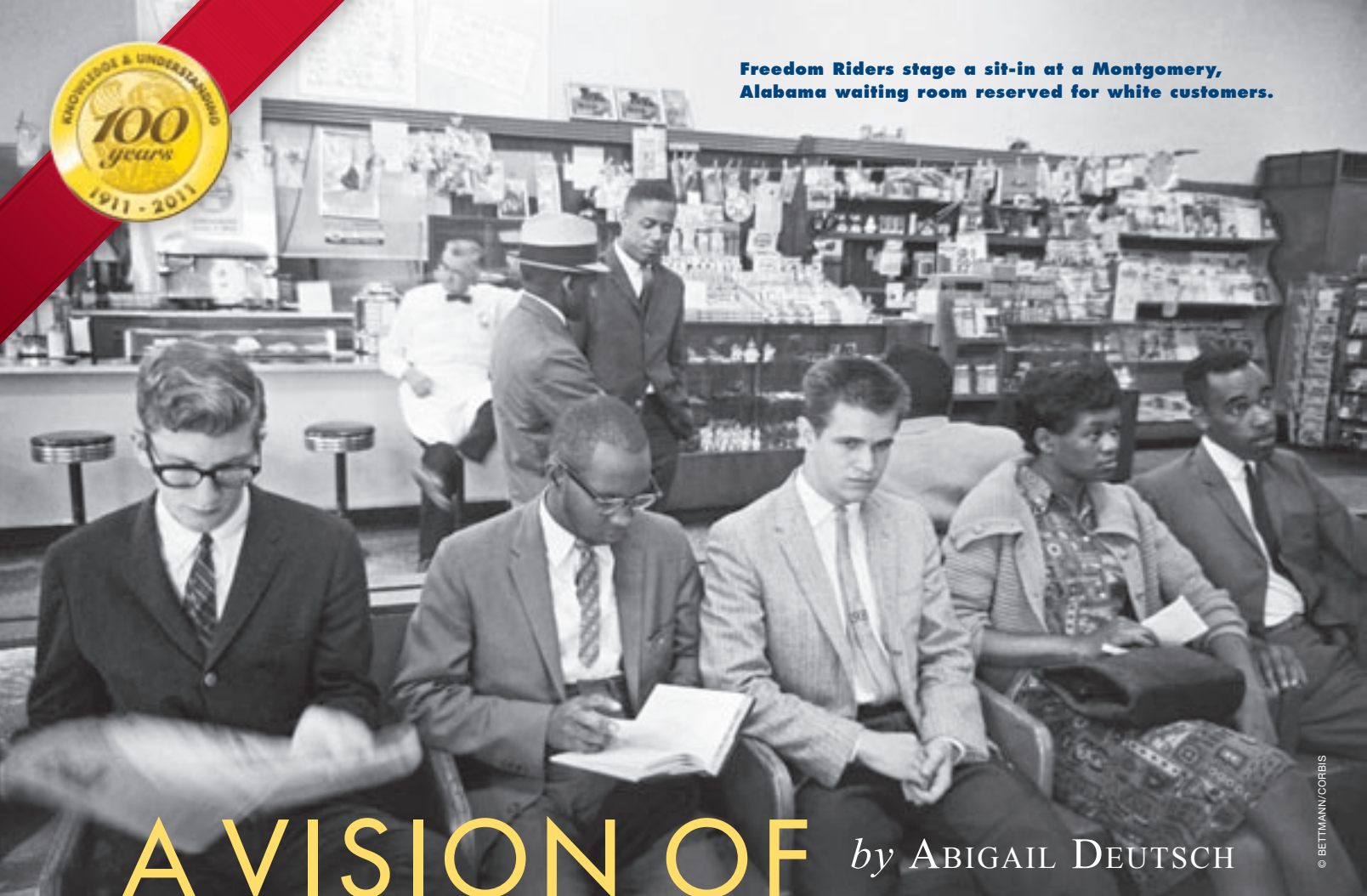
leadership is always about individuals, writer J. Ford Huffman introduces readers to ten people whose lives were changed through Corporation grantmaking and who continue their efforts to better the lives of people in America and internationally, as well. For an inside look into the Corporation's culture, we asked Avery Russell, who served for 30 years at the Corporation, to share her views on working here during this fertile period of growth and change. The role of Corporation trustees has been central to our history and our writer Karen Theroux captures this important aspect of the foundation's story.

We write these stories for history and also to share them with those philanthropists—large and small—who want to learn how foundation decisions can transform lives.

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



Freedom Riders stage a sit-in at a Montgomery, Alabama waiting room reserved for white customers.



A VISION OF by ABIGAIL DEUTSCH

Social Justice

Carnegie Corporation in the 1960s and Beyond

In her analysis of the whirling social currents of the 1960s and 1970s, Sara Engelhardt—a staff member at Carnegie Corporation during that period, whose two decades of service included twelve years as Corporate Secretary—once formulated a “surfer theory” of philanthropy. “Foundations can’t make waves,” she explained in an oral history recorded in 1998. “They can try, but that’s not what they know how to do. A really good foun-

dation figures out how to find a wave that’s headed in the same direction they want to go, and to ride it...If they get the right one and ride it well, they get a huge amount of lift and a huge amount of impact that they simply don’t have by themselves.”

In the 1960s, the Corporation found itself navigating shifting cultural tides. Civil rights victories of the previous decade—from the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision,* which outlawed

racial segregation in schools, to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which prohibited discrimination on public buses—prefaced years of legal breakthroughs on social justice issues. In the 1960s, the Freedom Riders tested the desegregation of interstate transportation by taking buses across state lines. Whites beat them back, prompting President Kennedy to form the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in 1963, with the goal of addressing civil rights problems

* In 1938, the Corporation enlisted Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal to undertake a two-year landmark study of the condition of the Negro in America. The resulting book, *An American Dilemma*, published in 1944 was cited in the Supreme Court’s 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which ended “separate but equal” education for black children; it also served as a moral wake-up call prior to the civil rights movement.

and public unrest. This move indicated that litigation would prove key to the Civil Rights Movement, as it would in Carnegie Corporation's efforts during the era.

The Corporation's history of concern for African-Americans began with Andrew Carnegie himself. He was staunchly antislavery, and described his worry for blacks following abolition: "The necessary act performed, the task does not end; it only begins," he wrote. "We have destroyed one bad system, but much work is needed. The shackles may be off, but the slave of yesterday cannot rise to the height of full citizenship next day." According to former Carnegie Scholars Program Director Patricia Rosenfield, Andrew Carnegie believed that everyone deserved the opportunity "to better themselves, and that you need institutions in place for that to happen"—such as the black colleges and libraries the Corporation funded

throughout much of the twentieth century. In doing so, "we weren't aiming to move [African-Americans] rapidly into different sets of laws, but trying to figure out how to work best under the current law," Rosenfield said. She adds that the 1960s, however, called for a "very definite change in both emphasis and approach"—a shift away from the Corporation's traditional focus on formal education as means of advancing societal progress and toward politics and lawmaking as agents of social change.

Partly as a result of black protest, the Corporation's staff and trustees became "painfully aware" of the racial and socioeconomic problems plaguing America, according to "Carnegie Corporation in a changing society, 1961-1981," in the Corporation's 1981 annual report:

Public attention was riveted on a seeming paradox: the U.S. economy had never been stronger and per capita income had reached a record high, and yet more than 20 million people were living in dire straits—unemployed, on welfare, or working for less than minimum wage. Studies pointed to a relationship between poverty, racial discrimination, and lack of educational opportunity. Children who were not doing well in school were more likely to have parents with low incomes and little education, and a disproportionate share of them were black or Hispanic or Native American.

For the Corporation, the turning point came during a meeting in Stowe, Vermont, in the mid-sixties. Each staff member wrote a paper expressing his or her attitude toward the Corporation's activities, and nearly everyone urged more action regarding segregation. Following that session, according to the oral history of former president Alan Pifer, the Corporation decided to alter its program quickly and signifi-

cantly, gearing it toward social change. As he noted:

...almost to a man or woman, [Corporation staff] said we were missing the boat on the whole issue of segregated society. And I certainly agreed with that fully. Really, in effect, we took the decision there that we would change the program a lot and get to work as fast as we could on doing something meaningful on the segregation problem.

Pifer, who became acting president of Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1965 and president in 1967, would lead the Corporation through this tumultuous era. In his 1968 annual report essay, Pifer wrote out a rallying cry on the subject of foundations. Like Engelhardt, he viewed foundations' activities as reliant on greater social trends—but he compared foundations not to surfers but to birds:

The kind of conservatism which regards organizational forms and procedures as ends in themselves rather than as no more than present means for accomplishment of the ever changing purposes of society is increasingly doomed. The dodo (dodo ineptis), a bird with a large, heavy body and tiny wings, could not adapt to the coming of predatory man to its habitat in Mauritius and perished. Our institutions today need slim bodies and well-developed wings!

How should Carnegie Corporation orchestrate its evolution? In a complement to his bird analogy, Pifer pointed to "critical points of leverage": for him, the solution lay in providing grants to sites of "potential break-

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



Sara Engelhardt. Engelhardt joined Carnegie Corporation in 1975, where she served as Secretary of the Corporation and managed the foundation's grants, while also serving as program officer for philanthropy and nonprofit organizations and for women in higher education and public life, until 1987 when she became president of the Foundation Center.



Alan Pifer, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York 1967-1982 (acting 1965-1967.)

USED WITH PERMISSION OF MATTHEW PIFER.



Alan Pifer, 2nd row, seated, 5th from the right, at Groton School circa 1936.

through,” thus assisting “institutional transformations.” Foundations, he wrote, “have a restricted ability to lead change but an unusual capacity to help it along”—to ride waves that have already gained power, and lend them more power still. He saw foundations, whose money was subject to little outside control, as uniquely free to help treat social ills, and thus as uniquely responsible to do so.

The Pifer Era: A Time of Diversity and Change

Alan Pifer’s own background may have increased his sensitivity to socioeconomic problems. His father grew up poor, and put himself through Wabash College in Indiana by running a pig farm. He later distinguished himself by becoming among the first Rhodes scholars to Oxford. (In a 1998 interview, Pifer said that this was “probably about 1905” and that his father was “probably in the second group of Rhodes scholars.”) Pifer followed a similarly ambitious educational path, though the president’s account of his education was charmingly self-effacing. In his oral his-

tory, he suggested that his acceptance to Groton was predicated on his poverty: “I think [the headmaster] thought that it would perhaps democratize the school by having one little boy who was on scholarship.” As for the achievement of attending Harvard: “It was almost impossible not to get into Harvard in those days.” Later he won a scholarship to Cambridge, and went on to work at the U.S. embassy in London. There he developed an interest in Africa.

For former program officer Frederic (“Fritz”) Mosher, who worked at the Corporation during Pifer’s time, this work on Africa defined Pifer’s later attitude toward American race issues. Says Mosher, “He saw people [in Africa] who were fully capable of taking over and running their institutions and their countries. He and the Corporation supported their right to do that in Africa, sometimes in the face of lingering colonial resistance, and he was quick to apply the same principles and expectations to the rights of African-Americans to represent their own interests and control their own destinies here.”

Pifer’s arrival at the Corporation

was strikingly casual given the profound effect he would have on the institution. In 1953, he quite literally wandered in off the street. After Pifer had described his professional experience to the director of the international program, “he gave me the oddest look,” Pifer recounted in his oral history. “Finally he said, ‘My God, you’ve got the exact profile of what we’re looking for.’...So they hired me pretty much on the spot.” Corporation president John Gardner asked for Pifer’s educational background, and upon learning about the newcomer’s roots at Groton, Harvard and Cambridge, asked: “Do you think you can live that down?” In response, Pifer reported, “I liked him instantly.”

Gardner’s jibe aside, Pifer found himself in a socially conservative Corporation that, years later, he would work to transform:

The staff was 100 percent white, except for one person, Saunders, who was never dignified with a first name or with a “Mr.” title. He had been Andrew Carnegie’s valet, and he had a little hole in the corner office and ran errands such as tak-



Alan Pifer, 1945, pictured in Europe when he was serving as a member of the Judge Advocate General Corps after fighting in the Battle of the Bulge.

Alan Pifer, 1959, at his home in Greens Farms, Connecticut.



Alan Pifer, 1967, with sons Matt (left) and Nic (right).



USED WITH PERMISSION OF MATTHEW PIFER.

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ing money down to the bank or getting money or whatever. But other than that, there was no person of color on the staff. And aside from Florence Anderson, the assistant secretary—Bob Lester being secretary at that time—there were no women on the staff—the women were secretaries and they were referred to as “girls,” which was characteristic of the times. It was a very staid sort of environment in which you felt that you had to talk in whispers...It was a sort of formidable board of trustees at the time. It was what later became known as a blue-gray board, because it was all men and they all wore either dark blue or dark gray suits.

One of Pifer’s points of pride, looking back on his presidency, would be his role in diversifying the Corporation as to race, religion and gender. He sought staff and trustees from various backgrounds, and by his retirement in 1982 had created a board comprising nine men and eight women.

His efforts external to the Corporation were, of course, on a grander scale—and several factors coalesced to help them along. One was a high degree of cooperation among foundations. According to his oral history, Pifer participated in what was called a “foundation executives group” that enabled him to converse regularly with the heads of liberal and conservative foundations alike. “We had some very good discussions and we got to be good friends,” Pifer attested, “even though we had very different political outlooks in the group.” He added: “I tried not to preach to [the other foundation leaders], to listen to them, and learn, and make friends with them.”

Working together would prove essential for success in social justice initiatives. To support legal defense funds, the Corporation combined its efforts with those of the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, as well as several others, according to Geri Mannion, Program Director, U.S. Democracy and Special Opportunities Fund, National Program at Carnegie Corporation and who has

worked at both Ford and Rockefeller. Mannion also indicated that, in Pifer’s time, there were “relatively few national foundations, unlike today...and most foundations were based in New York,” which facilitated communication and camaraderie.

Just as essential to foundations’ social justice efforts was governmental support, pointed out former Corporation staff member Avery Russell*. “None of this pioneering work could have been done by Carnegie Corporation or Ford—or other foundations—if the Johnson administration’s Justice Department had not been friendly to it,” she explained. “It was a true public-private collaboration.”

With this lucky confluence of factors in the background, and in the wake of legal triumphs for civil rights in the past several years, the Corporation turned much of its grantmaking attention to social justice—and in particular, to litigation programs. Rosenfield clarified: “Thinking about issues in the ‘60s, you either went to demonstrate in

* See “The Second Fifty Years: A Personal View,” by Avery Russell in this issue of the Carnegie Reporter.

the streets or went to court. We wanted to do something that would have permanent institutional change, and so we went for law.”

Black Lawyers As Leaders in the South

One of the Corporation’s most remarkable programs exemplified this shift. Eli Evans, who served as the Corporation’s program director from 1967 through 1977, was growing increasingly troubled about the dearth of black lawyers in the south. In 1969, according to the Winter 1974 *Carnegie Quarterly*, three black lawyers served an African-American population of about 800,000 in Mississippi. Alabama had 20; Georgia, 34. Why so few? The Corporation noted a lack of black law schools in the south, inadequate education of black students and insufficient funding for their continuing education.

Evans had himself grown up in the South. As a Jew, he felt somewhat out of place, which may have enabled him to sympathize more readily with black Southerners. “If there’s any hallmark to my years of growing up, it was just being an inside outsider, this being part of the culture and yet being able to step apart from the culture,” he said in his oral history. His father, who would serve as mayor of Durham, brought Evans along on his campaign trail, providing him with early exposure to Southern problems and politics. As an adult, he continued to spend time in the south, becoming active with the Civil Rights Movement. As a result of this involvement, he said, he came to a key realization:

It was the black lawyer that was the natural leader in these small towns and communities, for the black community. He would become the most informed civil rights advocate. He would become the most important person with regard to community development work. He

would become a political figure in these cities and towns and small towns. And if one could increase the number of black lawyers, one could make a significant contribution to the future of the country.

On a trip to public Southern law schools, Evans found that while they could accept black students, they couldn’t pay for them: “they couldn’t pay for black students and not pay for white students as well, in a sense. They simply didn’t have enough money to go around, and they couldn’t play favorites in that way, even if they wanted to.”

The Corporation started supporting a variety of programs geared toward helping black southern law students, including the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council and the NAACP’s Earl Warren Legal Training Project. The effects were nearly immediate. “When we started in 1969, there were twenty-two black law students in Southern public universities,” Evans said. “Think of that. Twenty-two.” Four years later, he said, the numbers had risen to 370.

The Corporation’s initiatives adopted well-rounded approaches to law education. According to the Winter 1974 *Carnegie Quarterly*, grants to the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council sponsored a recruitment program that aimed to interest blacks in law school, a retention program to help them do well in high school and summer internships involving civil rights work. The Earl Warren Fellowship catered to the law school years themselves. Fellows took bar review courses with the Fellowship’s support. After passing the bar, if they chose to return to a community in need of a lawyer for civil rights causes, they would receive a stipend for the first three years, in addition to money for a law library and office.

“They were not popular in this community,” Evans explained, “and if they did civil rights work, they would be



Eli Evans served as Senior Program Director of Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1967-1977. In 1977, Evans joined the Charles H. Revson Foundation as President and retired in 2003.

boycotted, and therefore they needed money to support them.” Evans rallied support at foundations around the country. Initially, Carnegie Corporation put up \$650,000, and Ford contributed \$700,000, which equaled a good portion of the total; other foundations made up the rest.

Warren Fellows took on a range of problems. Raymond Cannon, who worked in Tallulah, Mississippi, represented black plaintiffs who had been denied housing and transportation options. Another Fellow, based in Houston, focused on discrimination in the workplace—the failure to promote and to pay black employees. The Fellowship’s monetary support proved essential. Gabrielle K. McDonald, a Fellow from the class of 1969 who focused on equal employment for women and blacks, noted that she

“couldn’t have afforded to take on the cases I was doing without LDF’s [the Legal Defense Fund’s] help. I don’t think I collected a fee for two years.”

The Warren fellows graduated from a groundbreaking program to become groundbreakers themselves. “What a story,” Evans said. “School board members, state school board members, judges, city council members, mayors. These 3,000 black elected officials, 3,500 black elected officials that are in office today, you’d be stunned at the numbers that came through this program.”

Tyree Irving was the first black lawyer clerk to the Mississippi Supreme Court, and the first black man appointed an assistant U.S. Attorney in Mississippi. Reuben Anderson became the first black state court judge in Mississippi’s history. Congressmen Mel Watt (D-NC) and Sanford D. Bishop (D-GA) also benefited from Corporation-supported programs.

These achievements were all the more remarkable considering the doubts that haunted the program at its inception. In 1972, Evans wrote this memo:

A quiet note: I couldn’t help thinking when the audience cheered the 20 interns who stood up, that three years ago when we first started this effort, none of the major foundations really believed that the southern law schools would take any black students....

For Hispanics, Accessing Justice Through Law

The Corporation’s social justice efforts were by no means geared exclusively toward African-Americans. A 1968 issue of *Carnegie Quarterly* details the Corporation’s efforts to support education for Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans by funding organizations such as the Youth Opportunities Foundation, United Scholarship Services and Aspira, which

provided a mix of scholarship and counseling support. As in the African-American case, the Corporation adopted a litigation focus with each of these groups to complement its traditional educational emphasis.

One of Carnegie Corporation’s most meaningful projects with regard to Mexican-Americans was its sponsorship of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF). A 1969 letter from MALDEF board member Henry P. Lopez to Eli Evans underlined Mexicans’ sense of alienation from a legal system that they perceived as designed to oppress them. Some Mexican-Americans were turning to organized opposition after the fashion of the Civil Rights Movement. In response, the letter said, MALDEF “feels the frustrated energies of Mexican-American militants must be channeled into positive constructive social action, much of which can be accomplished through the courts and certain administrative agencies if they can obtain the services of Mexican-American lawyers who can respond to their deep-felt needs.” Unlike African-Americans, Lopez added, many Mexican-Americans faced a sharp linguistic divide, which further necessitated an increase in numbers of Mexican-American lawyers.

Throughout the letter, Lopez continued to compare the Mexican-American problem with the “Negro” problem, highlighting its seriousness:

The Mexican-American has an average of 3.9 years less education than the Anglo population, and 1.6 years less than the average Negro...Unemployment among Mexican-Americans is more than 50% higher than among Anglos, and slightly higher than the Negro’s rate of unemployment... Moreover, a greater percentage of



The Carnegie Quarterly was published by Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1953 to 1996. It was succeeded by the Carnegie Reporter, which began publication in 2000.

Mexican-Americans live in sub-standard housing than any other minority group.

On the litigation front, he wrote, there were “fewer Mexican-American lawyers per capita than there are Negro lawyers per capita.” In supporting MALDEF, the Corporation helped fund their efforts regarding voting rights, employment opportunities, political access and education—legal education included.

Mexican-Americans weren’t the only Hispanic group to attract the Corporation’s concern. Pifer hosted a meeting on December 20, 1972, that was “probably the first opportunity for chairpersons of boards of directors of Puerto Rican agencies to discuss their priorities with heads of foundations,” according to a letter from Antonia Pantoja, executive director of Puerto Rican Research and Resources Center, from the previous month. She explained she and other leaders of several Puerto Rican social agencies felt encouraged by the “new view of minorities and their programs [among foundations].” At this meeting, “foundations and Puerto Ricans who apply for funds from foundations can meet and begin to understand one another,” and information would be shared about “a group about which so little is known.”

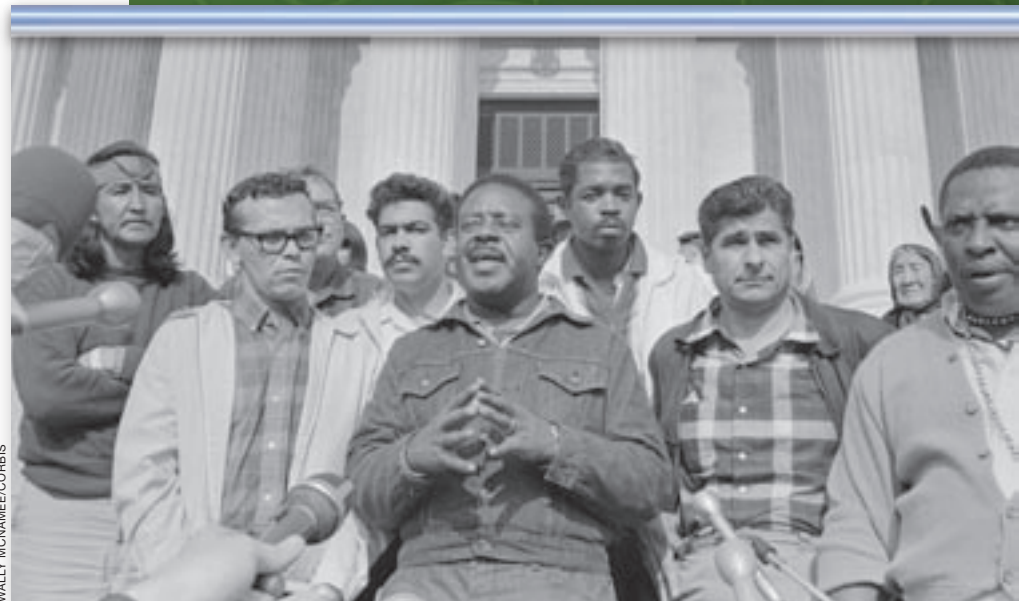
Well before that meeting, the late Barbara Finberg—who served the Corporation for 38 years in capacities that included program officer and corporate officer, retiring in 1996 as executive vice president—had expressed the desire to know more than a little bit about Puerto Ricans. In a letter from April 1967, she commissioned a report on Puerto Ricans in New York from scholar Diane Ravitch. Among her litany of questions:

How many Puerto Ricans are in public schools today and at what levels?...How many were at each level [in 1966]? How many were

in academic high schools versus vocational high schools? What percentage drop out at each level? How are they dispersed in the city schools? Are the majority in a small number of schools, or are there a large percentage in smaller groups in many schools?

Twice as many questions follow, and the result of her inquiries was a thick report.

and blacks. With a grant from the Ford Foundation, the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) started up in 1970, and in accordance with its history of supporting libraries, Carnegie Corporation gave NARF a start-up grant of \$119,000 to establish the National Indian Law Library (NILL) two years later. The institution would serve as a “clearing-house of Indian legal materials and resources,” aiming to “encourage more



WALLY MCNAMEE/CORBIS

The Poor People’s Campaign was organized by Martin Luther King to address issues of economic justice and housing for the poor. Pictured: Reverend Ralph Abernathy (center, in denim jacket), a close associate of Dr. King’s, and supporters of the Poor People’s campaign on the steps of the Supreme Court in 1968.

1972 saw the founding of PRLDEF, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, with Carnegie Corporation support. The fund fights for bilingual voting materials, education and other rights, and supports Latino lawyers. In the ensuing years, it broadened its mission to encompass all Latinos, and has accordingly renamed itself “LatinoJustice PRLDEF.”

Native American Rights

The Corporation also applied its focus on litigation to a minority that had lived in America far longer than Latinos

lawyers to undertake cases to help American Indians protect their rights.”

The need for a central depository of Native American law documents was dire. For lawyers arguing cases related to Native Americans, “the legal precedents to bring a case frequently cannot be found,” attests the Summer 1975 issue of the *Carnegie Quarterly*.

In addition, Indian law was highly complex, comprising between 20,000 and 30,000 federal, state and tribal regulations. According to Tom Fredericks, the director of NARF, “a simple act such as applying for health services or

leasing land may turn into a complex legal issue.” The “threefold increase in Indian litigation” in the 1970s because of the swell in lawyers devoted to Indian rights further necessitated the establishment of an organized, centralized library. That library now features the largest collection of Native American law materials in the United States.

Native Americans suffered a dearth of representative lawyers, just as blacks and Hispanics did, and the

to advance its standing in American society. By the mid-seventies, in the thick of Pifer’s tenure, the status of women had undergone a dramatic shift. Nearly half of women were working, while in 1920, only 20 percent of women had been employed. Pifer acknowledges the meaning of this change in his 1976 annual report essay:

Women must work, they want to work, and their labor is needed. Recognition of these realities

With the 1972 passage of Title IX, Pifer’s wish for equal educational opportunities seemed to be realized. The statute declared that “no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under, any education program of activity receiving federal financial assistance.” But as a 1978 *Carnegie Quarterly* reports, there followed years of what a direc-

“The U.S. economy had never been stronger and per capita income had reached a record high, and yet more than 20 million people were living in dire straits—unemployed, on welfare, or working for less than minimum wage... Children who were not doing well in school were more likely to have parents with low incomes and little education, and a disproportionate share of them were black or Hispanic or Native American.”

—“CARNEGIE CORPORATION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY, 1961-1981.”
Annual Report, 1981

Corporation responded to their problems in similar ways. In the 1960s and ‘70s, Corporation grants supported an “Indian lawyer intern project” that enabled NARF to hire young Native American lawyers. At the time, there were only a handful; as of 2007, there were 2,000. In the 1980s and ‘90s, the Corporation supported NARF’s efforts to mitigate problems of native education—the legacy of the longstanding practice of removing children from reservations to convert them to Christianity, or of providing them with public schools tailored to white rather than to native needs. NARF worked with communities in six states to study these issues, and to engineer solutions.

Advancing the Status of Women

Yet another group the Corporation helped was not a minority at all—but, like the others, it required legal remedies

should help us to institute new policies that not only make appropriate accommodations but spur wide-ranging reforms in many areas of life. Indeed, the large-scale movement of women into the work force opens up the exciting possibility of creating a much improved society for all Americans.

Pifer’s perspective was broad. He called for changes in patterns of “employment, in family life and child care, in welfare and tax policy, in education, in sex roles, and in the phasing of the life cycle.” He perceived needs that remain relevant today: for anti-discrimination policies in the workplace; for flexible hours; for daycare and after-school care for children; for efforts to interest girls in math and science; and for mentorship programs that encourage girls to think pre-professionally.

tor in the government’s Office of Civil Rights called “both intended and unintended neglect.” In 1974, the National Organization for Women’s Legal Defense and Education Fund founded the Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER) to make sure the government was actually enforcing Title IX. In addition to funding women’s educational and political programs, the Corporation provided PEER with a two-year grant in 1977.

PEER found that only 21 percent of complaints filed during the four years after Title IX had been investigated and resolved. The difficulties of enforcing Title IX stand in for the challenges of ending discrimination for any group. As Alan Pifer noted in his 1977 annual report essay:

While there has indeed been a vast social transformation of American life, most of it taking

place during the past 15 years, it is impossible to speak of it without uttering a distinct but. Progress for blacks yes, but also extensive failure measured against the nation's highest ideals and against the national self-interest. Scrutiny of field after field reveals that blacks

De facto, the United States is still two nations.”

The Work Continues

When Andrew Carnegie founded Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1911, it was his intention to create a philanthropic institution that would respond to the ebb and flow of events that affect our national life by investing its resources in ways that would best leverage change under different circumstances. He made that clear in his letter of gift endowing the Corporation with the bulk of his fortune, writing, “Conditions upon the [earth] inevitably change; hence, no wise man will bind Trustees forever to certain paths...I [give] my trustees full authority to change policy or causes hitherto aided, from time to time, when this, in their opinion, has become necessary or desirable.”

The Corporation fulfilled this mandate in the tumultuous era of the 1960s and 1970s by focusing on specific strategies to advance social justice, particularly through legal remedies. Our funding helped establish and sustain numerous organizations that continue those efforts today. Carnegie Corporation also incorporates the spirit of that work in recent grantmaking on strengthening our nation's democracy and improving conditions for all Americans.

While much progress has been made in this country in regard to voting and civil rights since the Corporation's initial grantmaking in this area forty years ago, the 2000 and subsequent election cycles illustrate the fact that the United States continues to be challenged in ensuring that all citizens' votes are counted. In that connection, the Corporation continues to study issues related to youth, immigrants and traditionally disenfranchised communities in order to understand how to help increase their civic engagement.

Carnegie Corporation has also identified immigrant civic integration—including building pathways to citizenship—as vital to encouraging increased civic participation by new Americans and hence, promoting a stronger U.S. democracy. This decision is based on several factors, including the dramatic demographic changes occurring in the United States through increased immigration; the Corporation's longstanding view of civic integration as essential to democracy; and our history as a significant funder in increasing voter/civic engagement among low propensity voters. Our emphasis on immigrant integration also comes in response to global labor market shifts and the growing link between higher educational attainment and social mobility in the United States. In the knowledge-based economy of the twenty-first century, making an excellent education available to all students, from kindergarten on through higher education, is the key not only to economic success for individuals but to sustaining our nation as a world leader and a model of democracy and equality far into the future.

The Corporation's current president, Vartan Gregorian, has often remarked on the importance of the Corporation's focus on advancing the progress of our nation by noting that while the United States is not perfect, “We see it as perfectible. For us, America is not just a past, it is also a future. It is not just an actuality—it is always a potentiality. America's greatness lies in the fact that *all* its citizens, both new and old, have an opportunity to work for that potentiality, for its unfinished agenda.”

In other words, the waves the Corporation started riding decades ago haven't broken yet. As the challenges continue, so does the work that Andrew Carnegie described as being aimed at doing “real and permanent good in this world.” ■



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Olympian Jackie Joyner-Kersey (left) and former astronaut Sally Ride (right) look on as then-First Lady Hillary Clinton (center) delivers a speech celebrating the 25th anniversary of Title IX on June 17, 1997.

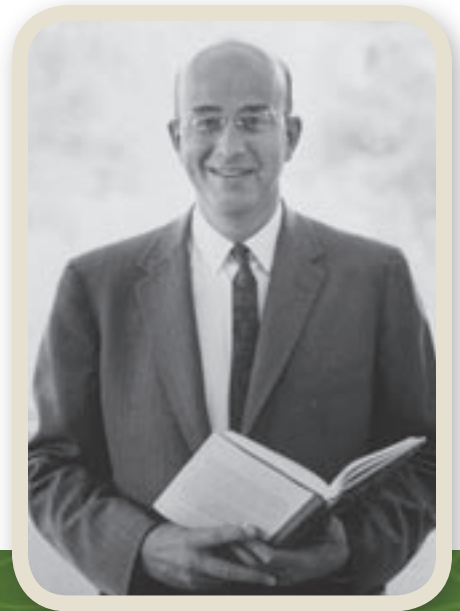
are still materially much worse off than whites, that racial prejudice and discrimination are still pervasive, and that new, more subtle barriers to further progress are being erected.

Pifer perceived the starkest disparities in the realms of income, employment, housing and education. He called for “new reserves of energy and new strategies to sustain the momentum for change...At least 80 percent of all American families today live in segregated neighborhoods, white or black.



by ELEANOR LERMAN
Director, Public Affairs and Publications
Carnegie Corporation of New York

GETTY IMAGES

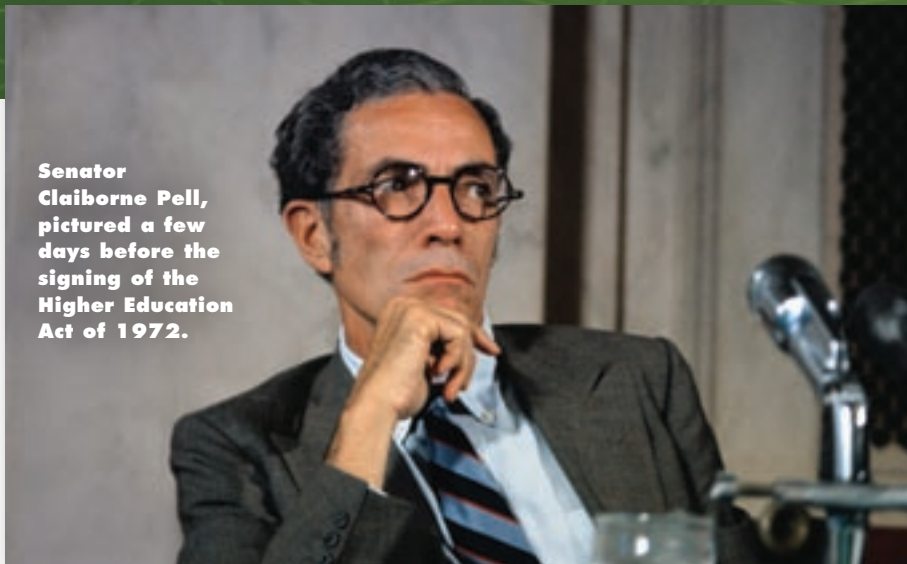


Clark Kerr, Chair and Research Director of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

PELL GRANTS

The Inside Story

MAKING HIGHER EDUCATION DREAMS A REALITY



Senator Claiborne Pell, pictured a few days before the signing of the Higher Education Act of 1972.

Between 1967 and 1973, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, financed by the Corporation and sponsored by its sister institution, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, conducted a study outlining a massive program of higher education federal assistance. Among other outcomes, the Commission's recommendations led to the formation of the federal Pell Grants program. Since 1973, the program, named after Senator Claiborne Pell who was instrumental in its creation, has awarded more than \$100 billion in grants to an estimated 30 million postsecondary students.

Today, Pell grants are an intrinsic element of higher education funding, but it's important to remember how revolutionary they really were when the grants were first proposed. Originally, Pell grants, which do not require repayment and are awarded

based on a financial need formula determined by Congress, were to be funneled directly to institutions. But with the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1972, which was influenced by the work of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, control of the largest share of financial aid dollars was shifted from institutions to individuals, very much in keeping with the American character. In that way, the grants became portable, meaning they could follow a student from one institution to another if his or her higher education career required that kind of mobility.

The rationale for the program was laid out in one of the Carnegie Commission's most influential reports, *Quality and Equality: New Levels of Federal Responsibility for Higher Education*, published in 1968, which argued for direct

financial aid to students rather than grants to institutions. Insisting that block funding was bound to turn political, Clark Kerr, the noted educator who led the Commission, wanted to empower students to choose the institution that met their needs and pay their own way. This recommendation eventually won the day, leading to programs that eventually became Pell Grants and Perkins Loans. (Perkins Loans are also federally subsidized and needs-based, but must be repaid.) Along with the GI Bill, which opened up access to higher education for soldiers returning from World War II, these programs provided an open door to colleges and universities in ways that previous generations could never have dreamed.

Writing about the Commission and the impact of Pell grants, Ellen Lagemann, education historian and author of *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy and Public Policy*, said, "The effect on higher education was tremendous. There had been great turbulence in higher education and no one really knew what to do. People were asking, 'What's a college education really worth?' The Commission was a stabilizing voice of authority providing guidance to higher educational institutions," according to Lagemann. "Pell grants came straight out of their work—a switch in the way aid is given that reflects understanding of the 'student as consumer' and recognition that institutions had to be more responsive to the market." ■



by J. FORD HUFFMAN

Portraits of

These Lives Were Changed by

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Transform is a word former World Bank managing director Mamphela Ramphele uses to describe herself and her country, South Africa.

Transcend is a word Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas uses to describe what a Carnegie library did for his environment and enlightenment. **Time**. That's what biographer Robert Caro needed to research a book that has never been out of print. **Tenure**. That's what founder Wendy Kopp acknowledges Carnegie Corporation has granted Teach For America. These men and women are four of ten lives—which have been lived in places that range from Sesame Street to Savannah to South Africa and beyond—that personify the worldwide impact of Carnegie Corporation of New York. Each life was touched by the Corporation and each touched the rest of the world.

Here are their stories.



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Mamphela Ramphele.



Ramphele (r) with Steve Biko (l).

COURTESY MAMPHELA RAMPHELE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Transformation

Carnegie Corporation of New York

Mamphela Ramphela

Sacrifice and Service to Help Free South Africa from Apartheid

Dr. Mamphela Ramphela is on the telephone, looking out the window in the office of her suburban Cape Town home. “I am looking at the Atlantic Ocean,” she says, “and I couldn’t always do that.”

What an understatement.

A room with a view might seem insignificant to some, but Ramphela’s being able to live where she wants—Camps Bay—and to talk to anyone she wants, including the *Carnegie Reporter*—is an example of an evolved South Africa.

Ramphela personifies the change. She spent four-and-one-half months in jail in 1976. Her anti-apartheid co-worker Steve Biko, the father of her older son, was beaten to death in prison in 1977. She was legally banned for seven years.

Now the woman who “came from a family who didn’t keep their mouths shut” speaks freely about her life as a medical doctor, educator, anthropolo-

gist, writer, former managing director of the World Bank—and her affiliation with Carnegie Corporation.

Ramphela worked on the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development, the eye-opening 1980s study that documented the economic effects of racism in South Africa. “We wanted to get the facts straight, facts about poverty and development,” former president David A. Hamburg told the Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project in 1998, and discover “what possibilities were there for relieving poverty, how could you envision development in South Africa and Southern Africa, in the region. Hamburg said the Corporation wanted to “involve blacks and browns and not only whites, to embed it as much as possible in the black community.”

Ramphela was recruited to join the effort by Inquiry director Francis Wilson. The University of Cape Town professor believed the new Inquiry,

unlike a 1929 Corporation report entitled the “Carnegie Poor White Study,” which focused on white Afrikaners—must include a black perspective. Wilson asked Ramphela to participate because she was one of “the most intelligent, politically savvy, hardworking women” in the country.

“I was still a banned person when Francis Wilson approached me,” Ramphela says. During that time, she co-wrote *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge* (1989), the book based on the Second Carnegie Inquiry.

The book “attracted worldwide media attention and helped its audience understand the lies of apartheid proponents and the struggles of South Africans to overcome a legacy of pov-

_____ *Huffman is a Washington, D.C., writer, editor, designer and artist who has worked with USA TODAY, The Washington Post, San Francisco Chronicle and Hindustan Times of India.*

erty, disenfranchisement and fear,” according to the Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project. Four years after *Uprooting Poverty* was published, apartheid ended. Elections followed and Nelson Mandela was in office.

Producing the book was one more liberating experience for Ramphele. She says, “I learned to write by working with Francis. That is how dramatically it changed my life. I had always been able to talk about what I was doing but never really sought to write about it.”

In 1989, the same year that *Uprooting Poverty* was published, Ramphele was awarded the first Distinguished International Fellowship, a program funded by Carnegie Corporation, at Radcliffe College’s Bunting Institute. The year in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was “life-changing,” she says, “both for me and my children.” And it was a long way from Ramphele’s roots. As she explains, she “was born and bred in a poor rural environment” in South Africa, where her father and mother were role models. “I grew up with people who wouldn’t hesitate to say something was wrong.”

To right a wrong, Ramphele’s prescription—as a medical doctor and as a person—is communication. “Because of my passion for people I fell in love with the practice of medicine,” she explains, “but [rather than treatment], I was much more interested in discussions with people and how they understood their bodies and their diseases. That’s how I ended up with the kind of [community health] projects I was involved with: dealing with the socioeconomic foundations of diseases.” She adds, “At the end of the day people are much better able to take control of their health if they know the causes of bad health.”

Currently, Ramphele is chair of South Africa’s Technology Innovation Agency, created in 2008 “to promote

an innovation culture,” she says, to help universities and research institutions develop technology-based industries. And she is “a very active alumnus” of the University of Cape Town, where she taught and was vice chancellor beginning in 1995.

Now, at 63—looking back at a lifetime of challenges and a future that promises perhaps more to come—Ramphele says, “I think my generation is the luckiest generation by a long shot,” she says. “Not only did we participate in the struggle for freedom, we are participating in the transformation process, which is the toughest. She notes that, “Fighting for freedom was tough and dangerous from a physical point of view. Transformation is more taxing because it requires all your emotional and spiritual resources.”

She is aware, as she says, that “Unfortunately, the changes [since apartheid] are most visible to those with education and with jobs and with skills,” meaning people like herself. On the other hand, “We believe that the social pain people developed during those oppressive days still exists in the new South Africa. That’s one of the things we underestimated: how the legacy issues of denying the majority of people were going to be so huge.”

Today, the visible contrast between the “huge development” and the poor in South Africa is a reminder that “there is work to be done. But if you ask me, overall I am very proud of South Africa. I think we have done extremely well to set the foundations for democracy. We have work to do to strengthen those aspects of our democracy that are still weak, but we work with greater determination and with acknowledgment of our mistakes.” ■



Its 1,336 pages are 40 more than the same publisher’s *War and Peace*.

It was first published 37 years ago and the paperback weighs three pounds, eight ounces.

That is heavy history, not what you might consider to be the qualities of a perennial seller. But it has never gone out of print, and it remains in the public eye—and in the eye of the president of the United States. “I’m sure it helped to shape how I think about politics,” Barack Obama said when he presented biographer Robert Caro with a National Humanities Medal during 2010 ceremonies in Washington, D.C.

“It” is *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (Knopf 1974), which took seven years to research, report and write. “I do sincerely think that if it hadn’t been for that grant from the Corporation it would have taken much longer than seven years,” Caro says.

Caro was part of the Carnegie Fellows in Journalism program, which the Corporation funded from 1964 through 1968 at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. Caro began his year-long fellowship in February 1967.

Robert Caro

A Reporter's Path to Power

"I was a reporter at *Newsday* and I was very young, and we [his wife, Ina, and he] really didn't have any savings. So I couldn't quit my job. So for about a year I tried to write *The Power Broker* while I was still working and wasn't making progress. Then I heard there was this fellowship." The special

combined with the freedom to have a year off, and suddenly, I am a writer."

"It's hard to exaggerate the effect [of the Corporation fellowship] on my life," Caro adds. "There are so many journalists who have a lot to contribute but they can't do it because they can't get the time to break away and sit down

lic authorities and is often referred to as "the master builder," decided where new highways, bridges and parks ought to go. Why write a book about a man who was not and is not a household name outside New York state? Because Caro was intrigued.

"Robert Moses had never been elected to anything," Caro wrote in *The New Yorker* in 1998. "And yet [he] had held power for 44 years, between 1924 and 1968, through the administrations of five mayors and six governors, and, in the fields in which he chose to exercise it, his power was so enormous that no mayor or governor contested it."

But it isn't just his research and journalistic skills that have won Caro high praise, it's the quality of his writing, too. In that connection, Caro says, "If you feel [as an author] you've learned something about how political power works, you don't want [the resulting book] to be for just one generation, you want the book to endure. If you want the book to last, the quality of the writing is important."

The Power Broker "used the life of a man as the way to focus on a bigger issue of urban political power," Caro says. The next subject he turned to—President Lyndon B. Johnson—offers a focus on *national* political power.

He is working on his fourth volume about Johnson, who Caro has studied for more than 30 years. Still, the 36th president remains unpredictable to him. "Sometimes you feel like you know what his next move is going to be but he is constantly surprising," Caro says.

When does the next LBJ book hit shelves?

"We've never rushed Caro on any of his previous books," says Knopf managing editor Katherine Hourigan, "and they've proved to be classics that endure, so we're not rushing him on this." ■

*The second was for *Master of the Senate* (Knopf, 2002), part of Caro's series of books about Lyndon Johnson.

Robert Caro,
1974.



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fellowship program had been established by the Corporation to provide the time, environment and resources "for individuals with the capacity and motivation to undertake appraisals in depth of major problem areas in contemporary society."

Caro applied, successfully. "They took one working newspaperman at a time and paid his salary for a year and gave him an office at the Columbia journalism school so he could write a book. All of a sudden I wasn't in a newspaper office," Caro recalls. "That mere fact,

and think. You're always running to get the next story or write the next story."

The Power Broker won the 1975 Pulitzer prize for biography, the first of Caro's two Pulitzers,* as well as the Francis Parkman Prize for the book that "exemplifies the union of the historian and artist." The Modern Library calls the book one of the 100 greatest nonfiction books of the 20th century, and journalist Nicholas von Hoffman wrote that Caro "changed the art of political biography."

Moses, who was responsible for the leadership of numerous New York pub-

Marian Wright Edelman

From Civil Rights to Children's Rights, a Leader Serves with Distinction



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Marian Wright Edelman saw a void.

“While there is a lot of fragmented activity on behalf of children,” Edelman wrote in her June 16, 1972 letter asking Carnegie Corporation for support, “it is mostly single issue and local. I think Children’s Defense Fund (CDF) can attempt to fill this vacuum.”

The Corporation’s then-president Alan Pifer was familiar with Edelman’s civil rights work. She had started the Washington Research Project, a public interest law firm that received Corporation funds, and she was a member of the Carnegie Council on Children (whose staff included research associate Hillary Rodham Clinton). The Council “began to get children more into the mainstream of American thought,” Edelman says, because the Corporation “gave visibility to these issues.”

The Council produced *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure* (1977), which, by many accounts, helped establish an agenda

for high-quality programs for all children, with a special concern for disadvantaged youngsters.

CDF eventually received a three-year, \$600,000 grant from the Corporation and opened for business in 1973. Millions of dollars and nearly four decades later, has CDF filled the void Edelman identified?

“I thought I would have been about out of business by now,” Edelman says. “[But] we’re still at it. The problem is still hard. We can look back at progress but the challenges remain great.”

Progress includes “Forty or so federal and state laws on the books that would not be there if CDF hadn’t been around,” Edelman points out, including legislation aimed at advancing education for disabled children (1975), increasing Head Start funding (1977), providing Medicaid for children and pregnant women below the poverty line (1984) and initiating the Early Periodic Screening and Diagnostic Treatment Program (2002).

When people ask Edelman what she is proudest of, she refers to “all the bad things that *didn’t* happen because we were around.”

What’s next?

She has learned that “the law is only as good as its implementation.” In the United States, she notes, “We have a framework and a body of laws but still can’t get a commitment from this country to end child poverty. All the progress that we lay out in our chronologies pales compared to all the challenges that we face today.”

Many of the challenges CDF has focused on relate to advancing conditions for racial minorities but the organization has always been a part of what Edelman calls a “cross-racial movement” inspired by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the early 1960s, which had a great influence on her. After graduating from Spelman College and Yale Law School, Edelman started working in 1963 in Mississippi under the auspices of the NAACP’s Legal Defense Fund.

“As a lawyer it became clear to me that I could win a civil-rights case,” Edelman says, but she also realized that if her plaintiffs remained poor, a legal victory was not sufficient. “I had to do what I call empowerment strategies. In 1964 we had to find ways to help the poor live.” For Edelman, that meant a focus on substantive civil rights in addition to procedural law.

She made the transition from Mississippi to Washington, D.C. in 1968. There she worked with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference’s Poor People’s Campaign. She had learned

about service early as the daughter of a Baptist minister and his wife in rural South Carolina. “I do what I do because my parents did what they did, and the message at my college was get educated so that you can serve.”

Her service has been recognized with honors such as a Presidential Medal of Freedom and a MacArthur Foundation “genius” fellowship. Her writing—eight books—merited a Robert F. Kennedy Lifetime Achievement Award.

Throughout all her work, educating poor children remains critical to Edelman—and to the Children’s Defense Fund. Among the reasons:

- According to CDF’s Black Community Crusade for Children,

“nearly 80 percent of black and Hispanic students cannot read or compute at grade level in fourth, eighth or twelfth grade, if they have not already dropped out of school.” Edelman calls this challenge “the greatest problem since slavery.”

- “The percent and number of poor children are higher now than they were 30 years ago even though our \$14 trillion Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is six times larger than it was then,” CDF reports. “Every fifth child is poor; every third black child is poor.”

Addressing these problems, their root causes and related challenges requires “nothing short of a new movement,” says Edelman, who sees the need to train and to “create the

next generation.” Still, the focus of her work remains where it has always been: on children in need. She says, “We don’t ever lose sight of our goal of leaving no child behind. But we change our strategies and our tactics to keep moving ahead.”

Over the years, as CDF’s work developed, the Corporation provided nearly \$12 million to fund its activities. As Edelman says, the Corporation “has always played a major role in being on the creative edge,” and the support given to CDF is an example of how evolving strategies aimed at improving conditions for children have played a major role in Carnegie Corporation grantmaking through to the present day. ■

Joan Ganz Cooney

Changing Children’s Television Forever



Joan Ganz Cooney, 2008.

Do an online search for “Joan Ganz Cooney” and results will tell you she is the founder of the Children’s Television Workshop, otherwise known as *Sesame Street*.

Cooney will not take full credit. She’s a co-founder, she insists.

Who is the other co-founder?

Lloyd N. Morrisett, a former vice president of both Carnegie Corporation and The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, as well as an Oberlin College and Yale University graduate with a Ph.D. in experimental psychology, and chairman emeritus of the Children’s Television Workshop board.

“He was more than instrumental,” Cooney

says. “He had the original idea. He was the visionary, no question about it,” Cooney insists. “Lloyd had grown up with a cousin of mine,” she says, “and when I was a producer at [WNET Channel] 13, he would call me with ideas for programs. One night in 1966 he and his wife, Mary, came to dinner with my husband, me, and my boss. My boss was charismatic and started talking about the educational possibilities of television and how they had not been tapped.”

“Carnegie Corporation had funded some studies about how children learn,” and “something clicked in Lloyd’s mind



about whether TV could be used to teach pre-school children.” She explains that Morrisett had noticed how his daughter Sarah, who was born in 1962, was looking at a test pattern one morning (the graphic card broadcasters used as a placeholder in the days when television stations were sometimes off the air) and was intrigued by “the utter fascination that little kids had with television.”

“Lloyd asked me if I thought TV could be used in that way, and he talked about the possibility of Carnegie Corporation funding a study about

Carnegie Corporation is one of the few [foundations] that has the tradition of getting other foundations to come in,” she adds. In this case, the Department of Education offered \$4 million, the Ford Foundation \$1 million and “PBS came in with \$1 million.”

The total eventually became \$8 million, “which was a lot in those days.” Cooney says, estimating the 2011 cost at \$40 million. Overall, says Cooney, “Carnegie Corporation is one hundred percent responsible for the existence of *Sesame Street*.”

we hadn’t done that,” suggests Cooney, “we would not be here today.”

And to reach more audiences the *Sesame* has gone from *Street* to *Strasse* and beyond. “We’ve had an amazing run with international productions,” Cooney says, and “we’re doing a show” with local actors in Pakistan and the support of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). In addition, she notes, “The government has us working with U.S. military families, creating DVDs for families, about deaths, departures, deployments.

The lives of these men and women—which have been lived in places that range from Sesame Street to Savannah to South Africa and beyond—personify the worldwide impact of Carnegie Corporation of New York. Each life was touched by the Corporation and each touched the rest of the world.

television and education. That was not for Cooney, her boss interjected. “Joan wouldn’t be interested because she is in public affairs,” she recalls his saying. “I yelled, ‘That’s exactly what I wanted to do!’”

And she did. Between the time of that dinner and *Sesame Street*’s November 1969 debut, Cooney ran a Carnegie Corporation-financed feasibility study. Based on Cooney’s work, the Corporation “put a million dollars, conditionally, into the project,” Morrisett told the Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project.

With leverage provided by the Corporation’s \$1 million, “Perhaps the largest grant up to that point that Carnegie [Corporation] had ever made,” Morrisett said, others provided funds.

“We could not have gotten to these [donors] without Lloyd,” Cooney says. “He had the know-how of who to see.

Beyond money and a production team that included CBS’s *Captain Kangaroo* alumni, what made *Sesame Street* work? “It was just magic,” Cooney says. “It was one of those things. Timing is everything. We started right around the time that Dr. Martin Luther King and Robert F. Kennedy were shot.” She adds, “There was huge idealism because we were trying to reach inner-city children as well as others. Everybody was dedicated to the mission. It made a huge difference.”

Today, the show claims 80 million graduates, 6 million weekly viewers and the most Emmy Awards in history. “The future of the Workshop looks good,” Cooney says.

Another Morrisett focus was “what we now call a product, which meant getting into the commercial world” of licensing products such as books and toys. You can buy a Cookie Monster iPod case. “If

Each DVD demonstrates with puppets and with actual people how to discuss these topics with children.”

Does Cooney herself watch the platform her work helped to evolve?

“I tune in to *Sesame Street* every now and then and come in to the office with some complaints and suggestions.” But she has other viewing habits, as well, explaining, “Occasionally I watch *Mad Men* and one or two drama series from time to time. I am basically news oriented. I watch Jon Stewart every night. He’s funny. As a personality he interests me. He’s a very serious man.”

She met Stewart at a Paley Center event. “I told him I’m his most faithful viewer but I’m not his [targeted] demographic.”

“We’ll take *any* viewer,” the host of *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* replied. Cooney knows how to keep them interested. ■

Colin Powell

A Citizen Soldier Helps Shape the Future

Being secretary of state or chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff or commander of the U.S. Army Forces Command or national security advisor gave four-star General Colin L. Powell access to the White House. But he had been there before.

In 1972, when Powell was 35, he was a White House Fellow. The Fellows program, which was developed with Corporation support, was established in 1964 by President Lyndon B. Johnson, who declared that a “genuinely free society cannot be a spectator society.” Since then, more than 500 men and women have served as White House Fellows, going on to distinguished careers in many areas of society.

The idea for a fellowship was first proposed in 1957 by the Corporation’s then-president John W. Gardner,* who became Johnson’s secretary for Health, Education and Welfare in 1965.

“I knew Gardner. I knew him rather well,” Powell said when he and Alma, his wife, accepted the 2011 John W. Gardner Leadership Award from Independent Sector for their work with America’s Promise Alliance. “Not only did [Gardner] found Independent Sector, he founded Common Cause and so many other programs, but he was the inspiration behind one that played such an important role in my life,” Powell told the audience.

That program is the White House Fellows.

“Gardner went to President Johnson and said, ‘Why don’t we get people early in their career and bring them up to the top levels of government, so they can see what that’s all about, and when the

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Colin Powell, White House Fellow 1972-1973, with President Richard Nixon.

Colin Powell, 2006.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

[White House] fellowship year is over, send them back to where they came from to take that experience back to their communities, back to their professions?”

The profession of soldier was fine for then-Lt. Col. Powell, and he writes in his autobiography that he “was not looking for a detour” from the Pentagon.

He was “drafted” for the White House program by his command. “I had never heard of the White House Fellows until asked—ordered—to apply,” Powell says. But he is thankful that he did apply—and thankful to the Corporation “for that early support of a program that enormously benefited me over the years.”

As a Fellow, Powell worked as a special assistant for Office of Management and Budget deputy director Fred Malek. Also as part of the fellowship, the future head of the Department of State toured China and the Soviet Union.

“The White House Fellows program meant instant entrée to people one did not ordinarily encounter at Fort Devens or

Chu Lai,” the Vietnam veteran writes in *My American Journey* (Random House, 1995). “The people I had met during that year were going to shape my future in ways unimaginable to me then.”

To help shape others’ futures, in 1997 he launched the Colin Powell Center for Policy Studies at his alma mater, City College of New York, to provide students “with the experiences, ideas, and opportunities that will enable them to make a difference in the policy and public-service worlds.” Corporation president Vartan Gregorian serves on the Center advisory council, and the Corporation helped sponsor its 2009 conference, “National Concern, Local Action, Immigrant Integration in New York.”

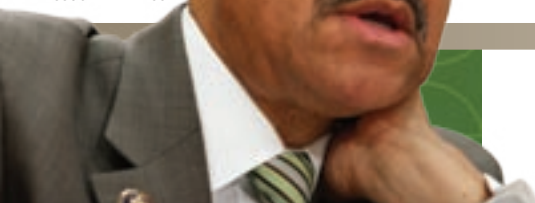
“I, for one, don’t believe that immigrants come here only for economic opportunity,” Gregorian, who came to the United States from Iran more than 50 years ago, told the conference. “The prize is citizenship.” ■

*See “A Tribute to John Gardner,” the BackPage article in this issue of the Carnegie Reporter.

Sanford Bishop

Even Martin Luther King, Jr. Needed a Lawyer

ASSOCIATED PRESS



Bishop with members of the Georgia Congressional Delegation.

Government Association of Morehouse College when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated.

“I had wanted to go to law school or to the seminary,” he says, and the choice was easier after civil-rights lawyer Howard Moore Jr. reminded him that, “Every time Dr. King went to jail he needed to call a lawyer.”

Bishop headed to Emory University’s law school, graduated in 1971, and went to New York City to join the Legal Defense Fund as an Earl Warren Legal Training Program fellow.

The Warren Program first received Carnegie Corporation funds during the presidency of Alan Pifer* and the eventual total was \$3.8 million. By the spring of 1974—a scant five years after funding had begun—nearly 300 black students had graduated from law schools in the South and another 170 black students were completing their first year at southern law schools.

Bishop says the Warren Program provided an “opportunity to be mentored by prominent civil-rights lawyers from all over the country,” such as Gabrielle Kirk McDonald, who later served in The Hague as president of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Says Bishop, “I learned unique skills from different and diverse civil-rights lawyers who had different techniques.”

The Warren Program led to his going back to Georgia and “thrust me into a role as attorney for a class of 6,000 black inmates for racial issues and 10,000 black and white inmates for

non-racial issues at the Georgia State Prison at Reidsville,” he recalls. “After I had been litigating for four years, a federal judge ordered the state to improve prison conditions at a cost of \$110 million. However, the state continued to offer the excuse that the legislature had not appropriated the money.”

“I became so frustrated that I quit the case to run for the legislature,” Bishop explains. “I realized that I could win a case on paper and maybe affect my clients, but if I could pass one good law in the legislature, I could affect the entire state. It was a great way to make Dr. King’s dream a reality.”

He was in the Georgia legislature from 1977 until 1992 and has been in Congress since. Other Warren Program participants in the House are Rep. James Clyburn, D-S.C.; Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee, D-Tex.; and Rep. Mel Watt, D-N.C.

For Bishop, the progression from lawyer to legislator is logical. “Being an attorney gives you a background and knowledge [about] the law and the Constitution,” and being a congressman is “an opportunity to help individuals, the community and the country.”

His remarks to Congress about the shooting in Tucson that left Rep. Gabrielle Giffords gravely wounded offer a sense of such a commitment. The tragedy has a “singular ability to bridge differences and bring people together,” Bishop told the House. “We must not let violence or the threat of violence deter us from representing our constituents and doing the nation’s business.” ■

* Alan Pifer was president of Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1967 to 1982. (He served as acting president from 1965 to 1967.)

Rep. Sanford D. Bishop (D-Ga.) cordially excuses himself, rises from the round table in his Rayburn Building office and returns to the House of Representatives chamber.

On a sunny January afternoon, members are expressing a formal “Sense of the House with Respect to the Tragic Shooting” of Rep. Gabrielle Giffords (D-Ariz.) and 18 others the previous Saturday in Tucson. In the House, Bishop makes these remarks:

“Let us take this opportunity to pause and reflect on the lives of the victims, the heroism of the first responders, and the bedrock principle of American democracy—reaffirmed in the resolution before us today—the right to assemble peacefully and to petition the government for the redress of grievances.”

The Tucson shooting is not Bishop’s first touch with violence in public life. In 1968, he was president of the Student

Joy Dryfoos

An Author Becomes a Leading Voice for Teens

According to Smith College, the repository for 14 boxes of papers by Joy Dryfoos, she is an “author, researcher and reproductive health-care specialist.” Dryfoos simplifies her vocation in one word. “I saw myself as an advocate.” Add researcher, writer, lecturer, consultant, policy analyst and expert on adolescent risk.

In 1969 she joined the (Alan) Guttmacher Institute, the nonprofit, reproductive health-care group that “was more of an activist think tank.” (To Dryfoos, activist is a “good word.”) “I got very interested in the issue of adolescent pregnancy,” she says, and “I kind of discovered the million teenagers who were giving birth, which was news.” Then, she says, “I began to get interested in the fact that the schools couldn’t really handle the increasing problems of educating kids without different kinds of interventions and I think the people at Carnegie Corporation agreed with that idea.”

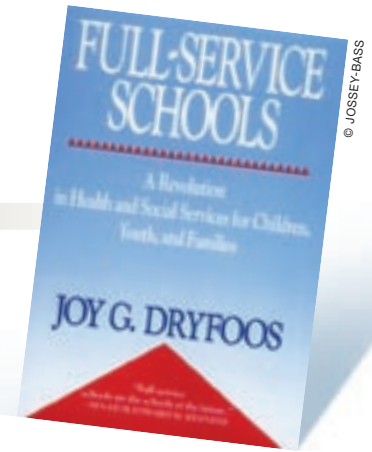
Starting in 1983 and continuing for nearly twenty years the Corporation

supported Dryfoos’s work on the prevention of substance abuse, delinquency, school failure and teen pregnancy. In 1986, the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development—headed by Corporation president David A. Hamburg—started generating interest “in measures that promote healthier adolescent development.”

Corporation grants helped Dryfoos produce more than 100 books, articles and other materials on adolescent development, including *Adolescents at Risk: Prevalence and Prevention* (Oxford University Press, 1991) and *Full-Service Schools: A Revolution in Health and Social Services for Children, Youth, and Families* (Jossey-Bass, 1994).

Dryfoos’s expertise has been sought by foundations, schools, universities, associations, conferences and the steering committee of the Coalition for Community Schools, which she helped found. She is a proponent of full-service schools, which the 1999 Carnegie Corporation annual report defines as those that “offer an array of educational, social and recreational services to students throughout the day and on weekends and during the summer.” The report says Dryfoos’s work “contributed to the growth of [the] national movement” regarding schools.

Dryfoos’s advocacy for teenagers is nationally recognized. When she was examining adolescence issues in 1975, teenage pregnancy “was almost as prevalent as the common cold,” she noted. Now, “the teen pregnancy rate is low,” she says, “and kids do use contraception.”



One of the many books Dryfoos wrote with Corporation support.

In 2005, the teenage pregnancy rate “reached its lowest point in more than 30 years (69.5 per 1,000 women age 15–19), down 41 percent since its peak in 1990,” reports the Guttmacher Institute. (In 2006 the rate increased for the first time in more than a decade, rising 3 percent.)

Despite progress, “myths, wishful thinking and cynical slogans govern much of our approach to teenagers,” she has noted. “If we are to create a healthy environment in which our young people can mature into responsible adults, we have to pay attention to the growing number of cultural, social and language streams and view them as assets rather than liabilities.”

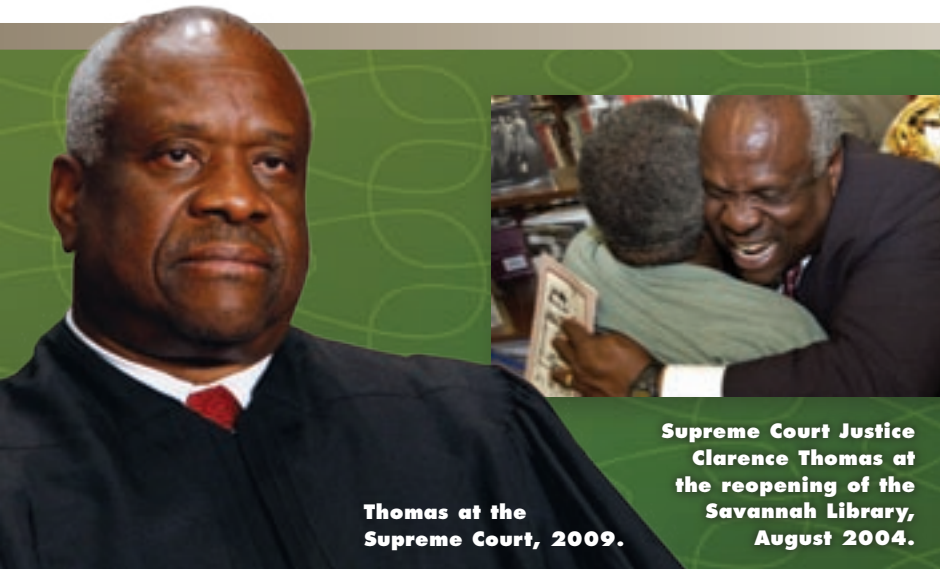
Dryfoos understands how the challenges of the digital age, the prevalence of violence on television and in the news and other twenty-first century pressures can create a “difficult, ugly terrain” for children. She says, “It must be very hard to bring up kids in that kind of atmosphere and make them hopeful.”

What, then, can help a kid be hopeful? “Kids have to have a reliable adult in their lives,” Dryfoos believes. “If not their parents, somebody else. And you have to train those ‘somebody elses’.” Dryfoos’s work is credited with providing a foundation for such training. ■

Joy Dryfoos.

Clarence Thomas

From a Carnegie Library to the Supreme Court



Thomas at the Supreme Court, 2009.

Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas at the reopening of the Savannah Library, August 2004.

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

For Clarence Thomas, the Carnegie library in segregated Savannah, Georgia, was “an outlet to a whole other world.”

He entered that world in 1955, when he and his mother and brother moved from a one-room tenement apartment to a two-bedroom place half a block away from the Carnegie library on East Henry Street.

His mother “got us started walking to the library” where “a lady would read to us”—Dr. Seuss, he remembers—on Saturday mornings in the basement of the building. The seven-year-old boy became hooked on books and on ideas.

Later, “In the fourth grade, I got to go upstairs to the big library. I thought I had died and gone to heaven,” the associate justice of the Supreme Court says. He adds, “That’s where my love of reading and learning came from. There are buildings—a room, a time, a parent’s home—that have a special meaning in our life. Who knows the formula for creating memories? I don’t. But I do know that they were created at Carnegie.”

In 2006, fifty-one years after going to

the library in Savannah for the first time, Thomas attended a Washington, D.C. conference for law, business, media, nonprofit and government leaders and supported by Carnegie Corporation. Thomas found Corporation President Vartan Gregorian in the crowd and handed him a note written on the back of his business card: “The Carnegie library in Savannah, Georgia, was my sanctuary,” the note reads. “It was the library that served blacks, since we were not allowed to go to the Savannah Public Library. It continues to have a very special place in my heart.”

Savannah’s Colored Library Association for “Negro citizens” had begun in 1906 with 352 books—the main library had 23,000 volumes—and later moved into the Henry Street building funded by a 1910 Carnegie grant. Andrew Carnegie, and later the Corporation, gave \$56 million to build more than 2,500 libraries in the United States and abroad.

A history by Geraldine Le May, the director of Savannah’s libraries from 1952 until 1975, says the main

public library was also a Carnegie gift. Le May further notes that segregated library services ended in 1963. Justice Thomas was 14.

In his 2007 memoir, *My Grandfather’s Son*, Thomas describes his need for a place to do homework assigned by the nuns at his black Catholic school. “I often studied at the Carnegie Library until it closed at 9 o’clock, then came back home and put in another hour or two at the kitchen table while listening to R&B on WSOK, the local black radio station,” he wrote.

“The Savannah public library may have been off limits,” he recalls today, but a library’s ideas were not. “What is worse,” he asks, “to be banished from a certain set of ideas or to be banished from a building?” Thomas, who was appointed to the court in 1991, returned to Savannah for the Carnegie library’s reopening in August 2004, and he has “pictures of the library here in my office” at the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court building, completed in 1935 and housing a 500,000-volume library, “is conducive to thinking, just like the Carnegie, which encouraged you to read and to think quietly and taught you the kind of environment you needed [in order] to think.”

Thomas believes the Court “requires you to be comfortable with solitude” because of the time necessary “to read and to articulate” opinions. He is familiar with such an environment and its benefits because, “The [Carnegie] library was quiet. The noise of life wasn’t there. You could escape whatever problems there were. You could transcend by going to the library.” ■

Wendy Kopp

Those Who Teach Also Learn

In the process of teaching, Teach For America (TFA) has learned many lessons.

“We have gone through massive learning curves on every front,” says CEO Wendy Kopp, who founded TFA in 1990, a year after she graduated from Princeton. What kind of curves? As Kopp explains, the challenges include finding answers to questions about how to recruit college graduates willing to teach school for the love of work and very low pay. “How do we inspire as many as possible of our country’s future leaders to channel their energy?” she asks. “How do we select and train them? How do we make sure they become a force for long-term change?”

In creating and running TFA, Kopp was also faced with figuring out how to run a large enterprise. She says, “There were lots of organizational questions” around the development and sustainability of TFA. “As we progressed we encountered all sorts of hurdles,” Kopp notes. In that regard, she says, “We value the degree to which the folks at Carnegie Corporation have been willing to hear the bad news as well as the good and stick with us through

the learning curve, to understand the challenges and risks of having a real impact,” she says.

Besides financial support, the Corporation has offered counsel. In 1995, TFA was hurting, and “Carnegie Corporation ended up playing a convening role among national funders. We now call them investors meetings. We were a young organization, a young team, and the credibility coming from the Corporation hosting the meeting was an opportunity to bring the funders together.” In essence, she says, the Corporation “has been a partner. Investments from Carnegie Corporation have been pivotal and have enabled us to experiment and learn and fail and grow.”

Why did the Corporation originally get involved? Senior program officer for education programs Alden Dunham, now retired, agreed to meet with 21-year-old Kopp, who had turned her senior thesis—“A Plan and Argument for the Creation of a National Teacher Corps”—into a business plan that she had submitted to Carnegie Corporation and other potential funders. For the first year, TFA needed 500 teachers and \$2.5 million.

Dunham says that the first grant to TFA—\$300,000 over three years—was “a gamble, a risk” but turned out to be “one of the best things we did at Carnegie Corporation.” And it helped to leverage additional funding because, as Kopp points out, “The credibility of having a grant from the Corporation was significant.”

From the beginning, the nonprofit TFA was an experiment. But in 1990,



USED WITH PERMISSION OF TEACH FOR AMERICA

Wendy Kopp.

its first year of operation, TFA placed those 500 teachers in low-income communities in five states. Today, TFA claims 8,200 members in 39 urban and rural regions serving more than 500,000 students. It has a total of 20,000 teaching alumni and three million students—and, last year, 50,000 applications.

What’s next on Kopp’s landscape?

She’s clear that she plans to stick with TFA. “Honestly, I feel incredibly lucky to have found my way into this,” she says. “I’m probably not somebody who thinks long term, but I didn’t realize I’d still be going at it twenty-plus years later.”

What inspires her? “Seeing the problems every day and seeing the juxtaposition of the successes.” In particular, her work has convinced her that “It is possible to provide kids growing up in economically disadvantaged circumstances a transformational education that puts them into a life trajectory. It’s not a matter of whether we can but whether we will.” ■



Kopp as a senior at Princeton, 1989.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES.
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Helen Zille

In South Africa, a Reporter Becomes a Premier



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Helen Zille (left), 2009.

As a newspaper reporter, 26-year-old Helen Zille broke the news that 30-year-old anti-apartheid leader Steven Biko had died from torture—and not, as the South Africa government said, from a hunger strike.

Her 1977 news story helped put a face on brutality in South Africa.

As a different kind of reporter five years later, Zille was research coordinator on the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa. She was hired for the job because “she was already a major, major journalist who understood deadlines and could write well,” Inquiry director Francis Wilson explains.

The 1982–84 Inquiry helped put faces on the effects of racism on the South African economy and was initiated by the Corporation’s then-president Alan Pifer, who had a vision of reversing, or at least addressing, the impact

of the first Carnegie Corporation study done in 1929. That inquiry’s focus on poverty among Afrikaner farmers had been used by South African officials as a “blueprint” for apartheid, Wilson, a University of Cape Town labor economist, told the Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project. “In white South Africa the Carnegie name was important,” Wilson says, adding that because of the Corporation’s stature, the second report made a critical—and lasting—impact. One of its major findings was that rural poverty among blacks and other minority groups in South Africa was far more extensive and far more devastating than anyone knew. This reality was highlighted by Helen Zille, who interviewed white South Africans about the black population. “She went around asking middle-class whites and upper-class whites, and they didn’t know about poverty,” Wilson says. “Poverty was invisible. Blacks were happy, they said. There was no or very little consciousness of poverty.”

Zille, a native South African, says the Second Inquiry “deepened my understanding of what was happening in South Africa, and that helped me enormously in my ongoing work.” The former political reporter and anti-apartheid activist is now an elected politician. In 2006, Zille became mayor of Cape Town (population 3.4 million) and in 2009, she became premier of the Western Cape of South Africa—and the leader of the Democratic Alliance party.

“I landed in electoral politics entirely accidentally,” she says, “through my involvement in the pri-

mary school attended by my children. From being an involved parent, I ended up as chair of the governing body, then led a court challenge against government power abuse.”

Later, she rewrote her party’s education policy, “got elected by a very narrow margin” to the provincial legislature and “held the balance of power with my seat and became the provincial minister for education. Things developed from there.”

“Things” including expertise in education, exemplified by Cape Town’s main library, which received \$4.5 million from the Corporation to support its renovation. “The library may be the single institution that best represents South Africa’s open society,” Corporation president Vartan Gregorian said when dedicating the library in 2008. Zille heartily agrees. The library, she says, “is an enormous investment in the future of Cape Town and has had a major impact on the city, particularly access to state-of-the-art technological connectivity for members of the public.” To Zille, the revitalized library is also a potent symbol of hope.

“Forty years ago, we lived in an apartheid state,” Zille says. “We now have a liberal constitution and are trying to consolidate a sustainable democracy. We are still struggling to overcome the ‘default’ to racial nationalism across the board, but the trajectory is in the right direction.” ■



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Helen Zille, circa 1980s.

The Role of the Individual in History: *A Centennial Essay*

Vartan Gregorian—continued from inside front cover

One thing is clear: for America's Founding Fathers, individual rights were paramount. Thomas Jefferson gave powerful expression to this notion, linking the ideals of the 18th century European Enlightenment and the light of democracy and freedom that he helped to bring forth in stating the powerful truths about equality and unalienable rights that the Declaration of Independence proclaims as self-evident. "The equal rights of man, and the happiness of every individual," Jefferson wrote some years after American independence had been achieved, "are now acknowledged to be the only legitimate objects of government." Nearly two hundred years later, scholar Yehoshua Arieli captured the essence of Jefferson's ideas in *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology*³ when he described the foundation of American society and the democracy it cherished as the "consent of free individuals to be united together in a higher community which comprise[s] their common ideals and interests."

I believe I can say with reasonable certainty that the notion of free individuals working together toward a higher common good is one that Andrew Carnegie would have celebrated. Though he was influenced by Social Darwinism, a set of 19th century ideologies focused on "the survival of the fittest" as an organizing principle of society, he came to very different conclusions about how these ideas played out in real life. He believed that in the ranks of the disadvantaged, one might find what he called "the epoch-makers"⁴ because those who triumphed over adversity had to be possessed of extraordinary will and indomitable spirit. A true idealist, he believed in the maxim that a rising tide lifts all boats, and hence, his "epoch-makers" and others like them were obligated to make every effort to advance society and improve conditions for all.

Andrew Carnegie, of course, was also a capitalist, and as such, he welcomed Adam Smith's arguments in favor of free market economies in *The Wealth of Nations*.⁵ But he was also aware that despite being most famously known as the father of modern capitalism, Smith was a moral philosopher. Adam Smith wrote with conviction about the importance of the connections between individual aspirations and the enlightened evolution of society. In fact, he based his economic theories upon his view of human nature, which he described in his first book, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, published in 1759. There, he theorized that man is driven by passionate self-interests, but moderates them with his intellect and innate sympathy for others. In this book, Smith first made the statement that when people are left to follow their self-interests they are "led by an invisible hand, without knowing it, without intending it, to advance the interest of the society."

Andrew Carnegie must also have been influenced by Samuel Smiles and his book, *Self Help*,⁶ which incisively analyzes the importance of self-reliance and self-motivation. "Even the best institutions can give a man no active help. Perhaps the most they can do is to leave him free to develop himself and improve his individual condition," wrote Smiles, whose work was well-known in Carnegie's day. His overall theme was that life is not

just a preordained journey but allows individuals to change direction along the way—sometimes knowingly, and sometimes due to circumstances. This idea—that the journey is more important than the destination—is also conveyed in a famous poem called *Ithaca* by C.P. Cavafy, who wrote, "When you set out for distant Ithaca...fervently wish that your journey may be long."

In all these observations, ideas and philosophies, one finds the theme of convergence. Like strands in a great skein of time and events, even opposing ideologies oftentimes knit themselves together to create new ideas, new movements, new social orders, even new nations. Yet at the heart of this ferment is always the individual. Different governing regimes, political systems and social orders must all cope with the reality that the will of human beings—their yearning to be free, to express themselves, to gain knowledge and to use it—may be bent, but it is never bowed for very long. Time and circumstances may differ, but human creativity lives on. It cannot be obliterated from the record of civilization. It cannot be denied.

It is interesting to consider how time and events almost always converge around individuals. Perhaps this seems especially true

*Time and circumstances may differ,
but human creativity lives on. It cannot be
obliterated from the record of civilization.
It cannot be denied.*

now, when we are living in an era that has seen, and continues to see revolutions, proto-revolutions, and all manner of political and social upheavals taking place around the world. Often, those motivated to action in these situations are individuals who become the actualization of political theory or social-cultural ideas that form the impetus for change. Many are also the epitome of Smiles' self-motivated individuals who have made education, achievement, professional success and intellectual pursuits the hallmark of their lives. In Crane Brinton's seminal work, *The Anatomy of Revolution*⁷, in which he analyzes four major historical revolutions—the English, American, French and Russian—he notes this phenomenon of "a mixture of gentlemen of good breeding, of self-educated careerists, and of humble men inspired by a fury as yet divine." Specifically, he was describing the leaders of the English revolution, but they had much in common with their rebellious counterparts on the American continent. For example, Brinton tells us that of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, "...thirty-three held college degrees in an age when few ever went to college; only about four had little or no formal education." And they had aspirations, which through their own efforts—and in the service of a great ideal—they fulfilled. As the *Middlesex Journal* of April 6, 1776 declaimed of the leaders of the American Revolution, "From shopkeepers, tradesmen and attorneys they are become statesmen and legislators..."⁸ The *Journal*, a British paper, meant to be condescending, but with history's hindsight, one can imagine that Jefferson and his compatriots would have been pleased by this assessment.

Having said all this, I must stress that there have always been, and will always be, countless individuals whose work and ideas have moved humanity forward but whose identities few will ever

(Continued on page 39)



by AVERY RUSSELL

THE *Second* Fifty Years

A PERSONAL VIEW



COURTESY OF AVERY RUSSELL

There was an old saying at Carnegie Corporation when I joined the staff in 1970 that today's headlines are what we should have been working on twenty years ago. It is an exaggeration, of course, but it makes the point: Private, general purpose philanthropies have the freedom to take the long view—to be forward thinking and to use risk money to test ideas and solutions to complex problems, sometimes over many years, that may (or may not) take hold in the larger society. Andrew Carnegie understood that a great nation depends on an educated citizenry—and not just on the formally educated but on the creativity and élan of self-educated individuals. The example he set of offering free library services to the public has helped to shape the lives of millions of young people in this country and abroad. Self-education feeds upward mobility and the release of human talent. If two barefoot children in the early years of the last century, one who grew up to become the novelist and social activ-

ist Jack London, the other the innovative modern dancer Isadora Duncan, had not been allowed to borrow books from the Oakland Public Library, we might, by their own testimony, never have heard of them.

Carnegie's personal philosophy of philanthropy influenced the policies and programs of generations of presidents of Carnegie Corporation of New York, including the last four: John W. Gardner, Alan Pifer, David A. Hamburg and most recently Vartan Gregorian. Between 1970 and 2000, I had the privilege of serving three of those presidents, and I was acquainted with Gardner, who was a consultant to the foundation until his death in 2002. So my tenure there may be said to have covered fifty years of the Corporation's history and endeavor. The depth and breadth of its activities are too considerable to cover in two pages, but I can offer a few illustrations of what struck me as most distinctive about their presidencies and of the eras they presided over.



COURTESY OF AVERY RUSSELL

Russell on her first day of work, 1970.

The year 1961 saw the inauguration of the nation's youngest president in John F. Kennedy and the start of Carnegie Corporation's second fifty years. John Gardner, a Stanford-trained experimental psychologist of a philosophic cast of mind, had been the Corporation's president since 1955 and a member of the senior staff since 1946. Deeply reflective, righteous and resolute, as he was described by an admirer,¹



COURTESY OF AVERY RUSSELL

Russell (l) in Jos, Nigeria, at a conference on democratization, 1988.

John believed profoundly that, while the pattern of one's life and its meaning were largely in individual hands, the institutions of society had a responsibility to widen the road of opportunity so that more people could travel on it. Much of the Corporation's grantmaking during his administration was aimed at opening the pathways for the young, both college- and non-college-bound, to fully realize their talents and capabilities. Under his leadership, the Corporation invested heavily in educational innovation and improvement, both here and abroad, and in standard setting, but in a strategic way to make the best use of limited resources.² Not surprisingly with his background, Gardner brought to the Corporation a strong interest in advancing social science research, particularly in the behavioral sciences, and in utilizing it to explore the nature

of creativity and the learning process. The knowledge that sprang from these studies compelled the foundation to consider the intellectual potentialities of ever-younger age groups and to the role of parents, mainly the mother, as the child's first teacher. This was the beginning of the Corporation's long-standing support of early childhood education and development.

In contrast to his predecessors, Gardner rarely handled grants (a practice continued among presidents), providing the creative leadership, backed by the board, in setting grantmaking priorities. At the staff level he inculcated the habit of collegiality and collaborative decision-making that is the foundation's operating style to this day. He spent a good deal of his time traveling and talking to people and also reading, writing and thinking in his office,

from which he would emerge to run an idea or a suggested activity by members of the staff without being directive. The foundation seemed to be in a constant state of self-analysis and self-examination about what it should be doing and how, and how well, it was doing it.

Gardner left the Corporation in 1965 to head the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the Johnson administration where he exerted enormous influence over the nation's affairs until the Vietnam War swallowed up the Great Society and Johnson's presidency and Gardner went on to lead the Urban Coalition and Common Cause.

For those of us who remember, the early 1960s were filled with optimism and hope about getting the country moving again, an outlook that was shattered, however, by the assassination of the nation's president. That and the wrenching events of the ensuing decades challenged as never before the foundation's thinking on how best to respond. The postwar baby-boomers were pouring into the colleges and universities and bursting its walls—sometimes literally; the shameful condition of poverty in America was brought to light in study after study, and the movement to gain full civil rights for blacks exploded on the front pages for all the world to see. If this were not enough, the escalating Vietnam War, the youth-led antiwar movement, the assassinations of Robert F. Kennedy and of two black leaders and the Watergate scandal jarred many an American's faith in the efficacy of democratic and evolutionary change. Over all hung the specter of the Cold War and the bomb.

In recent years, under Vartan Gregorian, Islamic extremism and

Avery Russell was for thirty years the Corporation's director of public affairs and a program officer on media-related grants. She retired in the year 2000.

¹ Bill Moyers.

² Gardner tells the story that in the wake of the Soviet launch of the satellite Sputnik, the American public high school was found to be deficient, especially so for the gifted and talented. A movement was afoot to take high schools out of the public school system, which would have destroyed them. Alarmed, Gardner targeted the dissemination of 85,000 copies of James B. Conant's studies of the American high school, which had been financed by the Corporation, as a weapon to change the terms of the debate and save the schools; and it worked.

Three Carnegie Corporation *Women*

I came to work for Carnegie Corporation from The Asia Society, a nonprofit organization in New York City founded to bring knowledge of the Orient, in particular its art, to the people of the United States. At the society—this was 1969—junior staff members, largely female, addressed their seniors, invariably men, as “Mr.” while we underlings were called by our given names. The first thing Alan Pifer, the Corporation’s president, said to me when I walked into his office in June of 1970 for a job interview was, “Call me Alan.” Those electrifying words exemplified the collegiality and democratic decision-making that has been a hallmark of the foundation’s informal style to this day. There might be a board of trustees, a president and vice president, but we were all on a first-name basis and enjoyed mutual respect and mutual support, if not equal power.

A startling aspect of those still-patriarchal times was the high proportion of women found in the Corporation’s senior ranks. Third in line of succession if the president and vice president, heaven forbid, died in a plane crash, was the secretary, the formidable Florence (“Andy”) Anderson. Called “the conscience of the Corporation,” a role that she took dead seriously (if not *deadly* seriously), Florence paced the halls with a perpetual look of disapproval and

shocked determination on her face as she flushed out any incipient deviations from the high performance standards set for the program and administrative staff.

A second towering personality was the associate secretary and senior program officer Margaret (“Maggie”) E. Mahoney. I was recommended to the Corporation by Eli N. Evans, a lawyer on the program staff and fellow North Carolinian, but it was Margaret who tested my aptitude for the position and gave me the thumbs up. Without her approval, I would never have known what it was to be part of this great enterprise, and my life would not have been nearly so exciting or satisfying. Margaret initiated, in 1967–68, the grant program on medical education and health services that was almost revolutionary in concept, having the twofold aim of incorporating preventive medicine into medical school training and of developing a new cadre of health workers—namely, nurse practitioners and physician’s assistants—who could supplement physician services and expand the reach of care into underserved areas. Both of these thrusts are now an accepted part of medical training and services, although the stress on illness prevention is only just now coming to the fore nationally under the impact of crushing curative costs.

the seemingly intractable deficiencies of our public education system have formed the broad context for the Corporation’s grantmaking.

The full force of domestic events was felt within the foundation in the latter years of Gardner and especially after Alan Pifer succeeded him as president in 1967. If Gardner was dedicated to the promotion of individual opportunity and fulfillment, Alan was drawn inexorably into the various movements to remove the barriers to educational opportunity and achievement for excluded groups, beginning with blacks but extending to Latinos, Native Americans, Asian-Americans and then women and girls.

A distraction at the outset of Alan’s presidency was the Congressional hearings that led ultimately to the Tax Reform Act of 1969. Had certain proposals from members of Congress been enacted, they would have severely restricted the activities of private foundations, limited their existence anywhere from twenty-five to forty years, eliminated the tax deduction for individual gifts to charity and altogether crippled the voluntary sector, all because of the abuses of the public trust by a few foundations that had the unfortunate effect of tarring the whole field. During the period prior to the Act’s passage, and for several years thereafter, a large portion of Alan’s time and the



Russell in Jos, Nigeria, at a conference on democratization, 1988.



Barbara D. Finberg.



Margaret "Maggie" E. Mahoney.



Florence "Andy" Anderson.

When Margaret left the Corporation to join, in 1973, the new Robert Wood Johnson Foundation as one of its two vice presidents, she took our program with her.

The closing-out of the medical and health program brings to mind another of the Corporation's philosophic maxims as a corollary to the long view, which is to be open to new ideas and causes in response to changing times. As John Gardner put it, "once it has got something going—an idea, a program, or a project—the foundation should then move on to new endeavors."

The third top female executive was Barbara D. Finberg, who rose over her thirty-eight years at the Corporation from producing the annual and quarterly reports to the executive vice-presidency of the foundation. At the time, Barbara was in charge of grants for early childhood education and development. When John Gardner, back in the sixties, approached Barbara with the proposition that she take

responsibility for grants in this area, she responded anxiously, "But I don't know anything about the subject," and he famously rejoindered, "You can *learn!*" And she did. Before she retired in 1997, Barbara had become a recognized authority on the intellectual development of children in the first few years of life and on interventions that work for youngsters from poor, minority backgrounds. She was a tireless advocate for ensuring that all our children receive the best possible start on the road to adulthood.

Out of a total of thirteen executives, of whom almost half were women, these three presided over the day-to-day operations of the foundation, oversaw the grantmaking process and inspired staff members to the highest levels of thought and action of which they were capable. They were my role models, the ones whom I most tried to please, whose support and guidance made my career at the foundation what it was.

senior staff's was spent making the case for reasonable and informed treatment by the government of all *bona fide* foundations. Seven of Alan's annual report essays and many of his public utterances were aimed at educating policymakers and the public on the vital contribution of private, nonprofit organizations to the workings of a pluralistic American democracy. In the end, the reforms contained in the tax legislation strengthened the independent sector, but it was a close call. I was glad to have missed most of the action.

Alan, who was Harvard-educated, had spent many years setting up Fulbright programs in Africa and

the Caribbean before coming to the Corporation in 1953 to help administer its Commonwealth Program. He was just beginning to handle the American side of grantmaking when he was tapped for vice president, acting president and then president. Upon stepping into Gardner's shoes, he brought to his new role a passionate commitment to the furtherance of educational opportunity and justice for the disadvantaged, at all levels of the education system beginning with preschool. He was mild-mannered and reserved and personally very kind, but strongly principled. He did not shrink from having the foundation tackle the tough issues—affirmative action in

higher education, school desegregation, school and higher education finance, bilingual education, the advancement of women's rights and opportunities, leadership training of blacks and women, the use of the legal system to achieve quality education for all and projects monitoring government responsiveness to the needs of citizens. He was the driving spirit behind the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, whose reports helped to remove the last bricks from the corrupt and crumbling foundations of apartheid.

Considering the controversial nature of so many of the projects that the Corporation supported dur-

ing the 1970s and early 1980s, it was often essential “to build the file” with bipartisan endorsements and otherwise demonstrate to the regulators that the foundation was not advocating one side or the other of a piece of legislation.

Beginning in 1971, Alan sought to diversify the seventeen-member “blue and gray” board, which by 1977 included three members from minority groups and five women (one of the latter counted in both categories). At the foundation’s senior-level staff of thirteen, five officers were women and two (at different times) were African American. Like John Gardner, Alan often found himself in the role of mediator among program officers, who were given considerable latitude in turning down or recommending proposals and in bringing new ideas to the staff and board for consideration. At that time, program officers read each other’s proposal “dockets” and competed for grant funds out of a single pot of money at once-a-week staff meetings. He also instituted the practice of annual staff and board “retreats” to review progress in certain areas and to ponder new directions in policy and programs. He opened up the board meetings to attendance by the senior staff, increasing communication and understanding between them to good effect.

Before Alan resigned in 1982 to pursue other interests,³ there had crept in a certain ingrown or insular quality of thought on the part of the program staff, which by then could have benefited from some shaking up of its assumptions about the most important issues for the Corporation to address. Everybody was tired. So when we learned that David Hamburg was to succeed him as president, we were

ready, but also nervous, as is always the case in changeovers of leadership.

David was known to us as a member of the board, but not well. Moreover, his appointment broke a long string of promotions to the presidency from within, beginning with Charles Dollard who had joined the Corporation in 1938! David was a Stanford-trained research psychiatrist and policy thinker with an abiding interest in reducing behavior-related illness and disability and mitigating intergroup hatred and violence, among other subjects too multifarious to go into here. He was a scientist, and this was new: the only person on staff with a science background was our vice president, David Z. Robinson, who was an optical physicist, but this had nothing to do with grants we were making. Personally abstemious—he seemed to thrive on coffee and yogurt—David had the quality of looking over one’s shoulder into halcyon vistas of the infinite beyond. He kept his focus on the big picture.

With Hamburg’s orientation to disease prevention and health promotion, the program priorities shifted dramatically, this time to four new program areas that nonetheless contained elements of the old.⁴ He came at the right time. By the early 1980s, the Corporation’s portfolio had regained its losses from the stock market crisis of the 1970s, and the foundation was steadily increasing its asset values, with a corresponding rise in the payout for grants. With a larger “pot” of money at our disposal, and owing to the complexity and scope of the new priorities, the foundation’s board approved program budgeting for the first time. From now on, the staff would no longer meet as a whole or read all of each other’s proposals but passed our group recommendations to



David Z. Robinson joined the Corporation as vice president in 1970. He was later executive vice president and treasurer and in 1986 was appointed executive director of the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology and Government. He retired in 1996.

the president and board for approval or rejection. But first, David turned the Corporation into a sort of re-education camp, as outside scholars and experts were brought in to conduct an intense round of seminars “to get around the contours” of matters that we knew next-to-nothing about. This required a period of adjustment, to put it mildly, but David, being an expert in evolutionary adaptation, made it happen without any pink slips and with a minimum release of adrenal cortisol.

One important new thrust was meeting the developmental needs of children, not limited to schooling, in an age transformed by rapid scientific and technological advance. Emphasis was on the vulnerabilities of children from conception to three and from ten to fifteen—two age groups that the foundation, in its concerns for the education and welfare of the young, had previously skipped over, and on the requirements for educating the young in a knowledge-based society. Stress was also placed on reducing the risks

³ I worked with Alan in researching and drafting his annual statements, in the course of which I learned about the massive shift of national resources from children to older people that had taken place in previous decades. Alan wrote about this, but, in truth, possibly because he was nearing his own retirement, he became more interested in the broader social and economic consequences of population aging. He devoted the rest of his life to writing about the aging society.

⁴ By 1997 the nomenclature had evolved into *Education and Healthy Development of Children and Youth; Preventing Deadly Conflict; Strengthening Human Resources in Developing Countries; and Special Projects.*

of nuclear war at a time of dangerous new tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union and on improving the U.S.–Soviet relationship, in part through scholarly and scientific exchanges. Like Alan Pifer, David initiated a welter of study groups and commissions in selected problem areas, including teacher assessment, the transition from childhood to adolescence and the prevention of deadly conflict, whose reports were disseminated with much public fanfare and whose recommendations were followed up with grants in order to maximize leverage and achieve multiplier effects.

COURTESY OF AVERY RUSSELL



Russell in Addis Ababa, at a conference on bringing the Internet to Ethiopia, 1996.

Hamburg’s commitment to nuclear crisis prevention came into its own in 1990 with the impending dissolution of the Soviet empire into multiple fragments, posing the imminent danger of “loose nukes.”⁵ Previous support to the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University enabled Ashton B. Carter and his Harvard colleagues to make a systematic examination of the proliferation threat. Published

as *Nuclear Fission: Control of the Nuclear Arsenal in a Disintegrating Soviet Union* in 1991, the study called for the U.S. government to assist the newly independent states in safeguarding the nuclear arsenal from unauthorized or accidental use. The study’s alarming findings galvanized Hamburg into convening a meeting of key policy makers with Carter and others from which emerged the elements of a cooperative threat reduction program that drew critical support from Senators Sam Nunn (D-Georgia) and Richard Lugar (R-Indiana). As Carter expressed it, “Hamburg had a knack for bringing the right people together at the right time to work on the right problems, stimulating common thoughts and common action.”⁶ Together Nunn and Lugar worked across the aisle to create the amendment to the annual defense bill authorizing the Pentagon to provide U.S. funding, in partnership with officials of the former enemy, for dismantling and/or destroying the

nuclear arsenals in the newly independent states. The main effects of the legislation took place during the Clinton administration, with the denuclearization of Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. The work continues. To paraphrase Carter, historians should look back at the disaster that might have been but which was averted through the Nunn–Lugar program.⁷

Vartan Gregorian assumed the reins from Hamburg in 1997. Former founding dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania and later the university’s

provost; former president of The New York Public Library and of Brown University, with worldwide experience in domains other than education, he has a sanguine personality with a nimble intellect and a legendary wit. He too shook us out of a rigidifying mindset and ushered in an era of grant-making that has focused the foundation on school-based reform, teacher training and higher education, the latter extending to the Russian republics and Africa. It has also plowed fresh ground in the Corporation’s support of Islamic scholarship and of efforts to raise U.S. understanding of Islam and Muslim societies and promote international peace. A problem area with which the Corporation may be finally coming to grips is teacher education, the third rail of education reform. The Corporation made several stabs at it in the past, notably in the 1960s when it commissioned the journalist Charles E. Silberman to study the education of educators, which resulted in a much-heralded book that looked at what teachers were doing in the classroom but failed to carry out the purpose of the project.⁸ This was followed by the 1986 report, *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*,⁹ which has been helpful.

Hitherto, the foundation’s policies had limited, with some qualifications, grants abroad to former members of the British Dominions and Colonies and had ruled out support to individuals, with narrow exceptions as in the former travel grants enabling African scholars and policy makers to study in the United States. These restrictions were now liberalized, opening the floodgates to new ideas and knowledge of benefit to the peoples of the United States. ■

⁵ See David Hamburg, “Carnegie Corporation in the 1980s and 1990s,” in part I, *Special Centennial Edition of the Carnegie Reporter*, fall 2010, for an elucidation of his work on crisis management and crisis prevention.

⁶ Quoted from Ashton B. Carter and William J. Perry, *Preventive Defense: A New Security Strategy for America* (1999, The Brookings Institution).

⁷ Ashton B. Carter, *Presentation to the Presidential Conference on William Jefferson Clinton: The “New Democrat” from Hope*, Hofstra University, November 10–12, 2005.

⁸ Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom* (1970, Random House).

⁹ Produced by the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, May 1986, it called for the creation of a National Board for Professional Teaching Standards to define what teachers should know and be able to do. The Board now exists.



A NOBLE

by PATRICIA ROSENFELD

Use of Wealth

Carnegie Corporation's Commitment to African

Editor's Note: Patricia Rosenfeld, former Program Director, Carnegie Scholars, National Program, is currently working on a history of Carnegie Corporation of New York's international programs. From 1990 to 1999, she chaired the Program on Strengthening Human Resources in Developing Countries. Here, she writes about the history of the Corporation's funding for higher education in Africa, highlighting the decision points where strategies evolved.

In the summer of 1927, Corporation president Frederick Keppel, former dean of Columbia College, and Corporation secretary/trustee James Bertram, formerly Andrew Carnegie's personal secretary, made the first official trip to Africa on behalf of Carnegie Corporation. For the ensuing 84 years, the Corporation has been actively engaged in African countries with leaders, scholars and students in the field of higher education. These activities have strengthened the capacities of

universities to be linchpins in the process of national development as countries around the world metamorphosed from colonies to independent nations. Furthermore, they have contributed to meeting the mission of the Corporation, "To promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding." Support for higher education was toward the top on Andrew Carnegie's list of the "best fields for philanthropy." Indeed, as far as Carnegie was concerned, investment in universities was

¹ The crucial role of higher education in the development of African countries, and the work of the Corporation, has been addressed in detail in several key texts, including three supported by the Corporation: a 1963 book by Stephen H. Stackpole, *Carnegie Corporation Commonwealth Program 1911–1961*; a 1976 book by E. Jefferson Murphy, *Creative Philanthropy: Carnegie Corporation and Africa 1953–1973*; and a 1996 book by three former African university vice chancellors, J.F. Ade Ajayi, Lameck K.H. Goma and G. Ampah Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education*. These books, along with material drawn from Corporation archives at Columbia University Butler Library, have provided the background and data reflected in this article. Murphy's book provides extensive detail on all aspects of the Corporation's work in Africa during the period 1953 to 1973. The author wishes to acknowledge his careful documentation and critical analyses, which have shaped much of the discussion in this article. She has learned a great deal from personal conversations with Murphy as well as his writing. She also wishes to thank Fritz Mosher and Tade Aina for their thoughtful comments. Any errors, of course, are the author's responsibility.

The University of Cape Town
in South Africa.



CORBIS

Higher Education¹

“a noble use of wealth”; such support would always accomplish “great and indisputable good.”

Keppel and Bertram set foot on the African continent with the full backing of the Corporation trustees to assess opportunities for investing in education, particularly higher education. Across the continent of Africa, the British Empire, in whose colonies and dominions the Corporation was chartered to work, was for the most part in charge. The pair was acutely aware that they needed to pay close attention to colonial policy and actions. Without the support of the colonial government

in each of the colonies the Corporation would not be able to make grants; the government of the Union of South Africa was equally, if not more so, in charge in that setting.

By 1927, the British Colonial Office was in the process of upgrading the colonial colleges, several of which would feature in the Corporation’s grants program from then until today, such as Makerere Government College in Kampala, Uganda and Prince of Wales School and College in Achimota, Ghana. While still considered higher-level secondary schools, they were now allowed to offer selected university level courses through the University of London. Only the venerable Fourah Bay College, founded in Sierra Leone by British missionaries in 1826, had been able to offer respectable university degrees, which it had done through the Durham University in the United Kingdom since 1876. In this period, most Africans and British settlers still had to go to the UK or the United States for their university degrees.

South Africa, as a self-governing dominion, not a colony within the British Empire, had the responsibility for its education system. By the time of the team’s visit, the University of South Africa had been established, with a large number of component colleges. Three in particular became longtime Corporation grantees over the years: Rhodes University College at Grahamstown; Natal University College at Pietermaritzburg; and Witwatersrand University College in Johannesburg, which were joined by the two full universities, University of Cape Town and University of Stellenbosch. South African Native College at Fort Hare, an occasional Corporation partner, was the only institution where non-Europeans could receive a bachelor’s degree.²

Making the Decision: Grantmaking for Higher Education in Africa Begins

Taking into account all that they had learned, Keppel and Bertram recommended to the Board of Trustees that this was the right time for a grants program on higher education in Africa, which soon got underway. Over the next 14 years the Corporation made a number of grants related to higher education. Almost all of the colleges in South Africa received some support, for a total of about \$360,000. The grants in the colonies, totaling about \$186,000 in the field of education, covered activities in technical and vocational education as recommended by the Phelps Stokes Commission. One recipient, Achimota College in Ghana, became the precursor of long-standing Corporation partner, the University of Ghana. The educationally related support included investment in buildings, libraries and publications as well as travel grants. At this point, the Corporation stood virtually alone amongst American foundations in supporting African higher education.

These grants represent the first stage of decades-long priority given to higher education in Africa and helped to establish long-lasting relationships with African educational institutions and the British colonial educational agencies. These relationships enabled the Corporation to play a special leadership role in the post-World War II era as the British Colonies were becoming independent and other external agencies and institutions began to take more of an interest in the continent.

Next Steps

World War II brought the Corporation’s work in Africa virtually to a halt; however, it brought positive

² Nelson Mandela attended Fort Hare but was expelled for activism; he later graduated from the University of the Witwatersrand. Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania, also attended Fort Hare and Desmond Tutu was the chaplain for a time.

change to the continent of Africa. The British colonies were demanding self-determination and the need for serious investments in higher education was becoming apparent. African leaders, who knew that sooner or later they would be taking over the running of their countries, insisted that there be no more single-minded focus on technical and vocational training, which had been the main higher-education emphasis up to this point. A cadre of national administrators, managers and technical experts, as well as teachers, who could build an informed and educated citizenry, was required.

The British Colonial Office responded by making Makerere a full university college, the seat of higher education for East Africa, where both the African population and a large number of British settlers were actively seeking higher education. In 1942, the Corporation made a modest grant to Makerere for library support, one of the few overseas grants made in Africa during World War II. The university has featured ever since in every era of the Corporation's grantmaking.

Starting in 1943, the British Colonial Office began upgrading the other university colleges, so they could "promote research, be wholly residential, and emphasize global arts and science above professional/vocational studies." The resulting special relationship between the University of London and the colleges in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, and Rhodesia and Nyasaland not only began to meet the demands of African leaders but also made it possible for the Corporation to re-engage in higher education once the war was over.

South Africa presented a tough situation but not a tough choice. As the Corporation was planning to re-invest in higher education in Africa, the

apartheid regime was being resolutely solidified in South Africa, most notably and egregiously with the apartheid laws that were passed in 1948. Hence, the Corporation decided to discontinue funding in that country while continuing support for the university colleges and higher education throughout West, East and Central Africa.

Corporation staff members vigorously led the foundation's program during this period of transition from colonies to independent nations: Stephen Stackpole, hired by Frederick Keppel in 1940 to work as staff in the then-named British Dominions and Colonies Program; and Alan Pifer, hired in 1953, to join Stackpole when he was promoted to run the program. Then-president Charles Dollard declared Pifer was just what the Corporation needed—a generalist who, as the Fulbright Program's man in London since the end of the war, had worked in and on Africa. Stackpole and Pifer were perfect complements. Stackpole knew the dominions; Pifer the colonies. Both knew the key players in London.

The Ashby Commission Points the Way Forward

In assessing the way forward, Stackpole and Pifer saw the need to add to the knowledge base in African countries prior to independence. What constitutes effective leadership in the African context? Effective teaching? Appropriate curriculum? Does nutrition affect learning? And, how to put together African history in a way that would reach African populations? A few exploratory grants were made in each of these areas prior to the major investments in universities and the field of higher education.

Overall, the main aim of the Corporation's grantmaking in the 1950s in support of African higher education was, as noted by E. Jefferson Murphy,

author of *Creative Philanthropy: Carnegie Corporation and Africa 1953–1973*, to work toward "changing the character of the new university colleges, to help them become more indigenous, more locally relevant, and more oriented toward service to the developing nations they were founded to serve."

As the program in the Commonwealth was getting underway, Corporation president John Gardner, in the foundation's 1959 *Annual Report*, made the connection between the educational activities in the United States and those that were being considered for the soon-to-be independent countries in Africa: "Americans have long regarded education as indispensable to progress. We are now, however, seeing more clearly than before that our continued national development and indeed our survival depend on the effective utilization of our best minds. If this is true in the United States, it applies with particular force to new countries and those at the threshold of independence."

The Corporation's higher-educational grantmaking in the newly independent African nations was launched with the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (also known as the Ashby Commission after its chair, Eric Ashby, master of Clare College, Cambridge University, who believed deeply in the need for African universities to be more relevant for national development) supported by a 1959 Corporation grant of \$100,000. Others in the Commonwealth regarded Nigeria as a dramatically significant colony, with a highly diverse population, the largest then, as now, in the continent. Education, however, was a mixed bag, with a combination of missionary education and inadequate colonial government-run primary and secondary schools.

The nine members of the Ashby Commission, three from Nigeria, three

from the UK and three from the United States, embarked on their tasks less than a year-and-a-half before independence. They conducted extensive discussions and commissioned analyses and research around the country. The report, *Investment in Education*, proved to be transformative for higher-education policy in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. Its major positive statement about the value of education, the need to focus on human capital issues, and how to go about funding, has had lasting impact. The report stated that education was “not merely a social service, but an investment vital for development for which external funding could justifiably be sought.” The commission recommended creating a Bureau for External Aid as part of the Ministry of Education and the Corporation helped fund it in the early 1960s with two grants totaling over \$325,000.

Murphy assessed the Ashby Commission as possibly the most effective grant that the Corporation made in the late 1950s and 1960s in Africa. Corporation staff member Stephen Stackpole calculated in 1964 that about \$83 million for higher education had been loaned, granted or pledged as a result of the Ashby Commission.

Deciding to Focus on Teachers and Teaching

Stackpole and Pifer paid close attention to the vital importance of investing in teachers. A particular focus was on improving the core curriculum of teacher education to make sure it responded to local needs and local languages, and ensuring a solid knowledge base that could improve teaching through research. New partners were brought in to help advance teacher development, including the pioneering Afro-Anglo-American Program for Teacher Education, which linked the Institute of Education at the University

of Ghana, the Institute of Education at the University of London and Teachers College at Columbia University. The original idea was to strengthen the University of Ghana’s contribution to building the teaching profession. It soon extended its reach to include all the other colleges where the Corporation had been involved in East and West Africa.

In 1959, Karl Bigelow, a leading American researcher in the economics of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, along with colleagues from the London and Ghanaian Institutes of Education, came up with the idea that the way to build a vibrant teaching profession in Ghana was to pool expertise across Ghana, the UK and the United States. Stackpole and Pifer worked closely with Bigelow and his partners to develop the plan for the Afro-Anglo-American Program for Teacher Education (the AAA program). That program had a number of clear objectives: establish a Center of African Education at Columbia to award fellowships and organize exchanges of teachers, researchers and practitioners from the partner institutions; assist African educators to have access to publications from the UK and the United States; promote and disseminate research on education, particularly teacher education, throughout Africa; and, most importantly from the Corporation’s perspective, organize annual conferences to build relationships and exchange ideas and experiences with educators from across African countries, the UK and the United States. In 1960, the Corporation provided a three-year grant of \$450,000 to launch the program.

Stackpole and Pifer attended the annual conferences and saw firsthand how in a relatively short period of time participation increased from around the continent. Starting from the one Ghanaian Institute of Education, over the next three years, 10 insti-

tutes of education had been founded (some with Corporation support) and participated in the meetings. Faculty exchanges became a regular activity across the universities. In 1963, a second grant of \$450,000 over three years was provided to support these efforts. The AAA program reached out and began to link with other partnership teaching programs then underway, such as Teachers for East Africa, organized by the American Council for Education and Makerere University.

Deeply committed as they were to this work, Stackpole and Pifer realized that with all the movement for change in Africa, the Corporation could not remain the major funder of education. Determined to bring in other donors and agencies, the Corporation organized meetings and visits for American and British government representatives, foundations and scholars and introduced their grantee partners, African and colonial, to the other foundations. Stackpole and Pifer, with strong support from Corporation president John Gardner, worked hard to increase American foreign policy interests in Africa.

By the early 1960s, the Corporation had succeeded in engaging support from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the U.S. Agency for International Development and other entities. Indeed, in the 1960s, one of the main areas of attention for the U.S. government was higher education in Africa. These other agencies were creating new departments in areas related to economic development and growth, such as veterinary science, agriculture, commerce and medicine. During this period—from post-World War II through the mid-1960s—the Corporation exerted significant influence in promoting African development and higher education. As Frank Sutton, who worked with the Ford Foundation

on Africa initiatives in the 1950s and 1960s, said recently, “The Corporation always punched above its weight.”

Another Decision Point Is Reached: Linking U.S. and African Universities

While continuing to maintain a sharp focus on helping to advance teacher education, in the 1960s, Corporation leaders were determined to increase African participation in the AAA program. As a result, the Conference on the African University and National Educational Development was organized. Held in September 1964 at Lake Mohonk in New York and funded by the Corporation, it brought together 110 participants including 21 Africans, the largest number ever participating in such an educational event. It proved to be a breakthrough meeting because it was the first time that African educationalists, academic leaders and ministry staff played a highly visible role. Other foundations participated in the meeting, along with aid agencies and other programs of assistance to Africa.

From then on, an increasing number of African participants came to the AAA meetings and, even more importantly, assumed leadership roles. Senteza Kajubi from East Africa and Babatunde Fafunwa from West Africa worked closely with Corporation colleagues on the plans to establish the Association for Teacher Education in Africa (ATEA), launched at the Nairobi conference in April 1969. Bigelow remained a consultant but African leadership firmly took hold in the continent. The Corporation provided ongoing support for ATEA during this period. Today, the Association for Teacher Education in Africa remains a regional institution, reaching out across the continent from its base at the University of Nairobi (see www.afriate.org).

Corporation staff members, however, realized that these efforts were not enough and that it was crucially important for the new countries to integrate the issues of teacher training and education into government plans, university curricula and aid programs. They also realized that some of the underlying research concerning the nature of learning in the African context and how curriculum should be shaped around that learning was needed. When Alan Pifer was promoted to vice president in 1963, at this turning point moment for the work in Africa, Stackpole brought in Frederic “Fritz” Mosher, a new staff member with a background in social and cognitive psychology and social relations.

Mosher considered that partnerships linking specific African and American universities around some central research themes could best contribute to meeting the need for high-quality research and curriculum development. An early partnership between Makerere University and Syracuse University, for example, resulted in a new psychology degree program at Makerere to build the field of education research for East Africa. Developing research capacity in the field of child development was considered another important way to improve teaching education and curriculum development for primary and secondary schools. The comparative project in child development started in 1966 brought together, in West Africa, Ahmadu Bello University and the University of Chicago, and in East Africa, linked Harvard University with the University of Nairobi. The project in West Africa was undertaken at a time of great tension in Nigeria; for a variety of reasons it ran into trouble and after four years of effort was closed, producing only limited results.

The Harvard/Nairobi project, by contrast, had lasting results. The universities created the Nairobi-based Child



Stephen Stackpole.

Development Research Unit, which housed the faculty and researchers. The initial planning for the project started in mid-1966 with support of \$117,740; in 1967, the Corporation provided another grant of \$327,700.

By the third year of the project, there were 14 field stations and 35 studies underway. Most importantly, the studies were conducted jointly by 20 Americans and 55 Kenyans. Over time, the output from this project was remarkable: 51 research projects on multiple aspects of development of Kenyan children; 80 publications including theses; 95 students from the University of Nairobi and the University of Dar es Salaam trained as research assistants; and 10 fellowships for master’s level study at the Harvard Graduate School of Education or Columbia’s Teachers College.

Transformation in African Countries—and the Corporation

In the 1970s, Corporation leaders realized that the opportunities to make a difference in Africa had changed. The economic crises that arose in the middle of the decade gave greater prominence to the issues of poverty alleviation and the concomitant development challenges that impeded economic growth. The tiny cracks that had begun to appear in the rigid framework of apartheid in South Africa along with the increased atten-

tion to gender inequities in Africa overall gradually began to shape Corporation priorities around specific agendas for social justice and away from education as a sector and universities in particular. Under Alan Pifer, who had succeeded John Gardner as the Corporation's president,⁴ Carnegie Corporation grantmaking activities in Commonwealth countries in Africa by the late 1970s concentrated primarily on strengthening the rule of law in South Africa through developing legal research and training programs at,



Frederic "Fritz" Mosher.

among other institutions, the University of the Witwatersrand, a grantee since the 1930s. In addition, there was support for a brand-new field of endeavor, namely, the promotion of women in development, an increasingly prominent concern for all developing countries.

When David Hamburg followed Pifer as president of Carnegie Corporation in 1982, he and the foundation's Trustees came to another decision point for the Corporation. They organized the foundation's grantmaking around the fact that science and technology investments were increasingly recognized by developing countries as essential elements for economic competitiveness. The advent

of the information revolution reinforced the need to reduce the isolation of African scientists and researchers and stem the increasing brain drain from university departments. The intent was to increase the vibrancy of the science and technology research sector in African countries, especially to improve the connections between researchers and policymakers for evidence-based decision making.⁵ A related emphasis on women's part in development was sustained through support for networks on prevention of maternal mortality and "safe motherhood," women in law in development, and women's health and development. The Corporation continued working with universities but they were not the focus of attention; rather, they were the sites for research projects and the hubs of major research networks.

New Context, New Conditions, Transformative Re-Engagement

As the 1990s progressed into the first decade of the 21st century, with insistently increasing global competitiveness, countries around the world, especially those in Africa, realized that unless they strengthened their capacity to contribute to knowledge and use that knowledge for national development and growth, they would be left behind. One unambiguous result: today, universities are once again being recognized for their significant role in development. Emphatically reinforcing the Corporation's nearly century-long commitment to enhancing higher education in Africa, Vartan Gregorian, who became president of the Corporation in 1997, in his first statement about new programs at Carnegie Corporation, made the case for the vital importance of universities and higher education in African countries. He said, "I am especially concerned about the fate of African universities and research libraries, given the exodus of great talent from that continent

to other parts of the world and given the environment of political instability and the severe economic hardship that prevail in many countries. How can we as a nation support African leadership in the university realm? Which are the institutions that should be strengthened? ... The challenge to American institutions is to pursue these efforts without contributing to the brain drain...support for scholars within institutions of higher learning there would contribute substantially toward African development."

Hence, under Gregorian, the Corporation began to renew its commitment to the institutions of African higher education, but in a way that was different from its past initiatives. Specifically, Gregorian and the Corporation staff realized that while active consultation and partnership shaped past grantmaking strategies aimed at helping to develop African higher education, most of the time the decisions as to what areas and approaches to fund had been made by the foundation grantmakers and other donors. University leadership and faculty were supportive but they were not usually the initiators.

Starting in 1999, Corporation leadership and staff members in the International Development Program, the new name for programmatic activities in Commonwealth Africa, engaged in discussions with university vice chancellors and foundation partners to set in motion a new major initiative in support of African higher education. By 2000, university vice chancellors from five countries (Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa, Ghana and Nigeria) and four foundation presidents (from the Ford, MacArthur and Rockefeller foundations, along with Carnegie Corporation of New York) launched the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, a 10-year initiative to strengthen universities and enable them to be full-fledged partners in national development.

In contrast to the previous eras, universities themselves have now been put in the driver's seat for the Corporation's grantmaking program in African higher education. The Corporation's commitment to strengthening African higher education started by consulting the vice chancellors and building on the strategic plans approved by university leadership at multiple levels. Commitment to sustainability of these investments on the part of the university vice chan-

thropies eventually joined in, the Andrew W. Mellon, William and Flora Hewlett, and Kresge foundations. Four African countries, Egypt, Kenya, Madagascar and Mozambique, joined the original five. A recent report on the Partnership notes that over the 10 years, \$450 million, \$140 more than the original pledges, reached 65 universities and 25 regional postgraduate training and research networks.

Corporation vice president for International Program, Deana Arsenian,

the low participation of women at the undergraduate level. In consultation with vice chancellors in the Partner institutions, the Corporation's leadership made a commitment to funding scholarships for women undergraduates for the length of the Partnership. A clear concomitant need was to improve the environment for women at the universities, leading to a variety of associated projects. To date, nearly \$28 million has been spent on women's opportunities in African higher



Association for Teacher Education In Africa conference at the University of Ile-Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University,) Nigeria, April 1973.

cellors has formed an integral part of the major university-strengthening grants, reinforced by the formal and productive partnership linking African universities and the foundations.

Funding for the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa was initially pledged at \$100 million but after five years reached \$150 million, working with 40 universities in six countries and with an additional 23 countries receiving some degree of support. With vice chancellors and foundation presidents embracing the success of the first five years, the partnership was re-launched for another five years. Three new philan-

emphasized that from the beginning of the Partnership, "The Corporation was committed to ensuring that the universities could sustain the progress they were making with foundation support. We wanted to build on lessons from the past in enabling the university vice chancellors to pave the road for sustainability in the future." In this regard, two special areas reinforced the Corporation's commitment to the university's role in contributing to their society along with building a vibrant environment for learning and teaching in the Internet era. One of the seriously under-addressed gaps in African higher education has been

education and more than 3,000 women will have benefited from scholarships.

From the results of the Partnership, as Tade Aina, director of the Corporation's African Higher Education and Libraries Program, explains, a decision was made to move beyond institutional strengthening to supporting networks of scholars. Aina says, "Following consultation with a wide variety of leaders from government, private sector and civil society, the vice chancellors and foundation staff working together identified a persistent concern, namely, developing and retaining the next generation of academics, researchers, librarians and

⁴ John Gardner was president of Carnegie Corporation from 1955 to 1967; Alan Pifer succeeded him, first as acting president from 1965 to 1967, and then as president from 1967 to 1982.

⁵ In 1987, Patricia Rosenfield, the author of this article, was hired to develop this area of grantmaking by David Hamburg and Adetokunbo Lucas, chair of the then-named Program on Strengthening Human Resources in Developing Countries.

university leaders and, in particular, strengthening in-country master's and Ph.D. programs. This defines our thrust for the next several years.”

The Commitment Matters Even More in the 21st Century

From Andrew Carnegie to Frederick Keppel, to John Gardner, Alan Pifer, David Hamburg and Vartan Gregorian, Corporation presidents, staff and trustees have recognized the vital importance of higher education for fostering a vibrant national and global society. The Corporation's work in Africa has followed along that same path and, each step along the way, Corporation leaders made decisions aimed at investing in Africa for the long term and in support of higher education as a pillar of national development. As Gregorian notes, summing up the Corporation's commitment to strengthening higher-education institutions, both in the United States and Africa:

“One conclusion is absolutely clear: throughout the world, the role of the university is critical to national development and central to the progress of society. And as such, it will continue to be the engine of change for every nation; all citizens, from the richest to the poorest, will look within its walls to find the keys to their future. And not just their economic future; the main aim of higher education in a globalized setting must be for human beings and societies to develop a deeper understanding of each other's values, traditions and culture—especially now that many of them are in conflict with modernity and the forces unleashed by globalization. In essence, while governments are busy creating economic trade agreements, universities must provide not only the requisite expertise but also work to foster cultural exchanges for ideas, wisdom and knowledge—the truly precious currency of humankind.” ■

The Role of the Individual in History: A Centennial Essay

Vartan Gregorian—continued from page 25

know. Still, history does sometimes converge around an individual whose name becomes synonymous with eras, events, discoveries, and social or political movements. This, I would suggest, is the case with the man I began this letter with: Andrew Carnegie. Making his intentions clear in his famous saying that he who dies rich dies disgraced, he used his wealth in a way that profoundly affected the field of philanthropy. In fact, in the modern age, along with John D. Rockefeller, Mr. Carnegie can be viewed as one of the founders of what we now call “strategic philanthropy,” meaning, grantmaking intended as an investment that will bring about lasting, long-term results. This brings to mind an important distinction between charity and philanthropy that has eroded over time, but should be noted because it highlights the different concerns that donors may have. Charity, which is derived from the Latin word *caritas*, meaning dear, has a long religious history; for Jews, Christians, and Muslims, for example, it has meant giving immediate relief to human suffering without passing judgment on those who suffer. Philanthropy has a more secular history and comes from the Greek word *philanthropos*, meaning love of mankind and has come to be used in describing generosity that promotes human progress in any field.

Andrew Carnegie was the architect of his own giving, which he meant to endure in perpetuity. His intention was not to glorify himself or his name in future generations but for his wealth to act a perpetual motion machine, being constantly reinvested in order to serve the ultimate purpose of doing good. To achieve that end, Andrew Carnegie had a vision that he accompanied with action. He did not speculate; he researched and acted upon his convictions and his vision of America as a vibrant democracy that needed education to become stronger, required an educated citizenry to maintain its strength and ensure its progress, and would thrive in a global community where international peace was a common value among nations.

Mr. Carnegie's philanthropy embodied his belief that while society is always going to be confronted by challenges, individuals can lead the way in meeting those challenges and thus continue the work of improving the human condition that one generation passes on to the next. In that regard, I imagine he would have appreciated the question asked by Fathali M. Moghaddam in *The Specialized Society: The Plight of the Individual in an Age of Individualism*⁸: “What kind of being do we humans want to become? Our most precious quality is *becoming*...The human being ‘partly is,’ but ‘wholly hopes to be.’”⁹

What Andrew Carnegie hoped to be, he became: an individual, as he once wrote, “who feels there is not a human being to whom he does not wish happiness, long life, and deserved success, not one in whose path he would cast an obstacle nor to whom he would not do a service if in his power.” Andrew Carnegie dedicated himself wholeheartedly to the service of his fellow men and women. His philanthropy was his gift to the future, his investment in the belief that education is our greatest tool, that peace is our most sacred goal, and that the betterment of humanity is the shared aspiration of us all. ■

¹ See, for example, the works of Isaiah Berlin, Benjamin Constant, David Hume, Russell Kirk, John Locke, John Stuart Mill, C.B. MacPherson, Montesquieu, Georgi Plekhanov, Ayn Rand, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *et al.*

² *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* by Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler and Steven M. Tipton (University of California Press, 1985, 1996, 2008).

³ *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology* by Yehoshua Arieli (Penguin Books 1964).

⁴ *The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* by Andrew Carnegie (The Century Company 1901).

⁵ *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776.

⁶ *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct*, by Samuel Smiles, 1859.

⁷ *The Anatomy of Revolution*, by Crane Brinton (Vintage Books 1952).

⁸ *The Specialized Society: The Plight of the Individual in an Age of Individualism*, by Fathali M. Moghaddam (Praeger Publishers 1997).

⁹ Robert Browning, “A Death in the Desert.”



by KAREN THEROUX

A Sacred Trust

History was made when Andrew Carnegie put the last of his fortune

Conditions upon the [earth] inevitably change; hence, no wise man will bind Trustees forever to certain paths, causes or institutions. I disclaim any intention of doing so. On the contrary, I [give] my Trustees full authority to change policy or causes hitherto aided, from time to time, when this, in their opinion, has become necessary or desirable. They shall best conform to my wishes by using their own judgment.

— ANDREW CARNEGIE'S DEED OF GIFT
November 10, 1911

The Trustees realize that the execution of the trust will involve many difficulties of judgment and labors of administration, and they assume their obligation in the hope, and with the intent, to perform their duties faithfully, in a manner adequate to the great purpose of the trust, and in the disinterested public spirit which has moved the founder of the trust to this great benefaction.

— RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES
November 10, 1911

It started with \$125 million and a mission meant to “benefit humanity for generations untold.” Andrew Carnegie set up his last foundation under the “devoted and sympathetic” guidance of people he knew well and trusted without reservation. From the beginning, Carnegie Corporation, like other nonprofit institutions, has been governed by a board of trustees that sets policies, approves budgets and helps formulate long-term plans. Board members are expected, above all, to promote the best interests of the organization, working to fulfill its mission and get results. For 100 years, trustees of Carnegie Corporation, among them leading lights of academia, business and industry, law, science, government and diplomacy, have vigorously pursued these goals, acting as change agents and making history along the way.

The first Corporation board was made up of the presidents of the five institutions Andrew Carnegie had founded in the United States, ex officio, plus his private secretary and his financial agent, appointed for life terms. Carnegie himself assumed the presidency of the Corporation, which put the foundation’s administration essentially under his personal direction and authority for the first eight years of its history. With Carnegie in charge, the board made few changes to the projects he favored,

Original Carnegie Corporation Trustees

James Bertram: *Private Secretary to Andrew Carnegie*

Robert Franks: *Financial Agent to Andrew Carnegie*

William N. Frew: *Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh*

Henry Pritchett: *The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*

Elihu Root: *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Charles L. Taylor: *Carnegie Hero Fund of Pittsburgh*

Robert S. Woodward: *Carnegie Institution of Washington*

into the hands of a few trusted friends

such as libraries, technical schools, hero funds and publications.

“When Mr. Carnegie formed the Carnegie Corporation, he simply incorporated himself,” commented Henry Pritchett, an original trustee. Yet it was Andrew Carnegie’s foresight in giving future trustees “full authority” to adopt new strategies and pursue new ventures that has enabled the foundation to advance with the times. In fact, the Corporation began evolving during Carnegie’s lifetime, embracing his concept of scientific philanthropy, which despised indiscriminate charity and aimed to solve complex problems at their root.

Early on, the Board of Trustees determined that the foundation would not act as an operating agency but instead would financially support other institutions capable of “the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding,” while maintaining the Corporation’s endowment for future generations. It was this strategy that eventually led to the funding of influential organizations from the National Research Council to the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

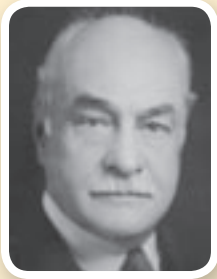
After Andrew Carnegie’s death in 1919 the trustees opted for a full-time president. They also decided to increase the number of board members to fifteen, with the additional trustees to be elected for a set term and eligible for re-election. Board



Noteworthy Trustees

Nicholas Murray Butler (1925 to 1946)

President of Columbia University and of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace



Butler was born in New Jersey in 1862 and between 1882 and 1884 received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees and his Ph.D.—all from Columbia College. He was appointed to the Department of Philosophy in 1885 and in 1902 was named president of the institution, which had by then become Columbia University. He held the position for 43 years, during which the university underwent impressive growth. Butler was influential in persuading Andrew Carnegie to establish the Endowment for International Peace in 1910 and served as its president for twenty years. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. Butler was chair of Carnegie Corporation.

Vannevar Bush (1939 to 1956)

President of the Carnegie Institution of Washington



Bush was born in 1890 in Massachusetts. He studied engineering at Tufts College, where he earned his Bachelor's and Master's degrees and created his first invention, a land surveying device. He earned Doctoral degrees in engineering from both Harvard and MIT, where he worked as a professor and inventor before becoming vice president and dean of the school of Engineering. As head of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Bush influenced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to create the National Defense Research Committee in 1940 (which became an advisory body for the Office of Scientific Research and Development that initially controlled the Manhattan Project) and the National Science Foundation in 1950. Bush also focused on developing machines for automating human thinking, now viewed as precursors to the Internet.

George C. Marshall (1946 to 1950)

United States Army Chief of Staff; Secretary of State



Marshall was born in Pennsylvania in 1880. After graduating from the Virginia Military Institute he served in various posts before sailing to France with the First Division in World War I, quickly earning fame and promotion. He was an aide-de-camp to General Pershing from 1919 to 1924 then rose

“I simply give the money that I am

members had strong opinions about what traits mattered most. Dozens of names were debated and most often put aside. As then President Frederick P. Keppel wrote to one trustee, “We do not need primarily to increase the number of trustees. If the increased membership is to be of practical value, the important thing is to definitely strengthen the Board in its information and deliberation from new angles. ...”

Four years had passed before the first two additional trustees were finally invited to join in 1923: John J. Carty, a pioneer in the development of the telephone (holder of 28 patents) and ardent supporter of scientific research, and Russel C. Leffingwell, a banker and former Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Treasury—leaders in a long parade of noted scientists and financiers to sit on the Corporation's board and shape its work. It took ten years for the board to attain its full complement of trustees, among them present and future Nobel Prize winners, Cabinet Secretaries and university presidents.

Keppel had already suggested adding “some preacher of thoughtful character,” and “some woman of similar character” to the mix, and was still making the case for women in 1936. Writing in a memo on trustee selection he maintained, “In this day and generation a Board of the character of the Corporation's should not be composed exclusively of men, and it should be possible to find one or more women who meet admirably the general qualifications for membership...”

Although Andrew Carnegie's widow, Louise, had joined the board in 1920 and their daughter Margaret in 1935, the first woman from outside the family, Renaissance scholar Phyllis Goodheart Gordan, wasn't appointed until 1970. That same year, Franklin A. Thomas, president of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, became the Corporation's first black trustee. (Thomas later served as president of the Ford

glad to put to use, and the Members of the Trust give their time and thought.”

— ANDREW CARNEGIE

Foundation from 1979 to 1996.)

“Diversifying the board, which had always been white, Protestant and male (except for the Carnegie women), was a major goal of Alan Pifer, the Corporation’s president from 1967 to 1982. “When I took over... that was one of the first things I tackled,” he explained in an oral history of the Corporation. “And I began looking deliberately for women and people of color who would make good Carnegie trustees, who would speak up in meetings and present a point of view ... in terms of what could be done and should be done by the Corporation at large.” The changes Pifer initiated were significant and lasting. Under his leadership, by 1979 there were nearly as many women as men, and several blacks, Hispanics and Jews on the board, which nevertheless remained homogeneous in terms of education and socioeconomic status.

Changing the makeup of the board was meant to facilitate Pifer’s efforts to win approval for a social justice agenda that would battle poverty and make improvements in such areas as health care, child development, social justice, population control, international understanding and environmental quality. Under the next president, David Hamburg (1982–1996), the board retained its diversity even as the Corporation program shifted emphasis to aim toward the “prevention of bad outcomes,” in such endeavors as research into new theories of child development and improved international relations.

Vartan Gregorian, Carnegie Corporation’s current president, inherited what he terms a “stellar” board of varied age, nationality, background, occupation, ethnicity and political outlook when he arrived in 1997. As trustees’ terms came to an end, Gregorian added other accomplished individuals, applying a philosophy he had found useful during his years as president of the New York Public Library and Brown University. As

steadily, achieving the position of chief of staff in 1939, at which point he urged military readiness prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. He became General of the Army in 1944. He resigned after World War II, embarking on a diplomatic career and accepting the post of Secretary of State in 1947. At this time he devised the plan of economic aid to post-war Europe that came to be known as the Marshall Plan. Marshall was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953.

John C. Whitehead (1978 to 1985; 1989 to 1993)

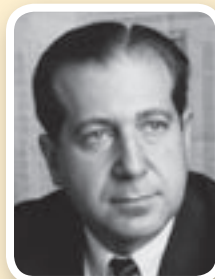
Co-Chairman of Goldman Sachs; Deputy Secretary of State



Whitehead was born in Illinois in 1922, raised in New Jersey and attended Haverford College and Harvard Business School. During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy, participating in the invasions of Normandy and Iwo Jima. He worked for Goldman Sachs in New York City for 38 years, retiring in 1984 as co-chairman and senior partner. From 1985 to 1989 Whitehead was Deputy Secretary of State under Secretary George Schultz, and was awarded the Presidential Citizens Medal by President Reagan. Upon returning from Washington, he became chairman of the board of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

Fred M. Hechinger (1984 to 1991)

President of the New York Times Company Foundation



Born in 1920 in Nuremberg Germany, Hechinger came to the U.S. in 1936. He completed his Bachelor’s degree at The City College of New York and served in the U.S. Army during World War II. He pursued a career in journalism as a foreign correspondent before becoming education editor of *The New York Times* in 1959. Hechinger authored several books and for 31 years wrote the column, “About Education.” President of the Education Writers of America, he won numerous awards and in 1996, one year after he died, Teachers College established the Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media, recognizing him as one of the most influential voices in education journalism. He was vice chair of Carnegie Corporation.

“There is nothing inherently valuable in mere money worth striving for,

Noteworthy Trustees *continued from page 43*

Newton N. Minow (1986 to 1997)

Attorney and Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission



Newton Minow was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1926. He earned both his Bachelor and Law Degrees at Northwestern University and served as law clerk to Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson of the U.S. Supreme Court. Widely known for his concerns about the quality of television programming, in 1961 he was chairman of

the Federal Communications Commission under President Kennedy when he gave a speech referring to the medium as a “vast wasteland.” Minow helped craft the passage of legislation that ushered in the era of satellite communications. He also played a key role in the presidential debates, serving as a director of the Bi-Partisan Advisory Commission for the Presidential Debates in 1988 and 1992. Minow was instrumental in the establishment of the National Center for Research in Advanced Information and Digital Technologies (also known as the Digital Promise), signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2008, which supports using new technologies to improve education. Minow is a former chair of Carnegie Corporation.

Warren Christopher (1989 to 1993)

Secretary of State of the United States



Born in North Dakota in 1925, Christopher graduated from Stanford Law School and clerked for Justice William O. Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court. From 1977 to 1981 he served as the Deputy Secretary of State and was awarded the nation’s highest civilian award, the Medal of Freedom, by President Carter in 1981 for his role in negotiating the

release of 52 American hostages in Iran. He also led the Carter administration’s effort to ratify the Panama Canal treaties. Christopher served as Secretary of State during President Clinton’s first term, and was instrumental in the negotiation of the 1995 Dayton Agreement that ended the war in Bosnia. He oversaw normalization of diplomatic relations with China, and was a veteran of many efforts to find peace in the Middle East. In 1991 he headed the commission investigating the Rodney King assault and subsequent riots in Los Angeles, which recommended major police reforms. Christopher was chair of Carnegie Corporation.

Gregorian explains it, conservative businessman Henry Salvatore, an advisor from his days as provost of the University of Pennsylvania, had stressed the importance of creating a board that would “enlighten rather than legitimize” an organization’s activities. In consequence, Gregorian has made it a point to “gather the best talent to help enlighten the work of the institutions that I have headed, people who are passionately interested and concerned about the institutions’ direction, programs and activities. We don’t have a rubber stamp board,” he says.

Members of the board can be seen as functional groups, Gregorian says, with complementary specialties that are critical for guiding the Corporation’s work. For example, past and present trustees including Senator Sam Nunn, Admiral William Owens, Ambassadors Shirin Tahir-Kheli and Thomas Pickering as well as former foreign minister of Spain, Anna Palacio, have all contributed significantly to the International Peace and Security Program. James Hunt, Thomas Kean and Richard Riley, former governors and education reformers, help guide the National Program’s education work, while university presidents including former trustee Ruth Simmons from Brown, Richard Brodhead from Duke, Amy Gutmann from the University of Pennsylvania and Susan Hockfield from MIT advise on higher education. Experts on Africa have included past board members Teresa Heinz, president of the Heinz Foundation, South African financier Vincent Mai, former United Nations under-secretary general Olara Otunno and former UN secretary general Kofi Annan.

Gregorian values the expertise of the Corporation’s Investment Committee, previously led by Martin Leibowitz of Morgan Stanley, now by Geoffrey T. Boisi, chairman and CEO of Roundtable Investment Partners, with recent addition James D. Wolfensohn, former

unless it is to be administered as a sacred trust for the good of others...”

— ANDREW CARNEGIE

president of the World Bank Group. Other advisors in this area have included former trustees, financier Ray Smith and William J. McDonough, president and CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, as well as current trustees Pedro Aspe, former finance minister of Mexico and Stephen A. Oxman of Morgan Stanley. Rounding out the Board have been experts on law, Helene Kaplan and Dick Beattie; on philanthropy, former trustee Fiona Druckenmiller and on science, past board members Shirley Malcolm of the American Association for the Advancement of Science as well as Bruce Alberts, former president of the National Academy of Sciences and chair of the National Research Council, and the current president and chair, Ralph Cicerone.

For guidance on education and urban issues, the board turned to former trustee Marta Tienda, director of the Office of Population Research at Princeton University, and currently to Kurt Schmoke, dean of Howard University School of Law and former mayor of Baltimore; on humanities and the arts, to Mellon Foundation President Don Randell and on media, former trustee Judy Woodruff of CNN and PBS, Norman Pearlstine of Time Inc. and Bloomberg News and Janet Robinson, president and CEO of The New York Times Corporation – to name a few. At various gatherings the trustees are invited to speak about their “education and their upbringing, beyond CVs and board issues,” Gregorian says. “I believe in bonding. The best boards know each other well and understand one another’s values and philosophy. These are people we can learn from and be helped by, for the sake of the institution.”

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

Thomas H. Kean (1991 to 2002; 2005 to Present)

Governor of New Jersey



Born in 1935, Kean was raised in New Jersey and is a graduate of Princeton University. He earned a Master’s degree in history at Columbia Teachers College and was a government and history teacher before being elected to the New Jersey State Assembly. He was elected Governor in 1982. After completing his second and final term, Kean

became president of New Jersey’s Drew University from 1990 to 2005, during which time he served as Vice Chairman of the American delegation to the World Conference on Women in Beijing and on the President’s Initiative on Race. Kean has served on the President’s Education Policy Advisory Committee and as chair of the Education Commission of the States. President George W. Bush appointed Kean head of The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States (the 9/11 Commission) in 2002, a bipartisan panel that investigated the 2001 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. Kean is the current chair of Carnegie Corporation.

Sam Nunn (1996 to 2005)

United States Senator from Georgia



Nunn was born in Georgia in 1938 and graduated from Georgia Tech and Emory Law School. He first entered politics in 1968 as a member of the Georgia State House of Representatives. He served in the U.S. Senate from 1972 to 1996, and was chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations

and the Intelligence and Small Business Committees. He co-authored legislation creating the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, also known as the Nunn-Lugar program, which provides incentives for the former Soviet republics to dismantle and safely handle their nuclear arsenals. He is now co-chairman and CEO of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a nonprofit organization working to reduce the global threats from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

Read more about Carnegie Corporation’s Board of Trustees at www.carnegie.org.

Women of the Board

Helene L. Kaplan (1980-1990, 2002-2006; currently, Honorary Trustee)



Helene L. Kaplan is of counsel to the firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP. She represents not-for-profit institutions and individuals with substantial philanthropic interests.

Kaplan has served in the not-for-profit sector as counsel or trustee of many scientific, arts, charitable and educational institutions and foundations. She is the first woman to serve as chair of Carnegie Corporation – or any major non-family private foundation. She is also the first trustee to serve a second term as chair. Kaplan is a trustee of The American Museum of Natural History. She is also trustee emerita and chair emerita of Barnard College and trustee emerita of The Institute for Advanced Study, The Commonwealth Fund and The J. Paul Getty Trust. Kaplan is a member and a former director of the Council on Foreign Relations and she is a fellow of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.



FIRST WOMAN TRUSTEE
Phyllis Goodheart Gordan
(1970 to 1979)
Renaissance Scholar,
New York

Marta Y. Valle (1971 to 1975) *Director, School of Social Work, Columbia University*

Jeanne Spurlock (1973 to 1980) *Psychiatrist*

Madeline H. McWhinney (1974 to 1981) *President, The First Women's Bank, New York*

Mary Louise Peterson (1976 to 1984) *President, Iowa State Board of Regents*

Anne Firor Scott (1976 to 1984) *Professor of History, Duke University*

Judy P. Rosenstreich (1978 to 1986) *Policy Analyst and Vermont Legislator*

Margaret K. Rosenheim (1979 to 1987) *Law Professor, University of Chicago*

Ruth Simms Hamilton (1981 to 1989) *Professor of Sociology, Michigan State University*

Ann R. Leven (1981 to 1990) *Treasurer, Smithsonian Institution*

Shelia E. Widnall (1984 to 1993) *Secretary of the Air Force; Provost and Professor, MIT*

Mary Patterson McPherson (1985 to 1994) *President, Bryn Mawr College*

Shirley M. Malcom (1992 to 1999) *Program Head, American Association for the Advancement of Science*

Teresa Heinz (1993 to 2000) *Philanthropist*

Condoleezza Rice (1994 to 1998) *Provost, Stanford University; 66th U.S. Secretary of State*

Wilma S. Tisch (1994 to 1998) *Philanthropist*

Marta Tienda (1996 to 2004) *Director, Office of Population Research, Princeton University*

Judy Woodruff (1996 to 2003) *Broadcast Journalist, CNN, PBS NewsHour*

Ruth J. Simmons (1999 to 2004) *President, Smith College and Brown University*

Fiona Druckenmiller (2001 to 2008) *Philanthropist*

Amy Gutmann (2004) *President, University of Pennsylvania*

Susan Hockfield (2006) *President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Ana Palacio (2005) *Former Foreign Minister of Spain and General Counsel, World Bank Group*

Janet Robinson (2004) *President and Chief Executive Officer, The New York Times Company*

Recent Events



International researchers, funders and academics in the Western Cape, South Africa.

Research-Based Aid for Africa

In August 2010 researchers from South Africa, Ghana, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Mauritius and Uganda met in South Africa to discuss findings from groundbreaking evidence-based research in seven African universities. Program officer Claudia Fritelli represented Carnegie Corporation of New York at the meeting. The Corporation, together with the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa and the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD), funded the research, which aimed at influencing African higher education policy and institutional planning.

Overall, the research indicated development aid to Africa is usually directed to issues such as HIV and AIDS, poverty reduction, primary health care and food security, which are identified as priorities in the donor country's development agenda, at the expense of high-level knowledge development produced within the research culture of universities. The report concluded that donor countries need to relinquish their demand for immediate results and begin investing in capacity for research and innovation that has long term impact.



Physician and author Adetokunbo O. Lucas.

Memoirs of a Global Health Pioneer

Dr. Adetokunbo O. Lucas was honored with a reception at the Rockefeller Foundation in New York City in October 2010. The occasion was the launching of his autobiography, *It was the Best of Times: From Local to Global Health*. Dr. Lucas's remarkable list of accomplishments includes: first chairman of the Nigerian Medical Research Council; director of the WHO Tropical Diseases Research program and chair of the committee on national health policy. In addition, his research contributed to improved under-

standing of the epidemiology of malaria, schistosomiasis and other tropical infectious diseases. He also developed a new approach to the teaching of public health at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

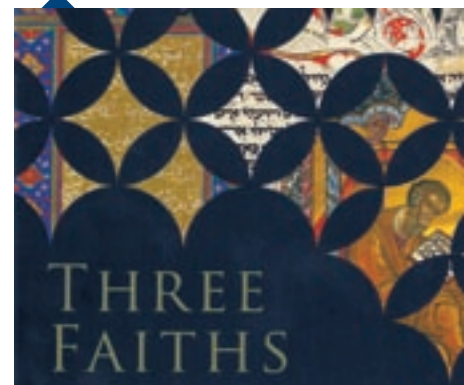
"As first chair of the Carnegie Corporation's Developing Countries program from 1986 to 1990, Lucas was instrumental in all that the program achieved," said Corporation president Vartan Gregorian, "and his later work as a consultant to the Corporation helped to shape the success of the foundation's efforts in preventing maternal mortality." Dr. Lucas's long and distinguished career is

credited with helping to shape global health beginning in Africa and extending throughout the developing world.

Treasured Manuscripts of Three Faiths

A major exhibition at The New York Public Library from December 2010 through February 2011, featuring rare documents and sacred texts from the three Abrahamic faiths, became one of the most popular exhibits in the library's history. Supported in part by Carnegie Corporation of New York with funding from the Stavros Niarchos and Coexist foundations, "Three Faiths" portrayed major aspects of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim religions, emphasizing their most significant common threads.

After introducing the key figures in these faith traditions, the exhibition explored the scriptures they produced or inspired and the ways in which those texts have been used through the centuries in the daily lives of ordinary people. The exhibit showcased materials drawn entirely from the permanent collections of The New York Public Library and offered more than 100 different educational programs across 80 different library branches across the city with the goal of creating a better understanding of faith traditions in a globalized world.





Clare Gregorian, Leonard Lauder and Vartan Gregorian.

Aspen Institute Honors Gregorian

The 2010 Henry Crown Leadership Award was presented to Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian by the Aspen Institute in November 2010. The prize recognizes outstanding individuals whose achievements reflect the high standards of honor, integrity, industry, and philanthropy that characterized the life and career of business leader and philanthropist Henry Crown. Leonard Lauder, chairman emeritus of Estée Lauder Companies and Francis Hoffman, executor of the Gladys and Henry Crown Trust, presented the award to Gregorian during an event in New York City.

“Teacher, scholar, philanthropist, humanist, Vartan Gregorian has made our world a better place,” said Aspen Institute president Walter Isaacson. Following the awards ceremony, Dr. Gregorian and Mr. Lauder discussed the nature of leadership and lessons learned in a conversation moderated by Christiane Amanpour, anchor of ABC News *This Week*. The

video is available at www.aspeninstitute.org. The Aspen Institute’s mission is to foster values-based leadership and to provide a neutral and balanced venue for discussing and acting on critical issues.

Librarians are Lionized

Ten librarians from across the country were winners of the 2010 Carnegie Corporation of New York/New York Times “I

Love My Librarian Award.” Each librarian received \$5,000 and was honored at an award ceremony in December 2010 in New York City. Two thousand library supporters nominated a librarian in the competition, which is administered each year by the American Library Association. The recipients are: Paul Clark, Fleming Island, FL; Ellen M. Dolan, Shrewsbury, MA; Jeff Dowdy, Bainbridge, GA; Laura Farwell Blake, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; Melissa McCollum, Lawndale, CA; Kelley I. McDaniel, Portland, ME; Patricia J. Updike, Gastonia, NC; Doug Valentine, Melissa, TX; Christina Wagner, Madison, WI; Stefanie Wittenbach, Texas A&M, San Antonio, TX.

“Libraries are among those cherished institutions that are most representative of our open society,” said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation. “We must, therefore, acknowledge that libraries—and hence, librarians—are indispensable to the strength and vitality of our nation and our democracy.” “*The New York Times* is proud of its commitment to education and is thrilled to pay tribute to these ten men and women who play

such a vital role in the intellectual health of their communities and in our society as a whole,” said Janet L. Robinson, president and chief executive officer of The New York Times Company. “We are truly grateful to them.”

Exploring Media’s Role in the Middle East

Two-time Pulitzer Prize winner Anthony Shadid, *The New York Times* Beirut bureau chief recently held in Libya by forces loyal to Colonel Qaddafi, was the keynote speaker at the meeting, “Teaming Up: How Joint Reporting Projects Are Enriching Coverage of the Muslim World” convened in December 2010 by Carnegie Corporation and the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ). Shadid offered an insightful critique of the media’s role in the Middle East, urging journalists to go beyond the clichés that often dominate front page reporting and to present “a more compelling reality.”

A panel presentation followed, featuring journalists who have participated in a Corporation-supported ICFJ (ICFJ.org) cross-border joint reporting project: Israeli journalist Ruth Eglash from the *Jerusalem Post* was paired



Left to right: Doug Valentine, Jeff Dowdy, Paul Clark, *New York Times* columnist Gail Collins, Christina Wagner, Melissa McCollum, Stefanie Wittenbach, Laura Farwell Blake, Kelley I. McDaniel, Patricia J. Updike, Ellen M. Dolan.

with Jordanian Hani Hazaimh from *The Jordan Times* and U.S. journalists Kelly McEvers, lead Baghdad correspondent for National Public Radio and Jamila Trindle, reporter and producer from the Public Broadcasting Service were paired with colleagues from Saudi Arabia and Indonesia. The group discussed their coverage of such critical topics as the Arab-Israeli conflict and the persecution of religious minorities.



Talia Milgrom-Elcott speaking to education writers.

MAX FALKOWITZ

Africa's Future Academics

For over a decade, the Corporation has worked to strengthen universities in selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa. As this institutionally focused program winds down, the Corporation's Africa agenda has been redefined to focus on developing and retaining the continent's next-generation academics, university leaders, and university librarians.

Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian, vice president and corporate secretary Ellen Bloom, International Program vice president Deana Arsenian, program director Omotade Akin Aina along with program officers Rookaya Bawa, Claudia Fritelli and Andrea Johnson, Higher Education and Libraries in Africa, attended a major convening of representatives of the universities and the foundation partners in Nairobi, Kenya in November 2010. The meeting, designed to map out the new strategy emphasizing excellence, retention, and sustainability, also explored ways for African universities to mobilize a range of resources to improve sustainability. ■

Education Writers Study Talent Strategy

More than 50 education writers came to Carnegie Corporation in February 2011 to learn about "The Promise and Pitfalls of Improving the Teaching Profession." Reporters from the *Washington Post*, *Associated Press*, *National Public Radio*, *The New York Times*, *Huffington Post*, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Education Week*, the *Baltimore Sun* and other major publications across the country as well as popular education bloggers attended the day-long meeting to gain a better understanding of the current crisis in education and

strategies for regaining America's competitive edge.

Program officer Talia Milgrom-Elcott led off by explaining that teachers and principals have the greatest impact on student achievement, describing how strong teachers are able to improve outcomes sufficiently to close the persistent achievement gap between disadvantaged and affluent students. A series of panelists from academia, government and non-profits concerned with improving public education explored the talent strategy challenge from all sides: recruitment, training, professional development, tenure, salaries and assessment.



Anthony Shadid.

VIRGINIA MALLON



Kelly McEvers, Ruth Eglash, Hani Hazaimh and Jamila Trindle.

VIRGINIA MALLON



University and foundation representatives in Nairobi.

STEPHEN C. MWANGI

Editor's Note: John W. Gardner was president of Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1955 to 1967. During his tenure, the Corporation's work included an emphasis on liberal arts education, foreign area studies including teaching foreign languages, higher education in newly independent Commonwealth countries in Africa and the Caribbean, advancing women's education, and supporting much of the nation's basic research on cognition, creativity, and the learning process, particularly



John Gardner, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York, in his Corporation office, 1960.

GETTY IMAGES

A Tribute to **John Gardner** *by* **BILL MOYERS**

GETTY IMAGES



Bill Moyers.

among young children, in the process linking the fields of psychology and education. It was also during this time that the Corporation helped to create the Foundation Center. And, it was Gardner's interest in leadership development that led the Corporation to support the creation of the White House Fellows program in 1964. A Republican, he went on to serve as U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Lyndon Johnson. Later, he founded Common Cause and helped to create Independent Sector. At the time of his death in 2002 he was a consulting professor at Stanford University's School of Education. An author, a teacher, a patriot, a visionary policymaker who played a central role in the creation of Medicare, and a great believer in the strength of democracy and the obligation of government to indeed be a system "of the people, by the people, for the people," he was a true public servant. In October 2010, Bill Moyers delivered a tribute to Gardner on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Common Cause. Carnegie Corporation is pleased to reprint it here.

among young children, in the process linking the fields of psychology and education. It was also during this time that the Corporation helped to create the Foundation Center. And, it was Gardner's interest in leadership development that led the Corporation to support the creation of the White House

Thank you for inviting me to join in this 40th anniversary of Common Cause. Your founder, John Gardner, profoundly influenced my life and I welcome this opportunity to share some memories of him. When we met in 1965 John Gardner was already very wise and I was still very young. I never grew younger but he kept growing wiser. The chief of the *New York Times* bureau in Washington, Scotty Reston, drawing (I later learned) on Emerson, told me, "Take John as your mentor and you'll see how to live the greatest number of good hours."

He was right.

As we worked together—John as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and I as a White House Assistant—I came

to know well the man who built meaning into his life because he saw no other way to achieve it. Meaning doesn't come in the genes, he said—you compose it out of your own past, out of your own affections, out of the experience of human beings as it is passed on to you, out of the things you believe in, out of the values for which you are willing to sacrifice something. The ingredients are there, he said: You are the only person who can put them together in the unique pattern that will be your life.

One of my White House colleagues said of him, "He thinks like a saint." "No," Lyndon Johnson said, "he thinks like a good Republican. They're harder to find than saints. But one is all you need."

John was the one.

And he and Lyndon Johnson were the right two at the right time. Johnson: the intense, impetuous, impatient Democrat. Gardner: the reflective, righteous and resolute Republican. Both were radical middle-of-the-roads, who believed in widening the road into a broad highway so more people could travel it. When John joined the cabinet in 1965, he told us, “What we have before us are

separated before his birth and he never forgot the brokenness of things. He knew how broken the world is, but he believed in trying to mend it. He wasn’t naïve about this. At his most eloquent, when he talked about the “rebirth of a nation,” he admitted that the notion might seem “wonderfully optimistic” but he quickly assured his audience that a successful rebirth of our country would involve severe labor pains. “We may howl with

Aida Gardner, Judith and me, both of us barely thirty. I just listened—to the astute and wily politician who understood politics and to the agile and wise intellectual who understood policy. Both wanted the widest possible participation of the largest number of citizens in the affairs and fruits of democracy. However they arrived at it—and it must have had something to do with the rigors of their youth—they shared a philosophy that whatever things

the word wasn’t even a term of opprobrium. Public schools, public libraries, public parks, public highways, public goods and services were the means of creating a fair society for people who weren’t rich. At its heart was an ethical compact without which society is a war of all against all and the free market for wolves becomes a slaughter for the lambs.

Guess where the historian Judt located the closest America came to that notion of social democracy? In Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal and



President Lyndon Johnson (R), aboard Air Force One, 1966, conferring with, L-R, Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Hubert Humphrey, Vice President; Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; John Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Alexis Johnson, Deputy Secretary of State; Maxwell Taylor, U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam; David Bell, Director, Agency for International Development.

John Gardner at Common Cause, 1974.



some breathtaking opportunities, disguised as insoluble problems.” He knew the score, and wasn’t intimidated by it. He wouldn’t be intimidated today in the midst of the largest special-interest-funded congressional campaign in our history. He would be outraged at all the dirty money pouring secretly into the political system, turning it into a sewer. And he would be engaged in trying to clean it up.

It was occasionally said that he was a romantic. After all, he had dropped out of Stanford intending to become a novelist, until he tried writing one. He got his PhD in psychology instead. He also enlisted in the Marine Corps during World War II, and Marines are seldom duped by illusions. His parents had

pain,” he said, “before we do what needs to be done.”

He also told us, “Don’t pray for the day when we finally solve our problems. Pray for freedom to continue working on the problems that the future will never cease to throw at us.”

I learned from him that the best way to live in the world is to imagine a more confident future and to get up every morning to do what you can to help bring it about. “Don’t let the vast superstructure of civilization mislead you,” he said, “Everything comes back to the talent and energy and sense of purpose of human beings.”

One memorable summer evening we sat on the south lawn of the White House—just six of us: LBJ and Lady Bird, John and

are good for some human beings are really good for all human beings—that the happy or good life is essentially the same for all: a satisfaction of the same needs inherent in human nature. In practice this meant acting on the conviction that what the richest parents in the country want for their children—the goods essential for life, liberty, and happiness—is what the poorest parents want for their children.

Looking back, I realize that in spirit they were social democrats, although no one used the term then. I am more convinced of this after reading the book *Ill Fares the Land* that the historian Tony Judt published before his untimely death this past August. Judt described a time when “the public” was no fiction and

Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society. Much of what was best in the legislation and social policy of the 20th century, he said, was social democracy in all but name.

We’ll never know what might have blossomed from that era if the relationship between these two men had not been orphaned by war. LBJ appointed John to head HEW on the very next day after announcing that he was sending ground troops to Vietnam. In the Rose Garden the president said to his new cabinet member, “Whatever happens in Vietnam, we’ll not fail to pursue the Great Society.” But two years later John went to the LBJ ranch in Texas to plead for larger

appropriations for his programs. The president turned him down and instead cut even more from the budget as it was. Gardener responded with a muted anguish that pained the president. As they were about to get out of the car, LBJ put his arm around him and said, “Don’t worry, John. We’re going to end this damned war and then you’ll have all the money you want for education and health and everything else.”

It was not to be. In an emo-

What might he think of the country today? I believe he would agree with Tony Judt: *Ill Fares the Land*. “The symptoms of collective impoverishment are all about us,” Judt wrote. Bankrupt cities. Broken highways. Collapsing bridges. Failed schools. In a succinct and compelling review of Judt’s work in the current issue of *Harper’s* magazine, Terry Eagleton—a professor at Notre Dame and the National University of Ireland—

was no social contract and all but the privileged and powerful were left to forage on their own. Well-organized forces backed by wealthy right-wingers rushed in to bring it about. Inspired by the fabulist Ayn Rand, infatuated with “Austrian” economics, spouting bumper sticker quotes lifted from Milton Friedman, propelled by cascades of cash from corporate chieftains like Coors and Koch and “Neutron” Jack Welch, and fortified by the pious prescriptions of fundamentalist political preachers, the right marched on Washington,

institutions and the “heretical” morality of the New Deal. He called for an “alliance” between right-wing ideologues and “men of action in the capitalist world” to mount a “veritable crusade” against everything brought forth by the long struggle for a progressive America. It would mean, as *Business Week* noted at the time, “that some people will obviously have to do with less...It will be a bitter pill for many Americans to swallow the idea of doing with less so that big business can have more.” But so be it.



John Gardner played a central role in creating Medicare. In this 1966 photo, he outlines the steps to implementing the program.



John Gardner at Stanford University, 1993.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY NEWS SERVICE

tional private meeting one year later, Gardner told the president he was resigning: “In an election year you deserve the total support of every cabinet member and a cabinet member who doesn’t think you should run shouldn’t be in the cabinet.” Face to face, he said, “I believe you can no longer pull the country together.”

That’s the kind of man he was. He gave up his position but not his principles. He left the government but not the fight. And he founded Common Cause because he didn’t want to sit on the sidelines. “Everybody’s organized but the people,” he said. “Now it’s the citizen’s turn.”

Forty years later, here we are—that charge to us a presence in this room.

concludes that “much of what seems natural to us—privatization, inequalities, an obsession with wealth”—has emerged from the last three decades, and that public squalor is once again “the other face of private affluence.”

The social-democratic climate that Judt thought so promising was remarkable, he said, for three features: how unprecedented it was, how quickly it came to seem plain common sense, and how abruptly it vanished from sight around 1980. The Vietnam War was over but its repercussions played out in politics. The conservative movement once embodied in Barry Goldwater found its new hero in Ronald Reagan and launched a campaign to bring back radical laissez-faire, when there

and succeeded brilliantly. Freedom in America would come to mean the freedom of the rich to buy the government they wanted and to write the rules to their advantage, even if it meant leaving millions of Americans behind. Advocates of “limited government” in rhetoric only, they were never really opposed to government, only to one that wouldn’t tolerate their social Darwinism.

See for yourself. Read the literature. Start with *A Time for Truth*, the call to arms by Richard Nixon’s treasury secretary, William Simon, the Wall Street wheeler-dealer. He argued that “funds generated by business” would have to “rush by multimillions” into right-wing causes in order to uproot the

A “bitter pill” was the least of it. This was class war ordered from the top down. Instead of creating a level playing field, government would become the agent of the powerful and privileged. Public institutions, laws and regulation, as well as the ideas, norms, and beliefs which aimed to protect the common good and helped to create America’s iconic middle class, would now be greatly weakened and increasingly vulnerable to attack. The Nobel Laureate economist Robert Solow succinctly summed up the movement’s agenda: “The redistribution of wealth in favor of the wealthy and of power in favor of the powerful.”

But this was not what America was meant to be. America was not intended to be

a country where the winner takes all. Our system of checks and balances—read *The Federalist Papers*—was meant to keep an equilibrium in how power works and for whom. The aristocrat De Tocqueville came here from France in the 1830s and marveled at the egalitarian spirit he found in the new country. As the economist Jeffrey Madrick reminds us, equitable access to public resources was the lifeblood of democracy. Americans made primary schooling free to all because, as Isabel Sawhill and Sara McLanahn write in *The Future of Children*, the American ideal of a classless society was “one in which all children have a roughly equal chance of success regardless of the economic status of the family into which they were born.” Debtors, especially the relative poor, were protected by state law against rich creditors. Government encouraged Americans to own their own piece of land, and even supported squatters’ rights. By the time I was a teenager, equal access to opportunity began to materialize for millions and upward mobility after World War II, aided and abetted by such government programs as the GI Bill, created the world’s largest and most envied middle class. Incomes of the bottom 80 percent grew faster than the incomes of the top 1 percent and those at the bottom grew most rapidly of all. This, at a time when the super-rich were taxed at a rate of 91 percent. America was indeed becoming a shared project. Only four decades ago Robert Lampman, a key architect of anti-poverty programs, could argue that “the recent history of Western nations reveals an increasingly widespread adoption of the idea that substantial equality of social and economic conditions among individuals is a good thing.”

Then the financial class revolted. No one’s been more

candid about it than the multi-billionaire investor Warren Buffett: “There’s class warfare, all right, but it’s my class, the rich class, that’s making war, and we’re winning.”

John Gardner saw it coming. He foresaw what would happen to America’s egalitarian spirit if the excesses of money in politics were not curbed.

He would nod knowingly but sadly today at the report that “thirty zip-codes in America have become fabulously wealthy while whole urban and rural communities are languishing in unemployment, crumbling infrastructure, growing insecurity and fear.”

He would wince at reading *The Economist*, on the eve of President George W. Bush’s second inauguration—well before the great collapse four years later—warning that the United States “risks calcifying into a European-style, class-based society.”

He would be appalled by the political power exerted by a handful of financial titans not only to avoid the penalties that the “free market” would have inflicted on them for their role in helping to wreck the economy, but to emerge, with taxpayer bailouts, to reap huge profits while 29 million unemployed and underemployed people struggle to make ends meet.

He would be sympathetic to the everyday people who turn out for Tea Party rallies to protest our failing institutions. Our institutions, after all, are failing, and why not oppose government if our political class has been bought off by the rich? I’ll wager, however, that he would regard the movement itself as a Trojan horse for its secret bankrollers.

And he would be shocked by the activist reactionary majority on the Supreme Court that has opened the floodgates for oligarchs and plutocrats to secretly

buy our elections and consolidate their hold on the corporate state. One of the greatest of our Supreme Court justices, Louis Brandeis, warned that “you can have wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, or democracy, but you cannot have both.” The pro-corporate Roberts majority looked at both options and declared, “OK. We’ll take the former.”

The founder of Common Cause was a prophet in seeing money as the dagger directed at the heart of democracy. Like his fellow Republican Teddy Roosevelt, he opposed the “naked robbery” of the public’s trust. A century ago, in one of the most powerful speeches in American political history, Roosevelt said: “It is not a partisan issue; it is more than a political issue; it is a great moral issue. If we condone political theft, if we do not resent the kinds of wrong and injustice that injuriously affect the whole nation, not merely our democratic form of government but our civilization itself cannot endure.”

Democracy in America has been a series of narrow escapes, and we may be running out of luck. The most widely shared assumption of our journey as Americans has been the idea of progress, the belief that the present is “better” than the past and things will keep getting better in the future. No matter what befalls us—we keep telling ourselves—“the system works.”

All bets are now off. The great American experiment in creating a different future together has come down to the worship of individual cunning in the pursuit of wealth and power, with both political parties cravenly subservient to Big Money. The result is an economy that no longer serves ordinary men and woman and their families. This, I believe, accounts for so

much of the profound sense of betrayal in the country, for the despair about the future. As Gabriel says in James Weldon Johnson’s epic *Green Pastures*, “Everything that’s tied down is coming loose.” America as a shared project is shattered, leaving us increasingly isolated in our separate realities.

John Gardner would understand this dark reading of our gross national psychology. The workings of the human psyche were his field of study. But the Marine Corps, remember, was his finishing school, and *Semper Fidelis* his personal code. So I will close with his own words, as relevant today as ever:

We are treading the edge of a precipice here...There is a disconnection between the people and their leaders. Citizens do not trust their government. And a variety of polls indicate that this mistrust extends to corporations and the media. People do not feel they have must control of their lives, and the sense of impotence grows like a great life-endangering tumor. Civilizations die of disenchantment. If enough people doubt their society, the whole venture falls apart. We must never let anger, fashionable cynicism, or political partisanship blur our vision of this point.

We must not despair of the Republic.

There, fellow celebrants, is the call. The only way to defeat organized money is with organized people. Now it’s your turn. ■

Bill Moyers is one of America’s most celebrated journalists. He also served as President Lyndon Johnson’s Press Secretary, authored numerous books, and produced and edited some of the most notable series on PBS, including Bill Moyers’ Journal. He has received over 30 Emmy awards.

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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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Letter of Gift

Andrew Carnegie signs away his wealth

In November 1911, with more than 150 million dollars left, the aging philanthropist established Carnegie Corporation of New York to distribute his remaining fortune during and after his lifetime. This original letter, signed by Carnegie, explains his intentions and expresses his faith in the trustees.

To the Trustees of
The Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Settlement.

I hereby assign and transfer Twenty
percent, fifty per cent of the United
States of which is to be held and the
purpose of the Corporation, as
the advancement and diffusion of knowl-
edge of the United States by aiding teach-
ing, libraries, scientific research,
such other agencies and means as
I direct.

My desire is that the work
of this work, shall continue un-
der the same conditions upon the earth
forever to certain
intention of doing so. On
change policy or course his
opinion, has become neces-
sary by using their own

I direct that out of
per year for his services

-2-
My chief happiness as I write these lines lies in the fact that even
after I pass away the wealth that came to me is administered as a sacred trust
for the good of my fellowmen in its continuous benefit humanity for genera-
tions untold, under your devoted and sympathetic guidance and that of your
successors, who cannot fail to be able and good men.

My dear dear friends
I thank you for me and
all. God bless you
Ever your devoted
Andrew Carnegie