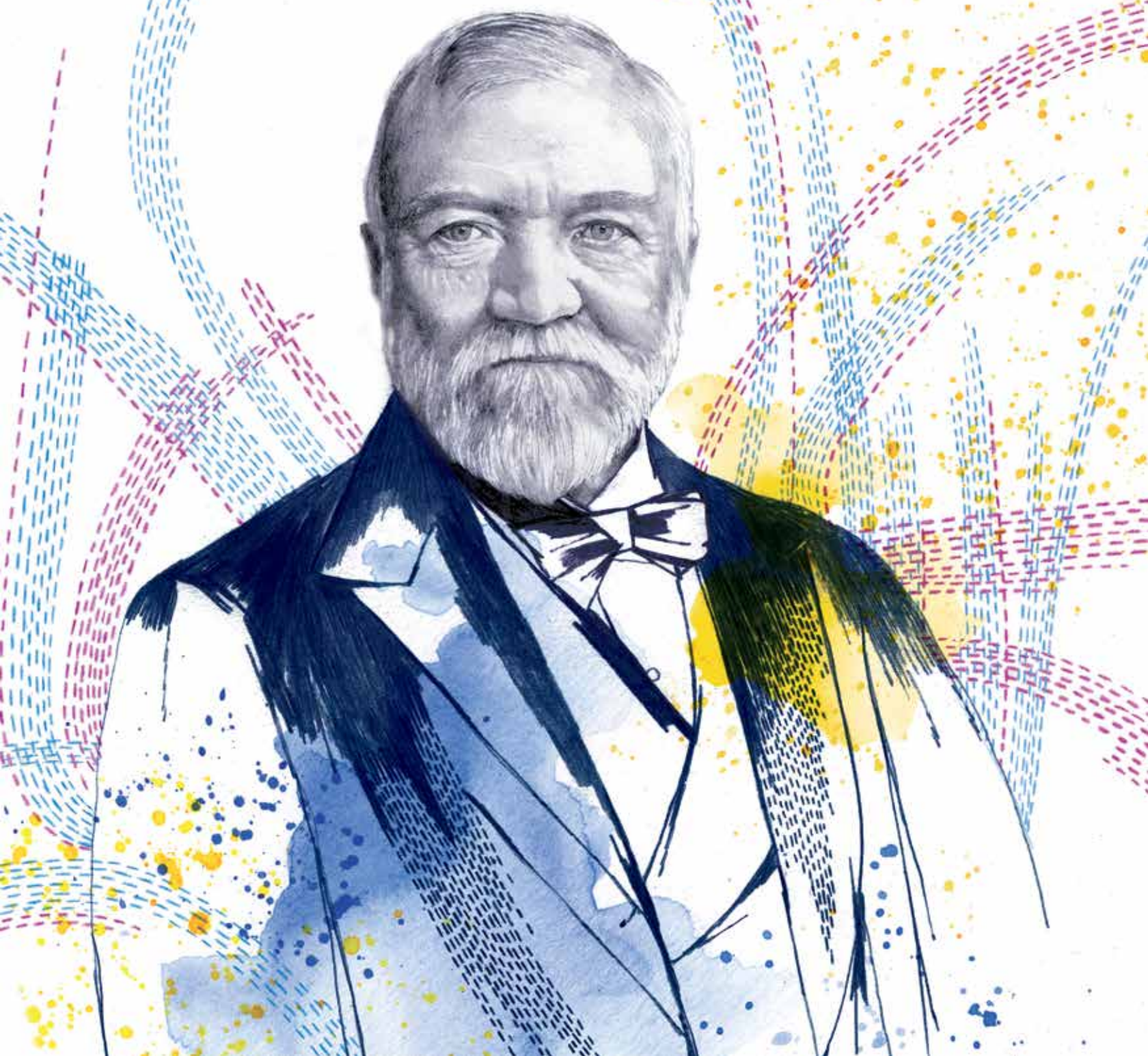


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CARNEGIE REPORTER



WELCOME TO THE CARNEGIE REPORTER

Creating a World of Possibilities

I must confess, I have never loved the word “philanthropy.” It has always felt inaccessible and distant. But enter through the door of philanthropy, as I have done recently, and you step into a fascinating landscape where the meaning of the word — *love of humanity* — takes on the sinews and frame of powerful ideas. Philanthropy is where unexpected opportunity meets passionate vision. It is a world of possibilities.

Welcome to the special “Philanthropy” issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, where we probe some of the complexities of American giving and look under the hood — as our editor Ken Benson puts it — at “how the good stuff happens.”

America is a nation of givers. Vartan Gregorian points out in his observations on philanthropy that of the \$390 billion donated by Americans in 2016, nearly 75 percent of those charitable contributions came from private individuals, not from corporations or foundations. While statistics are hard to come by, most people, when asked what they would do with sudden riches, say they would give some of their newfound wealth away.

But in truth, as Andrew Carnegie himself once observed, it is exceptionally difficult to give large sums of money away efficiently — and wisely. In these pages we delve into current thinking on big philanthropy in “Is Money Overrated?”; we look at how the field maintains standards of transparency in “Shining a Light”; and we examine how tech-savvy millennials are bringing about a paradigm shift in the world of giving in “Slacktivism to Activists.” We also take a look at how it is possible for Carnegie Corporation today to grant annually more than the total amount of Andrew Carnegie’s original \$135 million endowment. Hint: bold investing.

And we unravel the sometimes unexpected results of long-term philanthropic initiatives. In “War Games,” Carnegie media fellow Scott Malcomson does in-depth reporting on the Cold War-era VelHam Project, a small-scale initiative supported by Carnegie Corporation, which used innovative technology, including computer gaming, to enable regular communication between American and Soviet children. In fact, VelHam would end up playing a crucial role in nurturing connections between East and West that dramatically helped reduce threats — nuclear, chemical, biological — posed by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Focusing on a vital present-day issue, media fellow Gail Ablow travels to Boise, Idaho, to check in on local police efforts at weaving new immigrants and refugees into the fabric of their very American town — thereby not only welcoming but *making* new Americans.

Finally, we celebrate nine remarkable men and women who were honored by the Carnegie family of institutions this past October with the 2017 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy. Each of these individuals started out as a seemingly ordinary citizen, but their extraordinary achievements in the private sector would bring them great wealth. And what path did they then choose? They chose the path — through exceptional acts of giving — of the love of humanity. Each of them is a true #GivingHero. They inspire us all.

Warm wishes for a new year in which we will all keep learning the true meaning of philanthropy. May it be a year when much more good stuff happens.

Julia Weede

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

**Chief Communications &
Digital Strategies Officer**

Julia Weede

**Executive Director of Communications
and Content Strategy**

Robert Nolan

Editor/Writer

Kenneth Benson

Principal Designer

Daniel Kitae Um

Researcher

Ronald Sexton

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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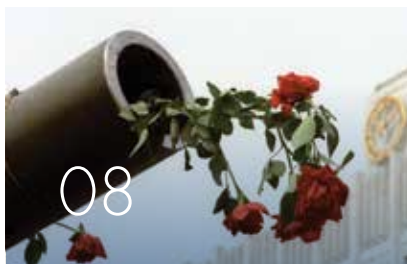
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On the Cover

An original portrait of the Scottish-American industrialist and philanthropist **Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919)** by Spanish illustrator Montse Bernal. For more of Bernal's work in this issue, see "Visionaries" (Center Point, pp. 64–81).

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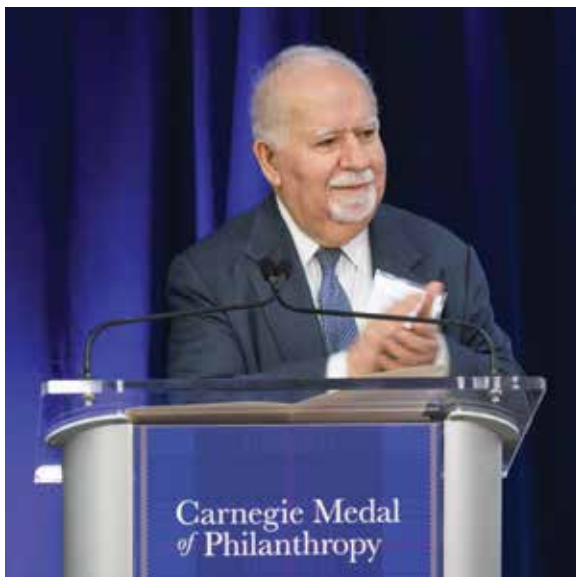
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FROM THE **PRESIDENT**

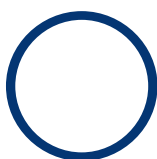


"The Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy provides an opportunity to celebrate Carnegie's own rich philanthropic legacy, as well as his philosophy of giving, outlined in his most celebrated treatise, *The Gospel of Wealth*."

— **Vartan Gregorian**, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York



Philanthropy in America: A Long Tradition of Giving



On October 3, 2017, members of the family of Carnegie institutions from Europe, the United Kingdom, and the United States gathered to honor nine remarkable individuals who have followed in the footsteps of our institutions' founder, Andrew Carnegie. These extraordinary philanthropists, who collectively have donated several billion dollars to a broad swath of worthy causes, received the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy in a biennial celebration at The New York Public Library. It was the ninth such ceremony the Carnegie institutions have hosted since 2001.

The Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy provides an opportunity to celebrate Carnegie's own rich philanthropic legacy, as well as his philosophy of giving, outlined in his most celebrated treatise, *The Gospel of Wealth*. Even though it was published in 1889, more than a century later this essay still serves to remind the world of the importance and prevalence of philanthropy in all our lives. Today, the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy promotes that same goal.

In the 1830s, decades before Carnegie penned *The Gospel of Wealth*, the French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville coined the concept of American "exceptionalism" in his classic *Democracy in America*, in which he marveled that Americans "willingly sacrifice a portion of their time and property" to improve the welfare of their fellow citizens. Since that time, American philanthropy has witnessed many extraordinary acts of generosity. During World War I, for example, humanity witnessed one of the greatest philanthropic acts in history: Americans raised more than \$100 million to support Near East Relief in its efforts to save hundreds of thousands of orphans, many of whom lost their families during the Armenian Genocide. The monumental endeavor was hardly an incidental event, however. Rather, it demonstrated the roots, range, and depth of American giving.

Today, this generosity of spirit continues. In 2016 alone, Americans donated some \$390 billion to charitable causes, nearly three quarters of which came not from foundations or corporations, but from individuals hailing from all

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Giving is, in short, part of America's character, culture, and economy. It is an engine for ingenuity in the United States, and it is part of our nation's social contract.

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walks of life. In addition, the United States also regularly ranks at or near the top of the World Giving Index. These numbers do not take into account the nearly 7.8 billion volunteer hours Americans donate to educational, health, religious, cultural, environmental, and other causes, comprising an array of institutions and ideological views.

It is difficult to find a library, hospital, or school that has not benefitted from philanthropy. These institutions make up America's flourishing and diverse independent sector, and this diversity is part of what makes our nation so strong. Neither government nor philanthropy can sustain our nation's nonprofit institutions alone — they must work together to help keep our democracy dynamic and thriving.

The prevalence of partnerships between the public and private sectors is unique to the United States. Unlike many other countries, we do not, for example, have a single federal science ministry or a Department of Culture. Rather, we have a broad array of higher education institutions that are the envy of the world; a range of outstanding orchestras, museums, and theaters; and thousands of social service agencies that provide vital programs to the underprivileged and underserved. It is the generosity of American citizens from all backgrounds that makes the contributions of these institutions possible.

The importance and breadth of public-private partnerships in the United States is perhaps best reflected in our nation's K–12 education system. It is governed by a

patchwork of local, state, and federal bodies, and features an array of schooling options: traditional public schools, charter schools, and private and parochial schools. This system is supported by a broad range of nonprofit education organizations focused on both direct services and reform. Philanthropy, in turn, supports a great number of these institutions' work. In this way, the philanthropic sector promotes necessary research and innovation for education reform.

Indeed, in partnering with nonprofit agencies, foundations serve as laboratories supporting experimentation for the nation. As the ninth president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, John Gardner, put it, the independent sector is one “in which we are allowed to pursue truth, even if we are going in the wrong direction; allowed to experiment, even if we are bound to fail; to map unknown territory, even if we get lost.”

Of course, the nonprofit world could not exist without favorable public policy, including charitable tax deductions. When Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller originated the concept of “scientific philanthropy” more than a century ago, there were no tax incentives to motivate their generosity. But since their inception, charitable tax deductions have served as a strong driver of giving and a vital source of revenue for much of the independent sector. However, there are those who argue that we should do away with such deductions and that the funds that would otherwise flow to foundations and charitable organizations instead go toward expanding the tax base. Yet removing or reducing the deduction would encourage wealthy individuals to spend more on their families, properties, and idiosyncrasies than on worthy causes. Besides, it is clear that government alone could not support the great array of services the independent sector provides, nor could it maintain the field's richness and diversity. An independent sector as vibrant as ours can only be sustained by an equally vibrant philanthropic sector. Indeed, philanthropy is the backbone of America's nonprofit field, which is comprised of some 1.5 million organizations that account for 10 percent of all private sector employment nationwide.

Giving is, in short, part of America's character, culture, and economy. It is an engine for ingenuity in the United States, and it is part of our nation's social contract.

My colleagues and friends from abroad are awed by American philanthropy. They often ask me what makes Americans so generous. I give them two answers. For one, more than 75 percent of the population identifies as religious, and every Abrahamic faith, whether Judaism, Christianity, or Islam, demands that the faithful be charitable, that they support the poor, the sick, and the disadvantaged. This is reflected in the fact that today more than 30 percent of giving goes to religious organizations and causes. But religion is not, of course, the only motivating



All Hands on Deck! Carnegie Corporation of New York staff — as well as a very tall, very special, and very yellow guest at upper right — gathered together for a group portrait on October 3, 2017, in The New York Public Library's Celeste Bartos Forum, moments before doors opened for the 2017 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy luncheon and ceremony. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK

factor for generosity. Enlightenment ideals — humanism and democratic principles — are also common driving forces, as are social obligations to one's community, one's nation, and humanity at large.

We often fixate on givers' motivations, but for me what counts most is the act and impact of giving. In our age of cynicism, I am often reminded of Machiavelli, who scandalized many of his contemporaries with his famous political treatise *The Prince*. In it, the Prince is only interested in the maintenance of law and order and the stability of the realm, not in his subjects' motivations for obeying the law. He also holds that leaders should be judged above all by their actions, not their beliefs. This remains true today. Whether givers are driven by guilt, redemption, patriotism, religion, self-glory, hypocrisy — all of this is secondary. The fundamental concern is that no one is obligated to give, but so many do. While we cannot always know a philanthropist's true motivations, we can always measure the outcomes of their giving.

Of course, the giving industry should welcome such questions and scrutiny because, as in every other sector, philanthropy is not immune to excesses and malfeasance. For example, in some instances, donors dive into addressing very complex problems, such as education, the environment, or poverty reduction, with very little expertise in the field and without seeking expert assistance. They also

sometimes attach so many conditions to their gifts that they distract or distort an institution and its mission. This is common in the research field, where donors sometimes provide support on the condition that the research produces a predetermined outcome. Finally, some fear that philanthropists and foundations lack accountability to the public, acting, in effect, as unelected officials supervised only by state attorneys general.

In the face of potential abuses, it is fundamental that the philanthropic sector heed three core principles: transparency, accountability, and responsibility.

Carnegie Corporation of New York — one of the oldest foundations in the United States and the first to publish an annual report — has always ascribed to these values. Indeed, more than 60 years ago, the Corporation's board chairman, Russell Leffingwell, coined the term "glass pockets" at a congressional hearing. Later John Gardner expanded on the policy, saying, "A foundation should practice full disclosure. The larger it is, the more energetically it should disseminate full information on its activities." The Corporation has long understood, as Carnegie did, that the public has granted us the right to exist, and we therefore owe it to the public to be as accountable and open as possible regarding our activities and funding decisions.

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In the face of potential abuses, it is fundamental that the philanthropic sector heed three core principles: transparency, accountability, and responsibility.

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Fortunately, we have a healthy free press that can take to task those who misuse their powers, as well as strong democratic institutions to prevent abuses of trust. As president, Thomas Jefferson famously despised newspapers, but he nonetheless allowed that “the only security of all is in a free press.” (If he were alive today, I believe he would say the only security of all is in a free and *well-informed* press.)

For those who would criticize philanthropy and philanthropists, I caution that it is always easier to fall into disillusionment and cynicism. It is more difficult — and, indeed, more courageous — to stand up for and live by one’s ideals. Like the hundreds of thousands of other men

and women who donate their time, talents, or personal funds to worthy causes, the more than 50 recipients of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy understand this. They are exemplars of the act and art of giving, demonstrating that generosity is an act of human solidarity. They come from different backgrounds and support different fields, but they all know, as Andrew Carnegie knew, that one’s legacy is not measured by wealth, but by the good one has done for the world. They are, in my opinion, all driven by a common goal: to serve humanity and to make their communities and the world safer and more just for all. ■

Vartan Gregorian

President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

**Resolutions Passed by The Church Peace Union, Founded by
Andrew Carnegie, at its First Meeting, February 10th, 1914**



RESOLVED, that we, the members of The Church Peace Union, and of one or other of the following religious bodies: Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Congregational, Presbyterian, Disciples of Christ, Unitarian, Jewish, Universalist, and Friends, as our first duty appeal to the Rulers, Statesmen and people of all civilized lands to give their immediate, earnest and prayerful attention to the lamentable facts here presented, hoping they will realize it as their first duty to provide the remedy which seems open before them through a union of several powers pledged to co-operate in abolishing savage war and establishing the reign of peace through arbitration of international disputes; that as citizens must appeal to the tribunals of the law to redress their wrongs, so shall nations.

Here, as it appears to us, lie the two outstanding evils of our day, entailing grave responsibilities upon all religious men from Emperor to workman, that the crime of men killing each other may soon be banished from the face of the earth.

FIRST: The combined debt of the world, mostly borrowed and used for war purposes, amounts to nearly \$37,000,000,000. The interest charge of the world on its national bonded debt amounts to \$1,500,000,000. The amount expended yearly on standing armies and battleships is \$3,500,000,000. If the entire property of United States were to be sold, and the returns capitalized and put at interest at four per cent., it would just about keep up the military and naval forces of the world in time of peace. Our own country, the United States, spends on Army and Navy \$800,000 per day.

The so-called civilized world maintains, chiefly in idle parade, usually all their lives, no less than 6,244,600 men, armed and pledged to go forth and kill their fellowmen as ordered should war arise. Most of these, however, never fire a hostile shot, war being the exception, long years of idleness the rule. Even in war, with men firing at battleships twelve miles distant, with troops under cover firing at troops a mile distant—war is no longer conducive to the heroic.

SECOND: The second sad and distressful crime of our day is that in war we are still capturing private property upon the high seas, although it is exempt from confiscation in war upon the land. This is the greater sin, for the seas are the highways of peaceful and necessary exchange of products; no nation has been created to live by its own products alone, but by peaceful, neighborly exchange with other nations, thus creating a brotherhood of man, each benefitting the other. Little do the masses know the extent of this amazing friendly exchange. Last year Britain imported food products to the value of \$1,403,000,000, her total imports being \$3,723,203,000. Germany imported food products to the value of \$375,000,000, the total value of her imports being \$2,530,000,000. France imported food products to the value of \$340,000,000, her total imports being \$1,960,000,000. Even our country, the United States, imported food products to the extent of \$355,000,000, total imports \$1,650,000,000. The world's annual exchange of its products amounts to the almost incredible sum of thirty-three billions, five hundred millions of dollars.

We pause to ask this question of the governors of these armed naval powers: Why should this beneficent exchange of products between nations, so vast as to require eleven figures to express, and drawing men towards a holy brotherhood, be interrupted by them against the seemingly obvious plans of an all-wise Creator? Appalling, indeed, the responsibility of rulers, who have the power to remove this embargo upon peaceful, holy exchange amongst men who should be as brothers, promoting each other's good.

There is another aspect worthy of attention: the three Teutonic nations, Germany, the Fatherland; Britain, the Motherland; and the United States, peopled largely with their sons and daughters, all as we have seen, deeply involved in international exchange of products, naturally possess for its protection the greatest part of the naval power of the world; why, therefore, should they not meet and agree to inform the world in friendly manner that they could not look with favor upon war on the high seas, the sacred pathway of peaceful exchange, promoting the brotherhood of man.

Signatures:

PETER AINSLIE	WILLIAM I. HULL	JOHN R. MOTT
ARTHUR J. BROWN	CHARLES E. JEFFERSON	GEORGE A. PLIMPTON
FRANCIS E. CLARK	JENKIN LLOYD JONES	JUNIUS B. REMENSNYDER
W. H. P. FAUNCE	WILLIAM LAWRENCE	HENRY WADE ROGERS
J. CARD. GIBBONS	FREDERICK LYNCH	ROBERT E. SPEER
DAVID H. GREER	CHARLES S. MACFARLAND	FRANCIS LYNDE STETSON
FRANK O. HALL	MARCUS M. MARKS	JAMES J. WALSH
E. R. HENDRIX	SHAILER MATHEWS	L. B. WILSON
EMIL G. HIRSCH	EDWIN D. MEAD	
HAMILTON HOLT	WILLIAM PIERSON MERRILL	

RESOLVED: That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be sent to each Sovereign, President, Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Relations, President of Legislature, and other high official of the World Powers, and to the clergy of Germany, Great Britain and the United States.

His Excellency Frank B. Rowland with regard to

Andrew Carnegie

Peace in Our Time One afternoon in 1912, Andrew Carnegie's friend Frederick Lynch said to him, "It is too bad that the churches cannot have some funds for peace work. They could really do more than any other institutions in existence." For some time Carnegie had been thinking he would like to do something on a "big scale" for international peace — and Lynch's remark was the spark. With a \$2 million grant from the philanthropist, the Church Peace Union was born. On February 10, 1914, the new peace society met for the first time, proposing two resolutions to be sent to "each Sovereign, President, Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Relations, President of Legislature, and other high official of the World Powers, and to the clergy of Germany, Great Britain and the United States." The Church Peace Union continues its important work, and today it is known as the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs.

This is an original printing of the Church Peace Union's inaugural resolutions, signed by Andrew Carnegie himself. This rare copy was presented to Vartan Gregorian as a personal gift by Thomas H. Kean, chair of the board of trustees of Carnegie Corporation of New York, at a private dinner at New York's Lotos Club, on September 6, 2017, in recognition and appreciation of Gregorian's 20 years of distinguished service as president of the Corporation.





WAR GAMES

By **Scott Malcomson**

New Age optimists, pixel-eyed utopians, Soviet Internet insurgents, and arms-control wonks on both sides once saved the world. Could they do it again?

Guns and Roses On August 19, 1991, tanks rolled through the streets of Moscow toward the Russian White House, where Boris Yeltsin gathered his supporters, some of whom offered hot coffee to the Soviet soldiers while others adorned the military hardware with flowers. The *Avgustovsky Putsch* — the August Coup — quickly fizzled. PHOTO: SOVFOTO/ UIG VIA GETTY IMAGES

The amazing story of the **VelHam Project** showcases the power of people-to-people diplomacy, the collaborative nature of scientific and technological discovery, and the ability of the imagination to overcome threats to humankind.

The adults needed to talk but couldn't so they turned to the children, and eventually it worked.

It was the early 1980s and the Soviet Union seemed to be in terminal economic decline — thanks to heavy defense spending, a weakening agriculture sector, and chronic dependence on oil revenues. At the same time, the United States was in the midst of an arms buildup that commenced soon after Ronald Reagan began his presidency in January 1981. In March 1983, as U.S. growth resumed following a severe 18-month recession, President Reagan announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) — Star Wars to its critics — a defensive shield intended to make the U.S. invulnerable to attack.

A few weeks earlier, in a speech filled with biblical references, Reagan had asked his listeners to consider the Soviet Union and “pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness — pray they will discover the joy of knowing God.”

Reagan's elevation of the Cold War into a sacred conflict “between right and wrong and good and evil” was part of his broader attempt to pull America out of what many saw as a post-1960s decline into secularist pessimism; the first half of the speech had focused on drugs and abortion. Taken together, Reagan's “Evil Empire” speech and the Star Wars defense initiative turned the two countries' decades-old ideological conflict into a fight to the finish. With the proud Soviet Union wounded and reeling, it was not an environment conducive to the reasonable exchange of views.

Yet there were people on both sides, official and unofficial, who wanted to change the relationship. At that time Carnegie Corporation of New York enjoyed a long track record of working in education and international development, but had somewhat less experience in conflict resolution and geopolitics. In 1982 the Corporation's new president, David Hamburg, decided to direct the organization toward a major change in focus: avoiding nuclear war. The key idea was to strengthen channels of communication between the two hostile superpowers, with the hope that greater communication would lead to less risk of nuclear confrontation.

One of Hamburg's new initiatives is of particular note. The so-called “VelHam Project,” which aimed to use innovative technology to enable regular communication between American and Soviet children, played a surprisingly important role in bringing the Soviet Union into the (very) young Internet Age. Most significantly, the project nurtured connections that, when the Soviet Union dissolved in late 1991, helped to reduce dramatically the nuclear, chemical, and biological threats posed by a militarized superpower in a state of collapse.

What began among children became very, very adult.



Reagan's “Star Wars” Confronts the “Evil Empire”

The U.S. Army's High Endoatmospheric Defense Interceptor (HEDI) — a key element of the Strategic Defense Initiative (popularly known as “Star Wars”) — could in theory defend the United States from a submarine-launched ballistic missile attack.

PHOTO: TIME LIFE PICTURES/DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (DOD)/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES



DRAMATIS PERSONAE

BLUE = AMERICAN

RED = RUSSIAN

Polina Antonova Moscow-based programmer and part of the RELCOM team

Deana Arsenian Program officer at Carnegie Corporation of New York (currently VP, International Program, Carnegie Corporation)

Spartak Belyaev Theoretical physicist at the Kurchatov Institute (and husband of Sasha Belyaeva)

Alexandra (Sasha) Belyaeva Psycholinguist at the Soviet Academy of Sciences (and wife of Spartak Belyaev)

Leonid Brezhnev Statesman, Communist Party official, and leader of the Soviet Union (1964–82)

Igor Charkovsky Birthing theorist and dolphin communicator

Michael Cole Communication and psychology professor at UC San Diego and central figure in VelHam Project

Henry S. Dakin Philanthropist who supported a wide range of activist causes and initiatives, including Esalen's Soviet-American Exchange Program and the San Francisco/Moscow Teleport

Werner Erhard Author, lecturer, and founder of est (Erhard Seminars Training)

Joseph Goldin Mystic, impresario, and a "Soviet figure unlike any other"

Mikhail Gorbachev General secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1985–91), president of the Soviet Union (1990–91), and advocate of the policy of *glasnost* ("openness")

David Hamburg President of Carnegie Corporation of New York (1982–97)

Vladimir Kryuchkov Chairman of the KGB and leader of 1991 August Coup

Alexander Luria Neuropsychologist and developmental psychologist

Fritz Mosher Program officer and policy analyst at Carnegie Corporation of New York and head of its Avoiding Nuclear War Program

Michael Murphy Cofounder of the Esalen Institute and key figure in the human potential movement

William J. Perry Academic, entrepreneur, diplomat, and U.S. Secretary of Defense in the Clinton Administration (1994–97)

Vladimir Pozner Russian-American journalist and broadcaster

Frank Press Geophysicist and president of the National Academy of Sciences

Laurance Rockefeller Businessman and philanthropist

Joel Schatz Former U.S. Army intelligence analyst and "lifestyle entrepreneur"

Alexei Soldatov Nuclear physicist

Andrei Soldatov Journalist and author of *The Red Web* (and son of Alexei Soldatov and Galya Soldatova)

Galya Soldatova Scientist (and wife of Alexei Soldatov)

Vladimir Teremetsky Engineer at VNIIPAS (All Union Scientific Research Institute for Applied Computerized Systems)

Evgeny Pavlovich Velikhov Plasma physicist, president of the Kurchatov Institute, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and a figure crucial in fostering dialogue between Soviet scientists and their counterparts in the West, including through the VelHam Project

Lev Vygotsky Influential psychologist and founder of cultural-historical psychology

Steve Wozniak ("The Woz") Personal computer pioneer, cofounder of Apple Inc., and philanthropist

Boris Yeltsin President of Russia (1991–99)

This early post-Soviet period of cooperation was all too brief. Today, the United States and Russia again talk of using nuclear weapons and creating defensive shields. A veteran American policymaker writes of a “back-to-the-’80s” foreign policy while a Russian counterpart describes the two nations as in a chronic state of “pre-war.” The path toward cooperation in the 1980s was neither easy nor obvious, but the two sides found a way. How they did so provides lessons for today.

“You scratch a Russian, and you find a mystic.”

In the 1980s there were some unusual byways in U.S.-Soviet relations. On the Soviet side, one important, somewhat unlikely player was a plasma physicist named Evgeny Pavlovich Velikhov. The son of a prominent engineer, Velikhov had risen to be vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the main administrative body for Soviet scientific research. He also headed the Kurchatov Institute, a powerful research body charged with developing the Soviet nuclear program and other scientific endeavors such as nanotechnology. As head of the institute, Velikhov answered directly to the highest levels of the Soviet government.

Velikhov was about as far inside the Soviet military-industrial complex as it was possible to be. Yet he was also an optimist with a deep interest in how human consciousness can change over time. His period as a power player in Soviet science was one of chaos, the implosion of a superpower. But Velikhov saw the disruption as an opportunity for positive change. He did scholarly research on consciousness and sponsored an ongoing salon devoted to the subject. This brought him to what was called the human potential movement.

While rooted in the work of psychologist Abraham Maslow, dating from the 1940s, the human potential movement was very much a product of the American 1960s counterculture. Its initial home was the Esalen Institute, founded in 1962 by Michael Murphy and headquartered at Big Sur, California, in a compound featuring spartan rooms, clothing-optional hot tubs, and views of the sea. The movement’s guiding belief that humans use only a small portion of their inner potential — and that there are ways of bringing the rest out — led to the (softer) self-actualization techniques embraced by the so-called New Age and the (harder) self-confrontational training regimen of est (Erhard Seminars Training), invented by Werner Erhard. A car salesman who had abandoned both family and birth name and split for California, “Werner Erhard” cobbled together his new name from a 1959 *Esquire* article that discussed the atomic scientist Werner Heisenberg and the German postwar economics minister Ludwig Erhard.

This was hardly the religion Reagan had in mind when he spoke of the struggle between good and evil. But the human potential movement’s belief that society had stagnated, weighed down by bureaucratic habit, tired thinking, and private despair, found many adherents — and not only in the West. Within certain educated circles in Moscow — living through the Great Stagnation (as it came to be known) under the rule of Leonid Brezhnev — the human potential movement had an obvious appeal.

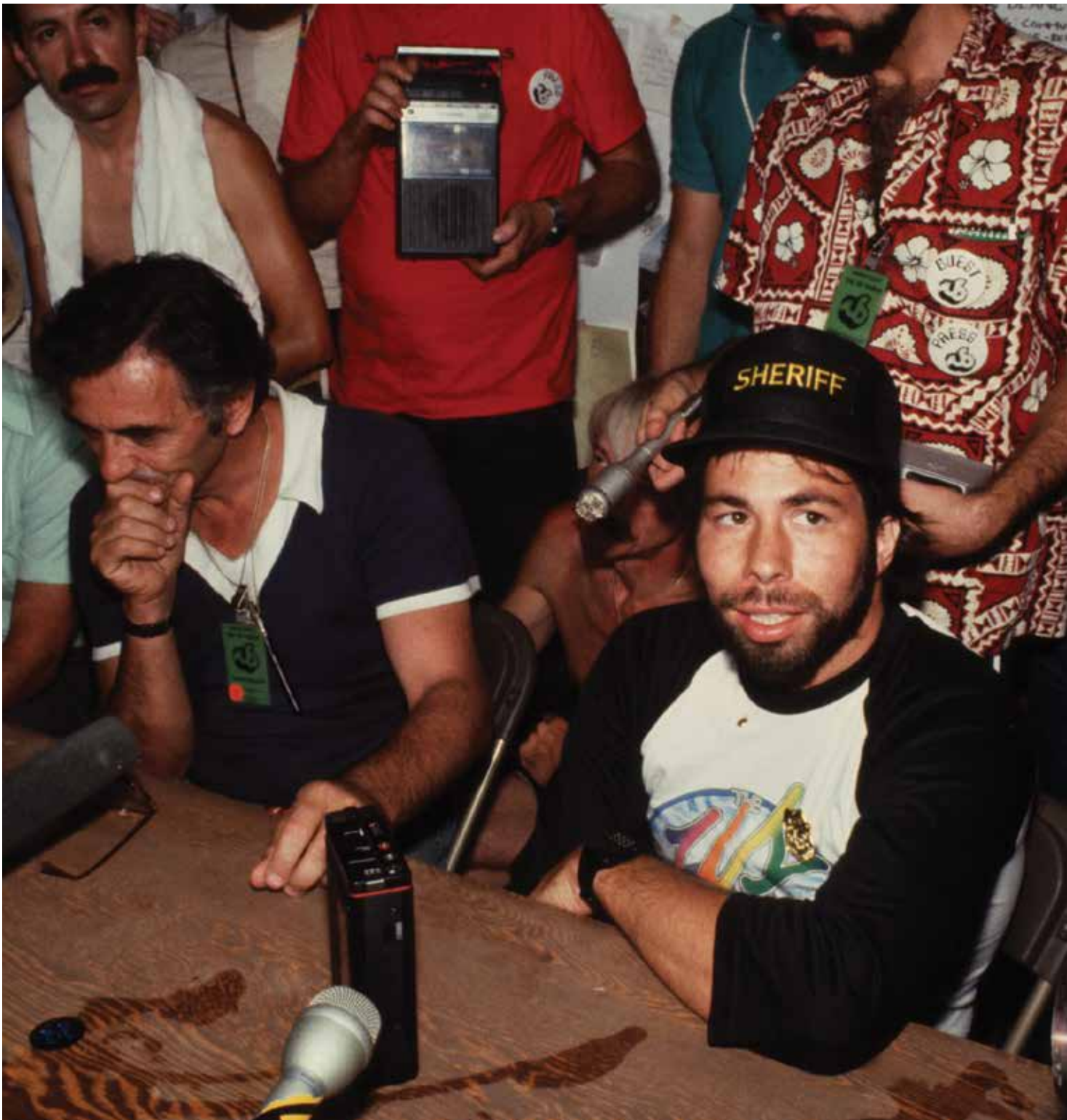
In general, the human potential movement was geopolitically agnostic. The exception was U.S.-Soviet relations, which it framed in terms of a failure to communicate and a psychosocial need to create enemies. Esalen’s Michael Murphy, who had worked at telepathic communication with a well-known Russian psychic, traveled in bodily form to the Soviet Union in 1971, intrigued by what earlier American New Age visitors had described as a “race for inner space.” As Murphy sometimes said, “You scratch a Russian, and you find a mystic.”

When the U.S. boycotted the 1980 Olympics in Moscow to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Esalen responded with the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program, initially financed by Laurance Rockefeller. *Newsweek* reported positively on Esalen’s “hot tub diplomacy” in January 1983. By the next year, Michael Murphy had rented a Moscow apartment and Werner Erhard was being shepherded around that city by an ambitious Russian-American TV journalist named Vladimir Pozner.

From Techno-Utopian Rock ‘n’ Roll Bliss to Geopolitics: Spacebridges I & II

Esalen’s main public U.S.-Soviet project was called “spacebridges.” The first spacebridge was organized by New Age-y mystic Joseph Goldin, a Soviet figure unlike any other (he would eventually join Esalen’s board of trustees). Adam Hochschild described him in a 1986 profile for *Mother Jones*:

He wears nondescript corduroy pants, a skull-fitting black wool cap, and a thick blue denim work shirt. A thin fringe of beard surrounds his face. In his lapel he wears a tiny silver dolphin-shaped pin — a token of his friendship with Igor Charkovsky, a Moscow theorist who believes in human communication with dolphins and whose followers practice underwater childbirth. And in a country where all professionals have business cards in the same format — last name, first name and patronymic, academic degree, title, address — Joseph has stationery showing a drawing of a man’s head: the lower half is a face gazing at you intently, the top half is a partially completed, many-floored Tower of Babel. Around the edge of this head scrolls the Russian inscription: EXPEDITION TO HIDDEN HUMAN RESERVES.



The Opposite of Woodstock Apple cofounder Steve Wozniak (sporting the “Sheriff” baseball cap) speaks to the press at the first US Festival, which supported the first spacebridge — a live satellite link between 200,000 American festival-goers and 500 or so of their Soviet peers in a Moscow studio at Ostankino, the state TV broadcaster. Financed by Wozniak and produced by legendary rock promoter Bill Graham (seated at Wozniak’s right), the festival ran for three days in early September 1982 and drew 350,000 fans for a celebration of “the technology that is changing the way we communicate through art, business, and popular music.” Tickets cost \$37.50 each. And the line-up? The Ramones, the B-52s, Talking Heads, The Police, Eddie Money, Santana, The Cars, The Kinks, Pat Benatar, Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers, the Grateful Dead, Jimmy Buffett, Jackson Browne, and — closing out the festival — Fleetwood Mac. The Police’s Stewart Copeland reminisces that the band was sold on the idea that the US Festival would be “the opposite of Woodstock. It’s absolutely comfortable, the grass is clean, the sound system is pristine. It’s a really great experience.” The Wozniak/Graham idea? A rock festival doesn’t have to be “misery.” Plus: there’s that live link to the Soviet Union. PHOTO: KASHI/LIAISON



Soviet Geek Academy, 1987 At a popular programming club, software engineer Georgy A. Pachikov offers sixth grader Alexander Gik some hands-on training in computer science. PHOTO: IGOR ZOTIN/TASS

Goldin was friends with Vladimir Pozner and Evgeny Velikhov (who once sprang him from psychiatric confinement) and was entirely at home in the fervid Moscow subculture.

The first spacebridge took place on September 5, 1982, in conjunction with the first US Festival, a massive rock concert held at Glen Helen Regional Park in San Bernardino, California. The festival was financed by Steve Wozniak, who was rethinking his life after a plane crash and had taken a leave from Apple, the company he cofounded with Steve Jobs. Wozniak's UNUSON Foundation (Unite Us in Song) poured \$12.5 million into the festival. It also supported the first spacebridge — a live satellite link between 200,000 American festival-goers and 500 or so of their Soviet peers, led by Joseph Goldin, in a Moscow studio at Ostankino, the state TV broadcaster.

The next spacebridge, at the second US Festival in May 1983, took the conversation from rock 'n' roll to geopolitics. Two one-hour links connected several hundred American and Soviet citizens in real-time video dialogues, a remarkable bridging of cultures connecting a festival tent in San Bernardino with a studio at Gosteleradio in Moscow. Evgeny Velikhov recalled the event in an interview earlier this year at his dacha in Pereslavl, about two hours' drive from Moscow: "At some moment they gave the floor to me and I said that nuclear weapons are not real weapons because they have no real purpose. They are like a cancer. And at this moment all the auditorium on the American side stand up and make applause."

Thirty-five years later Velikhov remembers the moment as a turning point for him, and it is extraordinary to watch. The momentum builds as the Americans begin to clap, then the Russians, then the Americans stand up — with

a beaming Steve Wozniak in the front row — and the Russians stand too. A long account in *Pravda* concluded: “If it was impossible to see the lumps at the throats, that was only the failure of technology which can do almost everything but not everything.... There exist events which are the beginning of new epochs.... One wants to believe in this with all one’s strength.”

Spacebridge III: Think of the Children

For the third spacebridge, Carnegie Corporation of New York got involved.

A key player this time was Michael Cole, a University of California San Diego communication and psychology professor, who also dreamed of a new epoch in U.S.-Soviet relations, though not for New Age reasons. (The dolphin-loving Igor Charkovsky was not for him.) Cole was drawn to the pioneering Soviet psychologists Lev Vygotsky and A. R. Luria — serious scholarly advocates of what would become known as cultural-historical or sociohistorical psychology. Vygotsky’s major insight, as his student and collaborator Luria wrote, was that “the determining factor in the psychological development of the child and in the creation of the complex mechanism of the psyche is the social development of the child.”

In its emphasis on the social structuring of individual psychology, the Vygotsky-Luria Circle represented the virtual opposite of New Age mysticism and hyper-individualism. Cole became a translator and editor of Luria’s writings and, for more than three decades, was editor of the journal *Soviet Psychology*. Cole’s work with Luria and his milieu was a very rare instance of U.S.-Soviet scholarly cooperation in the social sciences.

In the early 1960s Michael Cole spent a year at Moscow University as an exchange student. There he became friends with Vladimir Pozner, who would later play a central role in promoting U.S.-Soviet ties in the New Age mode. The two men’s fathers knew each other through the movie business and had introduced their sons. Cole’s father, the left-leaning screenwriter Lester Cole, was one of the Hollywood Ten — motion-picture figures who, at the height of the McCarthy era, refused to answer questions about their possible Communist affiliations before a Congressional committee and were subsequently blacklisted.

How did Spacebridge III come about?

On a visit to Moscow in 1983, Michael Cole and his wife were socializing with the Pozners when they were joined by Joseph Goldin. Three nights later they met Goldin again, this time accompanied by a representative of the Werner Erhard organization. Cole wrote in an unpublished Carnegie report:

Goldin, who was characterized by the Soviet cultural affairs officer in Washington as an “impresario,” and who could never be accused of thinking small, introduced the idea of doing a simulcast with UCSD [University of California San Diego]. In the manner of late evening conversations in Moscow when everyone has sampled the vodka and it is easier to imagine the world as a tractable place, Goldin spun out a fantasy of cooperation on a simulcast.

Cole’s hope was to have American and Soviet children talk to each other via a live video link. But project negotiations in California were tortuous, and in Moscow they proved to be equally Byzantine. A last-minute technical problem in Moscow had to be resolved by Evgeny Velikhov, while a last-minute funding problem in California was resolved by Carnegie Corporation in New York.

The premise of Spacebridge III was that two groups of children — American and Soviet — would watch a selection of films together and then react to them in a discussion moderated by Cole in San Diego and Pozner in Moscow. The program — “Moscow Calling San Diego” — can be viewed on YouTube. (As it happened, this was to be the breakthrough that launched Pozner’s highly successful career in television.)

The American side offered a clip from the film *Souder* — the story of a family of black sharecroppers in Louisiana during the Depression, it was an unexpected critical and commercial success in 1972 — and some fairy-tale shorts produced by the actress Shelley Duvall, as well as footage of life in San Diego and at UCSD. The Soviets offered footage of Moscow and the Moscow International Film Festival and some fairy-tale films of their own. On July 20, 1983, at thirty seconds before 10:30 a.m., “Vladimir Pozner appeared on our large screen and monitors; shortly thereafter, we heard his voice,” wrote Cole. “It was an interminable thirty seconds more until he could see and hear us, and in the meantime we watched and heard his attempts to get a response from us. Once signals were clear — visually and aurally — each way, there was an indescribable moment of awe and exaltation that seemed literally to leap from San Diego to Moscow and back.”

In a 2017 interview at Carnegie Corporation in New York, Cole recalled one moment in particular, when Christopher Reeve as the prince in *Sleeping Beauty*

climbs through this background of monsters who are attacking him, and then there he is with the beautiful girl asleep in the bed, and the cameras in San Diego and Moscow zoomed in on individual kids. You could not tell who was an American and who was a Russian. Absolutely indistinguishable. As soon as you pulled back, you could see the whole context. The way in which the kids then explained their reactions was very different: the American kids would say, “I think

this is a program about good and evil and this is how it makes me feel,” while the Soviet kids would say, “Well, I haven’t seen the whole film so it’s difficult to say, but based on what I have seen, one could say ...” The American kids weren’t worried about any authority. The cultural differences were there big time.

And Cole was struck by something else. There were no cultural differences when you got down to the simple moment of Prince Charming bending over the sleeping princess. The question for all the children was: “What is going to happen next?”

The Rise of the Machines

Michael Cole knew that the spacebridge was about more than children talking. The project came under “our concern for improving U.S.-Soviet relations,” according to Carnegie Corporation director Fritz Mosher, a Harvard-trained psychologist and education expert assigned by David Hamburg to run the Avoiding Nuclear War Program. This new program addressed “the need to increase mankind’s sense of its common humanity — of being an extended family — as one way of reducing the chances of war.”

The Corporation was also involved in more direct discussions toward that same end, notably through the Committee on International Security and Arms Control (CISAC; pronounced *see-sack*), a project of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (NAS). Founded in 1980, CISAC was co-chaired for much of that decade by Velikhov, and Hamburg attended from its early days. CISAC was in the tradition of the scientist-to-scientist talks organized as Pugwash conferences, established in 1957 and attended by both Velikhov and Hamburg.

“I do believe in friendships,” Hamburg said in a recent interview in Washington. He first traveled to Moscow in 1978 when he was serving as head of the NAS Institute of Medicine. On that visit Hamburg met his counterpart Evgeny Velikhov, and “although he was careful, I had the sense he was a kindred spirit. I think I said to him pretty frankly, ‘I don’t want to get you into trouble, I know these things are very controversial here, but I would really like to keep in touch with you.’”

In the very tense environment of the early 1980s, with Star Wars reviving the old prospect of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defenses — much resisted by American and Soviet scientists since the 1960s — venues like Pugwash had been weakened. So child-to-child talks assumed an unanticipated importance.

Michael Cole and Fritz Mosher had already worked together at Carnegie Corporation on child psychology and human development projects. Building on the successful spacebridge experience, they designed a U.S.-Soviet

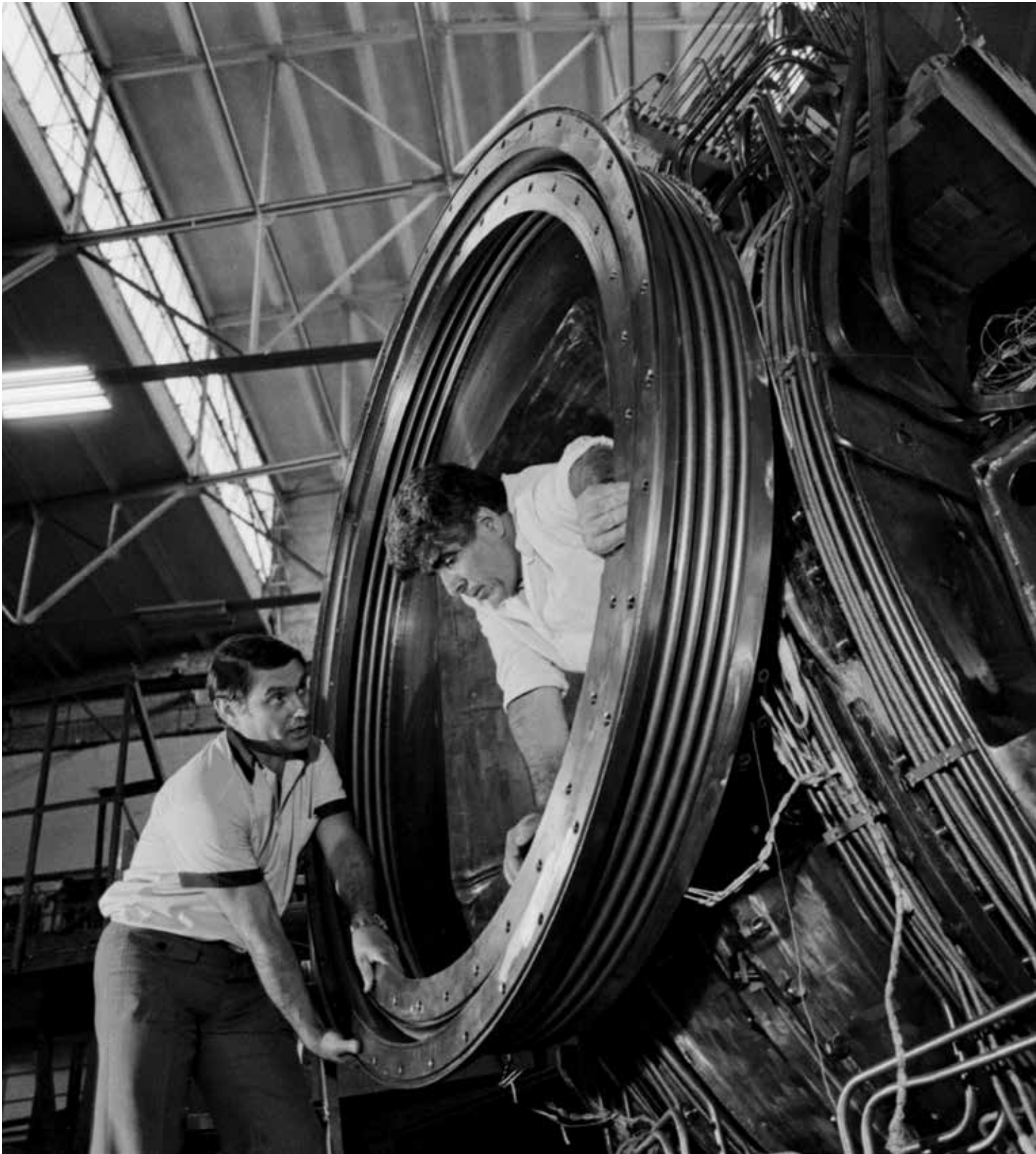
project that involved the use of computers in children’s education — what became known as the VelHam Project (for Velikhov and Hamburg). In the Luria-Vygotsky spirit, they wanted to investigate what social mechanisms might be formed by U.S. and Soviet children, raised in antagonistic societies, working together in computer-based learning. One had to start somewhere.

Velikhov had done academic work on human consciousness and its relationship to social processes. In one scholarly paper, he and his coauthors argued that “the process by which new states of consciousness form is the source of both pedagogical and social optimism. It is in such moments that something new emerges: new actions, new images, new views of situations, and ways of thinking.” The researchers referred to the emergence of these new states of consciousness as “phase transformations.”

Cole tapped Alexandra (Sasha) Belyaeva, a psycholinguist he had known since the 1970s, to help with the project. She ran a communications laboratory within the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow, which meant that Velikhov was her ultimate boss. Belyaeva’s husband, Spartak Belyaev, was a senior physicist at the Kurchatov Institute, under the presidency of Evgeny Velikhov, as was nuclear physicist Alexei Soldatov, who would also play a central role in developing the Soviet Internet. It was at Kurchatov and, especially, in the Belyaevs’ Moscow apartment, that the VelHam Project — with the crucial support of Carnegie Corporation — would take off and, not least, that the Internet would come to Moscow. Whether the world was about to witness the emergence of “new states of consciousness” was hard to say, but it was a place to begin.

In his public report on the VelHam Project, Cole describes years of frustrating bureaucratic struggles following Spacebridge III. The problems were mainly on the Soviet side and involved funding. While Velikhov, Belyaev, and Soldatov were very senior scientists and well connected in the Kremlin, they were being paid to develop militarily useful technology, not to educate children. (The little school that slowly developed in and near the Belyaev apartment — Velikhov’s own children attended — was part of a fundamentally countercultural milieu quite at odds with the rigidities of the official Soviet system.)

The project could survive because the state needed scientists like the Kurchatov team. Such scientists had a degree of freedom plus relatively high salaries and perks — but were fully aware that they served at the pleasure of the state. Velikhov’s own family members and colleagues had been sentenced to labor camps. He early on adopted what he describes as “my double life,” at once serving the system while preserving psychological and social space for something different and more free. Yet his life of autonomy was only relative, and ultimately dependent on continuing to develop weapons systems to counter whatever the U.S.



Tokamak-15 (T-15) Nuclear Fusion Reactor A few miles from Moscow, at the Kurchatov Institute of Nuclear Power, V. Polkanov (chief of vacuum testing) and V. Alkhimovich (head of electromagnetic systems) inspect the T-15's welds, June 1987. The T-15 operated from 1988 to 2005. PHOTO: ANATOLY MORKOVKIN/TASS

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In the Luria-Vygotsky spirit, they wanted to investigate what social mechanisms might be formed by U.S. and Soviet children, raised in antagonistic societies, working together in computer-based learning. One had to start somewhere.

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was concurrently developing. For Soviet scientists, much depended on bureaucratic power, which Evgeny Velikhov had mastered.

However, Velikhov's main priority in the VelHam Project was not children but computers. He had been a computer specialist in the early 1970s; his relationship with Mikhail Gorbachev was solidified when he introduced the then national party secretary for agriculture to computers around 1977. Velikhov had cultivated not only Steve Wozniak but also Apple CEO John Sculley, Tom Watson, Jr., and Richard Garwin at IBM, and the electrical engineer and mathematician Ivan Selin at American Management Systems (a former "whiz kid" in Robert McNamara's Defense Department), as well as a raft of future Silicon Valley movers and shakers.

But the Soviet system was not interested in *personal* computers, or the networks they enabled, both of which presented an obvious threat to central control. Empowering individuals to exploit technology at home, or to communicate freely across borders, was not in line with Soviet orthodoxies.

Therefore, as far as the Soviets were concerned, there was no money for VelHam. The hope was that the Americans would provide the money and technology, and that educating children would outweigh the political uneasiness about personal empowerment. "They couldn't build a computer in the Soviet Union except in the military," David Hamburg recalled, "and it was so sealed off — the military sector — that they could make no economic progress by building computers." Hamburg was noncommittal about the provision of computers per se, but he recalls Gorbachev then suggesting that perhaps providing them for children would get the door open. Cole and the Americans were determined not to contradict American laws (loosened somewhat in 1985) by transferring technology, or to contradict Carnegie's mission by sending money to Moscow that might or might not be spent properly.

Between 1983 and 1987 there was a lot of negotiating going on. When Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the Communist Party in March 1985, he brought Velikhov on as his science advisor. David Hamburg visited Moscow a few months later for a CISAC meeting and

discussed Gorbachev's prospects with Velikhov; soon Hamburg was meeting with Gorbachev himself. The new general secretary spoke frankly of Soviet backwardness, citing its inability to produce computers as an example.

"There was a great deal of synergy," Velikhov recalled. "Joseph Goldin was there thinking about global linkages, but the telebridges idea was still just based on television technology. Then there was the appearance of personal computers, and then the presentation of how personal computers could be used for school and education. Then at the same time, computers, of course, began to be used by the defense industry. This was all together."

Soon Michael Cole found himself visiting VNIIPAS, the All Union Scientific Research Institute for Applied Computerized Systems. VNIIPAS was the Soviets' highly classified and constantly guarded communications agency, which controlled the two lines (to Helsinki and to Vienna) connecting the Soviet Union to the wider world. Cole recalled his first visit to VNIIPAS in 1985: "It was quite amazing what the facilities were, because there was a line to Vienna, for atomic energy stuff, and there was another line that went through Helsinki. The line we used was the one that went through Helsinki. There was a soldier, a kid, sitting there watching the messages go by on a screen, with a stop button if he didn't like what was happening. There was this trickle. There were guys with Uzis standing outside the door."

A crucial shift came with the visit to the U.S. in the summer of 1986 by Sasha Belyaeva and Vladimir Teremetsky, an engineer at VNIIPAS. The group of visitors also included a Soviet software designer and a programmer. The idea was partly to build geek-to-geek relationships between the Soviets and their American counterparts. The tech emphasis brought the attention of the FBI, which even a year afterward was still interviewing project participants.

"We pretty much agreed," an American active in the VelHam project recalled in an unpublished memo, "that we were all engaged in odd behavior but nothing to worry the FBI; our unusual moves never betrayed one country or threatened the security of another.... It was so hard to do the project work that we doubted that anyone could be

masquerading as a worker on the project while primarily being employed as a spy.”

Finally, in February 1987, Cole and Velikhov cosigned an agreement for a joint project in children’s education: “Protocol of the Meeting of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the US Scientific Consortium for Studies of the Application of Computers in Education.” The protocol, which Sasha Belyaeva had worked for years to achieve, gave VelHam a place in the Soviet system and access to (limited) funding. Item #7 of the protocol read: “Exploration of possibilities for computer networking for education (hardware, software, and psychological aspects). Theoretical and empirical research and development of classroom local networks, regional, national and international networking for education.”

The Fifth Dimension; or, We’re Off to See the Wizard

Soon after, the Belyaevs’ apartment became headquarters for a transnational experiment in children’s education and a geek academy for the early Russian Internet. “At my house, day and night,” Sasha Belyaeva recalled in a recent interview in Moscow, “a brilliant group of kids put together connections and built the modems by hand.” They talked to American researchers every night, asking hundreds of questions. One time she was sitting on her knees with scientist Galya Soldatova (wife of Alexei Soldatov) when they made the first connection. At first, they despaired: “We tried and we tried, and no success. Then, Galya suddenly twiddled — *doot, doot, doot* — with her fingers, and we were connected. I said to her, ‘Galya, remember this: you were the first one to connect Moscow to the Internet!’”

The scholarly part of the project was followed with great interest on the American side. The children played computer games and communicated with one another in their native languages; the results were printed out and pored over by Belyaeva in Moscow, Cole and his team in San Diego, and Fritz Mosher at Carnegie Corporation in New York. Later in the decade the program expanded to five centers in the U.S. and three in the Soviet Union.

After much experimentation the VelHam program settled into using a platform that posited an imaginary electronic world called the Fifth Dimension, complete with its own constitution. The Soviet and American children worked together to solve problems and learn about each other along the way. (“We also found out that American kids don’t drink tea!”) There was an Artillery game. There was a maze. And there was a Wizard; in Russian, *Volshebnik*. The Wizard, who governed the Fifth Dimension, understood the children in their own languages, gently settled their disputes, nudged them toward solving their problems, and proposed new tasks.

“We often write to the Wizard for help and game advice, and our progress,” explained the children at one Fifth Dimension club. “The wizard assistants help us a great deal. They teach us about the computers, the games, and help us to write to the Wizard. We do not know who the Wizard is. Some of us think the Wizard is a man, and others think the Wizard might just be a computer of some sort. Anyhow, we’re always trying to figure out just who the Wizard really is.”

The Wizard was often (though not always) Michael Cole. Most importantly, the Wizard/Volshebnik was a powerful, kind, and responsible being who cared, equally, about Soviet and American children. The Wizard, in a way, was what was missing from U.S.-Soviet relations.

The connection of the Soviet Union to the U.S. via the Internet was developing alongside the games and the ministrations of the Wizard. The crucial link was VNIIPAS.

At first the VelHam team’s every online communication required a trip to VNIIPAS. Later the Belyaevs got used to having modems in their apartment. Led by Alexei Soldatov and often working out of the Belyaev apartment, a small team of programmers began to build Soviet capacity for Internet communication. They formed two overlapping groups: DEMOS and RELCOM.* An additional, more hot-tubby East/West link was established through the San Francisco/Moscow Teleport, organized in 1985 by the lifestyle entrepreneur and former U.S. Army intelligence analyst Joel Schatz. Run through a sort of tech collective in a converted auto shop at 3220 Sacramento Street in San Francisco, the Teleport was backed by Henry S. Dakin, whose family fortune came mainly from the manufacture of teddy bears.

Sasha Belyaeva came to accept that her apartment was turning into a sort of startup café. Spartak Belyaev was less enthusiastic. Sasha remembers: “I was testing these modems — I don’t even know where they came from, whether Spartak brought them, or whether Velikhov sent them — modems the size of this closet. Some people would bring them and lay them out in the big room in the apartment. After that, Spartak then told Velikhov, ‘My house has become your project — but as for me, I’m getting the hell out of here.’ It was a joke, of course; but then, it was true.”

Geeks and Generals: “If these guys win, we lose.”

Deana Arsenian, then a young Carnegie Corporation program officer, worked with the VelHam project while

*An acronym for “RELIable COMmunications”; an early Soviet computer network, launched at the Kurchatov Institute, August 1, 1990



Moscow: August 19, 1991 As the August Coup unfolded, Soviet Army tanks parked near the Spassky Gate on Moscow's Red Square, with Saint Basil's Cathedral in the background. The coup briefly toppled Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, who was placed under house arrest. At the Russian White House, Boris Yeltsin, leader of the Soviet-era Russian Republic, famously denounced the coup from atop a tank. PHOTO: DIMA TANIN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

also monitoring the progress of Carnegie-sponsored efforts to advance security talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Many have wondered how U.S. intelligence had managed to miss the fact that the Soviet Union was collapsing. Arsenian had not missed it. On a March 1988 trip, she saw that *glasnost* was “still blossoming.” But in a confidential report following a November 1989 visit to Moscow, she wrote:

One of Gorbachev's major tasks has been to reactivate and mobilize the stagnating society, and to instill in the people a sense of individual and collective responsibility for changing things. Gorbachev has failed to motivate the people politically or economically.... What one hears, sees, and feels at present is very different from the complaints of 1988. The criticism now is far from well-meaning. It is negative and bitter, reflecting a mood that the problems have only gotten worse during the period when the solutions were supposed to have been found.

The Soviet Union was indeed undergoing a “phase transformation,” but it was far from the “new state of consciousness” that Evgeny Velikhov had envisioned.

In 1991, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev was, by his own account, still trying to save the Soviet Union. He sought to decentralize decision-making to enable the “autonomy and independence of our peoples and the sovereignty of their republics, but also retention of the Union State and integrity of our country.” Nevertheless, the pace of dissolution only picked up as the years of economic deprivation seemed to be culminating in complete collapse. On August 19, 1991, hardline Soviet leaders, led by KGB chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov, declared themselves leaders of the Soviet Union in what was known as the August Coup, or *Av gustovsky Putsch*. Gorbachev was put under house arrest at his dacha. Independent media were shut down. Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Republic, holed up in Moscow's White House, seat of the government, and declared his

opposition to the coup. The putschists mobilized army units and prepared to attack the White House.

The putschists, however, had overlooked the Internet. The RELCOM team, led by Alexei Soldatov, were determined to keep their connection to the West open even as the putschists, eager to convince Soviet citizens and the outside world that they were in control and that resistance was futile, moved to suppress all independent communications. Polina Antonova, a Moscow programmer, wrote online to a friend in the U.S.: “Moscow is full of tanks and military machines — I hate them. They try to close all mass media, they stopped CNN an hour ago, and Soviet TV transmits opera and old movies. But, thank heaven, they don’t consider RELCOM mass media or they simply forgot about it. Now we transmit information enough to put us in prison for the rest of our life.”

Andrei Soldatov, coauthor of the essential book *The Red Web: The Kremlin’s Wars on the Internet* (and son of Alexei Soldatov), looked back at the geek revolt in an interview in Moscow earlier this year: “They understood from the beginning that they were already on the side of Yeltsin. They knew that if the putschists succeeded, their business, their ideas would be completely destroyed. These putschists were so Soviet. Usually when you have putschists they try to project some idea about the future, like getting rid of corruption. But these guys, they didn’t talk about corruption, they talked about one thing: *We have to get back to the Soviet past*. And of course for geeks, they understood that they were not part of the Soviet past. If these guys win, we lose.”

On the first day of the coup, RELCOM decided to deploy its network of geeks across the Soviet Union as quasi-reporters. “They came up with an idea,” Soldatov recalled. “Maybe at one given moment we would ask all the subscribers in all these towns just to look out the window and report what they see. That would give some picture of what is going on.” They would look out their windows, “because, you know, these are all engineers. They’re not going out into the streets. So they literally all looked out of the windows and said, ‘We see nothing. No tanks. Actually, nothing.’” It was clear that the power of the putschists did not extend across the country.

This was the Soviet Union’s first experience of citizen journalism. The *Augustovsky Putsch* failed.

A Full Spiritual Unity

The months following the coup attempt saw a power struggle between Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev, a struggle Gorbachev lost. He resigned on December 25, telling the Russian public in a broadcast that he had been decisively undermined by “a policy of dismembering the country and disuniting the state.” It was a fait accompli, one that Gorbachev accepted with ample bitterness.



In the Defense of Peace Evgeny Velikhov, then vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, delivers a speech at a meeting of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, newly founded in the spring of 1983 in response to President Reagan’s Star Wars initiative. A creative demimonde of American and Soviet arms controllers, including Velikhov, were peripheral enough to official channels to have the freedom to develop new ideas, yet connected enough to the centers of power to make those new ideas actually happen. PHOTO: TASS VIA GETTY IMAGES

Gorbachev, his allies, and many of his opponents were worried about the presence of nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert in a Soviet Union in political free fall. The Americans were worried, too. Fortunately, a certain sub-rosa infrastructure of personal connections and trust had been built up over the course of the 1980s between Soviet scientists and military leaders and their American counterparts. The groundwork had been done.*

*Key figures on the Soviet side: scientists Evgeny Velikhov and Roald Sagdeev; Sergei Rogov and Andrei Kokoshin in the Soviet defense policy-making hierarchy; and military figures Colonel General Evgeny Maslin and Colonel General Viktor Yesin. On the American side: Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia; scientists and scholars Wolfgang Panofsky (Stanford), Frank von Hippel (Princeton), Richard Garwin (IBM), Jerome Wiesner (MIT), and Frank Press (NAS); civilian defense officials William Perry, Ashton Carter, and Rose Gottemoeller; and policy advisor John Steinbruner.

The main forum for this ad-hoc network was CISAC (the arms control discussion group where Evgeny Velikhov and David Hamburg got to know each other) that brought together the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, represented, respectively, by Velikhov and NAS head Frank Press. Velikhov later wrote that under the Reagan administration CISAC “became virtually the only bridge of communication on issues of arms control between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.” Press called it “the unpublicized CISAC.”

Velikhov and his allies created a semiformal network of Soviet groups, notably the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, founded in spring 1983 in response to President Reagan’s Star Wars initiative. They worked with their American counterparts at organizations like the Federation of American Scientists, as well as with a leading Soviet think tank that researched North American economic, military, and energy policies.

Like the human potential enthusiasts and the border-destroying Internet geeks, these American and Soviet arms controllers formed a creative demimonde peripheral enough to official channels to have the freedom to develop new ideas, yet connected enough to the centers of power to make those new ideas actually happen. “There was a significant life experience,” Velikhov later wrote, “not only mine, but in my surroundings, an experience of not just a simple cooperation, but a full spiritual unity in the informal international scientific community.”

The extraordinary successes of this community had come over a period of less than a decade:

- In August 1983 the Soviet Union declared a unilateral moratorium on testing anti-satellite weapons.
- After Gorbachev became Soviet premier in 1985 (with Velikhov serving as his unofficial science advisor), the Soviets unilaterally banned underground testing of nuclear weapons.
- Velikhov next rallied the American community, particularly the Natural Resources Defense Council, behind the idea of setting up private seismic monitoring in the Soviet Union and the U.S., so that both sides could verify compliance without having to risk direct government involvement.
- By August 1986, they had succeeded in installing seismic monitoring equipment on Soviet soil — something every U.S. administration since Eisenhower’s had attempted, and failed, to do.
- In February 1987 Velikhov and other denizens of the demimonde (Soviet and American) lobbied Gorbachev to abandon the Soviet policy of linking negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Europe to an American renunciation of Star Wars. By the end of that year an INF treaty was signed.

- The INF/Star Wars delinking also gave momentum to strategic arms limitation talks, which culminated in START I (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I), signed in July 1991.

One month later came the August Coup.

Nukes on the Loose

Carnegie Corporation of New York had been facilitating U.S.-Soviet discussions for nearly a decade, success following success. The August Putsch threatened to undo all that work, when the KGB’s Kryuchkov and the generals placed Gorbachev under house arrest.

William Perry, later U.S. secretary of defense, was at a Carnegie Corporation-funded Track II U.S.-Soviet meeting in Budapest when the coup happened. At a 2013 conference in Georgia (U.S.), he recalled that Track II meeting as the “most interesting” he had ever attended. Two Russians who had been invited

... strangely were not at the meeting. And we soon find out the reason they were not at the meeting was that they were in the White House with Yeltsin under siege! Of course we were quite apprehensive about their welfare at that time. But before our meeting was over, the coup had ended and they showed up at our meeting and gave us a very detailed debriefing on what had happened.... And shortly after that, several of us met in Senator Nunn’s office.... I thought the highlight of the meeting was a briefing made by Ash Carter, who gave an absolutely compelling argument of the danger of what he called the “Loose Nukes Problem.” ... I would say that was in many ways where the Nunn-Lugar legislation was created.

Funded by Carnegie Corporation, the subsequent report, *Soviet Nuclear Fission: Control of the Nuclear Arsenal in a Disintegrating Soviet Union* (1991), was cowritten with a team of Harvard University researchers by Ashton B. “Ash” Carter, later secretary of defense under President Barack Obama. The briefing in Senator Nunn’s office had been brought about by David Hamburg. And Nunn had first met Velikhov back in 1988, on a Congressional visit to Moscow organized by the Aspen Institute with funding provided by the Corporation.

At the 2013 conference in Georgia, Nunn stressed an important historical footnote:

... because the conference in Budapest was also sponsored by Carnegie and the previous conferences, which had been sponsored over the last seven or eight years between the Soviet members of Duma and so forth, policymakers and senators, were sponsored by Carnegie. I would not have known [Soviet defense officials] Kokoshin or Rogov if it had not been for



Two Visionaries Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar await the arrival of President Barack Obama at the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) Symposium, held on December 3, 2012, at the National War College in Washington, D.C. The symposium marked the 20th anniversary of what, in his remarks, the president called “one of the country’s smartest and most successful national security programs.” Obama continued: “You have to think about what real visionaries do. They look at the world and they see what’s missing. So they set out to fill the gap; to build something new. And that’s what Sam Nunn and Dick Lugar did many years ago. They challenged us to think anew; to imagine, after decades of confrontation, how our nations might engage in cooperation. Early in the Cold War, Einstein warned of the danger of our wisdom not keeping pace with our technology. And with Nunn-Lugar, our wisdom began to catch up.” PHOTO: ALEX WONG/GETTY IMAGES

those conferences. Now can you measure that? I can measure it, because in my mind I would not have gone to Moscow; I wouldn’t have been in Budapest; I wouldn’t have had anybody I knew that I trusted. And at that stage there probably would have been no Nunn-Lugar.

The initial legislation, the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) Program (known colloquially as Nunn-Lugar), passed in November 1991 over strong opposition: its critics could not see the sense in spending American money in the ex-Soviet Union, on nuclear security or on anything else. Yet Nunn-Lugar soon enabled the removal of all nuclear weapons from the ex-Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine — from everywhere but Russia. Over time it led to the destruction of nearly a thousand intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), of some 500 ICBM silos and 200 mobile ICBM launchers, of

some 30 nuclear weapons-carrying submarines and nearly all the ex-Soviet submarine-launched ballistic missiles. All the Soviet nuclear air-to-surface missiles were dismantled. Nearly 8,000 nuclear warheads were deactivated.

The demimonde had won its greatest victory.

Somewhere Outside of War’s Own Logic

Could such cooperation happen again? Could Evgeny Velikhov’s “full spiritual unity” ever be reawakened in the international (scientific, political) community? “It’s like with water boiling,” was how he put it in the interview at his dacha. “You increase the temperature and the water starts to boil. We start in different ways, in different directions, but at some moment the situation opens and you increase the temperature enough to start general development.” Velikhov’s view was shaped by his understanding



"No to Fascism! Yes to Yeltsin! All on Strike!" Protestors catch leaflets in front of the Russian White House on August 19, 1991 — the night of the August Coup. CNN was shut down and Soviet TV transmitted only opera and old movies. But word got out — and not only through protest signs and leaflets, but through RELCOM, the early Soviet computer network. The putschists forgot about it. So RELCOM decided to deploy its network of geeks across the Soviet Union as quasi-reporters. And what did they discover? That it was clear the power of the putschists did not extend across the country. The *Avgustovsky Putsch* soon collapsed. PHOTO: ALEXANDER NEMENOV/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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The Soviet system was not interested in *personal* computers, or the networks they enabled, both of which presented an obvious threat to central control. Empowering individuals to exploit technology at home, or to communicate freely across borders, was not in line with Soviet orthodoxies.

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of human consciousness and how it has the potential to change. But at some point after 1991, the pots stopped boiling.

Evgeny Velikhov's motivations were essentially spiritual, or mystical. Mystical faith in spiritual communities and new forms of consciousness, in pedagogical and social optimism and new ways of thinking, is seldom associated with military-industrial complexes. But the fundamental reality that Velikhov and his strangely powerful subculture were facing was potential planetary destruction. The imagination needed to avoid doomsday must come from somewhere outside of war's own logic. As unlikely as it seems, a discernible line can be traced from humans talking to dolphins, and children listening to the Wizard, to a government's destruction of nuclear warheads.

Is there a path out of our own, blocked present?

In a series of discussions in Moscow in the summer of 2017, I met with senior figures in Russia's nongovernmental foreign affairs hierarchy. The mood was uniformly glum. As in 1983, there seemed to be no way forward. Two powerful and well-armed countries with no real reason to go to war are nonetheless talking of little else.

Yet the model that achieved so much in the 1980s remains: small groups of people with a shared goal of change, who have built trust in each other. When the historical opportunity comes, if it comes, they are ready to rise up to meet it. The (potential) disaster of the August Coup became an opportunity for positive change on an unheard of, almost fantastic scale. That is what happened.

During my Moscow discussions there was at least one area that seemed to offer possibilities. Presidents Trump and Putin, meeting earlier in the year at the G20 summit in Germany, had proposed a joint cybersecurity commission. The idea was met with immediate ridicule. Hadn't Putin interfered in America's 2016 election — *via cyberspace*? Wasn't Russia sponsoring cyber espionage? And President Trump — how to assess such a mercurial head of state? Under the weight of widespread disbelief and distrust Trump quickly withdrew the proposal.

And yet. Cyber means lots of things, but perhaps most importantly it means command and control over strategic weapons. The cyber debate at that level is essentially the same as the old nuclear debates of the 1980s: it is about confidence in the other side. The U.S. and the Soviet Union, in a period considerably more terrifying than the present, allowed the growth of a trust network that dramatically advanced the cause of avoiding nuclear war. It was a quirky network. The stages of its progress were nearly random. Computers for children! Heightened consciousness! The Fifth Dimension! Yet, as Sam Nunn recounted, it worked. If we are to emerge from our current impasse, something like it will need to work again. The experience of the New Age optimists, the Internet insurgents, and the arms controllers suggests that whatever opportunities might be offered by the times, these will mean little if the ties among people, and the trust Sam Nunn emphasized, are not already in place to create the moment the visionaries are waiting for. ■





Slacktivists to **Activists**

Tech-savvy millennials are
transforming philanthropy

By **Vesna Jaksic Lowe** | Illustrations by **Mitch Blunt**

Dale Pfeifer remembers logging on to Facebook nearly 10 years ago, when it was still in its infancy, and reading a post about a friend's charity that provides health and educational services to women in Afghanistan. She was inspired and wanted to donate, but could not find a quick way to do that.

"I was like, 'We should be able to just donate right here,'" she says. "So I started thinking about it and what I realized is, just like the Internet had a new wave of payment options — such as PayPal and others — what if we could put a whole new payment infrastructure on social media, so that every time a payment was made, something good would happen in the world? Social payment would equal social good."

In 2014 the New Zealand native launched Goodworld, which allows people to donate to about 3,000 nonprofit organizations on Twitter and Facebook using the hashtag #donate. After signing up, users can simply type #donate and an amount into a Facebook comment or a Twitter RT or @reply. During the first 20 months of its beta launch, Goodworld has helped raise more than \$5 million. The average donation is about \$31 and the most active users are millennials.

"One of the things we really wanted to do is bring donations to millennials and people who have otherwise really been excluded," says Pfeifer, who has received several honors, including being named one of *Washington Business Journal's* "40 Under 40" business leaders. "The big issue that we've been focused on is turning slacktivism into activism — how to turn someone sharing something or adding a comment into taking meaningful action. We're very determined that every payment should result in a positive action somewhere around the world."

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"What if we could put a whole new payment infrastructure on social media, so that every time a payment was made, something good would happen in the world? Social payment would equal social good."

— Dale Pfeifer, Founder & CEO, Goodworld

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The term "millennial" typically refers to those born between 1980 and 2000, but demographers use a range anywhere from the early 1980s up to the early 2000s. In just three years, millennials will make up half of the American workforce, and in less than 15 years, they are expected to outnumber non-millennials.

Millennials — also known as Generation Y — are a large and powerful demographic, the first to grow up in the age of cell phones and social media. They are used to harnessing the power of technology to make their lives easier and achieve their goals. With a few taps on their phones and iPads, they are donating to causes they care about, even if it's just a dollar here or a dollar there. They are embracing tools that make giving frictionless, and relying on their online networks to amplify their impact.

Goodworld is only one example of how philanthropy now happens almost effortlessly. A growing number of apps, websites, and tools are making it easy, and often fun, to support nonprofit organizations.

Take Spotfund, an app relying on the power of storytelling that can be used to donate as little as \$1 to more than 400 causes. Users post news articles or write about their favorite causes, whether it be protecting African elephants, supporting the Universal Hip Hop Museum, or contributing to large organizations such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Spotfund, like Goodworld, encourages participants to get their contacts to donate. Nearly half the users are ages 25 to 34, says Mike Marian, who founded the company in 2015 along with his two Manhattan roommates and fellow millennials.

"If you have 1,000 Facebook followers — which pretty much most people under the age of 30 will have — and you donate \$1 and share that to your network, and 10 percent of your friends match your donation, that's now \$101 that you have either given or inspired others to give to your cause," Marian says. "It's not about the size of your wallet, it's about the power of your social network. We wanted an impulsive way for people to impact their world, to support their favorite causes and important nonprofits, whether it's something tied to a news program or an incident they see, or they woke up one day and said, 'Something happened to me and I want to support that cause and give a couple of bucks to make a difference.'"

Spotfund's users have donated more than \$50,000 to date. The most successful campaign followed Hurricane Harvey, when a user collected more than \$11,000 for a local United Way chapter after sharing a video and a story about the devastation in her hometown of Orange, Texas. The average Spotfund donation is just under \$23, but Marian says that figure is actually skewed by some of the larger donations to Harvey relief; many users donate less. Companies like Spotfund and Goodworld take a fee — usually around 5 percent of the donations — to cover their costs.

How #GivingTuesday Came to Life



Henry Timms came up with the idea behind #GivingTuesday during a breakfast with his wife in 2012. After discussing the idea with colleagues at 92nd Street Y in New York City, and partnering with other organizations, the global day of giving on the Tuesday following Thanksgiving became a reality.

"We were thinking, 'Black Friday, Cyber Monday — two days all about individualism and commercialism,'" says Timms, the community center's executive director. "We thought it would be a good idea to have something on Tuesday, and that philanthropy ought to be a part of this mix."

Today, #GivingTuesday is a social media-fueled phenomenon that takes place in nearly 100 countries. Last year, Blackbaud, one of the initiative's founding partners, processed more than \$47 million in U.S. online donations on #GivingTuesday. Online giving for that day rose by 20 percent from 2015, and nearly 10 percent of all online donations made in 2016 took place in November, which Blackbaud reported was likely due to #GivingTuesday.

"The creativity and the entrepreneurship of the nonprofit sector is the reason Giving Tuesday took off," says Timms. "Small and medium nonprofits across the country grabbed the idea and made it meaningful for their communities."

Here are a few examples:

- Dress for Success turned the day into #GivingShoesDay, encouraging women to donate their shoes to help women in need of professional footwear for job interviews.
- University of Michigan's Giving Bluesday uses the day as an opportunity to celebrate the school's various causes, units, and student organizations.
- HomeAid Puget Sound in Puget Sound, Washington, devotes the day to working with volunteers on assembling 3,000 "CareKits" — backpacks with hygiene products, hand warmers, and other useful items — for the local homeless community.
- Mind Body Awareness Project in Oakland, California, which provides mindfulness and literacy programs to at-risk youth, launched a #givingmindfulness initiative, inviting the community to write encouraging holiday cards to young people living in juvenile halls in the Bay Area.

Putting Lady Liberty on a Pedestal

There is no shortage of online crowdfunding websites — YouCaring, GoFundMe, Indiegogo, and Kickstarter are just a few of the popular ones. But crowdfunding existed long before the internet made online giving quick and easy.

An early example dates back to 1884 and involves one of America's most cherished monuments, the Statue of Liberty.

France donated the statue, the work of French sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi. But money was needed to pay for the pedestal. Newspaperman Joseph Pulitzer sought donations in the *New York World* by appealing to Americans' sense of civic responsibility.

"We must raise the money!" the call for donations thundered. "The *World* is the people's paper, and now it appeals to the people to come forward and raise the money. The \$250,000 that the making of the Statue cost was paid in by the masses of the French people — by the working men, the tradesmen, the shop girls, the artisans — by all, irrespective of class or condition. Let us respond in like manner. Let us not wait for the millionaires to give us this money. It is not a gift from the millionaires of France to the millionaires of America, but a gift of the whole people of France to the whole people of America."

In fact, one of the most famous of all American poems, Emma Lazarus's "The New Colossus," was written for the "Art Loan Fund Exhibition in Aid of the Bartholdi Pedestal Fund for the Statue of Liberty." In Lazarus's sonnet, the "Mother of Exiles" calls out from "silent lips":

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!*

Within six months of Pulitzer launching his crusade, more than \$100,000 was raised to pay for the 56 million pounds of concrete and granite from Connecticut that was used to construct the base. Most donations were \$1 or less. Emma Lazarus would approve!



"Being mobile-friendly is no longer optional for nonprofits."

— *Charitable Giving Report* (2017), Blackbaud Institute for Philanthropic Impact

Big tech companies are also recognizing the power of microgiving. Google's One Today app encourages people to give as little as \$1 to various causes: for example, a recently featured project requests a \$1 donation to World Vision to help a child access clean water for three months. Some apps ask for even less, such as the United Nations World Food Programme's Share the Meal, which will feed one child for a day for every 50-cent donation.

There are some concerns about microgiving. One question is whether donating a little at a time prevents people from making a single larger and more impactful donation. And as with everything that spreads online, the most popular causes may not be the most urgent ones. Some experts in philanthropy point out that microgiving may be popular among millennials because they do not yet have the kind of disposable income that older generations have. But they agree that the more ways to give, and the more people involved, the better.

No Friction

Technology has also made it easier to turn all kinds of skills, talents, and hobbies into charitable dollars. Johnson & Johnson's Donate a Photo app converts every photo received into \$1 for the participant's chosen cause; more than 2.6 million photos have been collected. Charity Miles aims to turn movement like walking, running, or biking into purpose; miles clocked and donated through the app have brought in more than \$2.5 million. And there are many apps that allow users to round up their purchases to the nearest dollar and donate the change.

Cody Switzer, business director at the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, says the growing menu of options makes it easier for people without deep pockets to become philanthropic. "It's gone from giving through your house of worship, or the United Way, or local charity, or through the mail, or at an event, to having these really global options of giving online, where you can, even for a small amount of money, give to any organization in a way that has not been available for lower-amount donors," he says. "In the last few years there's been a proliferation of apps that try to remove any friction from giving: apps that allow you to keep credit card info, remind you to give, or in some cases, apps that allow you to round up your most recent purchases and give change to charity. All of these individual acts may not be new, but the way they have spread to so many causes and types of organizations is. And so is the ease at which you can do this as a donor from your smartphone. The donor's information is already saved and there's no need to write a check. There are all these opportunities to give, wherever you are."

Millennials have also helped propel the popularity of *themed* giving days, such as #GivingTuesday, the social-media fueled movement that encourages people to donate to causes on the Tuesday after Thanksgiving. Another increasingly popular way of giving is through crowdfunding sites like GoFundMe, Kickstarter, YouCaring, and Indiegogo, where people collect money for everything from their own cancer treatments to the latest innovation they are trying to bring to market. A giver can search through thousands of nonprofit and for-profit causes on these sites, but they all have a common thread: they rely on storytelling and online networks to generate money.

Henry Timms, executive director of the 92nd Street Y cultural and community center in New York and the founder of #GivingTuesday, says technology has helped make philanthropy frictionless and more communal.

“If you think about the ‘old school’ giver, he gets a lot of letters from different nonprofits at the end of the year and he keeps all the letters in a drawer in a desk in his parlor,” Timms explains. “And then he signs them, one by one. He’s on his own, he’s not really involved with anyone else, it’s just him and the organization. Contrast that user experience with someone whose best friend contacted him online and said, ‘There is a cause that’s deeply important to me and we have 24 hours to raise \$100,000 and I want you to help me be a part of that cause.’ Think about that difference.”

Online giving grew by 7.9 percent in 2016 compared to the previous year, according to Blackbaud’s most recent report on charitable giving. Seventeen percent of online transactions were made on a mobile device, an increase of 21 percent from the previous year. The report points out: “Being mobile-friendly is no longer optional for nonprofits.”

The report — which counts those born between 1981 and 1997 as millennials — says this demographic makes up more than 30 percent of the U.S. population, but accounted for only 5.4 percent of giving in 2016, the lowest of five generations. Experts predict it will likely take decades to measure millennials’ full philanthropic impact.

Millennial Mindset

Millennials understand that donating money is not the only way to make a difference. When it comes to causes they care about, they also exert influence as employees, consumers, and voters.

“You can actually achieve greater impact by looking at all the tools you have at your disposal, and that’s what they’ve done, in all areas of their lives,” says Eileen Heisman, president and CEO of the National Philanthropic Trust, a donor-advised fund.

Una Osili, professor of economics and associate dean for research and international programs at the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, agrees. She points out that millennials view philanthropic support in broad terms.

“In past generations, most people thought you supported an organization by donating,” Osili says, “but we’ve seen a shift where millennials are giving and volunteering, but



“In past generations, most people thought you supported an organization by donating, but we’ve seen a shift where millennials are giving and volunteering, but also advocating.”

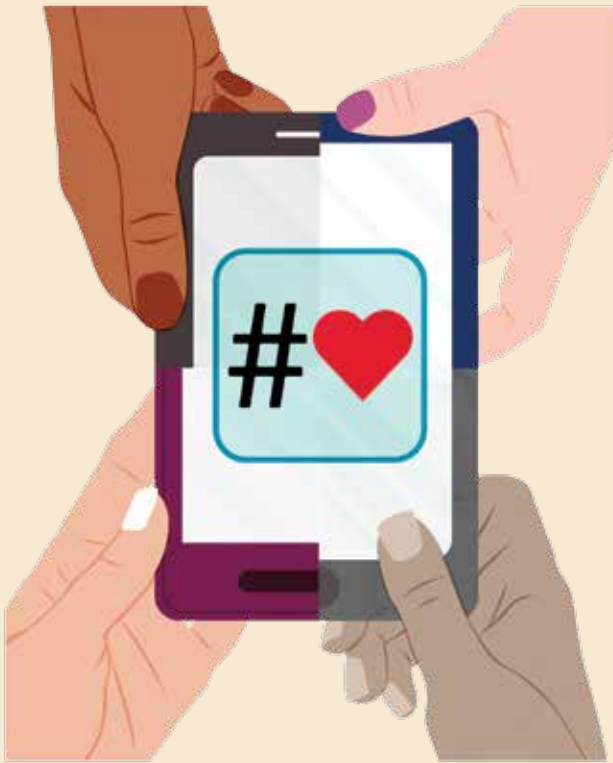
— **Una Osili**, Associate Dean for Research and International Programs, Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy



also advocating. There is also this idea that how you solve a problem involves multiple strategies. For climate change, for example, it may not just be enough to donate. You may also want to help raise awareness in the community so individuals can take actions that are more sustainable. There is also a sense that millennials have grown up in an era where there is perhaps less trust in institutions, so there is the idea that individuals need to get involved and take actions themselves.”

The annual *Millennial Impact Report* found 84 percent of millennials made charitable donations in 2014, and 70 percent said they spent at least an hour volunteering. And a study by Cone Communications found that 64 percent of millennials consider a company’s social and environmental commitments when deciding where to work. The same percentage said they would not work for an employer that does not have strong corporate social responsibility values. Millennials often embrace companies built on socially conscious business models, such as Warby Parker, which distributes a pair of eyeglasses to someone in need for every pair sold.

Philanthropy may be about money, but millennials understand that it is first and foremost about making a difference and influencing change. As Jason Lee of the Association of Fundraising Professionals puts it, “Newer generations of donors view themselves as change agents who do not simply want to passively give charitable contributions.” Evolving technology ensures that this power to make good stuff happen is already in their hands. ■



Driving Change Online

- Online giving grew by **7.9** percent from 2015 to 2016
- The percentage of total fundraising that came from online giving reached **7.2** percent in 2016, a record high
- **41** percent of nonprofits received at least one online donation of \$1,000 or more
- In 2016, **17** percent of online transactions were made using a mobile device; this is up from **14** percent in 2015 and just **9** percent in 2014

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A study by Cone Communications found that 64 percent of millennials consider a company's social and environmental commitments when deciding where to work.

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Measuring Millennials

- **74** percent of millennials believe multinational business has the power to solve challenges that concern them, but only **59** percent believe it is doing so
- **77** percent of millennials have gotten involved in a cause by following or taking action on social media, volunteering or organizing, making a donation or joining, or by raising money
- **39** percent of U.S. millennials believe the country is going in the wrong direction, while **29** percent think it's heading in the right direction, and **32** percent are not sure
- According to a recent survey (conducted in July and August 2017), millennials' top three causes are civil rights/racial discrimination (**29** percent), followed by employment/job creation (**26** percent), and healthcare reform (**26** percent)
- Millennials are more driven to engage locally than nationally (**41** percent versus **19** percent), but **41** percent engage in both local and national causes
- Nearly half of millennial respondents said they took action related to a social issue because they are part of a group being treated unfairly, while a third did so because they saw another group being treated unfairly





IS MONEY Overrated?

Philanthropy, Politics, Power



Debatable The 2017 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy forum on the challenges facing the philanthropic sector featured leading experts (l-r) David Callahan, Sacha Pfeiffer, Karl Zinsmeister, and Stacy Palmer, moderator of the vigorous discussion. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK

Competing views on the role of philanthropy in today's political landscape took center stage at Carnegie Corporation of New York this past June at a forum that brought together leading experts to discuss the most pressing issues facing the sector and its role in society. "A New Landscape of Giving: Power, Policy, and Philanthropy" ignited — to say the least — a lively discussion. The panelists were: David Callahan, founder and editor of *Inside Philanthropy* and author of *The Givers: Wealth, Power, and Philanthropy in a New Gilded*

Age; Sacha Pfeiffer, *Boston Globe* investigative journalist currently writing about wealth, philanthropy, and nonprofits; and Karl Zinsmeister, director of the publishing program at The Philanthropy Roundtable and author of *What Comes Next? How Private Givers Can Rescue America in an Era of Public Frustration*. The discussion was moderated by Stacy Palmer, editor of the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*. The panel also fielded a handful of questions from members of the audience and from people following the debate as it was being live-streamed on Facebook Live.

Is the unprecedented giving from Americans — billionaires and ordinary citizens alike — proof of the generosity of American civil society, or is it a symptom of a larger crisis of democracy?

STACY PALMER: This is an incredible time in philanthropy. A total of \$390 billion was given last year, setting another record but causing a little anxiety because the increases weren't as high as expected. Then Amazon founder Jeff Bezos sent out a tweet that said, "I'm thinking about my philanthropy, I need some insight." I understand at least 42,000 tweets responded, from Madonna saying, "Please go to Detroit, it needs your help," and others saying "Could you revive my favorite TV show?"

So I want to start the conversation with the Bezos question. Today's needs? Lasting impact?

KARL ZINSMEISTER: We need both. We need to treat today's problems and we need to transform society so that you have fewer problems tomorrow. And philanthropy is actually beautifully positioned to do that, because philanthropy is not one thing. It's this million-headed beast that has no single agenda, no single progenitor, no single anything. A lot of people look at that and say, ah, chaos, but I say, thanks to God because that's exactly why it works. It says we're going to solve problems by breaking them down into lots of little pieces and letting local people work on them.

That's one of the key things Bezos and other people need to realize: you don't have to do everything yourself. You are one actor among millions, and if everybody tends their garden and takes care of their neighborhood, you get a very beautiful composite effect.

DAVID CALLAHAN: This may be the most exciting time ever in philanthropy. We're seeing the great fortunes of the second Gilded Age being harnessed to large-scale philanthropy. In 1982 there were only 13 billionaires in the United States. When the Forbes 400 was first released you could get on the list if you had \$80 million. Today you need \$1.7 billion. So the Forbes 400 has a combined net worth of \$2.5 trillion, about the same as the bottom 61

percent of American households. And a lot of these people have committed to large-scale philanthropy or will eventually. Like Bezos they will come to issue areas with a lot of money and big ideas, and that can have game-changing effects.

This is in many ways extremely inspiring and in other ways quite troubling and scary. These people have great influence at a time when many Americans already think the wealthy have too much influence. So on Bezos, it's refreshing he wants to do some stuff in the here and now because other philanthropists want to conquer disease or revolutionize education or are engaged in titanic quests for some other systemic or structural change. Meanwhile, we have a lot of human suffering today — a global refugee crisis, millions of people displaced from their homes, for example. You want to make a difference in the here and now, but also with some lasting impact. There's no shortage of problems, so start with that refugee crisis. But he has 41,000 other ideas.

ZINSMEISTER: Philanthropy is generally covered in the press today as if it's all about the billionaire boys' club. That is completely inaccurate. American philanthropy is an iceberg. And the stories about Bill Gates and Warren Buffett and Bezos that you see? That's the tip of the iceberg. Of the \$390 billion that was given away last year, only 15 percent came from foundations run by the wealthy. And another 5 percent came from corporations. The other 80 percent? That came from individuals, and most of that from very average American households who give away about \$3,000 a year. And you say you can't change the world with \$3,000, but do the math — \$3,000 times 100 million households.

And that is just the cash. Economists tell you that if you put a reasonable figure on the value of volunteer labor Americans put in, it about doubles that. You've got another \$300 billion or \$400 billion worth of volunteer labor.



Gilded Age Dining *Wealth* is one of eight gold-ground lunettes by Elihu Vedder that once graced the dining room of the grand New York mansion of railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington and his wife, Arabella. The allegorical figure was joined by seven other female personifications — *Poetry, Bounty, Drama, Fame, Music, Victory, and Frivolity* — all part of a larger decorative scheme culminating in Vedder's splendid ceiling painting for the room, *Abundance of the Days of the Week*. Demolished in 1926, the Huntington mansion stood at 57th Street and Fifth Avenue, today the site of Tiffany & Co.'s flagship store.

PHOTO: YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

PALMER: David, should we be paying attention to those big rich philanthropists or to the average family givers?

CALLAHAN: They both matter, absolutely, and I share Karl's view that it's a very multifaceted sector. What distinguishes these big donors is that they are often engaged in a quest for systemic change, to shift public policy. A lot of small donations go to human services or alma maters or hospitals and the like. Many of the mega-donors are trying to change policy on climate change or global development or social rights like LGBT rights. This kind of activist philanthropy has always been around, but it's scaled up dramatically since the 1970s.

It's money in politics, and in many ways it's much more effective to give to a place like the Heritage Foundation or the Center for American Progress or legal centers or to invest in voter registration. It has real consequences in terms of public policy. And I don't think most Americans know the extent to which big money is being harnessed to move public policy.

ZINSMEISTER: Let's just do some math here. Who is the bigfoot donor today, giving away far more money than anybody in second or third or fourth place? The Gates Foundation. They give away about \$4 billion a year. That sounds like a lot but it is one percent of the cash we give

away. And only half of one percent of the total giving, including the value of labor. This is the most radically decentralized sector in our country, with the least concentration of power of anything you can mention. Name any other part of America where the leader has less than one percent of the market.

Take the influence of philanthropists in creating parks. I think that's a great thing. It's a golden era of parks. It started, of course, right here in this city, in Central Park, which when I was in college was a great place to get mugged and not much else. And what happened was a park conservancy arose, a bipartisan group of philanthropists that went from George Soros to Richard Gilder. You cannot get much further on the left-right spectrum than that. They didn't just put up money, they said to the city, you're not just going to take this money from us; you're going to give us the car keys, because this is basically a management problem.

They rescued Central Park. Visitorship went from 12 million in the late 1970s/early 1980s to 40 million today. It's a jewel, a tremendously important part of the New York quality of life, and it became an inspiration to other places. Now there are hundreds of private park conservancies across the country, making inner cities and central cities much more livable.



Founded by a group of concerned citizens in 1980, the Central Park Conservancy has set the standard for world-class park restoration and management, as these before-and-after restoration photographs dramatically demonstrate. The Conservancy's guiding principle is that "Central Park is a masterpiece of landscape architecture created to provide a scenic retreat from urban life for the enjoyment of all and, in so doing, helps establish New York's place among the great cities of the world." With an impact felt far beyond Manhattan, the Central Park Conservancy believes that citizen leadership and private philanthropy are key to ensuring that parks thrive and endure for the enjoyment of future generations. Top to bottom: Belvedere Castle, West 72nd Street Entrance, Great Hill. PHOTOS: CENTRAL PARK CONSERVANCY

PALMER: Let's look at education. Gates and his money have influenced public policy in the schools, and some parents and teachers say they're not being included in the conversation.

CALLAHAN: There's been a lot of pushback to the billionaire donors who have gotten behind charter schools and choice. And the response often is that philanthropists have many different views. They get behind different things, let a thousand flowers bloom, this strengthens pluralism and so on.

There are a lot of ways one could try to improve public schools. But the new donors have pretty much coalesced around a market-based notion of charters and competition and choice, bringing concepts from the business sector. Meanwhile other ideas, such as challenging the way we finance public education through property taxes or the intense racial segregation of our schools, have not gotten any attention from these funders.

SACHA PFEIFFER: As an example, the Boston public schools have an enormous number of nonprofit groups working in the schools to focus on college graduation, college readiness, and college success, because graduation rates and college success rates are so poor. But the system is so decentralized that the central office does not even know how many nonprofits are working with the schools.

Meanwhile a group of wealthy Boston families pooled their money to find promising nonprofits in other cities that they can import to Boston. They found a very promising college readiness organization in Chicago that they decided to bring in. As the reporter who hears both sides, I immediately heard complaints from the nonprofit community saying the last thing the city needs is another college readiness nonprofit. So here you have this wealthy group of funders deciding to help with another promising organization, but the groups already working in Boston see it as competing for the same funding.

PALMER: There's also the fact that government has been in decline. The states have cut back too, so there's more of a role for business and philanthropy. How is that going to change things?

CALLAHAN: Well, 20 or 30 years ago we had a much more dynamic public sector in terms of its resources, and philanthropy was sort of the junior partner. Philanthropy would do pilot projects and the robust public sector would scale them up. Now government has ever-declining resources to do new things. The discretionary part of the budget, which includes everything from parks to science research to education, is at the lowest level measured by GDP since President Eisenhower was in office. So although philanthropy has nothing like the resources of government, philanthropists are increasingly going to be the people who are funding the new ideas and the new

solutions. And at the state and local level also you have pension obligations and growing fiscal crises where philanthropists step forward to bail out local governments.

ZINSMEISTER: I think your premise is wrong. Today, 36 percent of the entire U.S. GDP is eaten by government — local, state, and federal. That figure was 32 percent as recently as 2000 and it was 23 percent back in 1950, so this idea that we have a starved government is nonsense. We have a very, very aggressive government that is increasingly eating other sectors of civil society. We have this approach that insists that more and more of our social problem-solving has to be centralized. But governments by definition are not able to accommodate minority points of view, are not able to be localized.

The whole beauty of civil society is that you can let Newark be Newark and Utah be Utah. You do not have to have a uniform consistent standard, and that is also the beauty of philanthropy. Some people beat their addictions by religious faith, others through some sort of job program. We need that kind of variety — math and science schools, quasi-military schools, hippie schools without doors or walls. You can do that under a philanthropic system. You cannot do that under a government system.

PALMER: This issue of control, how do you see it playing out?

ZINSMEISTER: I am zealously protective of the rights of donors of all sorts to act in all sorts of sectors. We have to tailor human products to human beings and it's very difficult for governments to do that. Trying to name the good eye surgeons at this hospital or the good teachers at that school — you cannot do that from Washington, but you walk into a neighborhood and you'll find it out pretty quickly. That's why I think we need to trust this local level, this organic, sort of grassroots movement of philanthropy, while it may be scary to people who love order and centrality and consistency. The whole lesson of the computer revolution has been a great \$50 word I'm trying to single-handedly revive, which is *polyarchy*. It's the opposite of monarchy, when one place has all the resources, the power, and authority. Polyarchy is where everybody has some authority and power. It isn't only government that governs. The idea that we should hand all our governments over to government is, I think, very un-American, very troubling to me.

PALMER: David, one of your suggestions gets at the issue of empowering the nonprofits of average citizens in various ways, by limiting the tax deductibility of some contributions. The \$10 donor is the one we should be encouraging to give.

CALLAHAN: We need to keep in mind that rising economic inequality has translated into rising civic and political inequality. A lot of research has documented the way this

has played out with political giving. We all know there's this flood of money that goes to super-PACs and parties and that donors have tremendous influence in that realm. Wealth is also translated into power through lobbying, and billions go for that. But a third major tributary of political money is this flow of contributions to public policy groups, many of which work hand in glove with one of the political parties.

There aren't a lot of great solutions here. One of them is trying to redraw the line between 501(C)(3) groups and 501(C)(4)s, because some groups that are quite hard-edged in their policy advocacy should be C4s. And we should try to encourage charitable giving toward things most Americans really would consider charitable, as opposed to the rising ideological arms race.

One of the reasons money flows into politics is that we politicize everything. And when life gets politicized, you play defense. So if we can remove ideas and social projects from the government sector and deal with them in other sectors, that political venom would drain out.

PALMER: Many people don't know much about philanthropy because philanthropists don't always want to talk very much about it. Sacha, if we want more transparency, how will we get it?

PFEIFFER: Covering nonprofits and philanthropy and wealth, I've had more people ask to speak to me off the record than when I did investigative work. It makes sense because the stakes are so high — it is money. And if you receive grant funding and you're frustrated with something about the funder, the last thing you want to do is alienate



“Money is not the decisive influence it’s sometimes portrayed as. The amount we spend on politics is less than we spend on chewing gum and way less than we spend on potato chips.”

— **Karl Zinsmeister**, *The Philanthropy Roundtable*



I'm all for civil society for the reasons Karl suggests, but it's very important to understand that the civil society we have today is not the civil society of 50 years ago. Civil society used to be dominated by large membership-based organizations that represented lots of ordinary people — unions or veterans or mothers. Since the 1970s this has changed fundamentally as philanthropic dollars have come in to bankroll a whole infrastructure of advocates and think tanks and litigation groups. If you look at the statistics on charitable donations, what's coming in from the wealthiest Americans has skyrocketed and donations from ordinary Americans have gone down.

ZINSMEISTER: Money is overrated. Who were the two best-funded candidates in the last presidential race? Jeb Bush and Hillary Clinton. That worked out real well, didn't it? Money is not the decisive influence it's sometimes portrayed as. The amount we spend on politics is less than we spend on chewing gum and way less than we spend on potato chips. Actually there is too little money in politics in terms of its importance.

them and risk losing that check. So people tell me things that frustrate them but they don't want to be quoted.

CALLAHAN: There aren't a lot of mechanisms for holding philanthropy accountable without creating unintended consequences. The media is one great mechanism, which is one reason I started Inside Philanthropy. In the 1980s and '90s, major organized philanthropy was conducted by legacy foundations, run by nonprofit veterans and governed by boards of trustees. Today we have living donors who have a lot of power through their corporations and political donations. Philanthropy therefore could have a major problem sustaining public trust, especially in an age of growing populism. We have distrust of elites and nervousness about concentrated wealth in general: the Tea Party, Occupy Wall Street, the election of Donald Trump.

PFEIFFER: I do think the media is probably the best watchdog at this point, but as we all know, traditional media is in terrible condition right now. With papers shrinking, one of the first beats to go will be nonprofit philanthropy,



Checks and Balances ABOVE An aid worker from Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) distributes medications in a remote mountainous village in the northern province of Baghlan, Afghanistan, following an earthquake in March 2002. BELOW A Dutch doctor with Samaritan's Purse examines a mother with postnatal complications at the El Sereif camp, Nyala, South Darfur. Americans enjoy a multiplicity of options when it comes to the causes and charities they choose to support. For Karl Zinsmeister, "there is a certain beauty to the checks and balances that implies. I might only want to give to religious-based charities and somebody else might only want to give to Doctors Without Borders and secular churches, and the third person might want to give to science-based charities. Great. That's how to cover all bases and avoid swings in one direction or another." PHOTOS: (ABOVE) HOANG DINH NAM/AFP/GETTY IMAGES | (BELOW) MICHAEL FREEMAN/CORBIS VIA GETTY IMAGES



Signs of the Times ABOVE Activists stage a protest near the Manhattan apartment of billionaire Republican donor David Koch, June 2014. BELOW Protestors hold anti-George Soros placards during a demonstration in Skopje, Macedonia, March 2017. David Callahan observes: "I think people tend to demonize the mega-philanthropists on the other side more, which I call à la carte alarmism. The people on the right don't like George Soros, while people on the left have demonized the Koch brothers." PHOTOS: (TOP) SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES | (BELOW) ROBERT ATANASOVSKI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

because it is a luxury beat. And the IRS has no resources or incentive to police philanthropy, so the sector is essentially unwatched.

PALMER: That's why it's important that we're paying attention. Now it's time for audience questions.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: How do you see American philanthropy working at the international level?

ZINSMEISTER: The fastest growing part of American philanthropy today is overseas money. The amount given by private individuals to the poorest of the poor overseas now vastly overshadows the amount of money we give as a government. As of March 2017, official aid is about \$33 billion every year and private donors last year gave about \$44 billion. And again that is extremely fractured — it is

ZINSMEISTER: Correct. It's only about 15 percent or something like that.

CALLAHAN: Many new donors have been attracted to giving overseas because that's where the low-hanging fruit is in terms of saving lives. My concern is that they aren't giving enough attention to the global order, to global institutions, to strengthening the underlying frameworks of political and economic stability. International givers of 60 years ago, the Rockefellers and Carnegies, understood the importance of global governance and building institutions to ensure a strong liberal order. Today's new philanthropic global givers are much more narrowly focused. I hope we'll see some rebalancing there.

ZINSMEISTER: A lot of economists will tell you that actually it was government aid that corrupted the global order.

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“International givers of 60 years ago, the Rockefellers and Carnegies, understood the importance of global governance and building institutions to ensure a strong liberal order. Today's new philanthropic global givers are much more narrowly focused.”

— **David Callahan**, *Inside Philanthropy*

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not all the Gates Foundation. American churches give a lot more every year than Gates in total overseas. This is basically people writing \$50 checks to Samaritan's Purse or Save the Children or Mercy Ships. You may say when you write that check, “Oh, this is my drop in the bucket that won't make any difference.” But you are part of an army of other people writing similar checks, and those aggregate.

And there is a certain beauty to the checks and balances that implies. I might only want to give to religious-based charities and somebody else might only want to give to Doctors Without Borders and secular churches, and the third person might want to give to science-based charities. Great. That's how to cover all bases and avoid swings in one direction or another. So overseas charity is a huge growth sector.

PALMER: Isn't overseas philanthropy still quite tiny in terms of total American giving?

In the 1960s and '70s some developing countries were showing promising signs of embracing democracy and trade markets until they got on the gravy train and started to collect government-to-government aid, which was easily skimmed and turned into graft. That fueled elite ambitions rather than helping people on the ground and stultified development in Africa and South America.

One of the great things about philanthropic giving is that it is un-grabbable. When you send that check to Samaritans Purse or World Vision, it goes right to a village and helps a person. We have good research on this: it is not going to be stolen by the minister of finance or something. So it's actually a solution to a problem, rather than a problem itself.

SUZANNE NOSSEL [executive director of PEN America]: None of you brought up the backlash against philanthropic giving in human rights, democratization, and so on — foundations being kicked out of Russia, the new Chinese

law on NGOs, what's happening in Hungary. More than 50 countries have passed restrictive laws either preventing their NGOs from taking foreign money or imposing onerous registration requirements that expose the groups politically if they comply. This is a growing trend and I'm wondering where you think it is leading and what can be an effective response.

CALLAHAN: Yes, this is a very perilous moment for global civil society and it's interesting that not a lot of the global foundations or donors are really engaged in that fight. The Open Society Foundation, Ford, MacArthur, and a few others, but not a lot of money is going to bolster civil society globally and to push back against this rising tide of authoritarianism.

philanthropy is not necessarily a way to get popular. What about the fact that people are demonized for the way they give their money?

CALLAHAN: Actually I think people tend to demonize the mega-philanthropists on the other side more, which I call à la carte alarmism. The people on the right don't like George Soros, while people on the left have demonized the Koch brothers.

PFEIFFER: It gets back to what Karl was saying about everything being politicized. But I think what troubles me even more is that we're never sure what's correct, what actually happened, and I'm not sure how we fix that. What do we believe? What's true? Even if it is true, who's going to believe it?

"Philanthropy is not necessarily a way to get popular. What about the fact that people are demonized for the way they give their money?"

— **Peter Osnos**, *Public Affairs Books*

ZINSMEISTER: This is an efficacy issue as well as a political philosophy and moral issue. In the Balkan War, we all knew that governments were not doing what needed to be done urgently to save lives. So George Soros hired a crazy engineer from Texas and flew him to Kosovo, telling him people are dying by the hundreds every week here, what can we do about it? And this guy figured out quickly that snipers were picking off people at the water distribution points. So he said we have to get the water system working again or this is just going to be a blood bath. He flew in loads of steel pipe and equipment and they set up an alternate water distribution system entirely with philanthropic money. So philanthropists can be tremendously influential and important in conflict areas, and the fact that we're allowing governments to bully these groups is very, very troubling.

PETER OSNOS [publisher of *Public Affairs Books*]: I've published George Soros's books and when you mentioned his name I recalled that he has become a devil figure for a very substantial part of the country, showing that

ZINSMEISTER: I just wrote a book a few months ago called *What Comes Next* that wrestles with some of this intersection between philanthropy and politics. My argument is that one of the best ways we can turn down the temperature is to pull as many topics as possible out of the governmental sector. If you really want to change things in the long run, change the culture. There are lots of things we don't have to send to Washington. Then I feel like I know the people who are advocating, because they're my neighbors. And I can stand up and say something at a public meeting. So this sense of alienation, that my society doesn't belong to me anymore, nobody listens to my voice — that evaporates.

CALLAHAN: I just want to point out, Karl, that we tried that in America up to about the New Deal and the Great Society in the mid-20th century. We had a society where the federal government didn't have much power, civil society was in the driver's seat and in charge of solving all of our problems. Remember what that society looked like? Fully 25 percent of elderly people living in poverty, Jim

Crow justified on the basis of state's rights, and a whole other host of things we now consider unacceptable and repugnant. My fear is that if you go back to that era we'll see even greater inequities and abuses.

ZINSMEISTER: We also didn't have running water and electricity in those days and I don't think it was the government that did those things either. I think it's really unfair to say that if we return to the norm in American civilization we're somehow also going to return to these backward social behaviors.

JANET BENSHOOF [president of the Global Justice Center]: I'd like you to address the fact that big changes toward the good have come from what I call "norm entrepreneurs." Like Raphael Lemkin pushing until he died for the Genocide Convention, or people ending landmines, or women suffragists, or ending slavery. How do we get philanthropy to really support more norm entrepreneurs who are not necessarily in the mainstream but who have proven throughout history to make positive change?

ZINSMEISTER: Those are my heroes. That's what I wrote about in *What Comes Next*. You're right, that's how changes happen. Like I just said, you have to have a different set of ideas and ideals before you get a different set of policies and laws. Some donors do recognize that and work to set up a new paradigm that will influence the long run. That's why think tanks are so important. They are not about tomorrow's election, they're about 15 years from now. If only one kind of think tank was out there, I'd be worried, but there are all kinds of think tanks and we need more of them working on long-term culture change.

CALLAHAN: Your point is well taken. Progress has always come from social movements. And it's interesting: I've been suggesting we need to find ways to restrict the money going to policy groups, but if you think about how progressives have won almost all their victories, it's been through mass social movements and cultural change. The top-down policy philanthropy that has exploded since the 1970s has not necessarily been good for liberalism because it has taken away the imperative to do movement building and cultural change. It has substituted the illusion that if we just write the right policy briefs or put together the right grass-top effort to pressure the right senators, we'll get the change we want.

PALMER: Let me take a couple of questions from Facebook. Eric asks how do you show people the value of long-term impact when government social welfare programs are eroding fast and immediate needs are increasing?

CALLAHAN: There's going to be tremendous pressure on philanthropy to meet immediate needs as government enters a prolonged period of fiscal crisis. You've seen this in Detroit with the bailout, and in Flint, Michigan, where foundations gave \$100 million to help provide clean water. If there is anything government should do, it's basic infrastructure like providing water, right? And yet government couldn't in that situation. We're going to see more of that going forward and it does pose challenges.

PALMER: Here's another: How can we encourage diversity in philanthropy, both socioeconomic and ethnic?

CALLAHAN: There is profound irony in the fact that the corporate sector seems to get the importance of diversity a lot more than foundations. The corporations understand that the country's demographics are changing rapidly and if they want to make products and services for the Americans of tomorrow, their own organizations need to be representative of these groups.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: What do you think should be the priority of philanthropy abroad?

ZINSMEISTER: The biggest source of American support for poor people abroad today is actually neither philanthropy, strictly speaking, nor government. It's what economists call remittances. Immigrants send home a check every month to Uncle Louis or to their village that wants to build a school or whatever. And that accumulates to about \$105 billion every year. Those remittances are gold because they go right to your aunt or your grandma or somebody you trust. How can we encourage those peer-to-peer relationships that allow money to go to actual citizens, rather than thinking about the official structure?

CALLAHAN: Give Directly is a relatively new nonprofit that as the name suggests gives money directly to people. It raises money from wealthy donors and gives it not to drill wells or build schools or any of that. It goes to actual people, who then, studies show, spend it on things that increase their financial stability and their long-term wealth. There's also room for other kinds of philanthropy to improve the situation in Africa and other places, particularly trying to tackle some of the corruption problems.

PALMER: I want to thank this panel for all their wonderful insights and the questions that the audience had. You were terrific. ■

This conversation has been edited for length and clarity.



SHINING A LIGHT

In the digital and global landscape of the 21st century, Foundation Center is developing new technologies and strategies to connect foundations and individuals with the transformative tools they need to access crucial funding

By **Aruna D'Souza**



With its move to new offices in Lower Manhattan in 2015, Foundation Center had the opportunity to make its design live up to its organizational mission, working with Gensler, a leading global architecture and design firm, to make that happen. The Center's new reception areas, public and private workspaces, and meeting rooms (including this one, visible from the main reception area) were conceived with transparency in mind. A café, library, training center, and game room encourage collaboration and communication among the many users of the space — employees and clients alike. PHOTO: SEAN SIME

Walking into Foundation Center, perched on the 24th floor of a glass-clad building in Lower Manhattan, is a bit like walking into a buzzy internet startup. Its 38,723-square-foot, open-plan design means that from practically any spot, you might catch a glimpse of many of its hundred-plus onsite employees working intently in cubicles or getting their creative juices flowing with a quick game of chess or a table tennis match. You might also see one of the nonprofit groups who book meeting rooms for strategy sessions or team-building exercises, or individual researchers consulting its databases and getting guidance from its expert staff. And then there's the panorama: an almost 360-degree expanse of New York City skyline and harbor views, thanks to the perimeter of floor-to-ceiling windows.

Foundation Center has long embraced the ideal of transparency, and with its July 2015 move to these new offices from its former location in Union Square, it is now literally transparent. How fitting, since it has played a defining role in bringing the work of philanthropic organizations to light, gathering and making available information using the most advanced technological methods. Given the size of the field — in 2014, the Center counted almost 87,000 philanthropic organizations possessing assets of over \$865 billion and giving away over \$60 billion — this is no easy feat.

Foundation Center was established in 1956, underwritten by a \$100,000 commitment from Carnegie Corporation of New York. Since then it has served many constituencies: philanthropic organizations who want to find out more about the different actors working in their areas of interest; nonprofit organizations and individuals hoping to find grant money to support their activities; journalists, researchers, and other watchdogs attempting to trace the contours of particular grantmaking bodies; and a public seeking to understand the workings of an industry that wields increasing amounts of wealth and influence in the U.S. Despite 60-plus years of changes in the philanthropic landscape, one thing has remained constant: Foundation Center has remained fiercely independent so as to preserve public trust in the information it gathers and the work it does.

Glass Pockets and “America’s Freest Enterprise”

In 1952 Russell Leffingwell, chair of Carnegie Corporation’s board of trustees, advocated for greater public accountability among philanthropists: “We think that the foundation should have glass pockets,” as he famously put it. Leffingwell’s call came in an atmosphere of creeping distrust of the work of foundations by politicians and citizens who were beginning to wonder why an industry that held billions of dollars in capital and benefited from tax exempt status was able to operate relatively

free of government regulation and oversight. In fact, this demand for increased scrutiny may have been prompted by the explosion of foundation assets in the 1940s and 1950s: in the six-year period from 1944 to 1950, the number of foundations grew from 505 to 1,001, as did their wealth, from \$1.8 to \$2.5 billion. Foundations were also watching with growing alarm fraudulent activity taking place under the rubric of charitable activity, and worrying that the integrity and independence of their industry would be at risk unless they began to self-regulate.

The issue came to a head during the McCarthy era, when a few politically ambitious members of Congress began to suggest that the opacity of private philanthropies was a cover for their funding of un-American activities. A series of congressional hearings took place during this period, including the Cox Committee in 1952 and the Reece Committee from 1953 to ’54.

Though no nefarious activity was discovered, a number of leading figures in the field, including Leffingwell, John W. Gardner, and James A. Perkins (president and vice president, respectively, of Carnegie Corporation), decided it would be wise to take proactive steps to ensure philanthropy’s integrity and prevent overregulation by the U.S. government. By proving that foundations had nothing to hide, the industry could remain, as F. Emerson Andrews, founding director of Foundation Center, once described it, “America’s freest enterprise.”

Thus was Foundation Center born. The initial \$100,000 startup money from Carnegie Corporation was soon supplemented by contributions from some of the other so-called legacy foundations, including the Kellogg and Rockefeller foundations. Sixty years later, some 500 organizations support the work of Foundation Center with donations, some as small as \$250. In order to preserve the independence of the new venture, a number of principles were laid out from the start that are strongly held today, including that it not become an advocacy group for foundations, that it not intermediate any grant processes (for instance, by recommending or choosing grant recipients), and that it not function as a membership-based organization. Instead, the Center would focus on the work of information gathering. It is no coincidence, then, that its original name was Foundation Center Library, and that, from its earliest days, it had a librarian on staff.

21st-century Transparency

The need for transparency in philanthropy has not waned in the years since Carnegie Corporation leaders Leffingwell, Gardner, and Perkins urged a “glass pockets” approach. In a recent interview, Vartan Gregorian, current president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, reflecting on the ideas of his predecessors, emphasized that “People should see everything that [foundations] are carrying, because the public has the right to know. That’s one of



The Andrew Carnegie Library at Foundation Center connects the public-facing areas of the Center to its training center, at the same time functioning as a hub and a magnet for people and organizations around the city looking for the most complete, up-to-date information about the philanthropic sector. Relying on open design, high ceilings, sweeping city views, and light-filled work areas, and taking advantage of the reduction of filing space enabled by digitization, the room reimagines the function of the library for the 21st century. PHOTO: SEAN SIME

the reasons I think it's very important that foundations list who they are and what they are promoting in annual reports, not through euphemisms but in a straightforward way. That includes how much money they have spent, who the recipients are, and what progress has been made."

That commitment by some of the leading figures in the sector has paid off. Foundation Center is the single largest repository of information about philanthropic organizations in the world, thanks to over a half century of research into the operations of tens of thousands of entities. That research — and the nature of transparency itself — has transformed radically since the Center's establishment.

In 1956 Foundation Center Library consisted of file cabinets containing about 800,000 paper documents donated by other oversight groups. Center staff went to work gathering information. They relied on foundations' annual reports, articles of incorporation, news releases and clippings, and, especially, on the publicly available 990-A forms that tax-exempt entities submit to the Internal Revenue Service annually. The latter often had to be hand-

copied in the face of the IRS's restrictive access policies. With the IRS and the Urban Institute, the Center created the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities in 1962 — a classification system that enhanced annual print directories.

Today, while the available technology has changed dramatically, other challenges have remained consistent. Foundation Center president Bradford K. Smith explains that "foundations, as private entities serving the public good, are notoriously opaque — even something as simple as the names of trustees or a mailing address can be something of a mystery." There are a number of reasons for this: many foundations are small and don't have the capacity to build the infrastructure that would be required to act in a more public-facing manner, others are motivated by privacy concerns, and still others simply don't know where to begin. Fewer than 10 percent of foundations, says Smith, have websites, for example. And IRS documents, while remaining crucial to the work done by Foundation Center, necessarily involve a time-delay between when the forms are filed and when the public can access them, making real-time updates difficult to achieve.



Mama's Clothes, Keisha Scarville, 2016 Keisha Scarville's photographs, as well as the other artworks that follow on the next two pages, are part of Foundation Center's permanent exhibition, *Connections*, which reflects on the larger mission of the organization. Scarville creates paradoxical self-portraits — paradoxical because instead of revealing herself, she is covered and obscured by her mother's clothes. Moving between landscapes in the New York area and her ancestral homeland, Guyana, these images are both deeply personal, evoking Scarville's relationship to family and her past, and universal, speaking to the experience of being an immigrant, part of a diaspora in which the question of belonging is deeply complicated. PHOTOS: COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Foundation Center is working hard to meet these challenges. By mining advances in information technology, the organization has developed tools that allow its researchers to harvest and distribute data. One of these tools uses machine learning to scrape news sites, identifying any stories about the existence of a previously unknown foundation or grants that foundations might have disbursed. The amount of raw material gathered is vast — in 2017 alone, the Center coded four million individual foundation grants to add to its databases. The taxonomy Foundation Center had used to categorize grants and grantmaking bodies since 1961 has recently been rebuilt as the Philanthropy Classification System. The process took two years, was international in scope, and included a period for public comment, with the goal of setting standards for information gathering that can be used by organizations worldwide to prioritize and categorize data about the sector.

In addition to information gathering, Foundation Center is increasingly turning its attention to helping organizations make their operations more transparent. One of the Center's services, Glasspockets.org, offers philanthropies

the opportunity to benchmark their own efforts and make their work publicly visible against what their peers are doing.

To assist foundations for whom building an online presence might be an onerous task, the Center offers free, customizable, hosted websites. For others, it creates Web apps and platforms that might, say, allow a foundation to create a virtual map of every organization working on their issue worldwide, one that is constantly updated as new information enters the Center's databases.

IssueLab.org, another Foundation Center service, facilitates the creation of custom research modules on particular topics by drawing on an archive of almost 23,000 publications and reports of the activities of 5,600 organizations worldwide.

These and other tools assist philanthropic organizations in answering what Center president Smith identifies as the two "primordial" questions they face: "Number one, who does what where, and number two, how can I identify the people who already know about my issue?"



(l-r) **Temporary Shift | Inter-mission | Ambit**, Ryan Sarah Murphy, 2014, 2015, 2012 Ryan Sarah Murphy gathers cardboard and discarded book covers, transforming them into complex, layered, three-dimensional collages that simultaneously evoke city maps, topographical landscapes, architectural renderings, and geometric abstractions. The artist removes any text, and relies only on the hues of her found materials to create the delicate color relationships in her work. PHOTOS: COURTESY OF THE ARTIST



Works on Paper, Mixed Media, Katya Grokhovsky, 2014–16 Katya Grokhovsky’s art spans painting, drawing, sculpture, installation, performance, photography, text, and video. “Collage” seems to be the underlying and unifying theme of her diverse practice, a way to make sense both of the hybrid nature of her immigrant identity (which has taken her from Ukraine to Australia to Chicago to New York) and the various ways in which pop culture and media shape our sense of self. These works on paper combine photographic images, painting, and drawn elements to reflect on the body, sexuality, and gender identity. PHOTOS: COURTESY OF THE ARTIST



(l-r) **Highest and Best Use (111 Lawrence St.)** | **Highest and Best Use (388 Bridge St.)** | **Highest and Best Use (100 Willoughby St.)**, Lawrence Mesich, 2015–16 Lawrence Mesich turns dry, technical urban policy into compelling visual form in *Highest and Best Use*, a set of three digitally manipulated photographs that hang side by side in long columns, their bottom edges pooling onto the top of a row of filing cabinets. The images represent the aftereffects of a 2004 rezoning law that transformed downtown Brooklyn, pushing out longtime residents and starting a race among developers to build the tallest possible buildings to maximize profit. These works are part of an ongoing series that will expand as the *newest* highest buildings are erected.

PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE ARTIST



Foundation Center president Brad Smith (second from right) meets with colleagues in one of the Center's conference rooms. Gensler's design emphasizes a horizontal form of communication in which all departments and all levels of staff can collaborate on the task at hand. One way the design achieves this is by providing lots of spaces for sharing ideas; another is by having Smith and other organizational leaders sit side by side with their coworkers in open-design offices. PHOTO: SEAN SIME

“When we were asked to create a map of organizations working on human rights, we started searching terms found in the International Declaration of Human Rights. But soon we realized that the question is far more complex. When is soccer, for example, a human rights issue? In some cases, when a program is using soccer to facilitate peace processes in Gaza, it may well be. At other times, it is not. Our tools have to be sensitive enough to know the difference.”

— **Bradford K. Smith**, President, Foundation Center

“Many people, when they talk about the work of foundations, are focused on measuring effectiveness and impact,” he says. “We think of ourselves as working way upstream from these questions — we want to keep philanthropists from constantly reinventing the wheel. The best way to do that is by being able to identify all the actors in the sector and knowing what they’re up to.”

For instance, human rights-focused foundations trying to make the argument that the area needs additional resources might need to know exactly how much foundations are currently spending on human rights work, what non-foundation actors might be working in the field (for example, government funding agencies such as USAID in the U.S. and CIDA in Canada, nongovernmental

organizations like Doctors Without Borders, and so on), where they might direct money to be most effective, and what gaps exist currently.

Finding this information is a matter both of access to data, and refinements in search processes. “When we were asked to create a map of organizations working on human rights, we started searching terms found in the International Declaration of Human Rights,” explains Smith. “But soon we realized that the question is far more complex. When is soccer, for example, a human rights issue? In some cases, when a program is using soccer to facilitate peace processes in Gaza, it may well be. At other times, it is not. Our tools have to be sensitive enough to know the difference.”

The Human Touch

At the same time that Foundation Center is developing such cutting-edge technology, it relies heavily on human expertise to connect people to the information that will be most useful to them. “In that sense, we’ve never left our roots as Foundation Center Library,” Smith says.

Within a few years of the organization’s founding, it became clear there was a demand for its services that could not be met by a single office in New York. Satellite offices were set up around the country, each replicating to the extent possible the information and expertise available in Foundation Center’s New York headquarters — including an onsite librarian to assist users with their searches. That spirit continues today at sites in Cleveland, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. In addition, Foundation Center has created a network of an additional 436 community-based organizations all over the U.S. and in an increasing number of international locations (to date, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, Puerto Rico, Nigeria, Colombia, and Mexico), where users can take advantage of the full range of available information and search tools the Center offers. Each of these affinity groups agrees to have an expert on hand. While there is a “lite” version of the Center’s databases available for free to offsite users, it is only by visiting the Center’s offices or community-based organizations that clients can access the full power of the Center’s search capacities. (There is also a paid subscription option.)

That users are encouraged to actually come to the Center is no accident. “We don’t want people to just walk in and see a blank computer screen. We want them instead to know there’s a real person there who can help them navigate and refine their search,” says Smith. “Whatever our technological advances, there’s no doubt that human intelligence makes the search process much more efficient.”

At the New York office alone, Foundation Center receives 40,000 visitors per year — not including people who take advantage of the Center’s “Ask Us” service, which allows them to engage the Center’s team of experts answering questions via email or in real time via online chat. Users can tailor their database searches to find foundations that are most likely to fund activities like theirs. They can see the list of officers, contact numbers, and addresses, how the grant process works, whether and how to apply, when application deadlines are — information that is often difficult to glean when so few foundations have online presences. One of the most useful features is a list of past recipients of grants and their amounts for each foundation listing, which allows users to identify those foundations with which they might find the most funding success.

In addition Foundation Center offers free and fee-based educational programs to the public, including

grant-writing workshops. GrantSpace.org, another Foundation Center website, aims to answer the most pressing questions of nonprofit organizations: How can I find board members for my organization? How can I find sources of pro bono expertise? Can nonprofits engage in advocacy or lobbying efforts? What is crowdfunding? For those who cannot travel to the Center or to one of its satellites, at foundationcenter.org there are webinars, training videos, sample documents, and a “collaboration hub” that allows small organizations to come together to lower costs and expand their reach.

For Jon Gilgoff, founder of Brothers on the Rise in Oakland, California, such resources were crucial to establishing his nonprofit. “I never had any interest in starting an organization, but then I did. It’s very humbling to have a lot to learn; you’re the executive director and so you’re supposed to know what you’re doing. You need places to go that won’t be judgmental and will welcome you in, and that are friendly and patient.... There was good information [at Foundation Center] and I remember spending hours doing the research and getting a grounding through those introductory workshops that are free, which is important when you’re small and just starting out.”

In 2016 Gilgoff partnered with Foundation Center to organize a “Meet the Funder” gathering, because a similar event years earlier had proven definitive for his own success. “I didn’t have any relationships with funders — how could I when philanthropy wasn’t my world? I didn’t know anyone. So if relationships matter, Foundation Center is a place to start building them.”

Going Global

As philanthropy begins to play a larger role around the world, and as U.S.-based nonprofits search for the information they need to make strategic decisions about starting or expanding programs and grant opportunities outside the country, Foundation Center’s international reach is growing. So, too, is the need to gather information differently.

In our visit to their New York headquarters, we stopped to talk to Cynthia Nuara, who works in the division of Social Sector Outreach. She explained the challenges and opportunities involved in Foundation Center’s global ambitions: “The needs of the international community are quite different than here. For example, our partner from Spain was just visiting, and was noticing that for the organizations that they serve, the information that we gather in our database is pretty U.S.-centric. Also, the different regulations when it comes to transparency in other countries are quite challenging to navigate. In addition many non-U.S.-based organizations don’t make grants, they operate programs, which means they are often not obligated to report their activities.”

At the same time, collaborations with international partners have proven invaluable when it comes to information gathering and sharing. The Center's Colombian partner has recently translated a number of training modules into Spanish, and their Chinese partner is doing the same, making the Center's resources usable by thousands of additional clients around the world. The Chinese collaborating organization also shares the data it gathers with Foundation Center's global network.

The next stage, says Center president Smith, is rethinking this network and expanding their research on global organizations. So far, Foundation Center's collaborations have been opportunistic, "mostly people coming to us and expressing interest," but that's poised to change. "We've never had a concerted strategy to reach out and develop our presence in certain areas. But we're closer to that. We're moving in that direction. There's an incredible hunger for resources about philanthropy and data on philanthropy. We're trying to do as much as we can to fill that need." ■

Good Works Everywhere ... Even the Office

Art Connects New York and curator Peter Gynd bring a vibrant collection of site-specific contemporary artworks to Foundation Center's New York headquarters

Not much can compete with the sweeping views of New York City from the windows of Foundation Center's New York City offices — except for the art that hangs on its walls. In collaboration with Art Connects New York, an organization devoted to bringing art into nonprofit spaces around the city, the Center's offices feature a permanent exhibition of the work of nine artists.

The show, titled *Connections*, was executed by Peter Gynd, an independent curator tapped specifically for this project by Art Connects. According to Stuart Anthony, executive director of Art Connects, a different curator is chosen for each project it undertakes. "By working with lots of independent curators, we can bring fresh voices into our conversations and include a much wider range of artists than if we were relying on a single, in-house person."

For Foundation Center, Gynd sought out artists as diverse as the constituencies the Center serves — in terms of media, artistic approach, and cultural experience. "I wanted to bring in work by artists who are involved in the broader cultural dialogue, works that you might not expect to see in a corporate environment," he explains.

"Usually, in an office setting, you find framed work hung on the walls," Gynd explains. "But at Foundation Center, we were able to bring in work that activates the space in different ways." The result is a collection that ranges from large-scale installations to sculptural wall reliefs to intimately sized collages — each chosen with a careful eye to its architectural setting and the people who visit and work there.

For example, the spaces used by members of the public needed to be warm and welcoming; Gynd commissioned a

colorful yarn-based wall hanging to display above a long and inviting row of couches in the passageway that connects library and training center rooms, bringing, he says, a "human touch and sense of intimacy." In their workspace, technology-focused staff members find echoes of the 3D-topographies of video game landscapes in delicately colored and layered collages by Ryan Sarah Murphy.

After getting to know the mission of Foundation Center, Gynd focused on the concept of transparency to guide his curatorial decisions, both by bringing New York City into the organization's space and by reflecting on how the Center's work extends back into the city. Some of the themes touched on by the collection include the economic and demographic transformations of the metropolis, the archaeological quality of materials discarded on city sidewalks, and immigration and diaspora as a transformative element of urban life.

All this was made possible by Art Connects, a 10-year-old entity that aims to enrich the lives of underserved New Yorkers by installing art in social services organizations throughout the city. Since its founding, Art Connects estimates it has touched the lives of 125,000 constituents in all five boroughs, with projects at over 40 organizations serving youth and teens, at-risk women, low-income residents and recent immigrants, the disabled, the homeless, and others. All the artwork is donated by "New York City artists giving back to New York City," says Anthony.

For Anthony, the opportunity to assist Foundation Center form its collection was welcome. "Foundation Center isn't like most of our other projects," he says. "But the fact is that it serves all of our constituencies, at a remove. Every one of the social services organizations we've worked with has relied on the resources the Center provides. Including Art Connects, I might add."

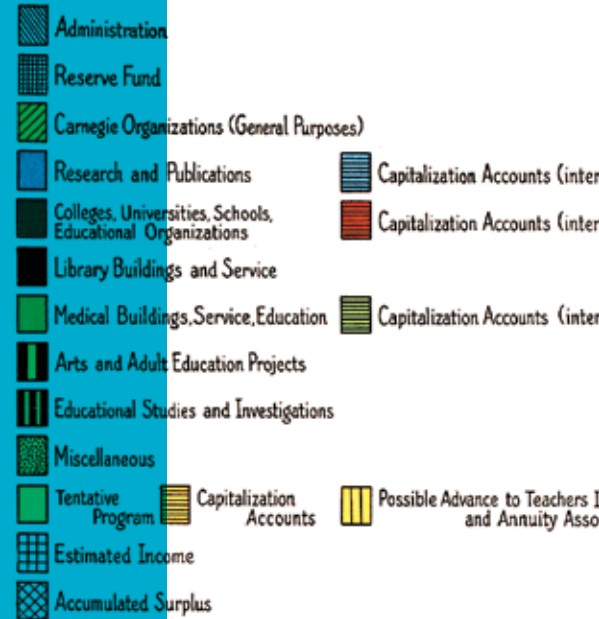
"They could have easily hired a private art consultant to fill their walls with art," he laughs. "But they didn't want to go that route. They wanted to engage a community partner, because that's what they do. You can't get more mission-centric than that."

CARNEGIE CORPORATION of NEW YORK

INCOME, OBLIGATIONS, PROBABLE GRANTS AND
TENTATIVE PROGRAM COMMITMENTS

Period 1924-25 to 1945-46, Inclusive
(Principal Fund Only)

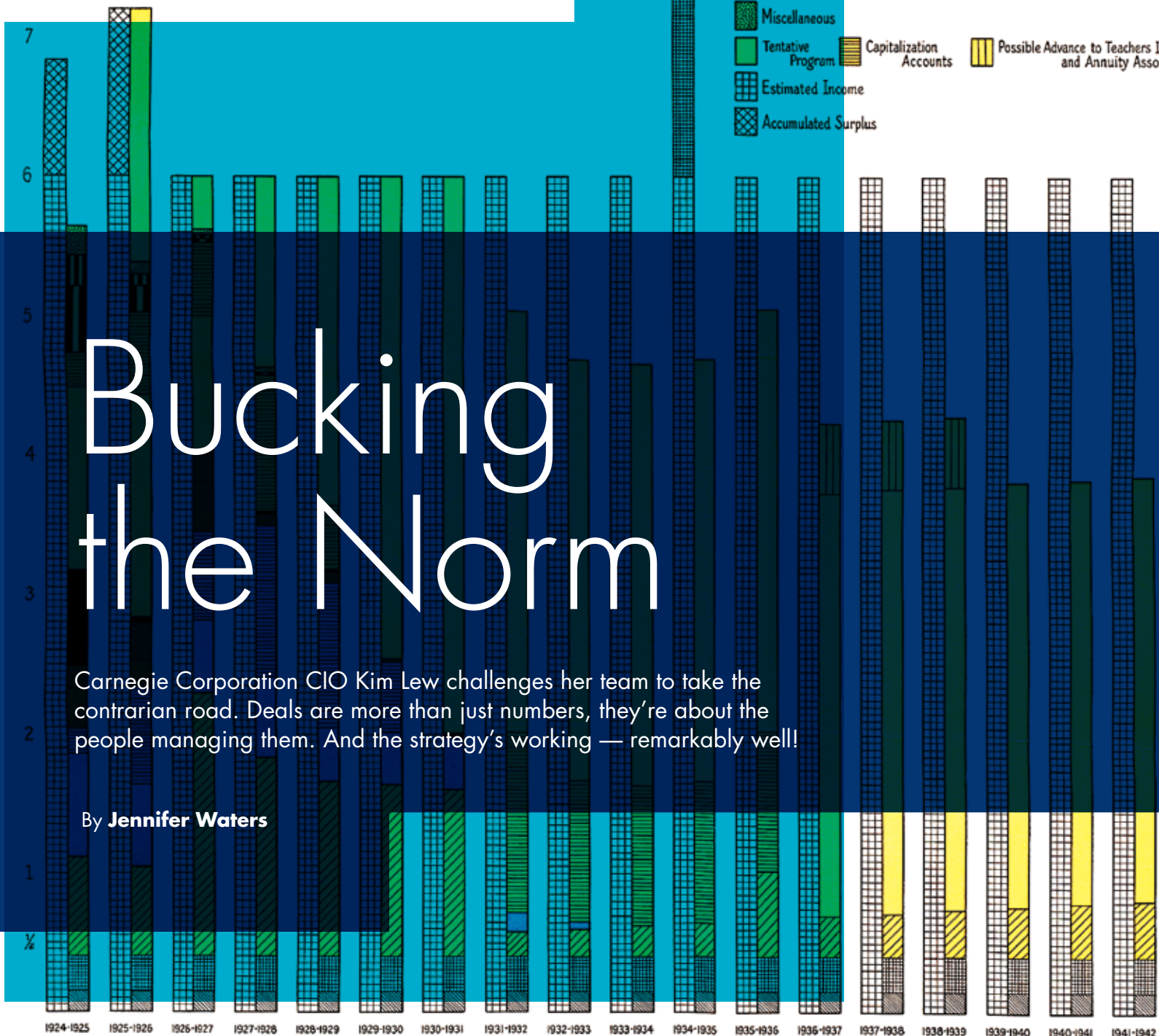
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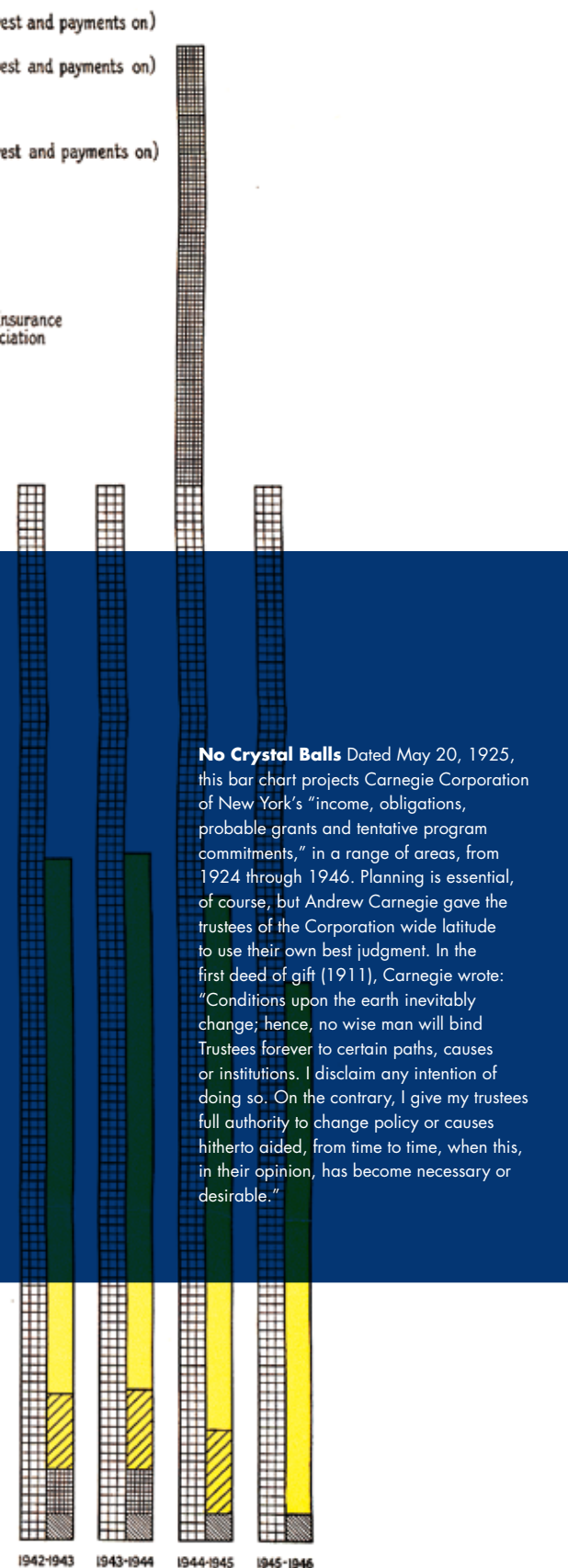


Bucking the Norm

Carnegie Corporation CIO Kim Lew challenges her team to take the contrarian road. Deals are more than just numbers, they're about the people managing them. And the strategy's working — remarkably well!

By **Jennifer Waters**





V artan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, wrote recently of the importance of underscoring academic freedom as a means of providing “students, scholars, and researchers of all stripes an opportunity to be wildly creative in their journeys, to investigate anything that interests them without being constrained by the marketplace pressures.”

He was writing about the challenges facing us to digest and synthesize the “infoglut” brought upon by this latest surge in the Information Age and, inevitably, the Internet of Things. But he might as well have been speaking of the inner sanctum workings of Carnegie Corporation’s own investment group, the team that Chief Investment Officer Kim Y. Lew is successfully spearheading to manage a diversified investment portfolio and oversight of the Corporation’s endowment.

Call it “Carnegie University.” The term *academic freedom*, first cited in Constitutio Habita, the University of Bologna’s charter penned in the mid-12th century, “guaranteed the right of a traveling scholar to unhindered passage in the interests of education.”

Translated into “Carnegie University” language, the offices of Carnegie’s investment team have become a training ground to learn the investment intricacies of managing a multibillion-dollar portfolio in an unrestricted, supportive, but challenges-welcome environment. It’s not just limited to those with an affinity toward finance and math either; the team has included a lawyer, an actress, and even an anthropologist.

It’s a good fit with Andrew Carnegie’s original vision in 1911, when he put the last \$135 million of his fortune into this philanthropic foundation to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding.

Lew’s narrative for the team she has personally hired and fostered is also spun from her unshakable conviction toward authenticity in the workplace, a penchant toward curious minds and risk-taking, and the fundamental belief that the investment world is far more than purely a numbers game. It is, at its core, a people business.

Lew will be the first to admit that she tends to “mother” her team — but don’t confuse that with “babying.” Think of it as professional nurturing. She pushes them to think outside the traditional foundation and endowment boxes that tend to be restrictive and risk averse. She gives them the freedom to take a topic from a level of pure curiosity to profundity, and dares them to be intrepid in the process.

It’s her own experiences after more than two decades in the world of finance and commerce that guide her. In Lew’s early professional days she received advice that she called “liberating” and that she still lives by as a contrarian

investor and manager: Don't fear failure. Be a maverick and be uncomfortable with the unproven. Take bold chances but think critically, and do the deep and necessary research first. And it's perfectly acceptable to make some mistakes and take risks as long as you work hard and learn from them — a tenet of "Carnegie University."

"Risk-taking has to be grounded in a lot of good work, due diligence, and global thinking," says Lew, who has led the team since 2011, first in a co-CIO role, and since 2016, as the sole CIO. "We set up a structure: that everyone takes ownership of unmasking risk in due diligence, and then we have a rigorous but friendly debate about what's before us."

The structure, academic in nature, has shaped Lew's investment team's thinking from the get-go. It also has Gregorian's fingerprints all over it. Before becoming Carnegie Corporation's president in 1997, Gregorian led a long and impressive career in higher education, including nine years as the president of Brown University, preceded by an eight-year stint at the helm of The New York Public Library. With a PhD from Stanford University, Gregorian spent nearly 40 years in a variety of leadership, teaching, and fellowship positions, as well as serving on a multitude of boards. He has been the recipient of scores of distinguished awards, honors, medals, and honorary degrees, not to mention dozens of accolades for his contributions to education and society, including the prestigious Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2004.

That history could explain why Gregorian chose to shake up typical policy-oriented foundation thinking in favor of a more exploratory, even unique investment route. Andrew Carnegie believed that the rich are merely "trustees" of their wealth and are under a moral obligation to invest it in ways that promote the welfare and happiness of the common man. Following Carnegie's desire that his foundation continue his "beneficial work" in perpetuity, Gregorian knew he needed to create a top-notch investment team that would be, as quoted above, "wildly creative in their journeys." And to leverage that creativity of a talented team charged with maximizing risk-adjusted returns, Gregorian changed the governance structure that had been in place since the founding of the Corporation. Third-party managers are now chosen and underwritten by the professional in-house team rather than by the trustees' Investment Management Committee and their advisors.

"Vartan really understood how important it was to professionalize the investment operation of the foundation," says D. Ellen Shuman, the Corporation's former CIO, who now heads Edgehill Endowment Partners, a wealth-management company for small nonprofit organizations.

The two brainstormed on what path they would take and settled, after much deep debate and hard discussion, to take the road (or roads) less traveled. Or, as they say in the

investment community, to adopt a contrarian viewpoint. "You just can't make money if you're doing what everyone else is doing," Shuman says. "You have to do something that is different."

That's risky for a foundation whose mission and livelihood depend on the returns its investments generate. Remember, Andrew Carnegie expected his foundation to last from 1911 to eternity when he planted that \$135 million of restricted net assets in the Corporation. There are no alumni associations feeding that kitty and there has not been one additional dime of endowment since then.

The investment team must have a keen eye to tap on what's right when everything looks wrong, and to do the painstaking research needed to move the needle from intuition to conviction. Not surprisingly, this "do something different" thinking is not well liked by the powers that be at most foundations and endowments. "Not everything works out perfectly," Lew allows. "We have to agree that we are long-term investors and we may miss some tactile move in an effort to be long-term and strategic investors." But again, due diligence is key. "You can't mitigate risk if you don't identify risk," Lew emphasizes.

For its part, Carnegie Corporation has long eschewed the what-have-you-done-for-us-lately investment attitude in favor of a long-term smoothing approach that allows it to adjust its budget to weather short-term volatility. That gives the investment team a level of flexibility not available to every foundation or endowment that judges performance strictly on a quarterly basis.

The Investment Management Committee has been chaired by three giants of the investment industry throughout the last 18 years: Vincent A. Mai, former chairman of AEA Investors, one of the oldest private equity funds in the U.S.; Martin L. Leibowitz, managing director of Morgan Stanley; and most recently, Geoffrey T. Boisi, retired vice chairman of JPMorgan Chase and chairman of Roundtable Investment Partners. Boisi retired from the Carnegie Corporation board and its investment committee at the end of 2017.

Shuman credits the leadership of Gregorian and the investment committee; their support, she says, was unwavering — even in the worst of times. And she credits their patience in backing long-term investments that might find peaks and, yes, some uncomfortable valleys in the pursuit of returns that outpace most foundation standards. It's tough to take a contrarian route when it might have been easier not to do so, or, moreover, when the chips were at their lowest.

"Finding these pockets of opportunity — that's the fun part of our job, but it requires governance that is supportive of doing things that are very unpopular at the time," Shuman says. Here's an example: Investing in subprime mortgages

in 2009, amid the aftermath of the global financial crisis, the explosion in the housing market, and the masses running scared. “That was really very challenging for the investment committee,” Shuman says. “When we said we should invest in housing, people were like ‘Are you crazy?’”

It turned out to be among the most lucrative investments Carnegie Corporation has ever undertaken. Its early investing in African stocks in 2000, small-cap Asian stocks, and venture capital and private equity endeavors in India and China, plus a Brazilian investment in 2005, when it was “very out of favor,” ended up working well for the Corporation too.

“Everyone says they’re willing to be contrarian, but often their risk aversion overcomes them and they shy away,” Shuman says. “We were fortunate enough to have an investment committee that knew what we were doing was for the long term and had the patience to wait it out.”

Shuman built her team slowly and deliberately, hiring Meredith Jenkins fresh out of Harvard Business School in 1999, and embarking on this titanic shift in investment thinking whose course Lew now steers. The university model that they carved out and implemented included what one might expect: discovery, research, mentorship, scholarship, application, and integration in a challenging environment. It also includes a huge dose of humility, because as an investment leader on the team, you can be faced with a motley crew of like-minded but testy intellectuals who expect you to explain, in detail, how you dotted every “i” and crossed every “t.”

Lew joined Carnegie in 2007 as a director of investments after more than a decade at the Ford Foundation. Ultimately, it was that triumvirate of women — Shuman, Jenkins, and Lew — that put together and coached the dream team that is now in place. Under Shuman’s tutelage, Carnegie Corporation dramatically stirred the investment portfolio pot, globally and by asset class, to far exceed its policy benchmark. Assets grew to \$2.55 billion from \$1.5 billion, while the Corporation doled out more than \$1 billion in grants advancing world peace, democracy, and education in the U.S., the U.K., and sub-Saharan Africa.

The investment team resets the asset allocation every three years and is due to review it again in 2018. As of June 2017, the portfolio was dispersed as follows: 35.1 percent global equity, 20.2 percent absolute return, 19.2 percent private equity, 15 percent real assets (which includes real estate and natural resources), and 10.5 percent fixed income and cash. The one-year return on the portfolio, again as of June 2017, was 12.1 percent while the three-year return stands at 7.4 percent and the five-year at 10.8 percent.

Shuman left the Corporation in 2011, and the investment leadership post became a shared role, with Jenkins and Lew as co-CIOs carrying the mantle that Shuman created in Gregorian’s vision.

When Jenkins was named CIO of Trinity Wall Street in 2016, Lew became sole CIO at Carnegie Corporation. She and her team — remarkably nimble and lean for the weight of what is now a \$3.43 billion portfolio — are doing a lot of heavy lifting. The hours are long and the days jammed with research gathering, model building, minding the bevy of fund managers under their watch, and attending conferences and other professional gatherings. Plus there are the lunches and dinners and extensive travel, both domestically and worldwide.

They have extended “Carnegie University” to partners outside the Corporation through mentoring, offering advice to those still in start-up mode and ideas to those more seasoned. They all have a deep network of business relationships and sources that they share to help their partners succeed too. Just as the team’s successes are tied to each other, so, too, is the success of each partner.

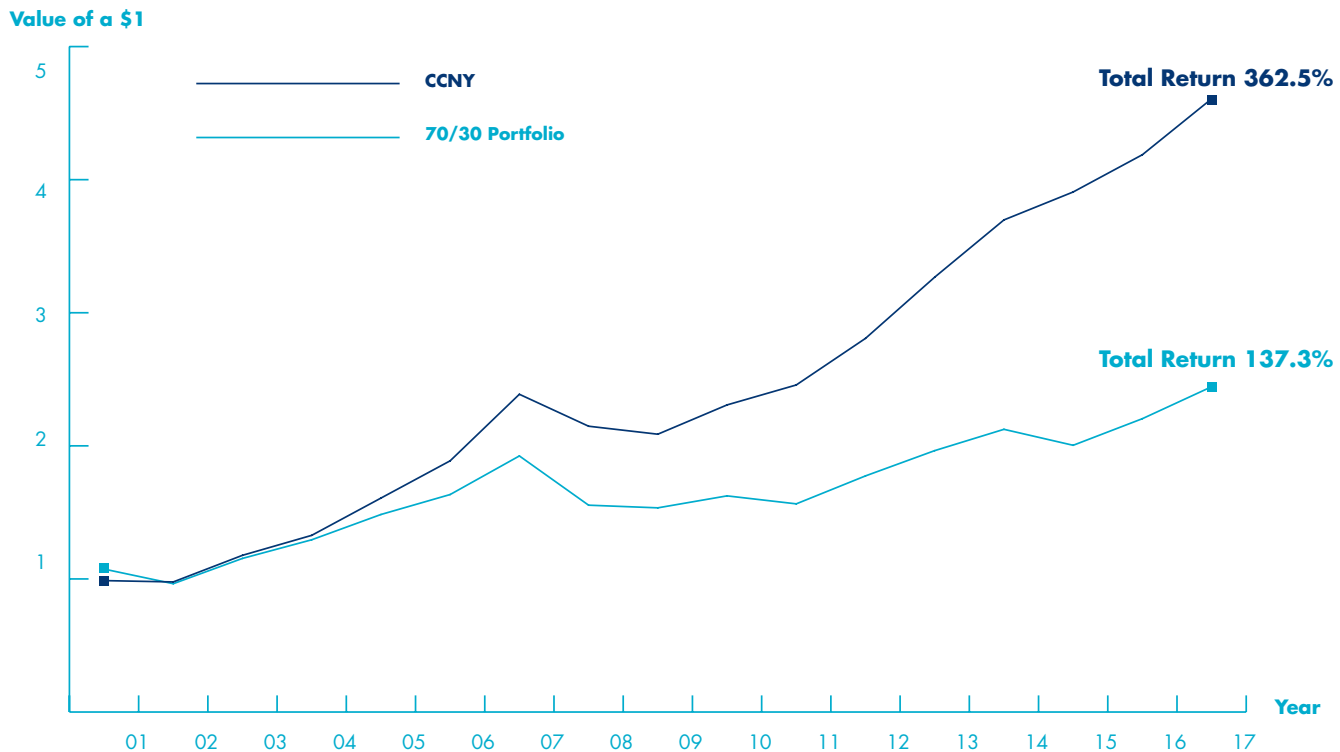
Ask Lee Hicks and Jan Koerner, cofounders of Park Presidio Capital. When the duo’s hedge fund was still in start-up mode four years ago, they reached out to Carnegie Corporation. It took more than half a year of getting-to-know-you meetings for the Corporation to fully understand the group’s ethos — its uniqueness, goals, personality, and mission — before becoming one of the fund’s first big partners, both financially and as teachers.

“They provided us with insight, suggestions, and guidance that was extremely valuable to us in that first year as first-time business owners,” Hicks says. “They have deep contacts in the industry and they have opened those up whenever we’ve needed them.”

“With some more short-term oriented investors, the discussion when something doesn’t go well is about the symptom, the specific investment that has gone wrong,” Koerner adds. “But Carnegie helps us understand where in our investment process we might have had a breakdown or a failure, which is more thoughtful and long-term oriented thinking.

“They want to make sure that our process works correctly, which allows us to avoid falling into the same pitfalls in the future,” he adds.

If there’s a collective comment from vendors and outside managers, it is this: The Carnegie investment team’s mantra is that they invest in people and they want to know the managers so well that they will have an idea of the decision-making process that might go into righting a wrong and finding new investments before that wrong even happens. Of course, they’re looking for a sound investment philosophy that can be repeated, but they look for teams that share the same values and global viewpoints as the Corporation does. Again, it’s the people quotient.



Measure of Success Over the course of 16 years as head of the Board of Trustees Investment Management Committee, Geoffrey T. Boisi answered the call of three Chief Investment Officers, including Kim Lew. During his tenure Carnegie Corporation of New York enjoyed impressive growth in the value of its endowment while spending over \$1.7 billion in support of its mission. As this graph shows, during that period performance far outpaced the 70/30 traditional allocation. The steady hand and wise counsel of Geoff Boisi, who stepped down from the Board in December 2017, ensured that Carnegie Corporation of New York was able to remain committed — even through the Great Financial Crisis of 2008 — to its crucial mission of promoting the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding.

“The common wisdom is that asset allocation is the most critical factor in generating strong investment performance,” Shuman says. “I would argue that manager selection is the most important aspect of managing a global portfolio.”

Tomas Ackerman, cofounder of Carnelian Energy Capital, said that when he and his partner, Daniel Goodman, first met up with the Corporation’s team in 2015 about raising funds for their energy investment firm, their goal was to impress upon the team their differentiated strategy for finding companies in which they could optimize the cost structure and be a better operator as investment vehicles.

“We initially wanted a good personal relationship and wanted to make sure there was a connection personally, that we all saw the world in the same way,” he says. “They asked a lot of questions, but what stood out to us is that they really wanted to get to know the people. Lots of their questions were around us, our risk profile, how we think

about the partnership, and about how Daniel and I work together — how do we work out disagreements and those sorts of things.

“It was refreshing,” he adds. “The Carnegie investment team looks at this as a people business because at the end of the day, you’re investing in people, not companies.”

And maybe that’s ultimately what Andrew Carnegie himself wanted: to give more than just dollars and cents, envisioning a world in which people of all stripes can “do good” with whatever means they may have.

“Everyone who has but a small surplus above his moderate wants may share this privilege with his richer brothers, and those without surplus can give at least part of their time, which is usually as important as funds, and often more so,” Carnegie wrote in *The Gospel of Wealth*. He, too, envisioned a people business. ■



Dream Team

Diversity + Intellectual Power + Relationships = Results

Kim Lew is leading a dream team that follows the investment strategy of Carnegie Corporation of New York: Buck the norm.

The endowment and foundation world is not known for its diversity, but Lew takes the contrarian route there, too. Lew and her team pride themselves on their assorted social and professional backgrounds, ethnicities, and sexual orientations, recognizing that each person's upbringing and life circumstances allow for distinctive voices and angles when it comes to investment decision-making.

"She has cultivated an environment, through hiring and active management, that encourages us all to think differently," says Brooke Jones, one of three investment directors in Lew's camp. Jones's background starts in economic development and financial services consulting in Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia, leading to her primary role as a director of investments in emerging markets. "We have a unified philosophy in how we invest, but from an intellectual diversity standpoint, we are

encouraged to view the world a little bit differently. She does that to avoid groupthink — we don't always agree with each other."

Indeed, the team operates as a nonhierarchical think tank in an environment that demands deep dives into due diligence and that all-important people quotient. No stone is left unturned. Directors and analysts research, dissect, challenge, and interpret every nuance of each and every deal and the management behind it.

"The goal is to be sure that the risks are unearthed," Lew says. "You can't mitigate the risk if you can't identify the risk. And if risk is not identified, it is everyone's fault because everyone is charged with unearthing risk."

She goes beyond that premise to ensure that there are no dire consequences should things go wrong. "All people can't be right at the same time," she says. "There is a penalty for not raising a risk factor."

Woman of the Year Kim Lew takes the podium at the Harvard Club of Boston at *Institutional Investor* magazine's 2017 Endowments & Foundations Roundtable awards, June 6, 2017. Lew was named CIO of the year by her peers for her leadership in the sector and for her long-term investment performance. In December 2017, *Chief Investment Officer* magazine named Lew one of its Industry Innovation Award winners. *CIO* put the case succinctly: "The year 2017 has been a big one for Lew." PHOTO: KATARINA STORFER



Deep Divers into Due Diligence: The Carnegie Corporation of New York Investments Team

BACK ROW (L-R): Ken Lee, director of investments; Iris Lee, junior investment analyst; Michael Burns, operations manager; Jacqueline Guttman, investment analyst; Jon-Michael Consalvo, associate director of investments

SEATED (L-R): Brooke Jones, director of investments; Kim Lew, vice president and CIO; Alisa Mall, director of investments

PHOTO: CELESTE FORD

As starkly different as their early lives and professional careers were, the team's academic backgrounds are remarkably similar. The eight-member team may be small, but they make up for it with what Jon-Michael Consalvo, an associate director, calls "a bit of intimidating intellectual firepower." Most have their MBAs and other advanced degrees from the likes of the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard Business School, Stanford University, and Yale University. One is a lawyer, another is an anthropologist, and yet another was once a budding actress.

"Optically, we look similar, but the way we got to those schools is really different," says Ken Lee, who has more of a traditional investment and hedge fund of funds work history. He is the go-to for both developed markets and venture capital and growth equity activity in private markets.

Lee, for example, the son of a Chinese immigrant mother he affectionately calls a "classic tiger mom," is a graduate of a San Francisco public magnet school he describes as life altering. "We have a really different gender balance compared to a lot of groups, also social backgrounds and sexual orientation. And that's good because if everyone comes from the same thought process, it becomes an echo chamber."

Lew, herself, is the product of a Chinese immigrant father and an African-American mother who met in Harlem and were both 17 years old when she was born. She grew up in the Bronx, attended the Bronx High School of Science, and went on to Wharton for her undergraduate degree and Harvard for her MBA.

Prior to joining Carnegie Corporation, Lew worked in private placement and middle market banking before moving over to the Ford Foundation. She rose through the ranks of the Ford Foundation to senior manager of private equity where, among other responsibilities, she explored new areas of alternative investing while managing investments in venture capital and buyout funds. She has fused her experiences, both professional and personal, into investment and management strategies that embrace idiosyncratic risks, diversification, and earnings potential.

But she also tosses in a measure of benevolence that permeates every level of her management style and mentoring — from how she chooses the people she hires, to how she oversees the office and staff, to how the team approaches deals and investments.

"Most of these team members are not just intellectually powerful in understanding the math or the finance, or how to build models or underwrite a company," says Consalvo, a New Jersey native who joined the Corporation straight out of New York University's Stern School of Business before earning a Wharton MBA. He is primarily responsible for

the buyout portfolio and helps to oversee the portfolio management side of things. "They understand the human factor around things like team building and what things go into building a great firm, which is oftentimes more important in the work we do than having the analytical abilities."

Lew concedes that being a woman boss and a mother may be part of the secret sauce. Her team is an extension of her family, and she wants team members to think of themselves as a family, which they largely do. "You don't love your brothers and sisters every day," she says. "Sometimes they annoy or aggravate you. But there is a sense of having a little bit of responsibility for each other in some way." At the same time, she recognizes that her own success is directly tied to the triumphs of each of her team members.

"She is all about elevating her team," says Alisa Mall, an investment director who manages the corporation's real estate and natural resources portfolio. "She is invested in each of us significantly — in terms of time and guidance — which is a wonderful quality for a boss." Mall, an attorney, is a West Coast native, whose father is a diagnostic radiology doctor and whose mother is a development professional and vice-president of the San Francisco Public Library Commission.

The junior investment analysts are Iris Lee and Jacqueline Guttman. Lee, the daughter of Taiwanese immigrants, studied in Morocco and spent summers teaching English in Taiwan. She is the anthropologist and a Brandeis University graduate. Guttman, a Barnard College graduate, was born and raised in Houston, the daughter of a Midwest-raised father and an Israeli-born mother who grew up in the U.S. The newest member of the team is Michael Burns, a graduate of Middle Tennessee State University, who came on board in October as its operations manager. He's got a degree in finance and nearly 10 years in investment operations, including seven at Vanderbilt University's Office of Investments.

Gabrielle Porter, the former actress, might also be considered the first graduate of "Carnegie University." She joined Carnegie as a temporary administrative assistant in 2015 and worked in admin for about a year before being promoted to operations associate. She recently left the Corporation to join the investor relations team at Almanac Realty Investors, a move that could be considered a testament to the mentoring the team employs, internally and externally. "They were all such great natural mentors in creating an opportunity for me and helping me transition from acting, which I loved, to this investing world," Porter says. "The team is greater than the sum of its people, and that's what makes it so special."

Andrew Carnegie isn't around to witness this, or course. "No man can become rich," he once said, "without himself enriching others." The remark may in fact be apocryphal — but in spirit, it is pure Carnegie. ■

CENTER **POINT**



VISIONARIES

2017 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy recipients
are honored for their “awe-inspiring” munificence

Illustrations by **Montse Bernal**



On Tuesday, October 3, a beautiful fall afternoon, more than 300 distinguished guests — including Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian, Yo-Yo Ma, and Big Bird! — gathered in the Beaux-Arts splendor of The New York Public Library to salute nine remarkable men and women, the recipients of the 2017 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy. In tribute to Andrew Carnegie’s Scottish heritage, a bagpiper led the procession of the medalists into the elegant Celeste Bartos Forum. President Gregorian detailed the exceptional achievements of the “class” of 2017, saluting them as “living examples of Andrew Carnegie’s philanthropic legacy,” whose munificence is not only “remarkable, but awe-inspiring.”

A portfolio of original portraits of the 2017 medalists by acclaimed Barcelona-based artist Montse Bernal follows as a colorful testament to these visionary philanthropists. To the left is Ms. Bernal’s interpretation of the symbolic lighting of the Empire State Building tower in the colors of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy — navy, purple, and yellow. This tribute to the cofounder (with John D. Rockefeller) of modern philanthropy took place on November 25, marking Andrew Carnegie’s birthday as well as continuing the celebrations around the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy with its #GivingHero campaign. A splendid photograph of the illuminated Empire State Building from that evening appears on the back cover of this magazine.

For a gallery of photographs from the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy ceremony, see pp. 90–91.

For even more (including videos), visit: medalofphilanthropy.org



Mei Hing Chak
Heungkong Charitable Foundation

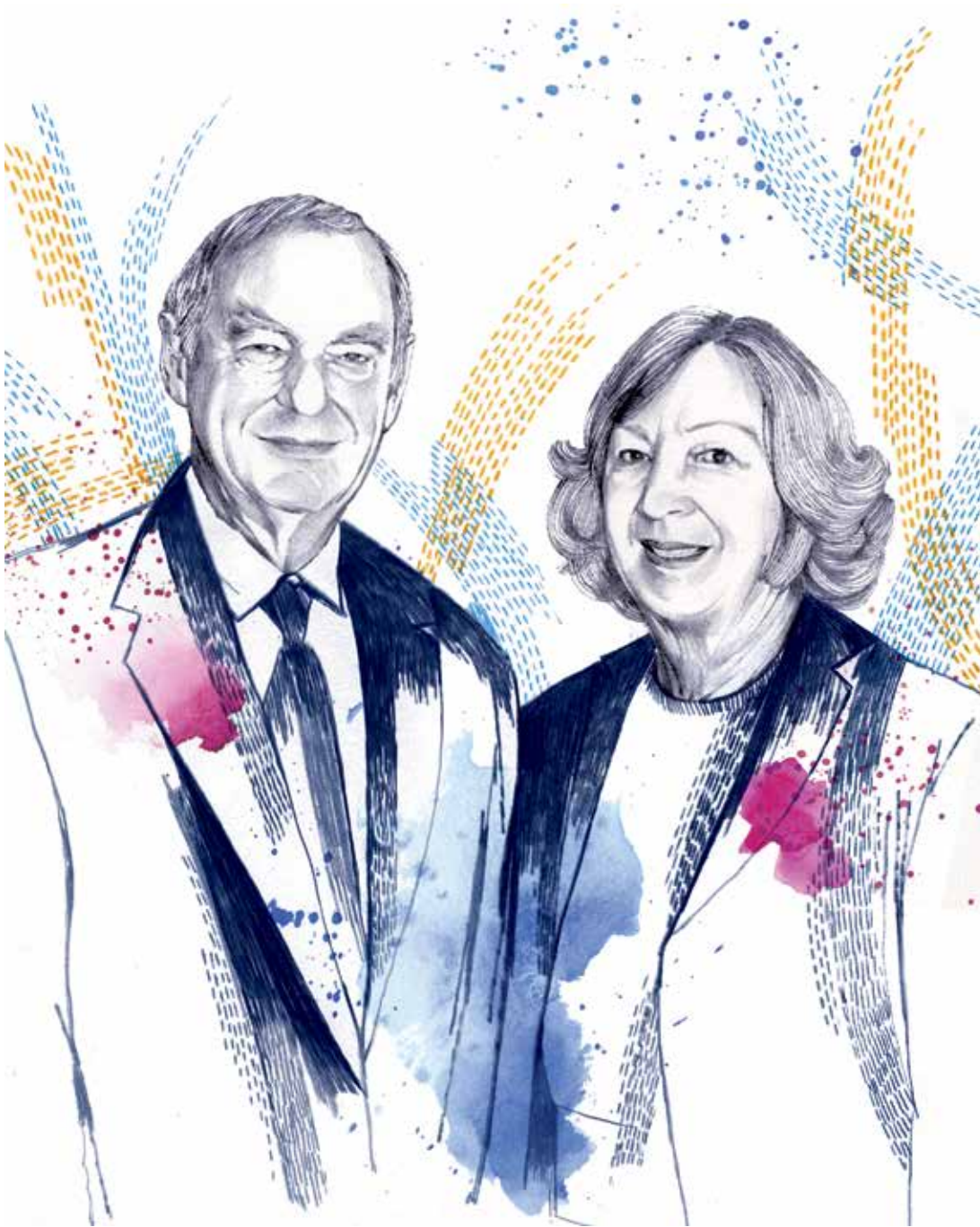


A self-made businesswoman of extraordinary accomplishments, Mei Hing Chak was born into a humble household in southern China's Guangdong province. From the launch of a small garment business following high school, she would go on to found the Heungkong Group in 1990, a conglomerate specializing in a wide range of businesses with more than 20,000 employees. Having achieved tremendous success in business, Chak next turned her attention toward an even greater calling, philanthropy. In 2005 she conceived and spearheaded the Heungkong Charitable Foundation — China's first private philanthropic foundation. Concentrating primarily on education, poverty alleviation, rescue, and disaster relief, the foundation to date has served over two million needy people, funded 1,500 libraries, sent books to over a million students, given loans to women in rural areas, and provided assistance to more than 80,000 disabled children and elderly citizens.

Chak is at the forefront of the growing philanthropic trend in China, where the United Nations estimates donations have tripled since 2010. Her desire to help uplift the people of her country helped inspire her achievements in business, and she sets an example for the next generation of philanthropists in China. It is difficult to predict how many more of those in need will be helped because of her leadership, but it is easy to admire Chak for her foresight and commitment to giving back. For *Forbes Asia*, she is part of the new vanguard of “heroes of philanthropy” who are making their mark.

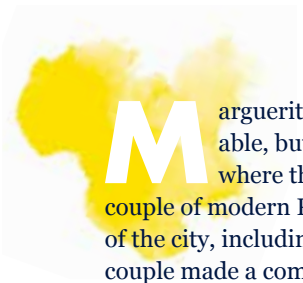


“I looked within myself and had a moment of enlightenment. The value of life is actually not measured by the amount of wealth you possess, but by the contribution you make to society, and happiness is the ultimate pursuit in our life and that happiness does not come from material influence, but spiritual contentment.”



Marguerite and H. F. "Gerry" Lenfest

Lenfest Foundation



Marguerite and Gerry Lenfests' ties to the community are remarkable, but what is truly unique is their willingness to put their wealth where those deep ties lie. Sometimes described as the founding couple of modern Philadelphia, the Lenfests support the cultural cornerstones of the city, including education, art, music, and museums. Just last year, the couple made a commitment to supporting local journalism like never seen before, donating the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and its sister publications to a nonprofit media institute. Their hope: that quality journalism will stand the test of time in Philadelphia. However, the scope of the Lenfests' philanthropy reaches far beyond Pennsylvania, the state they love and have long called home. Columbia University, for example, where Gerry Lenfest attended law school, references the "Lenfest Effect," a term coined to characterize the transformational nature of the couple's support for the university.

Perhaps one of the most revealing characteristics of the Lenfests' generosity and authenticity is their innate modesty. In the early years of their philanthropy, they purchased a large plot of land in Chester County, Pennsylvania, with the intention of building a substantial home on the property. The foundation was excavated and the rebar was being placed when the couple abandoned the project. They instead purchased two adjoining properties to create ChesLen, a sprawling 1,263-acre nature preserve where the public is free to walk dogs, ride horses, and enjoy the unspoiled landscape. Meanwhile, the Lenfests remain in the modest home they purchased in 1966.

And the couple's proudest accomplishments as philanthropists? Gerry Lenfest puts Philadelphia's famed Curtis Institute of Music at "the top of this list.... We put a new chapter in their life."

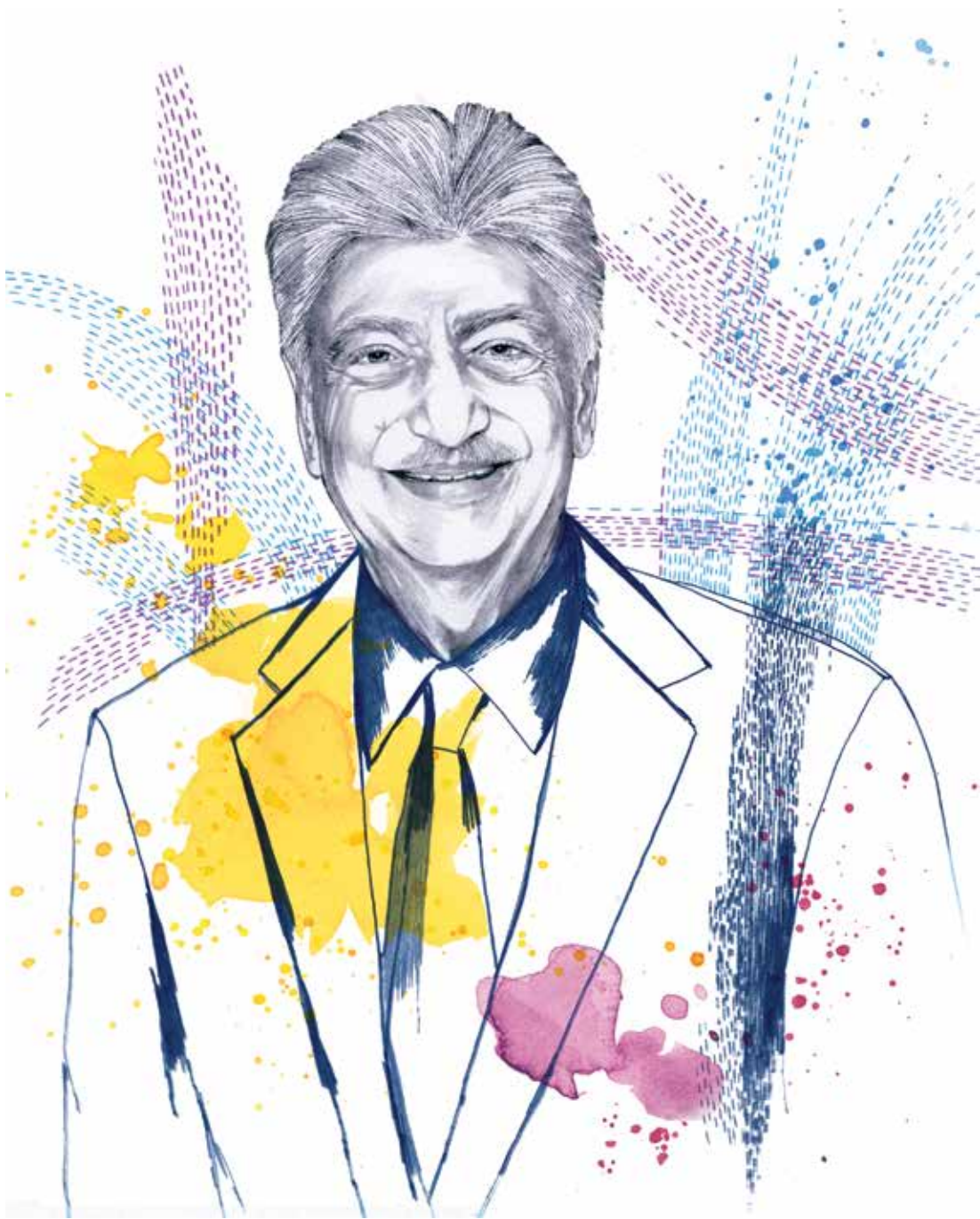


Gerry: "Looking back, are you sorry we did what we did?"

Marguerite (chuckling): "Some things were a bit much."

Gerry: "It's been fun."

Marguerite: "You do have fun seeing what it's doing. Isn't that what I told Warren Buffett?"



Azim Premji

Azim Premji Foundation



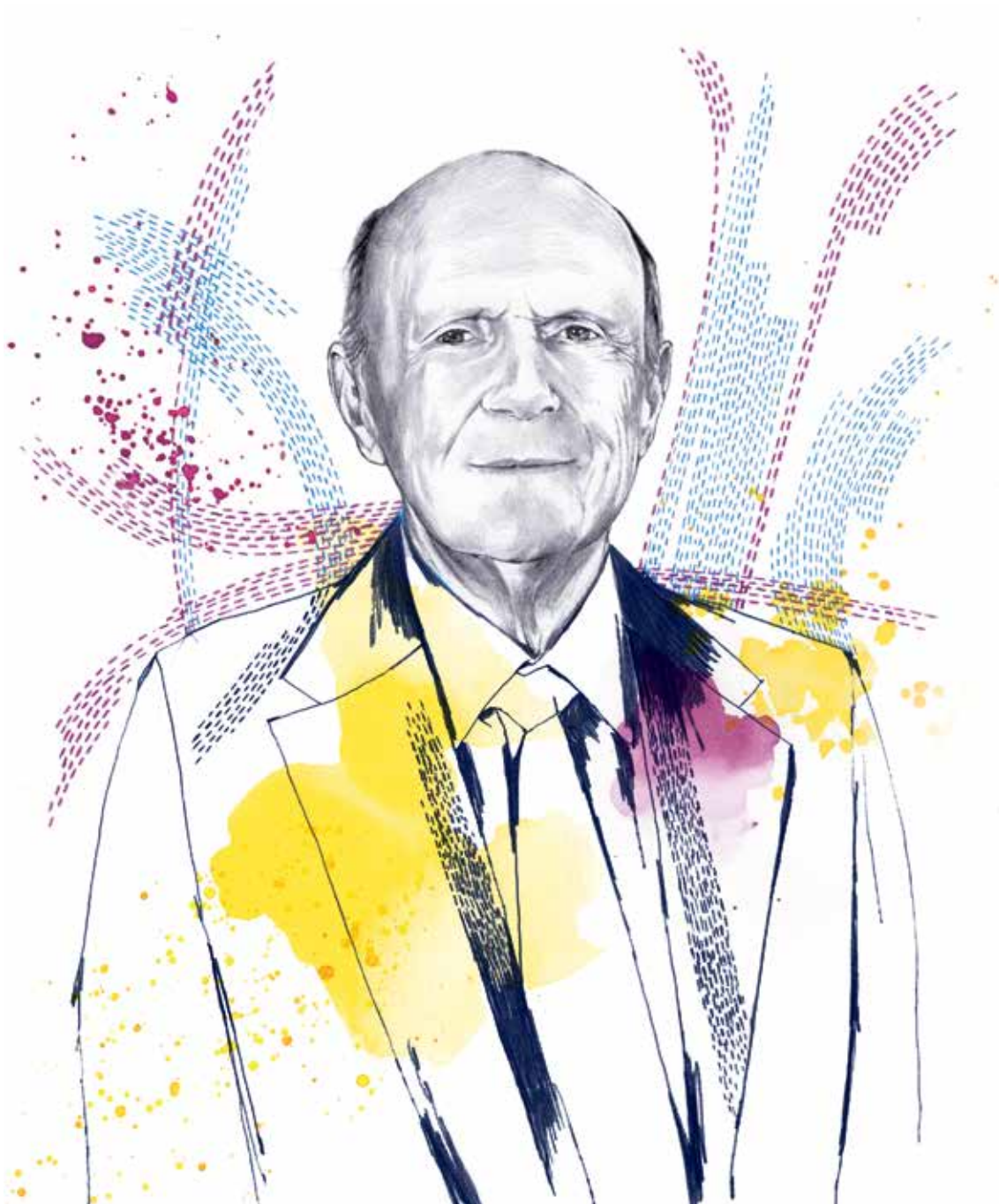
Azim Premji is a true philanthropic pioneer, bringing his generosity to India on a scale literally never seen before in the region. To understand the true scale of his giving, consider a 2015 study of the top 36 philanthropists in India. The Hurun India Philanthropy List reports that Premji contributed eighty percent of the total donations made by those three dozen top philanthropists. He is making a real difference in India.

Premji came of age at the dawn of India's independence, a period that he has described as one of hope, idealism, and sacrifice for the greater good. The heroes of this era included his mother, a medical doctor by training who spent nearly 50 years funding, building, and running a charitable hospital for children with polio and cerebral palsy. Premji credits his mother as a guide and inspiration for his philanthropy. As a young man he studied engineering at Stanford University. When his father died suddenly in 1966, Premji returned to India and assumed responsibility for the family business. Early on he recognized the potential of technology and gradually shifted the firm's focus to computers, IT, business process outsourcing, and R&D services. This transformation lifted an already flourishing company to new heights of success.

Reaching a point in his career when others might have rested on their laurels, Premji delved into uncharted territory. His goal: to level some of the dramatic inequities in Indian society. With education as his tool, Premji took aim at the public school system. The Azim Premji Foundation now serves more than three hundred thousand schools with ongoing expansion plans. Thanks to his efforts, some of the country's poorest and most marginalized citizens are gaining better access to education. Today the foundation's strategic and comprehensive outreach extends from remote villages to street children in major cities. The aim is to emancipate individuals from economic and social dependence through the advancement and diffusion of knowledge — and in this, Azim Premji is a living embodiment of the philanthropic spirit of Andrew Carnegie.



“When one is showered wealth beyond what one deserves or what one has really earned, I think the question really arises — what does one do with this wealth? I was very guided by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, who had said that wealth is a trusteeship, and it should be used as a trusteeship not as an ownership. Also, I just find there's a lot of happiness in giving away wealth because it's the right thing to do.”



Julian Robertson

Robertson Foundation



Over the course of two decades at Kidder Peabody, Julian Robertson rose steadily through the ranks. Starting as a sales trainee, he eventually became CEO of Kidder's investment advisory subsidiary, Webster Management Corporation. He cofounded Tiger Management in 1980. Under his leadership it grew exponentially into one of the largest and most successful hedge funds of its time — and Robertson would become known as the “Wizard of Wall Street.” In short, Julian Robertson's success in the world of finance is remarkable. How he translated that acumen into the world of nonprofits is equally impressive.

A philanthropic visionary, Robertson diversifies his investments — making sure his money is hitting the programs that will maximize impact. And this impact goes beyond dollars and cents: Robertson is seen as a chief recruiter using his influence in the finance world to bring new talent to the world of philanthropy through the Tiger Foundation, which he launched in 1989. The foundation engages some of the top minds of Wall Street to break the cycle of poverty in New York City, supporting time-tested nonprofits serving New York City's neediest families. The foundation's board devised a comprehensive strategy to address poverty's root causes, supporting individuals and their communities and focusing on education, employment, youth and families, and the criminal justice system. The foundation has engendered multiple offshoot philanthropies run by “Tiger Cubs,” the new generation of hedge fund managers who moved up the corporate ladder under Robertson's tutelage. In 1996, with his wife, Josie, and family, Robertson established a separate philanthropic entity. Like the Tiger Foundation, the Robertson Foundation supports public education in New York City while expanding into other priority areas, including cutting-edge medical research, climate change, and leadership development. Like Andrew Carnegie before him, Julian Robertson has generously committed his expertise, time, and resources to help others to advance as well. He is a true innovator — no matter where his focus lies.



“I don't think you teach generosity; I think you encourage generosity. People like to help their fellow man and they really love working when they're doing good for others.”



Jeff Skoll
Skoll Foundation



In *The Gospel of Wealth*, Andrew Carnegie urged the wealthy to do “what is practicable now; with the next step possible in our day and generation.” When eBay’s IPO transported Jeff Skoll, the company’s first full-time employee and president, to extraordinary wealth, he began to deliberate the best ways to return his wealth to society. The result is a sophisticated set of organizations that are designed to meet, and are indeed meeting, some of the greatest threats facing mankind and the environment today.

Using his entrepreneurial spirit and technological savvy, Skoll has created a portfolio of philanthropic organizations — the Jeff Skoll Group — that aim to inspire the next generation to tackle the world’s biggest problems. With eBay, Skoll brought access to an online marketplace to anyone with an internet connection. His approach to giving is informed by his business experience: drive impact by investing in a range of efforts that integrate powerful stories and data with ambitious approaches. And his work in the movie industry — producing some of the most important films of this generation — is proving to be a global call to action.

Born in Montreal, Skoll dreamed of becoming a writer, one whose stories would, as he put it, make “the world feel smaller and more interconnected,” just as many of his favorite authors did for him. Even then, however, he understood that a writing career might require support from a “day job.” Also around this time Skoll’s father was diagnosed with cancer, speaking with regret of all that he had yet to experience in life. Fortunately, he recovered, but this trying period for the family made a deep impression on the son, ultimately helping to propel Jeff Skoll toward academic and professional success. His youthful goal of making the world smaller by uniting people through stories has been brilliantly realized across all of the Jeff Skoll Group organizations, with initiatives that tap into individuals’ idealism and encourage activism.



“The world is a vast and complicated place and it needs each of us doing all we can to ensure a brighter tomorrow for future generations. Conrad Hilton said it is the duty of successful people to give back to the society from which their success was derived.... I feel lucky to have been able to pursue my dreams and I hope that my contributions will in some small way lead to a sustainable world of peace and prosperity.”



Kristine McDivitt Tompkins

Tompkins Conservation



When we think of great conservationists, Teddy Roosevelt, John Muir, or Jane Goodall may come to mind. Kristine McDivitt Tompkins's accomplishments in the field may have already surpassed the achievements of those legendary names. For example, under her leadership, in March 2017 Tompkins signed a pledge with Michelle Bachelet, the president of Chile, to expand that country's national park system by approximately 10 million acres. This unprecedented act is the largest land donation ever made by a private individual to a nation. In addition Tompkins has bestowed upon Argentina hundreds of thousands of acres of parklands. These gifts, however, did not come without conditions. Both countries are obligated to actively restore, preserve, and nurture these unspoiled landscapes and their biodiversity in perpetuity. The parklands must also be staffed by a locally sourced workforce to energize the regional economy.

Tompkins has always been connected to the outdoors. Raised most of her life on a ranch in southern California, as a teenager she spent summers working for Chouinard Equipment, a rock climbing equipment company, and later helped its founder grow the operation into Patagonia, the world-renowned outdoor apparel leader and "anti-corporation." As CEO of Patagonia over a 20-year period, Tompkins was widely credited with the company's values-driven business practices and activism on behalf of the wilderness it celebrates. In 1993 Tompkins married Douglas Tompkins, founder of The North Face and cofounder of Esprit, companies as well known for their success as for their unconventionality. With a shared passion for the outdoors, the couple embarked upon a crusade that resulted in Tompkins Conservation, a powerhouse of initiatives that lends unwavering commitment to parks and their restoration, along with sustainable agriculture and environmental activism. The world is thankful that the couple was able to bring their unconventional leadership style into the world of philanthropy. In *The Gospel of Wealth*, Andrew Carnegie places parks in "the very front rank of benefactions," praising their positive effects on body and spirit. Continuing her late husband's vision, Kristine McDivitt Tompkins has made immeasurable advances toward the preservation and restoration of the world's great ecosystems, bringing to life Carnegie's words more than he could have imagined.



"It is the strength of the Carnegie tradition to represent and celebrate the conservation of the wild, the recognition of the value of all life, the intrinsic value of the nonhuman world.... May we get out of bed every day and protect those things we love and those things we depend on."



Shelby White

Leon Levy Foundation



Shelby White's extraordinary philanthropic accomplishments extend across as wide a range as Andrew Carnegie's own philanthropy. She is a true icon in New York philanthropic circles for her continued commitment to the regional causes and cultural institutions that have inspired her and so many others for so many years. But her work goes beyond the New York organizations that she is so closely associated with; her interests are multifaceted and the breadth of her giving is ever evolving. And she began early: as a nine-year-old White used a Camp Fire Girls donut sale to raise funds for a neighborhood nursery.

After the death of her first husband in 1969, White began a career in financial journalism; she was already a budding philanthropist, making in her late husband's memory the first of what would be many significant donations to The New York Botanical Garden. In 1983 White married Leon Levy, the renowned financier and philanthropist. Both believed ardently in the importance of giving, and the couple became a philanthropic force. They shared many passions: education, libraries, museums, archaeology, parks, science, the arts and humanities, human rights, and civil liberties. Following her husband's death in 2003, White established the Leon Levy Foundation, celebrated for its creativity and innovation and its grantmaking across a wide range of fields, from neuroscience to the humanities. Leon Levy summed up his philosophy of philanthropy concisely: "I tend to take a long view.... I prefer to give money to pursue a concept or idea.... All we can do is try to leave a legacy of good works." His philosophy continues to underlie the giving of the foundation that bears his name — and we are certain Shelby White's remarkable achievements at the Leon Levy Foundation would astonish *both* Leon Levy and Andrew Carnegie.

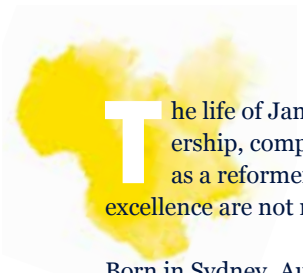


"I grew up in an immigrant household in the shadow of the Holocaust and we believed deeply in the importance of philanthropy and giving back even when we didn't have much. That philosophy was an essential part of my married life as well as my childhood. My late husband Leon Levy often quoted, or as it turns out, misquoted Andrew Carnegie about the need, as Leon put it, to die broke.... We believed in planting trees that might not reach fruition in our lifetime. In the end Leon said, again echoing Andrew Carnegie, all we can do is try to leave a legacy of good works."



Sir James D. Wolfensohn

Wolfensohn Family Foundation



The life of James Wolfensohn has been characterized by principled leadership, compassion, and generosity. Like Andrew Carnegie before him, as a reformer Wolfensohn takes to heart the maxim that democracy and excellence are not mutually exclusive.

Born in Sydney, Australia, to a loving and cultured family of modest means, Wolfensohn entered high school at the age of 10 and college at 15. He began his career practicing law in Sydney, and returned there to transition into banking after taking an MBA from Harvard. His rise in the field eventually took him to New York, where he was a senior executive at Salomon Brothers before establishing his own investment firm. In 1995 Mr. Wolfensohn was named president of the World Bank, further raising his profile in the international community. He astonished many with a courageous campaign against widespread corruption in both developing and developed countries. Beyond his career in business, Wolfensohn's philanthropy has benefitted numerous cultural institutions and social causes, both in the United States and abroad. As chairman of Carnegie Hall, he worked with the hall's president, Isaac Stern, to return the New York City landmark to its former glory, spearheading renovations and securing the financial stability of the world-famous auditorium. He did much the same for the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, as chairman helping to relieve that institution's financial woes.

Years later he would remark that he advanced in life without any self-imposed limitations. As a philanthropist, public servant, and humanitarian, Wolfensohn has demonstrated a record of philanthropy that upholds Andrew Carnegie's lofty vision of giving and service. Furthermore, Wolfensohn is both extremely versatile and undeterred by convention, applying himself in unexpected directions. For example, he took up the cello — becoming proficient in the instrument — at the age of 50.



"There was no question of how much money you have or what can you give, it was what can you do? Will you be able to help? Will you be serious about what you're doing? And that's another thing about philanthropy in this country — people can make a contribution with or without money. You have to work on it, you have to believe in it and you have to try and persuade your colleagues and other people that what you're trying to do really matters. That's the message I got in this country. The doors are always open and what is needed is someone to walk through them who really wants to do some work."

Our Town, Your Town: **Welcome**

By **Gail Ablow** | Photography by **Rob Finch**

With an unemployment rate of 2.8 percent, well below the national rate, and the fastest job growth in the country last year, Idaho has consistently ranked among the top states for refugees resettled per capita. For years the state took in as many as 1,000 of the 70,000 allowed into the country each year. That number is now dropping, as the country begins to accept fewer refugees overall, but of the newcomers who make it to Idaho, mostly from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, the majority will settle in Boise, the state capital. In the distance the dome of the State Capitol Building rises 208 feet into the Boise skyline; the capitol's architect, Connecticut native John E. Tourtellotte, arrived in Boise in 1890, when he was 21, a few months after Idaho achieved statehood.



There are cities and towns in the United States where local leaders are conflicted about accepting refugees. But in Boise, Idaho, where a healthy economy is constrained by an aging workforce, many people see refugees as part of the solution. This midsized city has a low cost of living and a growing reputation for being welcoming. As defined by international law, refugees are people who are forced to flee their homelands because of “a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group.” By the time most refugees arrive in the U.S. they have learned to fear the police in their own chaotic, war-torn countries, and most are unfamiliar with U.S. customs and laws — a situation that can easily lead to conflict with law enforcement. But in Boise, the police department is right there, working alongside the official resettlement agencies, to help integrate, to educate, and to make these vulnerable newcomers feel safe.

Boise’s refugee resettlement program began in the 1970s as people from Southeast Asia fled the overthrow of United States-supported governments there. After the Refugee Act of 1980 was passed, providing for the admission and resettlement of people fleeing their countries for humanitarian reasons, more than 19,000 refugees from approximately 50 countries eventually made their new homes in Idaho. Most recently, Boise’s largest groups have come from Iraq, Democratic Republic of Congo, Myanmar, Bhutan, Afghanistan, and Somalia. By 2007 the Boise Police Department recognized the need for a full-time cultural liaison officer to build a bridge to these newcomers. When William Bones became chief of police in 2015 he continued to fund the position and expanded the program despite a tight budget.



A third-generation police officer, Chief William Bones has served in the Boise Police Department for 25 years.

At a Glance

PERF: Police Executive Research Forum

WHEN: Founded 1976

WHAT: Independent nonprofit research and policy organization

FOCUS: Critical and most challenging issues in policing

GOALS: To challenge conventional thinking and offer a forum for innovative policy development

MEMBERS: 2,800 law enforcement executives, researchers, and others with an interest in policing and criminal justice

FROM: Federal, state, and local police agencies in all 50 states and 10 countries

PROVIDES: Guidance on policies and practices, management services, technical assistance, executive-level education on latest concepts and practices used in business/government, executive search services

PUBLISHES: Books and reports (most available free of charge) summarizing its research findings on such topics as community policing, response to critical incidents, minimizing use of force, cybercrime, technology, violent crime, officer safety, drug abuse reduction

STAFF: 30 full-time Washington, D.C.-based professionals

Police Executive Research Forum

1120 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 930
Washington, DC 20036
202.466.7820
policeforum.org

Chief William Bones opened his department's doors to the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) in 2016, welcoming their researchers, sharing expertise, and participating in ongoing discussions that helped PERF evaluate and understand best practices for community policing in refugee neighborhoods. The Boise Police Department became one of four case studies for an in-depth report published in May 2017: *Refugee Outreach and Engagement Programs for Police Agencies*.

Chief Bones is a third-generation police officer. Growing up in eastern Oregon, Boise was the nearest "big city — the place you went to for concerts or for school shopping," he says. After graduating from college, Bones settled in Boise and raised his family there. He has served on the city's police force for 25 years.

GAIL ABLOW: How have you seen Boise changing?

CHIEF WILLIAM BONES: Boise's grown quite a bit. You're seeing a lot more youth, a lot of energy, a lot of that new business vibe. We're obviously seeing a lot more diversity in the population base when you walk down the streets. It's not just in somebody's race or their religion, but it's in what they might be wearing — a hijab or traditional central African tribal wear. Depending on what part of the city you are in, hearing the languages spoken, seeing the different cultures, seeing the different coffee shop or tea shop, or the great ethnic restaurants that are starting to open — it's that kind of change. We're starting to become more of a mixing pot, where we have always been so much of a homogeneous, white community.

ABLOW: Is there a distinction between the immigrant and the refugee communities?

BONES: Absolutely. We've always had a strong immigrant population and we have both legal and illegal immigrants. Our immigrant population is key to the economy of Idaho and goes back for a couple of hundred years. But in addition to that, Boise's a "top ten" per capita refugee resettlement site and has been for the last 11 years. This will be our twelfth. We don't have the most refugees coming to Boise, but as a percentage of our population we're in that top ten.

We take a very active role, particularly with our refugee communities, because their relationships with government, and with the police in particular, were very different in those countries from which they have fled, where police might have been a threat to them or a cause for fear when they came knocking at the door. We want them to see us as a resource and somewhere that they can go to for safety.

ABLOW: What are some of the biggest obstacles they face when they come here?

BONES: Last week I greeted a family that was coming off a plane. The first obstacle was just helping them get through the airport, because they don't read the language, they don't speak English. I just am always impressed with the courage of somebody, going through what they've gone through in the refugee camps, and then coming to a country where they've never been, don't understand the culture, don't speak the language, and they step off that plane just with the hope of making a new life.

It impresses me and it tells me something about the kind of people they are before they ever arrive. That's been reinforced a hundred times with the people that I've gotten to know from our refugee communities. And seeing what they do to build a life here — think about it. You're an American, you know our laws, you know our customs, our culture, the language. If you were suddenly picked up and put in another country with nothing, and maybe lacking in education or in job skills — and even if you've got those job skills, your certifications are no longer any good. Maybe you were an engineer where you came from, and here if you can get a job in sanitation that's going to be a great job.

So you've really got to think about what they're putting themselves through. And often, unfortunately, they're facing the fear of the communities that they're walking into. People that maybe don't understand or are looking at a national news story and applying it to this person, and looking at them through a very negative lens. That's a big, big step for any person and they're doing it with their whole families. But they're doing it to make a better life.

ABLOW: The longtime residents of Boise — what kind of obstacles and fears are they dealing with?

BONES: Over the years I've seen a constant improvement of the relationship and acceptance of our refugee community as they've come to Boise. There have been spikes, especially when something happens: 9/11 was a horrible incident and had just an incredibly negative impact and still does on so many in our Muslim population. But you saw acceptance come back. And you saw a rebound of, "Hey, these people that have come here to Boise are part of our community." So when those small groups that are very vocal come out with negative comments, it's amazing how much of the city responds. People stand up to say, "No. That's not right."

Our church communities, as well as our refugee resettlement agencies, have been a wonderful asset within the community to help refugees as they arrive and integrate — to obtain employment, to get housing, to learn the language, to learn the culture, to learn the laws — so that they can be a part of a Boise community.

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"If you ever get the chance, go to one of the ceremonies where somebody is receiving their American citizenship. It is incredible. These people are committed to this country. They appreciate the freedoms and every single piece of what it means to be here."

— Chief William Bones, Boise Police Department, Boise, Idaho

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And becoming part of the United States, becoming an American citizen — I encourage anybody out there, if you ever get the chance, go to one of the ceremonies where somebody is receiving their American citizenship. It is incredible. These people are committed to this country. They appreciate the freedoms and every single piece of what it means to be here.

ABLOW: Explain how all the resettlement agencies, the churches, and the police department work together.

BONES: For any program to be successful having refugees come to your community, it requires a partnership. For police and law enforcement, you're welcoming community members that have an absolute fear of you as a police officer in uniform, and of government. You need partners to help you establish that initial communication and to help grow that trust. You need the resources of the community. A lot of times we turn to our churches, businesses, and landlords to get involved and we say, "Oh, this is going to be a little bit difficult to walk somebody through a background check to get them hired" — or, "What are their skills?" — or, "We can't tell you about their rental history or their housing history" — because there's nobody you can reach out to. "But can you work with us?"

The refugee resettlement agencies do this for a living, so they're one of the greatest backbones to the system, to getting people integrated. But it takes everybody coming to the table together and working in partnership.

We usually have a huge Thanksgiving dinner at my house. All the relatives, right? Last year everybody was away. It was going to be my wife, my daughter, and we were inviting some friends over. And we thought, "What a great opportunity to invite somebody else into our house." So I reached out to one of the refugee resettlement agencies and we invited a family that had come from Iraq. He is

working two full-time jobs as a janitor, supporting four kids, and he couldn't have been happier. Their big day out is to go to Walmart and then, afterward, to go to a local pizza place here in Boise. English was a challenge for him, and his wife was still learning the language. The kids had adapted, they were in school doing fantastically. But he told me this story: he was a jeweler, where he came from, who owned two jewelry shops. He was kidnapped, held for ransom, and while he was held for ransom, his jewelry stores were completely emptied, robbed, everything was taken. When he was finally released, he was told he had ten days to get out of the country or they would kill him. Then he had to go to a refugee camp. It took him years to get to the U.S. They had been in the United States for four years and they had never been in an American's house.

That's something we have got to change as a society. Are they a neighbor? Are they going to your church? Is it somebody you work with? Taking that extra moment to say hello, make a personal connection and then invite them into your house. In any country, as anybody who travels a lot across the world knows, that's what people do. They invite you into their house: "Come have a meal with us! Come have coffee or tea." And that's how people make connections.

ABLOW: That is a perfect segue into asking you to explain why it's important for your police department to have a refugee liaison officer.

BONES: The best ideas in policing don't come from the top, they come from the people who are doing the work. And this idea came from Officer Shelli Sonnenberg, who was working out there on the streets. She said, "I've got these refugees coming in, and when we respond to calls, it's simply because they don't know or understand the American laws." Also, when a police officer knocked at a refugee's door, it was causing amazing amounts of stress.



The Boise Police Department launched a mentoring program in 2017, pairing police officers with refugees selected by Global Talent Idaho, a group that works with skilled immigrants and refugees to help them reclaim and rebuild their professional careers in their new home. Participants at the first meeting of the program included (l-r): Emma Lovel, from El Salvador, sharing her life story with officer Robin Williams; Saif Al Anbaqi, from Iraq, describing his goals to officer Randy Arthur; and Mubarak Ahmed, from Sudan.

I can see that if I was living in a new country, and I come from a country where police are not there to protect you, I'd probably be scared if police were knocking on my door. You are always a little nervous, even when an American police officer knocks on your door. The idea that Officer Sonnenberg came up with was to have a liaison to this refugee community. And we've built a program around that, which Officer Dustin Robinson is now continuing.

We have classes for our incoming refugee groups. We build strong relationships at multiple levels of the agency. We get them to know an officer face-to-face, on a first-name basis. We tell leaders among all of our refugee groups, "Here's my number. Call me." We extend this invitation to all the different leadership, whether it's a tribal leader, or a religious leader, or just somebody who is a coordinator for that community. We significantly expanded the number of interpreters we have, and we are breaking down those barriers of language.

We used to always use an interpretation phone line. Anybody in law enforcement will tell you that it is very expensive, and it's third-person. It's not personal. It's not a great way to communicate. But now we actually use our refugee population; we make them part of our interpreter program. It's a paid program. We are building that next level of communication and relationship. We also have a refugee internship. It's a paid position. The whole object of it is to build a relationship with somebody who is part of a refugee community, to have them partner and help our refugee liaison officer do outreach.

And then, hopefully, they will become a partner of our department in the long term — if not with us, then maybe with the city. At the very least, they're going to go back to their community, and that's a personal tie that we've built. And if something bad happens, they are going to say, "You can go to the Boise Police Department." It's everything from teaching traffic laws and what you need to do to get a driver's license, to knowing that hitting your wife in the

United States is illegal, because in some countries that is legal. A lot of it is about building trust, and that's the number one thing.

Any community that might feel disaffected or alienated from the greater community is a community that police departments want to reach. It takes more focus and effort from the police side to create that trust with new refugees. The onus, and part of our duty, is to reach out to those communities.

ABLOW: Is it expensive to have a refugee liaison officer?

BONES: Officer Robinson is our liaison officer. That's a full-time officer dedicated to outreach. But he's also handling a ton of calls that other police officers would be going to, and he's creating relationships and solving problems. You don't have to have another officer responding to the same location seven, eight, nine, ten times. So, in the long run, that really offsets any cost you have. We are trying to grow the program because it is so effective. I can't afford, with Boise's size, to have a half-dozen full-time liaison officers, but we're creating a refugee mentor program.

We asked for officers to volunteer. I have to tell you, we were able to pick from a group that ranged from a 25-year senior field officer, a K9 officer, to some of our newer officers, and really get a great cross-section of this agency. They want to participate as mentors, do outreach, and build communication flow between our refugee community and our police officers. And if you talk to one of these officers, nobody has a better understanding of the problems and the importance of building that trust relationship with our refugee population.

Officer Robinson is also the ambassador inside the department to spread that understanding. There are lots of little cultural cues that you don't realize might be an insult to somebody who's come from outside and hasn't yet learned our culture. But we really want to leverage that with this mentor program and have multiple officers who have built that relationship. We're excited about that.

ABLOW: Was it challenging to get buy-in from the police department?

BONES: Boise wasn't always this progressive. We didn't start this because we thought it would be a great idea out of the blue. We really learned from some bad mistakes. In 1992 we were getting Laotians and, to tell you the truth, we didn't do anything. There was no integration. And obviously they quickly became disaffected, insular from the rest of society. We saw crime starting to happen. We had gangs. We had serious gambling, racketeering, threats against that population, and nobody would report it because there was no trust level.

Trying to investigate crimes became very difficult because no communication had been established. And when crime starts in any area, any vulnerable population that you have — it doesn't have to be refugees or immigrant communities — it can be your elderly, it can be somebody that's got a different religious belief. If you allow crime to fester, it will spread. And that's what we started to see. It really was a wake-up call for Boise in the way we needed to respond to our refugee communities.

We didn't know this at the time, but that's the most powerful way to affect a potential terrorist incident. Whether it's somebody that's homegrown, an American kid that is fifth-generation, born-and-bred USA, or it's somebody that's come from a foreign country — the possibility that they do something against the people that they're living with, the community that surrounds them, comes when they feel alienated. So you want to do the outreach and make people feel that they're a part of your community. It's the absolute most effective way you've got to prevent that incident from happening — whether it's a school incident or a major terrorist attack.

ABLOW: Do you know what kind of impact you have had with your community policing approach?

BONES: As with some of the best programs that you see in policing, that community outreach — whether it's school resource officers, or officers on bikes in a park — it's hard to measure the output. Anecdotally, we see far fewer calls than we did in the past years. But that's hard to measure against crime trends, because it's the crime that never occurred. But I believe it pays great dividends for a community. Our kids who maybe have never been out of the country are learning more about the world around them, which makes them richer citizens and expands their horizons. It pays incredible dividends for those refugees that are coming into your community, and really accelerates integration — making a much richer, more diverse community. People get jobs that fit their skill levels, which grows your community tax base; you get new businesses, new ideas.

ABLOW: Do you still get that American-born Boise resident who says, "Hey, Chief, what's up with all the refugees coming to our city?"

BONES: Boise's certainly not immune to an antagonistic group of people who feel that there should not be any refugees coming into our community or our country. What we believe is that we shouldn't get involved politically in those discussions. We believe it's our duty to make this a safer community for every member of our community.

ABLOW: There has been a lot of talk in the news about sanctuary cities and what defines them. I know Boise is not a sanctuary city. But what are your thoughts on this?

“The best ideas in policing don’t come from the top, they come from the people who are doing the work.”

— Chief William Bones, Boise Police Department, Boise, Idaho

BONES: It’s been an incredibly tough two years for our refugee communities, also our immigrant communities, and any community that doesn’t fit the traditional definition, sometimes, of being American. The talk in the media and this vitriolic diatribe that’s come across on social media or in print, it’s horrible to see. And so we’ve seen those fear levels just accelerate through the roof.

We haven’t seen the crimes go up. But we are seeing the fear level climb. It has a horrible effect on everybody, and most of all those who maybe have gotten here recently and haven’t gotten that feeling of acceptance yet. We had a group that Officer Robinson went to speak with the other day. Their bags were packed because they thought the FBI was coming to pick them up. “We’re not here to arrest you. We’re not here to take you away.” Building that message on the front end of a meeting is one of the key things. That’s where this long-term trust relationship with the greater community really pays off.

When it comes to sanctuary cities, everybody’s got a different definition. I hate to see people get involved in that argument. From a political side, it’s just drawing battle lines over social ideals, and I think that’s the wrong thing to do. I believe it’s very important for every police department to represent every member of its community. The key in law enforcement — and why you see so many responses from police leaders across the country when it comes to aiding in federal immigration enforcement — is that police believe that drives a wedge between them and the very community that they serve.

Trust is foundational to policing. You have to have the trust of the community you serve. You have to build a relationship. You need to be very cautious of anything that would drive a wedge between you and the community you serve. If they’re afraid that I’m going to arrest them for an immigration violation, it’s going to cause them to not report crime. And that is going to affect those people and it’s going to affect our community as a whole. That’s unacceptable to me.

I think police departments need to continue to follow the dictates of our job, which is enforcing our local laws, and enforcing our state laws. And certainly we are great partners with all of our federal agencies. And when something is significant — if you’ve got somebody that’s here illegally and they’re involved in drug distribution — then all of that might tie together. But in the day-to-day interactions for law enforcement, I think it’s really important that we not get involved in immigration enforcement.

ABLOW: What should people understand about Boise as a community and the way that your police department interacts with that community?

BONES: Being a successful police department is completely dependent on the partnership that you have with the community you serve, and that means every part of your community. You can’t do it alone; it’s absolutely impossible. Every police chief out there would echo that thought. We don’t have the resources and we don’t have the ability to affect problems by ourselves. Reaching out to those people that maybe have the least trust or least understanding of what you do is the hardest, but it’s also one of the most important things we do.

When we work together with our community groups across the board — private, public, other governmental groups — that’s what I’ve seen has made us successful here in Boise. It’s so easy to do because if you’re a police chief, all you have to do is extend an invitation and everybody comes to the table. It’s a wonderful little tool that we have: just getting people in the same room to talk. It’s an amazing, amazing way to get to a solution. One of the biggest lessons I’ve learned as a police chief is to engage other people. Usually they have better ideas and solutions than I’m ever going to come up with. And that ability to invite people into a room and start a conversation starts a relationship, and that starts us down the path of solving the problems in the community. That’s what we’re here for. ■

This conversation has been edited for length and clarity.

NOTABLE **EVENTS**





EVENT

Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy

October 3, 2017 | The New York Public Library

1. Anthony W. Marx, president of The New York Public Library, addresses attendees at the luncheon held in the Library's Celeste Bartos Forum.
2. (L-R) William Thomson, great-grandson of Andrew Carnegie, former chair of the Carnegie UK Trust, and honorary chair of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy selection committee, with winners of the Medal of Philanthropy Azim Premji, Mei Hing Chak, Shelby White, Julian Robertson, Sir James Wolfensohn, Kristine McDivitt Tompkins, H. F. "Gerry" and Marguerite Lenfest, and Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York
3. 2017 Carnegie Medal recipient Kristine McDivitt Tompkins raises her right arm to show that — on her wrist — she is wearing Andrew Carnegie's "Scottish plaid with pride."
4. Yo-Yo Ma and the Silkroad Ensemble took to the stage to perform a selection of instrumental songs and dances.
5. Thomas H. Kean, chair of the board of trustees of Carnegie Corporation of New York, with Katty Kay, full-time presenter of *BBC World News America* and master of ceremonies of the 2017 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy
6. Nora Rundell, chief executive of the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust with William Thomson, former chair of the Carnegie UK Trust and honorary chair of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy selection committee, with his wife, Katrina
7. Table setting for the ceremony at The New York Public Library



For more on the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy, see the "Center Point" section of this magazine (pp.64–81).



Carnegie Corporation of New York president Vartan Gregorian was honored by the IIE with the Stephen D. Duggan Award for Mutual Understanding at the Pierre Hotel in New York City. From left: Allan Goodman, IIE president; Vartan Gregorian; Alyson Grunder, senior bureau official at the Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs; and Scott Powell, Santander Holdings USA CEO. PHOTO: ANN BILLINGSLEY



Michael Ignatieff, president of Central European University, speaks about his new book, *The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World*, at an event cohosted by the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs and Carnegie Corporation of New York. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD

CEREMONY

Gregorian Honored with IIE Award

The Institute for International Education (IIE), administers of the Fulbright Program and other international education and exchange programs, honored Corporation president Vartan Gregorian with its “Mutual Understanding” award in October. Allan E. Goodman, IIE president and CEO, saluted Dr. Gregorian as a “trusted advisor, keen advocate, and good friend to IIE for many years,” renowned internationally for his global leadership on many issues, including the protection of academic freedom.

The partnership between the IIE — a world leader in international education — and Carnegie Corporation of New York dates back to 1919: one of IIE’s founders, Elihu Root, was then director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In its early decades, IIE was supported primarily by contributions from the Corporation. In the years leading up to WWII, the foundation was a lead donor to IIE’s efforts to bring 335 at-risk scholars facing Nazi persecution to the U.S. under the auspices of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars. The relationship between Carnegie and IIE has remained strong to the present day.

BOOK EVENT

The Search for “Ordinary” Virtues

Author and human rights observer Michael Ignatieff delivered remarks following the publication of his new book, *The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World*, at a special event cohosted by the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs and Carnegie Corporation of New York. Ignatieff, who currently serves as president of Central European University in Budapest, Hungary, wrote the book as part of the Council’s Centennial celebrations.

The project took Ignatieff and his team to Latin America, North America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa, where he found that while human rights may be the language of states and liberal elites, the moral language that resonates with most people is that of everyday virtues: tolerance, forgiveness, trust, and resilience. “Everywhere, in every social setting, people are knitting together what I would call the ‘moral operating system’ of their particular world,” says Ignatieff. “They are the virtues of a community, they are the virtues of small settings.” Ignatieff and his team discovered that “the ordinary virtues and universal values are in much more tension than we like to admit, and a lot of inquiry that we went through over three years was looking at that tension in action.”



President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 in the East Room of the White House. In his remarks upon signing, Johnson said: "I believe the time has come to stake another claim in the name of all the people, stake a claim based upon the combined resources of communications. I believe the time has come to enlist the computer and the satellite, as well as television and radio, and to enlist them in the cause of education."

PHOTO: YOICHI OKAMOTO, LBJ PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

CELEBRATION

Public Broadcasting Turns 50

November 7, 2017, marked the 50th anniversary of the Public Broadcasting Act, which led to the creation of the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), National Public Radio (NPR), and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). The act was passed following the publication in 1967 of a landmark report titled *Public Television: A Program for Action* by the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, which worked closely with President Lyndon Johnson's staff, including Bill Moyers, the legendary journalist who was his special assistant at the time.

"Miracles in communication are our daily routine," President Johnson said at the time. "Today our problem is not making miracles — but managing miracles. We might well ponder a different question: What hath man wrought — and how will man use his inventions? The law that I will sign shortly offers one answer to that question." Fifty years later, public broadcasting faces many obstacles in the crowded media environment, but its creation offers some wise lessons about managing the potential of a new and powerful medium to serve the greater good.



International Panel on Exiting Violence working group members address Carnegie Corporation of New York and visitors. From left: moderator William O'Neill, program director, Social Science Research Council; Mohamed-Ali Adraoui, Marie Skłodowska Curie fellow at Georgetown University; Farhad Khosrokhavar, senior researcher at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris; and Nadje Al-Ali, chair of the Center for Gender Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD

CONVENING

From Violence to Exiting Violence

Many recent studies have begun to examine what compels young people to join the militant ranks of jihadism worldwide. Less attention, however, has been given to what makes them leave. That was the subject of a recent convening hosted by Carnegie Corporation of New York featuring experts from the Paris-based Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme and the United Nations.

The event highlighted the work of the International Panel on Exiting Violence (IPEV), which provides a comparative perspective communicating the lessons learned from the recent histories of Latin America, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, with the goal of providing better policy options for the process of de-escalating social conflict and violent transnational movements.

"You have a lot of actors dealing with these issues, including practitioners, diplomats, lawyers, political activists, and some scholars," said Michel Wieviorka, president of the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme. "But it's not a domain, not yet a field. Our idea is to articulate that through research and contact with actors." ■

CARNEGIE BOOKSHELF

WHAT WE'RE READING

The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World

Michael Ignatieff

Madame President: The Extraordinary Journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

Helene Cooper

Addicted to Reform: A 12-Step Program to Rescue Public Education

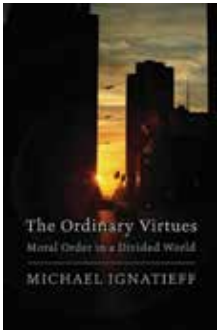
John Merrow

The Givers: Wealth, Power, and Philanthropy in a New Gilded Age

David Callahan

Rocinha is the largest favela in Rio de Janeiro as well as the largest in Brazil; densely packed, the favela is said to have up to 180,000 residents (official census sets the figure at 70,000).

PHOTO: ALEX ROBINSON PHOTOGRAPHY



The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World

Michael Ignatieff

Harvard University Press.
263 pp. 2017.

Fantastic Voyage

Is it possible that globalization has brought about a convergence in moral and ethical behavior?

by **Sarwar A. Kashmeri**

The building blocks for moral order in a divided world lie right in front of us, in open view — the ordinary virtues and the institutions that enable them.

The deeper I got into Michael Ignatieff's thought-provoking new book, *The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World*, the more I was reminded of the opening verse of Rudyard Kipling's poem "General Summary":

We are very slightly changed
From the semi-apes who ranged
India's prehistoric clay;
He that drew the longest bow
Ran his brother down, you know,
As we run men down to-day.

Ignatieff's book attempts to answer the question: How far has the world's human rights index actually moved on? How far have we, today, in truth, moved on from the dark vision of Rudyard Kipling, that arch-Victorian of a century and a half ago? Have we progressed since the heady days of 1948 when the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights was constructed and endorsed by most of the world's states? And where there has been progress, what forces have driven the change? Or, as Ignatieff puts the question in his book, "Is globalization drawing us together morally? Beneath all our differences, what virtues, principles, and rules of conduct are we coming to share?"

Indeed, is it possible that globalization has brought about a convergence in moral and ethical behavior?

Through a grant from the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, Ignatieff was able to seek answers to these questions by engaging in dialogues with citizens of some of the world's most diverse and ethnically and racially charged cities and societies. This book pulls together the results of these "global ethical dialogues."

In his quest to unearth answers to the pressing questions, Ignatieff and his team of researchers traveled across the globe — to Los Angeles, Rio de Janeiro, and Queens, New York, and to Bosnia, South Africa, Myanmar, and Fukushima, Japan.

What they discovered is that rather than the broad, global concept of universal human rights, it is the ordinary virtues of trust, tolerance, forgiveness, reconciliation, and resilience practiced at the *individual* level — of family, neighborhood, job, and school — that make the difference between a peaceful society and the world full of semi-apes that Kipling wrote about. And, just as importantly, they found that there are prerequisites for these ordinary virtues to get traction: "jobs that don't discriminate, employers who pay what they owe, landlords who keep their places up, police who don't pick on the undocumented, courts who rule fairly."

But it is the subtext unearthed by the researchers that makes the book so interesting. In Jackson Heights, Queens, for example, one of the most diverse areas on earth, living together — that is, diversity — “goes hand in hand with the actual practice of living apart.” In fact, “Only Asians and whites seem to share educational opportunity together.” Ignatieff continues: “While Americans ... endorse the normative commitment to equality, when it comes to making intimate choices, they stick with their own.” Such observations lead him to wonder if Americans are “engaging in a complicated act of self-deception. They pretend to live *together*, but in reality they only live side by side.”

Drawing an analogy from the world of computers, he speaks of the ordinary virtues and their enabling prerequisites as comprising the warp and weft of a *moral operating system*. “Like computer code, such a system is a set of shared procedures or routines that enable millions of people, from different races, origins, and social backgrounds, to live together.”

It is this moral operating system that generates collaboration among strangers who do not share a common origin, Ignatieff writes. When the operating system runs smoothly it allows diverse communities such as Jackson Heights to run smoothly, but when it crashes, it creates mayhem, as happened during the Watts riots of 1965, which devastated South-Central Los Angeles.

I found the analogy of operating systems even more effective when Ignatieff observes that people arrive in a multicultural city with “the moral operating systems they inherited from their cultures and countries of origin.” And, “Over time, traditional operating systems lose their

purchase with city dwellers because the traditional codes cannot keep up with the highly individualized choices of urban life.” And finally, “As with our computers, we personalize our operating systems so that they allow us to share with others and serve our personal identities and needs.”

In the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, however, honest law enforcement, a key precondition for enabling ordinary virtues, does not exist, and the moral operating system is unable to run smoothly. Here “ordinary virtues don’t stand a chance of sustaining moral order ... unless the police turn honest.”

In Bosnia, the author finds that a kind of alt-moral operating system took over following the ethnically murderous Balkan wars of the 1990s. It is as though the citizens of, say, the once peaceful Jackson Heights had entered a dangerous subroutine in the moral operating system — and neighbors and friends suddenly started killing each other. Ordinary virtues had ceased to exist; only time, the author concludes, will correct the code and create the prerequisite institutions to enable the virtues to flourish again.

As the book moves to its conclusion, Ignatieff tries to deal with the world of realpolitik using the framework of the moral operating system set up earlier. But now the analogy works but laboriously. The author’s contempt for Myanmar’s un-sainted leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, Nobel Prize winner and darling of the West, is evident, since to maintain power she now puts up with the ethnic cleansing of Myanmar’s Rohingya Muslims. I wish the author had explored whether she really has a choice. Would it be better to have the generals in charge? How might the moral operating system be modified to take account of the reality in Myanmar? (I must profess disappointment that Ignatieff insists on calling the country Burma, its old colonial name, even though it was officially renamed Myanmar in 1989.)

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In Bosnia, the author finds that a kind of alt-moral operating system took over following the ethnically murderous Balkan wars of the 1990s. It is as though the citizens of, say, the once peaceful Jackson Heights had entered a dangerous subroutine in the moral operating system — and neighbors and friends suddenly started killing each other.
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In the Fukushima chapter the book moves into more questionable territory when it criticizes the well-established fields of risk management and country risk analysis. The value of actuaries, systems modelers, and analysts is also called into question. These specialists are vital to the construction of, for starters, airplanes and nuclear power plants. For example, they determine how strong an airplane structure must be to protect the plane’s passengers and yet still be capable of getting off the ground. Or, while providing society with the benefits of nuclear power, these professionals simultaneously plan — with reason and caution — against the unthinkable happening (such as the nuclear accident at Fukushima). So I found troubling sentences like this: “The unimaginable is a constructed reality, one that becomes so because risk professionals, insurance companies, bankers, regulators, and governments lay down a deep structure of reassuring expectations that deny the unimaginable is even possible.”

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The Ordinary Virtues pierces the false narrative that ratification of human rights declarations by itself measures progress toward more civilized behavior.

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These are minor flaws in a book that has done us a real service by reminding everyone that the building blocks for moral order in a divided world lie right in front of us, in open view — the ordinary virtues and the institutions that enable them. This is a practical and useful message that each one of us can put to use to help move this complex world in a saner direction.

For the moment, forget the onward rush of globalization, ignore the wonders of high-speed communications, and set aside the millions of pious words that have emanated from the world's diplomats. In the closing section of *The Ordinary Virtues*, Ignatieff and his team remind the reader that it is Eleanor Roosevelt, speaking at the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1958, who pulls together the strings of the global research undertaken by the “ordinary virtues” team. Addressing the United Nations, Mrs. Roosevelt rhetorically asked,

Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home — so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person; the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm, or office where he works.... Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere.

Alas, by this test, the world has a long way to go before life will become easier for many of its “ordinary” human beings. Today, so many countries — including Hungary, India, and Russia, countries that just a handful of years ago were being held up as success stories using Mrs. Roosevelt's criteria — have regressed and made it harder for their ordinary citizens to leverage the ordinary virtues that make ordinary living possible. We can only hope that the current political climate does not see the U.S. pushed onto that regressive list.

The Ordinary Virtues pierces the false narrative that ratification of human rights declarations by itself measures progress toward more civilized behavior. The book underscores the unchanging, irreplaceable nature of ordinary virtues in anchoring civilized behavior, and shines a spotlight on the critical responsibility of states in creating institutions that make the practice of ordinary virtues ... well, ordinary. In so doing, Ignatieff has done ordinary people around the world an extraordinary service. ■

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The Ordinary Virtues Project was initiated by the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs to commemorate the centenary of Andrew Carnegie's bequest creating the Council in February 1914. Embarking on a three-year, eight-nation journey in search of answers, project director Michael Ignatieff and his team undertook intensive “global ethical dialogues” with elite audiences (judges, journalists, academics, and politicians). These global dialogues were supplemented with “site visits” to reach out to non-elite audiences in favelas in Rio; in illegal settlements outside Pretoria; and community organizations in Mandalay, Queens (New York), southcentral Los Angeles, and rural Bosnia. Ignatieff went on to distill his discoveries in the book under review.

Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs seeks to enlarge the audience for the simple but powerful message that ethics matter, regardless of place, origin, or belief. The Council envisions a safer and more just world where ethics are the first consideration in decisions affecting international relations. Founded by Andrew Carnegie in 1914, it is one of the world's top creators of nonpartisan educational resources on international ethics used by professionals, journalists, educators, students, and the greater public. With the goal of promoting peace and cross-cultural dialogue by connecting diverse people to its work, Carnegie Council focuses on human rights, the just use of force, resolution of conflict, environmental sustainability, religious pluralism, and economic fairness. carnegiecouncil.org



Madame President: The Extraordinary Journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

Helene Cooper

Simon & Schuster.

320 pp. 2017.

The Forging of an Iron Lady

How the women of Liberia changed the course of their nation's history

by **Robert Nolan**

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Sirleaf is a shapeshifter of the first order, her myriad personas revealed alongside the collapse of the West African country she loves so dearly.
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Fifty years before the #MeToo hashtag empowered thousands of women to stand up against sexual offenses, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf left her abusive husband in Liberia to launch a high-powered career in global finance and development. When U.S. presidential candidate Hillary Clinton spoke in 2016 of shattering “glass ceilings,” Sirleaf had already served for a decade as president of Liberia, the first woman ever elected president of an African country. And six years before an estimated five million women gathered peacefully in capitals around the world as part of the 2017 Women’s March, Sirleaf received the Nobel Peace Prize for her contributions to the “non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women’s rights.”

Sirleaf’s history-making life has been well-documented in book and film. Do we really need to know more about this remarkable figure, so much of whose life has been lived in the public eye? Perhaps not, but the latest account of Sirleaf’s life, *Madame President*, by Helene Cooper, is so full of timely insights about gender and power dynamics that it doesn’t really matter.

Liberia’s tragic history, like that of many nations, can be summarized as a series of perplexing acts of violence, nearly all of them inflicted by men, frequently against other men, but often against women and children. The last is where Cooper, a Liberian-American journalist, directs the reader’s attention.

The Liberia portrayed in *Madame President* is a hellscape of aggression and destruction. By the end of the West African country’s civil war in 2003, Monrovia, the capital, was decimated, its coffers empty, its population traumatized. Nearly 75 percent of Liberian women suffered sexual assault during this time. Not surprisingly, many young women who had been raped sought work using the only asset at their disposal, their bodies. Battle-hardened young boys, their developing minds arrested by the amphetamines and other drugs they were given in order to fight, roamed the streets, looking to be nurtured. Who among us can forget the image of a boy soldier, armed with an AK-47, smoking a cigarette, dressed in a blond wig and white wedding gown, staring vividly at the camera?

In post-war Liberia, such nurturing, Cooper suggests, could only be of the maternal sort. Her account of Sirleaf’s life makes a strong case for this proposition, one that will soon be tested as Liberia inaugurates a new president in 2018, almost surely a man. The author also asks a larger, perhaps more urgent question: Would the world be a more peaceful place with more women leaders?

Would the world be a more peaceful place with more women leaders?

In Cooper's account, Sirleaf is a shapeshifter of the first order, her myriad personas revealed alongside the collapse of the West African country she loves so dearly. First, we meet young Ellen Sirleaf, a well-off resident of Monrovia, who, by the age of 21, had given birth to four boys and endured a physically abusive marriage. Despite her native Liberian heritage, the young woman is conscious of being mistaken for a "Congo," a term used by Liberians to describe descendants of the freed American blacks who founded Liberia in 1821, and whose descendants long comprised its ruling class. Sirleaf, with light skin, an American education, and knowledge of finance, was able to obtain a post in the "Congo" administration of William Tolbert.

Next, we meet Sirleaf the technocrat. Following Tolbert's murder in a 1980 military coup led by Samuel Doe, she returned to the U.S., eventually gaining entry to the most exclusive circles in global finance and development. Working stints with the World Bank and Citibank, Sirleaf moves easily between the male-dominated boardrooms of Washington, D.C., and the women-powered urban markets of Africa. She adapts her language and style accordingly, but never without a Ziploc bag of Liberian "beat up pepper" to sprinkle on her food — a small reminder of home as she flows in and out of diametric worlds.

Sirleaf's dexterity led to her next incarnation: politician. Despite her misgivings about then President Doe and her affiliation with the ousted Tolbert government, Sirleaf returned to Liberia, determined to use her background and connections in global finance to steer the country in the right direction. But when her ambitions became apparent, Doe had her arrested, detained, and nearly killed. "This where the grave at," one soldier in the back of the army Jeep said to her, in Cooper's account. "This where we killing you." The soldiers didn't make good on their threat, but Sirleaf's cellmate, a 19-year-old woman, was raped repeatedly — an all-too-common occurrence that Cooper forces the reader to confront throughout the book.

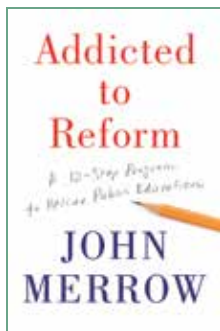
Sirleaf emerges from her near-death experience a legend. "There are many things Liberian women will tolerate," Cooper writes. "They accept that it is their burden to shoulder all of the responsibility for keeping their family fed, whether that means farming alone all day or submitting to gang rape as the price that must be paid for keeping their children alive. But jail, for some reason, is a step too far." When Liberia's "market women" catch wind of Sirleaf's imprisonment, they begin a movement to win her release that will change the fate of the continent. "The stage was now set for the revolution that would overturn gender politics in West Africa," Cooper writes. "But the men still had one more act to play."

That act would devastate Liberia for the next 14 years, as Liberia descended into civil war. When peace talks finally set the stage for free elections in 2003, roughly half a million people had died at the hands of warlords like Charles Taylor, Prince Johnson, and Joshua "General Butt Naked" Blahyi.

By this time, women had decided it was their turn. Their so-called "White Shirt" movement (named after the t-shirts worn in protest by the country's market women) took to the streets, where they waged a massive voter registration campaign that brought Sirleaf back from the U.S. and helped thrust her into the natural culmination of her ever-evolving identities — that of the role of "Madame President."

"Fellow Liberians," she exclaimed upon her victory in 2005. "The days of the imperial presidency, of domineering and threatening chief executives, are over."

Sirleaf's tenure as president ended in 2017, her status as an elder and moral voice crystallized along with her legacy as a peacebuilder and economic driver. Whether or not the days of domineering and threatening chief executives are over — in Monrovia or elsewhere — remains to be seen. ■



**Addicted to Reform:
A 12-Step Program to
Rescue Public Education**

John Merrow

The New Press.
277 pp. 2017.

Education Intervention

Drawing on four decades of reporting experience, one of the biggest names in education journalism prescribes a recovery plan for America's schools

by **Celeste Ford**

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"Schools sort young children in two basic groups: a minority of 'winners' who are placed on a track leading them to elite colleges, prominence, and financial success, and everyone else. While the rest aren't labeled 'losers' per se, they are largely left to struggle on their own."

— **John Merrow**, *Addicted to Reform*

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In television news, journalists gravitate toward sound-bite machines — experts with a gift for distilling a lot of information into clear and preferably pithy commentary. After 41 years as a public radio and TV reporter, John Merrow has perfected the skill. This is key when you consider that his area of expertise, K–12 education, is notoriously fraught.

Merrow's latest book, *Addicted to Reform: A 12-Step Program to Rescue Public Education*, takes its name from the Alcoholics Anonymous guide for recovery. It's about everyone hooked on "quick fixes for deep systemic problems," and it offers many memorable observations and suggested alternatives. For example:

K–12 Education: Let's stop asking (each young child), "How intelligent are you?" Let's ask instead, "How are you intelligent?"

Students: They suffer from ADD — an acronym for "affection deficit disorder" — caused by failure to "show students that you care deeply about them personally and academically."

Teachers: "Our current education system makes it too easy for just about anyone to become a teacher ... and far too difficult for most teachers to excel at the task."

Testing: "regurgitation education" that leads to "miseducated" students.

Technology: "Young people may be digital natives, but it remains the responsibility of adults to see that they become digital citizens" in regards to cyberbullying and online learning.

The substance of Merrow's 12-step program is a plan to help redesign and rescue our public schools. He offers guideposts in chapters with titles such as "Own the Problem," "Start Early," and "Embrace Teachers (Respectfully)." In the chapter "Embrace 'Outsiders' (Enthusiastically)" he urges schools to treat parents as essential assets instead of as outsiders. Among the problems, one stands out as Merrow's top culprit: the obsession with testing and test scores, a practice that he blames for all sorts of damage and, perhaps worst of all, for facilitating inequality: "Schools sort young children in two basic groups: a minority of 'winners' who are placed on a track leading them to elite colleges, prominence, and financial success, and everyone else. While the rest aren't labeled 'losers' per se, they are largely left to struggle on their own."

The irony here is that inequality was also the primary concern of the reformers who took on the education establishment starting in the 1980s to help lead the standards and assessments movement — work that was supported by numerous education organizations and philanthropic

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"Truly innovative programs engage the creativity of kids, expect them to work hard, and know that they will fail but are ready to help when they do. They require cooperation with others, involve the families, and — drumroll, please — spend real money giving poor kids the opportunities that most rich kids take for granted."

— **John Merrow**, *Addicted to Reform*
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foundations, including Carnegie Corporation of New York. The goal was to provide greater opportunity for all children by employing a more data-driven model that could improve accountability, which was a relatively new concept in education at the time. With reliable test scores, educators and parents would know which schools were failing (especially the ones that served disadvantaged and minority children in urban areas), leading them to advocate for remediation programs, as well as for the additional funding that these programs were likely to require.

What happened next — Common Core State Standards, the flawed rollout, and subsequent parent revolt — were problems of implementation, not of intention. This is an all-important distinction the author does not make. Merrow never fully explains why reformers believed that the tests were needed and the conditions that existed prior to the standards and assessments. He does not address the ways in which schools were allowed to languish because there was little proof that students were not learning and no mechanism for holding teachers, schools, and even parents more accountable.

Only near the end of *Addicted to Reform* does Merrow concede that there is a place for testing as long as it can "measure what matters." He advocates for grading students differently through alternatives such as portfolios and on factors such as an "ethical character." He also suggests that communities put the emphasis on the quality of the school, and establish their own criteria, including points for offering significant art or music programs, daily recess, regular assessments developed by teachers, and project-based learning, among others.

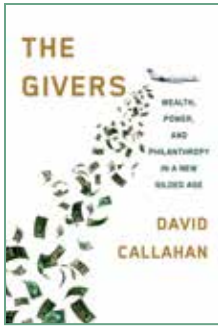
Merrow's analysis of the nation's education issues is supported throughout by anecdotes and research, including a series of semi-autobiographical sidebars called "Memory Lane," drawn mostly from his reporting career. Both amusing and horrifying, these recollections

demonstrate why the author earned many prestigious journalism awards and a reputation as one of the great storytellers in education news.

Learning how his career began, his success is all the more endearing. In one amusing anecdote Merrow reveals that he was fired from his first reporting job for lying about his qualifications — he had none, except for the "reporting bug." A far more distressing account tells of a nine-year-old girl at a mental health institution, whose sexually provocative behavior reflected a history of abuse. And an inspiring story from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, features a military veteran who became an elementary school teacher. "If you take care of my country, I'll take care of your son," he tells a father shipping out to Iraq.

In 2015 Merrow retired from *PBS NewsHour* and Learning Matters, the video production company he founded and sold to the parent company of *Education Week* — each of them either current or past grantees of the Corporation (along with many other education nonprofits). Funder status does not insulate education programs from Merrow's critiques, and perhaps retirement has made him even more candid. He fires away at a range of targets with considerable irreverence, not sparing boldface names in K–12 education, philanthropic funders, charter school operators, testing and test prep companies, and Big Pharma.

That candor plus decades of high-level access make Merrow's 12-step program a powerful read for just about anyone who cares about education — from parents to school superintendents. And while *Addicted to Reform* is unlikely to trigger the "spiritual awakening" called for in AA's 12th step, without authors who scrutinize the health of the public education system, our nation's schools will remain, as Merrow puts it, mired in the past and unable to meet the needs of the 21st century. ■



**The Givers: Wealth,
Power, and Philanthropy
in a New Gilded Age**

David Callahan

Alfred A. Knopf.
344 pp. 2017.

They Mean Well

Does modern philanthropy threaten
our democracy?

by **Adrienne Faraci**

What ensures that philanthropic giving
is done authentically and inclusively,
and that it actually ends up helping
those in need?

David Callahan, author of *The Givers: Wealth, Power, and Philanthropy in a New Gilded Age*, sees the uniquely American tradition of philanthropy as a problem of our own making. “What we have here is another complicated story about philanthropy and influence in a new Gilded Age,” he writes. “It’s hard not to be inspired by the vision and achievements of many donors — and equally hard not to be troubled by the bigger picture of more power shifting into private hands.”

The founder and editor of Inside Philanthropy, a digital media site covering the world of giving, Callahan points out marked parallels between the past and present eras of opulence, such as an emerging class of politically connected and vastly rich individuals, declining government resources, and growing income inequality. Through philanthropy, the new gilded class, emulating earlier capitalists, is attempting to step into the breach of fiscal scarcity and help move the needle on some of society’s seemingly intractable problems. Like Andrew Carnegie, the father of modern philanthropy, many of these affluent individuals are moved to act on a moral obligation to support innovations that will make life better for humankind. Sometimes ferocious and sometimes scientific in their tactics, today’s philanthropists have the risk capital and the networks to influence policy on issues ranging from education reform to environmental remediation.

Twenty-first-century billionaires differ from earlier elites in that there are many more of them, and they are giving away much of their wealth (well, some of them) and pushing for change at breakneck speed. What will this mean for society as a whole? In light of declining government influence and an increasing gap in income equality, how will this new breed of ideological philanthropists affect civil society? Who can ensure that the people will have a say in how resources are allocated and how policies are changed? Callahan’s book issues a warning to those interested in the field of philanthropy or who are looking to enter it. He offers a tempering look at all that philanthropy promises as well as recommendations for checking the influence of unbridled giving.

Encyclopedic in its breadth, Callahan’s work depicts the myriad ways in which philanthropy shapes issues. In *The Givers* he paints a picture of active mega-donors with the ability to cultivate and fund just about any project or initiative and get any idea off the ground. He stresses the importance of measuring philanthropic gestures with the aim of including the voice of everyman. After all, these gestures do not merely support charities, they also have an impact on issues far beyond what the average person could hope to achieve.

Despite their importance as agents of innovation, these socially conscious *disrupters* — a term from the tech world where many of these mega-donors got their start — may

ultimately pose a threat to our democracy. Younger donors “are often drawn to a more rigorous approach to giving.” As the author points out, “next-generation funders are often thinking about impact and breakthroughs.” They want more metrics. Results aside, what ensures that philanthropic giving is done authentically and inclusively, and that it actually ends up helping those in need?

Callahan is fair in his estimation of the philanthropic sector, as well as in his portrayal of some big wins and some big losses by (primarily) United States givers, from Mark Zuckerberg’s \$100 million gift to Newark, New Jersey’s public school system to the Eli Broad Foundation’s support of the arts. Callahan’s call for the inclusion of civil society is an important theme throughout the book. And is there a way for philanthropy to become more transparent and yet remain an agile instrument for accelerating positive societal change?

Callahan presents a complex scenario, which includes the need to manage the expectations and ideologies of living donors like Silicon Valley billionaire Sean Parker, who see philanthropy through their own lens of success. “Philanthropists intent on spending fast to find breakthroughs or achieve disruptive change are more numerous than ever before, especially among the ranks of younger entrepreneurs emerging as major winners from tech and finance.... They don’t want to just support ‘causes.’ They want to solve problems — big ones.” They bring to the table the same sort of entrepreneurial vigor that worked for them in the business space. And while it’s valuable to have a diversity of minds around the philanthropic table wrestling with issues like public health, education, and scientific research, it’s essential that this plurality of philanthropy, as Callahan terms it, is thought through and not merely springing from donors’ ideologies.

Without philanthropy, scientific discoveries may not happen at an optimum pace as governments face new fiscal tightening. Although science funding is still distributed largely through government channels, it is shifting toward private donors who can support younger scientists and invest in riskier or neglected research topics that government agencies might not touch. With further funding cuts on the horizon, benefactors like Bill Gates and Jim Simons are likely to play bigger roles in supporting issue areas impacted by government funding cuts and in championing continued government support for science and education initiatives. “As the great twentieth-century tide of public money recedes ... a new tide of private money is flowing in,” Callahan observes.

What happens, however, when a philanthropist supports a partisan policy and can wield enough catalytic power to influence government through funding tactics? Such was the case with philanthropist Art Pope in his home state of North Carolina. Pope is a funder of several conservative

nonprofits including the John Locke Foundation and the North Carolina Family Policy Council (NCFPC). Among the NCFPC’s top priorities has been to halt the expansion of LGBT rights in the state. As Callahan writes:

NCFPC was strongly opposed to transgender people using bathrooms of their preferred gender, and celebrated when House Bill 2 was passed in March 2016.... During the ensuing uproar over the law, NCFPC became its main defender, pumping out statements and blog posts designed to combat “myths” about HB2. In an interview with NPR, Art Pope positioned himself above the fray, saying that both sides in the bathroom debate had legitimate concerns. But it’s fair to say that few in the state had done more to precipitate this “political Category 5 hurricane,” as *Charlotte Magazine* called the bathroom battle.

Callahan highlights this type of philanthropic giving to show the nuanced ways in which a giver can advance a personal policy agenda, and he stresses the lack of transparency sometimes associated with political giving. It is noteworthy that the repeal of the transgender-friendly bathroom law cost North Carolina hundreds of millions of dollars in lost business, depleting its economy. In this instance the voice of the people *was* heard, which Callahan sees as a possible silver lining: “Catalysts for systemic change, history shows, are social movements that unite masses of people who are unhappy with a current system and set out to transform it.”

“Americans champion the idea of governance by the everyman, at least in principle. We don’t like the idea of having our destinies shaped by a bunch of trust fund kids, most of whom are only faintly acquainted with the real-life struggles of ordinary people.” And for Callahan, therein lies the rub: society needs philanthropic pluralism, diversity of ideas, and funding sources. No one entity will rid humankind of all that ails it. However, with wealth comes a native vein of power, and the poorer and less powerful inevitably have less say in deciding what is good for society and what is not. “The world desperately needs both new resources and new ideas focused on its biggest problems. But it’s unnerving to watch rich people, however smart or well meaning, amass even more power through giving after three decades of rising inequality.”

Philanthropy, the author maintains, is both good and bad. At best it is the promise of a gift of resources unencumbered by bureaucratic processes, giving the receiver the freedom to try out a crazy idea that might turn into the next great breakthrough in, say, cancer research. At worst it can become a tool to move personal agendas that serve the few. In *The Givers* David Callahan makes us think about both the intended and the unintended consequences of the uniquely American tradition of giving back. ■

"Dear Andy"

The merry satirists of *Puck* magazine — its title inspired by the mischievous sprite in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* — took on the most powerful political figures of America's Gilded Age. They were also more than happy to offer advice to the great philanthropists of the day, including Andrew Carnegie, whose scientific approach to giving disdained "so-called charity" as doing the needy more evil than good in the long run. Carnegie believed that in bestowing charity, "the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves." Philanthropy addresses root causes, offering "ladders upon which the aspiring can rise," while too often in charity "more injury is probably done rewarding vice than by relieving virtue." In this, as critics were quick to note, Carnegie can appear unfeeling. The waggish wits of *Puck* are here gentler in their remonstrances.

By **Kenneth Benson**

A Christmas Reminder

Criticism of philanthropists — of the causes they choose to support, of their true motives — is nothing new. A week before Christmas Day in 1901, Puck himself gestures toward an elderly couple entering the study of Andrew Carnegie, who is poring over plans for a new library before a roaring fire. Puck addresses the great philanthropist: "Books are already so cheap and libraries so abundant that even the poorest man has all the literature he wants. Now, why not provide respectable homes for the people who are too old to work and who were never able to save anything from their scanty wages; and so keep them from beggary, starvation or suicide?" On the back wall hangs a canvas of *The Good Samaritan*. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION





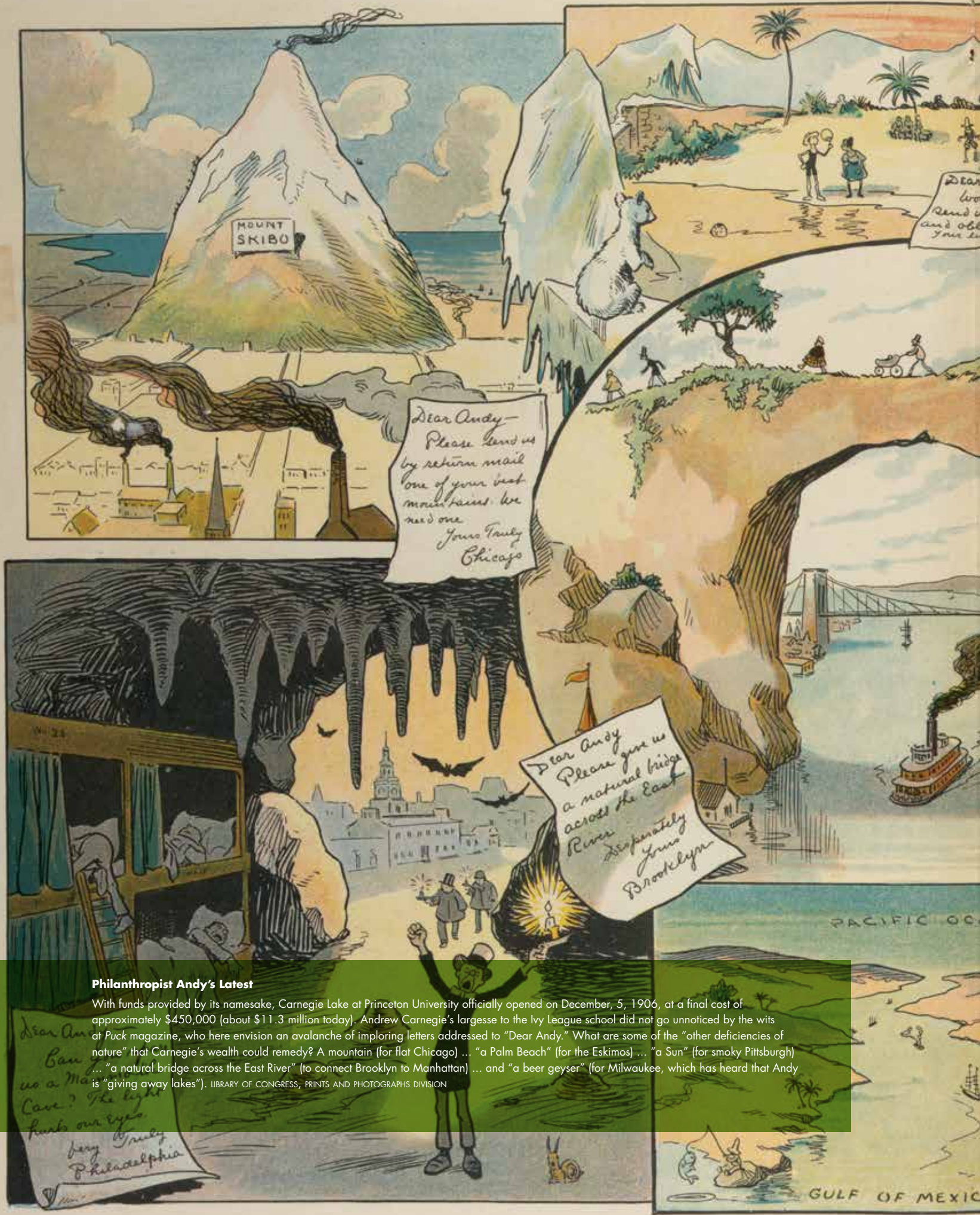
A Word to the Grand Stand Specialists

Always the troublemaker, Puck tugs at Andrew Carnegie's coattails, asking: "You have qualified thoroughly as modern philanthropists, now why not do some good?" Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller pile bags of money before the statue of "Fame," while symbolic representations of their philanthropy — libraries and universities — rise imposingly in the background. In 1903, Puck suggests, such great wealth would be better lavished on causes like a "Free Home for Consumptives." The scroll features the shadowy plan of just such a home, while at lower right ordinary citizens deposit coins into a contributions box for the as yet unbuilt sanitarium. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION



PLAN OF FREE HOME
FOR
CONSUMPTIVES

CONTRIBUTIONS
FOR
CONSUMPTIVES
HOME





FURS CHECKED HERE

Andy -
If you please
send a bear geyser
to the friends
of the Cynical

ENTRANCE
TO PALM BEACH

PRESENTED BY
A. CARNEGIE

Dear Andy -
If you've got
a smoke about
you, we could
use another
one
Respectfully
Pittsburg

Dear Andy -
We hear that you
are giving away
lakes. How about
a bear geyser?
Hopefully
Milwaukee

Dear Andy
Many Thanks
for your nice
river. It saves
us the trouble of
digging a canal
Gratefully
Panama

FREE TO ALL

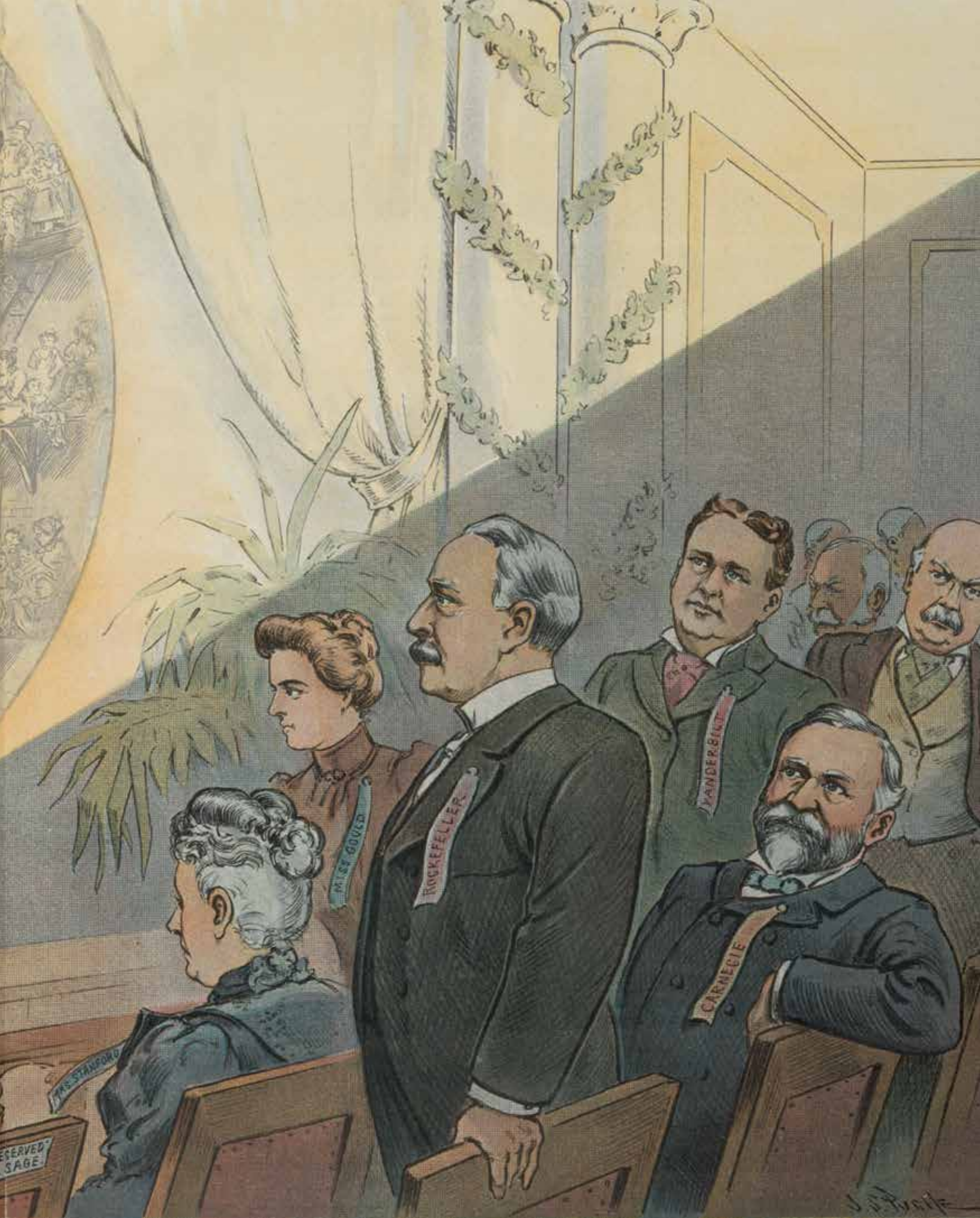
FREE TO ALL

L. McHADDEN



A Christmas Sermon

In this presentation on tenement housing, delivered on December 26, 1900, Puck is not making the case for charity. (Andrew Carnegie inveighed against what he called "indiscriminate charity," considering it better to simply throw one's money into the sea.) Rather, the usually mischievous sprite is thoroughly serious, addressing some of the great philanthropists of the day as follows: "Here is something for you generous millionaires to think about, when you are endowing schools, colleges and libraries. A chance to learn is good, but a chance to live is better. Your present plan gives more to those that already have much. Suppose you try giving something to those that have less than nothing. Provide necessities for the poor rather than luxuries for the rich. It is better to give these many thousands a chance to live clean, decent, moral lives than to give a few hundred sons of well-to-do parents a college education. While these horrible conditions exist one model tenement will do more real good than a dozen colleges. You mean well. Try do to as well as you mean." LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION



Contributors

A former producer for *Moyers & Company* and *Bill Moyers Journal*, **Gail Ablow** writes and produces for BillMoyers.com. Her first collaboration with the Moyers team was the documentary series *On Our Own Terms: Moyers on Dying*, followed by *Earth on Edge* and *Kids and Chemicals*. Throughout her career she has produced documentaries, breaking news, and interviews for PBS, ABC, CNN, and CNBC. Currently a visiting media fellow in democracy at Carnegie Corporation of New York, she has earned four Emmy nominations, a Peabody Award, and an Edward R. Murrow Award. A graduate of Harvard University, Ablow earned her MA at Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

Currently editor/writer at Carnegie Corporation of New York, **Kenneth Benson** has written, edited, and curated print, digital, and exhibition projects for The New York Public Library, the Museum of Biblical Art, The New York Botanical Garden, and other cultural institutions.

After living and working in Turin and Paris, **Montse Bernal** is back in her hometown of Barcelona, Spain, where she surrounds herself with vintage photographs, old volumes of natural history, printed ephemera, and reproductions of the drawings of Ingres. Focusing on portrait illustration, Bernal views portraiture as a way of rediscovering a person — a way to go beyond what one sees at first glance, a way to go beneath the surface. Her work has appeared in the *New Yorker*, *W Magazine*, the *New York Times*, *New York*, and *Forbes*, among many other publications, and she has collaborated with Phaidon, Pentagram, BMW, Nike, and FIFA.

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

Aruna D'Souza is a writer based in western Massachusetts. Her essays and articles on art, culture, food, and books have appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Bookforum*, CNN.com, *Time Out New York*, *Garage*, and other publications. She is a regular contributor to and member of the advisory board of 4Columns. arunadsouza.com

Adrienne Faraci is manager of digital campaigns and special initiatives at Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Rob Finch is an award-winning photojournalist and visual storyteller based in Portland, Oregon. As creative director at Blue Chalk Media, he directs, shoots, and edits in both the documentary and advertising worlds. Before helping start Blue Chalk, Finch was part of the team from the *Oregonian* recognized with the 2007 Pulitzer Prize for breaking news reporting.

Celeste Ford is the director of media relations at Carnegie Corporation of New York and a former education reporter for WABC-TV in New York City.

Vesna Jaksic Lowe is a New York-based communications consultant and writer. Recent work includes Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, Sustainable Development Goals Fund, and Portland Communications. Jaksic Lowe was previously deputy director of communications at Physicians for Human Rights, a media strategist at the ACLU, and an award-winning reporter at three newspapers. She has a BA in communications from Hofstra University and an MS in international affairs from The New School. vesnajaksic.com @vesnajaksic

Sarwar A. Kashmeri is host of Carnegie Corporation of New York's "China in Focus" Diffusion podcasts. He is an adjunct professor of political science at Norwich University and a fellow of the Foreign Policy Association.

Carnegie Corporation visiting media fellow **Scott Malcomson** has worked as a correspondent, civil-society executive, and government official in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and North and South America. An international security fellow at New America and author of five books, most recently *Splinternet: How Geopolitics and Commerce are Fragmenting the World Wide Web*, he was foreign editor of the *New York Times Magazine* and has contributed to the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, the *Guardian*, and other publications. @smalcomson

Robert Nolan is executive director of communications and content strategy at Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Jennifer Waters is an award-winning writer who has primarily covered business news for major national newspapers and magazines, radio and TV broadcasts, and online. Her work has appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, MarketWatch, the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and many other domestic and international news publications. She has hosted, cohosted, and produced TV and radio shows on business and general-interest topics for a variety of national broadcast stations, and has been nominated for a James Beard Award in journalism.

SOURCES

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p. 30: nps.gov/stli (National Park Service)

p. 33 (*Measuring Millennials*): *The 2017 Deloitte Millennial Survey & The Millennial Impact Report*, Phase 2 (2017)

p. 33 (*Driving Change Online*): Blackbaud Institute's 5th annual *Charitable Giving Report* (2017)

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The very big and very yellow surprise guest at the 2017 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy ceremony — Big Bird! — hugs Carnegie Corporation of New York president Vartan Gregorian.

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On November 25, 2017, in honor of Andrew Carnegie's birthday, the Empire State Building joined in the celebration of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy by illuminating its iconic tower in the medal's tartan colors (navy, purple, and yellow).

Happy Birthday, Mr. Carnegie!

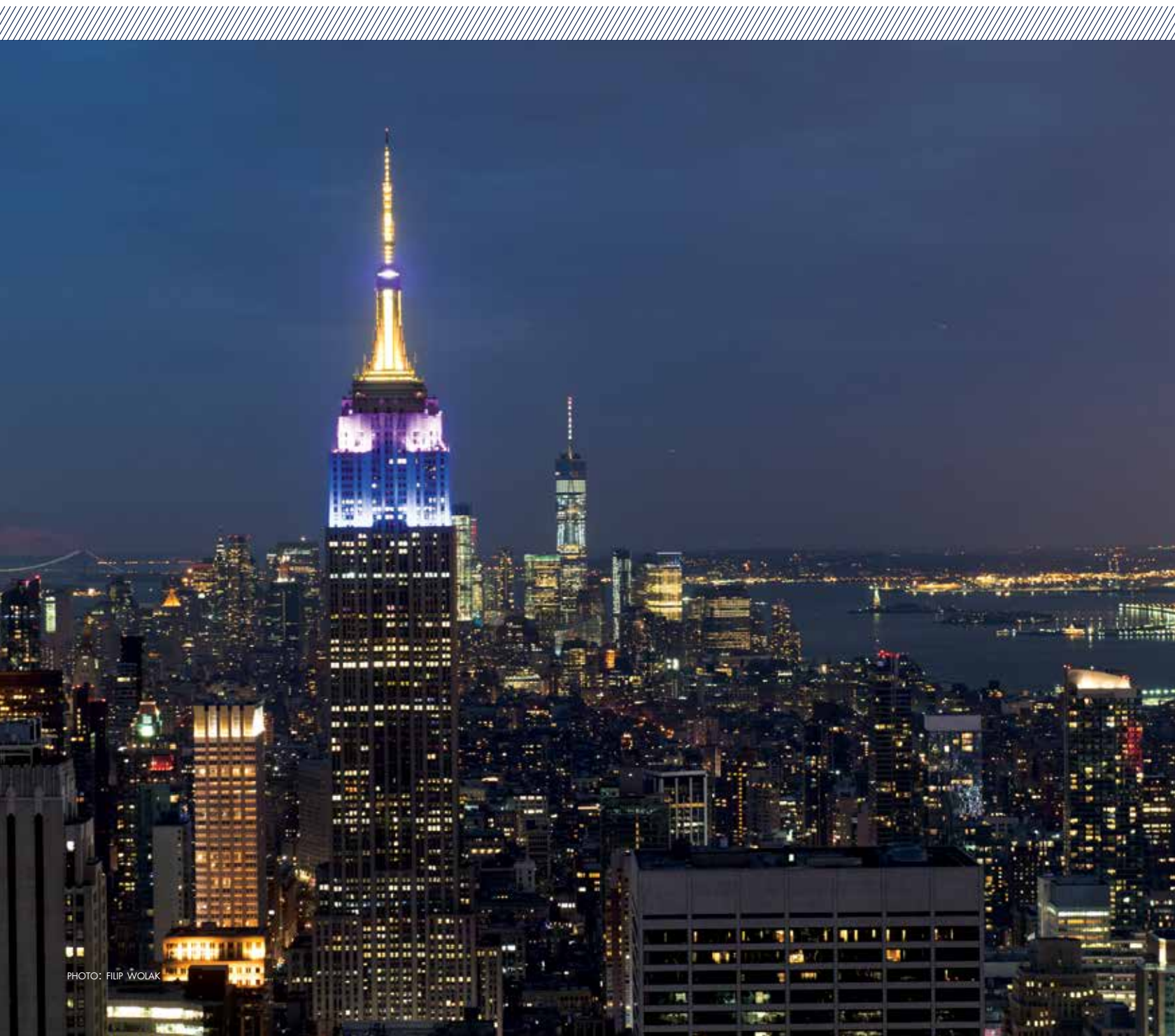


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