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CARNEGIE REPORTER

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

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Nuclear annihilation. It's a frightening, almost existential notion that many of us—especially those born before or during the Cold War—have had to consider at some point in our lives. Duck and cover drills and fallout shelters, command and control procedures, the concept of mutually assured destruction—these once seemed to offer at least a veneer of security for Americans. But today's nuclear threat has evolved and is somehow even more terrifying. As Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian writes in this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, "There is no longer a single proverbial 'red phone' in the event of a nuclear crisis."

Nuclear security—and, more specifically, the threat of nuclear terrorism—was the subject of the fourth and final international Nuclear Security Summit organized by the White House in Washington, D.C., last March, and is a focus point in this issue of the Corporation's flagship publication. In addition to the president's letter, we feature a graphic novel-like retelling of the dramatic 2007 break-in at the Pelindaba Nuclear Research Centre in South Africa, a snapshot of the four scenarios in which a terrorist group could carry out a nuclear attack, and policy prescriptions from our nuclear security brain trust to help prevent any of those terrible scenarios from occurring. "This is a responsibility that can't be delegated to others," says Joan Rohlfing of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a longtime Corporation partner in securing the world's fissile and radioactive material. "It needs to start at the leader level."

Also in this issue, Hillary Wiesner, director of Carnegie Corporation's Transnational Movements in the Arab Region program, opens up about the program's strategy to engage social scientists in the Arab world, while Visiting Media Fellow Scott Malcomson looks at the current state of peacebuilding in Africa. Corporation grantees in these areas know their countries better than anyone else and are best placed to help resolve the many conflicts that have arisen in their respective regions. Our "Carnegie Results" department looks at the effort to bring more economic data into the all-too-often "fact-free" immigration debate, while our "End Note" spotlights a worrisome disconnect between parents' understanding of their children's performance in school and how their children are *actually* testing. These stories, and more, come to life at carnegie.org.

Robert Nolan

Director of Communications and Content Strategy, Carnegie Corporation of New York

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Chief Communications and Digital Strategies Officer
Deanna Lee

Director of Communications and Content Strategy
Robert Nolan

Editor/Writer
Kenneth C. Benson

Principal Designer
Daniel Kitae Um

Researcher
Ronald Sexton

Production Assistant
Natalie Holt

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437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022
Phone: 212.371.3200 Fax: 212.754.4073
carnegie.org

Cover Illustration
James Fenner

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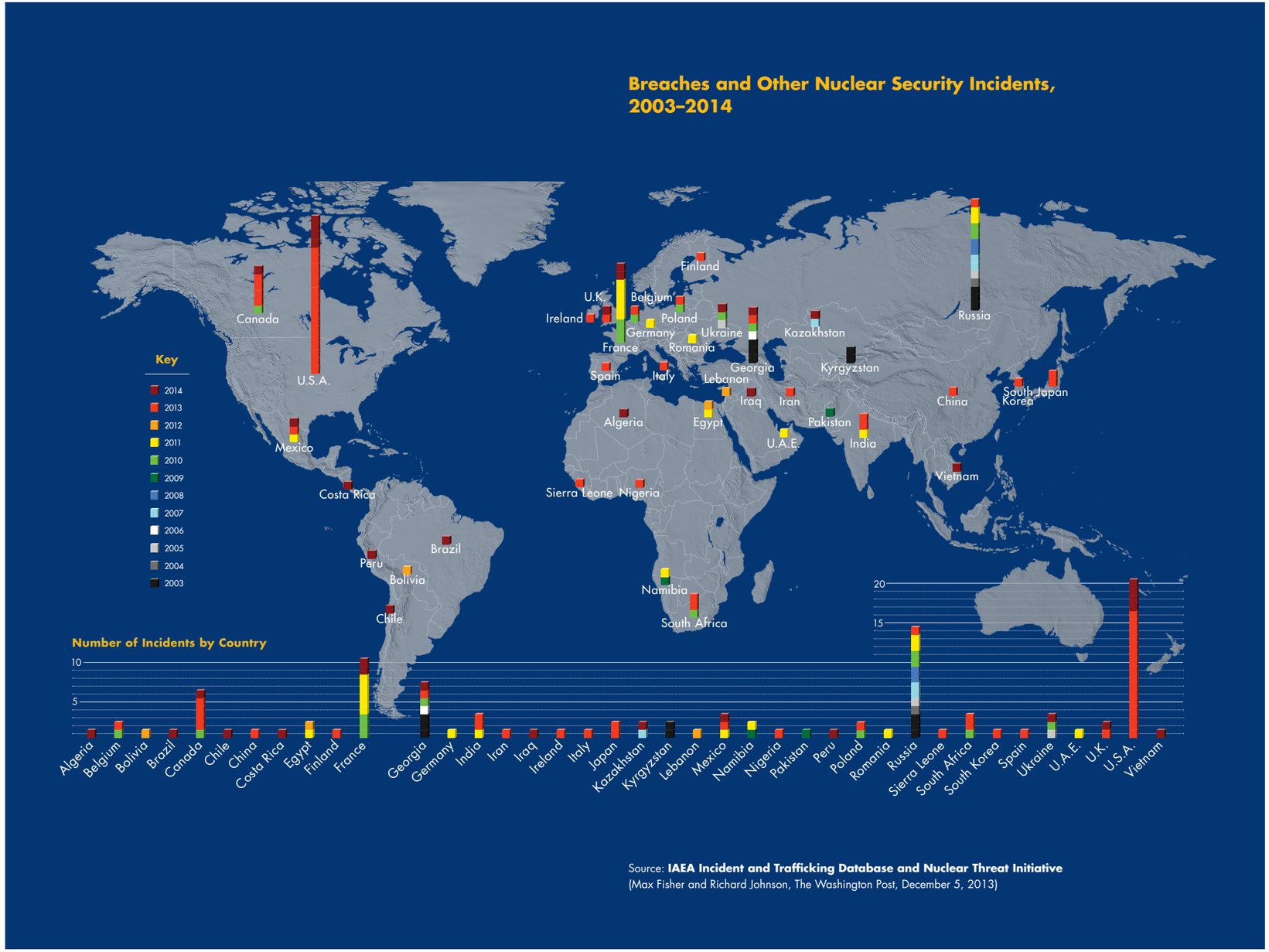
"If you want to go far, go together": Preventing Nuclear Catastrophe

Of all the concerns Andrew Carnegie sought to address through his philanthropy, the pursuit of peace was of paramount importance to him, especially as he grew older and the specter of a world war loomed ever larger. After all his advocacy in the name of peace and diplomacy, Mr. Carnegie was devastated by his inability to prevent the outbreak of World War I and the catastrophe that followed. Few could have imagined at the time that the term "The Great War," as it was known, would a mere two decades later no longer hold true, as World War II erupted with even greater geographic reach and devastation. Most frightening of all, the Second World War saw the introduction of the atomic bomb, placing into the hands of man, for the first time, the ability to wreak instantaneous and total destruction.

Since 1945, when humanity first witnessed the use of nuclear weapons at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Corporation, along with several of its sister institutions, has contributed significant funds to ensure nuclear security and nonproliferation. The Corporation's trustees, like Mr. Carnegie decades before, have supported a variety of measures to avert global war and atomic disaster, noting that "without peace and the prospect of peace, all other plans are worthless."

Following World War II, and through the 1960s, the Corporation made a series of grants focused on understanding and managing the twin forces of atomic energy and nuclear weapons. Then, after a hiatus, in 1983 the Corporation revived its efforts in the nuclear realm with the launch of the Avoiding Nuclear War Program. The initiative helped foster understanding of the nuclear threat and the necessity of cooperation with the Soviet Union to avert accidental warfare or preemptive strikes. This included helping to develop relationships of trust between Soviet and American nuclear scientists and paving the way for confidence building between Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.



With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, which brought the Cold War to an end, tensions between the United States and Russia abated. But this seminal shift in the international landscape led to new dangers, including the vulnerability of nuclear weapons and materials in former Soviet republics. Since 1991, even as more than a dozen countries have ended their nuclear weapons programs, and in a few cases dismantled their arsenals entirely, the nuclear threat has continued to spread to new regions. Promising steps like the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968 have not prevented India, Pakistan, and North Korea from conducting nuclear tests and joining the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, China, and Israel as the states that are either known or presumed to possess nuclear weapons.

While the United States and Russia account for more than 90 percent of the almost 16,000 nuclear warheads in existence, the once bipolar international system has transformed into a multipolar one characterized by constantly evolving threats. There is no longer a single proverbial "red phone" in the event of a nuclear crisis. In addition, the emergence of new technologies in precision weaponry—including cyber, surveillance, space, and anti-space weapons, to name a few—has further complicated strategic stability. Other technologies, especially the rise of the Internet, which connect the world and provide instant information, have also increased the power of individual terrorists and nonstate groups, some of which will do anything they can—steal, blackmail, or resort to the black market—to obtain nuclear materials. For all of these reasons and more, the world is facing a growing nuclear threat, one that is more complex than at any other time in history.

In response to these changes, in 2009 newly elected U.S. President Barack Obama gave a historic speech in Hradčany Square in Prague. He identified the risk of nuclear terrorism as the most immediate and extreme threat to nuclear security and called for a global effort to secure vulnerable nuclear weapons materials. The growing risk of nuclear terrorism led this year's Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, D.C., the fourth and final of these events held under President Obama's administration, to focus on keeping nuclear materials out of the hands of terrorists. For the fifty world leaders in attendance at the Summit, their mandate was clear: the world cannot wait for an act of terrorism before working collectively and collaboratively to improve the global nuclear security culture and raise the world's standards for nuclear security.

For its part, from 1983 through today, the Corporation has remained very active in supporting the work of policymakers and nonprofit leaders in the nuclear realm, including work to prevent nuclear terrorism. Indeed, the Corporation's commitment to analysis and policy outreach on the changing nature of nuclear risks has been unyielding, elevating the foundation to its place as the leading private philanthropic supporter of nongovernmental work on nuclear weapons strategy, security, and nonproliferation.

The most recent Nuclear Security Summit provided the Corporation with an opportunity to partner again with the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, another of the leading nuclear security funders, to announce a "gift basket" that committed the two foundations to invest up to $25 million over the next two years toward nuclear security work.

In the past, one of the grantees the two foundations have been especially proud to partner in supporting is the outstanding Nuclear Threat Initiative, known as NTI, an independent, nonpartisan organization that strives to achieve a world without nuclear weapons. Established in 2001 through the generosity of businessman-turned-philanthropist Ted Turner, founder and funder of the United Nations Foundation, and led by national defense expert and former U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, NTI has become a hub of nuclear research and dissemination.

In addition to Senator Nunn, NTI is fortunate to have other great national and international leaders on its board, such as Vice Chairman Des Browne, former Defense Minister of the United Kingdom; General Eugene E. Habiger, former Commander in Chief of the U.S. Strategic Command; Igor S. Ivanov, former Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs; Gideon Frank, former Director General of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission; Liru Cui, former President of the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations; and Ambassador Hamad Alkaabi, Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates to the International Atomic Energy Agency and Special Representative for International Nuclear Cooperation. NTI's advisory board is equally distinguished, including investor and philanthropist Warren Buffett and HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 2016 A9

A Call to Action on Nuclear Terrorism

Today, global leaders gather for a final Nuclear Security Summit to take action to prevent terrorists from building and detonating a nuclear bomb. This requires securing and reducing nuclear bomb-making materials—plutonium and highly enriched uranium—around the world.

Since the Summits began, 11 countries have eliminated nuclear weapons materials entirely. This is important progress, but the job is not done. The Summits are ending as the global terrorist threat is growing.

We call on leaders to accelerate the effort to prevent catastrophic nuclear terrorism and continue their work beyond this last Summit to create global standards, accountability and best practices for securing all nuclear materials.

The United States and Russia, with the vast majority of the world's nuclear materials and weapons, have a special responsibility to lead. The relationship between the U.S. and Russia has dangerously deteriorated, raising the risk of conflict instead of cooperation. We call upon the two countries to work to prevent ISIS and other violent groups from getting those materials and to avoid another costly arms race.

There is no greater threat to humanity and to the promise of our children's future than the nuclear threat. Our leaders must reverse our march down this risky path.

All nations must act to prevent nuclear terrorism and a new arms race.

Amb. Hamad Alkaabi, Permanent Representative of the UAE to the IAEA

Kofi A. Annan, former Secretary-General, United Nations

Alexey Arbatov, IMEMO, Russian Academy of Sciences, former member of the Russian Parliament

Oscar Arias, former President of Costa Rica and Nobel Peace laureate

Dame Margaret Mary Beckett, DBE, MP

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Charles A. Bowsher, former Asst. Sec. of the Navy, former U.S. Controller General

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Søren Gade, MF, former Minister of Defense, Denmark

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Ted Turner, Co-Chairman, Nuclear Threat Initiative

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Right Honourable Shirley Williams, former Leader Liberal Democrats, House of Lords

Steve Wynn

Fujia Yang, Academician, Chinese Academy of Sciences

Ezra K. Zilkha, President, Zilkha and Sons, Inc.

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NTI BUILDING A SAFER WORLD

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Appearing in the *New York Times* and other major U.S. newspapers and across the Internet, this call to action garnered signatures from more than 140 prominent government, business, and academic figures from around the world. Published on the occasion of the fourth and final Nuclear Security Summit in Washington, D.C., the statement closes: "All nations must act to prevent nuclear terrorism and a new arms race."

As a grantee, but more importantly as a partner, NTI has had many successes over the course of its 15-year history. It has helped to secure vulnerable stockpiles of nuclear materials to prevent their use by terrorists, while working to break down communication barriers to develop more effective standards on nuclear security. NTI has also helped communicate a better public understanding of the urgency of reducing nuclear stockpiles, all with the ultimate goal of eliminating nuclear weapons across the globe.

This year's Nuclear Security Summit provided an ideal occasion for NTI and the Corporation to issue a joint call to action on reducing nuclear weapons and combating nuclear terrorism. This statement, which appeared in the *New York Times,* the *Wall Street Journal,* the *Washington Post,* and across the Internet, garnered signatures from more than 140 prominent government, business, and academic figures from the United States and around the world. It called on global leaders to "accelerate the effort to prevent catastrophic nuclear terrorism and continue their work beyond this last Summit to create global standards, accountability and best practices for securing all nuclear materials." Those who signed the call to action recognize that what recently took place in Washington may have been the final formal Summit, but the work to secure weapons-usable materials is far from over. They know, as the Corporation does, that the risks are too high and the dangers all too real.

In his speech on the tenth anniversary of NTI, Senator Nunn reminded us of an African proverb that states, "If you want to go fast, go alone; if you want to go far, go together." The Corporation, together with NTI and the entirety of our partner funders and advocacy groups, will continue to do everything in our power to support policymakers in ensuring that nuclear terrorism and a new arms race never come to pass. ■

Vartan Gregorian
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

African Peacebuilding: Realities on the Ground

The time has come to challenge received ideas about peacebuilding.

by **Scott Malcomson**

PHOTO: ALBERT GONZALEZ FARRAN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

> Officials in Burundi say at least five people were killed and six injured when gunmen opened fire on a market. . . . The unidentified gunmen are believed to be associated with exiles in Tanzania led by a former presidential spokesman. The spokesman was fired last year for advising President Pierre Nkurunziza to not seek a third term.
>
> **Voice of America, April 12, 2016**

"I have to say that there was a questioning," Comfort Ero explained tentatively, "of whether we had learnt anything at all—internationally, regionally, or locally." She was referring to a period of rethinking after a series of conflicts in Africa—notably in Central African Republic, Mali, and South Sudan—shook policymakers' confidence that they had figured out how to preserve peace and to build peace. That period of rethinking continues today.

Ero directs the Africa program at International Crisis Group, a 21-year-old conflict prevention organization. She paused as a passing airplane made it impossible to hear her over Skype. ("The Dakar office is unfortunately next to a runway," she said with a distant laugh.) Ero continued: "From 2012 through 2015, you've seen a reversal, or regression. I think that all of this is encapsulated in the increased inadequacies or dysfunctional nature of both regional architectures and international systems. Then you fast forward to the Islamic State and related developments, and you wonder whether the policy toolbox, as currently configured, is incapable of dealing with realities on the ground. You begin to question whether the mechanisms we have for so long nurtured and cherished, and refined since the end of the Cold War—peacekeeping, peacebuilding, international justice, conflict prevention—how relevant they really are."

There is no doubt that peacebuilding needs to occur and that governments and civil society are vital to achieving it. But the disappointment and even despair brought on by the recent surge in conflicts are real and, arguably, are both eased and worsened by Africa's successes in other realms.

African economic growth weathered the global recession of 2008–09 well. In the past ten years, the 11 largest sub-Saharan economies grew at more than twice the global average, even as inflation declined. Population growth and relative youthfulness—sub-Saharan under-15 population shares range from 28% to over 43% in major countries, against a global average of 25.8%—present major economic growth opportunities despite lingering concerns focused on current levels of young unemployment. In 1970, 2.5 million sub-Saharan Africans lived in a democracy; in 2013, the figure was 387 million. The United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index improved between 1970 and 2013 in every African region except the Mediterranean littoral.

But that exception is telling, as it is largely due to the upheavals of the Arab Spring. Against a generally positive economic and social backdrop across the continent, in many cases political conflict worsened. North Africa saw chaos and coups; chronic conflicts in Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo ground on; fragile states like Zimbabwe and Eritrea remained mired; a once-hailed new generation of leaders proved reluctant to give up power; states thought to be reasonably stable, like Mali, Burundi, and Central African Republic, slipped into violence; and South Sudan, the pearl of internationalism when it became independent from Sudan in 2013, took just three years to collapse into bloodletting.

Key Terms

Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping forces provide security and the political and peacebuilding support to help countries make the difficult, early transition from conflict to peace. Peacekeeping has unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing, and an ability to deploy and sustain troops and police from around the globe, integrating them with civilian peacekeepers to advance multidimensional mandates. United Nations Peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles: consent of the parties; impartiality; non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate.

"What Is Peacekeeping?" un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping

Peacebuilding

A range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.

United Nations Secretary-General's Policy Committee, 2007

While neither interreligious conflict nor Muslim militancy were at all new in Africa, the resilience of al-Shabab in Somalia and the rise of groups like Boko Haram and al-Qaeda across the Sahel were unexpected and even shocking. A revived African Union and strengthened regional economic groupings fed hopes for "African solutions to African problems." Yet a more sophisticated continental security architecture was not quick to show results.

For Cyril Obi, a program director at the New York-based Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and director of the African Peacebuilding Network, "The time has come to challenge received ideas about peacebuilding."

> The number of children used in suicide attacks by Boko Haram has soared 11-fold over the past year, with more than three-quarters of bombings now carried out by girls, according to a UNICEF report, "Beyond Chibok."
>
> **The Guardian, April 12, 2016**

As a set of techniques, peacebuilding has a short history. The term is commonly traced back to the 1970s and the work of Johan Galtung, a Norwegian polymath whose academic contributions range from economics to theology to mathematics. Galtung's vision was of a decentralized process of bottom-up reconstruction that identified and addressed the root causes of conflicts. This new focus redirected attention—away from warlords, armies, and the "will to power," toward economic deprivation, resource competition, ethnic and sectarian disputes, and other factors that were often outside the direct purview of modern states.

The United Nations' Agenda for Peace, released by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992, both ratified the importance of peacebuilding and brought it into a multilateral system constructed by and for nation states. In that early post–Cold War period, the concurrent rise of civil society, nongovernmental organizations, and academic disciplines devoted to the analysis of conflict and peace led to something like an international movement that brought together state and nonstate actors in the pursuit of peace. If not quite the end of history, this was perhaps a fundamental reorientation away from the dominant modern pattern of inter-state competitive conflict. The UN's own peacekeeping efforts took on some of the mandates of peacebuilding while expanding dramatically: the Security Council authorized a total of 20 new operations between 1989 and 1994, raising the number of peacekeepers from 11,000 to 75,000.

The achievements of these new "multidimensional" missions were mixed. In particular, the failure to prevent genocide in Rwanda in 1994 prompted much official introspection, resulting in the 2000 *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*, usually known as the Brahimi Report (after Lakhdar Brahimi, the Algerian diplomat who headed the panel). The UN Peacebuilding Commission and Peacebuilding Support Office began operations in 2005, followed the next year by the UN Peacebuilding Fund—elements of what became known as the UN's "peacebuilding architecture."

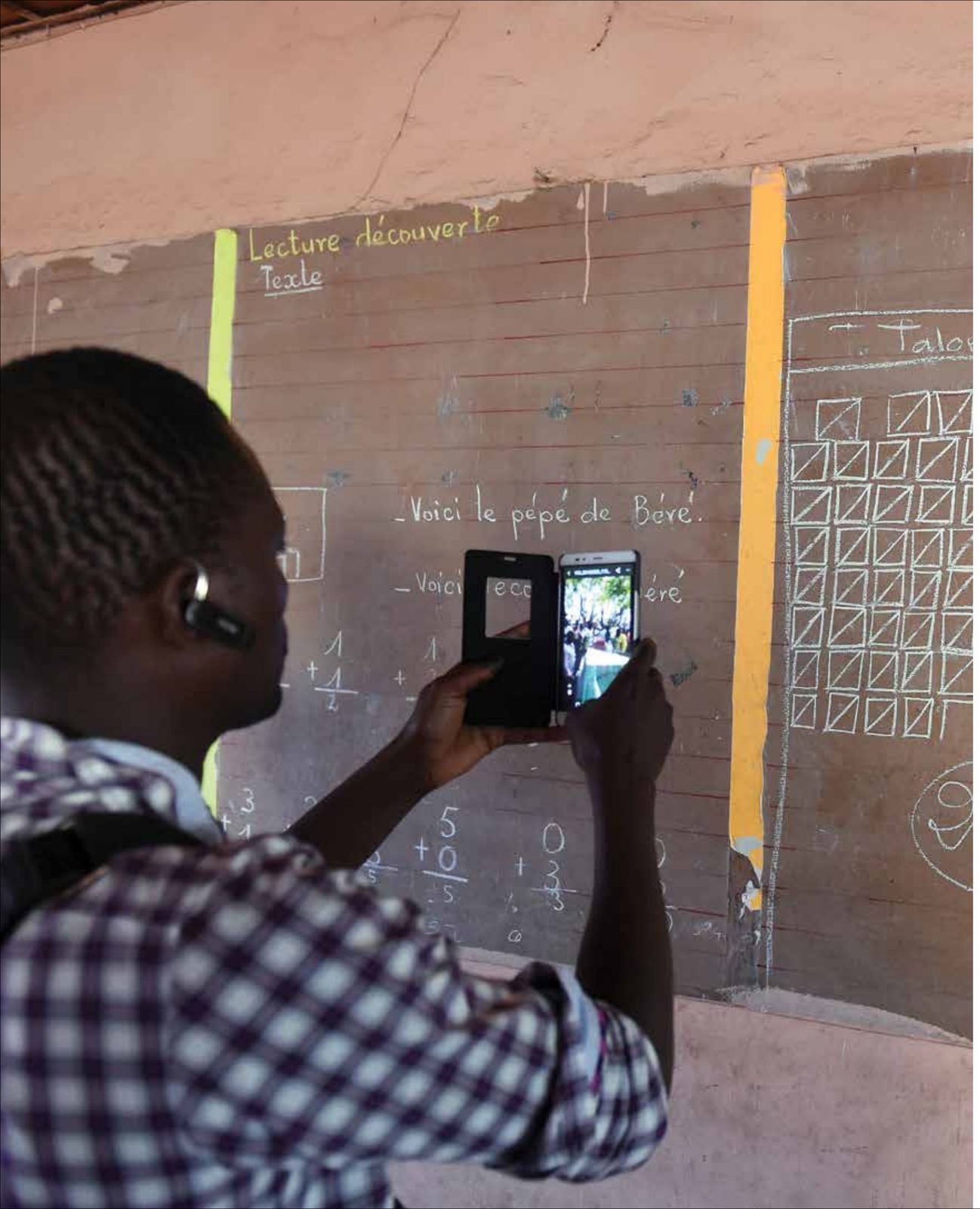
The integration of peacebuilding into an international system dominated by existing states brought with it funding, military resources, and a certain legitimacy. It also meant that peacebuilding efforts that were not congruent with existing state interests—or that might even run counter to those interests—were difficult to mount, at best.

That challenge is a universal one, but it is especially keen in Africa. Most African states were originally constructed in the course of European imperial competition and, ultimately, ratified in the process of decolonization, beginning in the 1950s. There is considerable artifice involved in the construction of most, if not all, modern nation states. This is the case whether, like the United States and other countries of the Americas, they grew out of the long dissolution of the British and Iberian empires; or, as in the Middle East and the Balkans, they emerged from the rather more sudden collapse of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires.

Recent events have shown that even relatively stable modern and democratic states can face secessionist challenges and periods of significant reconfiguration. Nonetheless, the relationships between state and society in Africa—within the compressed postcolonial time frame of a few decades—have proved to be notably fraught. The wary embrace of peacebuilding by African states and state-led institutions has meant that peacebuilding in Africa is caught up in the rivalries of those states and hampered by their flaws and shortcomings. The dominance of what is called the "technical" approach to peacebuilding—engineering legal, electoral, and administrative structures aimed at solidifying liberal, democratic states within existing borders—faces growing skepticism. The agony of South Sudan is seen by many as one instance of the failure of this broader, Western-inspired model.

"It was thought," 'Funmi Olonisakin of King's College, London, explains, "that you could impose a certain kind of state and conflict would be no more, it would become a thing of the past."

Olonisakin is founding director of the African Leadership Centre, with its headquarters in Nairobi. Her experience includes working in the United Nations system and the leading regional organization ECOWAS (Economic



African leaders and populations are moving in opposite directions, they are moving divergently. Populations are learning to subsist, to creatively live their lives in spite of their governments. This is the story of a generation, unfolding slowly before our eyes.

Community of West African States), as well as in the academy and government. "At the time that many African states became independent," she continues, "if you look at the 1960s, you begin to see nation states, or so-called nation states, that were not the product of the popular expressions of their people. These were the states that were handed over by the colonial system. And the new elite did not think to negotiate the terms by which the different groups in these states would live together. The bottom line—the narrative of an African state that has never really belonged to the people—has never really changed. Many, many countries did not negotiate the terms by which they would live postindependence with the ruling elite, and so they have stuttered in different ways: two steps forward, one step backward."

The African Peacebuilding Network's Cyril Obi agrees: "Africa has very sophisticated and beautiful mechanisms and frameworks, well thought out and well designed, some inspired by peace mechanisms developed elsewhere, some of African design. But the question is: do the political costs match up, between the political elites and those who are fighting? The existing mechanisms for peacebuilding tend to look at those costs that are bearable politically for those who wield power. But are they bearable for the society at large? What happens when the costs of leaders and the costs of society don't align?"

What happens is chronic conflict. For Obi and others, African states simply do not reflect the needs and passions of their people. Citizens do not identify with their states. "The world already has a lot of knowledge about how to build the body of the state," Obi says. "It has much less on how to build the soul of the state."

> Zambian police briefly . . . detained two journalists over a story quoting an opposition leader saying President Edgar Lungu used public funds to pay for a holiday, in a further sign of rising political tension ahead of August elections.
>
> **Reuters, April 12, 2016**

Politics in Africa, as elsewhere, has long swung between exhilaration and pessimism, and disappointment at recent relapses into conflict can obscure the reality that organized, large-scale political violence has decreased on much of the continent as democratization, political coordination, and economic growth have advanced.

"I am optimistic," Pierre Buyoya, former president of Burundi and current African Union high representative for Mali and the Sahel, said in an interview on the sidelines of a recent Wilton Park conference, "Peacebuilding in Africa: Developing African Approaches," held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. "Africa is making progress in promoting democracy, human rights. It is making progress in development. We still have conflicts. But generally I think the trend is positive. We have developed how to confront these conflicts."

One reason for such progress might be that disinterested nonstate actors, supported by academic field research, are playing a somewhat greater role than they have in the past. Comfort Ero of International Crisis Group relates how official negotiators did not, at first, welcome arguments that their peace process in Mali was excluding important political forces from the northern part of the country. The suggestion was seen as interfering with the Malian state,

← A man records with a mobile phone the total votes cast in a polling station after the second round of the presidential election in Benin, March 20, 2016. Businessman Patrice Talon went on to defeat Prime Minister Lionel Zinsou for the west African country's top job.
PHOTO: PIUS UTOMI EKPEI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

which has its base in the south. But in the end, Ero believes, accommodation of a broad array of representatives from the north makes for a stronger peace, an outcome acknowledged even by the reluctant state. "Advocating this was seen as undermining the Malian state," Ero says, "but it was probably necessary to preserve the existence of Mali."

Pierre Buyoya sees the Sahel as a logical place for the African Union to play a dominant role because the 11 states with borders in the Sahel do not themselves have a regional organization comparable to ECOWAS. He emphasizes the value of intelligence and security coordination among Sahelian states, as well as joint border patrols in a vast region that is lightly populated and whose peoples have never placed much store in the delineation of territories by distant capitals.

Looking at the same set of facts, 'Funmi Olonisakin sees states spending money on a battle they cannot win. "Even in non-Sahelian states," she says, "you see markets are often located next to borders, and borders are crisscrossed all the time. And yet you have an African Union regional agenda that is not based on people-to-people integration; rather, it recognizes state-to-state movements, including the importance of borders." Referring to the modern state model that emerged in Europe as a result of the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, Olonisakin says that in Africa today, "the Westphalian state is a myth." She continues, "African leaders and populations are moving in opposite directions, they are moving divergently. Populations are learning to subsist, to creatively live their lives in spite of their governments. This is the story of a generation, unfolding slowly before our eyes."

"The youth have been very ingenious," Ero notes, "in particular with social media. It is a whole other sphere of influence for this generation, whether they're militants, or just protesters, or gangs." Africa's younger generation lives within colonial-era boundaries, but they did not experience colonial reality. Nor have they lived through the hopes and expectations engendered by the anticolonial movements and the nation building of the early independence era. The younger generation's chief experience has been tied to globalization. Apart from social media technologies like Facebook and Twitter—which, while popular, depend on very uneven Internet access and are subject to interruption by the state—young Africans communicate by mobile-phone text messaging. They build like-minded communities beyond the reach of both the state and their elders.

The wealth that has been accumulated in the course of economic expansion in Africa is visible in the growing cities; it is there on satellite television, to be admired, envied, and resented. "Globalization opens the door," Cyril Obi says, "but it doesn't bring you through." Zachariah Mampilly, director of African studies at Vassar College and an expert on rebel movements, points to the "circular migration" of young people from villages to cities and back again. They are aware of globalization's possibilities but are often unable to seize them. The rise in GDP conceals a reality of high youth unemployment or, hardly more appealing, low-paying jobs with little future.

This is the generation that is fueling the urban protests characteristic of the past several years. As Obi argues, "A lot of these young people have not received the kind of education that people two generations before enjoyed, and are living in an economic context where unemployment is high and young people have access to all forms of information through technology. Globalization is both a good and an evil. It opens up the doors for transforming societies, but at the same time, if the political organism that is supposed to express the totality of the people's lives does not operate in a way that opens up more opportunities for them, then they don't identify. They go to the wrong side of globalization. They take advantage of globalization to try to put at a disadvantage that political organism that they think is against them."

And that organism is very often the existing state. "The conflicts we are seeing on the continent really are in large part a renegotiation of the existing states," Olonisakin says. "We either allow them to be renegotiated according to the desires of the people on the ground, or we keep going back to those places to make peace again." However and whenever this renegotiation takes place, it must be conceived, led, and implemented by Africans themselves. This notion may seem self-evident, but on a continent long subject to the imperatives of external actors, the need for eliciting and applying local knowledge—a centerpiece of Carnegie Corporation's grantmaking on peacebuilding in Africa—cannot be overstated. ■

2016 ANDREW CARNEGIE FELLOWS

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Carnegie Corporation of New York congratulates the 2016 winners of Andrew Carnegie Fellowships, supporting high-caliber scholarship that applies fresh perspectives to some of the most pressing issues of our times. The fellowship carries a stipend of $200,000, making it possible for the recipients to devote their time to significant research and writing.

Since its founding in 1911, Carnegie Corporation has provided strong support for individual scholars and their research, in addition to many institutions, causes, and organizations. This support is a continuation of Andrew Carnegie's dedication to the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding. Looking to his example, the fellows program harnesses humanistic and social science scholarship, using lessons of the past to devise paths to future peace and progress.

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Widening the Lens on the Arab World

An interview with Carnegie Corporation's Hillary Wiesner

by **Michael Moran**

PHOTO: NAFIS SAFIAI/EYEEM/GETTY IMAGES

The decline of the strong central state in parts of the Arab region has fed borderless and proxy conflicts, while creating new roles for an array of nonstate actors. In the wave of change since Tunisia's Jasmine Revolution, civil society movements have championed issues of citizenship that emphasize the social contract, human rights and rule of law, economic inclusion, and opportunities for the young majority. Meanwhile, armed conflict has empowered violent actors, including the so-called Islamic State (IS) and groups aligned with al-Qaeda.

Hillary Wiesner is Carnegie Corporation of New York program director for Transnational Movements and the Arab Region. The program connects Arab experts who are using the tools of social science to analyze the region's varied social movements—civil or religious, militant or peaceful—and to apply their knowledge to the challenges of their societies. Wiesner recently sat down with Michael Moran, Visiting Media Fellow for International Peace and Security at Carnegie Corporation, to discuss the program.

Hillary Wiesner
Program Director, Transnational Movements and the Arab Region

MORAN: Hillary, you've spent decades examining and engaging with Arab cultures and societies, past and present. You're not alone among Western scholars in seeking a deeper, richer understanding of the Arab world's cross-currents. Why the particular focus on transnational issues, and why now?

WIESNER: Carnegie President Vartan Gregorian made these issues a priority from the outset. When I joined his team at Carnegie beginning in 2007, we aimed to boost research on the extraordinary diversity of Muslim societies and to enhance intercultural understanding. At present, our focus is on the crises in the Arab region, and the solutions being developed by political scientists, economists, and social scientists, as well as by humanities scholars, historians, and other thinkers in the region. Failed intervention and failed governance have led to crisis. It isn't going to be solved from the outside, not by external intervention, nor by the private sector alone, nor by the UN system and diplomatic negotiation. It will only be solved by the brain trust of the region itself, by people who are experts on their own societies. Therefore our work includes a new initiative supporting scholar mobility and policy development by social science and humanities experts.

MORAN: Your background in the history of ideas: is it a useful background to have, to tackle contemporary issues?

WIESNER: Like everything else, the past is a controversial topic. When it comes to the Arab region, they could rightly say to us, "We are not your past. We are not a snapshot of how you used to be before the evolution of secular institutions." The Arab region has known plenty of secular institutions. Nor is what's happening there now purely reactive. We've become accustomed to assuming everything is a reaction to U.S. policies, our media, or our political rhetoric. And therefore, it's assumed, we should be able to have an impact through what we do or say. But I'd argue that much of what's happening now is grounded in the region itself. The region has its own internal drivers.

Over the past five years, Islam-as-governance got unexpected opportunities. This wasn't foreordained, or primordial. Social and political movements with their roots in the 20th century have worked to transform religious identity into political identity for political uses, as Aziz al-Azmeh has written. In addition, as you know, the U.S. has had a role since the Cold War in funding, supporting, arming, and training militias and movements which the U.S. itself labels as "extremist." Currently, some hold territory, while Caliphate movements exist in dozens of countries—places with war economies, failures of governance, or simply a failed transaction of citizenship. People have alternatives; they might not identify with a nation state if that's not bearing fruit for them.

MORAN: The concept of "transnational" in the program—that probably needs defining. It's easy to imagine transnational as meaning the ancient Bedouin who traveled between countries and who don't recognize borders. It could denote questions about people like the Palestinians, onto whom borders have been imposed. Or it could just refer to historic peoples—the Kurds, the Tuaregs, etc.—who have always lived in more than one country, in the Western sense of the word "country." How do you use the term "transnational"?

WIESNER: We begin from the concept of social movements. Social movements can be movements with a cause—a liberation movement, a justice movement, civil rights movements, women's movements, youth movements. These are civil society movements. And we're also studying militant movements, which can be connected with conflict zones, corruption, trafficking, and criminal networks. And thanks to technology, all these transnational movements we've been discussing are here, right now, in your pocket.

Research and analysis on these regional trends is happening in hundreds of think tanks, universities, and institutes in the Arab region. A 2016 report by the Arab Council for the Social Sciences—an organization with hundreds of members—found a ten-fold increase in Arab research centers since 1980; they count 436 research centers today. The fastest growth was seen in Algeria, the Palestinian territories, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt, and some of the Gulf States.

And when it comes to analyzing conflicts, one thing that the World Bank found in its conflict and fragility study is that "extremism" often reduces to *a local conflict intersecting with a nonlocal identity*. A shared identity group becomes an entry point into someone else's local conflict. The local, political, and sometimes sectarian nature of that conflict—and the economic transactions of its war economy—that's what these young people are involving themselves in. They are often unaware of what they're getting into. They do not understand the actual nature of the conflict in which they're becoming combatants.

MORAN: Can these phenomena be grouped as violent extremism?

WIESNER: There are many critiques about the governmental framing of these issues as "Countering Violent Extremism," or CVE. It is a framework which generally problematizes the individual psychology, in order to dissuade individuals from mobilization to violence. This individual approach represents a gap in scale, when the conflicts are so clearly driven by large geopolitical and economic forces. Therefore, after extensive consultations, including with our leadership and board, our work is oriented toward policy-level intervention points. We aim to illuminate and clarify the existing policies that have brought us to where we are today, and the impact these policies are having.

Social movements can be movements with a cause—a liberation movement, a justice movement, civil rights movements, women's movements, youth movements. These are civil society movements. And we're also studying militant movements, which can be connected with conflict zones, corruption, trafficking, and criminal networks. And thanks to technology, all these transnational movements we've been discussing are here, right now, in your pocket.

Thus the program supports new understandings of social movements and militant movements connected with the Arab region, including their political economy, financial drivers, and the changing roles of states. What roles are states playing, and what connection do people have to states? The decline in effective governance is seen as a global trend, acute in the Arab region. Are the failing states coming back or not? Political scientists are divided on these issues. And then of course there is the goal of policy development—formulating solutions to specific problems. We're very much looking to support social science and humanities scholars moving toward problem-solving in the longer term.

MORAN: You said earlier that the Arabs are trying to say to us that "we're not your past." One often hears, almost as an excuse for the problems of the Arab world, "Well, Islam is only 1400 years old. Remember what barbarians we Christians were at the 1400-year mark—Crusades, Inquisition, etc." You regard that as a false dichotomy, do you not?

WIESNER: Yes. That view is a kind of essentialism or Islamo-determinism. As if everything that happens is caused by religion, and as if a religion is a "world." To construct that historical narrative, one has to cherry-pick

A general view taken on March 31, 2016, shows a photographer holding his picture of the Temple of Bel taken on March 14, 2014, in front of the remains of the historic temple after it was destroyed by Islamic State (IS) group jihadists in September 2015 in the ancient Syrian city of Palmyra. Syrian troops backed by Russian forces recaptured Palmyra on March 27, 2016, after a fierce offensive to rescue the city from jihadists, who view the UNESCO-listed site's magnificent ruins as idolatrous.
PHOTO: JOSEPH EID/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

phenomena to fit a predetermined pattern, and impose an imagined linear evolution. For example, one might imagine the West as secular, although the data on established state religion and religious practice show otherwise. And then one could contrast that false concept of the West with an imagined opposite. Yes, I definitely agree that that is a "false dichotomy."

The role of religion in all of this is still to be analyzed from many angles and elucidated, perhaps distinguishing private sphere religion from religion playing a role of governance. At the moment, applications of religious norms as governance are flourishing where space has been created for them to flourish. I wouldn't call that something that was predetermined or part of a linear evolution. If we compare social patterns fifty years ago, one hundred years ago, we see neither stagnation nor linear progression.

In our program, if someone says to us "extremism," we ask them to define it; for example, to define it in specific legal language or in terms of human rights violations, as well as by the conflicts it emerged from.

MORAN: If you had your way, and you could cast your eyes ten years hence and imagine that the Transnational Movements program has really gained traction—what does that look like? How does success for the program look to you in ten years or so?

WIESNER: Many in the field are now recalling the transition decades in Latin America. There was a period of transition from authoritarianism, when diaspora intellectuals developed inclusive economic models, dependency theory, and policies that would eventually expand the middle class in countries like Brazil.

In ten years? We may be seeing more connection between citizens and governance in the region, and high levels of social participation. We expect we're going to see a progression away from framing diverse phenomena as "extremism." In our program, if someone says to us "extremism," we ask them to define it; for example, to define it in specific legal language or in terms of human rights violations, as well as by the conflicts it emerged from. In the IS territories we see torture, mutilation, atrocity crimes, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide crimes against the Yazidis, which the European Parliament has referred to the UN. Cultural heritage destruction is a crime in the 1954 Hague Convention. Instead of undefined concepts like "extremism," we could clarify the responsibilities of state and nonstate actors. There's a lot of consensus around the criminal nature of this activity, and potentially some legal accountability.

In contrast, "extremism" doesn't have a definition. So far, the United Nations left it to each member state to define extremism for themselves. In some countries, extremist means being part of the political opposition. So we think the term clouds rather than clarifies, and it's possible to frame a problem in a way that it can neither be seen nor solved. It can also be analyzed as political violence, although today's political violence is mixed with criminal violence and with networks resembling organized crime. "Terrorism" has something of a definition—roughly, violence against civilians for political ends.

Currently, working in the "Countering Violent Extremism" approach, we're seeing an annual 80 percent increase in terrorism (according to the 2015 Global Terrorism Index produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace). I'd consider a lot of that to be armed conflict, fed by massive trade in weapons. But there is one thing you can say about CVE: it's not working.

There are efforts underway to deconstruct and clarify the diverse phenomena grouped as extremism, while also questioning the geopolitical and economic dynamics that have brought us to this level of social conflict and armed conflict. Conflict prevention is also a way to prevent violent, exclusionary social movements. International Crisis Group concluded, in its global study of IS and al-Qaeda, "Preventing crises will do more to contain violent extremists than countering violent extremism [CVE] will do to prevent crises." ■

The Greatest Threat

Nuclear Terrorism in an Age of Vulnerability

Illustrations by **James Fenner**

> **“It is hard to imagine a more terrifying prospect than an extremist group like ISIS armed with nuclear or radiological weapons.”**
>
> **Joe Cirincione**, President, Ploughshares Fund

The recent terrorist attacks in Paris, Brussels, and elsewhere should remind the world that nuclear security has never been more important. Even with the disarmament of many Cold War–era weapons, poorly secured stockpiles of weapons-usable uranium and plutonium, as well as other radioactive materials, remain across the globe. Many of these materials are stored in facilities that have not received the level of scrutiny warranted by the potential of devastating security failures. Indeed, there have been a number of security breaches in recent years. Without action to keep these materials from terrorist groups and other nonstate actors, an act of nuclear terrorism becomes all the more likely.

The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism

In 2004, the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, a program partly funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York, established a framework for understanding the threat posed by nuclear terrorism. Authors Charles D. Ferguson and William Potter posited that there are four scenarios under which a nuclear weapon could be used by terrorists.

1

1. Terrorists could acquire—through theft or purchase—an intact nuclear weapon from a military nuclear facility.

2. They could build a nuclear device by acquiring—again, through theft or purchase—fissile material, leading to the fabrication and detonation of an improvised nuclear device (IND).

2

3

3. Terrorists could sabotage nuclear facilities, especially nuclear power plants, causing the release of large amounts of radioactivity.

4. They could fabricate a "dirty bomb"—a conventional explosive surrounded by radiological materials that have been acquired illegally.

4

As Carnegie Corporation's Carl Robichaud has observed, these four scenarios have "different levels of consequence, but we have to worry about all of them." No nation is immune to the threat of nuclear terrorism. Access to nuclear material remains the biggest barrier for terrorist organizations in search of a nuclear device. However, should a sophisticated group of terrorists gain access to highly enriched uranium or plutonium, they'd have the potential to create and detonate an improvised nuclear device (IND).

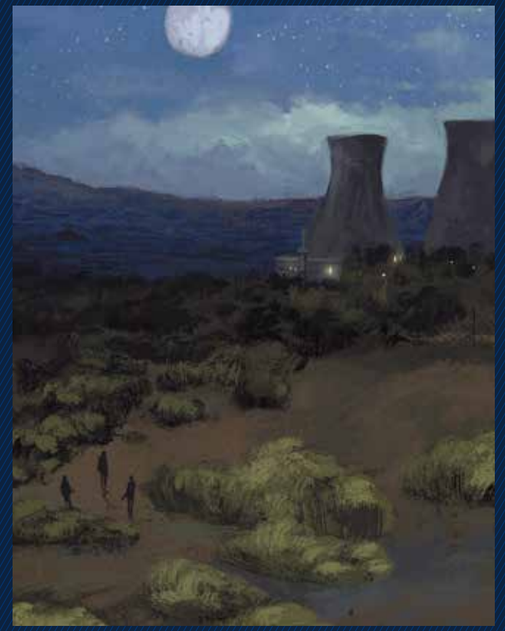
Every country housing nuclear materials has had nuclear material incidents, lapses, or breaches—such as the 2007 breach of the Pelindaba Nuclear Research Centre in South Africa, a sobering "event" that we tell graphically in the pages that follow.

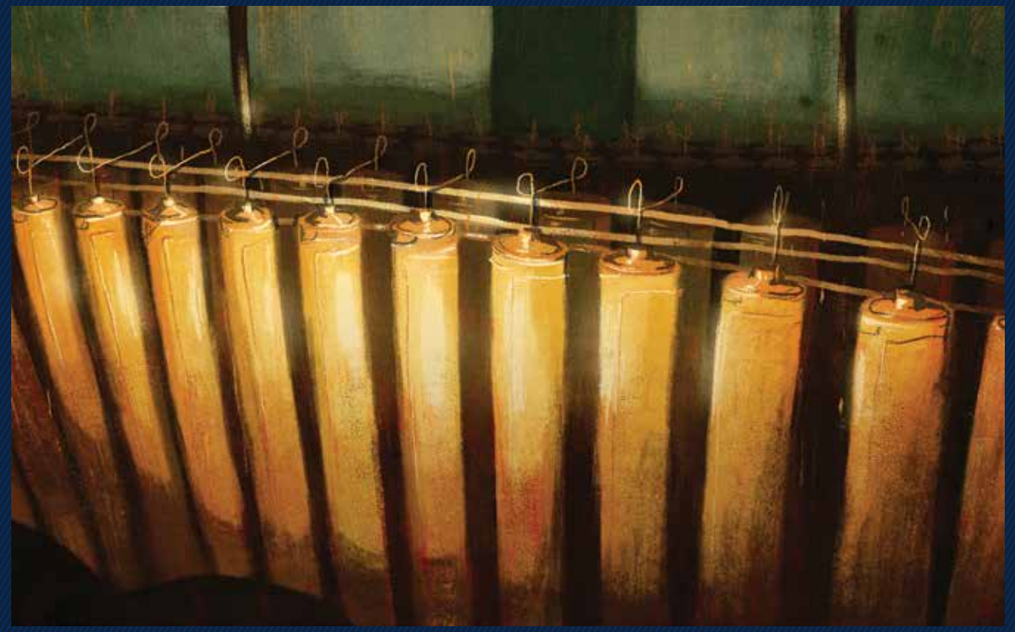
The Breach at Pelindaba

November 2007

It was just past midnight in the hilly scrubland outside South Africa's Pelindaba Nuclear Research Centre, the former site of the apartheid government's secret nuclear weapons program.

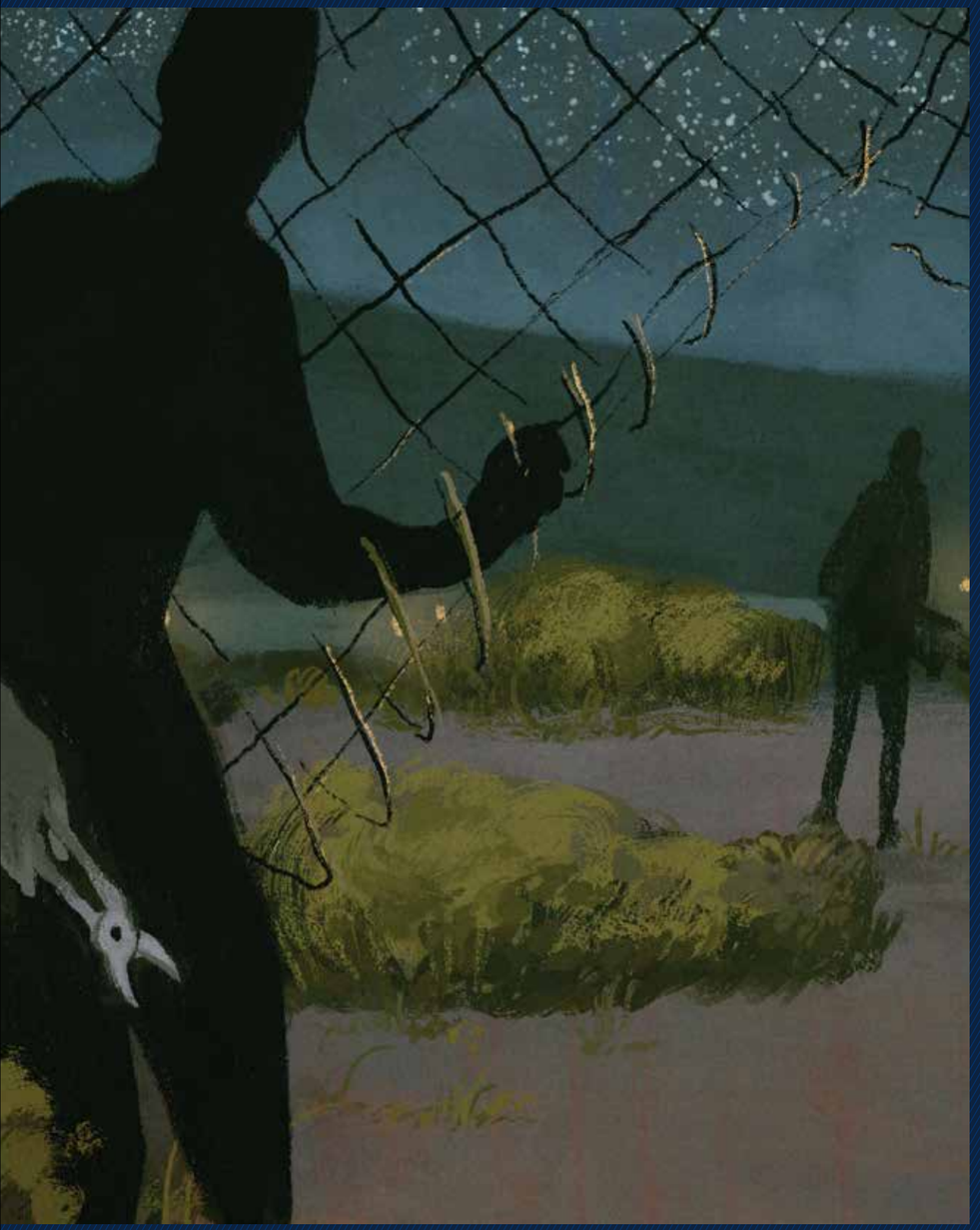
Inside its electric fences, a vault holds the legacy of South Africa's nuclear past: a cache of highly enriched uranium—enough to build six nuclear warheads.





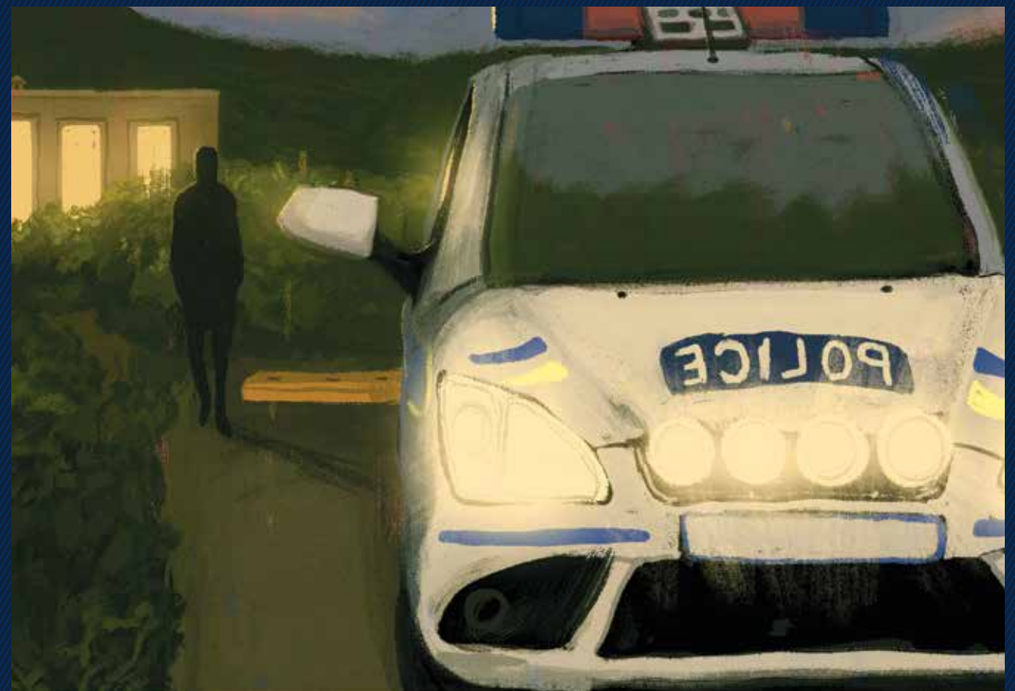
Pelindaba: Gunmen Slip Inside

That night in November 2007, four gunmen breached chain-link perimeter fencing and slipped inside. One of them disabled a 10,000-volt electrified barrier, circumventing a magnetic anti-tamper device to do so.



Pelindaba: Roaming Undetected

Simultaneously, a second group broke through the perimeter further west. For twenty minutes they roamed the facility—until discovered by a civilian visitor, who was shot as the gunmen fled.



Pelindaba: A "Routine Burglary"?

South African officials who investigated the break-in dismissed it as a "routine burglary." No enriched uranium was stolen. The government has refused to speculate on the motives of the intruders, all of whom escaped.

Key Moments in Nuclear Security

1991

Cooperative Threat Reduction Program

The Cooperative Threat Reduction Program (CTR) is initiated by the United States Congress in order to assist the Soviet Union in securing its nuclear material.

1993

Megatons to Megawatts

The United States–Russia Highly Enriched Uranium Purchase Agreement is initiated. More popularly known as the Megatons to Megawatts program, it concerns the disposition of highly enriched uranium extracted from nuclear weapons.

1994

Project Sapphire

Part of the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, Project Sapphire is a covert operation between the United States and Kazakhstan aimed at reducing the threat of nuclear proliferation.

1995

IAEA Incident and Trafficking Database

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) establishes the Incident and Trafficking Database information system in order to document incidents of illicit trafficking and other unauthorized activities, and to monitor any events involving nuclear and radioactive material outside regulatory control.

2004

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1540

The United Nations Security Council unanimously adopts Resolution 1540 under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. The resolution obligates states to develop and adopt measures preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by nonstate actors. At its core, Resolution 1540 acts as a complement to the various treaties and protocols already adopted, and closes gaps in nonproliferation treaties and conventions in order to prevent terrorists and criminal organizations from obtaining the world's most dangerous weapons.

2005

Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material

In July, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) amends the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (originally signed on March 3, 1980). The amendments make it legally binding for state parties to protect nuclear facilities and material in peaceful domestic use, storage as well as transport. It also expands cooperation regarding rapid measures to locate and recover stolen or smuggled nuclear material, mitigate radiological consequences of sabotage, and prevent combat-related offenses.

2005

International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism

Treaty created by the United Nations criminalizes acts of nuclear terrorism and promotes police and judicial cooperation between states in order to prevent, investigate, and punish these acts. Currently known as the Nuclear Terrorism Convention, to date it has 115 signatories and 103 state parties.

2007

Break-In at Pelindaba Nuclear Facility

Four armed intruders break into the Pelindaba nuclear facility, near Pretoria, where supplies of weapons-grade uranium are being stored. The event stresses the need for a stringent nuclear security architecture, and causes South Africa to ratify the 2005 Amendment to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material.

2010

Nuclear Security Summit

The inaugural Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) is held in Washington, D.C. The process outlines the vulnerabilities faced by the international community as a result of loose nuclear materials, and focuses on how to build a unilateral global security apparatus by implementing the commitments set out in the Washington Work Plan.

2011

Police Arrest Six Suspects in Former Soviet Republic of Moldova

Six people are arrested in the former Soviet republic of Moldova for allegedly trying to sell at least one kilo of weapons-grade uranium to undercover officers.

2012

Nuclear Security Summit

The second Nuclear Security Summit is held in Seoul, South Korea. The Summit process reiterates the goals outlined in the Washington Work Plan.

2014

Nuclear Security Summit

The third Nuclear Security Summit is held at The Hague in Holland. The participants review and critique the progress made at the previous summits in order to set out an even stronger plan for the future. The Trilateral Initiative is agreed upon and opened to any nation willing to implement the criteria set forth by the IAEA.

2016

Terrorist Activities Raise Questions for Nuclear Security

Multiple sources confirm that a suspect in the Paris terrorist attacks had been surveilling a high-ranking nuclear scientist in Belgium, presumably to gain access to radioactive materials.

2016

Nuclear Security Summit

The final Nuclear Security Summit is held in Washington, D.C. Although the NSS made great strides in providing security and oversight, there is much more that still needs to be done in order to assure global safety. The international community must continue to work together to ensure that hazardous nuclear materials and weapons of mass destruction do not fall into the wrong hands. In particular, Russia and the United States must work to repair their standing, and an overt effort must be made to convince non-participating nations to join the IAEA.

The Road Ahead: Some Perspectives

The challenges in securing fissile materials around the globe

Toby Dalton
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The 99% probability of nuclear materials remaining secure is very good. But, the 1% is a chance that we can't take. If you assess the consequences of an attack, whether it's a radiological attack or an attack using nuclear materials, the consequences for that particular state and global society would be severe. This requires states to come together and spend best efforts to make sure that 1% is actually much less than 1%.

Jeffrey Smith
Center for Public Integrity

Roughly two dozen countries in the world have enough nuclear explosive material for at least one bomb. A large amount of this is plutonium. Another large amount of it is highly enriched uranium. These are both the spark plugs of nuclear bombs, and the United States helped spread some of this around the world in its past. We gave it to people to use for reactors, and we tried to get it back once we realized this was a big security mistake. But, many countries have been reluctant to give it up.

Carl Robichaud
Carnegie Corporation of New York

Every country that has nuclear materials has had nuclear security incidents. They often don't make the papers. There's a lot of secrecy around the issue of nuclear security. We do know, from the IAEA international database, that there are over 400 incidents of Category 1 materials, which include highly enriched uranium and plutonium that can be used in nuclear bombs. There are over a dozen instances of HEU or plutonium that was seized, most of it in very small quantities but often marketed as a sample of a larger stockpile. So, it's a real threat.

Togzhan Kassenova
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

We are only as secure as our people who guard this material. We can have the most high-tech equipment in place, you can have all the laws and all the regulations in place—but if a custodian decides to look the other way when an attack happens, there is nothing we can do. One specific measure that can be taken to reduce insider threat is investment into education and training—making sure that those we entrust with guarding this sensitive material, that they understand all the risks, understand the responsibility they bear, that they do their jobs as well as they can.

Joan Rohlfing
Nuclear Threat Initiative

There are a number of measures we'd like to see states taking that range from signing international agreements . . . to improving their physical protection, their accounting systems for nuclear security. It's also very important to build a security culture within the facilities that are responsible for these materials and for weapons, and ensuring there's an accountability process that starts, frankly, at the very top. This is a responsibility that can't be delegated to others. It needs to start at the leader level. It needs to start at the head of state level.

Kenneth Luongo
Partnership for Global Security

How are we going to deal with the rules and regulations of nuclear security on a global basis? Like a lot of security issues, there's enormous tension between national sovereignty and global need. International law tends to favor national sovereignty. But we live in a totally different environment than when most of the nuclear agreements and most of the nuclear laws were written. We live in a completely interdependent world today. So, a nuclear incident in one country is not going to stay contained in that country. ■

ILLUSTRATION: MITCH BLUNT

Dollars & Sense: Making the Fiscal Case for Immigration Reform

The Immigration Project crunches the numbers.

by **Gail Ablow**

When the Solicitor General of the United States stood before the Supreme Court this April to argue the case of *United States v. Texas*, he sparred with Chief Justice John Roberts over a financial question: does Texas have standing to sue because, as the state claims, it would suffer irreparable fiscal injury if it is required to issue drivers' licenses to undocumented immigrants?

Texas subsidizes the costs of issuing drivers' licenses to legal residents of the state. The state claims that it would be prohibitively expensive to do the same for undocumented immigrants if they are added to the mix under the executive order signed by President Barack Obama in 2014. That's what *United States v. Texas* boils down to: the very narrow question of the cost of issuing drivers' licenses to undocumented immigrants. For one seasoned analyst, it was "kind of staggering" that that was the only injury Texas could come up with.

But, indeed, the Texas solicitor general called it a question of "deep economic significance" to his state and the 25 additional states that joined the suit. Associate Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor responded, "You keep saying that, 'deep economic significance.' Those nearly 11 million unauthorized aliens are here in the shadows. They are affecting the economy whether we want them to or not."

No one understands Sotomayor's point better than the Immigration Project, an offshoot of the State Priorities Partnership (SPP), which has been doing important work analyzing the economic impact of undocumented immigrants on the economies of Texas and the country as a whole.

Foot Soldiers of the Footnotes

For nearly four years, the nine state partners of the Immigration Project have been working together to influence the immigration debate with economic impact analysis. Under the leadership of the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP), these fiscal groups are the foot soldiers of the footnotes, crunching the numbers to inject a dose of calm, clear analysis into what can degenerate into—as one participating economist puts it—a "fact-free" immigration debate. Their work has the potential to hugely impact families, communities, and economies across the country.

But the Immigration Project does more than just supply dollops of data for think-tank reports and citations in friend-of-the-court legal briefs. The partners also work to refocus the public conversation about legal immigrants and undocumented immigrants, fighting fear and shattering myths. The project makes the economic case for keeping families united, documenting the positive impact that both legal and undocumented immigrants have on local economies, state budgets, and tax revenues at all levels of government. The goal is to bring fresh information into the public debate, and new spokespeople into the public conversation on immigrants. Countering "fact-free" with facts and analysis.

Good Data Is Hard to Find

The Immigration Project launched in 2012, following a wave of often harsh immigration bills that had swept through state legislatures. One of the harshest was Arizona's SB1070, passed in 2010 and quickly dubbed the "show me your papers" law. It directed local police to take on the immigration enforcement role usually reserved for federal agents. However, state lawmakers had failed to anticipate the economic consequences. The bill hit in the midst of a sluggish economy and boycotts of the state ensued. Arizona's convention industry alone lost $250 million.

This was the pattern across the country. Immigration enforcement proposals rarely included any kind of economic impact analysis. Lawmakers weren't getting the complete story. Information was limited, inaccurate, or even nonexistent. Tough immigration measures often had significant negative effects on state budgets, but lawmakers weren't hearing about this.

The lack of reliable data troubled Geri Mannion, program director of the U.S. Democracy and Special Opportunities Fund at Carnegie Corporation of New York. Historically, one of the accusations leveled against undocumented immigrants is that they drain state coffers. Mannion understood the critical piece missing from the equation: the financial contributions that immigrants make to state economies.

A case in point: Alabama. The state passed restrictive immigration legislation with no revenue impact statement whatsoever. Racial profiling was all but encouraged by the law, and businesses began to leave the state. Mannion kept her eye on the economic repercussions. "It turns out Alabama is one of the biggest states for car manufacturing, including Mercedes-Benz, Hyundai, and Honda," she points out. Foreign-born auto plant workers were arrested, business recruiters lost projects, and immigrant labor became frightened and fled. Field workers in the agricultural sector grew scarce and crops went unpicked. Unfortunately, local fiscal policy groups lacked the resources—and perhaps the fortitude—to wade into the state's immigration quagmire.

After observing the fallout in Alabama, Mannion had an idea. She reached out to the Ford Foundation and the Open Society Foundations. Coordinating with the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, the three foundations decided

Immigration Reform: A Selective Timeline of Recent Key Events

2008

MAY ⁞ At a Univision town hall meeting, Barack Obama makes a campaign promise: "I can guarantee that we will have, in the first year, an immigration bill that I strongly support."

2010

APRIL ⁞ Arizona passes SB1070, known as the "show me your papers" law, requiring police to verify the status of people they stop or arrest if there is a "reasonable suspicion" that they are unauthorized immigrants. Copycat bills are introduced in 24 states across the country. Five of the bills pass—in AL, GA, IN, SC, and UT.

DECEMBER ⁞ By a vote of 216 to 198, the Dream Act, protecting children of undocumented immigrants from deportation, passes in the Democratic-controlled House. It falls short in the Senate 55–41.

2012

JUNE ⁞ U.S. Supreme Court strikes down key parts of SB1070, Arizona's immigration law, upholding the federal government's power to regulate immigration. The court lets stand a controversial provision allowing police to check immigration status while enforcing other laws.

JUNE ⁞ By executive action, President Obama implements DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals). Young people (ages 15 to 30) brought to the U.S. illegally as children can apply for a renewable reprieve from deportation relief as well as a two-year work permit.

JULY ⁞ State Priorities Partnership (SPP) launches the Immigration Project.

2013

JUNE ⁞ With the support of the so-called "Gang of Eight," the Senate passes the immigration reform bill S.744 (Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act), which includes a path to citizenship. The bill dies in the House.

2014

APRIL ⁞ The Virginia state Attorney General announces that undocumented immigrants—who grew up in Virginia, graduated from high school in the state, and are lawfully present under DACA—can qualify for in-state tuition under state law. In January 2015, the Virginia state Senate defeats a measure that challenged in-state tuition equity.

NOVEMBER ⁞ President Obama implements DAPA (Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents). This second executive action allows unauthorized immigrants—who have lived in the U.S. at least five years and who are the parents of U.S. citizens—to apply for deportation relief as well as a three-year work permit. DACA eligibility is also expanded. Shortly thereafter, representatives of 17 states challenge the president's executive actions in federal court in Texas in a case named *United States v. Texas*. Nine additional states eventually join the lawsuit.

2015

FEBRUARY ⁞ The federal court in Texas blocks the president's DAPA and expanded DACA initiatives (but not the original DACA). The Department of Justice appeals.

MARCH ⁞ The House Judiciary Committee passes H.R. 1148 out of committee. This bill would criminalize unauthorized immigrants and turn local law enforcement personnel into de facto immigration officers. It never gets a vote.

JUNE ⁞ The Texas state legislature fails to repeal HB 1403, a bill signed into law in 2001 allowing some undocumented immigrants to pay in-state college tuition.

NOVEMBER ⁞ A divided panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upholds the Texas lower court's ruling in *United States v. Texas*. The Department of Justice asks the Supreme Court to grant "immediate review."

2016

JANUARY ⁞ U.S. Supreme Court agrees to hear *United States v. Texas*. Twenty-six states sued the United States to challenge the DAPA program, claiming that it is prohibitively expensive to enact. They also assert that the president has overstepped his powers with his executive actions on immigration.

FEBRUARY ⁞ Georgia state Supreme Court rejects an appeal aimed at allowing unauthorized students to pay in-state college tuition.

APRIL ⁞ Supreme Court hears oral arguments in *United States v. Texas*.

JUNE ⁞ Supreme Court ruling in *United States v. Texas* is expected.

Pro-immigration activists gather in front of the U.S. Supreme Court on April 18, 2016, as the court hears oral arguments in the case of *United States v. Texas*, which is challenging President Obama's executive actions on immigration—the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) programs. PHOTO: ALEX WONG/GETTY IMAGES

to tackle immigration data head on—at the state level. Eventually, nine state partners—in New York, Colorado, Virginia, Texas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Carolina, and Georgia—sign on to the Immigration Project. The result? A coalition of fiscal policy groups that—working independently and collaboratively, as well as with a range of immigration groups—would gather the numbers and analyze them. The goal? To bring dollars—and analytic sense—into the immigration debate, especially at the state level.

Fighting Above Their Weight Class

Before signing on, most of the Immigration Project's state partners had pretty much stayed away from state immigration policy. Few were expert, but all were game. These are small, scrappy organizations, with average staffs of about five or so. However, as one observer noted, "they all fight above their weight class." It could have been a challenge for the state groups to connect, because they work on such diverse political and economic issues. But coalition building brings obvious benefits to small public policy groups, and the network coalesced.

The Center for Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP) oversees and supports the Immigration Project. "We try not to be hub and spoke, we try to be more like a web, where you have strong points at different places in the network," says CBPP's Michael Leachman. "They know how to do the work in the states, but we will help them connect with one another, and connect with experts on particular issues that might be coming up."

Immigration Project partners gather and share economic data on immigrants on a wide range of indicators, including ethnographic makeup and average earnings. Collaboration (funding and research) makes it easier for anyone new to the immigration debate to dive right in. Expert fiscal analysis provides a solid grounding for many of the policies that are being championed, such as letting undocumented immigrants get legal drivers' licenses or making them eligible for in-state tuition at state colleges and universities. The groups do the "wonky analysis with lots of footnotes," gauging the economic contributions of immigrants, both legal and undocumented, across the country, and then they do the social math, putting the issues into terms that people—especially lawmakers—can understand.

There are educational webinars, annual conferences, regular conference calls, and shared toolkits—so that no one has to start from scratch. Advocates at the National Immigration Legal Center (NILC) keep track of state-level immigration issues that would benefit from coolheaded analysis. They then serve as matchmakers, connecting local immigration organizers with the state fiscal groups.

Everyone works together to mount a successful campaign or a defense. There is the organizing on the ground, the various politics of the states, and the economic analysis. There is also getting the message out. The groups produce reports, op-eds, blog posts, and graphics, and they push out social media—all of this goes a long way toward getting the information into the right hands. The American Immigration Council (AIC), a national partner, has helped train the groups to effectively frame the information, attract media coverage, and reach policymakers.

The work is important and timely—and it has reach. Each time a state group comes out with a new report or launches a new campaign, project partners have another model to work from, another idea to use. And these materials are handed out—even to groups not funded through the project to use in their own states. The Immigration Project has lowered the threshold to becoming involved in these debates.

On the Ground: New York, New Jersey

Immigration Project partners have plunged into the immigration policy debate on different fronts, winning some battles, losing others, and fighting to a standstill elsewhere.

The New York group already had significant experience with immigration issues when it joined the partnership and now serves as a peer adviser, providing technical assistance to the other state groups. Their breakthrough study, *Working for a Better Life*, made headlines in 2007 when it quantified the immigrant contribution to the economy of New York State, with results that surprised the public, the press, and even the researchers themselves. The report demonstrated that foreign-born New Yorkers added $229 billion—more than 20%—to the state economy in 2005. (This figure combines the contributions of both documented and undocumented immigrants.) Furthermore, immigrants were hugely overrepresented among doctors, researchers, and nurses, and most strongly represented in fields like accounting and finance. So, contrary to popular perceptions, they were not all low-wage earning Hispanics. Most unexpected, perhaps, was the finding that immigrants played a disproportionately strong role in the economy of upstate New York.

When the New York group expanded its inquiry to major cities across the U.S., their grounded analysis demonstrated that immigrants were making a very real and largely unappreciated contribution to the economy of the country as a whole. That point was—and still is—being lost in the often heated public debate on immigration.

Next door in New Jersey, the Immigration Project partner tallied the financial benefits of allowing unauthorized immigrants to secure legal drivers' licenses. A coalition working to get a bill passed ran with the revenue projections, making sure the facts were front and center in a letter-writing campaign. The bill was moving well, until the terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015. Governor Chris Christie and state legislators argued that issuing drivers' licenses to undocumented residents would allow them to purchase weapons and board flights—perhaps even threatening national security. Switching gears from analysis to education, advocates reached out to the media to clear up misinformation about the bill, contacting policymakers to emphasize that immigrants are a tremendous economic asset to New Jersey. Collaborative efforts like the Immigration Project can help shift the debate and get good information where it needs to go. Even then, sometimes all the hard work does *not* pay off (the drivers' license fight continues). But sometimes, it does.

Tuition Equity: Success in Texas

In 2001, Texas became the first state in the nation to pass a so-called "Dream Act," offering in-state tuition to undocumented immigrants who had come to the country as children. For many "Dreamers," in-state tuition makes the difference between being able to afford college, and not being able to go to college at all. Last year, however, in spite of the program's success, state leaders threatened to repeal the law.

The Immigration Project went to work, smartly framing the debate as an investment in the state's future. They marshalled data to make a forceful case, but made sure that the analysis was accessible. This wasn't a 60-page report with 4,000 footnotes. The fact sheets were highly credible materials that could be picked up, understood, and used.

The numbers were arresting. In 2013, fewer than 2% of students getting in-state tuition in Texas were non-citizens, yet they paid $51.6 million in tuition and fees. The taxes paid by undocumented immigrants each year are also significant. Working in the shadows, they contributed, according to data from one source, more than $1.5 billion annually in property, sales, and excise taxes to the state.

Armed with these numbers, students and business leaders joined forces to protest outside the State Capitol in Austin, while inside, legislators listened to "Dreamers" tell their powerful stories. Students were fighting for their families and their futures, and business leaders were fighting for the state's economy. At the rally, Bill Hammond, CEO of the Texas Association of Businesses, put it this way: "They work hard, they go to school, they graduate. They will be the future teachers, doctors, architects, engineers in Texas—if we allow this program to continue."

Working together, students, business leaders, and a coalition of immigration groups helped derail this "bad bill" in Texas. Success in the Lone Star State inspired groups in other states to mount defenses of tuition equity, including in Virginia, where legislative efforts to roll back in-state tuition were thwarted—for now.

Shaking the Tree in Georgia

In 2015, the Georgia Budget and Policy Institute (GBPI) joined the Immigration Project. GBPI Executive Director Taifa Smith Butler thought the time was right for her state to wade into the immigration debate.

"Every year there is anti-immigration legislation that is presented for consideration, or that passes in our state," says Butler. "Georgia is projected to be a majority-minority state by 2030, and the Latino population is going to be a large part of that, so we thought, why not take the opportunity? We wanted to see if we can make the economic case about what immigrants contribute to the state's economy, change the debate for a bit, and lift up this narrative in Georgia."

Georgia has particularly intractable obstacles, says Butler. "As much as we try to fight with facts and data, sometimes people's inherent biases are a lot stronger."

Butler and her team are laboring to overcome the existing racial and ethnic barriers that filter into public policy. "It is problematic for our state long-term," she says. "If we continue to block people's ability to go to school, to work, and to earn a living—that will continue to drag on our state." Only a handful of legislators are working to prevent undocumented immigrants from getting drivers' licenses and in-state tuition. But, adds Butler, "They are loud."

GBPI took up the thorny issue of tuition equity first, issuing a report calling for in-state rates for undocumented students, and estimating a $10 million annual increase in state tax revenues when those students entered the workforce. The Georgia Undocumented Youth Alliance used the numbers to support its suit against the state's Board of Regents. Unfortunately, this past February, the Georgia state Supreme Court ruled that the Regents cannot be sued. But no one is throwing in the towel. "One of our challenges, once we present these reports and do these briefings, is how to keep moving the conversation," says Butler. "How do we continue to elevate it to a broader audience?"

Next up for Butler: building a case for the economic value of immigrants to the overall Georgia economy. "Connecting it to a larger narrative around the workforce is going to be critical," says Butler. "We're still shaking that tree, and then linking it with broader business needs."

For example, some of the Georgia's largest employers, including Home Depot, SunTrust, and AT&T, are having a hard time filling positions. To address this problem, one of the governor's economic development initiatives aims to recruit talent from other states. But, says Butler, "We want our homegrown talent to stay here and benefit from these jobs." A GBPI study found that in a single year Georgia's immigrants paid nearly $1.8 billion dollars in state and local taxes, solid evidence that—as entrepreneurs, workers, and taxpayers—they bring a powerful boost not only to the state budget but also to the state's overall economy.

The Immigration Project is helping to reframe the debate in Georgia. The GBPI keeps "shaking that tree," and the support is there. People talk about the importance of collaboration all the time. For David Dyssegaard Kallick, peer advisor to the New York group, Geri Mannion and Carnegie Corporation "deserve a lot of credit for doing something that's popular to talk about, but that's not so easy to do, bringing together multiple foundations and multiple grantees at the same time."

Volatile Terrain

Immigration is one of the country's most complicated and controversial issues. It is not easy for nonpartisan fiscal policy organizations to move into such volatile terrain. The Immigration Project is changing that. The collaboration allows the state groups to combine forces powerfully—to plan together, to deepen their relationships, and to find ways to do the analysis necessary to really influence the debate. The collaboration, launched in 2012, came none too soon.

President Barack Obama charged into the debate in the summer of 2012, when he signed an executive order called Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). DACA

In Homestead, Florida, Rodrigo Hernandez, whose family is originally from Guatemala, attends a vigil with his family to protest against the deportation of undocumented immigrants, January 6, 2016. PHOTO: JOE RAEDLE/GETTY IMAGES

Immigration Project

PARTNERS

- American Immigration Council | AIC
  americanimmigrationcouncil.org
- Center for Budget and Policy Priorities | CBPP
  cbpp.org
- National Immigration Law Center | NILC
  nilc.org
- State Priorities Partnership | SPP
  statepriorities.org

STATE GROUPS

Colorado
Colorado Fiscal Institute | CFI
coloradofiscal.org

Georgia
Georgia Budget and Policy Institute | GBPI
gbpi.org

Massachusetts
Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center | MassBudget
massbudget.org

Minnesota
Minnesota Budget Project
mnbudgetproject.org

New Jersey
New Jersey Policy Perspective | NJPP
njpp.org

New York
Fiscal Policy Institute | FPI
fiscalpolicy.org

North Carolina
Budget and Tax Center | BTC
ncjustice.org

Texas
Center for Public Policy Priorities | CPPP
cppp.org

Virginia
The Commonwealth Institute | TCI
thecommonwealthinstitute.org

OTHER KEY PLAYERS

- Economic Policy Institute | EPI
  epi.org
- Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy | ITEP
  itep.org

allows undocumented immigrants who were brought to the country as children to live and work in the United States for renewable periods of two years without fear of deportation. Then, in November 2014, after immigration reform stalled in the Republican-controlled House, the president expanded DACA. He also added Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA), which granted undocumented immigrants, whose children are American citizens or permanent residents, work authorization as well as temporary relief from deportation. These executive orders—expanded DACA and DAPA—are at the heart of *United States v. Texas*, the most important immigration case taken up by the U.S. Supreme Court in a generation. The case was argued before the court on April 18, 2016, and a decision is expected in June.

Out of the Shadows

While the legal questions may be narrow, the outcome of *United States v. Texas* will be far-reaching. If the court sides with Texas, nothing changes. The lives of an estimated 4.5 million immigrants across the country will remain in limbo, and their American-born children will live in fear that one or both of their parents will be deported. But if the court decides that Texas does not have standing, that it has not suffered serious fiscal injury, President Obama's executive orders on immigration will move forward. Undocumented immigrants will gain the ability to work—legally—in the United States for renewable periods of three years, and they and their children will no longer live under constant threat of deportation.

Never have the stakes been higher for undocumented immigrants and their families. If undocumented immigrants can drive to work, legally, they will be able to buy a car, purchase automobile insurance, pay gas taxes, and find a better job match. With better jobs and increased earnings, they pay higher taxes. And—the evidence shows—they will integrate more quickly into American life. That is the case for bringing undocumented immigrants fully into the economy and developing policies that help them succeed.

But it remains to be seen whether the Supreme Court understands this "social math." Without ever stepping into the courtroom, the Immigration Project played its role. They crunched the numbers that appear in the amicus briefs filed by a broad range of organizations and community leaders in support of the administration's position. The friends of court—including business leaders, economists, faith-based groups, educators, mayors, county executives, current and former members of Congress, and 16 states and the District of Columbia—agree that the numbers demonstrate that Texas's speculative harm pales in comparison to the concrete economic, financial, and social benefits to the entire country if millions of people are allowed to come out of the shadows to live and work without fear. ■

Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian speaking at the 2015 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy ceremony, held at The New York Public Library on October 15. The award is given every two years to one or more individuals who, like Mr. Carnegie, have dedicated their private wealth to the public good and who have impressive careers as philanthropists. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK

The winners of the 2015 I Love My Librarian! award, whom Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation, thanked for being "the keepers of our memory, our legacy, and also providing what I call stations of hope." PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK

Visionary Philanthropists, Carnegie Medalists

The eight recipients of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy for 2015 were honored at a ceremony held at The New York Public Library, on October 15. Hosted by Carnegie Corporation of New York, with PBS's Judy Woodruff serving as master of ceremonies, the event celebrated some of the most generous philanthropists in America: Paul G. Allen, Microsoft cofounder and philanthropist; Charles F. Feeney, Atlantic Philanthropies founder; Jeremy and Hanne Grantham, leading environmental philanthropists; the Haas Family, longtime Pennsylvania philanthropists; Jon M. Huntsman, Sr., Utah philanthropist and Huntsman Cancer Institute founder; Irwin and Joan Jacobs, prominent San Diego philanthropists; Robert B. Menschel and Richard L. Menschel, two steadfast New York philanthropists; and David M. Rubenstein, celebrated culture and education philanthropist.

"These extraordinary individuals," said Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian, "reflect and carry on the vision of philanthropy embodied in the ideals of Andrew Carnegie, who believed that the rich are trustees of their wealth and are under a moral obligation to reinvest in society in ways that promote the progress of society."

We Love Our Librarians!

Ten librarians from across the nation were honored with 2015's I Love My Librarian! award at a reception hosted by Carnegie Corporation of New York in December. The winners of this prestigious public service award were selected from a pool of more than 1,300 nominations submitted by library patrons nationwide. One librarian from California stood out for helping incarcerated youth learn to enjoy reading. Another was applauded for fostering a deeper understanding of the Muslim world, and a librarian from Texas won over patrons by making his work look "cool!" The efforts of the winner from North Carolina helped raise student reading scores significantly at an underserved elementary school.

Each winning librarian received a $5,000 prize, joining an esteemed group of award recipients who have been recognized as catalysts for powerful individual and community change. Carnegie Corporation sponsors the I Love My Librarian! award, with additional sponsorship from The New York Public Library and the *New York Times*. Meet 2015's winners and read the nominations, which include detailed stories about how these librarians have improved the lives of their communities: ilovelibraries.org/lovemylibrarian/2015/15winners.

NYPL President Anthony W. Marx, Carnegie Corporation Board Chair Thomas H. Kean, Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian, and former New York City Schools Chancellor Dennis Wolcott attend NYPL's 2016 Spring Dinner. The love of libraries? "We have it in our DNA at Carnegie Corporation," said Governor Kean in his remarks that evening. PHOTO: ARIA ISADORA

Marguerite Barankitse accepts the inaugural Aurora Prize from cochair of the selection committee George Clooney and prize cofounder Ruben Vardanyan. "Marguerite Barankitse," said Clooney, "serves as a reminder of the impact that one person can have even when encountering seemingly insurmountable persecution and injustice." PHOTO:100 LIVES

Carnegie Corporation Is Honoree at NYPL's Spring Dinner

The New York Public Library was proud to honor Carnegie Corporation of New York at its annual Spring Dinner this year, shining a light on the Corporation's longstanding history of support for the Library that began at its founding in 1895 and continues to this day. On May 19, prominent leaders from business, philanthropy, politics, and the arts gathered in the beautiful Beaux-Arts landmark at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street for "An Evening of Library Stories," a celebration of NYPL's commitment to quality education and lifelong learning. The dinner also paid tribute to Carnegie Corporation for its historic role in promoting and funding libraries and librarianship not only in New York City but throughout the world. In the words of its president, Anthony W. Marx, The New York Public Library "continues to build on Andrew Carnegie's legacy and belief in the public library's power 'to stand and become a never-ceasing foundation of good.'" In his remarks to the evening's guests, Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian spoke of public libraries as a tribute to democracy—great equalizers that serve as civil society's "stations of hope."

Aurora Prize Honors Humanitarian Work

"Our values are human values," said Marguerite Barankitse, accepting the inaugural Aurora Prize for Awakening Humanity. "When you have compassion, dignity, and love then nothing can scare you, nothing can stop you—no one can stop love. Not armies, not hate, not persecution, not famine, nothing."

The first-ever Aurora Prize, honoring individuals who have made a significant impact on humanity, was awarded during a ceremony in Yerevan, Armenia, on April 24. Barankitse was honored for saving and caring for thousands of orphans and refugees during the Burundi civil war in central Africa, as well as for her current work with children and orphans affected by HIV/AIDS, war, and poverty. Barankitse accepted the award at an event that drew 400 distinguished guests, including Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian, a member of the selection committee.

Recipients of the Aurora Prize are awarded $100,000 as well as $1,000,000 to distribute to charitable organizations of their choosing. The prize will be awarded each year at the end of April as part of the 100 Lives initiative. Learn more about Barankitse's work at: maisonshalom.org/en.

Dr. Robert Floyd, Director General, Australian Safeguards & Non-Proliferation Office; Emma Belcher, Director, International Peace and Security, MacArthur Foundation; and Carl Robichaud, program officer in International Peace and Security, Carnegie Corporation—at the Embassy of Australia in Washington, D.C. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD

Carnegie Corporation of New York trustee Judge Ann Claire Williams attended the opening of the new Kuyasa library, noting that it "speaks to the essential role of libraries to preserve history, with all its tragedies and triumphs, while also offering a roadmap for the future and for a new democratic society." PHOTO: DEANA ARSENIAN

$25 Million Commitment to Nuclear Security

Recognizing the important role nongovernmental organizations play in providing analysis and convening governments, industry, and civil society to search for collaborative solutions, Carnegie Corporation of New York and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation have committed to invest up to $25 million over the course of 2016 and 2017 for work to secure nuclear materials and reduce the threat they pose. The announcement of this collaboration was made at an event held at the Embassy of Australia in Washington, D.C., on March 29, in conjunction with the 2016 Nuclear Security Summit, the fourth and final of the series of summits initiated by President Barack Obama in 2010.

Just as countries commit to enhance nuclear security by pledging "gift baskets" at the Nuclear Security Summits, Carnegie Corporation and MacArthur Foundation presented their own gift basket, and encouraged other foundations and individuals to contribute to this effort. The joint statement from the foundations announcing their $25 million commitment was featured on the White House's Nuclear Security Summit website.

State-of-the-Art Library Opens in Cape Town, South Africa

"We are very fortunate to have a partner like the Carnegie Corporation who understands the far-reaching impact such an investment can have," said Cape Town Mayor Patricia de Lille at the March 17 opening of the new Kuyasa Regional Library in Khayelitsha. The library's top-notch facilities include computers with free Internet access and a world-class book collection with volumes in isiXhosa, Afrikaans, and English. Part of a multifunctional complex with close proximity to public transportation, the new library will contribute greatly toward making the Kuyasa Station Precinct, as the mayor put it, "an attractive, vibrant, and safe urban node."

Kuyasa is the second of two model libraries in the township of Cape Town cofunded by the Corporation. At the opening, Deana Arsenian, Carnegie Corporation Vice President for International Programs, looked back: "In early 2011, I stood on this ground with some of you, imagining a building and its surroundings that were then only an architectural rendering. I have not been here since then, so the transformation of vision into reality seems particularly striking. It shows what can be accomplished with political will, community effort, and public-private funding partnerships." ■

TOP: The 2015 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy honorees: David M. Rubenstein, Richard L. Menschel (standing), Robert B. Menschel, Jon M. Huntsman, Sr., David Haas, Thomas Haas, Jeremy Grantham, Hanne Grantham, Paul G. Allen, Joan and Irwin Jacobs, and (accepting on behalf of Charles F. Feeney) Leslie Feeney Baily, Caroleen Feeney, and Christopher Oechsli. Photographed at The New York Public Library. PHOTO: CHRISTIAN WITKIN/VANITY FAIR

ABOVE (LEFT): Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian and actor and activist George Clooney during the inaugural ceremony of the first-ever Aurora Prize for Awakening Humanity, held in Yerevan, Armenia, on April 24. PHOTO: 100 LIVES

ABOVE (RIGHT): Judge Ann Claire Williams, Carnegie Corporation trustee (far left), and Deana Arsenian, Carnegie Corporation Vice President for International Affairs (far right), with Kuyasa Regional Library staff, gifting the portrait of Andrew Carnegie during the opening celebrations of the new model library in Cape Town, South Africa.

LEFT: President Gregorian watching *Clouds over Sidra*, the first film shot in virtual reality (VR) for the United Nations. Designed to support the UN's campaign to highlight the plight of vulnerable communities, the VR film follows a twelve-year-old girl named Sidra in the Za'atari camp in Jordan, currently home to 84,000 refugees from the bloody Syrian civil war. PHOTO: NATALIE HOLT

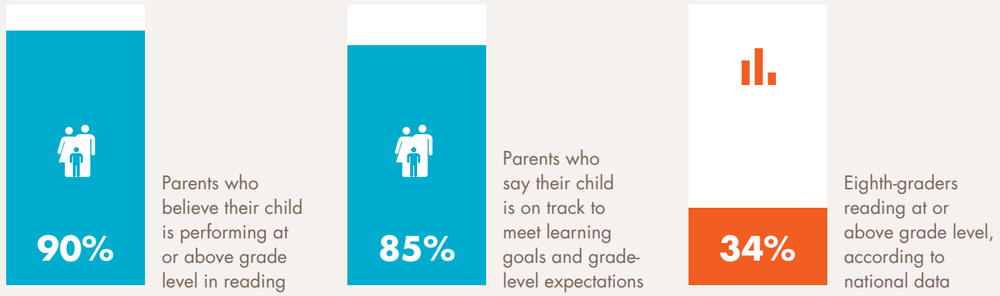
NAVIGATING YOUR CHILD'S ACADEMIC SUCCESS

National survey leads straight to "Readiness Roadmap" for parents.

by **Gail Ablow**

Most parents of grade school students, regardless of income, education level, or ethnicity, believe that their children are on track academically. Most parents also believe that attending college is essential to their children's success. But according to a new report, *Parents 2016: Hearts and Minds of Public School Parents in an Uncertain World*, there is a surprisingly wide gap between parents' perceptions of how well their children are doing in school, and how well their children are *actually*

Parents' perception of how their kids are performing in school lags behind national data.



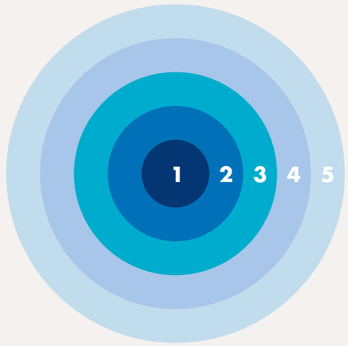
Reading performance data from the 2015 National Assessment of Educational Progress

doing, based on national testing standards. "Understanding the nature of this divide will help educators engage parents, and make a real difference," says LaVerne Srinivasan, vice president of Carnegie Corporation of New York's National Program.

The report, commissioned by Learning Heroes, an education nonprofit, will begin to bridge the gap and advance tools that support parents' concerns and priorities. Bibb Hubbard, the organization's founder and CEO, introduced the study to a gathering of education experts at Carnegie Corporation in April. Hart Research conducted the survey in collaboration with Univision, and in partnership with the National PTA, National Urban League, National Council of La Raza, and the United Negro College Fund, with support from Carnegie Corporation.

The researchers surveyed 1,374 elementary and middle school parents, with additional polling among Hispanics and African Americans, to make sure they were fully represented in the findings. Ninety percent of all parents report that their children are performing at or above grade level, while less than 35 percent are actually on target, according to National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) test scores. Geoff Garin, president of Hart Research, calls the gap "extremely sobering."

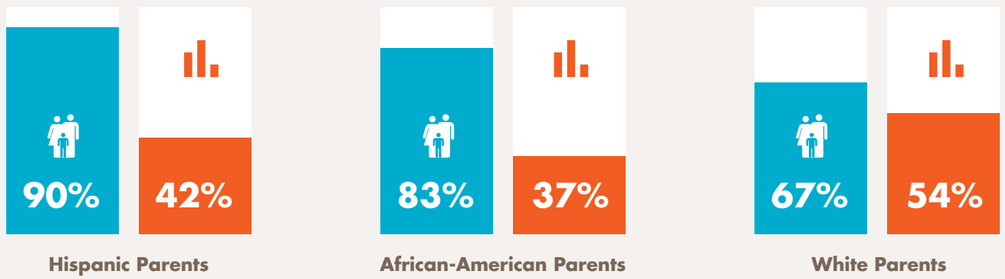
Parents worry greatly about situations where their child has to make choices or face difficulties on their own.



Parents' Top Concerns

1. Paying for College
2. Peer Pressure
3. Emotional Health & Happiness
4. Safe Use of Technology
5. Bullying

In today's fractured world, parents have high expectations for their children. Across ethnicity, income, and education levels, parents see getting to and through college as key.



Parents who say it is absolutely essential or very important that their child attend a 2- or 4-year college

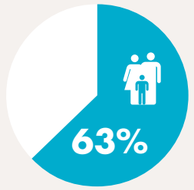
Current rates of college entrance and graduation (within six years)

The mission of Learning Heroes is to provide resources to help parents support their children's success in school and to improve parent engagement. The report goes a long way toward understanding parents' concerns and goals. The findings also illuminate new opportunities for parent engagement. The number one worry is paying for college, followed by peer pressure, emotional health and happiness, safe use of technology, and bullying. Learning Heroes published an online interactive Readiness Roadmap with supportive tools and resources for social-emotional wellness, college financial planning, and expectations for learning by grade. When their anxieties are allayed, the hope is that parents will be better able to navigate their children's academic progress.

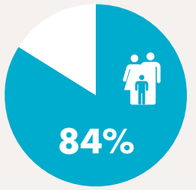
And while parents put great faith in their children's teachers, they hold themselves most responsible for their children's success. With better understanding of national benchmarks, they can learn to ask more of their schools. "They know that most of the good jobs require a college degree," says Dan Weisberg, CEO of the New Teacher Project. Engaging parents' priorities simultaneously—their concerns about social and emotional well-being, as well as college costs—will help overcome this communications gap.

"This report is helping us identify effective strategies to engage parents and other stakeholders," says Ambika Kapur, an education program officer for Carnegie Corporation. Teachers, principals, and even district leaders must also help set a tone that invites parents into the process of determining their children's learning goals, says Irma Zardoya, president of the New York City Leadership Academy, "to empower parents by bringing them into the schools, gaining their support, and making them part of the decision-making process." ■

Parents see themselves as primarily responsible for their child's success in school—more so than teachers, principals, or their child.



of all parents say they understand the skills their child is expected to learn at their current grade level



of parents think they can make a fair amount or a lot of difference in their child's academic progress

Contributors

Gail Ablow

Ablow has been a documentary and news producer for ABC News, PBS, CNN, and CNBC. Currently she produces for BillMoyers.com while also holding the position of Carnegie Visiting Media Fellow, Democracy. For many years Ablow wrote and produced for Bill Moyers's television series, including *Moyers & Company*, *Bill Moyers Journal*, and *NOW*, covering money and politics, economics and inequality, public participation in democracy, the criminal justice system, and contemporary culture. She is well known to Carnegie Corporation's Communications and Democracy teams, having just completed America's Story: An Immigrant Story, a major multimedia interactive in conjunction with the Corporation's new website (carnegie.org). An alumna of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, Ablow was a Stanford University John S. Knight Fellow.

Scott Malcomson

Currently Carnegie Visiting Media Fellow, International Peace and Security, Malcomson has worked as a journalist and author in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and North and South America. His writing has tended to focus on the real-world fortunes of civilizational organizing ideas, such as globalization, the Muslim umma, international civil society, race, nationalism, and cyberspace. As a journalist, Malcomson was foreign editor of the *New York Times Magazine* and a contributor to the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, and many other publications. He has been an executive at two global NGOs and was a senior official at the United Nations and the U.S. State Department. He now heads a consultancy that provides business intelligence and communications advice to private clients. His fifth book, *Splinternet: How Geopolitics and Commerce Are Fragmenting the World Wide Web*, was published earlier this year.

Michael Moran

A foreign policy analyst, author, and geo-strategist, Moran is managing director of Global Risk Analysis at Control Risks, concentrating on macro risk and U.S. energy, foreign policy, and global economic matters. He is author of *The Reckoning: Debt, Democracy, and the Future of American Power*, and coauthor of *The Fastest Billion: The Story Behind Africa's Economic Revolution*. Currently Carnegie Visiting Media Fellow, International Peace and Security, Moran served as head of thought leadership at Renaissance Capital, focusing on global energy issues and oil and gas opportunities in frontier markets, particularly sub-Saharan Africa. Before that he served as chief geo-strategist for Roubini Global Economics.

Moran ran digital strategy and editorial at the Council on Foreign Relations, launching CFR's Crisis Guides series. Other positions include: a senior correspondent running international coverage for MSNBC.com; a London-based U.S. affairs analyst for the BBC World Service; a Munich-based senior editor for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; and a reporter for the Associated Press and several newspapers.

Credits

Cover, 20–31

Illustrations by James Fenner
jmfenner.com

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Map created by Haisam Hussein

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Children play with hula hoops at the Children Friendly Space, run by UNICEF at the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) Protection of Civilians (PoC) site in Juba, South Sudan, on January 15, 2016. Photo: Albert Gonzalez Farran/AFP/Getty Images

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Cropped hand holding camera lens (Cairo, Egypt). Photo: Nafis Safiai/EyeEm/Getty Images

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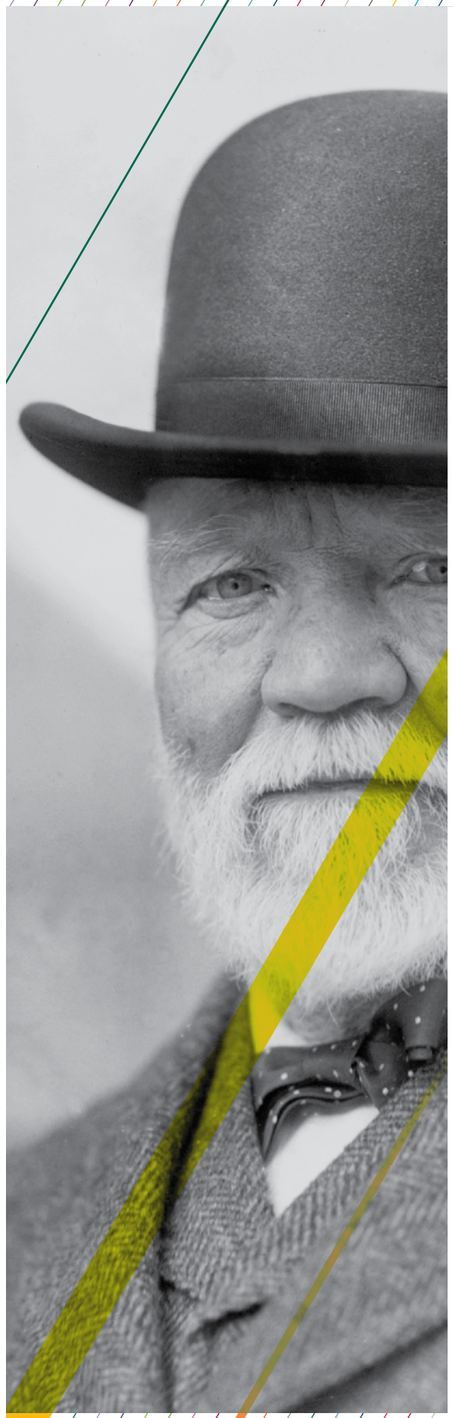
bealearninghero.org/readinessroadmap



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Armaments . . . so far from preserving Peace inevitably become in time one of the chief, if not the greatest of all, causes of war, since they sow the deadly seeds of mutual suspicion.

Andrew Carnegie
Armaments and Their Results (1909)