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# CARNEGIE REPORTER

THE INTERNATIONAL ISSUE  
**Scholarship. Communities. Security.**



**On the Cover**

The cover image and the selection of alternatives above tap into a 2023 cultural moment: the introduction of ChatGPT, an artificial intelligence tool for the masses. Potential covers were generated through a wide range of ChatGPT prompts in an effort to answer the question: With a minimal amount of human direction, what kinds of magazine covers would AI come up with? Prompts included *international relations, Africa, China, Russia, peace, security, connections, nuclear, and policy* – submitted in various combinations. While it was an interesting experiment to see what – to date – AI derives from humanity, it should be noted that Carnegie Corporation of New York remains a very big fan of and firmly committed to human artists, human designers, human photographers, and human creatives overall.

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# FROM THE **PRESIDENT**



Louise Richardson at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters in New York City, July 2023  
CREDIT: ANGELY MONTILLA

# Developing Knowledge for a More Secure World

Dame Louise Richardson, who joined the Corporation as president after leading two of the world's top universities, returns to her scholarly roots to write about the role of knowledge and understanding in international security and the importance of removing barriers between scholarship and policymaking

By **Dame Louise Richardson**

**W**elcome to the International Issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*.

Andrew Carnegie felt deeply about peace. He devoted his considerable energy, his connections, and his wealth to indefatigable efforts to avert war in the early 20th century. He never quite recovered from the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, and the horrors of that cataclysmic war surpassed his worst fears.

Carnegie Corporation of New York today shares our founder's commitment to advancing the cause of peace. It is one of the three pillars of our work. In this edition of the *Reporter*, we will introduce you to the efforts of some of our grantees as we seek to support the development of knowledge toward a more secure world.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine and strained relations between the U.S. and China have given these issues even greater salience today. It has never been more important to promote knowledge and understanding of international security issues, to forge global networks of scholars working in related areas, and to remove barriers between scholarship and policymaking.

My own academic career was devoted to the study of international relations. I was a student of the late, great Stanley Hoffmann, whose nuanced analysis of global affairs was unrivaled in its incisiveness. My first book, *When Allies Differ*, examined how allies managed crises in which their interests diverged, and for years I taught courses at Harvard on American foreign and security policy, before turning to the study of terrorism and counterterrorism.

While the all-consuming task of running major universities drew me away from the study of international security, I have recently been drawn back. In April this year, Ireland celebrated the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement, a rare successful case of conflict resolution. A major conference was held at Queen's University Belfast, at which all the participants in the peace process as well as politicians and academics participated. I spoke on a panel with Secretary Clinton on women as peacemakers and on a panel with colleagues from the University of Chicago on the dynamics of peace and conflict, and gave a lecture on women's leadership. There is much to be celebrated about the Good Friday Agreement and much to be learned that can be applied to other conflicts. Nevertheless, it is clear that while the agreement established peace, it has not yet effected reconciliation, and the institutions it created remain extremely fragile.

I was also asked by the Irish government to chair the Consultative Forum on International Security Policy. The Russian invasion of Ukraine has caused a great many countries in Europe, and beyond, to reevaluate their foreign, defense, and security policies. Of the five neutral countries in Europe, two, Sweden and Finland, asked to join NATO as a direct consequence of the conflict. Ireland has long treasured its military neutrality while being deeply engaged globally, both politically and economically. A country of five million people has welcomed more than 86,000 refugees from Ukraine. Families across the country, including mine, welcomed refugees into their homes. In light of these developments, the Irish government decided to host a national conversation about the future role of Ireland in the new geopolitical environment. I think this is a very enlightened approach to a complex and contested issue, and I am delighted to be a part of it.

With this background, it will come as no surprise that I am deeply committed to the international work of our foundation and very proud of what we have accomplished thus far.

In this edition of the *Reporter*, we revisit the speech given by trustee Leymah Gbowee on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her leadership of the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace campaign that played a pivotal role in ending Liberia's civil war. It is a powerful testament to the role individuals can play in peacemaking.

The war in Ukraine has raised the specter of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the public consciousness. Here we host a discussion among some of our grantees on global nuclear dynamics. In addition, we present the results of a Chicago Council on Global

Affairs survey of public attitudes toward and knowledge of nuclear security issues alongside some creative visualizations by Mona Chalabi.

Deana Arsenian writes about our work supporting scholars and networks of scholars in Africa and the Middle East as well as scholarship on China and Russia. Stephen Del Rosso writes on the importance of bridging the gap between academia and policymakers and highlights cases of scholarship in action.

The Corporation has supported the work of Neta Crawford and colleagues in undertaking an examination of the costs of war post-9/11. The data on the human and budgetary costs is truly horrifying. I believe this to be critically important research that deserves to be widely disseminated.

The past president of the Council on Foreign Relations, Richard Haass, is another grantee. We present an excerpt from his fascinating new book, *The Bill of Obligations*. Haass takes a cue from President Carter who said, "Our nation can be strong abroad only if it is strong at home. And we know that the best way to enhance freedom in other lands is to demonstrate here that our democratic system is worthy of emulation." Haass argues, in essence, that foreign policy begins at home.

We at the Corporation are very sympathetic to this perspective, and it is one of the reasons why we will be increasing our grantmaking in the area of political polarization in the U.S. In June, we relaunched the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program. For the next three years, we will support the work of fellows who will help us to understand how the U.S. came to be so polarized, how this polarization is affecting our politics, and how we might strengthen the forces of cohesion in American society. We intend that, in turn, these recommendations will influence our future grantmaking in this area.

In addition to our international work, we continue our investments in education and democracy. You will have brief glimpses of these programs in the later pages as well as an insight into an important book by Marcia Chatelain, one of our fellows.

I hope that you find this edition of the *Carnegie Reporter* to be informative, stimulating, and enjoyable. ■

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**Dame Louise Richardson** is president of Carnegie Corporation of New York. A widely recognized expert on terrorism and international relations, she previously served as vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford and of the University of St. Andrews, and as executive dean of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

**I**t has never been more important to promote knowledge and understanding of international security issues, to forge global networks of scholars working in related areas, and to remove barriers between scholarship and policymaking.

— **Dame Louise Richardson**

President, Carnegie Corporation of New York



In 2011, Leymah Gbowee and fellow women's rights activists gathered on a soccer field where they had once prayed for peace during the civil war in Liberia. Gbowee received the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize for her role in leading the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace campaign, which played a pivotal role in ending Liberia's 14-year civil war in 2003. CREDIT: ISSOUF SANOGO/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES



# Movements for Peace

Let us celebrate the achievements of peacebuilders, but there is still much work to be done until the world achieves wholeness and balance

By **Leymah Gbowee**

Leymah Gbowee, a trustee of Carnegie Corporation of New York, led the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace campaign that brought together Christian and Muslim women in a nonviolent movement that played a pivotal role in ending Liberia's civil war in 2003. In 2011, Gbowee was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize along with Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Africa's first democratically elected female president, and Tawakkol Karman, a Yemeni journalist, politician, and activist, for their "non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work." In her acceptance speech, edited and reprinted here, she reminds us of the role that individuals can play through courage and conviction in achieving peace.

Early 2003, seven of us women gathered in a makeshift office/conference room to discuss the Liberian civil war and the fast-approaching war on the capital Monrovia. Armed with nothing but our conviction and 10 United States dollars, the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace campaign was born.

Women had become the "toy of war" for overdressed young militias. Sexual abuse and exploitation spared no woman; we were raped and abused regardless of our age, religious, or social status. A common scene daily was a mother watching her young one being forcibly recruited, or her daughter being taken away as the wife of another drug-emboldened fighter.

We used our pain, broken bodies, and scarred emotions to confront the injustices and terror of our nation. We were aware that the end of the war will only come through nonviolence, as we had all seen that the use of violence was taking us and our beloved country deeper into the abyss of pain, death, and destruction.

The situation in Liberia in those war years indeed reaffirmed the profound statement of Nobel laureate Dr. Martin Luther King when he said, "Violence never brings permanent peace. It solves no social problem; it merely creates new and more complicated ones."

The women's mass action campaign started in one community and spread to over 50 communities across Liberia. We worked daily confronting warlords, meeting with dictators, and refusing to be silenced in the face of AK-47s and RPGs. We walked when we had no transportation, we fasted when water was unaffordable, we held hands in the face of danger, we spoke truth to power when everyone else was being diplomatic, we stood under the rain and the sun with our children to tell the world the stories of the other side of the conflict. Our

educational backgrounds, travel experiences, faiths, and social classes did not matter. We had a common agenda: Peace for Liberia Now.

We succeeded when no one thought we would; we were the conscience of the ones who had lost their consciences in their quest for power and political positions. We represented the soul of the nation. No one would have prepared my sisters and me for today — that our struggle would go down in the history of this world. Rather, when confronting warlords, we did so because we felt it was our moral duty to stand as mothers and gird our waist, to fight the demons of war in order to protect the lives of our children, their land, and their future.

This prize could not have come at a better time than this; a time when global and community conversations are about how local community members and unarmed civilians can help turn our upside-down world right-side up. It has come at a time when unarmed citizens — men and women, boys and girls — are challenging dictatorships and ushering in democracy and the sovereignty of people.

Yes! It has come at a time when in many societies where women used to be the silent victims and objects of men's powers, women are throwing down the walls of repressive traditions with the invincible power of nonviolence. Women are using their bodies, broken from hunger, poverty, desperation, and destitution, to stare down the barrel of the gun. This prize has come at a time when ordinary mothers are no longer begging for peace, but demanding peace, justice, equality, and inclusion in political decision-making.

I must be quick to add that this prize is not just in recognition of the triumph of women. It is a triumph of humanity. To recognize and honor women, the other half of humanity, is to achieve universal wholeness and balance. Like the women I met in Congo over a year



We succeeded when no one thought we would; we were the conscience of the ones who had lost their consciences in their quest for power and political positions. We represented the soul of the nation.





A picture taken on August 28, 2003, shows Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace protestors at a march in front of the ECOMIL headquarters in Monrovia. CREDIT: PIUS UTOMI EKPEI/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

ago who said, “Rape and abuse is the result of a larger problem, and that problem is the absence of women in the decision-making space.” If women were part of decision-making in most societies, there would be less exclusive policies and laws that are blind to the abuses women endure.

In conclusion, let me again congratulate the Nobel committee for awarding the Peace Prize to us three women. By this act you affirm that women’s rights are truly human rights and that any leader, nation, or political group that excludes women from all forms of national and local engagement is setting themselves up for failure.

Let this recognition serve as a renewed compact between women and world leaders that commitments made to women through various UN and other global institutions’ resolutions will be pursued with greater commitment and vigilance; let this be a renewed compact that the integrity of a woman’s body and the sanctity of women’s lives will not be subsumed under male-invented traditions.

To women of Liberia and sisterhood across West Africa who continue to band together to respond to crisis in our subregion; to women in Asia, the Middle East, and the world: As we celebrate our achievement through this recognition, let us remind ourselves that victory is still

afar. We must continue to unite in sisterhood to turn our tears into triumph, our despair into determination, and our fear into fortitude. There is no time to rest until our world achieves wholeness and balance, where all men and women are considered equal and free. ■

**Leymah Gbowee**, a trustee of Carnegie Corporation of New York and the founder and current president of the Gbowee Peace Foundation Africa, is a women’s rights advocate, Liberian peace activist, and 2011 Nobel Peace Prize laureate. Her foundation provides educational and leadership opportunities to girls, women, and youth to empower the next generation of peacebuilders and democratic leaders in West Africa.

**To learn more** about the work of the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace campaign, led by Leymah Gbowee, and the strategies of peacebuilding and civil resistance pursued by different actors in Liberia simultaneously, read the Corporation-



supported report *Working Tirelessly for Peace and Equality: Civil Resistance and Peacebuilding in Liberia* (Washington, D.C.: International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 2021).



# Foreign Policy Begins at Home

To deter would-be foes and provide security to friends and allies, Americans must be able to come together across partisan divides

By **Richard Haass**

CREDIT: LWA / DANN TARDIF VIA GETTY IMAGES

have spent my career studying, practicing, writing about, and speaking on American foreign policy, and a question I frequently hear is, “Richard, what keeps you up at night?” Often, even before I get to answer, the person posing the question suggests potential answers. Is it China? Russia? North Korea? Iran? Terrorism? Climate change? Cyberattacks? Another pandemic?

In recent years, I started responding in a way that surprised me and many in the room. The most urgent and significant threat to American security and stability stems not from abroad but from within, from political divisions that for only the second time in U.S. history have raised questions about the future of American democracy and even the United States itself. These divisions also make it near impossible for the United States to address many of its economic, social, and political problems or to realize its potential. Many Americans (for a range of reasons) share my concern; according to a recent poll, a plurality (21 percent) believe that “threats to democracy” is the most important issue facing the country, surpassing cost of living, the economy, immigration, and climate change.

The deterioration of our democracy also has adverse consequences for our country’s ability to contend with Russian aggression, a much more capable and assertive China, and a host of other regional and global challenges. Deep political divisions make it difficult — or even impossible — to design and implement a steady foreign policy at a time when what happens in the world deeply affects what happens at home. Similarly, a country at war with itself cannot set an example that people elsewhere will want to emulate. If democracy fails here, democracy will be endangered everywhere.

My belief is that U.S. democracy can be saved only if Americans across the political spectrum come to accept that citizenship involves more than their asserting — or the government’s protecting — what they understand to be their rights. I have come around to the view that our very concept of citizenship needs to be revised, or better yet expanded, if American democracy is to survive. Respect for individual rights remains basic to the functioning of this or any democracy, but rights alone do not a successful democracy make. A democracy that concerns itself only with protecting and advancing individual rights will find itself in jeopardy, as rights will come into conflict with one another. When they inevitably do, it is essential that there is a path for citizens to compromise or a willingness to coexist peacefully and work with those with whom they disagree.

Beyond rights, obligations are the other cornerstone of a successful democracy — obligations between individual citizens as well as between citizens and their government. Obligations — akin to what Danielle Allen calls “habits of citizenship” — are things that should happen but that the law cannot require. For a culture of obligation to coexist

alongside a commitment to rights, we need nothing less than a “Bill of Obligations” to guide how we teach, understand, and conduct our politics.

Implicit in all this is the conviction that American democracy is most decidedly worth keeping. This American experiment has been a sanctuary for tens of millions of immigrants fleeing persecution or seeking opportunity, and a safe harbor for political expression and religious freedom. Our nation is also an engine of innovation, creating unprecedented wealth for hundreds of millions of people and increasing average life expectancy by decades for its citizens. Beyond its borders, the United States proved central to defeating fascism in World War II, navigating a Cold War that ended peacefully and on terms largely consistent with American interests and values, and fashioning a world order that for all its flaws ended the colonial era and built international arrangements that have brought greater prosperity, freedom, and health to literally billions of people.

Yes, American democracy has also come up short in meaningful ways. There is an enormous gap between the words of the Declaration of Independence — “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” — and reality, including but not limited to the treatment of Native Americans and the institution of slavery and the status of women. This country has failed to adequately deal with discrimination based on race, gender, religion, or country of origin. Equal opportunity for many has been a hope rather than a reality. Nor has the country always lived up to its stated values and principles abroad, frequently supporting leaders who showed little fidelity to democratic values or the rule of law.

After January 6, 2021, Chinese television was filled with images of the violence and disarray at the U.S. Capitol. This is instructive. China and its government-dominated authoritarian model would likely be the principal beneficiaries if democracy here were to fail. Those who purport to be tough on China are being anything but if they weaken democracy here in the United States. Similarly, a country paralyzed by internal divisions will be in no condition to help shape international responses to global challenges that could define this century, including but not limited to infectious disease, climate change, the spread of nuclear weapons, and terrorism. All of this would come at great cost to Americans and to others, as little stays local for long in a globalized world.

What is at stake does not end at the water’s edge, at the country’s borders. A United States that is divided and defined by politics will be in no condition to set an example that others will want to emulate. This was a theme central to President Jimmy Carter’s inaugural address: “Our nation can be strong abroad only if it

# The Bill of Obligations

Ten obligations that, if adopted by a preponderance of citizens, would go a long way toward fixing American democracy. Putting these obligations into practice, however, is up to us

Richard Haass, president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations, argues that “rights alone do not a successful democracy make.” Obligations — things that should happen but that the law cannot require — are the key to preserving a healthy democracy. In his new book, Haass spells out 10.

1. **BE INFORMED**
2. **GET INVOLVED**
3. **STAY OPEN TO COMPROMISE**
4. **REMAIN CIVIL**
5. **REJECT VIOLENCE**
6. **VALUE NORMS**
7. **PROMOTE THE COMMON GOOD**
8. **RESPECT GOVERNMENT SERVICE**
9. **SUPPORT THE TEACHING OF CIVICS**
10. **PUT COUNTRY FIRST**

is strong at home. And we know that the best way to enhance freedom in other lands is to demonstrate here that our democratic system is worthy of emulation.” The perceived failure of American democracy to function and deliver provides an opportunity for authoritarian regimes to justify their repression of their own citizens and others. In order to deter would-be foes and provide security to friends and allies, Americans must be able to come together across partisan divides. Our current political atmosphere is a recipe for diminished U.S. influence, the expansion of Chinese and Russian sway, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and increased conflict in the world. As I have argued for nearly a decade, foreign policy begins at home. ■

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**Richard Haass** was president of the nonpartisan Council on Foreign Relations from 2003 to 2023. An experienced diplomat and policymaker, he served in the Pentagon, State Department, and White House under four presidents, Democrat and Republican alike. A recipient of the Presidential Citizens Medal, the State Department’s Distinguished Honor Award, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, he is the author or editor of 15 other books, including the bestselling *The World: A Brief Introduction*, *A World in Disarray*, and *Foreign Policy Begins at Home*.

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**D**eep political divisions make it difficult — or even impossible — to design and implement a steady foreign policy at a time when what happens in the world deeply affects what happens at home.

— **Richard Haass**

*The Bill of Obligations: The Ten Habits of Good Citizens*

# Can Knowledge Make the World More Secure?

Through its grantmaking, the International Program advances knowledge and understanding of issues, regions, and countries as an essential – if imperfect – element of its efforts to reduce global threats and promote cooperative approaches to security challenges

By **Deana Arsenian**

History is a graveyard of wars resulting from the conflict between knowledge and assumptions. As the marking of the 20th anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Iraq has suggested through policy debates and media coverage, assumptions about Iraq's development of weapons of mass destruction were a factor in a war with enormous human, economic, and strategic consequences to the United States, Iraq, and beyond. And as Russia's disastrous invasion of Ukraine has entered its second year, it is clear that Russia's assumptions about Ukraine and its resolve and resilience to fight back have unleashed a tragic war with devastating consequences for Ukraine, Russia, and globally.

More than a century ago, Andrew Carnegie, a Scottish American industrialist and one of the richest men in the world, thought the answer to the pivotal and age-old question “Can knowledge make the world more secure?” was a resolute “yes.” He dedicated the bulk of his fortune to create Carnegie Corporation of New York, a grantmaking foundation with the mandate to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding toward strengthening international peace and education. The quest for peace through knowledge generation, and especially in the social sciences, led the Corporation to be an early supporter of area study

programs at American universities. Following the end of the Second World War, the Corporation granted seed funding that launched the Russian Research Center (now the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies) at Harvard University in 1948 to encourage better understanding of the Soviet Union — America's chief Cold War adversary.

The Corporation continues to be guided by Carnegie's vision that knowledge is essential to societal progress. But this proposition is increasingly tested in today's fractured, divided, and conflictual world dominated by social media and a glut of information, misinformation, and disinformation offered by humans or generated by bots. Does knowledge matter when truth, facts, and even historical evidence are contested? What qualifies as knowledge when people derive their information from what they consider to be the true source of reliable knowledge? What is the value of the diffusion of knowledge when knowledge-seekers turn to outlets that are best aligned with their points of view?

There is a joke: Father asks son, “What's worse, ignorance or apathy?” Replies the son, “Dad, I don't know and I don't care.” Like all jokes, this one has an element of truth. Yet can humanity — now facing existential crises from climate change to the use of nuclear weapons — afford *not*

There is a joke: Father asks son, "What's worse, ignorance or apathy?" Replies the son, "Dad, I don't know and I don't care." Like all jokes, this one has an element of truth.

to seek and rely on knowledge and understanding? Can citizens and governments alike ignore the distinction, as Plato observed, between knowledge that is tethered *to the truth* and mere belief that is not?

Many of today's international challenges stem from post-Cold War geostrategic rivalries and unsettled regional tensions. These and other problems have been exacerbated by climate change, the explosion of social media, rapid technological advances, and the disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. And they have been further aggravated by Russia's war on Ukraine, tension and competition between the United States and China, and divisions between the West and the so-called Global South, which is largely comprised of countries that have not fully backed U.S. and European Union-led sanctions against Russia.

In this environment, the Corporation's International Program continues to advance knowledge and understanding by promoting research, scholarship, and academic networks in the United States and abroad. The current emphases are on reducing the risks posed by nuclear weapons; promoting better understanding of developments in and research relevant to the major power dynamics involving the United States, China, and Russia; advancing scholarship in Africa and in the Arab region;

and narrowing the gap in the United States between the policymaking and academic communities. The ultimate intent of these programs is to increase the likelihood that policy decisions rest on in-depth expertise. And while most Corporation grants go to institutions, fellowships reach individual scholars in the United States and other regions of the Corporation's attention, as well as displaced or at-risk academics in zones of political instability or military conflict.

As history has shown, since the Corporation's creation there have been many cases where knowledge about issues, regions, and countries has contributed to policies that have reduced global threats and promoted cooperative approaches to security challenges. There have also been cases where the lack of knowledge has led to bad policy decisions with costly outcomes. Knowledge alone might not prevent or mitigate negative trends or scenarios in an increasingly complicated and dangerous world. But it remains an essential, even if insufficient, element in making the world more secure. ■

**Deana Arsenian** is vice president of Carnegie Corporation of New York's International Program and program director, Russia and Eurasia.

# Local Problems, Local Expertise

How can **South African** cities address urban accessibility and mobility issues and the marginalizing consequences of past city planning?

By **Angely Montilla**  
Illustrations by **Lori Langille**

*Hazvinei Tsitzi Tamuka*



Moyo



For more than two decades, Carnegie Corporation of New York has invested in the development of thousands of scholars across universities in Uganda, South Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Tanzania. Most of these scholars remain on the African continent, where they are generating knowledge in the region, presenting solutions to development challenges, and informing policy.

**Hazvinei Tsitsi Tamuka Moyo**, a land-use transport modeler, is a former fellow of the Corporation's Next Generation of African Academics initiative. The fellowship supported her PhD research at the University of Cape Town on ways to provide increased transportation access to marginalized groups in Cape Town as well as to populations in low-income suburbs and informal settlements.

## PROBLEM

Across South Africa's cities, congestion is a major issue. Cape Town ranks among the top hundred most congested cities in the world. Like most South African cities, Cape Town is also a relic of apartheid planning where the urban spatial patterns reinforce social exclusion for low-income populations — hindering access to employment, schools, recreation, and more — resulting in inefficiencies and extreme congestion. There is a need for more inclusive and integrated cities in South Africa and a need to understand how the interaction of transport and land use can help advance proactive urban policies.

## SOLUTION

Tamuka Moyo used Metronamica, a dynamic land-use transport model, to simulate and understand land use and transport change in Cape Town. Looking to explain disparities in access to transport in Cape Town, and the opportunities that transport provides to people, Tamuka Moyo considered marginalized groups located away from transport networks, requiring them to spend lots of time commuting to work and recreation. The study recognizes that low-income earners are captive to minibus taxis; therefore, to accurately illustrate the congestion levels, minibus taxis, private cars, and buses are used to model congestion levels on the network. This captures the uniqueness of the Cape Town transport user system by including both formal and informal modes of transport.

Through her integrated land-use transport planning, Tamuka Moyo was able to pinpoint ways to locate affordable housing in accessible locations, to introduce the development of public transportation corridors that support precinct planning, and to integrate transport facilities and land-use developments in surrounding areas. Her research showed how the integration of land use and transport into policymaking can help solve urban issues, revealing the value of urban modeling in assessing the potential impacts of policies before their implementation. ■

**SOURCE** Hazvinei Tsitsi Tamuka Moyo, "The Dynamic Interaction of Land Use and Transport in a Highly Fragmented City: The Case of Cape Town, South Africa" (doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town, June 2019)

# Local Problems, Local Expertise

How can informal settlements become a core element in reconstruction efforts in **Syria** and **Lebanon**?

## PROBLEM

A large proportion of Syria's population lives in informal housing, representing an estimated 30 to 40 percent of total dwellings prior to the 2011 uprising. Moreover, housing insecurity is experienced by displaced Syrians in Lebanon, which has witnessed a huge influx of Syrians fleeing the civil war. Despite its prevalence, informal housing and the rights of the populations living in such housing have not received sufficient attention in recent policy discussions around Syria's reconstruction efforts or with respect to protecting the rights of Syrians to housing. Meanwhile, Syrian displaced individuals and communities living in informal housing in Lebanon are working to secure access to essential services like water, food, and electricity. Ideally, access to such services should be seen as indissolubly linked to the rights of citizens — but in practice, the distribution of such goods in Lebanon is not equal. Access to goods and services by displaced populations in Lebanon is further complicated by the nature of the country's political economy, where Syrian refugees are often only able to acquire and secure their rights through informal networks.



For more than two decades, Carnegie Corporation of New York has supported academic and scholarly communities in the Middle East, funding scholars across fields and social science disciplines, fostering international networks, and promoting knowledge-based policy discourse. The Corporation has invested in hundreds of scholars across the region whose research is applied by both academic and nonacademic users to help solve local challenges. These investments include support of threatened and displaced scholars who are working effectively despite conflict and academic freedom challenges.

Syrian academic and architect **Ahmad Sukkar**, a member of the Middle East Studies Association Global Academy, an interdisciplinary initiative funded by the Corporation, has researched the role of informal settlements in Syria as well as in Lebanon's reconstruction efforts.

## SOLUTION

Sukkar and his team argue that informal housing needs to be a core element in addressing both housing insecurity issues in Syria and the lack of goods and services for displaced populations in Lebanon. They contend that informal housing must be recognized in the legal frameworks surrounding government policies for the provision of affordable housing, goods, and services that are outside of — but not necessarily disconnected from — the formal purview of the state. In Lebanon, most citizens are already accessing resources such as water, food, and electricity from the informal sector. Through their research, Sukkar and his team demonstrate that the massive informal reality of cities, which predates the regional conflict, demands that the urban planning systems of Syria and Lebanon and their legislative frameworks involve a recognition of informal land tenure. ■

**SOURCES** Ahmad Sukkar, Sawsan Abou Zainedin, and Hani Fakhani, *Informal Settlements in Syria: What Approach After the Conflict?* (Paris: Arab Reform Initiative, 2021) and Ahmad Sukkar, Hani Fakhani, and Sawsan Abou Zainedin, *Syrian (In)formal Displacement in Lebanon: Displacement as Urbanism, Informality as Architecture* (Beirut: Asfari Institute for Civil Society and Citizenship, 2020)

**Angely Montilla** is the editorial assistant at Carnegie Corporation of New York, where she works on the production of digital, multimedia, and print content that supports the grantmaking goals of the foundation. Previously, she was a Writer's Workshop fellow at Vox Media.

**Lori Langille** is a collage illustrator and stationery designer based in Ontario whose work blends vintage imagery with minimalism. She studied fine arts at the University of Ottawa before going on to earn a degree in illustration from the Ontario College of Art and Design (today OCAD University).



# What Knowledge Is Needed for the U.S. to Navigate Evolving Foreign Policy Challenges

From fluency in the history, culture, language, and politics of regions and countries to prioritizing area studies to better understand what drives partners and competitors, experts on Russia, nuclear security, and international affairs offer perspectives on what is needed to navigate the foreign policy challenges of today and tomorrow

By **Deana Arsenian**

**A**s a foundation with a historical commitment to improving the ability of the United States to understand international issues and foreign countries, Carnegie Corporation of New York solicited expert views following Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. This article provides answers (of 100 words or fewer) from experts on Russia, nuclear security, and international affairs more broadly to the question: **What knowledge is needed for the U.S. to navigate evolving foreign policy challenges?**

In the spirit of the Corporation's mission to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding, the responses shed light on developments that will impact national policies and international relations for the foreseeable future.

## **Michael David-Fox**

Director, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University

The U.S. needs a new generation of experts whose knowledge is both deep and broad. In my view, depth implies fluency in the history, culture, and politics of regions and countries. It is acquired not only from academics but from in-country experience and hands-on

training from practitioners. A sine qua non of depth is advanced language skills and research capabilities in foreign languages because language is a window into culture and worldview. In today's world, breadth requires comparative capabilities, thematic and theoretical expertise across borders, and global sweep. Breadth without depth is superficial; depth without breadth is myopic.

## **Theodore P. Gerber**

Director, Wisconsin Russia Project; Conway-Bascom Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Policymakers need up-to-date, nuanced knowledge about Russia's complex society and culture to craft effective responses to foreign policy challenges posed by Russia. The Putin regime's subjugation of Russia's universities to its political agenda imperils three decades of progress building a world-class social science community within top Russian institutions. The destruction of this community will deprive scholars, journalists, and officials in the United States of access to a vital source of tacit knowledge about Russia, at a time when other avenues of access have been abruptly closed off. Russian social science capacity must be sustained outside of Russia to preserve its insights.



As students protested, the University of Bonn's main building is illuminated to show solidarity with the Ukrainian people after the Russian attack on Ukraine. CREDIT: YING TANG/NURPHOTO VIA GETTY IMAGES

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We have to dispense with the twin illusions of convergence by globalization (that we are all pursuing the same ends, primarily as defined through economics) and Internet connectivity (that ready access to information obviates the need for deep analytical expertise).

– **Nikolas Gvosdev**, Carnegie Council Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

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**Francesca Giovannini**

Executive Director, Project on Managing the Atom, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School | @fgiovannini123

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The international landscape is increasingly marked by contradictions, complexity, and opportunities. Specific skills and knowledge will be paramount to thrive in such an environment: 1) systemic thinking to design policies that operate across domains rather than in silos, 2) designing policies in a time of social media and information warfare will require greater communication skills and effective strategies to address disinformation in a constructive and timely fashion, and 3) bringing history and cultural sociology back to the table to understand not only how technology works but what norms and values underpin its use and deployment in any given society.

**Nikolas Gvosdev**

Carnegie Council Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs

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We have to dispense with the twin illusions of convergence by globalization (that we are all pursuing the same ends, primarily as defined through economics) and Internet connectivity (that ready access to information obviates the need for deep analytical expertise), as well as the expectation that any country’s policies can be

understood by reference to abstract paradigms. It thus becomes easier to substitute “what we would like to see” as opposed to what other states will actually do. We have to bring back and prioritize “area studies” to better understand what drives both our partners and our competitors.

**Michael Kimmage**

Professor of History, Catholic University of America | @mkimmage

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A key variable for U.S. foreign policy at the moment is Russian public opinion. There are long-established structures in academia, in the public sphere, and in government for analyzing the Kremlin, its personnel, its priorities, and its actions. There are fewer structures for understanding Russian public opinion. Survey data alone is not enough. What we need is a comprehensive view of Russia society and of the ways in which it is, and will be, changing because of the war in Ukraine, incorporating the different social classes, the different ethnicities, the different religious groups, and the many regions of this enormous country. Going forward, a great deal will depend on the state-society relationship in Russia. It is not an easy relationship to piece together but when clearly perceived it is a crucial indicator of the future course of the war as it is of Putin’s domestic political and foreign policy choices.

## Marlene Laruelle

Director, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies,  
George Washington University

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The U.S. needs to have a granular knowledge of Russian society and Russian elites, of the evolution of their mindset, and what unites and what divides them. This should come from both U.S. experts and from insiders from Russia. This means increasing funding for building Russia expertise in U.S. universities, especially language knowledge, the social sciences, and history, as well as welcoming Russian scholars in exile who can provide unique insights, and therefore changing the U.S. visa policy to welcome those experts who will contribute to informing the U.S. policy community.

## Jade McGlynn

Senior Researcher, Monterey Initiative in Russian Studies, Middlebury  
Institute of International Studies at Monterey | @DrJadeMcGlynn

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Since the end of the Cold War, the U.S. has systematically divested from area studies knowledge. Yet navigating current and future foreign policy challenges requires specialized understanding of Russia and China, in particular. It is imperative that policymakers have access to expertise on the domestic context in which decisions are made and on the historical legacies that inform such decisions. To do so, it could introduce a new version of the National Defense Education Act targeting lacunae in knowledge of languages, cultures, science, and technology, ensuring the U.S. can understand — and compete in — crucial economic and foreign policy spheres.

## Julie Newton

Principal Investigator, University Consortium, St. Antony's College,  
University of Oxford

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The U.S. must reinvest in area studies, exchanges, and scholarships to combat our reflex to oversimplify (“essentialize”) conflicts with adversarial states, such as Russia and China, into black-and-white narratives about good versus evil, democracy versus autocracy. Such reflexes, worsened by deficits in area-studies knowledge, make us dismiss more complex, contingent, or contextual drivers of confrontation — including security dilemmas, misaligned interests, perceptions/misperceptions, cultural particularities, and emotions. This blinds us to potential compromises or shared interests between adversaries, which in turn shrinks the cooperation that is indispensable for addressing existential global problems. Solutions include more multidisciplinary area studies, student exchanges, and visas for exiled scholars/experts from concerned regions.

## George Perkovich

Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini Chair and Vice President for Studies,  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace | @PerkovichG

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Lack of knowledge is not the primary impediment to U.S. foreign policymaking. Lack of will by competing political factions to use knowledge is the bigger problem. Polarization and the single-minded desire to defeat political opponents results in the prioritization of partisan advantage. Sidelined is the use of knowledge to identify feasible foreign policy objectives and to fashion the compromises necessary for durable progress. The Constitution's requirements that each state have two senators, regardless of population size, and that treaties be ratified by two-thirds of the attending senators, empowers those whose ignorance or political ambitions lead them to reject compromise with foreigners.

## Anna Vassilieva

Professor and Program Head, Russian Studies, and Director, Monterey  
Initiative in Russian Studies, Middlebury Institute of International Studies  
at Monterey

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Watching Western civilization teetering on the edge of an abyss, one wonders whether we can still have a chance to rebuild peaceful coexistence and restore trust between the collective West and Russia. One of the solutions, provided the awakening of political will, would be reinvesting in a strategic empathy approach in the study of international relations. Multidisciplinary programs in language acquisition, area studies, history, literature, and anthropology would offer an in-depth, comprehensive, pragmatic education. This would enable future foreign policy professionals to focus on similarities rather than differences between countries and peoples, empowering them to develop solutions that would strengthen peace and cooperation. ■

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**Deana Arsenian** is vice president of Carnegie Corporation of New York's International Program and program director, Russia and Eurasia.



In December 2022, people stand in a line to receive bread at a humanitarian aid distribution point in the Ukrainian city of Kramatorsk.

CREDIT: ANDRIY ANDRIYENKO/SOPA IMAGES/LIGHTROCKET VIA GETTY IMAGES

# SCHOLARSHIP IN ACTION

The Corporation's Bridging the Gap subprogram connects the policy and academic communities through networks, training, publishing opportunities, and fellowships, providing policy-oriented scholars with the opportunity to have a real-world impact on foreign policy decision-making

By **Stephen J. Del Rosso**

**T**he International Peace and Security program at Carnegie Corporation of New York is motivated by the belief that good policy is informed by good ideas — and good ideas are not formed in a vacuum. With the support of the Corporation's 12th president, Vartan Gregorian, and the foundation's board of trustees, the program's Bridging the Gap subprogram has long sought to provide scholars and policymakers with opportunities to share their knowledge and positively influence foreign policy decision-making.

While most U.S. foundations that support academic research are interested in addressing and influencing “real world” challenges, the Corporation is among the very few focused on political science and the subfield of international relations. Since 2006, the Corporation has provided \$33.5 million to 18 institutions with the aim of connecting policy and academic communities through networks, training, publishing opportunities, research, and fellowships that place academics in government roles.

The Corporation's investments in these areas have made a difference, including by promoting changes in incentive structures within higher education to favor policy relevance and engagement, and by supporting media platforms that disseminate academic insights in an accessible form to policymakers and the public.

On a general level, our grantmaking has expanded and strengthened a network of policy-oriented scholars who are moving into positions of influence in higher education, think tanks, and government. Within higher education, our grantees have reported a gradual shift toward a culture more amenable to rewarding policy-oriented research. Participants in our programs have not only attained tenure-track positions in diverse faculties across the country but also gradually assumed positions on hiring, tenure, and promotion committees that give greater prominence to policy-relevant scholarship and public service. Still, practical barriers remain, hindering broader change at the systems level.

As funders look across sectors to connect rigorous and relevant research to policy and practice, our Bridging the Gap subprogram provides an exemplar in fields beyond international relations for leaders, organizations, and grantmakers who are interested in advancing institutional changes and introducing policy-relevant ideas, reforms, and research that can help solve problems across disciplines and around the world. ■

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**Stephen J. Del Rosso** is senior program director of Carnegie Corporation of New York's International Peace and Security program.

**Brittney Griner, War in Ukraine, Chinese Balloons** TURN THE PAGE for three brief vignettes showing policy-savvy scholars having a very real impact on events that made headlines around the world.



Text by **Kathleen Carroll**

**O**n February 17, 2022, WNBA all-star Brittney Griner landed at Sheremetyevo International Airport near Moscow. It was a familiar journey — she had spent her off-seasons playing in Russia since 2015 and helped win four EuroLeague championships. But the two-time Olympic gold medalist never made it to her team.

After police dogs sniffed hashish oil in her luggage, Griner was detained, convicted of large-scale drug smuggling, and began a nine-year sentence at a penal colony. In early May, the U.S. government had declared she was “wrongfully detained.”

A long-standing U.S. position bars negotiating with terrorist organizations. But what if the detained American is held by an autocratic state, under pretext of some illegal act? As kidnapping scholar **Danielle Gilbert** explained in a widely read essay in the Carnegie Corporation of New York–supported *Washington Post* blog *The Monkey Cage*, the “wrongfully detained” designation empowered the U.S. to negotiate for Griner’s release as a political hostage.

Given Griner’s high profile, the blog post opened the door to a new role for Gilbert: sought-after narrator to the public, and trusted interlocutor of the White House, State Department, WNBA, and Griner’s management. During the player’s 10-month detention, Gilbert explained hostage diplomacy and Griner’s possible paths to release to outlets including NPR, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New Yorker*, and the *Los Angeles Times*. She wrote for *USA Today* and the *Washington Post* and appeared on ABC, NBC, CNN, C-Span, Al Jazeera, and ESPN.

“I thought it was important to participate and address different kinds of audiences, because if I didn’t say yes to an interview, maybe someone else would, and I can only control what I say or bring to the table,” Gilbert says.

Gilbert, a postdoctoral fellow at Dartmouth University who will become an assistant professor at Northwestern University in the fall of 2023, credited her public engagement work to the support and preparation she received from programs funded by the Corporation. She participated in the New Era Foreign Policy Conference (today, the New Era Workshop) in 2014, the Responsible Public Engagement Institute in 2021, and the International Policy Summer Institute (IPSI) during Griner’s detention in 2022.

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A long-standing U.S. position bars negotiating with terrorist organizations. But what if the detained American is held by an autocratic state, under pretext of some illegal act?  
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Crucially, the 2022 institute included a hands-on media training component that gave Gilbert on-camera practice time, feedback, and concrete tips to speaking clearly and effectively on camera. That same week, she put this training to use in an interview with *Good Morning America*. A meeting with a *Foreign Affairs* editor at the conference led to her publishing a definitive essay on hostage-taking later that summer.

“That article has opened up many doors with the hostage recovery enterprise in the United States government, and they are thinking very seriously about and engaging with the arguments I made in that piece,” says Gilbert. Her engagement with the White House included a closed-door brainstorming session with policymakers before Griner was ultimately released in a prisoner swap in December 2022. More recently, she has briefed the *Wall Street Journal* on strategies to free Evan Gershkovich, a Moscow-based correspondent who was arrested and charged with espionage in March 2023 and has been declared “wrongfully detained” by the U.S. government.

“The Responsible Public Engagement training became so important to me as I thought through what ethical engagement would look like in this process. How much should I be focused on the truth versus being helpful? How much does it matter that the White House and Brittney Griner’s community and other entities are happy with or unhappy with what I am saying?” she says. “The outlet of *The Monkey Cage*, the training of the Responsible Public Engagement Institute, the training of IPSI have all worked together to make me as prepared as I could have been.” ■



WNBA All-Star and two-time Olympic gold medalist Brittney Griner, who was detained at an airport near Moscow and charged with illegal possession of cannabis, leaves a courtroom after a Russian court found her guilty of smuggling and storing narcotics on August 4, 2022.

CREDIT: KIRILL KUDRYAVTSEV/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

Text by **Kathleen Carroll**

**A**t the end of 2021, senior leaders in the United States and the Western world were working frantically toward an urgent goal: dissuade Russia from invading Ukraine. At the same time, an interagency “tiger team” organized by the National Security Council engaged in a series of “what if?” planning exercises, crafting robust plans for a range of potential scenarios, from cyberattacks to a full-scale, mass-casualty invasion.

This commitment to contingency planning was informed by the chaotic U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan in August 2021. Later that fall, as U.S. intelligence agencies tracked a troubling buildup of Russian troops on the Ukraine border, Alexander Bick and Rebecca Lissner cowrote a memo recommending the U.S. actively plan for a variety of possible war scenarios. Both were then directors for strategic planning at the National Security Council and had participated in IPSCON, where senior scholars lead graduate students in team-based analyses of historic foreign-policy decisions at critical junctures. Lissner is now deputy national security advisor to Vice President Kamala Harris and Bick is a senior advisor and member of the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State.

“The way we approached the possible invasion was based in part on discussions we had at IPSCON about uncertainty, bureaucratic politics, and the way that people remain focused on the near term rather than thinking about the longer term,” says Bick.

In Afghanistan, “we had planned based largely on what we thought would happen, not on what might happen,” he says. “With Russia, the main effort was correctly focused on deterring Putin from invading Ukraine. But we couldn’t know if those efforts would succeed, and we did know that if they did not, the consequences would be enormous. Therefore, we laid out a number of scenarios of what might happen, and then enumerated the policy questions that we would need to answer as an administration in the event that any of those scenarios took place sequentially.”

Bick was tasked with leading a tiger team of experts from the departments of Defense, Energy, Treasury, and Homeland Security, as well as the U.S. Agency for International Development and the intelligence

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The team organized and conducted these “what if” planning simulations, including for cabinet officials, who weighed factors such as the scale of the invasion, both sides’ willingness to fight, and international cooperation.  
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community. They probed a series of possible alternative conditions and outcomes, analyzed how these counterfactuals should inform policy, and weighed responses. Over the next several months, the team organized and conducted these “what if” planning simulations, including for cabinet officials, who weighed factors such as the scale of the invasion, both sides’ willingness to fight, and international cooperation, and explored possible complementary actions through military, energy, and banking policy. President Biden reviewed the playbook and was briefed on the team’s analysis.

When Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022, the U.S., Western allies, and Japan moved quickly to freeze its international bank assets. Early scenario planning also informed efforts to draft public messaging that could dispel disinformation being circulated by Russia and allowed Western allies to preposition humanitarian supplies in and around Ukraine.

“This process enabled us to have a deliberate planning process where we thought through a range of things that could happen, thought through what we would need to do, and began to put those things into motion,” Bick says. “Our readiness enabled us to mobilize a broad coalition of countries to support Ukraine at a critical moment. And it demonstrates the power of programs like IPSCON to bridge the gap, turning the latest academic research and training into better public policy.” ■



Demonstrators carrying a giant Ukrainian flag march during a rally in support of Ukraine in Santa Monica, California, on March 12, 2022.  
CREDIT: RINGO CHUI/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

Text by **Kathleen Carroll**

In early February 2023, U.S. Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken was scheduled to visit China and meet with President Xi Jinping — the first such meeting in six years. But days before the trip, reports of a Chinese balloon floating over Montana made their way into the media. U.S. officials tracked and ultimately shot down a 200-foot-tall, multiton, high-tech “surveillance balloon.” Blinken’s trip was canceled.

Throughout the news cycle, newspapers, magazines, and radio and television broadcasters called on **Jessica Chen Weiss**, a well-regarded China expert and professor at Cornell University, to share her perspective. Since completing a fellowship as a senior advisor on the policy-planning staff at the U.S. Department of State, Weiss has shared her concerns about a relatively hawkish stance on China that has taken root throughout Washington.

“In some ways, the fellowship was career-defining,” says Weiss. “The exposure and experience that I had while in government, thinking about what U.S. foreign policy ought to be rather than just what China was doing, was a different way of thinking. It put me in a good position to offer both a policy critique and policy suggestions, lent a fair bit of credibility to things that I say, and it sharpened my understanding of the issue set.”

Weiss sought out the International Affairs Fellowship for Tenured International Relations Scholars opportunity during a sabbatical year in 2021–22, with an eye on contributing to China policy in a still-young Biden-Harris administration. At the end of the Corporation-supported fellowship, she published a definitive essay in *Foreign Affairs* outlining the potential pitfalls of the nation’s confrontational approach. In addition, she has written about the U.S.-China “action-reaction spiral” dynamic for the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, and has explained her thinking during in-depth podcasts with Ezra Klein and Jon Stewart. She was also profiled in the *New Yorker*.

“I believe there is an important role for those with deep expertise on China to play, both in terms of training the next generation by teaching from an academic platform, and also by contributing to the public conversation about China and our government’s policies toward China,” she



I believe there is an important role for those with deep expertise on China to play, both in terms of training the next generation by teaching from an academic platform, and also by contributing to the public conversation about China and our government’s policies toward China. It can be challenging because academia is more analytical rather than prescriptive.

– **Jessica Chen Weiss**



says. “It can be challenging because academia is more analytical rather than prescriptive.”

“That work needs to continue, but what I’m doing right now — which is trying to shape what should be, as opposed to understanding what is — requires deciding that it’s too important to only speak based on what the peer-reviewed research can show. I recognize that if I don’t speak, other people are going to fill that space on the basis of a lot less research and knowledge.” ■

**Kathleen Carroll** is an award-winning investigative and public service journalist. A graduate of McGill University in Montreal, Canada, she is the author of the Corporation report *Bridging the Gap: How Scholarship Can Inform Foreign Policy for Better Outcomes* (2023) and coeditor of *Follow the Science to Elementary School* (John Catt Educational, 2022).



Sailors assigned to Explosive Ordnance Disposal Group 2 recover a high-altitude surveillance balloon off the coast of Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, February 5, 2023. A missile fired by a U.S. F-22 off the Carolina coast ended the dayslong flight of what the Biden administration says was a surveillance operation that took the Chinese balloon near U.S. military sites. This unprecedented incursion across U.S. territory raised concerns among Americans about a possible escalation in spying and other challenges from rival China. CREDIT: U.S. NAVY VIA AP

### TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE

**READ THE FULL REPORT:** *Bridging the Gap: How Scholarship Can Inform Foreign Policy for Better Outcomes* (2023) offers recommendations for leaders, organizations, and grantmakers who are working to advance institutional change and introduce policy-relevant ideas, reforms, and research that can help solve problems across disciplines worldwide.



# How to Stabilize U.S.-China Relations

During a particularly fraught period in U.S.-China relations, Corporation grantees offered perspectives on how to move toward bilateral stability

By **Stephen J. Del Rosso**

Carnegie Corporation of New York's current grantmaking on China, which began nearly 20 years ago, has its roots in the early decades of the last century. In 1913, the Corporation made a grant of \$200,000 (equivalent to about \$6 million in 2023) to what became known as the Chinese Educational Commission, supporting Chinese students studying at U.S. colleges and universities. Today, our grantmaking focuses on fostering a new generation of China experts, supporting policy-relevant scholarly research to better understand China, and promoting Track II dialogue between Chinese experts and officials and their counterparts in the United States and the Asia-Pacific region.

Growing Sino-American tensions over the war in Ukraine, the uncertain fate of Taiwan, disputes in the South China Sea, and economic decoupling, among other challenges, threaten to have enormous consequences for global peace and security. In March 2023, inspired by the abiding commitment of our founder, Andrew Carnegie, to conflict prevention, we invited grantees to respond (in approximately 100 words or fewer) to the question:

**What single step could the United States and China individually take to help stabilize their bilateral relationship?**

The following experts suggest that there are actions on each side that could help lower the temperature in this increasingly adversarial relationship.

## Jude Blanchette

Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken should give a major speech clearly and convincingly upholding the United States' long-standing One-China policy. Chinese leader Xi Jinping should reciprocate with a speech or major article that clearly articulates that Beijing sees the path to "reunification" as a long-term one, and one that will only travel the road of peace and persuasion. Both countries must then follow up with actions that match their statements.

## Keisha Brown

Associate Professor, Tennessee State University; Cofounder and Co-CEO, Black China Caucus | [@DocKBrown85](#)

Within the complicated landscape of U.S.-China bilateral relations, one potential step that both sides can take is to reinvigorate people-to-people relations. The benefits of such a policy lie in its simplicity, in light of how the chasm of understanding between these nations and peoples has widened in recent years. The ability to foster relationships that will facilitate understanding, cooperation, and collaboration at the individual level is a cornerstone that needs to be encouraged in order to help usher in a new era of U.S.-China relations that both reengages experts in the field and inspires those entering the space.



A woman in Beijing on August 4, 2022, uses her mobile phone as she walks by a large screen showing a news broadcast about China's military exercises encircling Taiwan after a visit to the island by Nancy Pelosi, then speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. CREDIT: NOEL CELIS/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

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To stabilize the bilateral relationship, China and the United States should make efforts to establish and sustain high-level communication channels and to develop over time a set of principles and operating mechanisms to better manage the U.S.-China relationship despite the growing list of differences.

– **Paul Haenle**, Maurice R. Greenberg Director’s Chair, Carnegie China, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

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**Robert Daly**

Director, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, The Wilson Center

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China should strike from its domestic and global pronouncements the claim that all friction in bilateral relations is the fault of the United States. It should accept that competition will characterize Sino-U.S. relations for decades to come. Reality-based dialogue may then be possible. The U.S. should articulate a new One-China policy — one it truly believes in — and then abide by it. The new formulation must include opposition to Taiwan’s independence and China’s use of force and must reject the idea that Taiwan is an American asset. American leaders who stray from the new formulation should be reprimanded.

**M. Taylor Fravel**

Arthur and Ruth Sloan Professor of Political Science and Director, Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology | [@fravel](#)

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As the world’s largest economies, with the largest defense budgets and armed with nuclear weapons, the United States and China must find a modus vivendi in their relationship. One approach would be for each country to identify what they view as the other’s legitimate interests and thus set the terms of coexistence. Doing so would be politically fraught for leaders in both capitals, but even if only in private and unofficially, such an agreement can shape the scope, intensity, and — in some cases — limits of competition between the two.

**Paul Haenle**

Maurice R. Greenberg Director’s Chair, Carnegie China, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace | [@paulhaenle](#)

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Among the many challenges of the U.S.-China relationship, perhaps the most pressing is the lack of high-level and robust communication channels, including military-to-military dialogues. To stabilize the bilateral relationship, China and the United States should make efforts to establish and sustain high-level communication channels and to develop over time a set of principles and operating mechanisms to better manage the U.S.-China relationship despite the growing list of differences. The alternative to managing competition would be greater confrontation or, worse yet, conflict that neither country wants.

**Bonny Lin**

Director, China Power Project, and Senior Fellow, Asian Security, Center for Strategic and International Studies

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The relationship between the United States and China is dominated by competition and distrust — each views the other’s ambitions and activities as aimed at undermining its own position and interests. Domestic factors incentivize leaders to adopt tougher positions than to find common ground. Within this current context, there is no single step that both sides can embrace that is politically feasible and can substantially improve or “stabilize” the relationship from tensions. Instead, to slow the rapid deterioration of relations, both countries should maintain as much connectivity as possible, including diplomatic and military engagements and trade, and increase people-to-people exchanges.

## Nadège Rolland

Distinguished Fellow, China Studies, The National Bureau of Asian Research | [@RollandNadege](#)

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The antagonism between the United States and China runs too deep for their relationship to be fixed by any simple unilateral gesture. Like its predecessors, the current Chinese political leadership continues to believe that the U.S. is a hostile power that wants to thwart China's rise, constrain its strategic space, and terminate the rule of the Chinese Communist Party. The best both countries could do is to try to reduce the risk of accidental confrontation at sea, as well as in the air, space, outer space, and cyber domains. This could only work if both sides were equally serious in their willingness to negotiate.

## Orville Schell

Arthur Ross Director, Center on U.S.-China Relations, Asia Society | [@orvilleschell](#)

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We are at a dangerous inflection point. With “engagement” rendered dysfunctional as an operating system, U.S.-China relations have been left hurtling toward an ever more dangerous precipice. President Biden should call up Xi Jinping and propose that each appoint three trusted former officials or policy experts, have them meet in Singapore, come up with a list of possible off-ramps or policy proscriptions, and then submit them to the two leaders for their consideration. Then Biden and Xi would meet themselves to consider how these policy suggestions might serve to put U.S.-China relations on a different and more stable basis.

## Susan Shirk

Research Professor and Founding Chair, 21st Century China Center, UC San Diego | [@SusanShirk1](#)

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Competition between the U.S. and China should become a race to the top: investing more and achieving more without closing doors to collaboration. The secret of American success has always been its openness. Openness ensures a flow of global talents into the country and, combined with some narrowly targeted measures to manage the risks of openness, it offers the best way to compete with China. The exclusionary approaches currently favored in the U.S. will do lasting damage to American society, higher education, and the economy. The U.S. is competing with China by becoming more like China — nationalist, fixated on security, and politicizing the market economy — instead of becoming a better version of itself.

## Yun Sun

Senior Fellow and Codirector, East Asia Program, and Director, China Program, The Stimson Center | [@Stimson\\_EAsia](#)

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Between the U.S. and China, domestic politics has become a critical factor driving foreign policy, and usually not in a positive way. It forces both governments to adopt policies knowing the undesired consequences. The single step U.S. and China could take to stabilize relations at these moments is to also consider and adopt positive actions to mitigate the damage. For example, if the speaker of the House must visit Taiwan, the U.S. could send a senior leader to China to convey goodwill. Similarly, if Xi must visit Moscow, he should consider direct engagement with Europe, and Ukraine, to neutralize the impact.

## Susan Thornton

Director, Forum on Asia-Pacific Security, National Committee on American Foreign Policy | [@suea\\_thornton](#)

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The U.S. and China should resume regular flights between the two countries as soon as possible, as well as smooth out obstacles to visa issuance. Let people travel and meet! Washington should also reschedule Secretary Blinken's visit to Beijing.

## Jessica Chen Weiss

Michael J. Zak Professor for China and Asia-Pacific Studies, Cornell University | [@jessicaweiss](#)

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Given the interest of both governments in putting a floor under the relationship, the most important step would be a tacit agreement to limit actions that could trigger a crisis or sharp escalation, particularly around Taiwan but also in the South China Sea. In my view, the most effective guardrails against a near-term crisis would involve mutual reductions in the frequency of close-in operations that increase risk and aggravate tensions without meaningfully bolstering defense and deterrence, whether in the South China Sea or the Taiwan Strait. So long as both governments continue to take unilateral actions to defend and assert their interests without accompanying efforts to negotiate plausible bounds around competition and terms of coexistence, efforts to deter and deny the other side will only accelerate the action-reaction spiral, undercutting the assurances necessary to make deterrence work. ■

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**Stephen J. Del Rosso** is senior program director of Carnegie Corporation of New York's International Peace and Security program.

# the COSTS OF WAR

Hate breeds hate,  
quarrel breeds quarrels, **war breeds war**  
— a hateful progeny.  
It is the poorest of all remedies.  
It poisons as it cures.

— **Andrew Carnegie**

*A League of Peace. A Rectorial Address Delivered to the  
Students in the University of St. Andrews 17th October, 1905*

Concept by **Kenneth Benson** and **Daniel Um**  
Art Direction by **Daniel Um**  
Text by the **Costs of War Project**

**Kenneth Benson** is Carnegie Corporation of New York's editorial manager.  
**Daniel Um** is Carnegie Corporation of New York's principal design director.

## Assessing the Cascading Effects of War

A grantee of Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Costs of War project uses research and a public website to facilitate debate about the costs of the post-9/11 wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and related violence in Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, and elsewhere. There are many hidden or unacknowledged costs of the United States' decision to respond to the 9/11 attacks with military force. The project aims to foster democratic discussion of these wars by providing the fullest possible account of their human, economic, environmental, and political costs, and to foster better informed public policies. Created in 2010 and housed at Brown University's Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, the Costs of War project builds on the work of over 60 scholars, human rights and legal experts, and physicians from around the world.

“There are reverberating costs, the human cost of war, that people in the U.S., for the most part, don't really know or think enough about,” said Stephanie Savell, codirector of the Costs of War project. “We hear talk about the endless war being over now that U.S. troops have left Afghanistan, but one significant way that these wars are continuing is that the people in the war zones are continuing to suffer the consequences. The U.S. has been involved in these really violent wars. There's been an intensification as a result of U.S. involvement. And at this point, the issue is really: How do we come to terms with a sense of responsibility?”

Here follow six spreads — covering war-related deaths (direct and indirect); human displacement (external and internal refugees); the geographic reach of U.S. counterterrorism activities; Afghanistan before and after the U.S. withdrawal; and the budgetary costs of the U.S. post-9/11 wars — that give a data-rich snapshot of the comprehensive nature of the work undertaken by the Costs of War team. As Neta C. Crawford, Costs of War cofounder and codirector and Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the University of Oxford, puts it, “It's hard to convey the cost in lives because of these wars. It's very tough to talk about it. But we have to.”

### The Costs of War Project: Goals

- **To account** for the wars' costs in human lives and the consequences for public health and well-being, both in the U.S. and in the war zones
- **To assess** the wars' budgetary costs, including the financial legacy, as well as the opportunity costs of the U.S. military budget
- **To describe** the scope of the U.S. global military footprint and its political and social impact in the U.S. and around the world
- **To examine** the environmental and ecological impact of the U.S. global military presence, including military carbon emissions
- **To evaluate** alternatives that provide for meaningful, just, and inclusive human safety and security



**HUMAN TOLL**

**905,000–  
940,000**

DIRECT DEATHS IN  
THE POST-9/11 WARS

This is the number of people killed directly in the violence of the wars in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and elsewhere.

## Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Other War Zones

The number of people killed directly in the violence of the post-9/11 wars in five war zones is estimated here.

	Afghanistan	Pakistan	Iraq	Syria/ISIS	Yemen	Other	Total
U.S. Military	2,324		4,599			130	7,053
U.S. DOD Civilian	6		15				21
U.S. Contractors	3,917	90	3,650	19	2	511	8,189
National Military and Police	69,095	9,431	48,337–52,337	51,483		N/A	178,346–182,346
Other Allied Troops	1,144		324	11,000			12,468
Civilians	46,319	24,099	186,694–210,038	138,947	12,690	N/A	408,749–432,093
Opposition Fighters	52,893	32,838	36,806–43,881	67,065	99,321	N/A	288,923–295,998
Journalists/Media Workers	74	87	282	75	33	129	680
Humanitarian/NGO Workers	446	105	64	227	46	8	896
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>176,218</b>	<b>66,650</b>	<b>280,771–315,190</b>	<b>268,816</b>	<b>112,092</b>	<b>778</b>	<b>905,325–939,744</b>
<b>TOTAL (Rounded to Nearest 1,000)</b>	<b>176,000</b>	<b>67,000</b>	<b>281,000–315,000</b>	<b>269,000</b>	<b>112,000</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>905,000–940,000</b>

**NOTE** The time periods covered in this table are: Oct. 2001–Aug. 2021 (Afghanistan and Pakistan); Mar. 2003–Mar. 2023 (Iraq); Sept. 2014–Mar. 2023 (Syria/ISIS); Oct. 2002–Aug. 2021 (Yemen); and Oct. 2001–Dec. 2014 (other post-9/11 war zones).

### TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE

**READ THE FULL REPORT (MARCH 15, 2023):** *Blood and Treasure: United States Budgetary Costs and Human Costs of 20 Years of War in Iraq and Syria, 2003–2023*

The above chart also draws on another, earlier paper (September 1, 2021) by Neta C. Crawford and Catherine Lutz for the rest of the war zones: *Human Cost of Post-9/11 Wars: Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones*.



## HUMAN TOLL

INDIRECT DEATHS

**3.6–3.8  
MILLION**

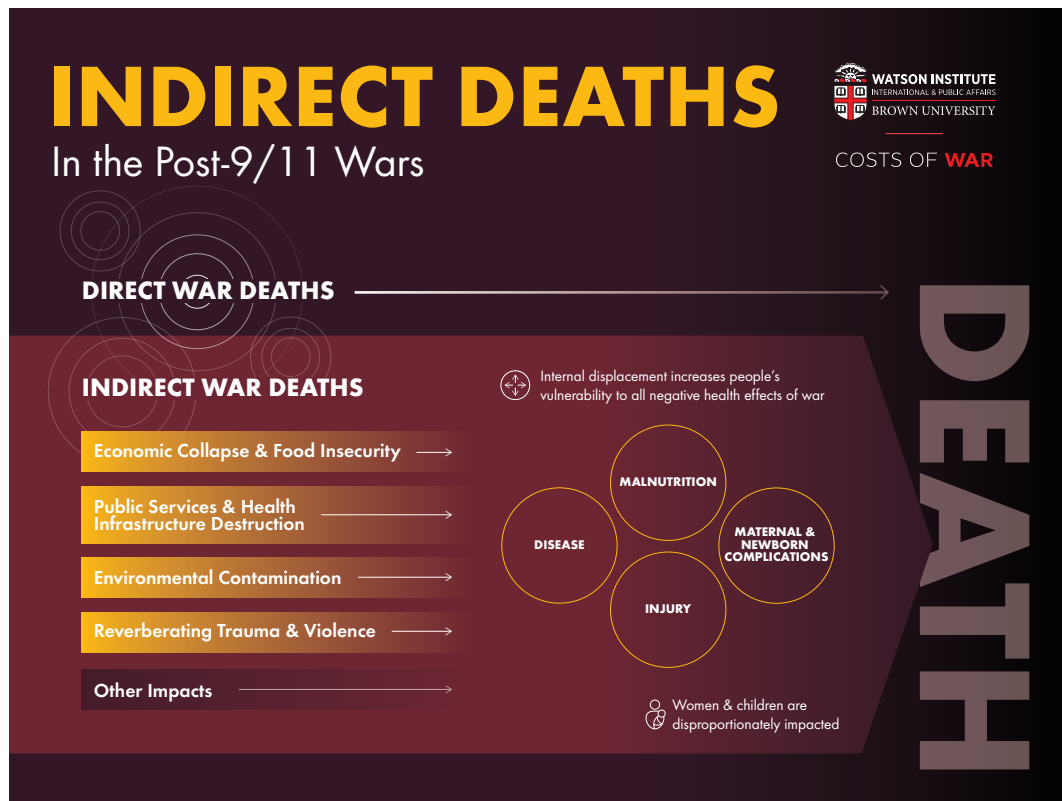
The number of people killed indirectly in post-9/11 war zones, including in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen, is estimated at 3.6–3.8 million, though the precise figure remains unknown.

# How Death Outlives War: The Reverberating Impact of the Post-9/11 Wars on Human Health

The report *How Death Outlives War* (May 15, 2023) reviews the latest research to examine the causal pathways that have led to an estimated 3.6–3.8 million indirect deaths in post-9/11 war zones, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen. With direct deaths, the total death toll in these war zones could be at least 4.5–4.7 million and counting, though the precise mortality figure remains unknown. Some people were killed in the fighting, but far more, especially children, have been killed by the reverberating effects of war, such as the spread of disease.

The report examines the devastating toll of war on human health, whoever the combatant, whatever the compounding factor, in the most violent conflicts in which the U.S. government has been engaged in the name of counterterrorism since September 11, 2001. Rather than teasing apart who or what is to blame, or separating out the negative enduring effects of prior wars and sanctions, this report shows that the post-9/11 wars are implicated in many kinds of deaths.

In laying out how the post-9/11 wars have led to illness and indirect deaths, the report's goal is to build greater awareness of the fuller human costs of these wars and support calls for the United States and other governments to alleviate the ongoing losses and suffering of millions in current and former war zones. The report highlights many long-term and underacknowledged consequences of war for human health, emphasizing that some groups, particularly women and children, suffer the brunt of these ongoing impacts.



**TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE**

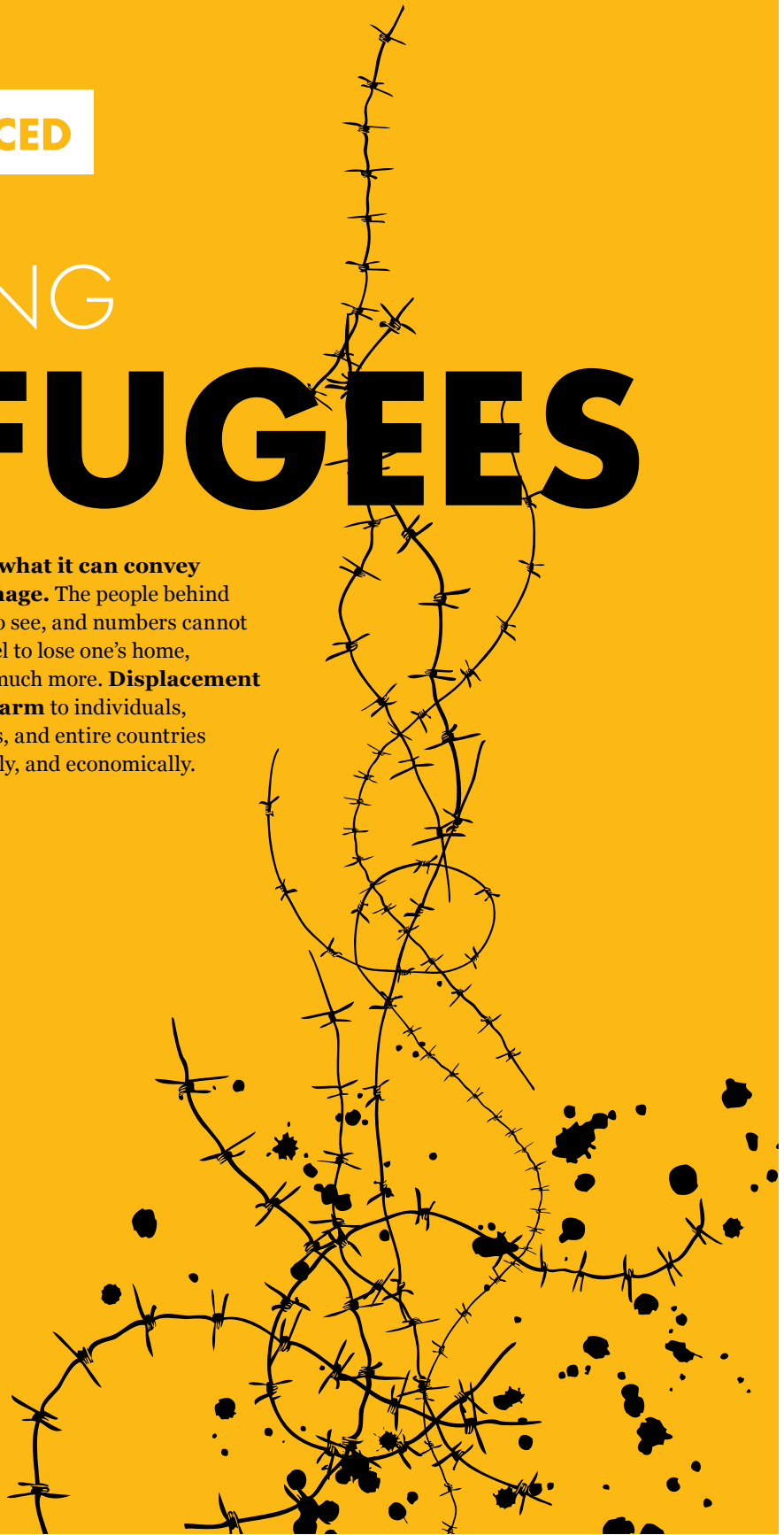
**READ THE FULL PAPER (MAY 15, 2023):** *How Death Outlives War: The Reverberating Impact of the Post-9/11 Wars on Human Health*



PEOPLE DISPLACED

# CREATING REFUGEES

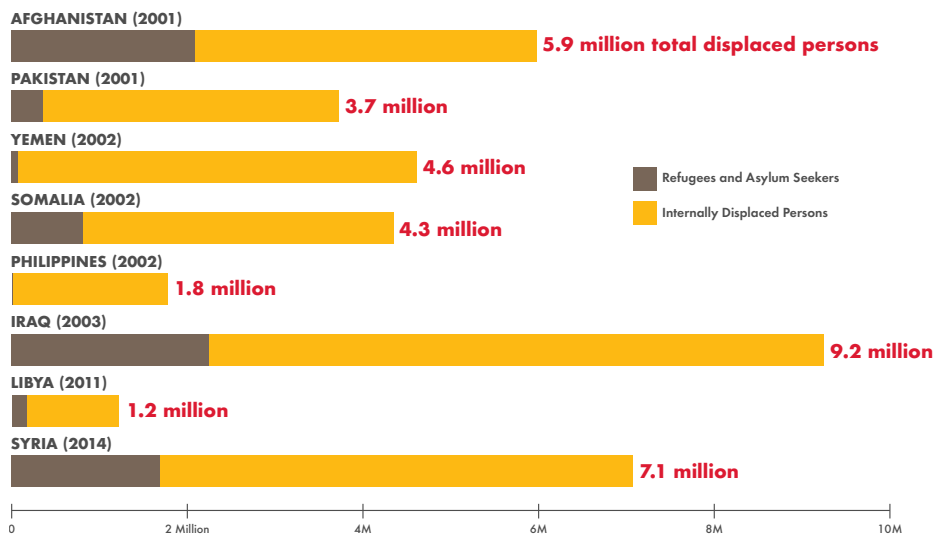
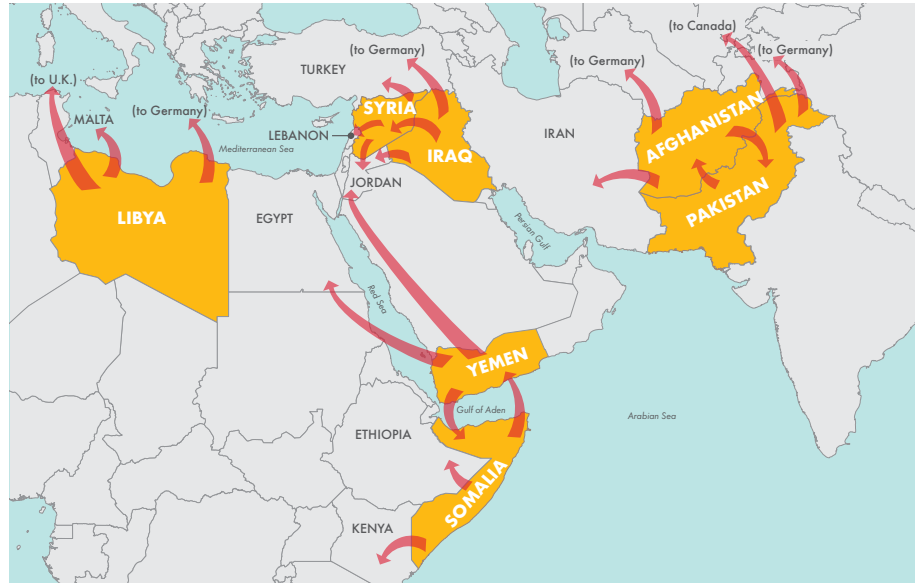
**Any number is limited in what it can convey about displacement's damage.** The people behind the numbers can be difficult to see, and numbers cannot communicate how it might feel to lose one's home, belongings, community, and much more. **Displacement has caused incalculable harm** to individuals, families, towns, cities, regions, and entire countries physically, socially, emotionally, and economically.



# Millions Displaced by the Post-9/11 Wars

**T**hirty-eight million people have been displaced — becoming refugees seeking safety in another country, or becoming internally displaced within their own country — as a result of the wars the U.S. military has fought since 2001. That is more than those displaced by any war or disaster since the start of the 20th century, except for World War II. Although the United States has accepted hundreds of thousands of refugees, most have been hosted by countries in the greater Middle East.

Arrows point to the top three countries where the most refugees and asylum seekers from each war-affected country have fled as of 2019. Arrows for Syria include all displaced Syrians, 2011–2019.



**Dates indicate the start of U.S. military involvement.** Displaced persons data updated through 2020; Syrian and Afghan internally displaced persons data updated through 2021. Syrian data only includes people displaced during years of direct U.S. military involvement in the war and in five provinces where U.S. forces have fought. Key source, updated August 2021: David Vine, Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury, Madison Lovasz, Helen Bush, Rachel Leduc, and Jennifer Walkup, *Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States' Post-9/11 Wars*, Costs of War Project, Brown University, Sept. 21, 2020. MAP AND GRAPHICS BY KELLY MARTIN, WWW.KMARTINDESIGN.COM & INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING WORKSHOP

**TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE**

**READ THE FULL PAPER (SEPTEMBER 21, 2020):** *Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States' Post-9/11 Wars*





## COUNTERTERRORISM ACTIVITY

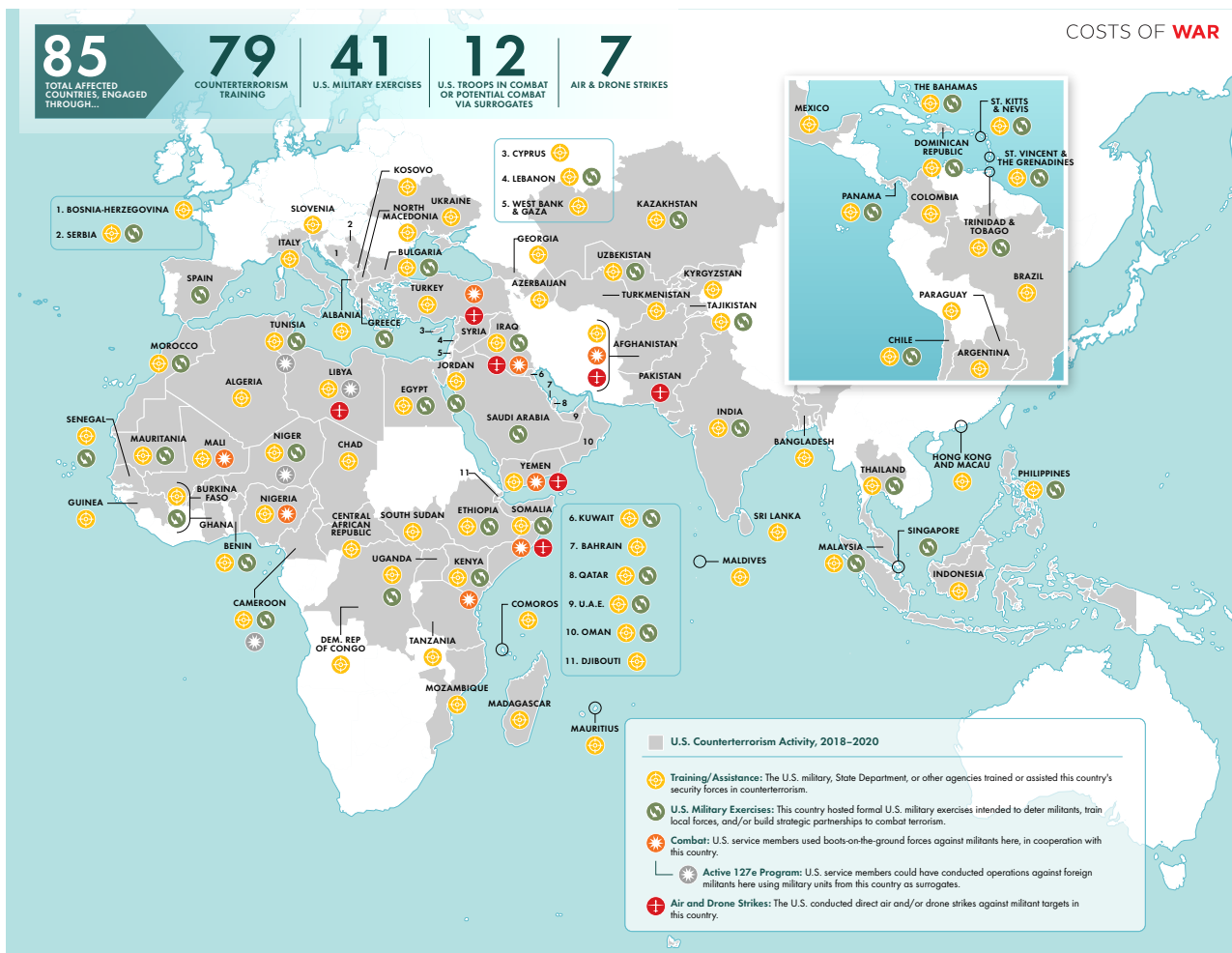
# GEOGRAPHIC REACH **OVER 85** **COUNTRIES**

From 2018 to 2020, the U.S. government undertook what it labeled “counterterrorism” activities in at least 85 countries, in an outgrowth of President George W. Bush’s “Global War on Terror.”

# United States Counterterrorism Operations, 2018–2020

The map illustrates countries in which the U.S. government conducted operations it explicitly described as counterterrorism, in an outgrowth of President George W. Bush’s “Global War on Terror.” These operations included air and drone strikes; on-the-ground combat; so-called “Section 127e” programs in which U.S. special operations forces support “foreign forces, irregular forces, groups, or individuals” engaged in counterterrorism activities; military exercises in preparation for or as part of counterterrorism missions; and operations to train and assist foreign forces. (The map does not comprehensively cover the full scope of U.S. post-9/11 warfare, as it does not document, for instance, U.S. military bases used for counterterror operations, arms sales to foreign governments, or all deployments of U.S. special operations forces.)

Despite the Pentagon’s assertion that the U.S. is shifting its strategic emphasis away from counterterrorism and toward great power competition with Russia and China, examining U.S. military activity on a country-by-country basis shows that there is yet to be a corresponding drawdown of the counterterror apparatus. If anything, the map demonstrates that counterterrorism operations have become more widespread in recent years.



**TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE**

**READ THE FULL PAPER (FEBRUARY 2021):** *United States Counterterrorism Operations 2018–2020*



**BY THE NUMBERS**

# AFGHANISTAN

Examining data before the U.S. war in Afghanistan and after the U.S. withdrawal, this infographic displays indicators of poverty, food insecurity, child malnutrition, women's rights, U.S. spending, and more.



# Afghanistan Before and After 20 Years of War (2001–2021)

	BEFORE THE WAR (PRE-2001)	AFTER THE WAR (2022)
% of Afghans facing food insecurity	62% →	92%
% of children under five experiencing acute malnutrition	9% →	50%* <small>*Projected estimate by UN</small>
% of Afghans living in poverty	80% →	97%* <small>*Projected estimate by UN</small>
Women's rights	HEAVILY RESTRICTED	HEAVILY RESTRICTED

## SINCE 2001

U.S. development aid to Afghanistan

\$36.07 BILLION

U.S. spending on top five military contractors

\$2.1 TRILLION

## IN 2022

1.5 MILLION

AFGHANS LIVING WITH PHYSICAL DISABILITIES

2 MILLION

NUMBER OF AFGHAN WIDOWS

TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE

LIST OF SOURCES & PDF OF INFOGRAPHIC





**20 YEARS OF WAR**

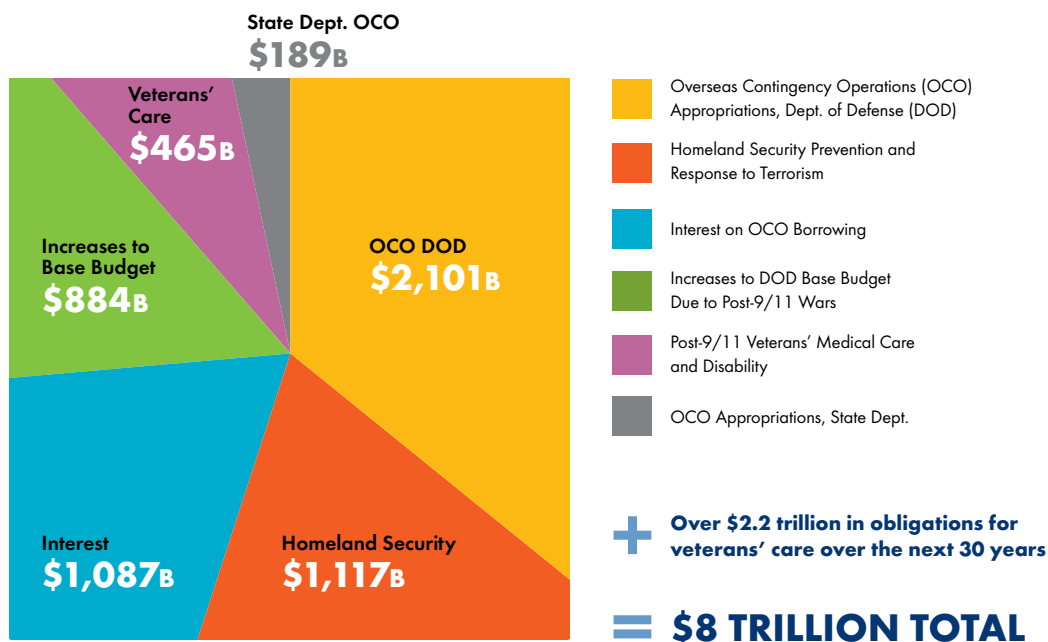
U.S. BUDGETARY  
COSTS

**\$8  
TRILLION**

The vast economic impact of the post-9/11 wars in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, and elsewhere is poorly understood by the U.S. public and policymakers.

## Estimate of U.S. Post-9/11 War Spending, in \$ Billions FY2001–FY2022

The economic impact of the U.S. post-9/11 wars extends beyond the Pentagon’s “Overseas Contingency Operations” (war) budget. This chart and the paper *The U.S. Budgetary Costs of the Post-9/11 Wars* (September 1, 2021) estimate the more comprehensive budgetary costs of the wars, including past expenditures and future obligations to care for veterans of these wars.



### UNITED STATES COSTS OF THE POST-9/11 WARS, FY2001–FY2022

Estimated Congressional Appropriations and Spending in Current Billions of U.S. Dollars, Excluding Future Interest Payments on War Borrowing

Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) (War) Appropriations	\$ Billions*
Department of Defense (DOD) (Incl. \$42 billion request for FY22)	2,101
State Department/USAID (Incl. \$8 billion request for FY22)	189
Estimated Interest on Borrowing for OCO Spending	1,087
Increases to DOD Base Budget Due to Post-9/11 Wars	884
Post-9/11 Veterans' Medical and Disability Care through FY22	465
Homeland Security Prevention and Response to Terrorism	1,117
<b>Total War Appropriations and War-Related Spending through FY22</b>	<b>\$5,843</b>
Estimated Future Obligations for Veterans' Care, FY23–FY50	> 2,200
<b>Total War-Related Spending through FY22 and Estimated Obligations for Veterans' Care through FY50</b>	<b>\$8,043</b>

\*Rounded to the nearest billion. Amounts for FY22 are budget requests

**TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE**

**READ THE FULL PAPER (September 1, 2021):** *The U.S. Budgetary Costs of the Post-9/11 Wars*



# Nuclear Weapons and You

Illustrations by **MONA CHALABI**

According to a new Chicago Council–Carnegie Corporation of New York poll, 6 in 10 Americans want to know more about nuclear weapons. Good thing – because the arms control process is on the rocks and nuclear weapons threats are growing



By **Sharon K. Weiner** and **Samara Shaz**

**T**he war in Ukraine has once again elevated concerns about the use of nuclear weapons, the more so because it comes at a time when Russia, China, and the United States are all modernizing their nuclear arsenals. Over the next 30 years, the United States will spend an estimated \$1.7 trillion on its modernization plan. Russia will soon deploy a new intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), and China is quickly expanding its arsenal.

The arms control process that has reduced, limited, and constrained past nuclear buildups is on the rocks. The last remaining treaty limiting U.S. and Russian nuclear forces — New START — will expire in February 2026 and there is currently no plan or process for what comes next. None of the other seven nuclear weapons states take part in arms control discussions. Meanwhile, North Korea has continued to develop and test its nuclear weapons and long-range, or intercontinental, ballistic missiles. One thing is clear — nuclear threats are growing and evolving.

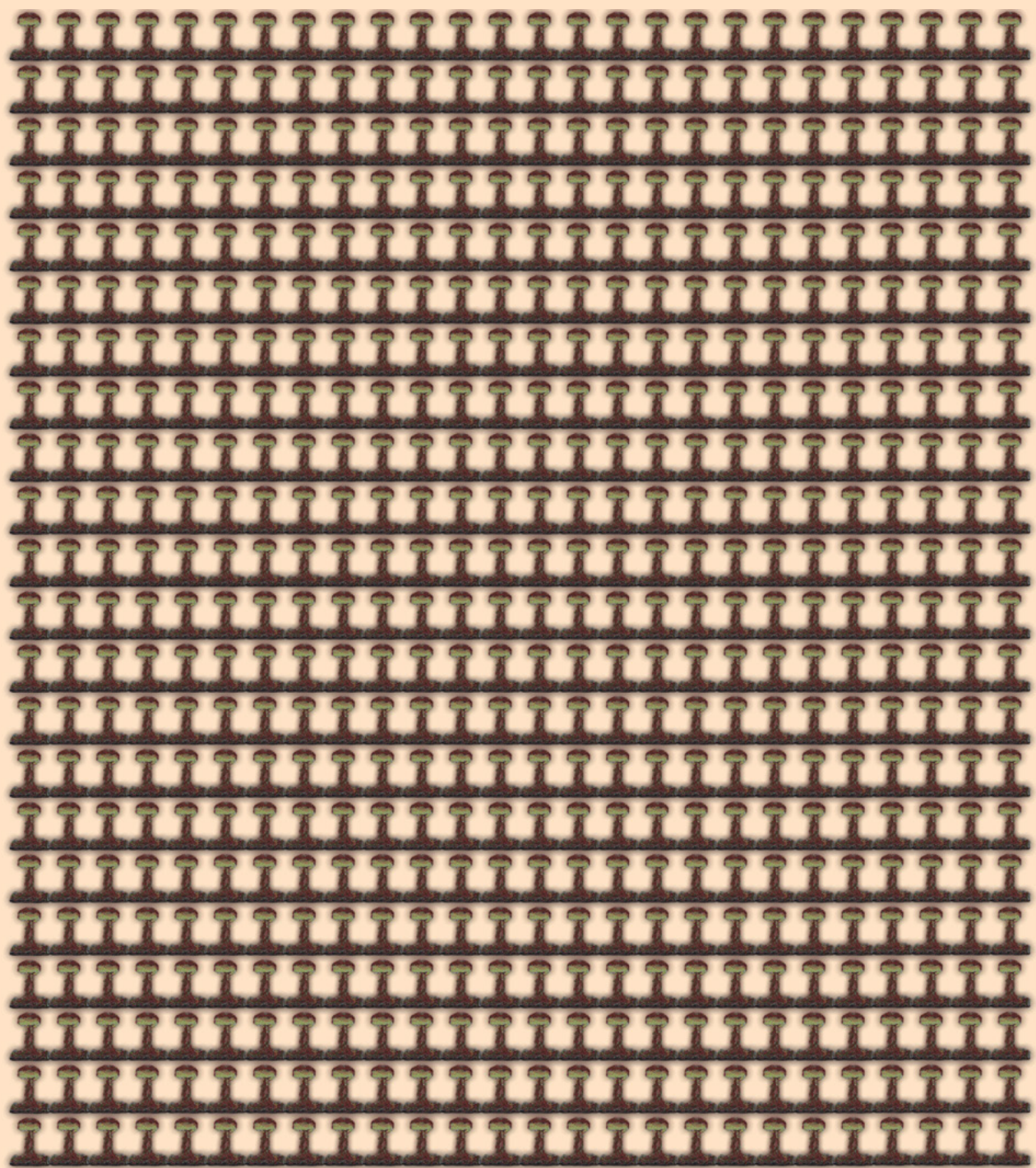
Most Americans, however, spend little if any time thinking about nuclear weapons. Apart from periodic crises, such as the war in Ukraine or a North Korean missile test, nuclear weapons tend to fade into the background. Engagement with their purpose or potential use is easily crowded out by more pressing concerns

and further discouraged by the technology, jargon, and secrecy that often accompany nuclear weapons issues.

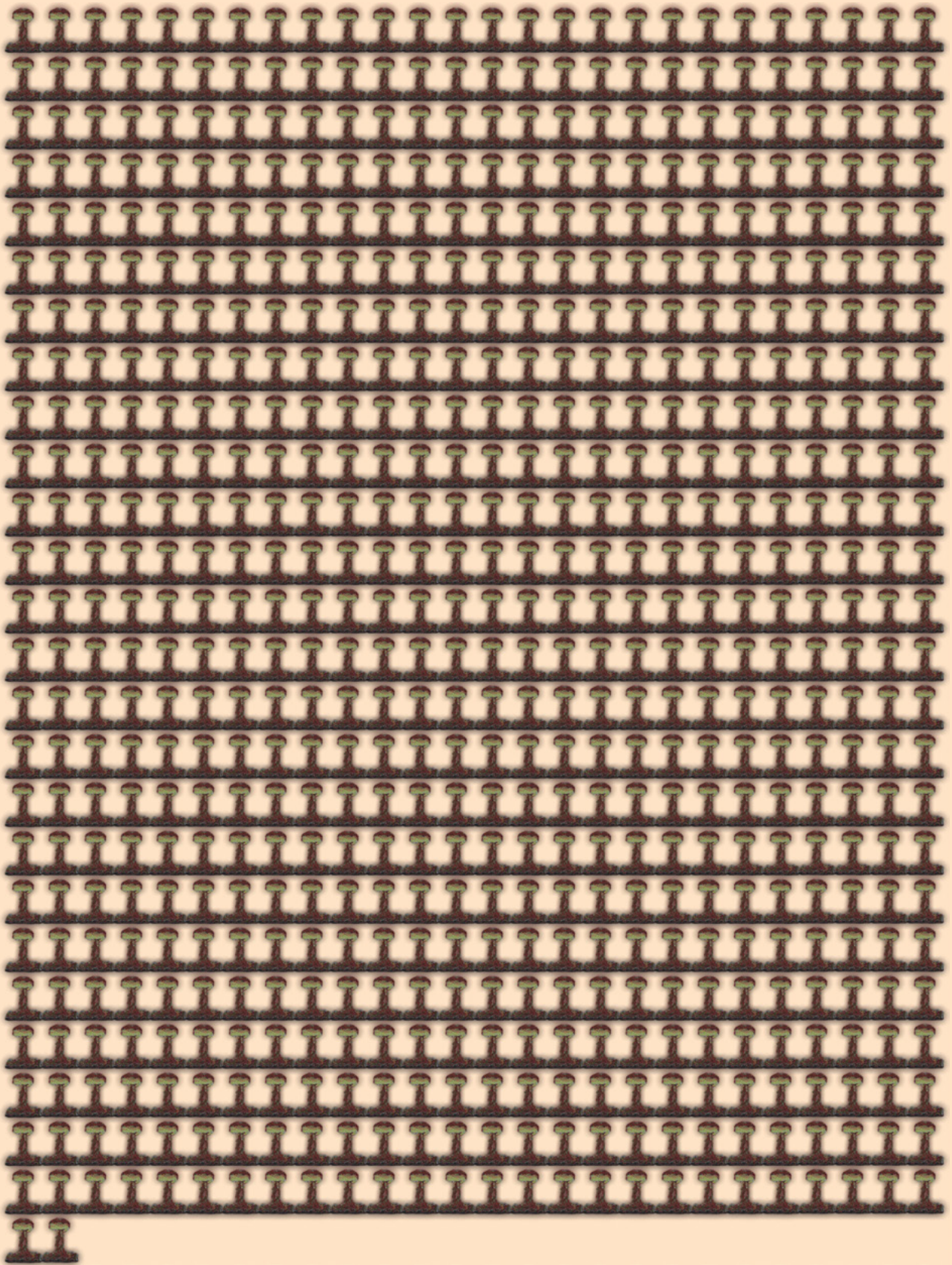
Nuclear weapons policy tends to be made by a very small number of people and either in secret or with little public scrutiny. This includes the ultimate nuclear decision: whether or not to use the weapons. In the United States, the president has sole authority to make such a call. The president *can* consult with advisors, but the final decision does not require consensus, informing members of Congress, or advance notice to the American people. Even the vice president isn't required to play a role.

During the Cold War, concerns about such autocracy were outweighed by the need to launch quickly, should the use of nuclear weapons be deemed necessary. Concerns about a surprise attack, plus the fact that Soviet ICBMs could reach the United States in 30 minutes, meant the president might have to act quickly. Today, however, geopolitical realities make the limited use of small nuclear weapons more likely than a sudden massive strike. Plus, at all times, the United States has a portion of its nuclear arsenal hiding in the ocean. In addition to land-based missiles and bombers, the United States has the equivalent of about 5,000–6,000 Hiroshima-sized nuclear weapons on submarines, creating a secure arsenal that cannot be destroyed in an attack and allowing

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# Nuclear Warhead Inventories

(each icon = 100 Hiroshima equivalents)



N. Korea 

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Israel 

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Pakistan 


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India 

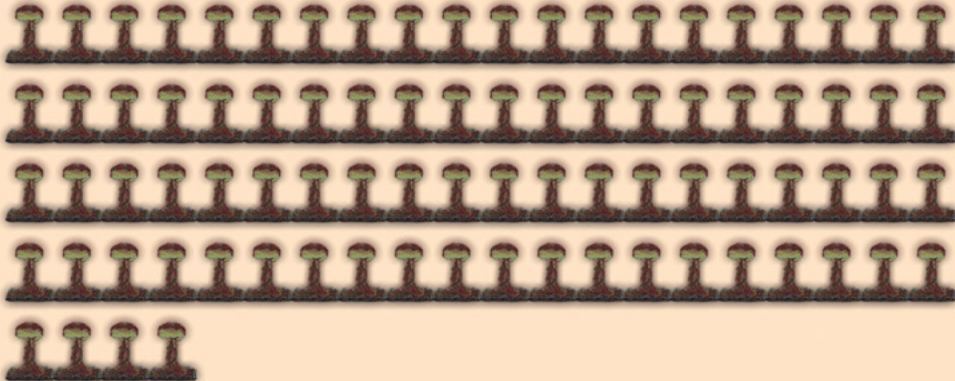
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United Kingdom 

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France 

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China 

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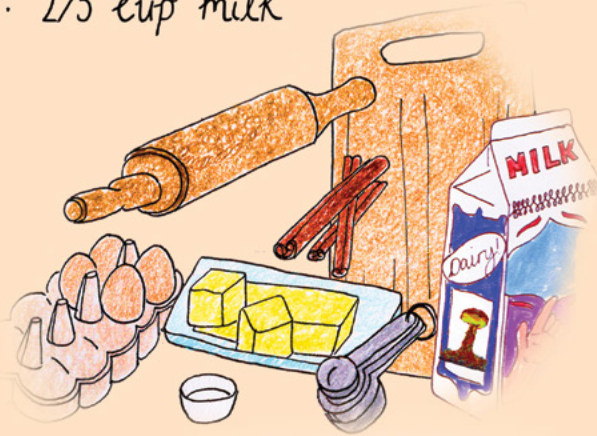
Source: Federation of American Scientists, 2023

# A Recipe for Disaster

Total Time: 15 minutes

## Ingredients:

- 2 cups flour
- 4 tsp baking powder
- 1/2 tsp salt
- 1 stick butter
- 1 egg
- 2/3 cup milk



## Steps:

1. Preheat the oven to 450°F / 225°C and line a baking sheet.
2. In a large bowl, combine flour, baking powder, and salt.
3. Cut in the butter, then add in the eggs and milk.
4. Mix then form the dough into balls and place on sheet.
5. Bake for 10 minutes or until golden brown.

In a nuclear crisis, the president would have less than 15 minutes to decide whether to authorize the use of nuclear weapons. That's about the same amount of time it takes to make drop biscuits.

more time for deliberation. According to a recent poll by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and Carnegie Corporation of New York, 6 in 10 Americans said they were very or somewhat uncomfortable with the president having the sole authority to launch nuclear weapons.

Decisions about how nuclear weapons are used, who they target, and when they need to be upgraded and replaced are made by a larger, but still small, group of people. These experts, some working in bureaucracies, some in for-profit companies, are the ones tasked with the day-to-day business of managing the nuclear arsenal and ensuring that it is safe, secure, and effective. But reasonable people can disagree about nuclear strategy, modernization, and arsenal size. That's why nuclear weapons expertise also must be nurtured in civil society, including in universities, think tanks, and civic groups. These nongovernmental nuclear experts do more than foster healthy debate, democratic accountability, and government oversight. They are a resource for challenging entrenched assumptions, including those that frame the relationship between nuclear weapons and security as permanent and unassailable.

Less than 40 percent of Americans think they know enough about nuclear weapons to assess whether they pose a benefit or harm, according to the 2023 Chicago Council–Carnegie Corporation poll, and 6 in 10 want to know more. They want to know about the effects of nuclear weapons, how much they cost, who is targeted, what to do in case of a nuclear attack, and whether they should worry about their use, among a host of other issues.

With recent dramatic headlines about possible nuclear use by Russia, the weakening of global nonproliferation norms, the rocky future of arms control, and the role of artificial intelligence in nuclear command and control, now is a great time to learn more about nuclear weapons.

Through its grantmaking, Carnegie Corporation of New York expands and deepens the expertise that can help reduce the dangers posed by nuclear weapons. This includes making it easier for people to learn about and engage with nuclear weapons issues, as well as to advocate for their policy preferences. After all, even though most people don't spend much time thinking about nuclear weapons, if they are ever used, they will certainly impact everyone. ■

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**Sharon K. Weiner** is a senior resident fellow in the International Peace and Security program at Carnegie Corporation of New York and an associate professor at American University's School of International Service, whose teaching, research, and policy engagement are at the intersection of organizational politics and U.S. national security. Her work also focuses on civil-military relations and nuclear weapons programs and nonproliferation. **Samara Shaz** is a program assistant for the International Peace and Security program. Previously, she was a research assistant at MIT's Security Studies Program, investigating the salience of nuclear weapons in American politics.

**Mona Chalabi** is a Pulitzer Prize–winning data journalist whose writing and illustrations have been published in the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, and the *Guardian*, where she serves as data editor. Chalabi uses words, color, and sound to make complex data easier to understand. Her video, audio, and production work have been featured on Netflix, NPR, the BBC, and National Geographic.

## In June 2023, we put this prompt to ChatGPT:

### What questions should humans be asking about nuclear weapons?

Really, we did. And here is ChatGPT's exact response – unedited, uncorrected, uncanny.

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Nuclear weapons are one of the most destructive and deadly weapons ever created, and their existence poses a significant threat to global security. Here are some questions that humans should be asking about nuclear weapons:

1. How can we prevent the use of nuclear weapons? This includes preventing nuclear war, accidental detonations, and unauthorized access to nuclear weapons.
2. What are the risks associated with nuclear weapons? This includes the potential for nuclear accidents, the environmental and health impacts of nuclear testing and use, and the geopolitical risks associated with nuclear proliferation.

3. What role should nuclear weapons play in national security strategies? Is it ethical to possess and potentially use such destructive weapons, and what are the potential consequences of doing so?
4. How can we reduce the global nuclear weapons stockpile? This includes arms control agreements, disarmament efforts, and the safe and secure storage and disposal of nuclear materials.
5. How can we address the challenges posed by emerging technologies, such as hypersonic missiles, in the context of nuclear weapons?
6. How can we improve international cooperation and dialogue on nuclear weapons? This includes diplomatic efforts to reduce tensions and increase transparency between nuclear-armed states.

These are just a few examples of the many questions that humans should be asking about nuclear weapons. It is important to have ongoing discussions and evaluations of nuclear weapons policies and strategies to ensure that we are reducing the risks associated with these weapons and moving towards a more peaceful and secure world.

# NUCLEAR TIMES

Three experts – Shannon Bugos, Sébastien Philippe, and Alex Wellerstein – discuss global nuclear dynamics. Laicie Heeley, host of the *Things That Go Boom* podcast, moderates

Illustrations by **Chloe Cushman**

**Laicie Heeley:** Thank you all again for joining me today. I'm really excited to host this Carnegie Conversation, and to dig into questions on nuclear policy. To jump right in, I'm curious, how has Russia's invasion of Ukraine changed our understanding of nuclear dangers? How are you feeling about the current environment?

**Shannon Bugos:** It certainly has brought nuclear issues to the forefront. A lot of the conversations that we were having initially in the first three to four months after Russia invaded Ukraine were trying to correct the record of facts about nuclear weapons, nuclear policy, how things work, why Ukraine doesn't have nuclear weapons.

**Sébastien Philippe:** It has made nuclear weapons much more salient in our daily lives. I remember a few days after the invasion of Ukraine, I was on my way to New York to talk with colleagues at Columbia. And I thought, "Why am I heading to New York right now?" It's probably one of the worst places to go if the risk of nuclear war is so high. That's how I felt at least at the beginning. The war in Ukraine has brought us back to really the highest tensions of the Cold War.

**Alex Wellerstein:** Along with questions about whether nuclear war will start and parsing Russian statements to try to figure out if they are committed to not using nuclear

weapons, there has been a lot of discussion of deterrence, not just that *they* are deterred, but that *we're* deterred too. And that to me feels like a shift. People are asking questions like, Why do we have nuclear weapons? Why do these weapons exist? How are they still out there? What do they do for us?

**Heeley:** This concept that you're touching on – the idea of potentially moving into an era of predatory nuclear states – how are you feeling about that? Is it shifting your perspective on nuclear weapons, as experts who have been focused on these issues for your entire careers? It certainly has shifted how I'm beginning to think about the use of nuclear weapons.

**Bugos:** It certainly has prompted, I think across the board, people to rethink things. The main proposals that we had for U.S.-Russian arms control look very different now with China in the picture, and in 2026 when New START isn't around anymore. We do have to think a little bit broader in order to engage more people and take into account what's been happening within the government.

**Heeley:** What are your perceptions of how bad it is out there? How much have things shifted and how much have they remained the same? I'm talking specifically about arms control but also the broader nuclear environment.



A Ukrainian army soldier patrols outside the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant on April 26, 2022, in Ukraine. Staff from the International Atomic Energy Agency visited Chernobyl on the 36th anniversary of the world's worst civilian nuclear incident. They were to bring equipment, make assessments, and recommend safeguards to help prevent the possibility of a nuclear accident during the current conflict in Ukraine. CREDIT: JOHN MOORE VIA GETTY IMAGES

## A Glossary of Nuclear Terms

**ABM** Antibalistic missiles, sometimes referred to as missile defense, are launched from earth with the goal of destroying incoming ballistic missiles.

**Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community** is a report on threats to the United States published annually by the U.S. director of national intelligence.

**ICBMs** Intercontinental ballistic missiles are land-based missiles that carry nuclear warheads. Along with **SLBMs** (submarine-launched ballistic missiles) and bombers, they make up the **nuclear triad**.

**Modernization** refers to the program that, over the next 30 years, will replace or add improvements to most parts of the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

**Mutually Assured Destruction**, or **MAD**, is a condition that exists when two adversaries each have a **secure second strike** — that is, a nuclear arsenal capable of surviving an attack by the other and then responding with devastating force.

The **New START Treaty** is the last remaining U.S.-Russian arms control agreement. It limits each side to 1,550 warheads that are deployed and ready for launch on the nuclear triad. The treaty does not constrain the number of warheads in the **hedge**, meaning warheads that are not deployed but which are kept in storage for potential future use.

The **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** established global nuclear norms and responsibilities for nonproliferation, disarmament, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

**Nuclear parity** is the state of two countries having a similar number of nuclear weapons, where neither side has an advantage in terms of capability.

A **nuclear weapon** is composed of a **delivery system** (a missile, submarine, or bomber) and a **warhead** (a device that explodes because of a nuclear reaction).

**Peaceful nuclear use** is when a nuclear reaction is used for nonweapons purposes, such as generating electricity in a power plant or for making medical isotopes.

A **plutonium pit** is the sphere-like shell of plutonium that sets off the nuclear reaction in a warhead.

The **Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)**, adopted by the United Nations in 2017, prohibits nuclear weapons.

**Triad (nuclear triad)** Comprised of **ICBMs** (intercontinental ballistic missiles), **SLBMs** (submarine-launched ballistic missiles), and bombers.

**Uranium-235 (U-235)** is an isotope of uranium that undergoes a chain reaction in nuclear weapons. (An isotope is a form of an element with the same number of protons but a different number of neutrons.) **Highly enriched uranium (HEU)**, or **weapons-grade** uranium, is material that is at least 20 percent U-235.

**Low-enriched uranium (LEU)** has a concentration of U-235 lower than 20 percent and is used as fuel for producing nuclear energy in power plants.

**Wellerstein:** There's been a lot of language about how everything has changed in terms of risk, not in terms of arms control, which I think is a separate diplomatic issue. But in terms of the risk of nuclear war, the balance of power, there've been a lot of discussions. There is probably less risk than people think, though maybe people who don't think about this every day are more shocked than those of us who do think about this all the time. It's been sort of Cold War rules so far, despite a lot of rhetoric and posturing. I've been impressed that there is a very similar feel to a lot of this, even though again, I would say arms control is a separate issue.

**Philippe:** The long-term trends of arsenal modernization, planning of nuclear force employment and deployment, et cetera, were there already — the Chinese decision to increase the size of their arsenal, the unraveling of arms control that essentially started in the early 2000s. But there are still new things here. Many people didn't think that Russia would invade Ukraine,

that a nuclear weapons state would be in such a major and strategic and possibly existential war for their regime. Of course, Russia's nuclear threats have not deterred the West and the U.S. from providing massive assistance. The conflict has increased the probability of either intended use or mistakes, accidents, or close calls in this context.

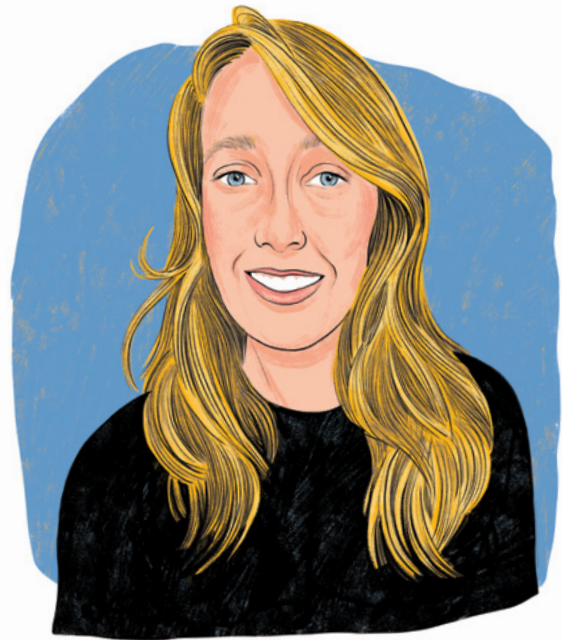
**Heeley:** What about solutions or bright spots?

**Philippe:** I recently joined the Scientific Advisory Group on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, and we are seeing many nonnuclear weapon states kind of deciding to build an alternative treaty regime within the international legal system, making it clear that not only is the use of nuclear weapons abhorrent, but the threat of use also should be prohibited. I think there are places where discussion about solutions is happening but it's unclear that it's happening in the Western world as much as I would like.

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Almost 60 percent of people 18 to 29 are interested in learning more about U.S. nuclear policy. How should we engage with this generation?

— **Laicie Heeley**, Founding CEO and Editor in Chief, Inkstick Media



**Bugos:** I hate to be the one to bring all the doom and gloom, but unfortunately, I don't see many bright spots. The agendas that the U.S. and Russia bring to the table are broadly the same, but the circumstances are vastly different. That's a tough line to walk. At the end of the day, it's a political question, and hands are tied about New START. People are entrenched — there's the disarmament camp saying we've been emphasizing nuclear risks for years, and there's the camp that wants more weapons in the U.S. arsenal because of Russia's behavior and because of China's expanding and diversifying nuclear arsenal. New START is currently stuck in limbo, and there is a need for the U.S. and Russia to talk about a post-New START world — leaving much room for disagreement and stasis.

**Heeley:** I'm seeing nodding heads, unfortunately.

**Wellerstein:** I don't know if I'm optimistic or pessimistic. I don't see arms-control initiatives being very successful in the short term, obviously when you have countries that are this angry. I will say as a historian that Putin and this Ukraine war are not going to last forever. The disruption caused by all of these activities is immensely destabilizing in the short term. Voices calling for another arms race will have more strength than those of us who favor arms control would like. Yet there may be opportunities down the line, in a post-Putin Russia or in the growing sense of urgency about China's ICBMs. My hope is that maybe it will actually again, not over the short term but in the long term, lead to a revitalization of these questions, lead to a sense of urgency that I think the arms-control community has but the general political public does not have or has not had until recently. That's the closest I can get to a silver lining.

**Heeley:** Why is there no sense of urgency among the general public?

**Wellerstein:** It's not a very salient political issue for most Americans. They have a lot on their plate in terms of things they're worried about and there's a lot to be worried about in this world. I think that nuclear weapons have occupied this place in the American cultural zeitgeist since the end of the Cold War that we don't have to worry about them anymore, it's something from the past, something we don't have any control over. I think by making people actually consider seriously that nuclear weapons could be used, that there is the potential for nuclear victims in the 21st century to occur, that these things are not so remote as they perceive them to be, I think that that is an opportunity to wake people up. Various studies show that with every crisis, like a near-miss or a false alarm, you get an uptick in public interest. It's one of these perverse things where the worse things get, maybe they get a little better.

**Heeley:** What about the human consequences of testing and production?

**Philippe:** The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons for the first time has provisions for victim assistance and environmental remediation from past nuclear testing. There were more than 2,000 nuclear tests during the 20th century. Over 500 were atmospheric and contaminated communities and ecosystems, mostly in places that had no political power to prevent them. With the modernization program now, I see a lot of work in coming years to raise awareness about risks and consequences. How close do you live to nuclear weapons systems? Are you likely to be blown up or experience fallout?

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There were more than 2,000 nuclear tests during the 20th century. Over 500 were atmospheric and contaminated communities and ecosystems, mostly in places that had no political power to prevent them.

– **Sébastien Philippe**, Associate Research Scholar and Lecturer, Program on Science and Global Security, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University



**Heeley:** That brings up an interesting question, which is should we be thinking more about present nuclear impact?

**Philippe:** Yes, absolutely. When we talk about the U.S. modernization program, I think people don't realize it's a gigantic construction program that should open a new discussion about environmental impacts. During the Cold War, the FBI raided the Rocky Flats plant where plutonium pits for nuclear weapons were made. Now we are about to restart production of those pits. What are local communities going to say about that?

**Bugos:** The National Nuclear Security Administration goal is to be producing 80 plutonium pits per year by 2030 or so. There is a lot happening on nuclear weapons-related issues that a lot of people are not necessarily aware of. There's a difference between nuclear weapons issues being brought to the forefront of people's minds and deep engagement with the issue itself and consistency. That's something that NGOs have had to struggle to do for a long time: What's the trick to try and get people to stay engaged with this issue?

**Heeley:** It's not that people aren't interested; the information just isn't getting out there.

**Bugos:** There are a fair number of technical questions that come with trying to explain things. I wind up going too far into the weeds as I try and figure out the best way to communicate these issues to my family and loved ones in the Illinois cornfields.

**Heeley:** What about a lack of transparency?

**Philippe:** I have found as a scientist and scholar that there are many interesting things I can do in this field, and teaming up with other scholars from different fields or with journalists and working together as a team can result in much more policy-impactful projects and accountability. For example, I really enjoy working with investigative journalism outlets. They are more and more interested because there is almost zero deep investigation on these issues at the moment.

**Heeley:** Nuclear weapons policy is actually very new. We've only been coming up with these policy questions and solutions for 70 years — since Hiroshima. How have our arsenals changed since then?

**Wellerstein:** Right after Hiroshima there was serious discussion in the UN, Russia, the U.S., about not having nuclear weapons at all, and obviously that didn't work out. Also, the concept of mutually assured destruction is not as old as most people think. The Soviets didn't have nuclear parity until the '70s and '80s. And with China and other nuclear countries, the status quo is maybe two decades old.

A sense that history can change really fast is a useful precondition to any discussion, because if you think this all fell out of the sky and has to be this way, you're not going to be open to change. Even arms control wonks might need reminding that the nuclear defense triad isn't sacred but was cooked up to justify not getting rid of ICBMs. A lot of it was the whim of one person or a few who happened to be positioned to make decisions in these highly hierarchical, centralized systems.

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People are entrenched – there’s the disarmament camp saying we’ve been emphasizing nuclear risks for years, and there’s the camp that wants more weapons in the U.S. arsenal because of Russia’s behavior and because of China’s expanding and diversifying nuclear arsenal.

– **Shannon Bugos**, Senior Policy Analyst,  
Arms Control Association



Think of the changes in the last 80 years; now move forward another 80. Could we ever have a world without nuclear weapons? We’re fewer than a dozen countries now. It’s not unimaginable in 50 years. What should we set in motion today to get there, or not set in motion? That thought is one reason I’m dismal about the current arms race talk.

Maybe China has rational reasons for its ICBM buildup – some version of their own military industrial complex greasing the skids. I try to get people to assume they’re not evil, not hoping to destroy the world but seeking security. Could it be our ABM deployments? The hyperaccuracy of our weapons? Seeing this as a dynamic that we are sharing is to me the first step to breaking this cycle, so we don’t flush all our money down the toilet maintaining the status quo.

**Philippe:** Yes, most of the time it is bureaucratic and industry politics that say missiles need to be replaced. They say safety concerns, but the companies make money from these replacements. We have generals and admirals who build their careers on this and they want to perpetuate the institution and increase their budgets.

I worked in the French Defense Procurement Agency, and every time a new weapon system is deployed, there are plans already to replace it in 20, 30 years. I remember a mind-blowing interview when a former French official of the Atomic Energy Commission said, “We don’t have plutonium to make nuclear weapons forever, but we probably have enough at least for the next 3,000 years, so we should be fine.”

**Bugos:** We need to take more account of the U.S. role in inspiring that kind of thinking. The *Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community* this year clearly stated that China is pursuing its nuclear weapons activities and expansion because of U.S. missile defenses. And it jolted me because it was such a clear admission of the U.S. saying yes, this was our role. Also, Russia points continually to the U.S. pulling out of the ABM Treaty to justify what it’s doing. But there’s not much rethinking around that recognition.

**Wellerstein:** Once I heard a very, very high-ranking U.S. military official give a public talk where he basically said, “Oh, yeah, China’s doing this because we’re doing this, and so then we’re going to do this, which is going to cause them to do this, which will then let us do this.” And he was positively thrilled by the arms race he was describing. And I don’t blame him. He’s the military guy, this is his career success, and you don’t get into that role if it doesn’t excite you. I’m not saying get rid of the guy; I’m saying don’t let him determine policy.

I don’t want to keep coming back to costs, but we are barreling into other huge issues, like climate change, and all the solutions are expensive, so I just despair about setting a trillion dollars on fire without changing anything. We are never going to just dominate the Russians and the Chinese until they give up. They’re going to do what we would do in the same situation – we build more, they’ll build more; we build defenses, they’ll build things to get around the defenses. So why are we letting the people who benefit from arms races essentially set the terms of the debate?

**Heeley:** Is there any way around that?

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Could we ever have a world without nuclear weapons? We're fewer than a dozen countries now. It's not unimaginable in 50 years. What should we set in motion today to get there, or not set in motion?

— **Alex Wellerstein**, Associate Professor and Director, Program in Science and Technology Studies, Stevens Institute of Technology



**Wellerstein:** We have representative democracy and politicians. We have to make this a public issue. If people don't care what happens, it defaults to the people who care the most, either on the political fringe, or who get money or jobs from the status quo. If you could make it a salient political issue, then there's a chance of the political system operating the way it's supposed to.

**Heeley:** Could the authorization process be improved if we didn't give only one person the ultimate authority to launch nuclear weapons?

**Wellerstein:** Yes. It's such an obviously bad idea that most Americans have a hard time accepting it's how it is.

**Bugos:** I agree. I did Sharon Weiner's VR nuclear threat simulation last October, and I've never been so discombobulated and overwhelmed in my life. You are in the president's shoes deciding whether to use nuclear weapons, and it's clear that a lot of the information coming in is from the Pentagon where so many voices emphasize the central role of nuclear weapons in everything. Voices that express some caution get pushed aside.

Now there's a lot of conversation around doing sea-launched nuclear-armed cruise missiles again. The Navy secretary has said we do not want this capability, but voices in the Pentagon and in Congress say you will have this capability whether you want it or not.

**Heeley:** What about the role of artificial intelligence?

**Philippe:** One obvious application — and a big issue — is in command and control. The pace of warfare is getting faster and faster so that humans, generals, and especially

the president, even if he's the only one who can take the decision, may not be able to move as fast as required because of the way the weapons system is set up. So, you might have AI quickly generate prebaked options to assist decisions. But we don't really understand how AI makes those options, because most AI systems are black box, mathematically speaking.

The other AI area is in tracking. We're already imaging the entire surface of the earth, getting hourly and possibly very soon subhourly information about any spot, anywhere, at any time. That's a massive amount of data you probably need AI to process — every nuclear site, nuclear weapons system, its deployment, submarines leaving port, the location of all the silos, whatever. And here the U.S. has an advantage over its competitors; but how will Russia and China react knowing that we can track their nuclear assets continuously?

**Heeley:** So how does all this interact with our decision-making processes?

**Philippe:** Recently I asked ChatGPT how it would be best implemented in military command-and-control structure. It admitted it could be useful, such as in signal intelligence like analyzing phone conversations. Say you're on a conversation between two generals and you have an AI that does instant translation. Is it really translating the conversation or is it proposing a summary of what it flags as key points? Maybe one general says he's going to move nuclear weapons from place A to B, so now you're acting on information from a mission-learning algorithm. You don't always know how it works. Has it got a bias? I think we're already seeing this technology being fielded,

and in some sense, it may be too late to create effective guardrails.

So again, this is a policy issue. Are we okay with key decisions on life and death and national security being made by a computer? Key pioneering figures who made important contributions to the field are now saying we should be very careful about where we're going.

**Heeley:** Shifting here to a recent poll from Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Chicago Council finding that almost 60 percent of people 18 to 29 are interested in learning more about U.S. nuclear policy. How should we engage with this generation?

**Wellerstein:** Young people are already very invested in a lot of other pressing issues. But if they do want to add nuclear policy to those, what's their action path? Without that, they'll get jaded and put it in their pile of things to be fatalistic about. Maybe the careers angle is key. If there's a job in it for them, they'll get more interested because they are very economically anxious. The hitch is that if the only jobs are in the defense industry, then they're going to realign their interests real quickly.

**Heeley:** Finally, what's one action concerned people can take?

**Philippe:** Writing to your elected officials expressing your concerns is first, as you do often get an answer back. Then it's about finding allies. Vibrant organizations still exist today doing grassroots advocacy, and new ones are being set up. Recently, a group of scientists launched a new physicists coalition for nuclear threat reduction. We need new networks and new groups of people to voice concern in more effective ways.

**Wellerstein:** Yes, organization is the only answer. You have to multiply the voices; by yourself, you're not very powerful, but if you organize, you're a thousand, you're a million.

**Bugos:** Mobilizing political will is what it's all about. ■

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**Laicie Heeley** is the founding CEO and editor in chief of Inkstick Media and the host of the *Things That Go Boom* podcast. **Shannon Bugos** is a senior policy analyst at the Arms Control Association. **Sébastien Philippe** is an associate research scholar and lecturer at Princeton University. **Alex Wellerstein** is an associate professor and director of the Program in Science and Technology Studies at Stevens Institute of Technology.

**Chloe Cushman** is a Toronto-based illustrator. She is a frequent contributor to the *New Yorker* and the *New York Times*, among many other international publications. Before starting her own practice, Cushman was a visual journalist for Canada's *National Post* newspaper. Her illustrations have been recognized by the Society of Illustrators, *American Illustration*, *Communication Arts*, the National Magazine Awards, and the Society for News Design, where she has also served as a judge.

## The More You Know ...

### Resources for understanding nuclear issues

#### Web Resources

Check out the nongovernmental organizations that frequently publish on nuclear issues: the Arms Control Association, the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Harvard's *Managing the Atom*, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (including the Bulletin's Doomsday Clock), and the Federation of American Scientists' Nuclear Notebook provide additional perspectives on the nuclear issues of our times.

#### History & Policy

Daniel Ellsberg's *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner* (Bloomsbury, 2017) and Eric Schlosser's *Command and Control: Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety* (Penguin, 2014) both provide an engaging introduction to U.S. nuclear weapons. For a description of the effects of the bombing of Hiroshima, see John Hersey's dispatch published in the *New Yorker* in August 1946. Richard Rhodes's *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (Simon & Schuster, 1986) demystifies the technical aspects and is rooted in human dilemmas. Spencer R. Weart's *Nuclear Fear: A History of Images* (Harvard University Press, 1989) provides insights into the mindset that shapes nuclear systems. For a discussion of how to reduce nuclear dangers, read the 1991 *Daedalus* article "Arms Control in a Revolutionary Future: Europe" by Catherine Kelleher, founding president of Women in International Security.

#### Listen and Watch

The podcast *Things That Go Boom*, hosted by Laicie Heeley, explores "the ins, outs, and whathaveyous of what keeps us safe." And *At the Brink* highlights stories about nuclear weapons and their history. A 2018 TEDx talk by atmospheric scientist Brian Toon focuses on the destruction of nuclear war, even a small one, while the movie version of *Command and Control* focuses on a deadly accident at a Titan II missile complex in Damascus, Arkansas, in 1980.

#### Additional Resources

MIT's Laboratory for Nuclear Security and Policy looks at technical support for nuclear diplomacy, and Princeton University's Program on Science and Global Security focuses on scientific, technical, and policy research, as well as on analysis and outreach to advance policies for a safer and more peaceful world. For historical records, check out the National Security Archive's Nuclear Vault or the Atomic Archive. Highly Nriched provides accessible, high-quality, and diverse educational materials on the threat of nuclear weapons. NTI provides an interactive timeline of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and Alex Wellerstein's interactive NUKEMAP, an online nuclear effects simulator, allows you to explore the effects of a nuclear explosion near you.

# How Should the U.S. Address Nuclear Dangers?

Corporation grantees offer guidance on how the U.S. can help avoid the escalation of nuclear dangers

By **Sharon K. Weiner**

In May 2023, the G7 Summit took place in the Japanese city of Hiroshima — a place of great historical significance in the peace conversation and in the calls for reducing nuclear dangers. The convening provided an opportunity for leaders to determine a consensus and strategy toward global security, to make recommendations, and to create a collaborative roadmap that prioritizes nuclear safety.

Inspired by the commitment of our founder, Andrew Carnegie, to global peace and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding, we invited Carnegie Corporation of New York grantees — experts in the field of nuclear security — to respond (in approximately 100 words or fewer) to the question: **How should the United States assert leadership to address nuclear dangers?**

## **Rachel Bronson**

President and CEO, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists | [@RachelBronson1](#)

To assert leadership, the U.S. should actively resist the normalization of nuclear threats by countering those at home and abroad who suggest that the use and consequence of tactical nuclear weapons can somehow remain limited. Additionally, planned spending on nuclear modernization is unnecessary and wasteful and some of that money should be reallocated. Most bravely, the U.S. should announce a commitment to work closely with friends and allies to develop a shared vision in which a future no-first-use policy is understood to strengthen, not weaken, a U.S. commitment to its Asia-Pacific allies and beyond.

## **Toby Dalton**

Senior Fellow and Codirector, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace | [@toby\\_dalton](#)

The Korean Peninsula is the most dangerous nuclear flashpoint today. It is time for the United States and its Asian allies to embrace a new policy toward North Korea focused on immediately reducing the threat of nuclear conflict. Pyongyang's arsenal buildup and nuclear threats are exacerbating crisis escalation dangers and driving discussion in South Korea about developing nuclear weapons. Rather than insisting on the unrealistic denuclearization of North Korea, the United States, South Korea, and Japan should launch a new risk reduction initiative that incentivizes restraint, mitigates escalation dangers, and lowers North Korea's propensity to threaten nuclear use.

## **Francesca Giovannini**

Executive Director, Project on Managing the Atom, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School | [@fgiovannini123](#)

Most immediately, the U.S. should propose the creation of a consultative group within the International Atomic Energy Agency to prevent a nuclear accident at the Zaporizhka nuclear power plant. In commemoration of the 60th anniversary of President Kennedy's speech at American University, President Biden should underscore the need to restore global nuclear diplomacy and reaffirm the U.S. commitment to arms control, nuclear nonproliferation, and nuclear disarmament. In the longer term, the U.S. should collaborate with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to establish a working group to deescalate nuclear dangers in the Asia-Pacific with China as the mediator.

## Daryl Kimball

Executive Director, Arms Control Association | @DarylGKimball

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After more than a decade of deteriorating relations and dithering on disarmament, the largest nuclear possessors — Russia, the United States, and China — are on the verge of an unconstrained arms race. Because there is no substitute for U.S. leadership, the U.S. should reaffirm that nuclear use and threats of use are “inadmissible,” reaffirm U.S. readiness to negotiate a new arms control framework to supersede New START, and, to create the conditions for global disarmament, call upon China, France, and the U.K. to freeze the size of their nuclear arsenals so long as the U.S. and Russia maintain caps on theirs.

## Zia Mian

Codirector, Program on Science and Global Security, Princeton University

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President Biden should state that the United States will accept its moral responsibility as the first country to have used and threatened to use nuclear weapons and will act urgently to adopt policies based on the principle that “the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is inadmissible.” The U.S. accepted this principle at both the 2022 G20 Bali Summit and the 2023 G7 meeting. As a first step, the U.S. should endorse the 2022 statement by 145 nations that “it is in the interest of the very survival of humanity that nuclear weapons are never used again, under any circumstances.”

## Joan Rohlfing

President and Chief Operating Officer, The Nuclear Threat Initiative | @JoanRohlfing

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At a time of accelerating risks, the United States must lead the world in rejecting Vladimir Putin’s dangerous nuclear brinkmanship. We can do this by reaffirming our commitment to a world without nuclear weapons, exercising restraint in response to reckless nuclear threats, adhering to our New START Treaty obligations, and discouraging proliferation. We must also lead diplomatic efforts to avert a new nuclear arms race, reduce nuclear stockpiles, and take urgent risk reduction steps, including a global effort to enact “fail-safe” measures to prevent blundering into nuclear war. Let’s be the change we wish to see in the world.

## Scott Sagan

Codirector and Professor, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University | @StanfordCISAC

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The U.S. should recommit to follow the laws of armed conflict in nuclear operations and call on other nuclear weapons states to do so as well. The 2022 Nuclear Posture Review stated, “The United States will not intentionally target civilian populations.” Former government officials, however, claim that the obscure legal principle of “belligerent reprisal” permits targeting enemy civilians in response to nuclear, cyber, or biological attacks that kill many U.S. or allied civilians. That is a loophole through which escalation to global destruction can occur. President Biden should close that loophole and pledge never to target civilians under any circumstances.

## David Santoro

President, Pacific Forum | @DavidSantoro1

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The United States should actively “sell” the benefits of nuclear restraint regimes and, more generally, encourage good and responsible strategic behavior, especially by the major powers, even as it is strengthening deterrence, which is necessary as well. The United States should also recognize that arms control is not in the cards for now and, instead, it should seek progress in crisis avoidance and crisis management, chiefly with China and Russia. Progress in that space, as in nonproliferation and nuclear security cooperation, will still be a heavy lift but it is worth the effort.

## Elena Sokova

Executive Director, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation | @esokova

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Not since the Cuban Missile Crisis has the risk of nuclear weapons use been as high. Russia’s nuclear coercion has already yielded calls for more weapons — with some countries contemplating building their own arsenals. We have been down this path during the Cold War. More nuclear weapons do not bring stability or alleviate threats. Instead, vision and leadership are needed to earnestly engage with both friends and foes, nuclear and nonnuclear states, and, through dialogue and negotiations, reduce risks and reliance on nuclear weapons and chart a path toward their elimination. The Biden administration is well positioned to provide such vision and leadership. ■

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**Sharon K. Weiner** is a senior resident fellow in the International Peace and Security program at Carnegie Corporation of New York.

## 15 Principles for Peacemakers

Conflict prevention is not just a one-time act, but a broad orientation, a pervasive way of thinking and relating to other leaders. In 1998, former president Jimmy Carter set down the key principles – gleaned from his long experience in the “search for peace” – that can help advance peace negotiations

By **Sheila Enright**

Carnegie Corporation of New York established the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict in May 1994 to address the looming threats to world peace and to advance new ideas for the prevention and resolution of deadly conflict. The commission’s findings on interstate and intrastate conflicts are largely responsible for the UN’s adoption of a worldwide culture of prevention meant to shape decent human relations at every level. Its final report, *Preventing Deadly Conflict*, was published in 1997.

In a related project, the commission invited five world leaders, including former president Jimmy Carter, to offer their perspectives on leadership and the prevention of deadly conflict, published in the subsequent volume, *Essays on Leadership*, in 1998. Carter’s essay, “Searching for Peace,” featured a list of **15 Principles for Peacemakers**, which had been developed over the previous decade or so at the Carter Center, which the Corporation helped establish in 1982.

Carter’s vision of peacemaking is seasoned, clear-eyed, and realistic – but always hopeful. It is also pragmatic. In “Searching for Peace,” he writes:

**With a deep and consistent commitment to peace, a powerful and admired America could have a tremendously beneficial influence on troubled regions of the world and could help both to resolve and to prevent needless wars. Many political (but not necessarily military) leaders disagree with these ideas and consider them weak, naive, and overly idealistic. But in our work for the Carter Center, we witness firsthand the eagerness of people in war-torn or suffering nations for the peaceful interposition of American power. Such involvement would often be unsuccessful and frustrating, at times even politically unpopular. But peace efforts are closely related to all our ideals and moral values: human rights, freedom, democracy, and the alleviation of human suffering. Even when such efforts end in failure, they can greatly improve the reputation and influence of our country in areas of the world that do not share our own high opinion of America. ■**

**Sheila Enright** is communications coordinator for Carnegie Corporation of New York, assisting with research, writing, editing, project and production coordination, and content creation.



## 15 PRINCIPLES FOR PEACEMAKERS

🕊️ **STRIVE** to have the international community and all sides in any conflict agree to the basic premise that military force should be used only as a last resort. 🕊️ **DO NOT INTERFERE** with other ongoing negotiation efforts, but offer intercession as an independent mediator when an unofficial presence is the only viable option. 🕊️ **STUDY** the history and causes of the dispute thoroughly. Take advantage of any earlier personal involvement with key leaders and citizens of a troubled nation as a basis for building confidence and trust. 🕊️ **SEEK HELP** from other mediators, especially those who know the region and are known and respected there. (In Africa, for instance, we join forces with distinguished leaders from that continent.) 🕊️ **BE PREPARED** to go back and forth between adversaries who cannot or will not confront each other. 🕊️ **EXPLORE** all possible beneficial influences on those who have created the problem. Use the news media to bring pressure on recalcitrant parties. 🕊️ **BE WILLING TO DEAL WITH THE KEY PEOPLE** in any dispute, even if they have been isolated or condemned by other parties or organizations. 🕊️ With sensitive international issues, **OBTAIN** approval from the White House before sending any Americans to take part in negotiations. 🕊️ **INSIST** that human rights be protected, that international law be honored, and that the parties be prepared to uphold mutual commitments. 🕊️ **BE WILLING TO LISTEN** to detailed explanations and demands from both sides, even when they seem unreasonable or unrealistic. 🕊️ **ENSURE** that each concession is equaled or exceeded by benefits. Both sides must be able to feel that they have gained a victory. 🕊️ **TELL THE TRUTH**, even when it may not contribute to a quick agreement. Only by total honesty can a mediator earn the trust and confidence of both sides. 🕊️ **BE PREPARED** for criticism, no matter what the final result may be. 🕊️ **BE WILLING TO RISK** the embarrassment of failure. 🕊️ **NEVER DESPAIR**, even when the situation seems hopeless.

# CARNEGIE **ON THE GROUND**

**NEWS** FROM OUR PROGRAMS



Immigrants seeking asylum in the United States, who were apprehended at the time Title 42 expired, are processed by U.S. Border Patrol agents after crossing into Arizona from Mexico on May 11, 2023, in Yuma, Arizona. A surge of immigrants was expected with the end of the U.S. government's COVID-era Title 42 policy, which for three years allowed for the quick expulsion of migrants entering the country.

CREDIT: MARIO TAMA VIA GETTY IMAGES

# The Multiplier Effect of U.S. Migration Policy

Andrew Selee, president of the Migration Policy Institute, considers how recent shifts in American immigration policy might reverberate across the region and more broadly around the world

By **Andrew Selee**

Title 42, a COVID-19 public health restriction affecting migrants at the U.S.-Mexico border, expired on May 11, 2023, when the public health emergency for COVID-19 was lifted. This development altered three years of U.S. immigration policy, introducing new opportunities and risks. The U.S. must once again grapple with the public health, border control, humanitarian, legal, and ethical implications of a return to Title 8 – the standard, decades-old rules for enforcing immigration law.

The Migration Policy Institute, funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York, works toward the improvement of immigration and integration policies through research, learning and dialogue opportunities, and idea development.

In the following Q&A, Andrew Selee, president of the institute and an Andrew Carnegie fellow, discusses Title 42, the pressures around U.S. migration policy, current influences on immigration reform, how U.S. migration policy impacts neighboring countries, and more.

## What was Title 42?

Title 42 was a public health order originally enacted under the Trump administration, which allowed U.S. authorities to expel migrants quickly back to Mexico or, in rare cases, to their countries of origin. It was initially seen as the toughest measure the U.S. government had ever implemented at the border because it did not allow for access to asylum and created an expedited way of removing migrants quickly back to Mexico. But over time, it became evident that many migrants who were expelled across the border would keep trying to cross and often they would eventually succeed, making it far less effective. The Biden administration tried to lift Title 42 in spring 2022, arguing that it was no longer needed as a public health measure, had become ineffective as a deterrence tool, and violated the right to apply for asylum. A court stayed the administration's decision, based on a lawsuit filed by several Republican attorneys general, and Title 42 remained in effect for an additional year.

## Why was Title 42 lifted, and what's happening now that the policy is no longer in effect?

The end of Title 42 means a return to Title 8, which allows migrants to apply for asylum but also leads to formal deportations for those who do not qualify, and the possibility of criminal prosecution for a second entry during a five-year period. The Biden administration published a new rule that requires asylum seekers to make an appointment at a port of entry through an online app and creates a presumption of ineligibility for asylum for those who try to cross between ports of entry.

At the same time, the administration has tried to expand some legal pathways for certain nationalities, including employment-based visas for Central Americans, and a large sponsorship program for Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans (as well as Ukrainians). They have also committed to opening regional processing centers in Latin America to provide humanitarian protection as well as information on legal pathways.

In the first few days after the end of Title 42, unauthorized crossings at the border dropped dramatically, but it remains to be seen if this continues, if the appointments system for asylum works, if the legal pathways provide real alternatives, and whether all of these measures survive a series of lawsuits by groups on the left and the right.

### **Beyond the pandemic, how are international crises exacerbating pressures around U.S. migration policy?**

There is a major mismatch between the U.S. labor market, which is increasingly dependent on immigrant workers as the U.S. population ages, and the legal pathways available to those people who would like to come to the United States — and this mismatch accounts for much of the rise in unauthorized migration to the U.S. But these pressures have been augmented by a series of major crises around the world. These include the Russian invasion of Ukraine; the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan; and a mixture of authoritarian government and collapsing economy in countries like Venezuela, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Haiti. And climate change has further exacerbated migration from some traditional sending countries — in Central America and the Caribbean — that are experiencing significant changes in weather patterns.

The Biden administration has managed to open up sponsorship programs that allow some people from Ukraine, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Haiti to enter legally for two years if they have a U.S.-based sponsor, and the U.S. admitted tens of thousands of Afghans after the Taliban takeover of Kabul, allowing them to pursue their immigration and protection processes inside the U.S. However, these are largely ad hoc responses to immediate crises, and the U.S. legal immigration and humanitarian protection system needs broader reforms to deal with changing global circumstances.

### **How is current U.S. migration policy influencing the policies of nearby countries?**

U.S. policy has contradictory effects in nearby countries. The U.S. government has played a vital role in supporting countries in Latin America and the Caribbean that are hosting large, displaced populations, including over

six million Venezuelans and several hundred thousand Haitians and Nicaraguans. Through international aid, the U.S. government has become the leading donor supporting host countries like Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Nicaragua.

Concurrently, the U.S. government has increasingly sought to get countries in the region to serve as buffers against unauthorized migration, especially Mexico and countries in Central America. Some of these measures make sense, in terms of trying to create more regular and predictable flows, but it sometimes looks like outsourcing of U.S. enforcement efforts to other countries and could undermine the generally welcoming policies that other countries in the region have had towards migrants and displaced populations.

### **How might shifts in American immigration policy continue to reverberate across the region and more broadly around the world?**

There are two possible scenarios that could emerge globally from current U.S. policy changes. One is that the U.S. reforms of border policy, asylum, and legal pathways begin to generate similar efforts to create regular and predictable migration around the world by expanding legal options for entry, focusing more on identifying humanitarian protection needs closer to where people live, creating narrower but effective asylum channels, and bringing down the large number of unauthorized arrivals that tend to provoke a political backlash in receiving countries (not just in the U.S. and Europe, but also increasingly in many large countries in Latin America, Africa, and the Asia-Pacific region). That would be a positive outcome that could generate healthy experimentation in how to do all of these things at once and generate more orderly and predictable migration movements, as well as better approaches to protecting those in danger.

The other possibility is that the enforcement strategies take root, along with narrower asylum access at the border, but that the legal pathways do not expand significantly and protection initiatives closer to where people live never fully take off. That would almost certainly also mean a continuation of large-scale unauthorized migration with even fewer options for protection, and it would make immigration an even more contentious issue around the world.

It's likely that parts of both scenarios will happen at the same time in different places. However, over time major receiving countries will have an incentive to get immigration right because declining populations will require rethinking immigration policies sooner or later.

Immigrants have always made an outsized contribution to innovation, entrepreneurship, and creative change in the United States. This will grow even more important as the growth rate of the native-born population continues to slow and then turns negative around 2032.

**At this point, what reforms might best serve both would-be American immigrants and their receiving communities?**

Immigrants have always made an outsized contribution to innovation, entrepreneurship, and creative change in the United States. This will grow even more important as the growth rate of the native-born population continues to slow and then turns negative around 2032. Immigrants are already providing most of the growth in the labor force (and soon it will be all of the growth), and they will also be vital to sustaining a robust tax base.

To make sure that immigration policy succeeds and meets the challenges of the future, at least three things need to happen. First, the U.S. needs a legal immigration system that can handle the demand for workers in the country in predictable and consistent ways, which requires redesigning an antiquated immigration system largely built on the foundations of a 1965 law. Second, the U.S. needs to be able to bring down unauthorized immigration to ensure the credibility of the immigration system by channeling migration into legal pathways and more effective protection efforts.

And third, and perhaps most importantly, the U.S. will need to find ways to invest in immigrants once they are in the country, providing equitable access to education, labor markets, and long-term legal status. And this will need to include regularizing the status of the millions of undocumented immigrants who are already in U.S. communities and contributing to the workforce, starting with those who have been in the country the longest, came as children, or have U.S.-born children of their own.

Finally, as immigration — most of it from Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa — becomes increasingly more visible, we will have to contend with historical racial and ethnic barriers in U.S. society, and recommit ourselves as a country to a far broader and more inclusive sense of nationhood. ■

**Andrew Selee** is president of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), a global nonpartisan institution that seeks to improve immigration and integration policies through fact-based research, opportunities for learning and dialogue, and the development of new ideas to address complex policy questions. He also chairs MPI Europe's Administrative Council.

# How to Improve Science Education in the U.S.

To improve K–12 science education over the next 10 years, the U.S. needs to align state standards and instructional materials to professional learning and instruction

By **Jim Short**

Science education in the United States was revolutionized following the 1957 launch by the Soviets of Sputnik, the world’s first satellite. The subsequent Sputnik era, as it came to be known, spurred an increased focus on science education, leading to a new generation of scientists and engineers. Today, with challenges like the ongoing threats of global climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic, the U.S. is facing a new “Sputnik moment.” The country must respond to the current crisis in science education with an equally intense focus. The response will impact the nation’s future on issues ranging from public health and the environment to racial equity and economic prosperity.

The Education program at Carnegie Corporation of New York builds on a legacy of investments in education involving standards reform, improving teaching practices, supporting school and system leaders, and increasing the supply of and demand for high-quality instructional materials and aligned assessments. These efforts have included sustaining the vision and implementation of college- and career-ready standards in science education. Since 2009, the Corporation has awarded 92 grants to 32 organizations related to investments in the field of public K–12 science education, representing more than \$51 million. Most of the grants have focused on instructional materials, professional learning, and assessments.

To better understand the state of K–12 science education today, the Corporation commissioned Horizon Research to develop a landscape study. The report *K–12 Science Education in the United States: A Landscape Study for Improving the Field* assesses the progress over the last decade toward the vision of science instruction provided in 2012 by the Corporation-supported *A Framework for K–12 Science Education*, published by the National Research Council.

For the last decade, the *Framework* has shaped reform efforts across all components of K–12 science education — including state standards, instructional materials, professional learning, assessments and accountability policies, instruction, and preservice teacher preparation. Most notably, the *Framework* drove the development of the Next Generation Science Standards (NGSS), a set of research-based, K–12 science content standards developed by states to improve science education by setting expectations for what all students need to know and be able to do.

The report includes the following recommendations to improve science education in the United States.

## State Standards

- The long-term viability of the NGSS and similar standards will depend on broad public support, particularly from current students and their parents and guardians, who often lead demands for change. To that end, there is a need for efforts at the state and national levels to disseminate accurate depictions of standards-aligned instruction and to explain the benefits for students and society. An important societal benefit is the potential to close achievement and opportunity gaps in science by race/ethnicity.

## Instructional Materials

- States, school districts, and schools must ensure that teachers are equipped with high-quality instructional materials and supports to meet the needs of their students rather than asking teachers to create their own or to find instructional resources on the Internet.
- States and districts should increasingly allow for the adoption of open educational resources (OER), which some states already do, in addition to instructional

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The typical teacher has less than five days — over three years — of professional learning focused on science teaching. Science teachers must have more ongoing opportunities for professional learning.

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materials created by commercial publishers. They should also increase flexibility in how budgets for instructional materials can be spent, allowing districts and schools to purchase commercial products associated with standards-aligned OER materials.

### Professional Learning

- One way to improve professional learning opportunities is to center them on helping teachers use high-quality, standards-aligned instructional materials as they become available. States and districts should provide curriculum-based professional learning focused on high-quality instructional materials, including OER materials.
- The typical teacher has less than five days — over three years — of professional learning focused on science teaching. Science teachers must have more ongoing opportunities for professional learning.
- School and district administrators who support and evaluate teachers of science should be provided with opportunities to learn about the standards and what standards-aligned instruction looks like.

### Instruction

- Instructional coaches are relatively common in English Language Arts (ELA) and mathematics. Similarly, many regional centers that support schools and districts with professional learning and other services tend to prioritize ELA and mathematics instruction. States could direct more coaching support to science, and their regional centers could give more priority to science.

- States should put systems in place to identify and track inequities in access to standards-aligned science instruction to ensure that existing gaps begin to narrow and that new gaps do not appear. These systems should prioritize identifying and supporting schools and districts that need help, not penalizing them.

### Assessments and Accountability

- Education accountability is ingrained in state and federal policy, and it prioritizes ELA and mathematics. Until science is elevated to the same level in these policies, it will continue to receive fewer resources, both financial and nonfinancial. States should include science in their accountability systems as a first step toward giving science the priority it deserves.
- Standards-aligned science assessments should reflect the standards-aligned materials districts have adopted, enabling districts to monitor student performance locally and more frequently rather than relying on end-of-year state assessments. Assessments like these would provide better information about student learning and relieve some of the pressure teachers and students feel due to state-administered assessments.

### Preservice Teacher Preparation

- Those leading the reform of preservice teacher preparation should develop a strategy that involves a large number of preservice faculty in developing model programs for preparing science teachers for standards-aligned instruction using high-quality instructional materials.
- With the growing availability of high-quality, standards-aligned instructional materials, teacher preparation programs should include a requirement for preservice teachers to demonstrate the ability to identify and use these types of materials.
- Preservice faculty should have opportunities to develop their understanding of the *Framework* and the NGSS. One strategy to accomplish this is for preservice programs to partner with schools and districts engaged in professional learning focused on standards-aligned instructional materials. ■

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**Jim Short** is a program director within Carnegie Corporation of New York's Education program, where he manages the Leadership and Teaching to Advance Learning portfolio.

### TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE

**READ THE FULL REPORT:** *K-12 Science Education in the United States: A Landscape Study for Improving the Field* (2023) assesses progress toward the vision of science instruction provided a decade ago by the National Research Council, including recommendations to inform improvements over the next 10 years in service of making science education a priority for all.



# ANDREW CARNEGIE FELLOWS **PROGRAM**



Marcia Chatelain CREDIT: FRANCIS SHAD

# Opportunity Is Not Stability

Andrew Carnegie Fellow Marcia Chatelain asks: How can we better serve first-generation college students?

By **Joanne Omang**

**H**istory professor and Andrew Carnegie Fellow Marcia Chatelain wants colleges and universities to normalize access for first-generation and minority students as firmly as they have normalized football.

“College presidents and provosts have to say that access is a nonnegotiable,” the Pulitzer Prize–winning author told Carnegie Corporation of New York staff in April. “In the same ways that football is a nonnegotiable, access has to be a nonnegotiable.”

Beyond admission and financial assistance, access requires a “wraparound” approach to ensure that first-generation and minority students are helped to cope with the “hidden curriculum,” or culture of academia, that invisibly governs achievement. “Exposing and deconstructing that curriculum can be helpful for our students,” said Chatelain, a professor of history and African American studies at Georgetown University. “All the rules are not clearly articulated.”

An Andrew Carnegie Fellow in 2019, Chatelain spoke to the Corporation about her fellowship project, “First-Generation Future: A History of First-Generation College Students and How to Better Serve Them Now.” Chatelain’s second book, *Franchise: The Golden Arches in Black America*, which looked at the post-1968 civil rights movement in the context of the fast-food industry, was awarded the 2021 Pulitzer Prize in History.

Chatelain talked about having collaborated with Georgetown’s Scholars Program on the creation of a credit-bearing course called “Mastering the Hidden Curriculum” for students who identify as first-generation college students or low-income students and their allies. The course involved asking such questions as, “How does cultural capital work in an environment where just doing well in your classes sometimes does not seem enough? How do we encourage students to engage in effective communication and self-advocacy? How do they navigate resources? How does the role of race and power and privilege inform their experiences on campus?”

A first-generation student is often a proxy for a low-income student or student of color, even though that is not

necessarily accurate, says Chatelain. Many first-generation students are 25 or older, and many are parents themselves. The U.S. Department of Education defines first-generation students as students coming from households where parents or guardians did not complete a college degree. Colleges have been wrong, Chatelain said, to assume that preferential admissions and adequate financing are enough to get first-generation students to graduation.

“An insight that I came to after years of advising and mentoring first-generation college students who had the big scholarships to attend, and who had the excitement and enthusiasm of family and community, is that the reality of college completion creates a new set of variables in thinking about the work that we do on campuses,” Chatelain said. “Opportunity is not stability. The turn toward college access has assumed that the greatest barrier to college completion has been financial, and that if you have a student who is academically able to attend your institution, then there should be success if they don’t have to worry about paying for it.”

This old model of a financial aid–forward approach relies on scholarships and grants. The new model moves toward wraparound approaches that recognize challenges specific to degree completion: the financial contributions to families and communities of origins that first-generation students have when they attend college; academic preparedness that is often linked to income; disruptions caused by a loss of housing or income, or illness due to COVID-19; and a lack of health care or employment, among others.

Speaking prior to the Supreme Court ruling in June that ended race-based affirmative action programs, Chatelain already saw higher education moving away from it. “I think affirmative action no longer matters,” Chatelain said. “We’re already there.”

Programs designed in the 1970s and ’80s for “minorities” became “diversity” programs and then “multicultural” ones open to everybody. Equating admission to an “elite school” with proof of merit was “a great myth,” Chatelain said, that died with the pay-for-entry scandal known as Operation Varsity Blues. “We need to talk differently about the ways we see merit,” Chatelain said.

Higher education institutions need to offer discretionary financial aid programs that cover not just tuition and fees but also things like winter coats, dorm room furniture, preventive health care, childcare, and emergency trips home, said Chatelain. Additional barriers to college completion involve holding transcripts hostage because of unpaid fees when students transfer or must take time away. College officials must also intervene to protect first-generation students from predatory for-profit schools or loan programs that require payments even if degrees are never earned.

Private foundations and donors must insist on commitments from higher education institutions to retain first-generation students. More research is also needed on how race, ethnicity, and citizenship status create inequality in outcomes among majority and minority second-generation students. Even when first-generation students earn degrees, Chatelain said, there are still inequalities in income and financial stability because of the ways that race and income inequality are connected.

“Dramatic stories of students who move from the D.C. central homeless shelter into a college dorm room are

heartening, and they bring attention to the need for college access, but what happens at the end of that four-year process?” asked Chatelain. “In a lot of my research, I’m trying to think about this idea of higher education seeing itself as a force for good, as a place that essentially atones for the elitism and the bad acts of the past — and particularly how the shifts in 1968, not just in higher education but in the philanthropy world, really opened up a space for a new population of students to come to college campuses and to transform the culture. What if we imagine that each and every one of our students had to confront those same obstacles? How would this change and inform the way that we introduce students to the college experience, how we teach them, and how we support them? For all of its problems and all of its challenges, I still really believe that higher education is in the service of the common good.” ■

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**Joanne Omang** is a former reporter, foreign correspondent, and editor for the *Washington Post*, who now does editing, consulting, and ghostwriting for selected nonprofit groups. She was the *Post*’s first woman foreign correspondent, reporting from Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s and on the State Department and foreign policy issues after that. Her first novel, *Incident at Akabal* (1992), was set in Guatemala.

## Political Polarization: New Focus of Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program

Carnegie Corporation of New York has announced that its Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program will provide philanthropic support for research that seeks to understand how and why American society has become so polarized and what can be done to strengthen the forces of cohesion to fortify democracy.

In 2024, the program will award research stipends of up to \$200,000 to 30 exceptional scholars, journalists, and authors, making it possible for the fellows to devote their time to significant research. For at least the next three years, the foundation will commit \$6 million annually to develop a body of research around the root causes of political polarization, which is characterized by threats to free speech, the decline of civil discourse, disagreement over basic facts, and a lack of mutual understanding and collaboration.

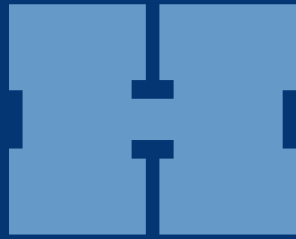
With the exclusive theme of political polarization in the U.S., the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program starts a new phase under the direction of Dame Louise Richardson, who joined Carnegie Corporation of New York as president in January 2023. The program was established in 2015 to support research in the humanities and social sciences, resulting in 243 fellowships totaling an investment of \$48 million to date.

“The fragility of American democracy has been exposed in recent years to a degree that is quite frightening,” said Richardson. “The driving force appears to be the increasing polarization of American politics and, by extension, American society. We would like to understand this polarization, what causes it, what perpetuates it, and above all, how it might be mitigated, or even reversed, by strengthening the forces of cohesion in our society.”

Through the research of the Andrew Carnegie fellows, the Corporation seeks to raise awareness of political polarization in the philanthropic sector, guide public policy, and help inform the foundation’s grantmaking in democracy, education, and international peace and security.

The new theme follows a one-year pause in the program, which will relaunch with a new class of scholars in spring 2024. The fellowships are the most generous of their kind and build on the Corporation’s century-old philanthropic tradition of investing in original scholarly research.

**ANDREW CARNEGIE  
FELLOWS PROGRAM**



How does cultural capital work in an environment

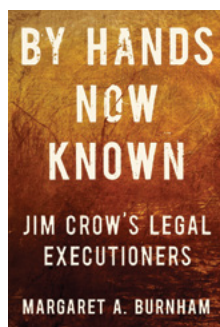
where just doing well in your classes sometimes does not seem enough? How do we encourage students to engage in effective communication and self-advocacy? How do they navigate resources? How does the role of race and power and privilege inform their experiences on campus?

— **Marcia Chatelain**

Professor of History and African American Studies, Georgetown University

## Scholarship with Impact

Since 2015, the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program has awarded fellowships annually to exceptional scholars, authors, journalists, and public intellectuals, with criteria to prioritize the originality and promise of the research and its potential impact on the field, and the scholar's plans for communicating the findings to a broad audience. Here is a small selection of some of the notable books that have come out of the program



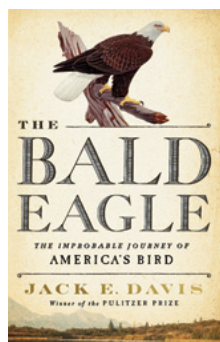
**Margaret A. Burnham**

(2016 AC Fellow)

**By Hands Now Known:  
Jim Crow's Legal Executioners**

New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2022  
2022 Kirkus Prize for Nonfiction Finalist | 2023 Los Angeles Times Book Prize for History Finalist | One of NPR's Books We Love in 2022 | Named a Best Book of the Year: *The New Yorker*, *Oprah Daily*, *Kirkus Reviews*, *Chicago Public Library*, and *Publishers Weekly*

In this paradigm-shifting investigation of Jim Crow-era violence, Margaret A. Burnham, director of Northeastern University's Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project, challenges our understanding of the Jim Crow era by exploring the relationship between formal law and background legal norms in a series of harrowing cases from 1920 to 1960. From rendition, the legal process by which states make claims to other states for the return of their citizens, to battles over state and federal jurisdiction and the outsize role of local sheriffs in enforcing racial hierarchy, Burnham traces the unremitting line from slavery to the legal structures of the mid-20th-century South and through to today. Drawing on an extensive database, collected over more than a decade and exceeding 1,000 cases of racial violence, she reveals the true legal system of Jim Crow, and captures the memories of those whose stories have not yet been heard.



**Jack E. Davis**

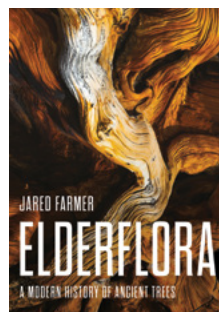
(2019 AC Fellow)

**The Bald Eagle: The Improbable  
Journey of America's Bird**

New York: Liveright Publishing Company, 2022  
Best Books of the Month: *Wall Street Journal* and *Kirkus Reviews*

The Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Jack E. Davis has written a sweeping cultural and natural history of the bald eagle in

America. For centuries, Americans have celebrated it as “majestic” and “noble,” yet savaged the living bird behind their national symbol as a malicious predator of livestock and, falsely, a snatcher of babies. Davis contrasts the age when native peoples lived beside the bald eagle peacefully with periods when, whether through hunting bounties or DDT pesticides, *Haliaeetus leucocephalus* was twice pushed to the brink of extinction. Filled with spectacular stories of Founding Fathers, rapacious hunters, heroic bird rescuers, and the lives of bald eagles themselves — monogamous creatures, considered among the animal world's finest parents — *The Bald Eagle* demonstrates how this bird's wondrous journey may provide inspiration today, as we grapple with environmental peril on a larger scale.



**Jared Farmer**

(2017 AC Fellow)

**Elderflora: A Modern History of  
Ancient Trees**

New York: Basic Books, 2022  
Starred reviews in *Booklist*, *Kirkus Reviews*, and *Publishers Weekly*

Humans have always revered long-lived trees. But as historian Jared Farmer reveals in *Elderflora*, the epic story of the planet's oldest trees and the making of the modern world, our veneration took a modern turn in the 18th century, when naturalists embarked on a quest to locate and precisely date the oldest living things on earth. The new science of tree time prompted travelers to visit ancient specimens and conservationists to protect sacred groves. Exploitation accompanied sanctification, as old-growth forests succumbed to imperial expansion and the Industrial Revolution. Farmer surveys the complex history of the world's oldest trees, including voices of Indigenous peoples, religious figures, and contemporary scientists who study elderflora in crisis. In a changing climate, a long future is still possible, Farmer shows, but only if we give care to young things that might grow old.



### Masha Gessen

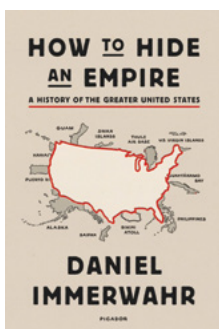
(2015 AC Fellow)

#### The Future Is History: How Totalitarianism Reclaimed Russia

New York: Riverhead Books, 2017  
2017 National Book Award in Nonfiction |  
2018 New York Public Library Helen Bernstein  
Book Award | National Book Critics Circle  
Awards Finalist

Masha Gessen, a journalist and best-selling biographer of Vladimir

Putin, reveals how, in the space of a generation, Russia surrendered to a more virulent and invincible new strain of autocracy. A cautionary tale for our time, *The Future Is History* follows the lives of four people born at what promised to be the dawn of democracy in Russia. Each of them came of age with unprecedented expectations, some as the children and grandchildren of the very architects of the new Russia, each with newfound aspirations of their own — as entrepreneurs, activists, thinkers, writers, and sexual and social beings. Gessen charts their paths against the machinations of the regime that would crush them all, and against the war it waged on understanding itself, which ensured the unobstructed reemergence of the old Soviet order in the form of today's terrifying and seemingly unstoppable mafia state.



### Daniel Immerwahr

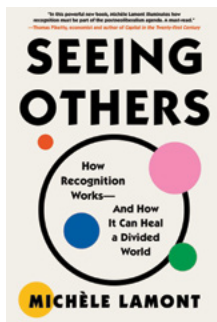
(2017 AC Fellow)

#### How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States

New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019  
Chicago Tribune's 10 Best Books for 2019 |  
Publishers Weekly 10 Best Book for 2019  
(Nonfiction) | 2019 NPR Staff Pick

We are familiar with maps that outline all 50 states. And we are also familiar with the idea that the

United States is an “empire,” exercising power around the world. But what about the actual territories — the islands, atolls, and archipelagos — this country has governed and inhabited? In this pathbreaking history of the United States’ overseas possessions, Daniel Immerwahr tells the fascinating story of the United States *outside* the United States, revealing forgotten episodes that cast American history in a new light. For example, we travel to Puerto Rico, where U.S. doctors conducted grisly experiments they would never have conducted on the mainland. In the years after World War II, Immerwahr notes, the United States moved away from colonialism. Instead, it put innovations in electronics, transportation, and culture to use, devising a new sort of influence that did not require the control of colonies. *How to Hide an Empire* is rich with absorbing vignettes, full of surprises, and driven by an original conception of what empire and globalization mean today.



### Michèle Lamont

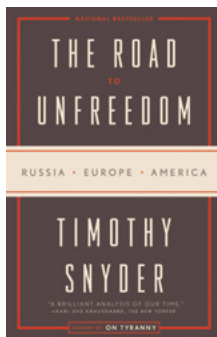
(2019 AC Fellow)

#### Seeing Others: How Recognition Works — and How It Can Heal a Divided World

New York: Atria/One Signal Publishers, 2023

The acclaimed Harvard sociologist Michèle Lamont makes the case for reexamining what we value to prioritize recognition — the quest

for respect — in an age that has been defined by growing inequality and the obsolescence of the American dream. In this capstone work, Lamont unpacks the power of recognition — rendering others as visible and valued — by drawing on nearly 40 years of research and new interviews with young adults, and with cultural icons and change agents who intentionally practice recognition, from Nikole Hannah-Jones and Cornel West to Michael Schur and Roxane Gay. She shows how new narratives are essential for everyone to feel respect and assert their dignity. Building on Lamont’s lifetime of expertise and revelatory connections between broad-ranging issues, *Seeing Others* delivers realistic sources of hope: by reducing stigma, we put change within reach.



### Timothy Snyder

(2015 AC Fellow)

#### The Road to Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America

New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2018  
New York Times Bestseller

With the end of the Cold War, the victory of liberal democracy seemed final. Observers declared the end of history, confident in a peaceful, globalized future.

This faith was misplaced. Authoritarianism returned to Russia, as Vladimir Putin found fascist ideas that could be used to justify rule by the wealthy. In the 2010s, it has spread from East to West, aided by Russian warfare in Ukraine and cyberwar in Europe and the United States. *The Road to Unfreedom* is an unsparing chronicle of the rise of authoritarianism, based on vast research as well as personal reporting. Timothy Snyder goes beyond the headlines to expose the true nature of the threat to democracy and law. To understand the challenge is to see, and perhaps renew, the fundamental political virtues offered by tradition and demanded by the future. By revealing the stark choices before us — between equality or oligarchy, individuality or totality, truth and falsehood — Snyder restores our understanding of the basis of our way of life, offering a way forward in a time of terrible uncertainty. ■

# NOTABLE EVENTS



## STRONG ACADEMIC FOUNDATION

- ▶ Extraordinary patterns of growth
- ▶ Superior rates of proficiency
- ▶ On-time high school graduation
- ▶ Academic preparation for college
- ▶ Superior district averages
- ▶ On-time high school graduation to earn a high-value career credential

## SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL COMPETENCIES

- ▶ Growth mindset
- ▶ Intellectual curiosity
- ▶ Perseverance
- ▶ Self-awareness
- ▶ Self-efficacy
- ▶ Self-regulation
- ▶ Social awareness

## SCHOOL CULTURE & CLIMATE

- ▶ Cultural and linguistic competence
- ▶ Learning strategies
- ▶ Rigorous expectations
- ▶ School safety
- ▶ Sense of belonging
- ▶ Student engagement
- ▶ Teacher and student relationships

The latest "Carnegie Insights" report, *New Schools in the United States: A Quantitative Review of Public Schools Opened During the Last Three Decades*, was unveiled at an Education program event that welcomed a diverse group of funders to the Corporation's headquarters in May. CREDIT: FILIP WOLAK



Saskia Levy Thompson (left) and Frances Messano reflected upon the ways that the NewSchools Venture Fund and Thompson’s grantmaking portfolio at the Corporation, New Designs to Advance Learning, have “grown up” together, forged with a similar urgency around radically transforming the quality of public education. CREDIT: FILIP WOLAK

## CARNEGIE INSIGHTS

### A Gathering to Celebrate New Schools

On May 31, 2023, Carnegie Corporation of New York partnered with the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to host a reception for funders in honor of Frances Messano, the new chief executive officer of the NewSchools Venture Fund. As the first woman of color to lead the organization, Messano shepherds NewSchools into its 25th year of supporting early-stage education entrepreneurs across the country and driving impact for students.

The event, “Leading at the Edge: How Schools Are Rebounding from the Pandemic,” took place at the Corporation’s offices in New York, creating a space for dialogue and connection among a diverse group of funders based in New York, Washington, D.C., and Boston. After Corporation President Dame Louise Richardson welcomed the evening’s guests, Adam Tucker, deputy director on the K–12 Education team at the Gates Foundation, offered remarks.

Saskia Levy Thompson, a program director in the Corporation’s Education program, then engaged Messano in a discussion centered around the Corporation’s recent report on new school creation as well as complementary research from the NewSchools Venture Fund. *New Schools in the United States: A Quantitative Review of Public Schools Opened During the Last Three Decades*, based on a study and analysis by Jesse Margolis of MarGrady Research and accompanied by an interview with Robin Lake of the Center on Reinventing Public Education, represents an important contribution to understanding the school landscape in the United States.

“One of the defining benefits of our funding partnership with NewSchools is that we not only get to invest in a wide-ranging portfolio of solutions, but also that we are both committed to learning as we go,” remarked Thompson. She shared her hopes that the report’s findings will lead to further investigation of the impact of new schools and the strategies around their creation.

## TO GO DEEPER, SCAN THE QR CODE

**READ THE FULL REPORT:** *New Schools in the United States: A Quantitative Review of Public Schools Opened During the Last Three Decades (2023)* provides a review of the number, geographic distribution, and characteristics of new public schools, serving as a starting point for future research and as a shared knowledge base for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners around new school creation, innovation, and systems change.





The NYC Tartan Day Parade celebrated its 25th anniversary this year. Setting off from 44th Street in Manhattan and led by Corporation President Dame Louise Richardson (in blue, at center above), Corporation staff, friends, and family marched up Sixth Avenue to 55th Street to the cheers of thousands of spectators. CREDIT: FILIP WOLAK



Ambassador Martin Kimani (left) is pictured with Mwangi Thuita, program assistant in the International Peace and Security program at the Corporation. Kimani reflected candidly on the difficulties African countries currently face in international affairs, and the ways philanthropy might invest in solutions. CREDIT: ANGELY MONTILLA

## BAGPIPERS & MORE!

### NYC Tartan Day Parade

**A**n enthusiastic group of Carnegie Corporation of New York staff, along with representatives from several Carnegie sister institutions, including Carnegie Hall and the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, gathered on April 15, 2023, for New York City’s annual Tartan Day Parade. Officially recognized by the U.S. Senate in 1998, the event celebrates the vital contributions of Scottish Americans to the United States. At the event’s kick-off, New York City Mayor Eric Adams presented a proclamation to the parade’s organizers. The proclamation read, in part: “New York rises on the foundation of generations of immigrants who crossed oceans seeking new freedoms and possibilities. I am enormously proud to lead a city with such a large and thriving population of Scottish Americans who enhance the fabric of our cultural, civic, and economic sectors.”

The NYC Tartan Day Parade is the culmination of a weeklong series of Scottish-themed programs and festivities known as NYC Tartan Week. Stepping off from West 44th Street, more than 3,000 participants — including bagpipers, kilt-clad marchers, Highland dancers, clan organizations, and a brigade of Scottish dog breeds dressed in adorable plaid fashions — made their way up Sixth Avenue to 55th Street, delighting the throngs of spectators, many of them sporting tartan, who lined the avenue.

## IN CONVERSATION

### Ambassador Martin Kimani of Kenya Visits the Corporation

**O**n July 11, 2023, Carnegie Corporation of New York’s International Program hosted Ambassador Martin Kimani of Kenya for an informal conversation about the fragility of global security and the future of the rules-based international order. Ambassador Kimani, who has served as Kenya’s permanent representative to the United Nations since December 2020, shared reflections and learnings from his two years on the Security Council as well as his insights on the role of middle powers and the Global South in the future of geopolitics.

Last year, when Russia invaded Ukraine, Ambassador Kimani delivered a powerful speech at the United Nations Security Council condemning Russia’s actions. Widely shared, the speech was a defense of weak states that, arguably, have the most to lose should the rules-based international order deteriorate.

Corporation staff from across programs were able to ask Ambassador Kimani about his work. There were questions on nuclear nonproliferation, on the role of the UN in various ethnic conflicts, on the current makeup of the Security Council, and more.



Carnegie Corporation of New York colleagues gathered to volunteer at Marcus Garvey Park in Harlem, a city park named after the well-known leader of the civil rights movement and advocate of Black communities.  
CREDIT: FILIP WOLAK



U.S. Secretary of Education Miguel Cardona, photographed with Carnegie Corporation of New York President Louise Richardson.  
CREDIT: FILIP WOLAK

## COMMUNITY BUILDING

### Carnegie Day of Service

On May 4, 2023, volunteers from Carnegie Corporation of New York traveled to Marcus Garvey Park in Harlem for the annual Carnegie Day of Service. The event was hosted by Partnerships for Parks, a unique public-private partnership between the City Parks Foundation and NYC Parks that provides volunteers with the tools they need to both advocate for and care for neighborhood parks and green spaces. Despite some inclement weather, a group of over 20 volunteers spent the day connecting with colleagues, supporting a local community, and maintaining a historic park. At the end of the day, volunteers had the satisfaction of seeing the park cleared of weeds and debris — ready for spring planting. Eric Dejesus, the park’s head gardener, was grateful for the help. This was the second year the Day of Service was held at Marcus Garvey. The park was the location of the 1969 Harlem Cultural Festival and is featured in the Academy Award–winning documentary *Summer of Soul*. To further the impact of the Day of Service, the Corporation also made a \$19,000 grant to the Partnerships for Parks, supporting their efforts to transform once-neglected New York City parks into thriving community spaces.

## FUNDERS GATHERING

### United States Secretary of Education Miguel Cardona

The Education program hosted a small gathering of education funders with U.S. Secretary of Education Miguel Cardona on March 15, 2023. Secretary Cardona, who has served in the position since 2021, met with President Dame Louise Richardson and other education leaders to discuss the important educational issues facing our country. At the meeting, he discussed the U.S. Department of Education’s Raise the Bar priorities, which is their call to action to transform preK–12 education based on decades of experience and research. In alignment with the Corporation’s work in preK–12 education, this includes issues such as teacher recruitment and diversification of the workforce, forging equitable career pathways, and investing in effective family engagement for the sake of the nation’s 65 million students.

The meeting followed the launch of a six-month webinar series hosted by Carnegie Corporation of New York in partnership with the Overdeck Family Foundation and the Department of Education. This series of virtual events, which took place through late July, focused on family engagement. Experts and practitioners engaged in conversations about student success, supporting immigrant and multilingual families, improving student engagement and attendance, supporting mental health and well-being, and more. ■



he truth in this matter is that loyalty, courage, and the spirit of self-sacrifice are among the noblest traits.... The error is in supposing that these traits are best shown in war. They are exhibited in peace in ways infinitely more splendid.

— **Andrew Carnegie**

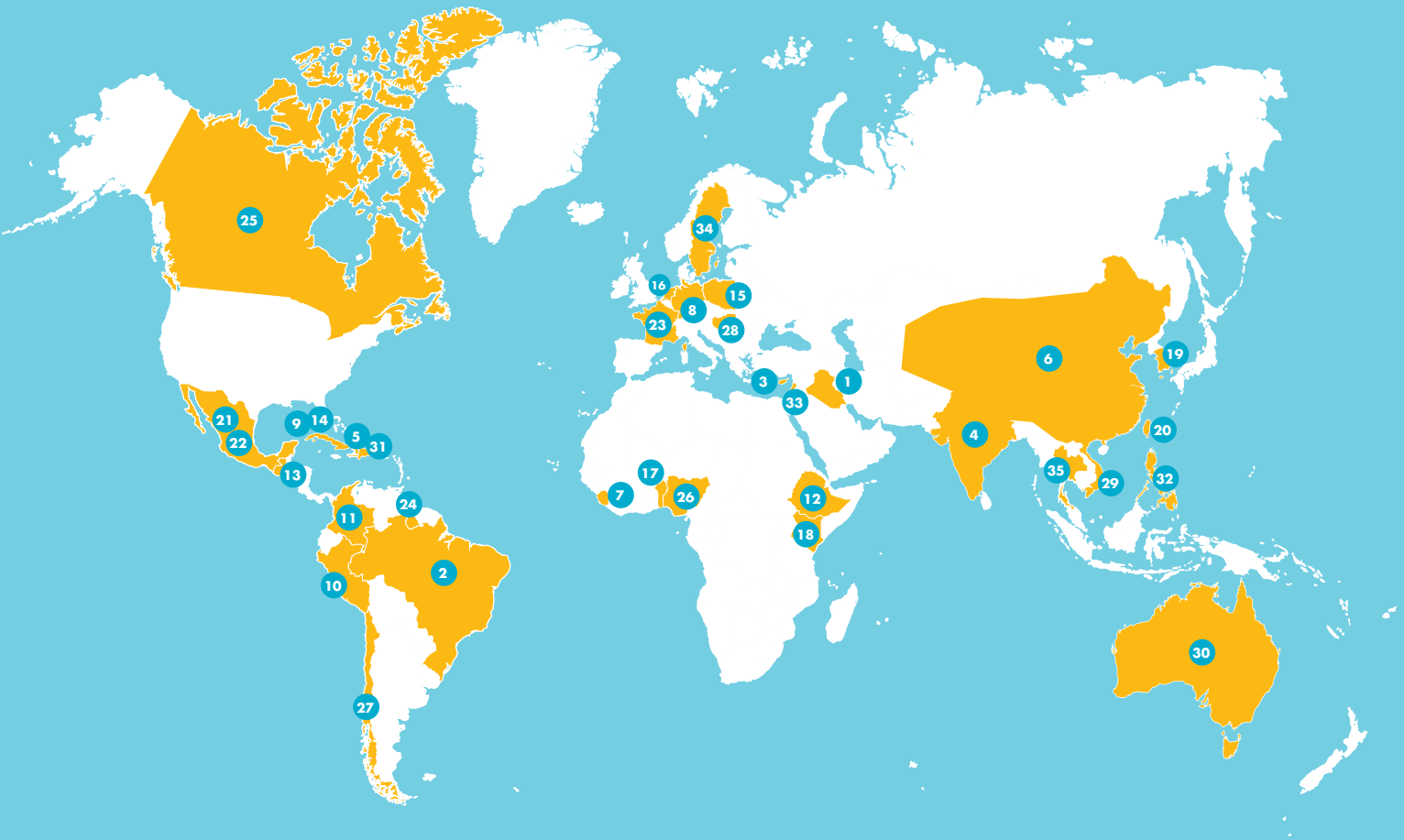
*"Andrew Carnegie's Plea for Peace," *The New York Times*, April 7, 1907*



# GREAT IMMIGRANTS GREAT AMERICANS



CELEBRATING THE VITAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF IMMIGRANTS TO AMERICA



## Mapping the Class of 2023

Every Fourth of July, Carnegie Corporation of New York celebrates a group of remarkable Americans – all naturalized citizens – who have enriched and strengthened our nation and our democracy. The 2023 Class of Great Immigrants – 35 in total – came to America from 33 countries, ranging from Iraq to Thailand and from Canada to Ethiopia, as seen on the above map.

This year's honorees are recognized leaders in their fields, including two Nobel laureates, a five-time Olympian, a chess grandmaster, and a member of Congress. Also recognized: *Elle* magazine editor in chief and TV personality Nina Garcia, best-selling novelist Min Jin Lee, seven-time Grammy Award winner Alanis Morissette, Hollywood star and style icon Pedro Pascal, and Academy Award winner Ke Huy Quan. "The Great Immigrants initiative is a tribute to the legacy of Andrew Carnegie, a Scottish immigrant who, like these honorees, found success in America, contributed enormously to his adopted country, and inspired others to do the same," said Dame Louise Richardson, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, and a naturalized citizen who first came to the United States from Ireland as a graduate student. "The 35 naturalized citizens honored today embody that tradition, reminding us that the contributions of immigrants make our country more vibrant and our democracy more resilient."

Scan the QR code to read the inspiring bios of each of these GREAT AMERICANS!



**1 Wesaam Al-Badry**



**Iraq**  
Photographer, Investigative Journalist,  
and Interdisciplinary Artist

**2 Ana Lucia Araujo**



**Brazil**  
Professor of History,  
Howard University

**3 Kyriacos A. Athanasiou**



**Cyprus**  
Professor of Biomedical Engineering,  
University of California, Irvine

**4 Ajay Banga**



**India**  
President, World Bank, and  
Former CEO, Mastercard

**5 Jean-Claude Brizard**



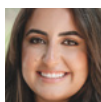
**Haiti**  
President and CEO,  
Digital Promise

**6 Betty Kwan Chinn**



**China**  
Founder, Betty Kwan Chinn  
Homeless Foundation

**7 Ghida Dagher**



**Sierra Leone**  
CEO and President,  
New American Leaders

**8 Daniel Diermeier**



**Germany**  
Chancellor, Vanderbilt University

**9 Miguel "Mike" B. Fernandez**



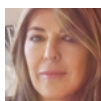
**Cuba**  
Chairman and CEO,  
MBF Healthcare Partners

**10 Maria Freire**



**Peru**  
Global Health Leader  
and Biophysicist

**11 Nina Garcia**



**Colombia**  
Editor in Chief, *Elle*

**12 Timnit Gebru**



**Ethiopia**  
Founder and Executive Director,  
Distributed AI Research Institute

**13 Karen González**



**Guatemala**  
Faith Leader, Writer, Speaker,  
and Immigrant Advocate

**14 Azira G. Hill**



**Cuba**  
Cofounder, Atlanta Symphony  
Orchestra Talent Development  
Program

**15 Roald Hoffmann**



**Poland**  
Professor Emeritus of Chemistry,  
Cornell University, and  
Nobel Laureate

**16 Guido Imbens**



**Netherlands**  
Professor of Economics, Stanford  
University, and Nobel Laureate

**17 Angélique Kidjo**



**Benin**  
Grammy Award–Winning Singer and  
UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador

**18 Bernard Lagat**



**Kenya**  
Champion Runner and  
Five-Time Olympian

**19 Min Jin Lee**



**South Korea**  
Author and National Book Award  
Finalist

**20 Ted Lieu**



**Taiwan**  
U.S. Congressman, California,  
District 36

**21 Karen Lozano**



**Mexico**  
Professor of Mechanical Engineering,  
University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

**22 Daniel Lubetzky**



**Mexico**  
Founder, KIND Snacks and  
Starts With Us

**23 J. Patrice Marandel**



**France**  
Former Chief Curator of European Art,  
LACMA

**24 Stephen Michael**



**Guyana**  
Brigadier General, U.S. Army (ret.),  
and Senior Executive, UBS

**25 Alanis Morissette**



**Canada**  
Grammy Award–Winning  
Singer–Songwriter and  
Thought Leader

**26 Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala**



**Nigeria**  
Director-General, World Trade  
Organization

**27 Pedro Pascal**



**Chile**  
Actor and Time 100 Honoree

**28 Susan Polgar**



**Hungary**  
Chess Grandmaster and  
Triple-Crown World Champion

**29 Ke Huy Quan**



**Vietnam**  
Academy Award–Winning Actor

**30 Helen Quinn**



**Australia**  
Professor Emerita of Physics,  
Stanford University

**31 Julissa Reynoso**



**Dominican Republic**  
U.S. Ambassador to Spain and Andorra

**32 Oscar A. Solis**



**Philippines**  
10th Bishop, Diocese of Salt Lake City

**33 Ali Soufan**



**Lebanon**  
Chairman and CEO, The Soufan  
Group, and Former FBI Special Agent

**34 Inge G. Thulin**



**Sweden**  
Former Chairman, President, and  
CEO, 3M Company

**35 Ponsi Trivisvavet**



**Thailand**  
CEO and Director, Inari



## DID YOU KNOW?

During a nuclear crisis, the U.S. president has 15 minutes to decide whether to authorize the use of nuclear weapons.

**D**ata visualization journalist **Mona Chalabi** provides an eye-opening perspective on the NUCLEAR TIMES we're living in. And there's much more inside the International Issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, including a data-rich graphic presentation of the true costs of the post-9/11 wars, a survey of how philanthropy is bridging the gap between scholarship and policy, and a fascinating — if not sobering — discussion of global nuclear dynamics, as well as contributions from Jimmy Carter, Richard Haass, Leymah Gbowee, and Carnegie's own Dame Louise Richardson.

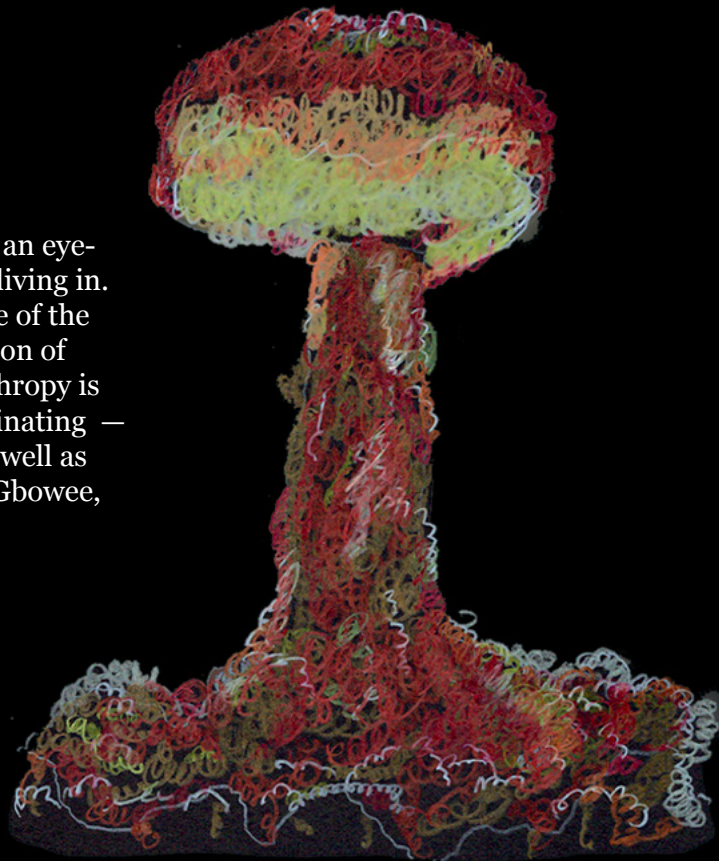


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Mona Chalabi

**Knowledge for Informed Action**