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CARNEGIE REPORTER

Powering Knowledge

The Boundless Library / Digitize or Perish / We Love Our Librarians! / Arturo Alfonso Schomburg: Black Bibliophile / Books, Scholars, Impact

WELCOME TO THE **CARNEGIE REPORTER**

Deep Consensus

When I was a young girl in Wisconsin, I applied for my first library card. I remember approaching the sunlit reading room with an appetite to devour every book that I could possibly carry. I envied the librarians their nifty date stamps and ink pads, of course, but I also admired their knowledge, and the access they could provide to the many worlds the library contained.

Later, as I advanced in my studies, the college library was a haven of thought, a place offering the surety of limitless intellectual boundaries and the assurance of centuries of writers, books, and ideas gathered there by some deep consensus that I yearned to learn.

What I only came to understand later — after the entire universe of information seemed to be available at my fingertips through my iPhone — was the incalculable importance of a good library. Not just because of the universe of knowledge represented by the books on the shelves, but because of the extraordinary consensus those books represented.

The generational act of preserving, assessing, challenging, reassessing, and sharing the knowledge of the world's peoples across millennia is fundamentally different from the act of merely indexing that information. As Vartan Gregorian observes in his essay "Power Houses," if you have a smartphone with all the world's greatest literature stored on it, but you make no effort to read or comprehend it, then you are in the storage business, not the knowledge business.

Ironically, as the world's information continues to explode exponentially online, we are at risk of losing our knowledge — the shared wisdom that comes from a communal consensus on what truly matters.

This issue of the *Carnegie Reporter* looks at the world of preserving the world's knowledge.

"The Boundless Library" is a thoughtful look at how libraries and other cultural institutions play a critical role in the preservation and sharing of cultures, and how digitizing invaluable cultural archives and other materials means that these items are instantly available worldwide for scholars, writers, and researchers, as well as descendants, diasporas, and dissenters of all stripes.

In "Saving the Bits," Richard Ovenden, Bodley's Librarian at the University of Oxford, places libraries and archives at the center of a vibrant democracy, arguing that for this reason, we must fight to preserve digital information that is at grave risk of being irretrievably lost.

And in a visual tribute to American librarianship, we celebrate the caretakers and beloved knowledge curators honored by the annual I Love My Librarian Award, which is sponsored by the American Library Association and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

In our Carnegie On the Ground section you will gain insights into the pathbreaking work being undertaken in the grantmaking programs at the Corporation: we learn how libraries in Africa are digitizing heritage collections; examine the critical importance of social-emotional learning (SEL) in American education; take a look at the twin scourges of poverty and inequality facing the Arab region; and look ahead to the 2020 Census with former U.S. Census Bureau director Kenneth Prewitt.

Carnegie Corporation of New York is a foundation whose mission is the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding. Libraries run deep in our DNA, and for decades we've been honored to support work around the world in archiving, digitizing, and preserving the heritage of the incredibly diverse cultures that libraries safeguard in their collections.

Questions surrounding the future of knowledge preservation are as much questions on the consensus of what matters as they are on the role of physical libraries in the digital age. These are questions worth pondering. I'm heading back to the reading rooms of a couple of my favorite libraries to savor what we all still share. Join me!

Julia Weede

Chief Communications and Digital Strategies Officer
Carnegie Corporation of New York

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CARNEGIE REPORTER

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Carnegie Corporation of New York is a philanthropic foundation created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States. Subsequently, its charter was amended to permit the use of funds for the same purposes in certain countries that are or have been members of the British Overseas Commonwealth. The goal of the *Carnegie Reporter* is to be a hub of ideas and a forum for dialogue about the work of foundations.

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On the Cover
"La Salle des planètes" (Room of the Planets) is one of a suite of 11 illustrations by Erik Desmazières for an edition of Jorge Luis Borges's "The Library of Babel." For a more detailed description of this image, see p. 104. PHOTO: © 2019 ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/ADAGP, PARIS

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The Deeper Danger In the Middle East, hundreds of millions of people are ensnared in a cycle of poverty, despair, and hopelessness that will haunt the region for generations to come.

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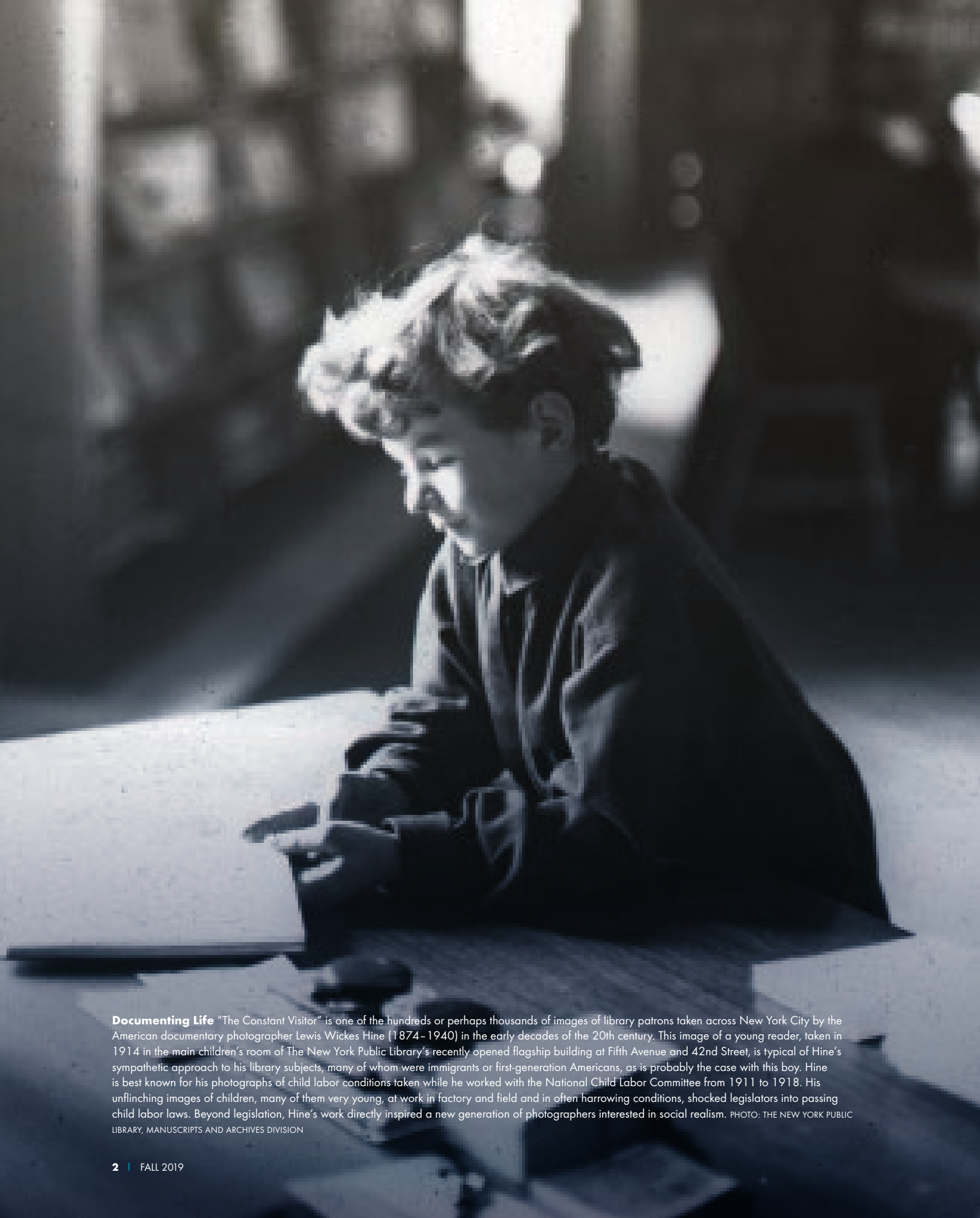
Dinosaur Diplomacy Dippy, the world's most famous dinosaur skeleton and beloved icon of the Carnegie Museum Natural History in Pittsburgh, continues to awe crowds at home and abroad.



Documenting Life "The Constant Visitor" is one of the hundreds or perhaps thousands of images of library patrons taken across New York City by the American documentary photographer Lewis Wickes Hine (1874–1940) in the early decades of the 20th century. This image of a young reader, taken in 1914 in the main children's room of The New York Public Library's recently opened flagship building at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, is typical of Hine's sympathetic approach to his library subjects, many of whom were immigrants or first-generation Americans, as is probably the case with this boy. Hine is best known for his photographs of child labor conditions taken while he worked with the National Child Labor Committee from 1911 to 1918. His unflinching images of children, many of them very young, at work in factory and field and in often harrowing conditions, shocked legislators into passing child labor laws. Beyond legislation, Hine's work directly inspired a new generation of photographers interested in social realism. PHOTO: THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, MANUSCRIPTS AND ARCHIVES DIVISION

Power Houses

American libraries have shown an amazing ability to reinvent themselves – even as they work quietly and diligently to transform lives while bringing together and strengthening the communities they serve. But do we deserve them? Can we keep them? Andrew Carnegie's visionary philanthropy points the way

The rise and resilience of our nation's libraries is a unique phenomenon. Today, we so often take for granted the existence of free public libraries that their extraordinary history and significance is almost lost to us. Yet, libraries, as we understand them, would not exist without Andrew Carnegie, the "Patron Saint of Libraries." As this year marks the centennial of Carnegie's death, I would like to reflect on the significance of Carnegie's role in the development of the American public library system.

Libraries are the critical component in the free exchange of information, which lies at the heart of our democracy. They hold our nation's heritage, the heritage of humanity, the record of its triumphs and failures, and of its intellectual, scientific, and artistic achievements. American public libraries grant all people access to an ever-growing compendium of human knowledge. Libraries provide us with books, periodicals, and other tools for learning, understanding, and progress. They represent the link between the solitary individual and the community. After all, the library is the most natural, capable, and democratic institution for centering and connecting diverse communities of people not just in a physical space but also through the free and open provision of books. In both the actual and symbolic sense, the library is the guardian of freedom of thought and freedom of choice, standing as a bulwark for the public against manipulation by various demagogues. Hence, it constitutes the finest emblem of the First Amendment of our Constitution.

At the heart of the library is the book, one of mankind's most imaginative and extraordinary inventions. From the clay tablets of Babylon to the illustrated manuscripts of the medieval age, from printed leather-bound tomes to the e-books of today stretch more than 5,000 years of humanity's insatiable desire to establish written immortality. Books allow us to realize that knowledge requires others, to learn from as well as to ensure the continuity of knowledge, culture, and memory. We read to know we are not alone. When we read, we place ourselves in a continuum of history and in community with our fellow human beings. A book becomes a link in that great chain of the human experience, wherein one can learn from the past and share in the wisdom, strivings, fantasies, longings, and experiences of past, present, and future generations.

The Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges, one of the classic authors of 20th-century literature who spent part of his career working as a librarian, paid tribute to mankind's tireless ingenuity: "Down through the ages, Man has imagined and forged no end of tools. He has created the key, a tiny metal rod that allows a person to enter an enormous palace. He has created the sword and the plowshare, extensions of the arm of the man who uses them. He has created the telescope, which has enabled him to investigate the firmament on high." And the ne plus ultra of this ceaseless questing? The book. It is the book, Borges observes, that is "a worldly extension of his imagination and his memory." He goes on to say, "I am unable to imagine a world without books.... Now, as always, the unstable and precious world may pass away. Only books, which are the best memory of our species, can save it."

Thanks to the printing press and the computer, the book remains the world's most powerful invention. That power tends mainly from the way the book has democratized access to knowledge. Beginning with Johannes Gutenberg,

Carnegie wrote that the "treasures of the world which books contain were opened to me at the right moment," and he was determined to make free library services available to all who needed and wanted them. Beginning in 1886, he used his personal fortune to establish free public libraries throughout America, and by his death he had built over 1,600 libraries in the United States.

the development of printing capabilities lessened the time and cost needed to create a book, leading to their wider dissemination. The greater presence of the printed word cultivated the study and spread of ideas, which ultimately led to the Renaissance as well as the Enlightenment. With the Enlightenment came the idea that all people are endowed with an unlimited rational capacity and possess a natural right to knowledge. This urge for self-improvement through reading was eventually linked with the idea of progress, and — with it — support for both public education and public libraries.

The earliest American libraries had their beginnings in New England with subscription libraries, whose collections were accessible only to subscribers who could afford the membership fee. Young Andrew Carnegie believed that he should not have to pay $2 a year to the local subscription library, which had formerly allowed "working boys" to borrow books for free. Writing an impassioned letter to the editor of the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* in 1853, six months short of his 18th birthday, he argued that he should be allowed to use the library without paying the membership fee. As his biographer David Nasaw notes, Carnegie was hardly a "boy" when he penned his indignant letter, but its publication in the *Dispatch* ultimately led the librarian to relent and waive the fee — but only for Carnegie. In 1848 Massachusetts was the first state to pass an act authorizing one of its cities, Boston, to levy a tax for the establishment of a free public library service. Other states were soon to follow. By 1887, 25 states had passed public library–enabling laws, but legislation alone was not enough to bring these libraries into existence. By 1896, there were still only 971 public libraries in the United States holding 1,000 volumes or more.

Years later, Carnegie wrote that the "treasures of the world which books contain were opened to me at the right moment," and he was determined to make free library services available to all who needed and wanted them. Beginning in 1886, he used his personal fortune to establish free public libraries throughout America, and by his death he had built over 1,600 libraries in the United States. His great interest was not in library buildings as such but in the opportunities that free circulating libraries afforded men and women — young, old, and in-between — for gaining knowledge and developing understanding. "Upon no foundation but that of popular education," he asserted, "can man erect the structure of an enduring civilization."

In *The Gospel of Wealth* (1889), Carnegie proclaimed that "establish[ing] a free library in any community that is willing to maintain and develop it" was the best way to spend money. Yet he did it in such a way that the public took ownership of their libraries; he paid for the physical building, but only if the community agreed to establish the library's collections and cover its operational costs from the start. One could say that, in effect, these were the world's first matching grants. For Carnegie, no city and no country could sustain progress without a great public library — not just as a font of knowledge for scholars, but as a creation for and of the people, free and open to all. It was for Carnegie no exaggeration to say that the public library "outranks any other one thing that a community can do to help its people."

Moreover, he believed that "people never appreciate what is wholly given to them so highly as that to which they themselves contribute." To Carnegie, the existence and welfare of the library was of paramount importance to the life of a community, a society, and a nation. This idea was not unlike one expressed by Benjamin Franklin, who after the Constitutional Convention, was asked what kind of government the delegates had created. He replied: "A republic, if you can keep it." Both Franklin and Carnegie placed the onus on the American people to utilize and protect what they had been given. Carnegie's libraries, and indeed all public libraries, are ours, if we can keep them.

Carnegie's philanthropy brought to the doorstep of citizens and immigrants alike not only the means for self-education and enlightenment, but also the opportunity to understand the history and purpose of our nation's democracy, to study English, to be taught new skills, to exercise the imagination, and to experience the pleasures of contemplation and solitude. The significance of his gifts of libraries to communities across the nation can scarcely be overestimated. According to two distinguished historians, Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, the most effective impetus to the public library movement in the United States did not come from official sources or from "public policy." It came from the generosity of Andrew Carnegie. This generosity was, in turn, the result

of Carnegie's genuine passion for education, his persuasion that the public library was the most democratic of all roads to learning, and his mindfulness of the debt he owed to books and the love he felt for them. Another scholar, Harold Underwood Faulkner, went further, crediting Carnegie with being the greatest single incentive to library growth in the history of the United States.

By ensuring that these living institutions were supported by not only the private sector but also by the government and the public, the library gained an unparalleled ability to transform itself. Today, there are an estimated 116,867 libraries in the United States alone. Furthermore, one of the Internet's greatest gifts has been to augment a critical function served by public libraries: the democratization of information. Technology has given each of us — for the first time in history — the means to consult our own virtual Library of Alexandria. It's fantastic that we can search this treasure house, pluck out what we want — or, at least, what we think we want — and, with great satisfaction, bring it everywhere we go on those tiny computers we carry in our pockets, our smartphones.

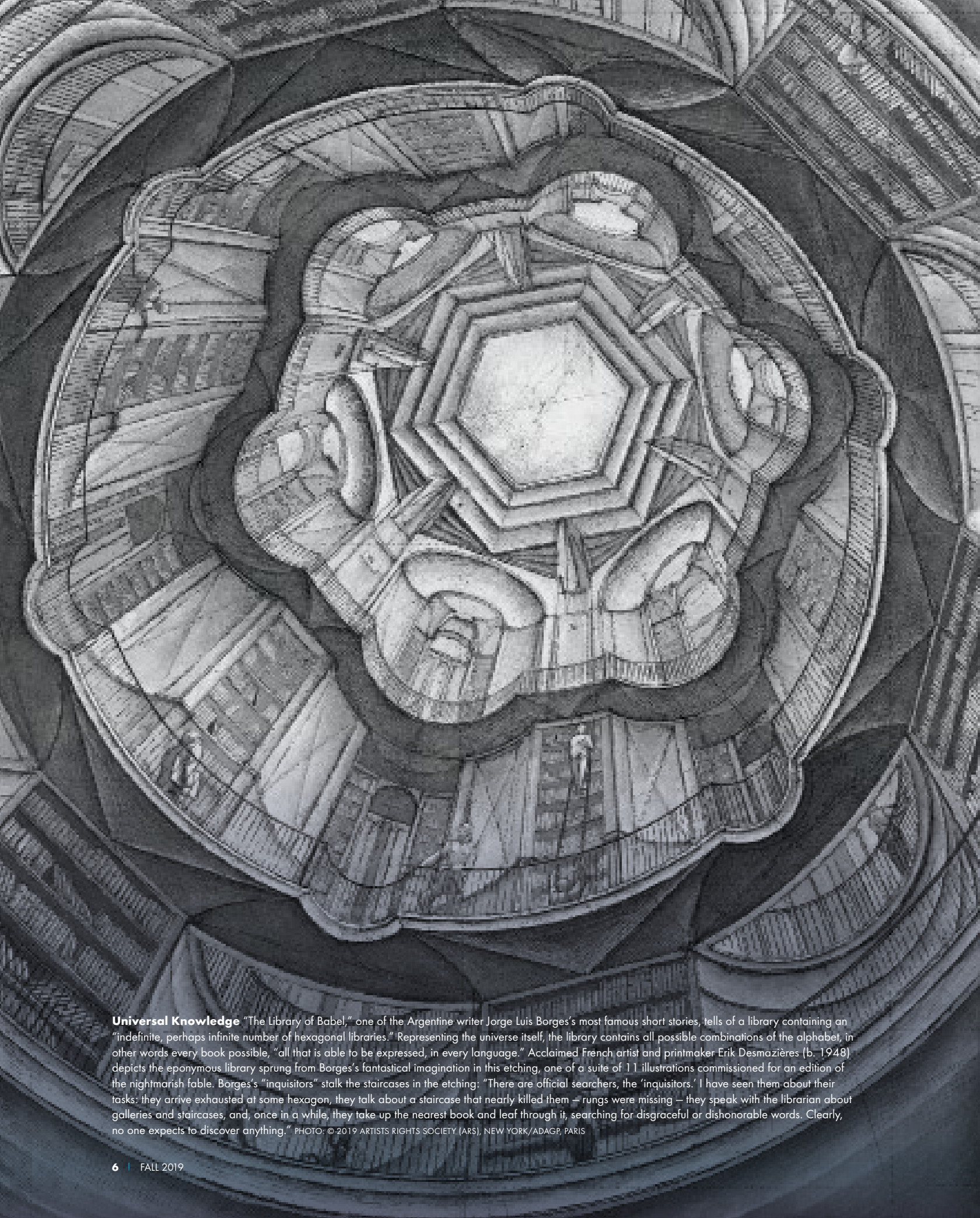
Without organization, comparison, systematization, and a structure to information, and, most importantly, without professional librarians who are able to curate and understand that information, the blind lead the blind.

Yet, we cannot approach the new pathways to knowledge and information opening to us without caution. The digital revolution has the tendency to reduce us to the misanthropic bibliophile in *The Twilight Zone*, who finds himself utterly alone in a postapocalyptic world that has been destroyed by nuclear war. But he has his beloved books and "time enough at last" to read them undisturbed. Then, he breaks his glasses and is unable to read any of the books piled up about him. As the past few years have shown, undigested facts do not amount to knowledge. Furthermore, the current proliferation of information is accompanied by its corollary pitfalls, such as counterfeit information, inflation of information, and apparent — or even real — obsolescence. As was the case for the printing press, the spinning jenny, the steam engine, the automobile, the airplane, the radio, and the television, the impact of the technological revolution ushered in by the age of information lies not in the machines themselves but in how we allow them to organize, structure, and empower our lives.

In one of his most famous stories, "The Library of Babel," Borges told of a library that contains all books in all languages and the sum total of all human knowledge — past, present, and future. Much like the euphoria accompanying the growth of the Internet in its early years, when this mythical library first appeared: "The first reaction was unbounded joy. All men felt themselves the possessors of an intact and secret treasure. There was no personal problem, no world problem, whose eloquent solution did not exist.... The universe was justified; the universe suddenly became congruent with the unlimited width and breadth of humankind's hope." Yet this library has no codification or system of organization. Babel librarians are instead "inquisitors" searching the shelves relentlessly for the book that "is the cipher and perfect compendium *of all other books*." Many are driven mad by the inability to find what they seek. Babel becomes a place where knowledge is lost amidst the chaos of irrationality. Much like the Internet, Borges's vast mythical library allows human beings to acquire knowledge — but ironically it also proves to be their greatest obstacle to obtaining wisdom.

The computer and the Internet have shrunk the traditional barriers of time and space, giving us the ability to record, organize, and quickly communicate tremendous amounts of information. Borges reminds us that it is inherent in human nature to seek knowledge, but without a way of understanding it, without an education, we become lost. Although we generate and have access to so much information and data, we are too often blinded by our inability to understand it in tandem with centuries of human experience. It was this phenomenon that prompts Father Païssy to lament, in Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*, about the powerful who "have only analyzed the parts and overlooked the whole, and indeed their blindness is marvellous."

Without organization, comparison, systematization, and a structure to information, and, most importantly, without professional librarians who are able to curate and understand that information, the blind lead the blind. At its core, the problem of Babel's library is that the inquisitors, seeking knowledge only for themselves, are unable to guide others. In the relentless quest for the answer, they disregard what they do find, making no attempt to understand it. First and foremost, librarians must be educated *and* educators. A jumble of books is not a library. Rather, a library requires organization and coherence — and a librarian. Libraries grow into halls of learning and places of refuge. Librarians are the caretakers of these havens, assisting with research, instilling a love of reading in young people, and supporting all who come through their doors looking for help.



Universal Knowledge "The Library of Babel," one of the Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges's most famous short stories, tells of a library containing an "indefinite, perhaps infinite number of hexagonal libraries." Representing the universe itself, the library contains all possible combinations of the alphabet, in other words every book possible, "all that is able to be expressed, in every language." Acclaimed French artist and printmaker Erik Desmazières (b. 1948) depicts the eponymous library sprung from Borges's fantastical imagination in this etching, one of a suite of 11 illustrations commissioned for an edition of the nightmarish fable. Borges's "inquisitors" stalk the staircases in the etching: "There are official searchers, the 'inquisitors.' I have seen them about their tasks: they arrive exhausted at some hexagon, they talk about a staircase that nearly killed them – rungs were missing – they speak with the librarian about galleries and staircases, and, once in a while, they take up the nearest book and leaf through it, searching for disgraceful or dishonorable words. Clearly, no one expects to discover anything." PHOTO: © 2019 ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/ADAGP, PARIS

Reading Borges's story brought to mind my dear friend, the late Lola Szladits, a librarian and the renowned curator of the Berg Collection of English and American Literature at The New York Public Library. Lola knew "her" collection better than anyone and was constantly on the lookout for new material to add to it. She had engaged deeply with the texts, archives, rare books, and other materials held by the Berg. Thus she took delight in helping scholars explore and discover the variety and wonders contained within. Reflecting on her responsibilities as a librarian in an interview with the *New Yorker,* Lola said, "I try to create quiet and the timelessness that allows for the pursuit of truth. The young, especially, need a great deal of time." She continued, "I would reap havoc or madness by confusing our users — by not sizing up a question from a caller or correspondent and sending him in the proper direction or helping him discover it himself." Only through education does one learn how to understand and digest the information found, how to place it in the correct context, how to understand its limitations.

Even a virtual Library of Alexandria will not make the need for brick-and-mortar libraries, printed books, archives, or special collections obsolete. Libraries, both physical and digital, allow us to see the Internet as a means to an end, not an end in and of itself. After all, the ability to carry around the entire corpus of Greek literature on one's phone may be astonishing, but without actually reading it, a person might as well be carrying around a ream of blank paper. Books require action, not just possession. They demand to be read. Reading at once entails the effort to comprehend and the effort to incorporate. It requires a process of digestion. The Renaissance polymath François Rabelais advised the reader of his comic masterpiece *Gargantua and Pantagruel* to "eat the book," by which he meant that books cannot nourish or even be said to exist until they are digested. Only when one takes the time to read, study, and reflect on a text, does one come to know it, to understand it.

On the whole, I remain optimistic about the possibilities offered by a lively coexistence between the book, the library, and technology. Libraries seem uniquely adept at finding ways to adapt new technologies and media to fit their fundamental purposes. Public libraries provide critical and transformative services to individuals and communities that are often left behind, combating inequality by providing books, magazines, computers and laptops, classes, databases, job counseling, safe spaces to study, read quietly, or merely daydream, and myriad other materials and opportunities for those who often cannot afford these "luxuries." One of the most essential ways that libraries maintain their role as our nation's great equalizer is by providing free wireless Internet access, which gives the public unfettered pathways to information and knowledge — and hence, to power: the power of autonomy, the power of enlightenment, and the power of self-improvement. Maintaining these sanctuaries and cultivating their collections requires not only community support but also financial assistance.

In keeping with Andrew Carnegie's legacy in the century after his death, Carnegie Corporation of New York has supported a number of projects which help libraries advance the democratization and preservation of knowledge through technology. Since 1997 we have made over 140 grants totaling $84 million in this domain. These projects have transcended institutional as well as geographic boundaries, amassing and conserving mankind's heritage and ensuring that these materials are freely available online to students, researchers, and scholars — and, not least, to Virginia Woolf's "common reader," who reads for pleasure. The full scope of those grants cannot be encompassed here, but a few highlights from some of these initiatives will serve.

In 2009 we provided the Library of Congress with funding to create the World Digital Library (WDL), an international collaboration of over 160 libraries from 75 countries, to provide virtual access to cultural heritage materials from all world regions. Today, this free online library contains more than 19,000 rare books, manuscripts, maps, prints and photographs, films, and sound recordings contributed by partner libraries, archives, and museums. Unlike other digital libraries, it functions in seven languages — Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish. The World Digital Library helped develop an international network of librarians, curators, historians, and information technology professionals, ensuring that important historical texts from around the world, previously inaccessible to all but a small number of scholars and academic researchers, can now be studied by anyone who has a computer and an Internet connection.

Similarly, we funded Arabic Collections Online (ACO) at New York University, creating a 23,000-volume, open-access Arabic-language digital library. Much of ACO's growing readership is in areas where libraries are not easily accessible. The Corporation has also supported libraries in Africa as well as preservation and digitization projects throughout the United Kingdom.

To salute the work of librarians, in 2008 Carnegie Corporation of New York established the I Love My Librarian Award in partnership with the American Library Association (ALA) and the *New York Times*. To date, patrons of libraries from around the country have submitted over 19,000 nominations detailing how their local librarians have radically improved the day-to-day lives of the people they serve by connecting them to information, educational opportunities, and technology. The Corporation not only contributes cash prizes but also hosts the much anticipated annual event at its New York

In keeping with Andrew Carnegie's legacy in the century after his death, Carnegie Corporation of New York has supported a number of projects which help libraries advance the democratization and preservation of knowledge through technology.

headquarters. Thus far, 110 librarians have received this honor, many of them giving moving testimonials about their work at the awards ceremony. The event and the *New York Times* quarter-page ad announcing the winners pay homage to all librarians, the unsung heroes of our democracy. And in 2012, with Corporation support, the ALA began awarding the Andrew Carnegie Medals for Excellence in Fiction and Nonfiction. Unlike other major book awards, which are judged by authors and critics, the winners of Carnegie Medals are selected by librarians.

To mark Andrew Carnegie's faith in the future of New York's libraries in particular, we gave a series of gifts in 2000 to the city's three public library systems to promote literacy, the preservation of texts, and the improvement of children's library services. The Corporation also supported The New York Public Library's efforts to digitize over 200,000 unique and rare audio and moving image materials, including films, audio recordings, discs, and other materials in a range of formats (many of them now obsolete). In 2015 we helped the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture — The New York Public Library's research and cultural institution dedicated to preserving the rich legacy of the global black experience — to plan and implement public programming and events commemorating the center's 90-year history.

In the midst of a rapidly changing world, the American public library system shows remarkable endurance and creativity in addressing the many challenges made to its relevance and viability, thanks above all to the groundwork laid by the visionary philanthropy of Andrew Carnegie. Our nation's libraries required the civic will and the sense of civic responsibility to — first — build them; we now need those same virtues to keep them flourishing. More than most, Andrew Carnegie understood the value of libraries as the primary institution for the cultivation of the mind and the development of the community. The public library is many things: a place to study, a place where both children and adults are taught to read, a place where immigrants learn English, bridging the distance between the "old country" and their newly adopted home. The library is also a gathering place, a meeting place, a place to vote, a place where cultural events happen, where we come into contact with people of every race, every ethnicity, and every class. To avoid the chaos of Babel, this country needs the free exchange of information and the fostering of community provided by its libraries. Ultimately, the public library is a station of hope, a link in the chain of being which unites knowledge and humanity, past and future. Borges imagined paradise not as a garden, but as a library. Following the example of Andrew Carnegie, let us continue striving to ensure that the public library does not become a paradise lost. ■

Vartan Gregorian
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Far Horizons A girl wanders through the Seattle Central Library, which was designed by the influential Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas in a joint venture with Seattle-based LMN Architects and opened to great fanfare in 2004. Corporation president Vartan Gregorian delivered remarks during the opening celebrations: "I believe the library is the only tolerant historical institution, where the wrong and the right, where the left and the right, where the Devil and God, where human follies and human endeavors, where human achievement and human failures – all of them – are stored in order to teach mankind what not to repeat and what to try to emulate. Libraries are the only free universities in the country. There are no entrance examinations, no subsequent examinations, no diplomas, no graduations. For no one can graduate from a library." PHOTO: JAMES LEYNSE/CORBIS VIA GETTY IMAGES

CARNEGIE **CONVERSATION**

On the Table: China (l–r) Orville Schell, Ankit Panda, and Susan Shirk pose in a conference room at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters in midtown Manhattan. Andrew Carnegie keeps a watchful eye on the proceedings. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK

REASSESSING U.S.★CHINA RELATIONS

Competition … confrontation … or collision course?

An Asia Society report peers into the future of the world's most consequential bilateral relationship

By **Orville Schell**, **Susan Shirk**, and **Ankit Panda**

Are the United States and China on an irreversible path toward confrontation? Which country bears greater culpability for the ongoing decline in bilateral ties? How should the United States respond?

To probe these questions and the nature of China under President Xi Jinping, we turned to three experts who've investigated the U.S.-China relationship extensively.

Orville Schell, the Arthur Ross Director of Asia Society's Center on U.S.-China Relations, is a decades-long observer of China, author, journalist, and former dean and professor at the University of California, Berkeley.

Susan Shirk is research professor and chair of the 21st Century China Center at the School of Global Policy and Strategy at the University of California, San Diego. She previously served as deputy assistant secretary of state (1997–2000), responsible for U.S. policy toward China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia.

Together, Schell and Shirk are the cochairs of the Asia Society Task Force on U.S.-China Policy comprising several top U.S. experts on China's politics, economy, and foreign policy. A February 2019 report offers prescriptions for U.S. policy toward China and is a successor to a March 2017 report.

The discussion, which took place on the cusp of a major escalation in the U.S.-China trade war that continues today, was moderated by Ankit Panda, a senior editor of the Asia-Pacific affairs magazine the *Diplomat* and an adjunct senior fellow at the Federation of American Scientists.

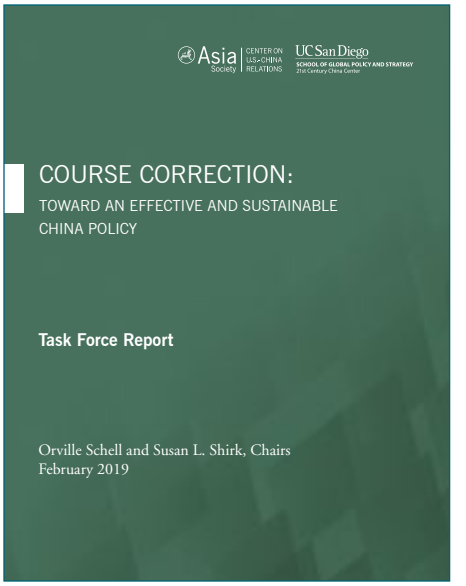
How We Got Here

ANKIT PANDA: How do you explain the current lurch in the United States toward great power competition with China? The Trump administration recognized it and called it that. But even before that, there were calls to move in this direction, in this increasingly confrontational posture toward China. So, where is this all coming from?

ORVILLE SCHELL: Over the last 10 to 20 years, American policy has had an ever-changing mix of carrots and sticks with China, trying to engage it and interact with it. And sometimes the relationship had begged pushback in areas that we thought were counter to our interests.

But, in the last five to eight years, we've seen increasingly assertive, even aggressive behavior by China abroad and a much more pronounced preference toward authoritarian controls at home. This has really stressed the relationship, challenged the notion of "engagement" and has put us at an inflection point in how the U.S. should respond.

PANDA: Reading the report, it seems fair to say that the prescription at the core, along several of the topics that are addressed — from economics and human rights to security issues — is that on balance there is today a need for a more confrontational U.S. approach toward China, while not writing off engagement altogether.



Dangerously Off Course? In February 2019 the Task Force on U.S.-China Policy issued *Course Correction: Toward an Effective and Sustainable China Policy*, a new report building on its 2017 report identifying the fundamental interests of the U.S. in its relationship with China. Today, as even more stresses and strains beset the relationship, with both sides casting about for redefinitions of their national interest and new policy directions for attaining them, *Course Correction* proposes a strategy of "smart competition." PHOTO: COURTESY ASIA SOCIETY

SUSAN SHIRK: I wouldn't say confrontational. More competitive, for sure. So, we accept that the relationship has become more competitive, and we need to be firmer, while still specifying the specific areas where we want China to make changes. So, negotiate in a sensible way, a clear way, in order to test whether or not there's flexibility on the Chinese side, and also still keeping the door open to cooperate on important global issues, like climate change, refugees, global health.

PANDA: The concern that I have is, in discussing many of these more competitive approaches toward China, do we end up feeding into a narrative within China that it is indeed the West and the United States that are seeking to stem China's rise? This is often the narrative that you'll hear out of Beijing. So, how can we move toward this more competitive approach and avoid feeding into that narrative in China?

SHIRK: That is a great question. It's a crucial question in our diplomatic efforts. We make very clear what are the problematic actions that China has taken that are increasingly out of line with global norms and are highly detrimental to American interests and values, but also not just to us. We have this backlash around the world, especially in advanced industrial countries. So, we need to be clear that this is not just an across-the-board hostile attitude toward China.

SCHELL: Pushing back against China does sometimes excite nationalist chauvinistic forces within China. We should be mindful of that. But it also can serve to support those elements within China, including all of those returned students and other people that actually do have an active, or at least incipient, liberal temperament, who are being completely ignored now by their own government. They are now feeling quite lost and bereft of any support or any contact. So, it's a paradox.

A Decoupling Ahead?

PANDA: Let's talk a bit about the ongoing dispute between the two sides over Huawei, beginning with the arrest of Meng Wanzhou in Vancouver, Canada, which has really inflamed nationalist passions in China, where the company is seen as the crown jewel of Chinese high-tech self-sufficiency. Is this the spark that will ignite a broader process of decoupling between the West, the United States included, and China in the high-technology sector?

SCHELL: Several months ago I visited the Huawei headquarters in Shenzhen. It is a pretty extraordinary company. They're doing some very innovative, creative things and their world market reach is impressive. However, if there is one area where decoupling is probably advised, and I think my task force colleagues would agree, it is probably in the world of 5G.

Why? Because, 5G is the technology of the future, on which all other technologies will sit. Because China's political system, values, and goals are so different from ours, this may be one of the areas where we have to kind of reset the two systems. China has its notion of Internet sovereignty — that it should be free to regulate the Internet as it sees fit within its borders. Maybe 5G is one of those areas where this is a national security concern that compels us to decouple from them. But this does not mean every area of technology is one where we should sort of throw up an impermeable membrane and separate ourselves.

SHIRK: One of the big unanswered questions is, can we limit this emergence of two separate networks, in a sense, to 5G and still maintain the integration that's been so mutually beneficial, and for the whole world, in other technologies? Or, will it spill over, and not just to AI, but also to robotics, biotech, biomedicine? To me, that would be absolutely tragic. So, that's why we're hoping in the United States that everybody takes a deep breath, thinks about costs and benefits, and defines the national security risk of technological integration very narrowly and not expansively.

PANDA: One of the central ideas at the core of the economic recommendations in your report is the idea of reciprocity: that China provide to American firms the kind of regulatory environment that Chinese firms are seeing in the United States. We're far away today from that reality, especially in the technology sector with Chinese initiatives like Made in China 2025.

SCHELL: At the heart of the matter lies this question of reciprocity and reciprocity is not something that China's done very well on over the last few decades, even during the reform era. Perhaps this failure grows out of its sense of being a victimized society, a country that is still owed something because of the predations of the great powers in the past. Whatever it is, this lack of reciprocity has distorted our relationship and thrown the playing field out of level not just for business, but in many other realms of interaction. And that's a problem. For instance, in the media, things are way out of balance. China has television networks, newspapers, magazines, and websites in the U.S., and we have no comparable outlets in China.

SHIRK: The problem is, the Chinese party-state is too strong, and the market forces and civil society are too weak. That's why Huawei, even though it is a private company, can't assure the rest of the world that it won't do the party's bidding if they were to call on it. There's just no way, because there are no legal protections for them as a private firm.

> The problem is, the Chinese party-state is too strong, and the market forces and civil society are too weak.
>
> – **Susan Shirk**

The Party and Its Ideology

PANDA: The question of ideology is central to our current debates about the nature of the relationship between the United States — and open societies writ large in the West — and China.

This comes back to a trend within China domestically, since the 17th Party Congress — even before Xi — of the country becoming an intensely more ideological place. Recently, U.S. intelligence leaders offered an assessment that China's leaders increasingly seek to assert China's model of authoritarian capitalism as an alternative and an implicitly superior development path abroad for countries. Is this dynamic already playing out in front of our eyes?

SCHELL: This is one of the reasons why we're at such an inflection point, because all of these things you've just mentioned are now coming into play. The U.S.-China relationship, which was once trying to engage toward a more convergent future, is now diverging and putting our two countries in a more contentious state where each side is defending its own system, values, economy, and civil society against the so-called predations and incursions of the other. This dynamic puts us in a very lamentable situation, one in which the blame rests largely with the Chinese.

SHIRK: Someone in the U.S. government said to us in the last couple of days in Washington: "It's like the Chinese government forgot that we read Chinese." Because what they say domestically about the West and the United States has increasingly emphasized their hostile intentions toward Western ideas — how universal values have no applicability to China. Whereas, previously, that was not the message under Jiang Zemin or even the first term of Hu Jintao.

So, now we have teaching more Marxism in the schools and more — what I've called virtuocracy — promoting people on the basis of political loyalty. All of this makes China a much more ideological type of system today than previously. So, it's understandable that we react warily. We're alarmed by this. But the challenge is, we want to

defend our own values, but we don't want to make decisions ideologically. We want to make decisions in a way that will actually get China to make some changes if they can.

SCHELL: If they can.

SHIRK: If they can.

SCHELL: I have a slightly different interpretation. I don't think China is as ideological now as it once was. It's kind of stripped away the Marx from the Marxist-Leninist modes of thought and kept the Leninism. So, what's Leninism all about? Party organization that emphasizes sheer good old-fashioned authoritarianism: namely, order, hierarchy, discipline, orthodoxy, speaking-with-one-voice, party-controlled democratic centralism.

So, it's not so much that China has an ideology that it's voicing, but an authoritarian organizational system that they view as a kind of training model. Basically, they're experimenting with the idea that maybe they have a way to develop that's better than the messy train wrecks of democracy that they see around the world.

Values and Competition in the Trump Era

PANDA: You've both spoken about values and interests, which are the fundamentals of any country's foreign policy, certainly here in the United States. However, we are presented with the unique circumstance where I think the assumptions about continuity across party lines in this country, about what American values and interests were, have come under serious interrogation, at least at the level of the president himself.

The American bureaucracy continues to operate much as before in most cases, but I think in our system it matters who the president is and what the president says. Certainly, our allies take that to heart.

SHIRK: There's a demand in China for changes in Chinese domestic policy, as well as to a certain extent foreign policy. So, at least at the elite level, people are hoping that *gaiatsu* — that foreign pressure — might drive another wave of domestic reform in China.

But I think around the world, the Trump administration's contempt and mistreatment of our allies and friends around the world, and its abdication from international institutions, has been very damaging in terms of our influence on China's choices.

Incidentally, I think Donald Trump is a lot more popular in a lot of ways in China than he is in the United States. People in China just think he's a businessman, and he's a really good negotiator. We're a lot more critical of that.

> We're faced with what is likely the greatest morally urgent crisis coming out of China since possibly June 1989.
>
> – **Ankit Panda**

SCHELL: I would agree that Trump's pushback against China was called for, given the changing equation and the way in which China was becoming more assertive, aggressive, overweening, and how it was pushing out abroad. But on the other hand, there's so much about the Trump administration that is destructive to the whole fabric of America's leadership role in the world with its allies that it's hard to view it as a whole policy.

The 2000s: An Inflection Point?

SHIRK: The luster of American market democracy was damaged by the global financial crisis of 2007–2008 and by the failures of our own regulatory system, the financial system, and also of the invasion of Iraq and the way we handled the North Africa and Middle East democratic movements, the Arab Spring — so that liberals in China found it harder to have their perspectives heard on how a society should be organized. Their voices were less influential in the domestic debate ever since 2008.

PANDA: Orville used the term inflection point to describe our present turn toward competition with China. Was the global financial crisis, in a way, the first inflection point? It coincided with the second term of Hu Jintao and the broader shift in Chinese foreign policy toward greater assertiveness overseas. Do you see that as something that we maybe missed at the time?

SCHELL: Yes. I think that was the point where we got the first whiff of Chinese triumphalism and the emergence of China's overweening arrogant ambition, that it could project itself in a global way, because actually America was turning out to be something of a paper tiger. Since then, it turned out that our economy recouped, and we got back into balance. But the 2009 economic crisis was the beginning of China's dreams of grandeur.

More than any time in my life — even during the Mao era, where we were looking through the glass darkly from outside — we knew more about what was happening in terms of the factional disputes and leadership struggles than we do now.

– **Orville Schell**

A Moral Urgency

PANDA: We've talked a bit about values and their role in American foreign policy, and it's always that tension between where you place human rights and other values-based issues on the agenda.

Unfortunately, with this administration, human rights appear to be a particular *bête noire*, not only on the China agenda. That's distressing, because we're faced with what is likely the greatest morally urgent crisis coming out of China since possibly June 1989, which is the mass incarceration of up to, and possibly more than, one million ethnic Uighurs in Xinjiang in forced reeducation camps. China has acknowledged and justified these camps under the excuse of fighting the three evils of terrorism, separatism, and religious extremism.

Civil society and journalists have been at the vanguard of focusing on this issue, but how do we move the needle?

SCHELL: I do think you point out a real inconsistency, that our government is somewhat remiss in supporting these most fundamental principles of the American policy. The great strength of the American system is that we don't just depend on the presidency.

There are other agencies in the government, and of course, there is civil society — universities, think tanks, NGOs. These are incredibly important voices and institutions that, even when the U.S. government runs off the tracks, can keep the United States viable.

SHIRK: Based on my own experience in government, it is so frustrating that our diplomatic efforts to improve the real human rights situation on the ground in China have been so limited in their effectiveness.

It just reflects the great political insecurity of China's Communist leaders, their lack of legitimacy, their fetish for control, and so they just overdo it all the time. They just feel if they lighten up or if they allow the legal system to really operate independently, which they do somewhat in the economic domain but not so much in other domains, that somehow the whole house of cards will collapse. So, it's just extraordinarily difficult.

Opacity and Hubris

PANDA: A lot of what we've talked about depends on how well we understand the Chinese leadership. It's something that op-ed writers the world over, analyzing the trade negotiations, pretend to have: a great insight into exactly what is being thought at the highest levels of China's leadership. But, if we're humble, it seems far from clear.

SHIRK: I think the Chinese party-state's fetish for secrecy is really harmful to it, because it makes it harder for them to make credible commitments, because they want to keep the process — the decision-making process — secret. Even from their own people, mostly from their own people. But that means internationally, we also can't read it.

One of the big problems with the secrecy is our image of China is too monolithic. So, we just are always asking the question: What does China want? We don't know the answer to that question. The only voice we hear is the voice of the official spokespeople of the foreign ministry or the ministry of defense, the PLA, or *Global Times*.

Then, people say China wants this, China wants that. In fact, there's so much more diversity on a bureaucratic basis, different bureaucratic agencies, as well as different interest groups. We really still don't know that much about it. It's very difficult to penetrate.

SCHELL: In the last couple of months I've been with many American intelligence agencies, and they are just as bewildered by what is happening in China as we are. They're asking us what we think is going on, and we're asking them what they think is going on.

The truth is, more than any time in my life — even during the Mao era, where we were looking through the glass darkly from outside — we knew more about what was happening in terms of the factional disputes and leadership struggles than we do now.

SHIRK: Xi Jinping, since he ascended the throne, has kind of taken ownership of all domestic and international policy. So, in a way, the good news about that is we know whom to hold responsible. If you just look at what he's done, there's no sign that he's really committed to market reform and opening.

SCHELL: Because of the reaction he's elicited around the world, which is quite unfavorable, Xi Jinping's turn toward greater authoritarianism could, if he's not very careful, bring the whole house down on the China economic miracle.

What an immense tragedy that would be, and what a horrible legacy for someone who was bent on rejuvenating China. If in fact this immense accomplishment, the "China economic miracle," was undermined by a narrow-minded, retrograde system of Leninist government within Beijing, it would be an enormous loss to the world.

SHIRK: Hubris.

SCHELL: Hubris and ignorance of the outside world. ■

Conversation recorded at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters in New York City on February 7, 2019.

Carnegie & China: Some Background

Beginning in the mid-2000s, the Corporation began to focus on China — today, the U.S.'s primary "peer competitor" — in earnest

By **Stephen Del Rosso**

China's President Xi Jinping arrives at the closing session of the National People's Congress in Beijing, March 20, 2018. PHOTO: KEVIN FRAYER/GETTY IMAGES

When publisher Henry Luce famously declared in his well-read and well-remembered 1941 *Life* magazine essay that the unfolding era would hence be known as the "American Century," he made a bold prediction at a crucial time in global history, even before the United States had entered World War II. After the war, American power and influence validated Luce's claim, as Europe lay prostrate and much of the world reeled from the effects of that enormously destabilizing and destructive conflict. In the decades that followed, as new problems and opportunities emerged, the century, in many ways, resounded with a distinct American accent. Now, almost 80 years after Luce's essay, there is a new major challenger to an America that no longer bestrides the world as it once did. Emerging from its own self-declared "century of humiliation," China has risen to the rank of a great power and — given its rapid economic development, growing military might, and global

reach — has become the United States' primary "peer competitor." During the Cold War, the United States faced a Soviet Union with a comparable nuclear arsenal and a Mao-led China driven by aggressive revolutionary fervor, but it never faced a challenge from another great power, like today's People's Republic of China, whose economic strength rivals its own.

Although this rising power has factored into Carnegie Corporation of New York's programming in various ways over the past decades, it has really only been since the mid-2000s that the International Peace and Security (IPS) program has focused on China in earnest. During a trip I made to China in 2005, I encountered a wide range of Chinese officials and scholars who had benefited from Corporation-funded programs at various grantee institutions. Building on this base, with board and senior leadership approval, our subsequent initial efforts involved major support to what would become the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's (CEIP) Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, on the campus of the prestigious Beijing-based Tsinghua University. Later, after commissioning a needs assessment of China studies programs at U.S. universities and think tanks and convening a group of experts on China, the program set out to address some key identified needs: nurturing a new generation of American experts on China; supporting empirically based, analytically rigorous, policy-relevant research to better understand and assess China-related developments; and promoting dialogues involving experts and officials from China on a range of IPS-related issues, from regional security to the global economy.

When the Asia Society's Orville Schell and University of California San Diego's Susan Shirk approached the Corporation in 2016 with the idea of organizing a Task Force on U.S.-China Policy with some of the country's most renowned China hands, they argued that American relations with its peer competitor had reached an inflection point. The once cherished assumptions driving American and Western approaches to China since Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger's diplomatic outreach in the early 1970s — that integrating China into a world capitalist system would temper its more aggressive instincts and positively shape its internal and external behavior — have proven flawed. China has resisted being "tamed" and has cleverly used — or, some would argue, exploited — its engagement with the West to assert its own model of great-power development.

The first Task Force report, published in February 2017, *US Policy Toward China: Recommendations for a New Administration*, described the nature of the challenge in its broad multiplicity and proposed policies that might mitigate its most adverse aspects while leaving open the possibility of constructive engagement. As the report underscored, the "US-China relationship has always entailed elements of both cooperation and competition,

At the heart of the report was the still open question as to whether China is amenable to accepting the rules-based strictures of the so-called liberal international order, or whether it is intent on upending the status quo, however flawed and in need of revision.

but since the global financial crisis in 2008, the mix began to shift," and the relationship has grown decidedly more contentious. The report highlighted immediate and urgent priorities for the new administration, from reaffirming U.S. commitments to Asia, to working with China to halt North Korea's nuclear and missile programs, to deploying effective tools to address the lack of reciprocity in U.S. trade and investment relations with China, to responding to Chinese civil society policy that harms U.S. organizations and citizens. At the heart of the report was the still open question as to whether China is amenable to accepting the rules-based strictures of the so-called liberal international order, or whether it is intent on upending the status quo, however flawed and in need of revision.

At the halfway point in the current Trump administration, the Task Force's second report takes stock of the progress — or, in some important cases, lack thereof — on the policies recommended in the 2017 report. The new report, *Course Correction: Toward an Effective and Sustainable China Policy*, also describes the new and ever-evolving challenges posed by China, in light of the tightening domestic grip and expanding international ambitions of President Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party. The urgency of efforts to deal with these developments is underscored in the report's opening line, which ominously warns: "The United States and China are on a collision course." The subsequent pages lay out a detailed, informed, and clear-eyed diagnosis of the problems at hand, as well as a set of updated policy prescriptions to address them. Importantly, it again highlights opportunities for cooperation to avoid the worst outcomes. Taken together, the analysis and recommendations in this report and the words of the project's cochairs reflect sentiments and actions that Andrew Carnegie would have heartily endorsed, and that now command the attention of his philanthropic progeny. ■

The Boundless Library

Democratizing — and Preserving — Knowledge

Technology has brought to much of the world a true "digital commons," creating a virtual public square that scoffs at geographical boundaries and resists the ravages of time and destruction. But ceaseless innovation — think "born-digital" data like email, websites, blogs, text messages, and podcasts — has made saving our cultural legacy more urgent and complicated, not less

By **Aruna D'Souza**

Don't Judge the Books by Their Covers The stunning Tianjin Binhai Library opened in the cultural center of Binhai district in Tianjin, a coastal metropolis outside of Beijing, China, in October 2017. A "social space that also promotes reading and inspiration," according to its director, the library quickly became a social media sensation, the unique wavelike, terraced bookshelves encircling the massive atrium from floor to ceiling making the perfect Instagram backdrop. It soon became apparent, however, that many of the volumes lining the shelves at the highest reaches weren't real books. A tight construction schedule had meant that one key part of the plan had to be dropped: access to the upper bookshelves from the rooms placed behind the atrium. The official press release explained that the "full vision for the library may be realised in the future, but until then perforated aluminium plates printed to represent books" would fill the upper shelves. The illusion doesn't take away from the building's eye-poppingly beautiful design, the work of the Dutch firm MVRDV. Furthermore, it is a smashing success with the public, Tianjin Binhai Library having become "the urban living room it was intended to be." PHOTO: ZHANG PENG/LIGHTROCKET VIA GETTY IMAGES

The New York Public Library (NYPL), one of the world's biggest research libraries with an annual 18 million patrons walking through its doors and additional millions more who access its resources online from other parts of the country and the world, sees its mission as threefold: to create and nurture lifelong learners, to advance knowledge by providing free and open access to materials, and to promote full citizenship by strengthening communities and giving people the resources they need to understand and engage with the societies in which they live.

These are ambitious goals, ones shared by many major research institutions. They also give a hint to anyone who has been paying attention in recent years of the ways in which libraries see themselves as keystones of open societies. With the expansion of digital technologies, libraries have even more tools at their disposal to achieve their missions.

"If you think about it," says William P. Kelly, the Andrew W. Mellon Director of the Research Libraries at NYPL, "we have the very real opportunity now to create our own Libraries of Alexandria." That legendary place, founded by Ptolemy I around 290 BCE, was celebrated as one of the centers of scholarship in the ancient world, housing much of the world's early recorded knowledge until its destruction during various sieges of the port city over the next few centuries. And with the possibility of gathering and distributing information, not just in physical but in digital form, there is an opportunity to share such electronic resources among global networks of research institutions, making them available not only to people who can travel to a particular place but to anyone with means to access the Internet. Thus, the "public" that The New York Public Library serves is indeed potentially boundless.

"In an era in which the public sphere is disappearing under waves of privatization, librarians insist that knowledge is for everyone, and that they are called to share rather than to horde. That is where a lot of libraries are at the moment. It's a driving vision that unites us all," says Kelly.

As Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, writes in the introduction to this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, Andrew Carnegie understood more than most "the value of libraries as the primary institution for the cultivation of the mind and the development of the community"; this understanding led the philanthropist to establish over 1,600 free libraries across the U.S. during his lifetime, and to advocate for the importance of these institutions in bolstering democracy by nurturing informed citizens in their quest for knowledge.

But in our digital age, that quest for knowledge has become in some ways more complicated, not less. While one of the Internet's greatest gifts has been the democratization of information, it brings with it new challenges, such as preserving the immense universe of digital data; ensuring access to the Internet regardless of income at a time of sharp inequalities; and creating an online infrastructure that is not only able to support an enormous amount of information but can organize it into navigable and readable formats, such that we can all use it to better understand our world.

Kelly puts the problem in concrete terms. "Compare the archives of two presidents, Lyndon B. Johnson and Barack Obama. Johnson's archive consists to upwards of 45 million pages, practically every written document created by his office. Each of these must be cataloged and preserved so that the record of his administration remains discoverable. That's a massive job."

"Now," he goes on, "consider President Obama's archive, which primarily includes material that was 'born digital' — communications, such as email, without a print existence. That archive includes more than 1.5 billion 'pages.' Granted that some of these records are inconsequential — emails ordering lunch, for example. But think of the challenge involved: someone has to decide what's important to preserve, and then organize that vast body of information in a usable manner."

The difficulties and opportunities inherent in this new digital landscape have driven Carnegie Corporation of New York to continue its founder's legacy of supporting libraries as part of its larger mission to advance and diffuse knowledge and understanding. In the last three fiscal years alone (FY2016–18), the foundation gave 16 library-related grants totaling $18,010,000 in support of that goal. The Corporation shares this commitment with a number of other nonprofits and foundations that are also working toward preserving and disseminating the holdings of libraries and archives in a sustainable digital environment.

Preserving Cultures by Preserving Knowledge

In September 2018 a fire engulfed the National Museum of Brazil. When it was brought under control six hours later, practically all of the museum's holdings — including the oldest human remains ever discovered in the country, dinosaur fossils, and the last surviving audio and textual traces of some of Brazil's extinct indigenous languages — were destroyed. There were no back-up copies of any of these artifacts in the form of photographs, 3D scans, digital audio files, or the like. This was due in part to the sheer difficulty of digitizing a collection that comprises 20 million discrete objects (the collection of linguistic materials alone encompassed more than 100,000 documents), but also because of funding cuts to the museum by the national government. The loss of the linguistic material in particular means that not only is vital data unavailable to

Must All Good Things Come to an End? "Destruction" is the fourth in the series of five large canvases called *The Course of Empire*, an ambitious work by the great American landscape painter Thomas Cole (1801–1848). In this allegorical cycle, Cole sought to depict the life cycle of a great civilization from its glorious rise to its devastating, ignominious fall. In "Destruction," with storm clouds gathering ominously above, a once magnificent city is being destroyed by war and savaged by fire. In the 21st century, the destruction of cultures by war (civil and otherwise) is still sadly with us, and furthermore, today the vandals are both real and digital. The ravages of time will always take their toll. Does digitization offer the chance to staunch — or at least slow — the loss of history, the destruction of cultures? PHOTO: COLLECTION OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. DIGITAL IMAGE CREATED BY OPPENHEIMER EDITIONS

future researchers, but the very DNA of the cultures represented in the collection has vanished.

Tragedies like this one — and the loss of information and knowledge that they represent — bring into focus the many efforts to wield the power of digitization to preserve and maintain access to cultural knowledge. Whether caused by fires or floods, political unrest, budget cuts leading to institutions' inability to maintain fragile materials, or simply the ravages of time, the question of how best to safeguard information in libraries worldwide is on a lot of peoples' minds these days, as are questions about how to use a vast array of new digital tools and methods to do so.

Daniel Reid, executive director of the Whiting Foundation, cites this urgency as the reason why his organization, which focuses on support for writers and scholars, established its Cultural Heritage program in 2016. The program extends grants to organizations doing the work of documenting and digitizing materials around the world that are threatened by man-made or natural causes. They have joined forces in this effort with other foundations working in the sector, including the Prince Claus Fund in the Netherlands, which offers "emergency first aid" to cultural heritage, and the Arcadia Fund in London. The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York are also active in the arena.

"Our program started in response to the very prominent media coverage of the cultural destruction that has been happening as part of conflicts around the world, particularly in the Middle East," Reid said. "We started investigating this as a possible area of support when we were seeing all too many video clips of destruction by ISIS in Iraq and Syria specifically. But those weren't the only places where it was happening. Boko Haram in Nigeria and plenty of other extremist groups around the world are specifically targeting cultural heritage. And often, particularly, they're targeting documentary cultural heritage like manuscripts and archives, since the written word is such an ideologically charged kind of heritage."

Library of Wonders Opened in 2002, the Bibliotheca Alexandrina was erected near the site of the fabled Library of Alexandria, established in the third millennium BCE and one of the great centers of scholarship in the ancient world. (This legendary library was eventually destroyed over the course of several centuries after repeated sieges of the coastal city of Alexandria). Seeking to recapture the spirit of the ancient library, the Bibliotheca Alexandrina "aspires to be the world's window on Egypt, Egypt's window on the world, a leading institution of the digital age, and a center for learning, tolerance, dialogue, and understanding." The building itself is quite striking, its main reading room standing beneath a high, glass-paneled roof that tilts out like a sundial and with walls of gray Aswan granite inscribed with the characters of 120 different human scripts. The library complex houses a conference center, several museums and galleries, research centers, a planetarium, and more. PHOTO: DEREK HUDSON/GETTY IMAGES

Reid emphasizes that, as important as it is to record at-risk cultural heritage, it is vital, too, to disseminate it in ways that prioritize the needs of the stewards of that culture — those in and from the troubled regions. He points to a meeting organized by the Smithsonian Institution at the Iraqi Institute for the Conservation of Antiquities and Heritage in Erbil, Iraq, for communities — many of them religious minorities — that had been affected by ISIS. "The participants had many, many needs for recovery, but at least for some of them, there was a strong desire to prioritize aspects of their cultural heritage. They felt passionate about preserving their distinctive heritage for themselves and for their kids," Reid says. "But there was also a real desire to share each culture as widely as possible with the world, so that people would understand what it is about, what these people have gone through and done, both now and in the past."

Open Societies Need Libraries

A recognition of the role libraries play in creating open societies is perhaps what led young people to form a human cordon around the relatively new Bibliotheca Alexandrina to protect it from mobs during the Arab Spring uprisings in Egypt in 2011. The city of Alexandria is a stronghold of the Muslim Brotherhood in the country, and the library, which opened in 2002 with a dedication to maintaining a secular, humanistic approach to knowledge, was an inevitable target of extremist ire.

The library's founding director, Ismail Serageldin, has spoken of what the library, built very close to the ancient site of the original Library of Alexandria, symbolizes for some in his country. "The extremists and the Islamists dislike the library very much. But that's okay, that's normal, because we stand for exactly the opposite of what they stand for," he said. Despite this antipathy, Serageldin told a reporter after the unrest in the spring of 2011 that

"not a single stone has been thrown at the glass façade. The population loves the library and they protect it. It says a lot that people reacted this way."

Serageldin attributed the reaction to the library's important role as "a focal point for the promotion of reform and for civil liberties." He noted, "We're spreading the values of democracy, freedom of expression, tolerance, diversity, and pluralism that I'm hoping are taking root in the younger generation."

As the "New Library of Alexandria," the Bibliotheca Alexandrina aims to achieve the same importance today, both as a living space and as a repository of physical materials, and to maintain what it calls the "lingering ambiance and hue of history" through its digital archives, which make historical documents, books, pictures, and much more available to specialists and culture enthusiasts from around the world. Along with a library holding 1.6 million volumes (including a sizable gift of books from the Bibliothèque nationale de France), the Bibliotheca Alexandrina comprises four museums, a planetarium, a children's science center, a library for the blind, and eight research institutions. This "arena for cultural pluralism" is a magnet for 1.5 million annual visitors — students, scholars, and a general public hungry for access to its significant offerings.

But the library also strives to be at the forefront of advances in information technology — with Serageldin describing the library as "born digital." The Bibliotheca Alexandrina has developed cutting-edge optical character recognition software to capture Arabic script, making it possible to digitize great portions of its collections. Staffed by 120 employees over two shifts a day, seven days a week, the onsite digitization lab has processed 130,000 volumes, making it the largest collection of digitized Arabic books in the world. Its Reissuing Modern Classics initiative, supported by a grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York, aims to make freely available in digital form between 100 and 150 books that date from the late 19th and 20th centuries, a period in which the Muslim world faced challenges to its traditional culture, including questions over women's public life, freedom of conscience, the rise of democracy, secularism, and so on.

In a 2010 interview, Serageldin told American journalist Caryle Murphy that the initiative was meant to bring balance to the narrow view of Islam that circulates online in large part because it is much easier to find digital copies of works supporting radical viewpoints than it is to find modern challenges to extremist ideas. Speaking with exasperation of a 14th-century Islamic thinker whose work fuels contemporary extremist ideologies, Serageldin exclaimed, "There are umpteen zillion editions of Tamiyya's *fatwas* … for heaven's sake. But you can't find Qasim Amin? The guy who wrote in 1898 *The Liberation of Women* from an Islamic perspective?"

"You can conquer Afghanistan, but you cannot dominate Afghanistan. The spirit of independence, freedom, and self-respect is there. Why not have the entire history of Afghanistan repatriated? These documents are the repatriation of the Afghan legacy, the Afghan memory, and that is why we started the project."

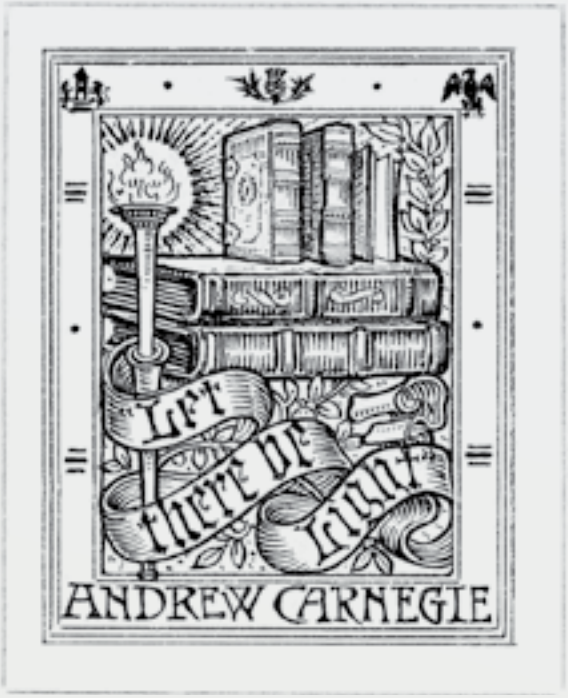
– **Vartan Gregorian**, Carnegie Corporation of New York

"Virtual Repatriation"

The idea of "virtual repatriation" — returning to a country its cultural patrimony as a way to help it rebuild after centuries of colonial occupation, armed resistance and war, and civil strife — is at the heart of the Afghanistan Project. Funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York and led by the Library of Congress, the three-year initiative aimed at creating a multilingual website that would gather in one place documents, many of them one-of-a-kind treasures, related to Afghanistan, a country Vartan Gregorian has called "the vortex of all cultures." Materials dating from the early 1300s to the 1990s, including precious illuminated manuscripts, maps, books, prints, photographs, newspapers, and periodicals, were gathered for scanning from collaborating institutions, such as the Library of Congress, the British Library, the National Library and Archives of Iran, and UNESCO.

In 2016 the Afghan Minister of Information and Culture Abdul Bari Jahani and other government officials were presented with hard drives containing high-resolution digital reproductions of more than 163,000 pages of documents digitized through the project. These will be used by libraries and universities throughout Afghanistan, accessible even without an Internet connection — an important consideration in a country whose infrastructure is still in need of repair after decades of military conflict.

At the presentation, Gregorian (himself an expert on Afghan history) remarked, "You can conquer Afghanistan, but you cannot dominate Afghanistan. The spirit of independence, freedom, and self-respect is there. Why not have the entire history of Afghanistan repatriated? These documents are the repatriation of the Afghan legacy, the Afghan memory, and that is why we started the project."



Eureka!

The word *archives* may have a faintly musty, Dickensian feel, but digitization is pulling long-forgotten marvels out of the files and into the (digital) light of day — to the benefit of scholars, writers, researchers, and the just plain curious

Jennifer Comins is an experienced hand at the joys — and not infrequent heartaches — of archival research. She is head archivist of the Carnegie Collections, which are held by the Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Columbia University. The archive is a repository of the philanthropic foundation's official records, from its inception and official founding in 1911 through its early, formative years and up to the present day. The collection also includes recordings related to the Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project, launched in 1966 and now including over 850 hours of testimonies of the Corporation's officers, staff members, and grantees that provide invaluable information about the evolution of the philanthropic institution. (The Carnegie Collections also comprise the records of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs.)

With a major grant from the Corporation, Comins and her team undertook the pressing task of preserving materials in the archives. While the great bulk of the Corporation's records are in paper format, a small portion of the collection survived only on microfilm or microfiche, making their preservation especially urgent since both formats are subject to rapid deterioration. Just as worrying, some of the ledgers were in poor condition, and the audiovisual materials were in outdated formats. "It made sense to digitize them," says Comins. The archives also has to deal with born-digital records, as the Corporation continues to add digital-only grant records, digital "snapshots" of its website, and other nonprint materials to the Columbia collections. In the end, the digitization efforts encompassed 300,000 images of documents, including grant files, correspondence, ledgers, and annual reports, as well as 195 oral history interviews with Corporation staff, officials, and affiliates.

While the information contained in the archives may strike some as rather specialized, of interest only to those researching the ins and outs of one particular foundation, Comins explains that such notions couldn't be more mistaken. "Here's the thing. Carnegie Corporation of New York is a 100-plus years old. It's one of the oldest grant-making institutions in America, if not the world. So they have been involved in so many different things — over the course of more than a century — that it's a really, really rich collection," she says. "And thanks to the digitization project, you can go in there and find information about an organization people thought they knew about. But what they don't know is that the Corporation had something to do with it, and in some cases was directly involved in its founding."

"There's no specific type of researcher I get," Comins continues. "It could run from genealogists to educators to people looking at segregation to people looking at civil rights. It really runs across the board. You have accounts of fossil digs in there!" She gives the example of a curious researcher who discovered that Carnegie Corporation of New York was involved in rebuilding a Canadian university after a fire, King's College in Nova Scotia, later assisting in its incorporation with Dalhousie University. "It's an example that has nothing to do with donations, nothing to do with the study of philanthropy, but it was just a question from someone who went to college hearing this lore. And

we were able to confirm the rumors," Comins said.

While the project will continue into 2020, the web portal has recently gone live, allowing free access to the wealth of Carnegie Corporation of New York's archival collections (dlc.library.columbia.edu/carnegie). The new digital research tools available on the site will allow access for people not able to make the trip to New York to pore over physical objects. There's a definite aspect of fun in this type of "on-site" research, says Comins. "You stumble upon things that lead you in a totally different direction." She contrasts this with web research, which while efficient, doesn't quite allow for the same kind of happy accidents that can occur when you wander aimlessly through the library stacks and — lo and behold! — happen upon exactly the book that you didn't even know you needed.

Yet there are other tools that digital sleuthing has up its sleeve. For example, the Carnegie Corporation of New York Digital Archive incorporates a state-of-the-art map feature, allowing researchers to view documents relating to Carnegie library projects and pipe organ donations across the globe, whether they're in Joplin, Missouri, or Cape Town, South Africa. Comins explains: "So if someone comes in and says I'm interested in the Pittsburgh free library that Carnegie established, one can say, 'Okay, let's look for other libraries — whether public or academic — that received Carnegie funding in that geographic area.' By clicking on the varying spots on the map, it will pull up all the details. It's my hope that the map will facilitate a little more serendipity in the research process." ■

← PAGE 24 **Giving Light** Andrew Carnegie was fond of the motto "Let there be light," seen here in this original drawing for a design for one of his bookplates. He also had the phrase carved into the Gothic arch of the entrance of the first library he funded, in his birthplace of Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1880. PHOTO: CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK RECORDS, RARE BOOK & MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Mary-Jane Deeb, chief of the African and Middle Eastern Division at the Library of Congress and a curator of the Afghanistan Project, echoed these sentiments, highlighting the often overlooked losses to a people that result from armed conflict. "It's terrible when you don't have a record of your past and of your history, you lose your sense of identity, of who you are," Deeb said. "Because identity is rooted in the history of the country, of the ancestors, of the stories — real or mythical — of your culture. Those are critical elements of identifying, and wars have a way of destroying those." For his part, Minister Jahani looked ahead. "It is for the future generations," he observed. "The future generations should be and must be thankful for this collection."

Cooperation Across Borders

The Afghanistan Project was executed as part of the World Digital Library (WDL). Launched in 2005 by the Library of Congress with the support of UNESCO to promote international and intercultural understanding and to help narrow the digital divide for underresourced countries in a rapidly changing world, the WDL represented, according to its website, an important "shift in digital library projects from a focus on quantity for its own sake to quality." The idea of harnessing the power of the digital to secure historical and cultural materials, especially in areas that have been subject to colonialism, war, internal strife, and natural disasters, was first floated by the then head of the Library of Congress, James Billington, in the wake of the September 11 attacks. Growing out of the Library of Congress's bilateral digital collaborations with Russia, Spain, France, and other nations, the World Digital Library now partners with more than 190 archives, museums, and libraries from 81 countries, and has amassed a virtual library of 19,000 works in 132 different languages. With Carnegie Corporation of New York as one of its earliest supporters, the WDL has served upwards of 80 million virtual visitors since its launch.

In some countries, potential partners lacked adequate infrastructure and funding, so the World Digital Library made the key decision to supply equipment, software, training, and financial support to help them commit to the long and arduous work of digitization. "We realized that in order for it to be a true World Digital Library, we were going to have to shoot for universal participation," says John Van Oudenaren, the recently retired director of the WDL who began work on the project in 2005. "The barriers were that some countries had no capabilities, so we were going to have to offer technical assistance to get people involved. The first Carnegie grant provided us with funding to set up a digitization operation in Uganda, and then we had other funders who supported similar operations in Egypt and Iraq."

The National Library of Uganda proved a notable success, eventually contributing about 100,000 pages of content.

The digitization of libraries and archives fosters the expansion and diffusion of knowledge through cultures and even across borders. But while the promise of these initiatives is great, there are also challenges.

Van Oudenaren explains how this was accomplished: "It organized a competition so that people and organizations all around the country could come with their artifacts, get preservation treatment, and have them scanned by the equipment that we provided them with. We had the tribes, the churches, the universities, the government agencies all come in. Not all of it was appropriate for our purposes because of the type of content or copyright issues, but it has the makings of Uganda's own digital library, for them to use in their own schools and research centers."

Collaborating partners are largely left to decide exactly which materials they want to send to the World Digital Library. Staff in Washington then create metadata so the materials can be cataloged, in addition to writing richly informative descriptions of each item. All of the new texts — metadata and descriptions — are then translated into seven languages.

Van Oudenaren points out that the decision to create the World Digital Library under the auspices of UNESCO allowed it to approach organizations in countries with which the U.S. has strained diplomatic relations. "We were able to get Iran on board — they didn't make a huge contribution, but the National Library and Archives of Iran was a contributor. We worked with the National Library of Cuba early on. We had the Israelis sitting next to the Arabs, we had Russia and Ukraine. We have all these countries that either don't get along with each other, or don't get along with us, or both, actually kind of working side by side in this project. Flying the UNESCO flag was helpful in that regard."

The Value of Open Access

A cataclysmic event led to the founding of another similar resource, the Digital Library of the Middle East (DLME), conceived in the wake of the 2015 attacks by ISIS on the Mosul Museum in Iraq, and, though less publicized, on libraries in the city. Expected to launch in 2020, the DLME is an initiative of the Council on Library and Information Resources (CLIR), in partnership with the Qatar National Library, the Antiquities Coalition, the Digital Library Federation, Stanford University Libraries, and other global institutions, and is supported by grants from the Mellon Foundation and the Whiting Foundation, among others.

Charles Henry of CLIR has written about the purpose of the DLME, which he hopes will make the trafficking of a country's cultural patrimony into the global art market more difficult by recording the existence of collections and objects. "The DLME is envisioned as both a technical marvel but also a virtual place that facilitates social justice and provides a sustained, evolving platform for worldwide access as a public good," he said. "The crisis in the Middle East is urgent and heartbreaking; our immediate goals are to construct a digital library that will inhibit looting, track material objects of cultural significance, and help to safeguard one of the world's greatest cultural repositories. Over time, we hope for peace, when the DLME can engage a new generation of scholars and readers who can gaze anew on such stunning evidence of our collective human achievement."

An American university's establishment of a global outpost — in this case, the Abu Dhabi campus of New York University (NYU) — led to the creation of another important open-access resource focused on the Middle East: Arabic Collections Online (ACO), a publicly available digital library of Arabic-language content. As Sally Cummings, a development communications manager at NYU Libraries, explains, "There is a wealth of Arabic language material in academic libraries that could have an appreciative global readership if we were to make it accessible, even in places where libraries are few, or where travel is constrained. In addition, for areas that are war-torn, it's hard to build and maintain libraries."

Yet, she adds, "There is Internet access just about anywhere, and there are many, many speakers and readers of Arabic around the world. We thought it would be really great to get some of the privately held volumes in distinguished Arabic-language collections digitized and put them online for everybody, no matter if they are in Cincinnati or in Beirut. Not just technical stuff, not just textbooks, not just scholarly philosophy, but a broad range of poetry, economics, business, and fiction."

A Rare Commodity: "A Silent Library" In addition to housing a collection of more than 150,000 printed items and tens of thousands of handwritten manuscripts, Gladstone's Library has 26 bedrooms reserved for residential scholars as well as a restaurant (the "cosy Food for Thought bistro"), a chapel, and conference facilities. The library, located in Wales, hosts a range of events based on the interests of its founder, Prime Minister William Gladstone, covering such topics as religion, history, politics, and 19th-century literature. PHOTO: COURTESY GLADSTONE'S LIBRARY

Arabic Collections Online is aiming to put 23,000 Arabic-language books online, chosen from NYU's collections and those of its partners — Princeton, Cornell, Columbia, The American University in Cairo, American University of Beirut, and United Arab Emirates National Archives. The choice of books aims for variety, and the main goal is access, explains Cummings. "We want private readers, casual readers, as well as doctoral candidates, teachers, and professors at universities. We want them all to use it — that is our hope."

Digital Isn't Forever

The digitization of libraries and archives fosters the expansion and diffusion of knowledge through cultures and even across borders. But while the promise of these initiatives is great, there are also challenges. Done at scale, the process involves scanning hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of books, creating descriptions that will allow the volumes to be findable via search engines, and storing vast quantities of information. All of this is very costly.

Moreover, and perhaps surprisingly, these digital formats are in fact both less stable and more fragile than the paper documents they are meant to preserve in perpetuity. Paper archives can survive years of benign neglect, as long as they are shielded from damp, pests, fire, and so on. Digital files, by contrast, are subject to one of the greatest threats of our technological age — that of obsolescence. As hardware and software develop apace, digital files must be migrated from platform to platform, with the potential for corruption of data or loss of information along the way. Richard Ovenden, the head of the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford — an institution that opened its collection of books, manuscripts, and other printed matter that spans centuries if not millennia to scholars in 1602 — explains that this poses a particularly intractable problem. "Alongside the process of digitization comes a growing sense of urgency over the preservation of digital material, and how do we manage that when it's actually much harder to preserve than paper and parchment are?"

The sentiment is echoed by Louisa Yates, director of collections and research at Gladstone's Library in Wales, which was founded in the 1880s by British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone to house his own collection of 32,000 books. Today, the library also comprises about 300,000 handwritten documents, including Gladstone's papers and letters and other manuscript materials. It is one of the world's few "residential libraries," where visiting researchers can stay in one of 26 "boutique bedrooms" in the building itself while conducting research alongside fellow resident scholars, other visitors, and the general public. With the help of funding from Carnegie Corporation of New York, the library has set out to digitize about 15,000 of Gladstone's letters and another 5,000 of his hand-annotated books, making these unique items available to a far greater audience than can be accommodated by the library's handful of librarians in its (generally fully booked) reading room, which boasts 26 desks and "a growing number of comfortable armchairs."

Building capacity for the Gladstone digitization project has been an eye-opener for Yates, who explains that instead of outsourcing the actual scanning and acquisition of metadata as is often the practice for archives and libraries, it was decided that a digitization studio would be set up in the library itself. Yates and her team have developed techniques for harvesting metadata from its archival materials that can be used by a team of volunteers — who at the moment are local but will eventually come from around the world — with the hope of eventually amassing digital transcriptions of every letter and document in the archive.

As part of the learning curve, Yates notes, "One thing we found out is that digital objects require much more intervention — and much more early intervention — than physical objects. Even cloud storage has only really become viable within the last 18 months, and it's not certain where we'll be in the *next* 18 months. So one thing that's been very interesting coming out of this process is that it's much better to make choices that are flexible and reversible than to commit to a single approach, because committing to one storage facility or one type of file may not be sustainable as technology changes."

The question of sustainability is particularly acute for born-digital data, such as email correspondence and bureaucratic record keeping, says the Bodleian's Ovenden. He offers the example of the papers of the Prime Minister Edward Heath, who brought Britain into the European Union. "His archive contains a huge variety of digital media that I'd almost forgotten about. Five and a quarter-inch floppy drives! Twelve-inch floppy drives! Taking data off these formats and making it readable and understandable today requires us to use devices, both hardware and software, and forensic techniques that seem more associated with the CIA or MI-5 than with libraries."

However, Ovenden says the task is not insurmountable. "All this information can be retrieved if you have the know-how. But it does mean that we have to apply a whole range of skills and technologies and resources to actually steward information properly, and to give it back to the people."

Donald Waters, formerly the senior program officer for Scholarly Communications at the Mellon Foundation, which has focused on the ways technology can bolster humanities research, emphasizes that the future of scholarship as such relies on the preservation of digital materials — and not simply on the preservation of physical documents or objects. "We need a very robust infrastructure to keep that stuff alive. It involves preserving journals, it involves preserving news, it involves preserving information captured on websites and social media, it involves preserving software. The objective here is to provide robust infrastructure so that scholars can confidently work in the digital medium, and know that their work will survive."

The World Digital Library is an important object lesson in this case. In 2016 the Library of Congress decided to deprioritize the WDL in favor of other digitization and preservation projects that focused more exclusively on U.S.-based resources. As of now, until it finds new sources of funding and support, the World Digital Library is in limbo, with no new materials being added to its collections.

"We always thought that the Library of Congress was going to keep the lights on, and that the World Digital Library was just a smaller version of the massive digital preservation and digital archiving functions that the Library of Congress undertakes," Van Oudenaren explains. "But the library management is not keen on hosting the content of other institutions, which is what the World Digital Library essentially does. A lot of content is from the Library of Congress, but a lot of it is from other institutions. And of course, the WDL's software and platform are different from the library's own. So that's why it is in danger."

NYPL's Kelly concurs about the challenges faced by libraries and archives in creating a sustainable digital future, but points to both a new ethos in which communities are increasingly aware of libraries' role in creating democratic spaces, and new technological advances — text recognition software, machine learning, crowdsourcing, and artificial intelligence, among others — that will facilitate the process of making the world's knowledge available to the greatest number of people. "When you start out from the principle of full and open access," he insists, "a lot of other goals and decisions fall into place."

Maintaining Authenticity

The question of sustainability extends to one of authenticity when it comes to digitizing library collections. While

New technologies often don't interpret digital information in the same way as older ones did, and in this process of translation an accurate sense of how a particular web object might have once "worked" on-screen is lost.

there is an inevitable risk of degradation or deterioration in the conversion of paper archives into digital copies, in ideal scenarios one might be able to create a new version using the original physical object. And for born-digital material — where there is no "original" hard copy — the problem is compounded.

If libraries don't preserve the original digital objects when they are migrated to new platforms as technologies evolve, there is the loss of behavior as well as the loss of information to take into consideration. New technologies often don't interpret digital information in the same way as older ones did, and in this process of translation an accurate sense of how a particular web object might have once "worked" on-screen is lost. For example, certain types of animated data visualizations or 3D renderings of objects may cease to function in an online science article if particular software applications become obsolete, creating lacunae for future researchers trying to access past scholarship.

According to a 2007 report put out by the Rand Corporation, *Addressing the Uncertain Future of Preserving the Past*, "If preservation methods cannot preserve their full range of behavior, the future scholarly record will bear only a static, snapshot representation of the first generation of these inherently digital objects, which are likely to become increasingly numerous and important to scientists and scholars over time."

Another issue is that digital objects — say, websites — change over time; while this poses obvious advantages over the analog era (no need to print a new issue every day!), it does make preservation challenging. In the face of this rapid and relentless updating of information, a number of libraries worldwide, including the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and the Bodleian Library, have undertaken a project of "archiving the whole web," in which they make static copies of every page produced on the Internet to keep as a historical record.

The increasing role of private companies when it comes to housing our digital information is developing into another quagmire, warns Ovenden. And as more and more of our personal data in the form of photographs, music, or other material is hosted by Silicon Valley giants who are not obligated to retain materials in perpetuity, preservation is increasingly at the whims of profit and loss. It's not only future scholars and researchers who may lose out — it's all of us.

"In the process of turning information into knowledge, we used to rely on libraries and archives and museums to act as trusted independent entities that were not there to make profits. That process of turning information into knowledge was part of the commonwealth," Ovenden says. He adds, however, that at some point "society began to believe that because the so-called free services were being provided by the tech companies, that such processes can be essentially outsourced. It was so easy to do when it first became available, and big tech companies were offering the possibility of doing it at scale. But it's becoming clearer that those companies were not benign, that we needed to keep an eye on them — and now we are seeing the consequences of not regulating that when Myspace and Google+ and Vine were shut down, resulting in the loss of massive amounts of information."

Don Waters from the Mellon Foundation concurs. "The problems that we're dealing with have to do with building infrastructure that survives, and the sustainability of that infrastructure has a variety of dimensions. The mechanisms required to preserve content have to be embedded in organizations — and services — that can survive financially, technically, and organizationally."

The New Pleasures of the Archive

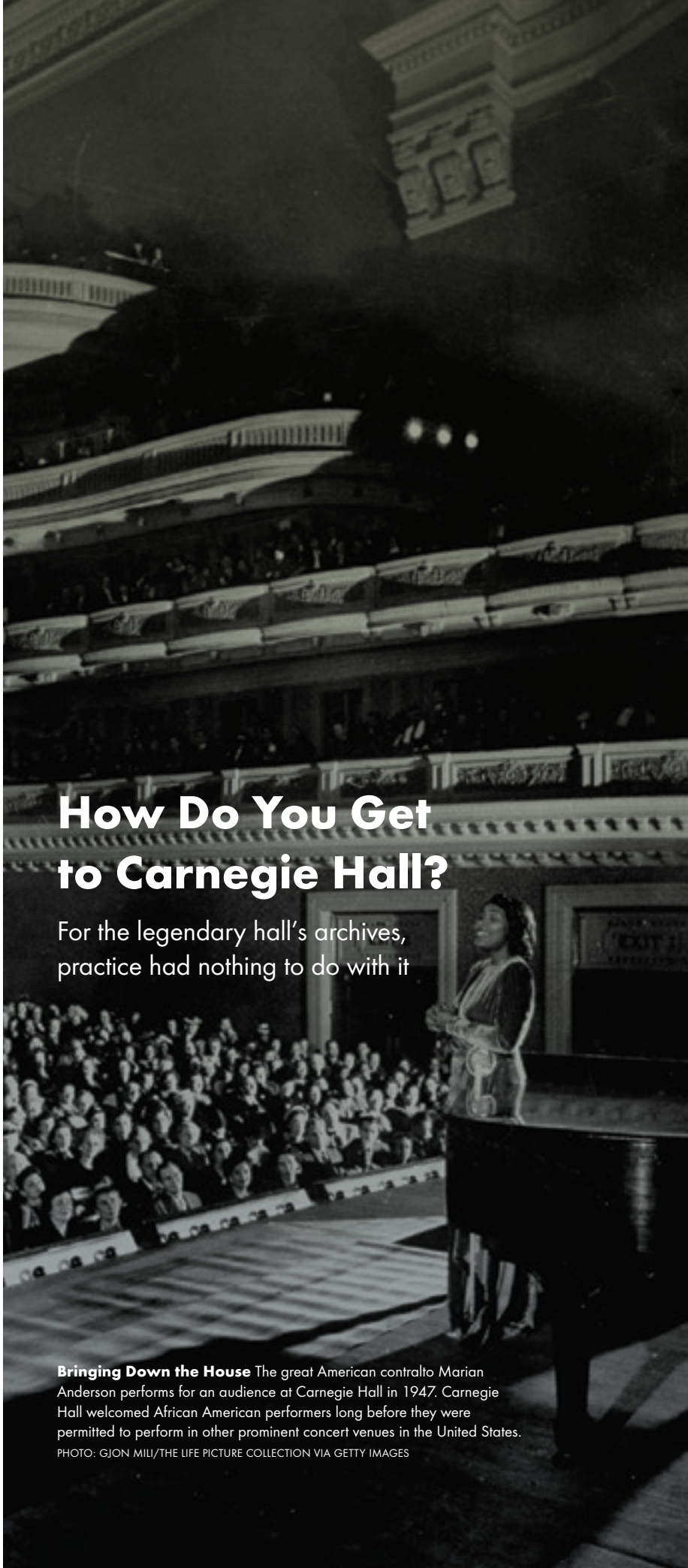
Writing in this magazine in 2017, Carnegie Corporation of New York's Gregorian spoke of the process of taking all of the information now available to us and synthesizing it in a way that makes it meaningful. "Thanks to technology," he writes, "never has the world been more accessible to scholars — to all of us — willing to master the skills and languages to allow for the inquiry into societies only superficially resembling our own culture.... Access to knowledge is no longer an obstacle. If we hunger for it, we can find it." The way to find such meaning, Gregorian argues, is by a process of "intellectual wandering"— making connections between and across realms of thought and expertise.

One of the real pleasures of manually digging through libraries and archival collections, of course, is something akin to the wandering Gregorian describes: poring over book spines on packed, seemingly endless rows of shelves, digging through boxes of yellowing correspondence not knowing what one will find, flipping through crumbling sketchbooks and diaries that, until that moment, have remained closed for decades if not centuries.

The happenstance of coming across something that awakens our fascination and curiosity is something that can turn the least scholarly among us into researchers, too, as long as we can do it with the right tools and skills to understand what we're seeing, to analyze its veracity and import, and to place it in a larger context. In the age of paper and parchment, or bricks and mortar, that kind of support was offered by librarians. In the digital landscape, it is provided by a variety of finding tools and search functions, some as simple as a keyword query, and others driven by the most complex predictive technologies.

While digital research may not offer quite the same pleasures as physical libraries, many of those involved with the digitization of collections and archives are keenly aware of the other serendipities — even scholarly miracles – that new technologies can deliver.

For Richard Ovenden, innovative search and discovery tools are crucial when it comes to thinking about what sort of insights digital archives might produce in the future. "I think this is something that we worry about," he admits. "I think one of the problems we have is the tendency to try and reproduce the so-called Amazon Effect — 'people who bought this also bought that.' I think what we actually need is the opposite — 'people who search for this will never have thought of searching for that, so why don't you take a look?' Almost like an anti-referral engine." ■



How Do You Get to Carnegie Hall?

For the legendary hall's archives, practice had nothing to do with it

Bringing Down the House The great American contralto Marian Anderson performs for an audience at Carnegie Hall in 1947. Carnegie Hall welcomed African American performers long before they were permitted to perform in other prominent concert venues in the United States.
PHOTO: GJON MILI/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION VIA GETTY IMAGES

As Gino Francesconi tells it, in the early days of building Carnegie Hall's repository of historical materials, it was not uncommon for him to hear, "What do you mean, one of the most famous concert halls on the planet doesn't have an archive?"

That was in 1986. Just five short years later, in 1991, the storied venue would celebrate its 100th birthday in the grand manner with an 11-day centennial festival. The lack of an archive was not entirely surprising, says Francesconi. Andrew Carnegie had the idea of building the hall not to house a specific choir or orchestra, but "as a stage waiting for the phone to ring." Its location at the corner of 57th Street and Seventh Avenue — *far, far* uptown from Manhattan's tonier neighborhoods to the south — was a challenge, as was the fact that there was little public transportation at the time. But the challenges only seemed to burnish the hall's aura. As Francesconi puts it, "If you sold out Carnegie Hall, it meant you were good enough for people to go out of the way to go hear you."

Andrew Carnegie's insistence that "all good causes may here find a platform" meant that the stage at Carnegie Hall would be graced by some of the most important and sometimes controversial performers and public figures of the era, including many who were often shut out from other venues. Yes, the New York Philharmonic performed there, but the hall is also where Margaret Sanger came to speak in 1916 about birth control. In 1939, one of the 20th century's greatest singers, the African American contralto Marian Anderson, was prevented from performing before an integrated audience at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., because of her race. And yet, 11 years earlier, on December 30, 1928, Anderson made her Carnegie Hall solo recital debut, going on to enjoy many further triumphs on its stage. Jazz music, performed by black musicians, arrived in the hall when James Reese Europe and his Clef Club Orchestra presented a "Concert of Negro Music" in 1912. A storied 1938 concert by Benny Goodman and his orchestra was one of the first ever to feature an integrated band.

But Carnegie Hall's status as a high-quality rental venue had implications when it came to the kinds of materials that were produced and saved (or not), because many of the most interesting programs, posters, photographs, recordings, and the like were produced by the performers themselves, not by Carnegie Hall. If anything was saved, it was saved haphazardly, not systematically. Judith Arron, director of Carnegie Hall at the time, charged Francesconi to create an archive, "once and for all," as he recalls. He placed ads in news and trade publications asking people to send in whatever they had. "And so people started sending things in. One article in *Modern Maturity* generated almost 10,000 pieces."

The material started piling up, and Kathleen Sabogal, who serves today as assistant director of the archives, was brought on board to work as part of the team charged with cataloging and organizing it into a full archives serving researchers, writers, and the public. In time, when the team aspired to take the archives to the next level — properly preserving and digitizing them so they could be accessed widely — it was clear that more help, financial and otherwise, would be needed to get things done. That help came from Vartan Gregorian and Carnegie Corporation of New York — happily enough, on the occasion of the foundation's *own* 100th anniversary, in 2011, with that leadership gift soon inspiring other funders to follow suit.

With this grant money, the first major infusion of Carnegie foundation money to the hall in 80-odd years, the Carnegie Hall Archives was able to bring in experts to help them decide how to go about digitizing and organizing their paper and audiovisual materials in a systematic way, a process that included stabilizing and preserving the physical objects before scanning. The team researched digital asset management systems and brought on a digital project manager. "One of the best things that came out of the initial three-year grant was that the digital project manager, which was supposed to be a short-term position, has transformed into a permanent digital collections manager," says Sabogal.

"With digitizing not just the programs, but flyers and posters and correspondence and architectural drawings, we are going to be able to share this material with people all over the world, whether or not they would ever be able to travel to New York City," says Sabogal. "That was really one of the biggest reasons that we wanted to undertake what has turned out to be a massive project."

Asked to select some of the real gems in the collection, Francesconi points to a couple of truly unique items. Yes, there are thousands of interesting concert programs, posters, and photographs, but there is also an autograph book that was kept by the hall's general manager from 1917 until about 1939 with more than 300 signatures in it — covering everyone from Gen. John J. "Black Jack" Pershing to Igor Stravinsky. A collection of questionnaires completed by 60 composers for the 1934 edition of Baker's *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* includes responses from such modern masters as Alban Berg and Edgard Varèse.

"Carnegie Hall was an anchor for America's growing cultural identity," Francesconi explains. "Back when it was established, the idea was that everything good, culturally speaking, had to come from Europe. Now there was something over here, a place that European musicians held up as a marker of success — 'Jeez, I wonder if I can sell out Carnegie Hall.' It became this high-water mark of achievement. You had composers like Camille Saint-Saëns and authors like Mark Twain and so on. Carnegie Hall's archives are a really wonderful look into a period of America's history that is unique." ■

SAVING THE BITS

Bodley's Librarian warns that libraries must rise to the challenge of the digital era, preserving vital electronic information – before it's too late

By **Richard Ovenden**

Harry Potter Was Here A group admires one of the beautiful windows in Duke Humfrey's Library, the oldest reading room in the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford. Today used primarily as a quiet study space for "higher-level studies in the Humanities," Duke Humfrey's Library was transformed into the Hogwarts library in a number of films, beginning with *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (2001). Opened to scholars in 1602, the Bodleian (better known as "the Bod" to many Oxford scholars) is one of the oldest libraries in Europe. Holding more than 13 million printed items, in Great Britain it is second in size only to the British Library. Bodley's Librarian is the unusual title given to the head of the Bodleian, which is named after the library's founder, the English scholar and diplomat Sir Thomas Bodley (1545–1613). There have been 25 Bodley's Librarians in total, with the most recent, Richard Ovenden, appointed in 2014. PHOTO: ANGEL SHARP MEDIA, © BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Libraries are having a "moment." Two books published in 2018 have brought the role of libraries into broader social debates — Susan Orlean's *The Library Book* focuses on the civic role of the Los Angeles Public Library, and Eric Klinenberg's *Palaces for the People* has drawn attention to libraries, especially public libraries, as "social infrastructure." These works are a welcome reminder to a wider public that libraries and archives are essential ingredients to maintaining an open society.

Society faces numerous challenges in today's world, and libraries and archives can help us confront those challenges in important ways, mostly by staying true to their core mission. Central to that mission is the preservation of knowledge. Throughout history, beginning with the earliest communities, libraries and archives have functioned as institutions that preserved knowledge, while helping to pass that knowledge along to future generations. Archaeologists continue to find evidence of archives among the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, dating from as early as the second millennium BCE, and they have also found evidence of the existence of professional roles akin to what we would think of today as librarian or archivist.

From the ancient world onward, libraries and archives have developed new and innovative ways of preserving knowledge, of organizing the material records of cultures, and of finding ways of making that historical knowledge widely available. You can see the importance of these functions by looking at the attempts throughout history by governments and others to deliberately destroy knowledge. In 1814, for example, British forces burned the 3,700 volumes of the still young Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., seeking to undermine the operations of the nascent U.S. government. More recently, in August 1992, the Serbian militia deliberately shelled the National Library of Bosnia in an attempt to eradicate the pluralistic culture the library represented. Horrifyingly, snipers trained their bullets on librarians and firefighters as they scurried to retrieve collections from the burning library.

"Light up!" In August 1814, two years into the War of 1812, British forces marched on Washington, D.C., burning the U.S. Capitol and the 3,700-volume Library of Congress, which was then housed in the Capitol building. In this woodcut illustration first published (uncolored) in the December 1872 issue of *Harper's Magazine*, the American artist Charles Stanley Reinhart (1844–1896) shows the British commander ordering his men to "Light up!" the fire with more books. When he learned of the destruction of the still young Library of Congress, Thomas Jefferson offered to accept any price for his personal library of between "9 and 10,000 volumes" as a replacement to the one lost in the fire. In 1815 Congress approved the purchase of Jefferson's library, the parties eventually settling on a price of $23,950. PHOTO: NORTH WIND PICTURE ARCHIVES/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

In more recent decades, libraries have tended to shift their emphasis away from preservation to access. The advent of digital technologies has provided librarians and archivists with new tools to organize information and to share it more broadly through digitization and the power of online networks, transforming the way libraries and archives have developed and expanded access to their resources and services. However, this shifting emphasis of the profession (and of budgets) has had the effect of sidelining preservation. At the same time, the more that information is "born digital," the greater the challenges of preserving it for the long term.

Until the advent of digital information, libraries and archives had a well-developed strategy for preserving the material that made up the bulk of their collections: namely, paper. These collections were able to survive over millennia in "regimes of benign neglect" (to borrow a phrase from Clifford Lynch of the Coalition for Networked Information). Stable levels of temperature and relative humidity, avoidance of flood and fire, and well-organized shelving were at the heart of the preservation strategy. Inherently less stable, digital information requires a much more proactive approach, and not just because of the core complexities of technology itself, such as file formats, operating systems, and software. These challenges have been amplified by the widespread adoption of commercial online services offered by major technology companies, especially those in the world of social media — entities for whom preservation of knowledge is a purely commercial consideration.

In recent years we have experienced a spate of threats to knowledge. At the end of last year the photo-sharing site Flickr, struggling to keep pace with competition from the likes of Instagram, announced that it was reducing the amount of free storage that its account holders could have access to. After February 2019, users of free accounts would be limited to 1,000 photos and videos, with any excess automatically deleted. Millions of Flickr users found that much of their content had been permanently, irrevocably removed. Although Flickr (like many other social media companies) claims to be a service for sharing content, many users primarily use it for its free cloud-based storage. What happened at Flickr shows us that "free" services aren't really free at all. The business model of companies like Flickr is based on the trading (often unacknowledged) of user data, and as market share is lost to competitors, "free" services have to make way for paid premium services.

The problem that the Flickr case study throws up is one of digital preservation. Think of the billions of images that individuals and organizations placed on Flickr. Active users will have known about the coming changes and were perhaps able to move their data swiftly onto other platforms or into a more proactively managed environment.

Back in the Day Found at Tell Telloh (ancient Girsu), Iraq, this administrative clay tablet with a count of goats and rams dates from 2360 BCE. It bears the wedge-shaped marks of cuneiform script, which emerged from the Sumerian civilization in the fourth millennium BCE and is the earliest known form of writing. PHOTO: DEA/G. DAGLI ORTI/DE AGOSTINI VIA GETTY IMAGES

Others who lacked the ability to move fast enough simply lost images of their loved ones, a photographic record of their adventures, or stock photos for their company. Gone forever in the blink of an eye. Consumers have had similar experiences with "free" platforms like Myspace and Google+, which closed down rapidly and with little advance notice. Precious information was lost, some of it gone forever.

Archival practice has its origins in state administration — recording such mundane but vital information as property records, taxation, and import-export details. Even in the ancient world, it was recognized that access to these records was important for efficient administration, but the exponential growth of electronic records has made the preservation of government documents highly precarious. In December 2018 the state government in Maine revealed that it had suffered a catastrophic loss of public documents from the administrations of governors Angus King and John Baldacci, with most official emails sent before 2008 irretrievably lost. Many other kinds of documents were destroyed by state officials, never making it into the Maine state archives. Not only has information for future historians and researchers been lost, but, for example, emails that could potentially be used as evidence in high-profile legal cases have been destroyed. Email records, when pieced together, can tell a story in enough detail to help secure a conviction (or prevent a defendant from going to jail) — as the work done by lawyers like Larry Chapin on the Libor scandal from a few years ago has shown.

Preserving knowledge, in order to inform electorates, is becoming a critical issue to the future of democracy.

In the case of the Enron scandal from the early 2000s, litigation would have been much easier were digital preservation solutions more readily available in the corporate world of the time. As we now know, Enron employees deleted vast numbers of emails and other digital information, hampering the ability of the corporation's auditors from knowing what was going on and, later, making legal proceedings harder — and more costly.

Preservation of knowledge is fundamentally not about the past but the future. The ancient libraries of Mesopotamia were filled with a preponderance of texts containing predictions for the future: astrology, astronomy, and divination. Rulers wanted information that would help them decide the optimal time to go to war. Today the future continues to be dependent on access to knowledge of the past — and will be even more so as digital technology changes the ways we are able to predict what comes next.

As technology firms develop wearable technologies, the amount of biometric data that will be captured from each of us will reach a point that medics will be able to make increasingly accurate predictions about our future health. This will help in the prevention of disease, but it will also open up major ethical issues. Who will own this data? We may be happy to share medical data with our doctor, but would we be happy with it getting into the hands of our health insurer? Perhaps libraries and archives can play a vital role here, serving as trusted agents providing individuals with access to their personal digital information organized, secured, and preserved to the highest archival standards. Under such a scenario, citizens would control who has access to their personal information, while libraries would be granted the right to aggregate and disseminate anonymized information solely for the purposes of public health.

Access to knowledge will be of critical importance in a number of other areas in the future, for which commercial interests may in fact not serve society's best interests. Most businesses expect to be around for years into the future. But for society more broadly, some organizations have real skin in the game, and this is where digital preservation can become a life-or-death issue. Take the nuclear industry. As a society we really need to be sure we will know long into the future — and I don't just mean the next five to 10 years but hundreds and even thousands of years hence — exactly where we have stored nuclear waste, what material it consists of, when it was placed there, what kind of container it was stored in, and so forth. This data exists today, but the challenge facing the Nuclear Decommissioning Authority and other players in the nuclear world is how we can be sure that property developers, mining companies, and water suppliers, as well as local authorities, governments, regulators, and the population at large have guaranteed access to all this information in, say, 500 years' time. We need to know where to find it, that the format the information is stored in can be accessed, and that we can make sense of it when we really need to. Sound familiar? It's called good archival practice.

As our digital lives continue to embrace more and more aspects of what we as individuals and societies get up to on a daily basis, we will continue to encounter ways in which libraries and archives can help society remain truly open. As the political sphere has embraced digital information, we have seen the rise of "fake news" and "alternative facts." Preserving knowledge, in order to inform electorates, is becoming a critical issue to the future of democracy. In recent years, political campaigns across the globe have exploited the platforms and services offered by technology companies, social media firms, and data corporations. Much of that activity has fallen into legal gray zones, if not outside the law.

Web archives have become important because they are able to permanently preserve the public statements of political candidates, office holders, and government officials (often to their embarrassment), so that the public, the media, and, eventually, voters can call them to account. The UK Web Archive is a collaborative effort of the six copyright libraries in the United Kingdom, and one of its special collections of blogs and websites has captured over 2,400 sites relating to the 2016 referendum on European

At Your Disposal Two men stand in the Konrad shaft nuclear repository being built in an abandoned iron ore mine in the city of Salzgitter in Germany. The deep mine will store low- and medium-level radioactive waste. As Richard Ovenden reminds us, "As a society we really need to be sure we will know long into the future ... exactly where we have stored nuclear waste, what material it consists of, when it was placed there, what kind of container it was stored in, and so forth.... Sound familiar? It's called good archival practice." PHOTO: JULIAN STRATENSCHULTE/PICTURE ALLIANCE VIA GETTY IMAGES

Union (EU) membership, known as Brexit, as well as the political aftermath of the vote. In April 2019 the "Vote Leave" campaign deleted a great deal of content from their public website, including references to that campaign's promise to spend £350 million a week on the National Health Service (NHS) if Britain left the EU. The collaborative UK Web Archive captured the website before that content was deleted by the Vote Leave campaign.

Then there is a group called Led by Donkeys (the name has its origins in a phrase used during the First World War, when British infantrymen were often described as "lions led by donkeys," giving a sense of what the men on the front thought of their generals). The mischievous campaigners of today's Led by Donkeys take the pronouncements and (often humiliatingly wrong) predictions of pro-Brexit politicians, blow them up into giant tweets, and then place them on massive crowdfunded billboards across the U.K. (One must note that American political leaders have not been spared this treatment.)

This activity, which I call "public archiving," shows the importance of recording information that can call politicians to account for what they have actually said or written. Political discourse has often been a battleground between truth and falsehood, but the digital arena amplifies the influence that political falsehoods can have on the outcomes of elections. We need libraries and archives to increase their efforts at archiving the Internet and to move more purposefully into the archiving of social media.

The traditional work of libraries and archives costs money, and funding continues to be a major issue. Digital preservation adds considerably to the expense of providing the kinds of services that society depends on libraries to provide. The case for funding libraries and archives has never been stronger, yet it needs to be repeated and amplified — loudly — if we are to avoid George Orwell's haunting prediction in *1984:* "The past was erased, the erasure was forgotten, the lie became truth." ■

The Kids Are Alright

At a time of heightened tensions between the United States and Russia, the PIR Center is "keeping the conversation going" as it prepares young students from around the world for careers in nonproliferation and diplomacy

By **Joshua Yaffa**

Meeting of Minds 2019's International School on Global Security was held in Zvenigorod, Russia, April 7–13. Here, students, experts, and PIR Center staff pose for a group portrait during an educational outing. PIR Center director Albert Zulkharneev, standing eight in from the left, said of the Center's "Track 2.5" dialogues, held between U.S. and Russian diplomats as well as young professionals at the early stage of their careers in nonproliferation, "We're trying to work toward some concrete solutions with the hope that by the time the political situation improves and the politicians are ready to do something, we can show up and bring these ready-made solutions. Our task is to make sure there is always an agenda for conversation." PHOTO: COURTESY THE PIR CENTER

The debate was spirited and impassioned, yet not overly emotive or confrontational. A group of young experts, grounded in subject-matter expertise, wrangled over one of the most fundamental questions in nonproliferation policy: is the world in fact safer with nuclear weapons — thanks to the moderating role they play in keeping conflict from escalating — than without them? On the one hand, the first team argued, the doctrine of mutually assured destruction keeps states from acting recklessly. But that may be an outmoded and dangerous model, the second team countered. One of its members rose to speak. The risk today, she said, is that "for large states, nuclear weapons provide a feeling not so much of safety but rather impunity." That's right, one of her teammates said, adding that it's time to "move from a system of mutually assured destruction to one of mutually assured respect."

It was a remarkable scene in an age when multilateral discussions on questions of international security and arms control — if they happen at all — tend be conducted with raised voices and bitter accusations, and the subject of nuclear nonproliferation has fallen from the top rungs of the global agenda. (These days, the world's major nuclear powers are modernizing and expanding their arsenals, not reducing them.) But here was a conversation that was curious, respectful, and grounded in fact. Making it all the more striking was the fact that its participants were not seasoned policymakers or negotiators but students and young professionals, people in the early stages of careers in diplomacy, the armed forces, journalism, and academia. Though perhaps their relative youth was what made such a forthright discussion possible: they have the patience and open-mindedness often lacking in their more seasoned peers these days. The debate, and the weeklong intensive program — referred to as "summer school" — that preceded it, was organized by the Center for Policy Studies

in Russia (PIR Center), a leading independent think tank in Russia covering nonproliferation and global security.

This year's school, held in April 2019, was the 19th such session organized by the center. Its attendees came from all over Russia — not just Moscow, but the Ural Mountains and Siberia — as well as Central Asia and the Caucasus. Ana Livia Esteves is from Brazil, and is now studying for a master's degree in Moscow. "I knew I would learn a lot about nuclear nonproliferation," she said. "But I wasn't expecting to also learn about artificial intelligence, the prospects of new weaponry, and the role of the private sector."

The school, like the PIR Center itself, is the brainchild of Vladimir Orlov — or Volodya, as his friends and longtime colleagues call him — who has dedicated more than two decades to fostering education and communication on the most pressing issues of global security. He is clear-eyed about the challenges of the moment, especially the difficulties in U.S.-Russia relations, once the cornerstone of global nonproliferation efforts, now living through a period of extended friction. "Even in the so-called 'dark ages,'" Orlov says with an ironic wink, "you have to educate people, bring them together, give them a chance to network, so that in five years when they meet again in an entirely different place, they can pick up the conversation on nuclear disarmament or cybersecurity or whatever the issue may be."

A Gap to Fill

Before Orlov discovered his interest in nonproliferation policy, in his midtwenties, he had already managed to cycle through two careers. He trained as a diplomat in the waning years of the Soviet empire, graduating from the prestigious Moscow State Institute of International Relations (known as MGIMO) in 1990. Orlov returned from an early assignment to Cuba to write a much-discussed article on the failings of the island's communist system for the *Moscow News*, the freethinking paper most closely associated with Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika*.

Orlov was so swept up by the changes of the time, and the opportunities they seemed to hold, that he decided to leave the diplomatic track and take a full-time job as a reporter for the *Moscow News*. He covered the country's swirling, madcap politics, from the coup attempt against Gorbachev in August 1991 to the ultimate collapse of the Soviet Union six months later. Before long, he developed well-placed sources in the new administration of Boris Yeltsin. He remembers arriving for his interviews at the Kremlin's famed Spassky Gate and being ushered inside. "I was a very polite young man at university," Orlov said. "And then I became a brash journalist, not shy about going up to people to speak my mind or ask a question. That would all turn out to be useful later."

Amid the tumult of the early 1990s, Orlov found himself increasingly disenchanted with political journalism, but he soon discovered a new topic that fascinated him even more. In 1993 he went to Ukraine to cover negotiations between Yeltsin and Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk, who met to discuss what to do with the significant number of Soviet nuclear warheads left over in newly independent Ukraine. The issue immediately struck Orlov as both fascinating and urgent: the implosion of the Soviet state left tens of thousands of nuclear weapons scattered over a landmass that stretched across 11 time zones. Most worrisome were the so-called "tactical" nuclear weapons, with smaller yields and shorter ranges, some of which could fit into a duffel bag. Orlov began to read up on nuclear issues, and made reporting trips to Belarus and Kazakhstan, where he wrote about the Soviet nuclear legacy and the flow of nuclear weapons and material back to Russia from across the former empire.

Orlov never had a scientific or technical education, unlike many of his new sources and contacts in Russia's nuclear field, but he proved a quick study. "I needed to figure out for myself the difference between, say, Uranium-238 and Uranium-235," he said, recalling those days. (The former is the kind of nonfissile uranium found in nature; the latter is enriched and can be used in both energy and weapons programs.) In 1994 Orlov headed to Monterey, California, to spend a semester at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, founded a few years earlier, and which had immediately become the largest institute in the world training specialists in combating the spread of weapons of mass destruction. William Potter, the center's founding director, remembers Orlov as "exceptionally young and exceptionally inquisitive — and clearly very talented."

Upon his return, Orlov began to write more and more on nuclear issues. "To my own surprise, I saw how these articles were met with no less interest than my stories about Yeltsin and the oligarchs," he said. The topics that so captivated him — the danger of nuclear smuggling, the lack of nonproliferation controls in many Russian laboratories and institutes, and early negotiations with the United States over joint nuclear security projects — also resonated with readers.

In the spring of 1994 Orlov came up with what he now nostalgically calls a "modest and entirely unambitious idea": to create a Russian-language journal that would cover issues of nuclear policy and nuclear security. At the time, even with nonproliferation an increasingly central question in relations between Moscow and Washington, there were few Russian venues able to highlight and discuss these questions, at least in a public setting, open to experts and analysts and policymakers alike. Russia's technical institutes had their specialists; the same for state bodies like the foreign ministry.

Next Generation In 2019 nonproliferation experts in the making joined senior experts, including former officials from the United States and Russia, at the PIR Center's International School on Global Security in Zvenigorod, Russia (April 7–13), as well as at a convening at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters in New York City (May 3). ROW 1 (L–R): Jakob Lengacher, United States; Vladislav Chernavskikh, Russia; Veronika Bedenko, Russia. ROW 2 (L–R): Ekaterina Mikhailenko, Russia; Ana Livia Esteves, Brazil; Albert Zulkharneev, Russia. ROW 3 (L–R): PIR Center founder Vladimir Orlov, Russia; Alexandr Krivonos, Russia; Polina Vasilenko, Russia. ROW 4 (L–R): Elena Sinitsyna, Russia; Sergey Semenov, Russia; Bolot Kazymbekov, Kyrgyzstan.
PHOTO: TATYANA ZHDANOVA/PIR CENTER

But *Yaderny Kontrol*, or *Nuclear Control*, as Orlov dubbed the journal, would allow for an open exchange of research and knowledge, providing a unifying hub for the newly emerging discipline of nonproliferation in Russia. It was printed in both English and Russian, creating a dialogue among contributors and readers. To augment the work of *Nuclear Control*, Orlov and a small number of early supporters also created a new body they would call the PIR Center, or the Center for Policy Studies in Russia, which they at first imagined would simply function as a kind of informal clubhouse for the journal.

From the very first issues it was obvious that *Nuclear Control* filled a clear and unmet demand within Russia: it represented the first time that issues related to nonproliferation and nuclear security were being discussed by Russians in a Russian-led venue, rather than as part of a program directed from Western capitals. Orlov's contacts in the Kremlin from his days as a political reporter happily took copies and passed them around to top policymakers. Leading politicians and officials in the nuclear sphere gave long, detailed interviews. One day, Orlov got an angry call from an official at the foreign ministry, who took umbrage with an article on missile technology proliferation. Orlov was taken aback by the criticism, but couldn't help but feel pleased: the journal must be covering important subjects, and had clearly found an engaged and impassioned readership. "Conditions allowed for new ideas, but there wasn't a product that could be seen outside a very tiny group of people," said Potter. "That was a gap Volodya stepped in to fill."

With time, the PIR Center expanded to take on far more of a role than serving merely as the institutional home to *Nuclear Control*. The center began to host experts from Russia, the former Soviet states, and Western capitals for informal discussions and public conferences. At PIR Center seminars and workshops, Russian specialists from government and the scientific community were able to gain an understanding of nonproliferation best practices and global trends in security policy, and their Western partners could hear directly from their colleagues in Russia and gain an accurate picture of the country's nonproliferation efforts.

Orlov was building a homegrown institution that resembled a Russian version of the nonproliferation center in Monterey. Indeed, Potter was a frequent collaborator; he and Orlov exchanged information and expertise on a range of nonproliferation-related issues. The MacArthur and Ford foundations also provided crucial early support. The late 1990s–early 2000s would prove to be the heyday for U.S.-Russia security cooperation, with the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program providing funding for a vast array of nonproliferation projects, including the destruction of weapons stockpiles and the beefing up of physical security at sites across Russia and the former Soviet Union.

With its growing momentum and network of supporters, the PIR Center saw its mission come into sharper focus. It would function as a unique and valuable go-between: bridging the scientific and policy communities, bringing together experts from Russia and the region with those in the West, and seasoned experts with students and young professionals.

It was against this backdrop that, in 2000, Carnegie Corporation of New York provided the first grant to the center, in what would come to be a lasting cooperative relationship. The activities of the center, as the Corporation made clear, worked to "raise public awareness of arms control in Russia and to cultivate the next generation of nonproliferation scholars and experts." The risk of the spread of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and materials "will diminish only when a nonproliferation mindset is established in labs, in storage facilities, and in decision-making bodies." With its growing momentum and network of supporters, the PIR Center saw its mission come into sharper focus. It would function as a unique and valuable go-between: bridging the scientific and policy communities, bringing together experts from Russia and the region with those in the West, and seasoned experts with students and young professionals.

That latter emphasis — on the education and training of a new generation of nonproliferation specialists — became a central part of the center's strategy. After all, geopolitical winds can always shift, with particular nonproliferation programs and negotiations liable to come and go, but expertise is a much more durable, and thus valuable, commodity. Orlov gave a series of lectures at Moscow's prestigious Moscow Engineering Physics Institute, which turned into a specialized course module for master's students on nonproliferation issues. While students at the institute had always received a sterling technical education, they hadn't necessarily been trained on questions of nuclear security and export controls. The PIR Center published a 500-page textbook entitled *Nuclear Nonproliferation*, the first academic book on the topic in Russian. Universities and institutes ordered copies by the hundreds. "It's important for us that we see people reading

what we produce," Orlov said. "We don't want to make things that will lay around unused."

In 2001 the PIR Center held the first of its summer schools, as they were first called. A few dozen young professionals from Russia and other former Soviet states came to Moscow for a series of intensive lectures and training modules on everything from dual-use technologies to the history of the Nonproliferation Treaty, or NPT. They were taught by leading practitioners who had firsthand experience in arms control negotiations and multilateral nonproliferation efforts, including experts from the United States. The annual school quickly became the center's premier educational project — an efficient and powerful way to spread knowledge of international security issues among early-stage professionals, who would go on to long careers in diplomacy, science, and the armed forces. (No less significantly, the school was conducted in Russian — at the time, the lingua franca of the global nonproliferation discourse was English, leaving out many potentially interested and motivated specialists.) Albert Zulkharneev, who became director of the PIR Center's education and training program in 2013, explained that as the years went by, "few of the original arms control specialists were left, and new subjects, like cybersecurity, required new specialists entirely." The PIR Center would play an important role in helping to prepare them.

Students Become Teachers

As the global security agenda evolved — taking on a heightened interest in subjects like terrorism, for example, or the opportunities and challenges of technology — the PIR Center evolved along with it. "We don't have the aim of working on the same problems for years and years," Orlov explained. "Once we reach a solution, we create a certain methodology, some instruments, and then move on to the next task." Sustained, long-term support from institutions like Carnegie Corporation of New York and other like-minded foundations allowed the center to add new experts and avenues of research and education; in some cases, existing specialists gained new competencies, like Vadim Kozyulin, an expert in the small-arms trade who launched a program on emerging technologies in weaponry, studying the military applications of robots and artificial intelligence.

For many of the students, one of the school's most unique aspects is how it provides them with direct access to the kind of seasoned, high-level experts whom they otherwise might not encounter at the early stages of their careers. Where else would a third secretary be able to ask a question of a deputy minister? Meanwhile, students from Central Asia and the Caucasus — where nonproliferation and global security issues are not always at the fore — learn about and discuss the sort of policy questions that don't regularly make the agenda back home.

When Bakyt Dzhusupov attended the PIR school in 2008, he was in his late twenties and a junior diplomat in Kyrgyzstan's foreign ministry. He had attended a number of similar training seminars, but was impressed by the discipline and seriousness of the PIR school. "The program was very demanding, even strict," he remembers. "You couldn't sit there and just listen — you had to really absorb this information and think about it." Dzhusupov had a basic familiarity with nonproliferation and other security issues, but hadn't studied them with such depth or specificity before. The experience proved especially relevant in 2017, when he was named Kyrgyz ambassador to Vienna, a portfolio that includes representing his country at the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the International Atomic Energy Agency. "I immediately felt a certain confidence with these subjects," Dzhusupov says. "This knowledge was laid at the PIR school."

Elena Chernenko, a journalist and head of the foreign desk at *Kommersant*, a leading paper in Moscow, remembers leaving the PIR school "with the feeling that I graduated from university all over again." Chernenko, who attended in 2012, gained a historical and theoretical grounding for many of the topics she had been covering as a reporter. "It's one thing to know the basics of something like the New START treaty," referring to a bilateral U.S.-Russian agreement to reduce the size of both countries' nuclear arsenals. "But," Chernenko continues, "it's entirely another thing to understand the history of such negotiations, the problems they've overcome, the technical nature of disagreements over their implementation."

In 2013, during a tense moment when Russia and the United States were negotiating an agreement to remove and destroy Syria's chemical-weapons stockpiles, Chernenko again thought back to her experience at the PIR school, where she and the other students had learned about the Chemical Weapons Convention, a treaty outlawing the production and use of chemical weapons. "I immediately understood the principles at work, what I needed to do to find out what happened, and who to ask for information," she says. Chernenko is an example of the passing of knowledge between generations made possible by the school: she now returns every year to give her own lectures. ("She's our number one hit," says Yulia Sych, the school's coordinator.)

Students become teachers; or in some cases, like Zulkharneev's, directors. Zulkharneev began at the PIR Center as a coordinator in 2008, rising to a program director two years later. In 2015 he was named the organization's new head. Orlov, who had run the center since its inception, stepped down from day-to-day management but remained on the center's board and stays involved with specific projects, like the annual summer school and a series of nonproliferation dialogues. "It would be impossible to overestimate the role Orlov has played in the history of the PIR Center," Zulkharneev said. "But he, just like all

"A bird and its crew." Allen Lamb, 31, a Minuteman combat missile crew commander, and his deputy, William Christians, 33, stand on a platform near the top of a missile silo. The two Air Force captains are inspecting the "business end" of a Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile, in a photograph published in the November 6, 1964, issue of *Life* magazine. In "How It Feels to Hold the Nuclear Trigger," a *Life* team went on a 24-hour underground vigil with the "Instant-Firing Minuteman." The number of Minuteman missiles in the U.S. nuclear arsenal peaked at 1,000 in the 1970s at the height of the Cold War. PHOTO: BILL RAY/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION VIA GETTY IMAGES

of us, works to make sure this place is much more than that, with a range of different personalities, opinions, and projects." Orlov continues to be an active presence at the center, but the symbolism of the generational change in leadership is not accidental: the PIR Center was proving its own mission, grooming and elevating a new cadre of global security experts.

Agenda for Conversation

It is obvious to anyone working on U.S.-Russia relations that contacts between the two countries — at least on an official level — grew sharply more tense in 2014, in the wake of the annexation of Crimea and the war in eastern Ukraine, and have only gone further south from there with Russia's meddling in the 2016 U.S. presidential election and successive rounds of Western sanctions.

The PIR Center couldn't help but be affected by this downturn in the bilateral relationship: it is difficult to maintain an objective and neutral platform for expert discussion and education at a moment of heightened polarization. "We have to keep in mind political realities," Orlov said. "At the beginning, we might have had a certain wide-eyed romanticism, but the current times call for an understanding of realpolitik." At the same time, he added, "Our goal is to remain independent, a place of free discussion and debate, without external pressure." The center's reliance on levelheaded competence and expertise has allowed it to remain largely outside the political fray.

By focusing on its mission of providing independent, objective information and analysis on policy issues, the PIR Center has managed to find a stable footing, proving its relevance and durability even in challenging times. "If our work is in demand and necessary, then there is no point in pressuring us," Zulkharneev said. And in fact, as he and Orlov see it, periods of tension and limited dialogue are when the PIR Center is needed the most, as it can serve a function other, more official bodies cannot. "What we and the Corporation share is an understanding of the strategic importance of keeping the conversation going, even in times when it's hard to measure immediate success," Orlov said.

The past years have seen the PIR Center expand its institutional footprint, most notably through a dual-degree master's program in nonproliferation studies hosted at MGIMO and the Middlebury campus at Monterey, where Orlov spent a formative semester two decades earlier. The program welcomed its first class of Russian and American students in 2016. Potter was impressed at how the PIR Center was able to launch a dual U.S.-Russian master's program given the climate of darkening relations. "The fact that these three entities — PIR, MGIMO, and Monterey — were able to find common ground to make this program happen is truly remarkable," he said.

Adlan Margoev was in the first graduating class of the dual-degree program. He studied folk dance as a young boy in Moscow, but found himself fascinated by international affairs — Iran, in particular. With negotiations swirling about the future of Iran's nuclear program, Margoev took an interest in nonproliferation policy. The first year of the program, held at MGIMO, was packed with lectures and readings, a deep dive into all things nonproliferation. "We were tired, but the effect was tremendous," Margoev said. The second year, at Monterey, left an even greater impression. Whether it came to the Iranian nuclear program or missile defense, "I saw how when we talk about positions, almost everyone disagrees," he said. "But when we have an honest exchange about our concerns, there are immediately far less problems, and far more ideas about how we might address these concerns."

Upon graduation, Margoev took a position at the PIR Center, heading up the nonproliferation program. He also lectures at the annual PIR school, and he served as the moderator of this year's debate on whether nuclear weapons are a force for stability or the opposite. Margoev says he might end up at Russia's ministry of foreign affairs one day, but for now is happy to soak up the rich and intense practical experience that is unique to the center. ("It's hard to imagine where else I could be given such an opportunity in such a short amount of time," he said.) He's in regular touch with the rest of his cohort from the dual-degree program, and sees himself and his fellow graduates as forming a team of professionals-in-waiting. "We alone won't change the whole of U.S.-Russia relations, of course, but by building up expertise and communication, we can create a multiplier effect," he said.

This is Orlov's great hope, and the vision he imparted to the PIR Center as he handed over stewardship to Zulkharneev. For the past two years the PIR Center has organized what it calls "Track 2.5" dialogues, held between U.S. and Russian diplomats, experts, and young professionals at the early stage of their careers. They meet to discuss nuclear proliferation issues that arise as states prepare for the NPT review conference next year. Potter sat in on the last session, held in New York this past May. "The civility, respect, and empathy that I saw among the young participants felt all the more stark considering how absent those traits have become for many professional diplomats," Potter said.

Next year at UN headquarters, the "Track 2.5" group will present its recommendations on how to strengthen the U.S.-Russia dialogue on nonproliferation. "We're trying to work toward some concrete solutions," Zulkharneev said, "with the hope that by the time the political situation improves and the politicians are ready to do something, we can show up and bring these ready-made solutions." As he put it, "Our task is to make sure there is always an agenda for conversation." ■

I Love My Librarian!

The **I Love My Librarian Award** was established by Carnegie Corporation of New York in 2008 in partnership with the American Library Association (ALA) and the *New York Times*.

WHAT'S NOT TO LOVE?

With a colorful portfolio of portraits, we pay tribute to 10 of the most dynamic, creative, and downright inspirational librarians in America — recipients of the 2018 I Love My Librarian Award

By **Kenneth Benson** | Illustrations by **Sean Qualls**

a powerhouse of ideas, gumption, and action ... an incredible individual who puts the library ahead of herself ... a community mover and shaker ... not your typical librarian ... don't even try telling her something can't be done ... carries with her a contagious, positive, and creative attitude that leads to numerous open doors ... there is magic in her programs ... committed to inclusion, partnerships, and collaboration ... a master teacher and a cheerleader for all of our children ... not afraid to be goofy ...

These are just some of the words that have been used to describe the remarkable group of 10 women who were awarded 2018's I Love My Librarian Award at a ceremony held at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters in midtown Manhattan on December 4, 2018. Yes, for 2018 — the 10th anniversary of the awards — the recipients were all women, and what a diverse, dynamic, and dedicated cohort of library professionals they were. Among the winners: a member of the Chippewa Cree Tribe from Montana; a rural community college librarian from North Carolina; a Pennsylvania advocate for immigrants and refugees; an academic librarian who provides students with free access to textbooks, food, and toiletries; public librarians who work closely with immigrants to help them build their language and job search skills; and a school librarian who is always looking for new and creative ways to weave dogs into the library as one of the techniques she uses to promote books and reading to her students.

Nine of the 10 award recipients were able to make it to the December ceremony, which luckily is available for streaming in its entirety on YouTube. At the event, the winners, many of whom were accompanied by family and friends, spoke with direct and heartfelt eloquence about their work — which, in the telling, truly seemed more akin to their *mission*. Carnegie Corporation of New York president Vartan Gregorian hailed the 2018 I Love My Librarian awardees as "soldiers and commanders — and all of it on behalf of our civilization, our democracy, and our civic society." The people who know them best in their communities — the men, women, and children whose lives they have impacted so powerfully, not least including those of their colleagues — would surely all join Gregorian in saluting these outstanding public servants. ■

Ginny Norris Blackson
Central Washington University | Ellensburg, Washington

ALWAYS GOES THE EXTRA MILE

Joy Lynn Bridwell
Stone Child College | Box Elder, Montana

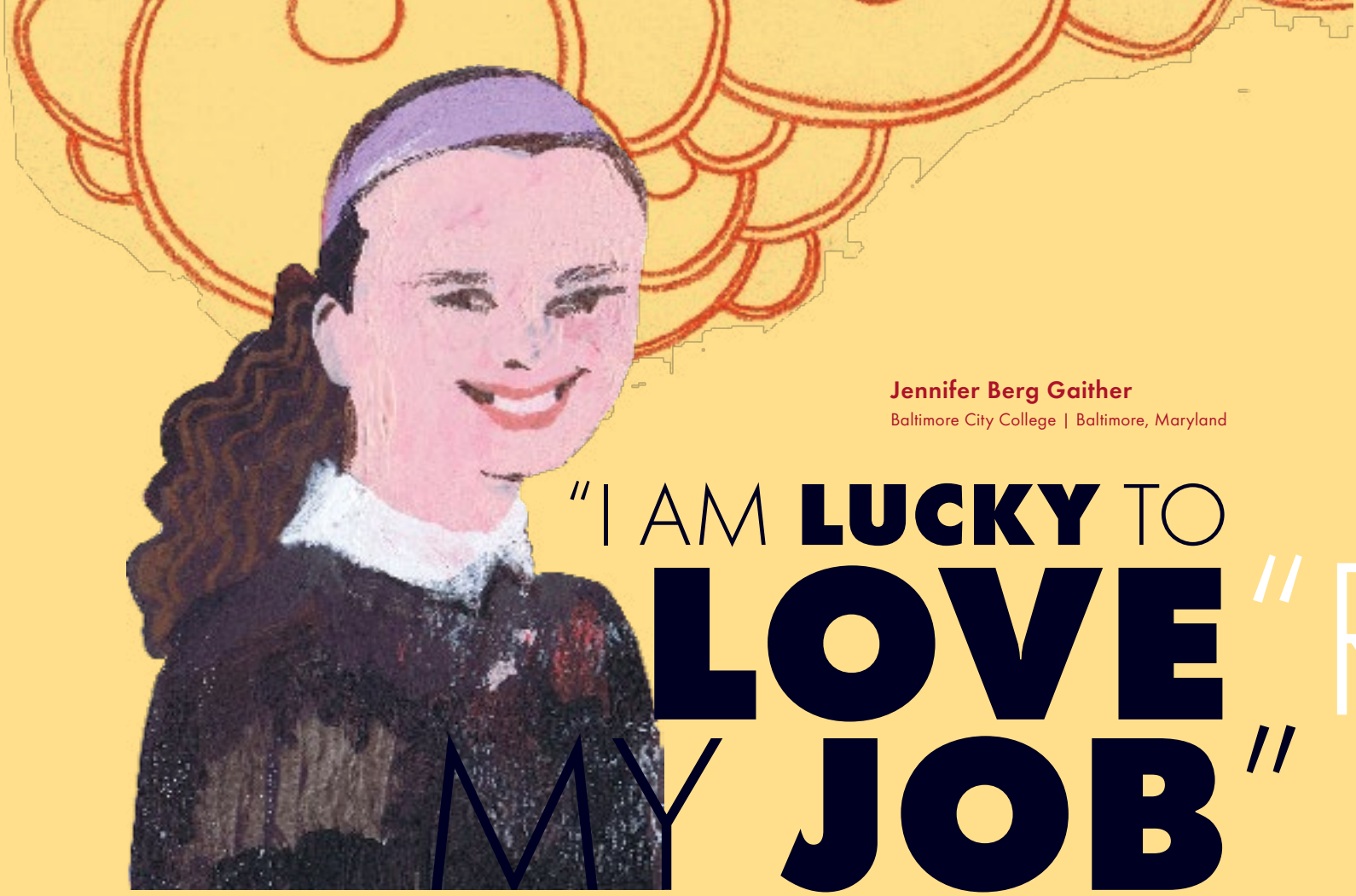
PRESERVING THE PAST

Tamara Cox
Wren High School | Piedmont, South Carolina

"EVERY **STUDENT** IS SOMEBODY'S **BABY**"

Nancy Lynn Daniel
Western Piedmont Community College | Morganton, North Carolina

"AND **LIFE** IS JUST **GOOD**!"

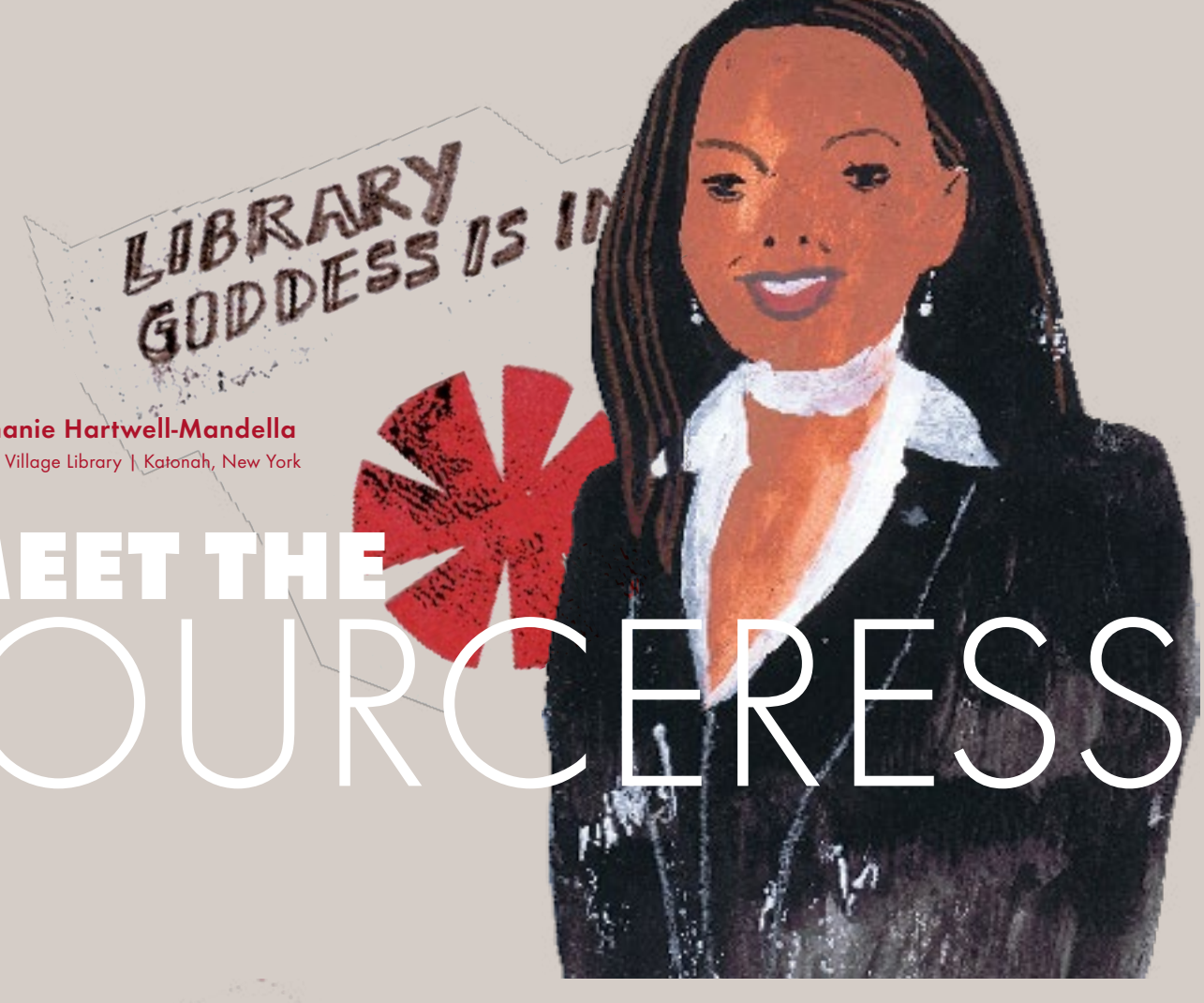


Jennifer Berg Gaither
Baltimore City College | Baltimore, Maryland

"I AM **LUCKY** TO **LOVE** MY **JOB**"

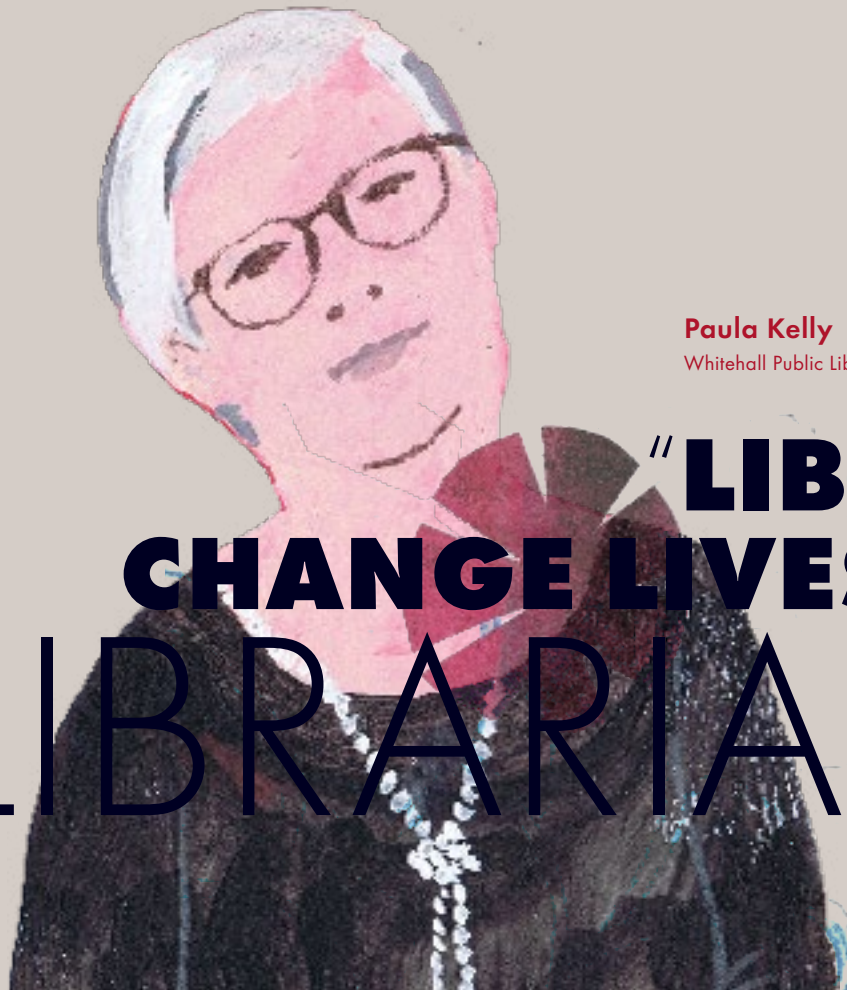
Terri Gallagher
Community College of Beaver County | Monaca, Pennsylvania

"BEING A **LIBRARIAN** IS A **GIFT**"



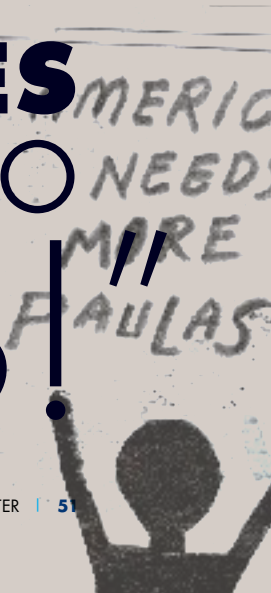
Stephanie Hartwell-Mandella
Katonah Village Library | Katonah, New York

MEET THE ESOURCERESS"



Paula Kelly
Whitehall Public Library | Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

"LIBRARIES CHANGE LIVES, AS DO LIBRARIANS!"



Linda E. Robinson
Mansfield Middle School | Mansfield, Connecticut

"OURS IS **NOT** A COOKIE-CUTTER **PROFESSION**"

Lindsey Tomsu
Algonquin Area Public Library District | Algonquin, Illinois

EVERYONE IS **WELCOME**

2018 I Love My Librarian Award Winners

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Ginny Norris Blackson Central Washington University | Ellensburg, Washington*

"It is a truth universally acknowledged that I love libraries and must always be in want of a good book. Growing up upon my grandparents' rural Appalachian tobacco farm, books were my transport beyond the mountains of my youth. I was the first one to run to the bookmobile when it came across the ridge."

Joy Lynn Bridwell Stone Child College | Box Elder, Montana

"I'm a proud member of the Chippewa Cree Tribe. My mother took me to my first library when I was four years old, and just instilled in me this amazing love of books — and I want to bring that back to my tribal community. I love working with my community and teaching them about what resources are available to them at the library, and I like to stay connected to my fellow tribal college librarians."

Tamara Cox Wren High School | Piedmont, South Carolina

"My job as a school librarian is to share stories with my students. Stories that will make them think, ask questions, become more empathetic, informed, and aware. I believe there isn't a student who wouldn't love it if you could read their story."

Nancy Lynn Daniel Western Piedmont Community College | Morganton, North Carolina

"Being a librarian is an honor. One of my favorite things is seeing our students walk across that stage and getting their diploma and thinking, *Yeah, I played a small part in that*."

Jennifer Berg Gaither Baltimore City College | Baltimore, Maryland

"All day, starting at 6:00 a.m., I'm fortunate to spend my time where my passions and talents meet a need. And my hope for all libraries is that they can serve as a place that makes sure each student also has the opportunity to live a life where their passions and talents meet a need."

Terri Gallagher Community College of Beaver County | Monaca, Pennsylvania

"We are a dual-use library, an academic and public library, the best of both worlds. The people who come through our doors inspire and move *me* daily."

Stephanie Hartwell-Mandella Katonah Village Library | Katonah, New York**

"Libraries are not about the building. Libraries are about the people *in* the building — the librarians and the patrons, and the relationships that we form in the community. It's about empathy and about compassion, and about meeting our community's needs."

Paula Kelly Whitehall Public Library | Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

"Just imagine what a gift it's been for me to introduce a library to users that have spent the last 20 years living in refugee camps, and then imagine my pride in being able to also explain to them that just like the Whitehall library, all libraries in this country are free and welcoming to everyone who walks in their doors."

Linda E. Robinson Mansfield Middle School | Mansfield, Connecticut

"I read *everything* that goes into the middle school library — so I read constantly. I have a school of avid readers so sometimes I really have to work to stay reading ahead of them!"

Lindsey Tomsu Algonquin Area Public Library District | Algonquin, Illinois

"It is vindicating to know that the teens I spent years advocating for — the teen advisory boards who nominated me for this award — that they truly care about me and wanted to return the favor."

* Now at Linfield College Libraries, Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon

** Now at North Castle Public Library, Armonk, New York

← PAGE 46 **They Live Their Values (Group Portrait)** ABOVE (l–r) Paula Kelly, Joy Lynn Bridwell, Vartan Gregorian, Stephanie Hartwell-Mandella, Terri Gallagher | BELOW (l–r) Linda E. Robinson, Ginny Norris Blackson, Jennifer Berg Gaither, Nancy Lynn Daniel, Tamara Cox, Lindsey Tomsu

The Circle of Life Valor Collegiate holds weekly group check-ins called "Circles" at its three charter schools in Nashville, Tennessee, as part of its efforts to embed social-emotional learning into its curriculum. During the Circle, students share stories of their growth as well as their frustrations. Likewise, students are encouraged to show their support for each other's struggles. Here, Gambia Flemister, a ninth-grade Spanish teacher at Valor College Prep, offers feedback to one of her students in their weekly Circle. PHOTO: VALOR COLLEGIATE/JOSH BENNETT

EDUCATION

There's Hope

An emerging understanding of brain development has revealed a remarkable period of elasticity during adolescence. Could social-emotional learning (SEL) foster the "soft skills" needed to direct students toward a thriving adulthood?

By **Kathleen Carroll**

At Harvest Collegiate High School in Manhattan, students know what to do when they face a mysterious math problem. Take a breath, recognize a "maze moment," and retrace their steps to find an alternative to their temporary dead end.

It's a simple idea: learning as navigation, choosing among concepts and strategies that either pave a path forward or trap you in the puzzle at hand. But these "maze moments" at Harvest, along with a half dozen other schools in New York City that have adopted the theme, give teenagers a new way to understand and articulate their roles as not-yet-perfect masters in school and in life. Instead of a frustrated "I don't get it," students can visualize their position in the maze: what they've learned so far, what they don't yet know, and how they might persist past this current challenge to chart a different path and solve the problem.

This is the language of social-emotional learning, a holistic understanding of the richly human context in which students develop and grow. Social-emotional learning, or SEL, encompasses the broad spectrum of skills, attitudes, and values that promote success in school and in life, things like managing emotions, setting and achieving goals, persevering through adversity, and working in a team. It explicitly acknowledges the importance of mindset and the fundamentally interpersonal project of education, in which knowledge is developed through a series of trusting relationships between teachers, students, and peers. And it can be a critical set of strategies to advance educational equity by supporting the development of all students, including those who have learning differences, are growing up in poverty, or are otherwise affected by adversity.

Supporting such learning is an explicit priority of the Education program at Carnegie Corporation of New York, which seeks to advance systems and opportunities that ensure all students reach adulthood with the knowledge, skills, and dispositions they need to participate in a democracy and thrive in the global economy. SEL is one of a suite of strategies the Corporation supports to position young people to experience success after high school graduation — especially those who have not traditionally been well served.

"Learning doesn't happen in a vacuum," says Saskia Levy Thompson, a program director at the Corporation's Education program, where she manages the New Designs to Advance Learning portfolio. "You can't actually function in a purely academic zone without also developing the sensibilities, orientations, behaviors, and strategies that all of us use to navigate our everyday lives."

A Call to Action

This type of thinking and teaching, which took a back seat to the academic standards–based accountability movement of the past 30 years, is now on the rise. The 2015 federal education law, the Every Student Succeeds Act, shifted broad decision-making power to the state level and gave states new sources of financial support to promote social-emotional learning. In addition, the growing imperative to meet workforce needs for so-called "soft skills," such as solving unfamiliar problems and collaborating with diverse colleagues, has prompted more than a dozen

> "If social-emotional learning is really going to be employed at schools with the goal of young people having universal access to this sort of supported learning experience, we are going to have to build out a suite of strategies so any community member, teacher, or parent can see themselves inside one of those examples and translate it to their particular environment."
>
> – **Saskia Levy Thompson**, Program Director, Education, Carnegie Corporation of New York

states to consider new laws to explore or fund expanded SEL programs since 2017.

A call to action was broadcast in 2018 in *A Nation at Hope*, the culminating report of the Aspen Institute's National Commission on Social, Emotional, and Academic Development. That project, produced with the support of Carnegie Corporation of New York, explored the opportunities and barriers for educators and decision-makers looking to thread SEL throughout their work. A Council of Distinguished Scientists, comprised of educators, neuroscientists, and psychologists, concluded that teaching social and emotional skills is essential to students' success. Hundreds of interviews across the country revealed widespread commitment to social, emotional, *and* academic learning — in other words, to educating the whole child.

It's an agenda with particular promise for adolescent students, a group whose developmental needs are often overlooked when it comes to educational improvement. The potential for social-emotional learning to transform teenage growth is undeniable. An emerging understanding of brain development has revealed a remarkable period of elasticity during adolescence — nearly a second infancy, and a second chance to capitalize on rapid change to build the habits of mind that support a thriving adulthood. And it all comes at a moment when students are taking their initial steps toward adult independence, with all the risk and reward that entails.

"The second most important part of brain development happens during adolescence, and it's essential that we apply that science of adolescent learning to the teaching process as well as to the culture we create in our schools," says Deborah Delisle, president and CEO of the Alliance for Excellent Education, a national nonprofit focused on improving American high schools by sharing research and best practices with educators and policymakers across the country. "You can really help kids hardwire their brains so they can think critically and develop the skills to communicate effectively and solve problems. Unless there are opportunities presented to them to do that, kids may not get the chance."

But what does that look like on the ground? What's the right strategy with a roomful of distracted ninth graders on a rainy Wednesday morning? What question, expectation, experience, or assignment will help hardwire their brains to think critically?

That all depends — on the school's core culture, students' individual challenges, and the task at hand. Social-emotional learning is a flexible category, both in terms of needs and tactics, and so innovative schools that are implementing SEL with the Corporation's support across the country are following complementary, but distinct, visions.

And that is by design, says Levy Thompson.

"Having the diversity of approaches is important," she elaborates. "There is not yet as rich an implementation toolkit as there is a robust research base. And if social-emotional learning is really going to be employed

at schools with the goal of young people having universal access to this sort of supported learning experience, we are going to have to build out a suite of strategies so any community member, teacher, or parent can see themselves inside one of those examples and translate it to their particular environment."

The "Joyful Struggle"

Consider Valor Collegiate, a small network of three high-performing charter schools in Nashville, Tennessee. It was designed and built from the ground up with social-emotional learning as its core mission, sharing equal billing with enrolling a socioeconomically diverse student body and driving academic performance to rank with the top one percent. Its schools have hit those benchmarks, including by appearing at the top of both Nashville and Tennessee school-performance reports since first opening in 2014.

Valor's social-emotional learning goals are established in its Compass Framework, which identifies the disciplines and habits necessary to empower its diverse community of students to live "inspired and purposeful lives," such as defining and articulating their identity and learning to be mindful, including holding their attention when required. Through the Compass Phase System, students assess their skills, study and set goals for character building, earn badges based on relevant experiences, and share stories of that growth during weekly group check-ins called "Circles." Teachers also participate in the Compass Framework and weekly staff Circles.

The meetings are highly structured, but the agenda responds to participants' needs that day. In a meeting featured in a school film about the program, a student begins by saying, "Hi, my name is Aidan. I feel a little bit stressed and just like, kind of off … usually when I don't take my ADHD medication, my brain kind of wanders."

The faculty member leading the Circle, Coach McNeal, asks the group, "Can we get about two or three people to make commitments to just check in with Aidan in the hallways?" Hands go up. "So let's send Aidan some love and support." In response, members of the group hold up a hand sideways and gently wag their fingers in a gesture of affirmation.

Aidan stands in the center of the Circle, and a classmate thanks him for his candor: "When you told us about why you were 'off' — it just really helps for us to give you support." Another offers a gentle hug.

The schools' shared focus on academics and social-emotional learning is a powerful combination, says founder Todd Dickson, a former charter school teacher and principal who leads the network with his twin brother, Daren, an adolescent counselor.

"Our theory is that when kids learn how to really be vulnerable and get rewarded with connection, that is a recipe for building courage, the super habit for learning and growth," he explains. "If you learn to lean into discomfort — we sometimes call that process 'joyful struggle' — and learn to accept that being uncomfortable is an essential part of growth and learning, you are going to be really primed to learn. There is also a core communal piece where kids feel comfortable with each other and therefore are more willing to take academic risks."

Valor is sharing its programs and techniques with other schools by publishing its materials online and through its Compass Camp training program for educators and school leaders, which so far has trained 85 school leaders from 11 states in leading Circles at their own schools.

Building a Sense of Self

The notion of powering academic achievement by practicing noncognitive skills is a major focus at the Institute for Student Achievement (ISA), part of the Educational Testing Service. ISA has helped six high schools in New York and New Jersey expand SEL through its Integrating Non-Cognitive Teaching and Learning into the Academic Core Project, with Corporation support.

Here, the theme is metacognition — the self-awareness and skills to assess progress, break tasks into manageable steps, and envision alternate strategies to complete a challenge. Teachers' training begins with a video explaining brain development. But comfort and community are important, too.

"We know that to succeed academically, students need to feel supported and safe where they are actually doing their studying and learning," says Janet Price, senior director of programs at ISA. "The professional and interpersonal skills that employers demand can be learned in English, social studies, math, and science classrooms, and those skills can actually help students do better in those classes. Moreover, the experience of success helps students develop the belief that their perseverance and effort can pay off in increased achievement, in school and in life."

One example of how these skills complement one another comes courtesy of a school ISA has supported: the Integrated Arts and Technology High School in Rochester, New York. "Claim Evidence Analysis" was developed by the school's English department to train students to recognize and identify assumptions and ideas, including their own, while reading a text. Students then gather evidence for these beliefs, organizing their writing as a means to provide evidence to support — or refute — those claims. It's an exercise that demands not only close reading but self-awareness, careful analysis, and confidence in and responsibility for one's own ideas — even when they conflict with the author's claims. The innovation helps

students with both academic comprehension and personal awareness, and has proved popular among staff and students. In a survey, one noted, "It's been ingrained in my head by now, it's very easy to understand and master and I think I'm ready to move on to more advanced writing."

And through its relationship with ISA, the Rochester school's tool is one of 40 strategies available via the organization's metacognitive toolkit — available to educators looking for proven ways to embed SEL in their own classrooms and schools.

Such distinct applicability to academic goals may protect SEL from "initiative fatigue," which is endemic in the sorts of traditionally lower-performing schools that ISA supports, says President Stephanie Wood-Garnett.

"Because the schools are serving a large majority of students who are diverse or low-income, there is often initiative fatigue, because they have been working to get better and already tried a lot of things," she explains. "Teachers may be feeling stressed or like, 'Here comes another initiative, why is that any different?' But because we explain it as part of the academic core, it's seen as supportive of the work they primarily came into education to do."

Integrating SEL within academic instruction may also guard against another reform worry: the appearance of a stand-alone program that schools can simply add to their menus with the assumption that such skill-building is therefore covered.

"I'm really concerned it will become one more check mark," says Delisle of the Alliance for Excellent Education. "That some vendor will come and say, do this lesson every Friday from 1 p.m. to 1:30 p.m. and your kids will do great — that is the worst possibility. I think teachers, counselors, and families need to be well versed in what SEL is and how you integrate it into every class you have."

"We're not just having assemblies," Wood-Garnett adds. "This is about what happens in classrooms."

Powering Progress

Integration also describes the approach of The Urban Assembly, which operates 22 schools in New York City and supports SEL programs at a handful of other schools in Los Angeles, Houston, and Syracuse, New York. Rather than being introduced as a new stand-alone fix-it-all, SEL is intentionally layered on top of existing resources and practices at the schools operated and supported by the UA network.

"We try to create compatibility," says David Adams, the organization's director of social-emotional learning. "How does this concept map into your schools? What is the vision and mission? How does social-emotional learning contribute to that vision?"

The organization works to adapt SEL to daily life in schools seeking to improve their outcomes. At Urban Assembly Media High School, for example, leaders opted to focus on developing students' decision-making skills, and academic expectations were revised to require students to make and successfully defend clear choices and analyses in their work. And at Urban Assembly Institute of Math and Science for Young Women, a focus on tracking individual growth has students focusing on personal character development as they analyze texts.

Such work is possible even when the logistics are challenging. Urban Assembly Unison School is unique among neighboring schools, as it does not screen students by academics or attendance. Adams described it as "dedicated to helping ensure that regardless of income level or previous academic achievement, all students can meet their potential," and in 2016 leaders recognized the role that explicit social and emotional development could play in enhancing outcomes.

The school was under intense pressure to improve academics, but school leaders carved out 20 minutes for SEL practice per day, including a weekly academic check-in with an advisor, one day of restorative practice to work through conflicts, and a single skills lesson taught across three days. Lessons can include mastering such techniques as belly breathing (to help remain calm under pressure) or learning how to maintain strong eye contact and shake hands firmly (an effective way to initiate successful relationships). The effects have been powerful, propelling improvements in measures of school culture like attendance as well as academic performance on annual tests, according to Adams.

Learning for Life

There is widespread interest in such efforts. As part of the 2017 *Ready to Lead* report by the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL), researchers conducted a nationally representative survey of 884 school leaders and found that 95 percent were committed to developing students' SEL skills. But far fewer had implemented such plans: only 25 percent at the high school level had any SEL plans at all, and just 25 percent of all principals had instituted SEL instruction that met CASEL's standard for high-quality implementation, such as setting a budget, training staff, and adopting an evidence-based curriculum. The major barrier: 71 percent said teachers don't have enough time to do it.

Urban Assembly's Resilient Scholars work, as with similar efforts by other Carnegie Corporation of New York grantees, is designed to help bridge that gap by offering implementation strategies to schools with their own goals for

Building Character A group of sixth graders work on building simple machines in science class at the Urban Assembly Unison School in Clinton Hill, Brooklyn. Middle school students can participate in the Career and Technical Exploration Program (CTEP) in which teens do lots of cool things, like grow kale in a hydroponics lab, build websites, and study coding. The school has a hydroponic farm that produces 200 pounds of vegetables a month as well as a makerspace with a 3D printer!
PHOTO: COURTESY URBAN ASSEMBLY UNION SCHOOL

SEL. As part of Resilient Scholars, Fordham University's Graduate School of Social Service is studying the impact of Urban Assembly's SEL programs; students' skills are measured twice a year, along with metrics of school performance such as attendance, academic performance, and school culture indicators. That data can build understanding of the relationship between SEL and other school and postsecondary outcomes, as well as how well the Urban Assembly implementation model predicts student outcomes.

"We have to help principals with how to organize a school in ways that support these SEL outcomes — particularly in terms of transferring skills from school to the wider community," says Urban Assembly's Adams. "In instructional practice, for example, if you first teach what active listening looks like, follow that with a quick debrief at the end of a 'turn and talk' activity, the lesson is not just about a topic, but about the quality of communication. And then you can use those same communication skills to talk to your parents, or to anyone else."

SEL has major implications for educational equity, he points out. His program's ultimate goal for students: to operate effectively in society and solve problems.

"Every student, regardless of background, benefits from social-emotional learning," Adams continues. "But when we are thinking about kids who come from high-risk backgrounds, the explicitness of these skills allows our students to develop fluency. We are judging kids every day based on their ability to communicate and manage conflict, and equity is about giving every student equal exposure to these ideas and the opportunity to see them modeled and taught by teachers who care about them."

This broad range of strategies holds particular promise. Taken together, they reveal the importance of educating the whole student — helping students to not only learn content, but also learn how to learn.

"Social-emotional learning is not a discrete package of skills that we are hoping a kid learns," observes Carnegie's Levy Thompson. "It's a way of being and navigating and dealing with all of the things — both wonderful and challenging — that any person is going to confront over the course of their life." ■

DEMOCRACY

Numbers Game

The 2020 Census: History, Justice, Representation

The citizenship question will not appear in the 2020 Census. But has the very partisan debate surrounding the question fundamentally changed the way the census will be conducted? And what about the general good will of the public? Kenneth Prewitt, former United States Census Bureau director and Carnegie Professor of Public Affairs at Columbia University, talks with Carnegie Corporation of New York's Robert Nolan

From the days of the Founding Fathers, the American census has provoked questions about who should — and who shouldn't — be counted. But turmoil over a question about citizenship has turned the exercise, constitutionally mandated to take place every 10 years, into a political football like never before.

ROBERT NOLAN: Many people had no idea about what the census was until it began popping up in headlines over the past six months, mostly because of a controversial question the Trump administration wanted to add about citizenship. What do you tell people at cocktail parties when they ask you about why the census is so important?

KENNETH PREWITT: Article I of the Constitution requires a census every ten years; the first was conducted in 1790. Indeed, the census was one of the first things the country's founding fathers mandated. It differed sharply from the Colonial censuses, with which of course, they were familiar. Those censuses were tools for the powerful — control and tax the population, exploit natural resources, and so forth. The American census flipped this 180 degrees, building on the Boston Tea Party cry: "No taxation without representation." In fact, for the founders, the right to be represented is as fundamental as the right to vote, the latter restricted to adult white male property owners but the former for all women and children, and indeed all people residing in the initial 13 states. This "right to be represented" soon moved westward, adding new states — Kentucky and Tennessee — in the early 1790s, securing the Jeffersonian vision of a free and independent Republic.

NOLAN: How does this right to be represented manifest in the real world today?

PREWITT: Two ways. First, of course, seats in the House of Representatives are allocated proportional to population — the more populous the state the more representatives it sends to the capital. The second, a 20th-century development, is in redistributing federal taxes, now sustaining social services, back to the states. The 2020 Census counts will be used over the next decade to return to the States nearly a trillion dollars allocated to health care, disaster preparedness, transportation projects, benefits for veterans, and much more. The funds, like political representation, will be allocated proportionate to the respective size of each state, as counted by the census. The right to be represented is manifested, then, in power and money.

A state, city, or even neighborhood that is undercounted does not get its fair share of federal health or education programs. The children who are left out of the census are of course still there, and need a seat in the classroom and a teacher.

Columbia University's Carnegie Professor of Public Affairs Kenneth Prewitt was director of the U.S. Census Bureau from 1998 to 2001.
PHOTO: SUSAN VOGEL

Incidentally, census numbers have a life across the decade. If a state is shortchanged in the apportionment of congressional representation or a school system is shortchanged in new construction funds, it's not a one-year problem but a ten-year problem.

NOLAN: We know that the census began recording whether those surveyed were native-born or foreign-born in 1850. How is the addition of a question about citizenship status so different from that? Wouldn't we want to have an accurate head count of American citizens?

PREWITT: Oh, absolutely. The census form that is getting so much attention right now only has eight questions. A large number of critical characteristics are not on the decennial form, because the census bureau has less expensive and more timely sources — especially the American Community Survey and, increasingly, federal and state administrative records. Members of Congress who are asking "Why would we not want to know how many American citizens there are?" — they are either deeply misinformed or just making political points. They could go to their computers and in seconds get very reliable statistics on the number of citizens and noncitizens, and among the latter, the number of documented and undocumented.

I would like to make a more general point. There is extensive information about America's population recorded in administrative records. The federal statistical system — 15 agencies and nearly 100 smaller programs — is steadily improving its use of those data, largely through advances in technology and the number of characteristics electronically available — health, employment, living conditions.

The 2020 Census counts will be used over the next decade to return to the States nearly a trillion dollars allocated to health care, disaster preparedness, transportation projects, benefits for veterans, and much more. The funds, like political representation, will be allocated proportionate to the respective size of each state, as counted by the census. The right to be represented is manifested, then, in power and money.

There are challenges. One is ensuring the quality and coverage of administrative data. The other is public concern with privacy. However, every census is used to improve the census that follows it. The 2020 census will help us learn the strengths and weaknesses of administrative data, and how to apply sophisticated statistical tools in privacy protection. I am confident that 2030 will apply lessons learned in 2020, leading to increased use of administrative data.

NOLAN: The Trump administration has said it wants to include the question on citizenship to help better enforce the Civil Rights Act and other laws that protect minorities. While the Supreme Court rejected this justification, there is a real relationship between the census and civil rights. Can you help to explain that?

PREWITT: The key issue regarding the census and civil rights is the Voting Rights Act, as well as the administration of all the antidiscrimination laws that were created in the 1960s and then laws, especially gender equality, that have been gradually enacted over the years since. Civil rights and social justice laws very often require a denominator.* I oversimplify to make the basic point. Consider the types of questions asked that launched the civil rights era a half-century ago: if the African American population is 12% but they comprise only a few percent of university student populations, we have an unfairness problem; if women are half the population but nowhere near that proportion of elected officials, we have an unfairness problem.

Justice is more than proportionate representation, but certainly such representation is relevant to social justice. Proportionality requires a denominator, and the census is the most powerful denominator we have. The social justice advances in the last half-century draw from data provided by the federal statistical system — on employment, wages, access to health, education opportunities, livable housing. All of these survey-based statistics are calibrated to the basic count provided by the census.

NOLAN: What are some of the potential outcomes in the run-up to the census, and what if it basically fails?

PREWITT: We've never had a census that did not start with the general good will of the public and the full backing of the political leadership. Neither of those conditions are a certainty for 2020. Whether the country's going to pull itself together and have a good census in eight months depends on improvement on both counts.

Consider this. In preparing for 2020, the Census Bureau (2018) took a survey, with these results:

- 60% of the public mistrusts the federal government
- 53% percent believe the census is used to locate the undocumented
- 28% doubt that the Census Bureau will keep their answers confidential
- One in five Americans believe census answers can be used against them

I put it this way: we have low-turnout elections, but they still send candidates to political office, from city councils to the White House. There is no such thing as a low-turnout census. If there is low turnout, it's not a census anymore. While I don't expect the 2020 Census to "fail," I do think it requires and deserves stronger support than it is presently getting from the administration and from the general public. The Census Bureau is not the problem — the support system is. Can this turn around? Absolutely, and hundreds of civic organizations, state and local governments, businesses, and advocacy groups will step up — as so many already did, successfully, in the wasteful and needless battle over the citizenship question. I have no crystal ball. But if the political rhetoric can be dialed down, there is a civic mobilization effort poised to protect the census from toxic partisanship, and redefine it in terms the Founding Fathers would recognize.

NOLAN: In the 2000 and 2010 censuses, one of the big issues was ethnic diversity. I read that in the last census, 20 million Americans chose "other" as their race. How important is it that the census evolve with the rapid pace of immigration and ethnic identity? And what about sexual identity? Is that the next challenge?

* A denominator refers to a specific set of data about a population.

PREWITT: The Census Bureau expected to introduce an extensively tested and much stronger race/ethnicity question in 2020 than the version used in 2000 and 2010. It was designed with many more options for national origin, ethnicity, and race. It made the "other" line redundant. I am hopeful that we will not have to wait until 2030 to introduce this much improved question. Instead, replace an old and flawed question with the improved version in the American Community Survey, perhaps as early as 2021. It will migrate across the entire federal statistical system and gradually make its way into the private sector. Sexual identity has a different set of challenges, but I expect major improvement in the coming decade. In brief, the nation, unfortunately, needs to complete the task of creating racial and gender justice. Each requires a more robust denominator in official statistics.

NOLAN: Finally, what about public education? What role have civil rights groups and litigators played in the fight against the citizenship question being included?

PREWITT: A very important role, as I indicated previously. And these players have more to do. The 2020 census needs multiple "trusted voices." Americans hesitant about cooperating with the census can best be persuaded by their minister, school teacher, best friend, or the person they go bowling with. Trusted voices who will say, "Oh, come on, you should do this." Of course some of the traditional "trusted voices" are themselves hesitant, especially where the undocumented are involved.

Another important initiative takes place in the public school system, where the children bring back home the message that the census matters, based on materials provided and experience as mock enumerators and census-takers. Also, we have just witnessed extensive media coverage of the legal back and forth over the citizenship question. This was useful preparation for the much greater task of encouraging census cooperation, and many journalists have now graduated from "Census 101" and will undoubtedly make a positive contribution in 2020.

I summarize: there is lingering damage from the very partisan debate about the citizenship question. If the toxic partisanship persists — especially if sizeable sections of the population remain fearful that the census will be used against them — the census will be fighting strong headwinds.

Simultaneously, however, in the Census Bureau and across a broad array of civic actors, there is preparation for a census with a positive message: if you care about your country and want to help your community, cooperate with the census that our Founding Fathers gave to us.

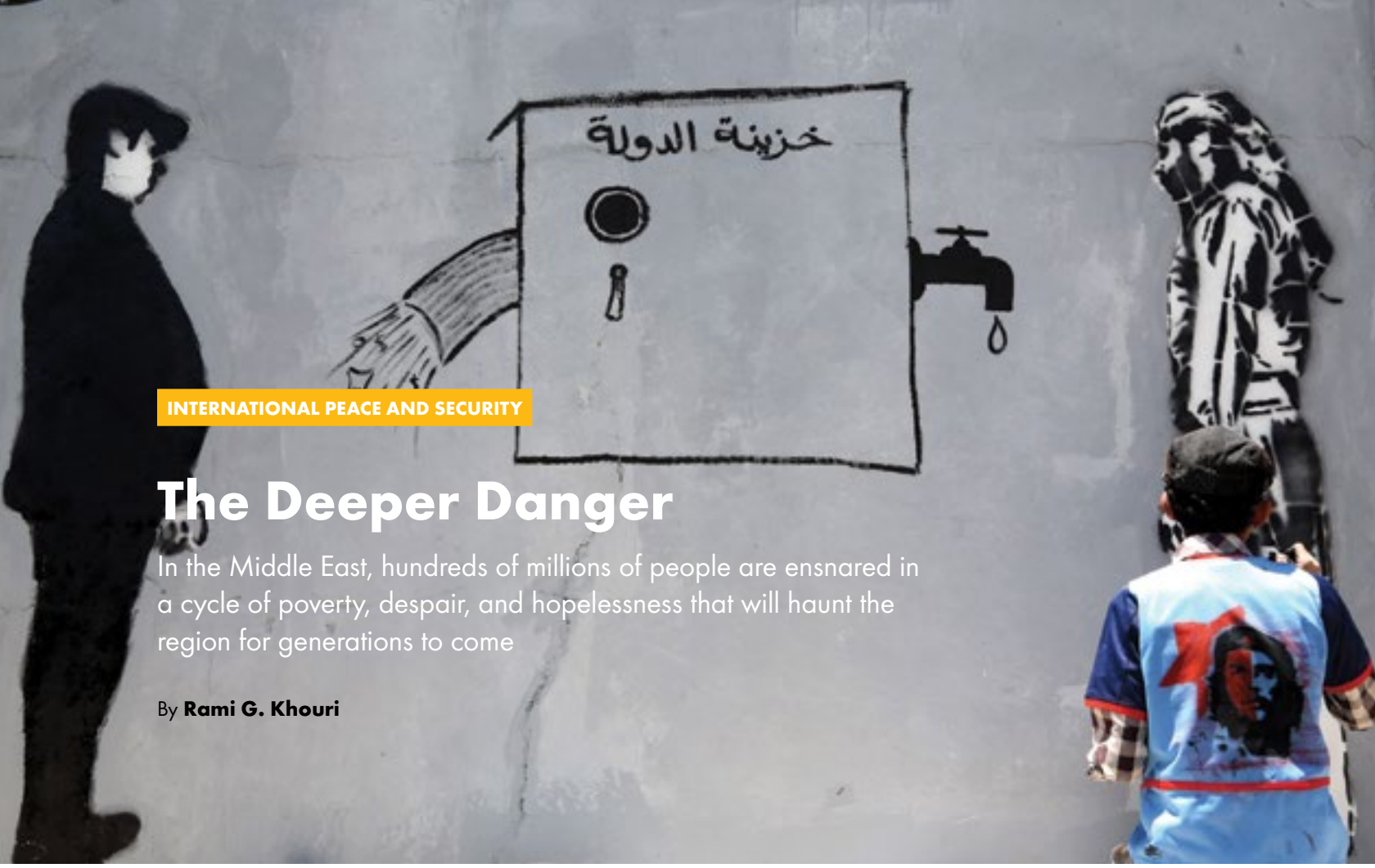
For now, we must cope with some uncertainty about whether there will be more tailwinds than headwinds come April 1, 2020. ■

Down for the Count

Key Carnegie Corporation of New York grantees working to make sure that the 2020 Census is fair and accurate

- Asian Americans Advancing Justice
- Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Los Angeles
- Brennan Center for Justice at New York University
- Center for Community Change
- Demos
- Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund
- Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (voting rights litigation collaborative)
- National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund
- NEO Philanthropy/Four Freedoms Fund
- NEO Philanthropy/Funders' Committee for Civic Participation (Funders' Census Initiative)
- NEO Philanthropy/State Infrastructure Fund
- New Venture Fund (2020 Census Project)
- State Voices

← PAGE 60 **Count Us In** People gather in front of the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington, D.C., after several important decisions were handed down on June 27, 2019. The high court blocked a citizenship question from being added to the 2020 Census for the time being, and in another decision ruled that the Constitution does not bar partisan gerrymandering. PHOTO: MARK WILSON/GETTY IMAGES



INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The Deeper Danger

In the Middle East, hundreds of millions of people are ensnared in a cycle of poverty, despair, and hopelessness that will haunt the region for generations to come

By **Rami G. Khouri**

News reports and political leaders' statements on refugees, terrorism, migrants, and sectarian wars tend to dominate discussions about conditions in the Middle East. The actual situation is actually far worse, because deep below these surface manifestations of our distress lurks a much more destructive force that contributes to the terrible events we witness daily — a force that has started to tear the region apart from the inside. Poverty and inequality are the twin anchors of an inexorably damaging dynamic that ultimately sends tens of millions of families into agonizing cycles of vulnerability, helplessness, marginalization, and, in many cases, alienation from their state and society.

The absolute extent of poverty and inequality in Arab lands has been quantified in recent years, thanks to research by organizations like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank, and the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), as well as research supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York. As we are learning, rates of poverty and vulnerability in the Arab region are much higher than had been previously thought.

These new insights come from the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), which gauges poverty and vulnerability more accurately than previously used measures that relied upon income or daily per capita expenditures to make assessments. Published by UNDP and the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI), the MPI captures families' actual total life conditions because it expands on family spending to account for other key well-being indicators in health, education, and living standards (such as nutrition, child mortality, years of schooling, sanitation, electricity, drinking water, and assets, among other factors).

MPI analyses reveal poverty rates as much as four times higher than previously assumed, partly because MPI looks at a country's wealthiest along with its poorest; earlier daily expenditure measures often missed the whole picture, according to ESCWA economist Khalid Abu-Ismail, who heads a Beirut-based team of researchers

that has been exploring every dimension of this issue for several years now. As Abu-Ismail pointed out in a recent interview, according to ESCWA data, 116 million people across 10 Arab countries, or 41 percent of the total population, were classified as poor, while another 25 percent were vulnerable to poverty. This translates to an estimated 250 million people who may be poor or vulnerable out of a population of 400 million. (A family is considered vulnerable if its income barely covers essential life needs, but any drop in income or increase in costs would plunge it into poverty.) That figure represents two-thirds of the total Arab population.

These levels of family economic stress are confirmed by separate findings in regional surveys. Regular surveys of Arab individuals' political/social attitudes and their living conditions across the entire region have been conducted by the Arab Barometer consortium of American and Arab universities and research centers, a Corporation grantee, and by the Doha-based Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. These surveys reveal that since 2010, the percentage of families across the region that cannot afford to cover their basic monthly needs, or that can do so only by borrowing or seeking aid, fluctuates between 70 and 85 percent of all families. These indicators of mass pauperization and vulnerability also show that the middle class in non-oil producing Arab states is shrinking. As middle-income families slide into vulnerability, vulnerable families in turn fall into poverty.[1]

Mass poverty also means that the Middle East is the most unequal region in the world, with the top 10 percent of its people accounting for 64 percent of wealth.[2] Inequality cuts across virtually every sector of life and society, including the rural/urban divide, gender, income, and ethnicity, because in the Middle East inequality is a deeply engrained structural problem rather than the fleeting result of short-term economic stresses.

Mass pauperization in the Arab world means that several hundred million individuals find themselves with poor basic sustenance, no political power or voice, and little hope for improvement in their lives. Their desperation is heightened by parallel dangers to society as a whole, such as widening corruption and massive environmental abuse. The pain and bewilderment of chronically insecure families exacerbates the cascading trends that now define much of the Arab region: the gradual polarization of individual countries, fracturing along ethnic, sectarian, class, or ideological lines; the focus of central governments on their main political constituents, leading them to retreat from their responsibility to serve all citizens; and insurrections, wars, separatist movements, and political violence spread across the region — often assisted by external powers, with conflicts spilling over to other countries in the form of terrorism, refugees, and migrants.

When citizens protest declining living standards and diminishing life opportunities, most Arab governments continue to respond with stronger security measures. This approach, usually with consistent foreign support from both the East and the West, has for decades left the Arab region with tens of millions of semi-educated young people without steady jobs or steady income, languishing without hope in the dead-end informal labor market and politically impotent. In recent years we have seen that they are no longer silent. The 2010–11 Arab uprisings, the recurring demonstrations since then in half a dozen Arab countries (especially Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon), and the latest mass citizen rebellions for civilian governance and dignity in Algeria and Sudan have been the most telling political responses to this condition. This feeling of hopelessness in the Arab world also led to the short-lived Islamic State controlling vast swaths of Syria and Iraq, the legal or illegal migration of millions of Arabs to other countries, and protracted civil wars in Yemen, Libya, and Syria.

Poverty's new agony, the latest studies show, is that a poor family today will remain poor for several generations, due to the inability of economies to generate enough new jobs and the debilitating and lasting effects of family conditions on education and child welfare. We now also appreciate more clearly that poverty and its attendant inequalities are a long-term threat because they are intimately associated with other deficiencies in education, labor, and political rights that keep people poor, strain societies, and weaken entire countries. Today, the latest dangerous dimension to this trajectory is occurring before our very eyes in shattered countries like Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, and others. Desperate citizens, grasping at any available support to stay alive, open the gates to direct foreign interference in their countries, including by regional powers, which can come in the form of creating and funding militias, providing armaments, or directly engaging in warfare. Destructive direct foreign intervention is one of the most dynamic growth sectors in the Arab region, practiced by Arab governments and nonstate militant groups such as al Qaeda; non-Arab countries like Iran, Turkey, and Israel; and foreign powers like the U.S., Russia, France, and the U.K.

In the face of these troubling realities, one positive note is that we know how we got here, and with better analysis and parallel political will we can find our way out of it. Better governance and more effective public policies can turn around today's harsh downward trends. A considerable amount of new research by Arab and international

[1] According to ESCWA economists who have analyzed the issue, the middle class in non-oil producing Arab countries has shrunk from 45 percent to 33 percent of the population.

[2] Comparatively, the top 10 percent of the population accounts for 37 percent of the wealth in western Europe and 47 percent in the United States. See Facundo Alvaredo, Lydia Assouad, and Thomas Piketty, "Measuring Inequality in the Middle East 1990–2016: The World's Most Unequal Region?," *Review of Income and Wealth* (October 2018).

Poverty and inequality send tens of millions of politically powerless individuals down a one-way path to vulnerability, marginalization, helplessness, and hopelessness. That is the ultimate devastation.

scholars is providing the foundational knowledge required to start moving down this path, including numerous analytical and policy-oriented studies by indigenous institutions and individuals supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York and other foundations.

Hillary Wiesner, director of the Transnational Movements and the Arab Region program at Carnegie Corporation of New York, has long appreciated how academic research can clarify the many contemporary drivers of sustained or intermittent conflicts. She recently explained that Corporation funding aims to build on and draw links to the region's own expertise on a range of underlying issues like state and citizenship, inclusive economies, cities and services, employment, and education. "We all stand to benefit from in-depth analysis coupled with effective dissemination, particularly from regional scholars," Wiesner said. "The Corporation's support to the region's knowledge sector aims to empower local institutions and communities — ultimately to improve outcomes and conditions in the region. We see political science and social sciences expanding significantly, thanks to professional organizations such as the Arab Council for the Social Sciences."

Another such initiative is Alternative Policy Solutions (APS), a project based at The American University in Cairo, which produces evidence-based, participatory, and actionable policy research in the areas of socioeconomic reform, resource management, and public services. Sophisticated multisectoral research, undertaken mostly by Arab scholars in cooperation with their international colleagues, is helping us unravel the critical underpinnings of mass Arab poverty and inequality as well as the political turbulence they inevitably trigger. One of the most important research outcomes lays bare poverty's connection to other debilitating conditions that stun tens of millions of marginalized families — often for generations to come. These include poor education, informal labor, weak state social services and social protection systems, environmental stresses, and populations that grow faster than economies.

For example, analyses of international test scores show that around half of all mid-primary and mid-secondary school students in Arab public schools do not meet basic learning outcomes in reading, writing, and mathematics. These students often drop out of school or graduate without being able to find productive work commensurate to their education, which helps explain why nearly 60 percent of Arab labor today is in the informal sector. Such workers enjoy no protections like minimum wage, maximum working hours, health insurance, or pension plans (only around 30 percent of Arab workers have pension plans). The poor education/labor informality cycle guarantees continued poverty and vulnerability for generations to come for two reasons. First, Arab governments and economies are unable to generate enough new decent jobs to reduce unemployment. New entrants to the labor market have nowhere to go. The International Monetary Fund and other organizations estimate that the Arab region must create 60 to 100 million jobs by 2030, and 27 million of those in the next five years, to make a significant dent in unemployment. For economic managers in the Arab region today, whether in the private or the public sector, this is clearly an impossible task — especially since regional economic trends, including the creation of new jobs, can be influenced by such factors as erratic performances in tourism, direct foreign investment, worker remittances, commercial trade, energy prices, and foreign aid. Second, low household education levels and poor early childhood development indicators, such as the increasingly common incidence of stunting, are signs that families will continue to suffer long-term poverty and marginalization.

Populations also continue to grow faster than the economic expansion required to meet people's basic needs for jobs and social services. Reversing decades-old trends, fertility rates have recently risen in a few countries, translating into an estimated annual nine million births in the Arab region (nearly two million of those in Egypt alone). Many of these children will face hard life prospects, given the inability of current state policies to meet the needs of their populations, let alone the millions more people being born every year.

Poverty and inequality send tens of millions of politically powerless individuals down a one-way path to vulnerability, marginalization, helplessness, and hopelessness. That is the ultimate devastation. As a result, millions of them become alienated from their governments, which no longer provide the basic services and opportunities that they had once delivered with some sustained success. Instead, many find not only succor but essential services in

established religious, ethnic, tribal, political, and professional organizations that have grown to play a more and more prominent role in state and society, often edging out government as the main animating force in how individuals interact with their state. National coherence and integrity start to fray, and powerful nonstate actors expand and come to share sovereignty with the state, whether formally like Hezbollah and Hamas, or informally like Muslim Brotherhood groups and local sectarian and tribal organizations in Yemen, Iraq, Libya, and Somalia. A few individuals consider the option of joining militant groups challenging the state and its established order through violence. Some families risk illegal migration abroad, with thousands perishing along the way — all because the risk of staying and possibly dying at home is greater than the risk of fleeing to find a new life.

Such life trajectories are the most dramatic and tragic consequence resulting from the expansion of poverty and inequality, which have now reached crisis proportions in many Arab countries. Yet, this situation still lacks the attention it deserves, and several hundred million poor and vulnerable Arabs are waiting on remedial policies as they struggle to make ends meet or to — merely — stay alive in their ever-more turbulent societies. ■

← PAGE 64 **The Writing Is on the Wall** The Arab world faces a crisis of poverty and unemployment. More than 60 percent of the population in 10 Arab countries is considered poor or vulnerable (meaning that a drop in income or an increase in costs would plunge a family into poverty). Estimates say that the Arab region must create up to 100 million jobs by 2030 in order to make a significant dent in unemployment. Graffiti in this image, taken in Yemen's capital, Sanaa, expresses despair over violence, power cuts, poverty, corruption, and fuel shortages. PHOTO: SINAN YITER/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

Arab Social Sciences: Building Capacity — On the Ground

"The future of the region will be made in the region," says Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York. As a knowledge-sector foundation, the Corporation aims to expand the activity, connection, and impact of social science expertise in the Arab region across a range of critical topics shaping its future, primarily through its Transnational Movements and the Arab Region program. Corporation support enables social scientists to conduct research and to form professional networks that can amplify the impact of their work. Within a wider range of field-building support, here are a few practical tools and platforms developed by grantee organizations working on economic challenges.

ACSS Dataverse

Since 2010 the Arab Council for the Social Sciences (ACSS) has been serving and building the growing community of social scientists in the Arab region. Among its latest features is the ACSS Dataverse, an Arab public data initiative offered by ACSS in collaboration with the Odum Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The Initiative promotes data preservation and data sharing among social scientists and research institutions, in support of developing policies and procedures for data archiving in the Arab region.

Alternative Policy Solutions, The American University in Cairo

A nonpartisan public policy project at The American University in Cairo, Alternative Policy Solutions produces evidence-based, participatory, and actionable policy research in the areas of socioeconomic reform, resource management, and public services.

Arab Barometer

A research network providing insights into the social, political, and economic attitudes and values of ordinary citizens across the Arab world, the Arab Barometer has been conducting high-quality and reliable public opinion surveys in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) since 2006. It constitutes the largest repository of publicly available data on the views of men and women in the MENA region.

Athar (Portal for Social Impact of Scientific Research In/On the Arab World)

Based at the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut, Athar is an open repository for completed and ongoing research projects. Researchers may directly upload publications which they would like to share with other institutions, the public, or policymakers. For Athar the word "social" is meant in a broad sense, including its economic, political, cultural, and conceptual aspects.

Carnegie Middle East Center

An independent policy research institute based in Beirut, Lebanon, and part of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), the Carnegie Middle East Center provides in-depth analysis of political and socioeconomic issues facing the Arab region, offering fresh insights and ideas that cultivate a deeper understanding of the region. ■

African Libraries Are Bridging a Digital Divide

Expanding broadband and smartphone access presents a transformative opportunity for African scholarship, but putting those tools to work will take future-ready skills. Tech-savvy librarians are ready to help

By **Kathleen Carroll**

For years, the Buganda kingdom archive at Makerere University in Kampala was a decidedly low-tech affair: a cache of boxes in the Africana section of the main library. There, visitors could flip through the delicate pages of the books and papers that survived the rise of the Republic of Uganda in the 1960s, when tribal kingdoms were officially abolished and most materials were lost or destroyed.

Each visit to the archive posed both an opportunity and a threat: the chance for scholars to build and share knowledge about the kingdom, as well as the danger of erasing that source of historical understanding forever. It's all too easy for original artifacts to become damaged or destroyed through repeated contact with curious hands.

"The demand for these archive documents is increasing exponentially, which puts them at risk of rapid deterioration," said Patrick Sekikome, an academic librarian at Makerere University. "There is usually only one copy of each document in the archive, which means that once damaged, the archive has suffered a loss that can never be remedied. This might lead to more gaps in a very valuable historical collection."

In order to prevent such a tragedy, Sekikome led an effort to digitize the collection. His goals were two-fold. He wanted to prolong the lifespan of the original materials and he sought to make the documents more accessible to scholars in Africa and beyond. Together with library staff, he donned white cotton gloves and scanned hundreds of documents, coding each item with detailed metadata. The team then created digital files, which are now available for immediate download from anywhere in the world. Items are retrievable through a next-generation online repository. They have also created future-proof versions of these documents in a digital archive.

The Buganda digitizing project was the culmination of Sekikome's degree work in the master's in information technology program at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. This innovative program is designed to train the next generation of library leaders on the continent. Students do the necessary research, learning how to apply advanced information and communications technologies to expand access to materials, to accelerate research and scholarship, and to foster collaborations around the globe.

"It's really quite something to put a heritage collection online, to be made accessible for people who thought they would never be able to have access to these specific documents," said Martie van Deventer, a research associate in the Pretoria program. "Previously, such collections were totally inaccessible to those who did not know that the collection existed or did not have the means to physically travel to where the collection is."

New Skills for New Technologies

New broadband access and low-cost digital tools like smartphones and mobile applications hold great promise for African libraries and universities, enabling students, scholars, and researchers to take deep dives into the rich histories of their countries, to explore and enrich post-colonial identities, and to create the sort of cross-boundary scholarship that can propel the continent's interests forward.

But technology itself isn't enough to unleash that potential. What else is needed? Tech-savvy librarians.

The Future of Librarianship A cohort of library and information science professionals gather in Pretoria, South Africa, for the University of Pretoria-Carnegie Capstone Conference. Held in March, the conference celebrated the graduation of 103 students from an innovative master's in information technology program at the university. The program is aimed at training the next generation of librarians in Africa in advanced information and communications technology. Claudia Frittelli, program officer for Carnegie Corporation of New York's Higher Education and Research in Africa program, stands at the back centered just in front of the patio umbrella. PHOTO: COURTESY CLAUDIA FRITTELLI

"If you are building strong postgraduate education, you need good information professionals," said Claudia Frittelli, program officer in Carnegie Corporation of New York's Higher Education and Research in Africa program. "Academic librarians who are themselves participating in new forms of knowledge-sharing are better equipped to inform and engage researchers in low- or no-cost communications, in networking, and in joint research to increase their visibility, relevance, and research productivity."

The Pretoria program was established with the Corporation's support in 2011. In the years since, it has graduated 103 librarians from Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda (the five countries in which Carnegie Corporation of New York operates), as well as from Kenya and Eritrea. In addition, and as a complementary effort, 308 library professionals, from the same countries, have completed a four-week certificate course where the practical, hands-on skills were taught. Together, these two programs have resulted in the formation of a network of knowledgeable middle managers and librarians who have gained experience in working with modern technology and who now know where to access either online help or a peer who has already overcome similar challenges.

The program introduces students to the wide world of technology-rich information science, including open content and open-access literature, techniques for digitizing and creating research-friendly repositories of historical materials, and tools that help researchers access information more readily. The aspiring librarians then put that knowledge to use through a range of hands-on projects. Students have built several new online collections of research materials, such as a repository focused on healthcare research in Ghana and electronic theses and dissertation collections in Uganda. Some have already implemented simple low-investment, high-impact digital tools at their own institutions, including library Facebook

> "Academic librarians who are themselves participating in new forms of knowledge-sharing are better equipped to inform and engage researchers in low- or no-cost communications, in networking, and in joint research to increase their visibility, relevance, and research productivity."
>
> – **Claudia Frittelli**, Carnegie Corporation of New York

pages, shared Google Docs, wikis (websites that allow for collaborative editing), and online "ask a librarian" support.

Many have also written new policies and several have been promoted to more senior roles at their institutions, developments that are in line with the program's explicit goal of helping libraries advance into the digital age. As leaders, the program's students are wrestling with many of the challenges and tensions that are endemic to the digital age, such as protecting academic integrity while allowing research findings to flow freely.

One of those challenges was cast into sharp relief during a program trip to the U.S., when graduate students visited the Mortenson Center for International Library Programs at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The visitors were shown the electronic database of the university's master's theses and doctoral dissertations, which stood in contrast to a common practice at African institutions of only keeping paper copies of doctoral dissertations and not making digital copies available. Marlene Holmner, a senior lecturer at Pretoria's School of Information Technology, recalled that the first reaction of the visitors was, "Anyone can copy the document now, why would you do that?" But the students also learned about solutions to that potential problem. They were exposed to low- and no-cost plagiarism detection services like turnitin.com.

"These are the types of 'soft skills' that become important: 'Actually, it can't be plagiarized because of turnitin.com!' So, they started to understand that the work was protected, and they realized that they could safely upload the work," Holmner said. "We created a culture of compliance to ethical behavior, and now plagiarism is one of the main topics we teach in our information literacy classes."

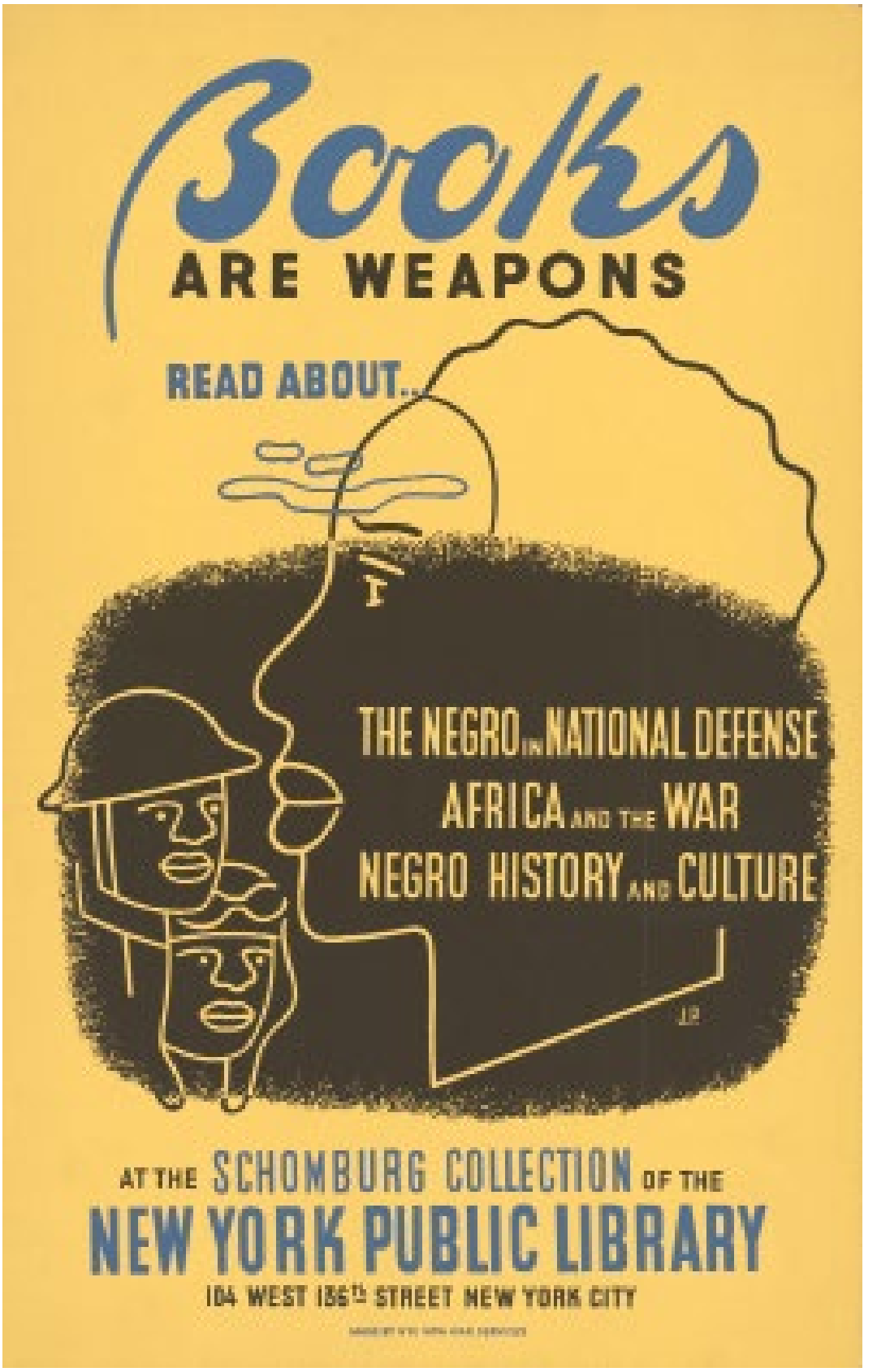
Supporting Scholarship and Identity

Such efforts serve the broader purpose of strengthening African-led scholarship, complementing a longstanding commitment by Carnegie Corporation of New York to promote higher education and build human capital within academic institutions in Africa. Building librarians' skills and, therefore, their institutions' capacities to house and provide access to relevant heritage collections promotes more sophisticated scholarship — which in turn supports a deepening mastery and ownership of local histories and expertise.

"This gives many more people access to elements of their African identity and culture," said Frittelli. "Previously, it would be a library in the U.K. or the United States that would have digitized these materials, and Africans themselves would not have had access to them."

For example, one of the program's students established an online collection of artifacts from the long struggle for self-rule in Eritrea, which gained independence in 1993 after decades of Italian colonialism and a 30-year war with neighboring Ethiopia. That project involved gathering a motley and largely hidden collection of photos, documents, voice recordings, and other artifacts from makeshift storage sites, including caves, as well as consulting with Italian experts on how best to digitize them, according to van Deventer.

"In the past, collection managers would have struggled to educate themselves to ensure sustainable digitization projects," she said. "The world has opened up for them … and also for those of us who are now able to access these hidden treasures." ■



Patriotism by the Book This World War II-era poster encouraged citizens to use the resources at The New York Public Library's Schomburg Collection to learn about African and African American history and culture. Vartan Gregorian calls libraries "stations of hope." They are also "stations of preparation": for school, for work, for life, and, in this case, for the war effort. See the following pages for Syreeta McFadden's fascinating look at Carnegie Corporation of New York's special connection to the magnificent archival and community resource that is today known as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. PHOTO: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION

THE EVIDENCE OF THINGS UNSEEN

Harlem has long stood as the cultural capital of the African diaspora, and since 1925, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, one of the world's leading cultural institutions devoted to documenting black life in America and worldwide, has served as that community's vibrant, thriving heart

By **Syreeta McFadden**

From Slavery Through Reconstruction One of four panels by Aaron Douglas (1899–1979) from his *Aspects of Negro Life* mural series. Oil on canvas, 1934. PHOTO: THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION

In the final panel of Aaron Douglas's series of four murals, *Aspects of Negro Life* (1934), a dark figure is bathed in a bull's-eye that radiates outward, blooming from the brightest yellow gold and softening to amber. Holding a saxophone, the figure stands atop a wheel that doubles as a curved staircase. The image, titled "Song of the Towers," communicates the ecstatic present, serving as a coda to the series as a whole. To the viewer, the journey towards the soul's fulfillment is no longer singular, but encompasses the joy of the entire race.

The well-known black-and-white photograph that shows Douglas presenting "Song of the Towers" to Arturo Alfonso Schomburg at the 135th Street branch of The New York Public Library (NYPL) doesn't quite do the painting justice. The bold strokes and warmth of the colors of the painting's black-informed modernist aesthetic don't come to life in the photograph. And of course, it cannot capture the joy that Schomburg must have felt whenever he looked at Douglas's murals in the library's third-floor reading room. There, after three decades of commitment to the project of tirelessly collecting evidence of black life and black brilliance in the Western Hemisphere, Arturo Alfonso Schomburg now served as curator for the collection that bore his name.

"The murals," Schomburg said, "look down on me and I can look up to them for relief and pleasure and support when any of the so-called superior race comes to town to look at our wonders."

Renaissance Man Aaron Douglas (left) discusses his new painting "Song of the Towers" in 1934 – the paint barely dry – with Schomburg Collection curator Arturo Alfonso Schomburg. PHOTO: THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION

In 1926 the fruits of Schomburg's meticulous labors were acquired by The New York Public Library with the support of Carnegie Corporation of New York for $10,000. This purchase — valued at just over $140,000 in today's dollars, but in fact priceless — established the Schomburg Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints at the 135th Street Library, seeding the formation of what today is known as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Now in its 93rd year, the Schomburg Center is home to one of the largest collections of letters, literary and historical manuscripts, prints and photographs, rare books, fine art, audio and visual materials, and printed and other ephemera of the African diaspora, now totaling more than 11 million items. In 1972 the center was designated one of The New York Public Library's four Research Libraries, and later underwent an extensive renovation and expansion, first in 1992 and more recently in 2016. It now hosts a range of public forums and events, welcoming tens of thousands of visitors per year. The legacy of Arturo Alfonso Schomburg's project to reclaim the narrative and history of black peoples across the diaspora has been fulfilled.

Born in 1874 in Puerto Rico to a black mother and white father of German or perhaps mixed ancestry, Schomburg gained an awareness of the barriers between color and class at an early age. It was his fifth-grade teacher who told the young Arturo that "black people had no history, no heroes, no great moments," wrote Elinor Sinnette in her 1988 study, *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile & Collector: A Biography*.

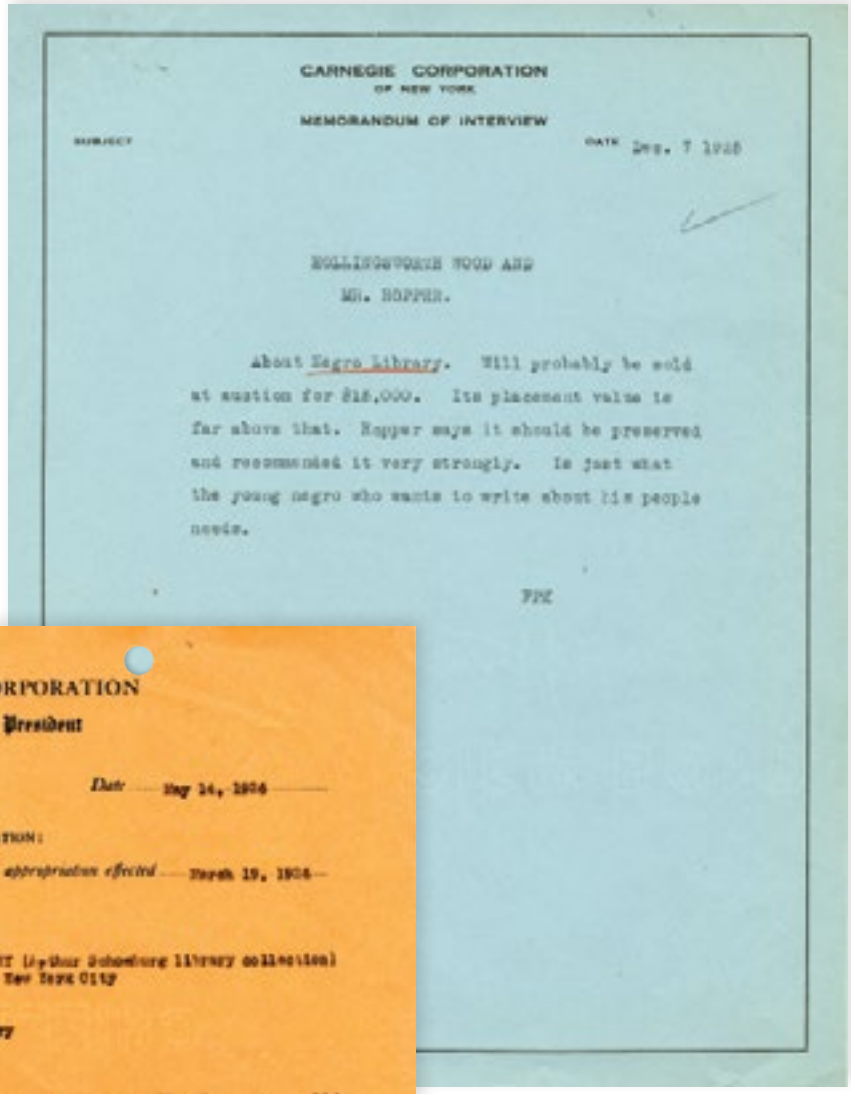
For Schomburg, this false assertion about black humanity haunted him as much as it fueled his pursuit for evidence to prove the contrary. "We need in the coming dawn the man who will give us the background for our future," Schomburg wrote in 1913. "It matters not whether he comes from the cloisters of the university or from the rank and file of the fields."

Arriving in New York in 1891 at the age of 17, Schomburg quickly immersed himself in the affairs of African Americans, integrating with the growing black community in Harlem and the freemasons of Prince Hall. Through his involvement with the community, he met and befriended journalist and bibliophile John Edward Bruce, who came to be known as Bruce Grit, in what would grow into a most consequential friendship. Grit became a father figure to the young Schomburg, and the two bonded over their mutual love of books, history, and learning. As a result of Grit's influence and mentorship, Schomburg began his lifelong pursuit of rare manuscripts and books authored by black peoples. A passionate collector was born.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, New York City, like all of America, was undergoing massive transformations. Black migrants who uprooted themselves from the South to resettle in the North were arriving in Harlem,

Song of the Towers One of four panels from Aaron Douglas's *Aspects of Negro Life*. Oil on canvas, 1934. PHOTO: THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, ART AND ARTIFACTS DIVISION

Man About Town A studio portrait of Arturo Alfonso Schomburg taken in about 1896, five years or so after he arrived in New York City. PHOTO: THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION



CARNEGIE CORPORATION
OF NEW YORK

MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW

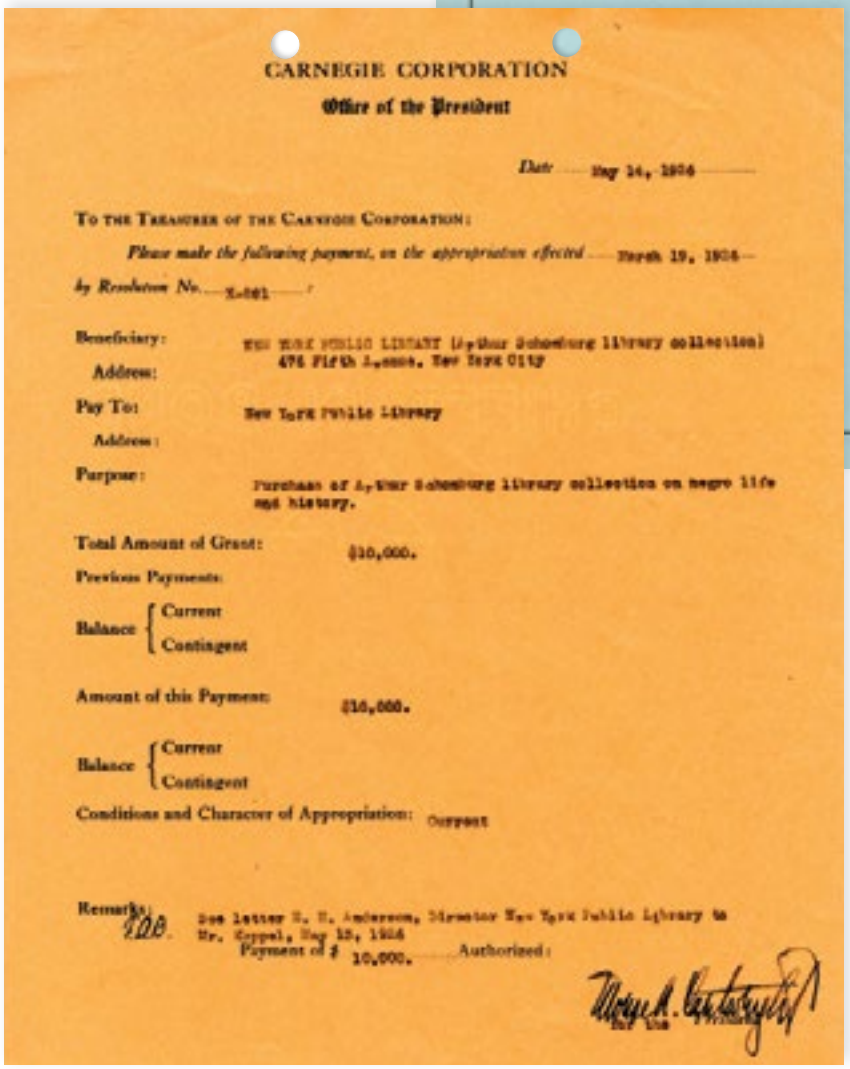
SUBJECT

DATE Dec. 7 1925

ROLLINSWORTH WOOD AND
MR. HOPPER.

About Negro Library. Will probably be sold at auction for $15,000. Its placement value is far above that. Hopper says it should be preserved and recommended it very strongly. Is just what the young negro who wants to write about his people needs.

FPK



CARNEGIE CORPORATION
Office of the President

Date May 14, 1926

To the Treasurer of the Carnegie Corporation:

Please make the following payment, on the appropriation effected March 19, 1926 by Resolution No. X-881

Beneficiary: The New York Public Library (Arthur Schomburg library collection)
Address: 476 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Pay To: New York Public Library
Address:

Purpose: Purchase of Arthur Schomburg library collection on negro life and history.

Total Amount of Grant: $10,000.

Previous Payments:

Balance { Current / Contingent

Amount of this Payment: $10,000.

Balance { Current / Contingent

Conditions and Character of Appropriation: Current

Remarks: See letter H. H. Anderson, Director New York Public Library to Mr. Coppel, May 12, 1926
Payment of $ 10,000. Authorized:

Deal Done Dated December 7, 1925, the blue memo confirms that Schomburg's "Negro Library" should be preserved, recommending it very strongly as "just what the young negro who wants to write about his people needs." The appropriation by Carnegie Corporation of $10,000 for the purchase was made official a little more than five months later. PHOTOS: CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK RECORDS, RARE BOOK & MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Remake Your Past to Make Your Future Researchers at work in the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints at the 135th Street library in 1938. Catherine A. Latimer, the first African American librarian hired by The New York Public Library, is seated in the background, second from the left in the photograph. PHOTO: THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, PHOTOGRAPHS AND PRINTS DIVISION

whose once dominant Jewish community ceded more and more blocks to the newcomers. Following World War I, the psyche of black people shifted, and with that shift came hopes of greater inclusion in American society. Yet that optimism was met with a fierce and bloody backlash. In the summer of 1919, northern cities that had experienced an influx of African Americans from the South as part of the Great Migration erupted. Nascent communities of color were met with brutal force, rioting, burning, and lynching. Still, black migration did not abate.

By 1920, when more than 100,000 African Americans called Harlem home, Ernestine Rose, a white woman, began her appointment as head librarian of the 135th Street library. Born in Bridgehampton, New York, and named after a famous 19th-century feminist, Rose witnessed the growth of a dynamic but underserved community, one where the public library had not kept pace with the voracious interests of its African American patrons. Rose recognized the crucial role of local libraries in building strong communities, a belief in harmony with other values of the Progressive Era, and was convinced that the 135th Street branch, situated as it was between the YMCA and a public school, could serve as a thriving center of black life and consciousness. She believed that "race pride and race knowledge" must be "stimulated and guided" and, moreover, that the black community needed and deserved a meeting place for its citizens.

The same year that Rose began her tenure at 135th Street, The New York Public Library hired its first African American librarian, Catherine A. Latimer, and in 1923 Regina Anderson became the second African American librarian to join NYPL. At the time, the Harlem branch's holdings were extremely limited, and due to their popularity, the books in the collection deteriorated rapidly. In a bold move to preserve, maintain, and build the collection, in 1924 library staff established a reference collection of black books on the library's third floor, enlisting the aid of community leaders to help support the expansion. Around this time, Schomburg, who had been closely entwined with the affairs of black historical and intellectual life in New York since his arrival in the city decades before, began hosting a small group of like-minded men and women, including author and educator James Weldon Johnson, at the 135th Street library to discuss black scholarship. (Schomburg himself had already began loaning items from his personal collection to the library.) Not long afterward, the branch was renamed the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints.

The year 1925 would prove pivotal if not momentous for the efforts by black scholars and cultural workers — as well as for Arturo Alfonso Schomburg himself — in the project of curating and educating the public in the history of African identity in the Americas.

"History must restore what slavery took away, for it is the social damage of slavery that the present generations must repair and offset," Schomburg wrote in a landmark essay, "The Negro Digs Up His Past," first published in the March 1925 issue of *Survey Graphic*. "So among the rising democratic millions," Schomburg continued, "we find the Negro thinking more collectively, more retrospectively than the rest, and apt out of the very pressure of the present to become the most enthusiastic antiquarian of them all." This special number of the magazine, guest edited by the eminent black scholar Alain Locke, took as its theme "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro." Locke was signaling the beginning of an acute cultural moment in African American life, the arrival of the "New Negro." This movement, which later became known as the Harlem Renaissance, codified the expansion in political and cultural consciousness among African Americans, fueled by the energetic aspirations of black migrants from the South settling in Harlem. Locke, later dubbed the "dean" of the Harlem Renaissance, expanded the special issue of *Survey Graphic* into a book-length anthology that was published later that year. Schomburg's widely regarded essay captured the spirit of this history-making moment. "The American Negro," Schomburg wrote, "must remake his past in order to make his future."

That summer, the main branch of The New York Public Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street hosted an exhibition of select works from Schomburg's personal collection. The first of its kind in the NYPL system, the show featured only a modest offering of black antiquities — rare books and papers — displayed beneath glass in traditional exhibition cases, yet it sparked the curiosity and imagination of visitors and library officials alike.

"Within a dozen cases there lies the story of a race," observed a writer for the *Christian Science Monitor* in August 1925. "Through their clear glass tops there shines that which arrests, challenges, commands attention." Organized in partnership with librarians Rose and Latimer, the show remained on display for four months in the famous library.

Over the course of more than 20 years, Schomburg spent a small personal fortune amassing a collection of over 10,000 items, comprised of more than 5,000 volumes, 3,000 manuscripts, 2,000 etchings, and, notably, several very early (and very rare) black-authored works. Head of the mail division at Bankers Trust by day, he spent his off hours dedicated to this enterprise, frequently corresponding with luminaries and scholars of the day like W.E.B. Du Bois for suggestions and leads. His questing could border on the obsessive; Schomburg spent 12 years doggedly tracking down a portrait of the scientist and polymath Benjamin Banneker (1731–1806), who helped produce some of America's earliest almanacs. All the while, Schomburg took on leadership roles with Prince Hall Masonic Lodge, and for a time spearheaded

> "The American Negro must remake his past in order to make his future."
>
> – **Arturo Alfonso Schomburg**, "The Negro Digs Up His Past"

the Negro Society for Historical Research. He asked his coterie of prominent friends like Langston Hughes to bring back little-known treasures from their travels. His earliest acquisitions of note were the personal papers and letters of Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture and the first edition of Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773), the first book of poems published by an African American poet. (In 1915 Schomburg compiled a bibliography of black poets with James Weldon Johnson.) He had long been storing the bulk of his collection in his residence at 105 Kosciuszko Street in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, but it was time for it find a proper home.

Buoyed by the energy of the Fifth Avenue exhibition as well as the critical reception to his *Survey Graphic* essay, Schomburg began exploring options for the sale of his massive collection. He initially approached Eugene Kinckle Jones, president of the National Urban League, and its board chairman, L. Hollingsworth Wood. Though they turned him down, they helped broker conversations between Schomburg, The New York Public Library, and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

"At present the library is in the small private dwelling house of Mr. Schomburg in shelves in his living-room, his dining room, in piles on the piano, and in boxes in the basement," Wood wrote in December 1925, the opening of a correspondence between the National Urban League and Carnegie Corporation of New York. At first, Schomburg hedged at the idea of accepting The New York Public Library system as the permanent repository for his labor of love. In a March 1926 letter to Corporation president Frederick Keppel, Wood explained that "the difficulty with having the title to library definitely in the Trustees of The New York Public Library is that it practically clamps this library down in New York City, no matter where what we may call the cultural center of Negro life shall hereafter turn to be. The development of this cultural center in New York has been so recent, the whole business of Negro citizenship in the North is so fluid, that the idea of a separate board of trustees was developed to meet that situation and also Mr. Schomburg desired to be still intimately associated with his library." Those fears were eventually assuaged, and on May 14, 1926, it was official: with Resolution X-281, the office of the president of Carnegie Corporation of New York approved the purchase of the "Arthur Schomburg library collection on negro life and history" for The New York Public Library in the amount of $10,000.

As it turned out, Schomburg's huge collection had yet to be professionally cataloged. So, upon his retirement from Bankers Trust, the legendary collector himself became the curator of the collection — and indeed, the world-famous library — that would one day bear his name, his position supported by a modest additional grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York. Ensconcing himself on the third floor of the 135th Street library and working with a group of dedicated librarians to classify the materials, Schomburg served as curator of the Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints from 1932 until his death in 1938.

In the decades since Schomburg's death, Harlem has remained the vital cultural capital to the African diaspora and the Schomburg Center has only grown in stature as one of the nation's leading archival institutions. In recent years alone, the Center has acquired the personal archives of James Baldwin and the long-rumored "lost" chapter of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Schomburg's lasting project was to collect rare items that documented and preserved black culture as a means of resistance. Teaching racial pride, Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, the man and his books, presented a counternarrative meant to inoculate black children from feelings of shame, providing them an armor against anti-black racism. And even as the Schomburg Center moves into the 21st century, Arturo Alfonso Schomburg's legacy lives on. As the Center's new director, the poet Kevin Young, told the *New York Times* in August 2018, "It's such an interesting time for libraries and archives, given the rise of digital collections and changes in reading."

Today, the four panels of Aaron Douglas's *Aspects of Negro Life*, hover overhead in the reading room of the Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division at the Schomburg Center. Looking up at Douglas's magisterial mural series, scholars, visitors, and students of all ages can consider the long rhapsodic evolution and humanity of African American life, rendered in the artist's bold colors, deep silhouettes, and fractured backgrounds. The murals transmit an understanding of all the many lives that African Americans have endured, excavating a denied past, while allowing viewers to then journey toward their own bittersweet moments of reckoning, embracing all future possibilities to come. ■

THE "BRAINY AWARDS"

The most generous initiative of its kind, the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program continues Carnegie Corporation of New York's more than 100-year history of supporting serious scholarship that tackles the most pressing issues of the day

By **Anita Jain**

Since 2015, Carnegie Corporation of New York has made it possible for scholars to strive toward groundbreaking solutions to our society's most confounding issues through the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program. The program grants recipients of the so-called "Brainy Award" up to $200,000 for research and writing in the humanities and social sciences.

This past spring the Corporation welcomed its 2019 class of 32 fellows, among them scholars researching such topics as how targeted ads interfere with elections, water insecurity in households, and declining social mobility.

2019's fellows were excited that they would be able to continue their important research. Elizabeth Armstrong, professor of sociology at the University of Michigan, tweeted, "The fellowship will enable me to conduct a series of interviews with national leaders and policymakers who have unique insights into the political and legal issues surrounding campus sexual assault."

Another grant recipient, Sally Nuamah, Northwestern University professor of education and social policy, said on Twitter, "I'm so pleased to announce that I was just named a 2019 winner of the Andrew Carnegie Fellows program aka the 'brainy award.' My plan is to examine the relationship between the punishment of black women/girls and their political participation!"

Harvard University economics professor Raj Chetty said in an email to the Harvard Gazette, "I'm delighted and honored to have been chosen as a recipient of the Carnegie fellowship. I intend to use the fellowship to dedicate more time to our team's work on restoring the American dream at Opportunity Insights, focusing specifically on how we can improve children's opportunities in communities that currently offer limited prospects for upward income mobility."

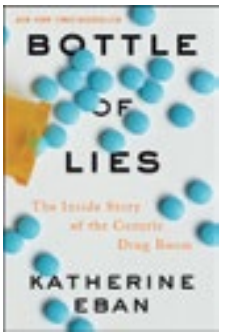
The Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program has provided $32 million in grants to more than 160 fellows over the last five years, making the initiative the most generous of its kind. Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, said, "Andrew Carnegie believed in education and understood its influence on the progress of society and mankind. The Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program is an integral part of carrying out the mission he set for our organization."

Previous Andrew Carnegie fellows have used their grants to produce trailblazing research

Margaret Burnham

2016 Andrew Carnegie fellow Margaret Burnham researches lynchings in the late 19th and early 20th century through the law clinic and resource center she founded at Northeastern University's law school, the Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project (CRRJ). Burnham plans to use her database of miscarriages of justice to produce a book looking at the way justice for African Americans operated in mid-20th-century America. For example, she says, in one chapter she will try to "dissect the question of why kidnapping was never punished when the victims of kidnapping during this time were African American."

Katherine Eban



2015 Andrew Carnegie fellow and investigative reporter Katherine Eban in May published *Bottle of Lies: The Inside Story of the Generic Drug Boom*, an exposé on the generic drug industry. Giving the book a coveted starred review, Kirkus described it as "an urgent, alarming work of health reporting that will make you question every drug in your medicine cabinet."

Timothy Snyder

Yale University historian Timothy Snyder used his 2015 Andrew Carnegie fellowship to write his 2017 book *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*, which the *New Yorker*'s Adam Gopnik called "fine and frightening." Last year Snyder published *The Road to Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America*, a deep analysis of the West's turn toward authoritarianism. *Foreign Affairs* said of Snyder's work, "Of all the books that seek to explain the current crisis of Western liberal democracy, none is more eloquent or frightening than Snyder's *The Road to Unfreedom*." ■

ABOVE 2016 Carnegie fellow Margaret Burnham founded the Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project, which addresses harms resulting from anti-civil rights violence though research and remediation. PHOTO: SUZANNE KREITER/THE BOSTON GLOBE VIA GETTY IMAGES **BELOW** Yale University historian Timothy Snyder, a specialist in the history of Central and Eastern Europe and the Holocaust and a 2015 Carnegie fellow, speaks at the 2019 Oslo Freedom Forum in May. PHOTO: JULIA REINHART/GETTY IMAGES

"The humanities and the social sciences are a way for this country to learn from the past, understand the present, and devise paths to progress and peace."

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

Big Brains Congratulations to the 2019 class of Andrew Carnegie fellows!

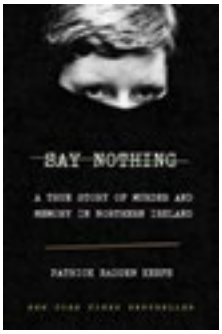
CARNEGIE **BOOKSHELF**

Say Nothing: A True Story of Murder and Memory in Northern Ireland
Patrick Radden Keefe

This Land Is Our Land: An Immigrant's Manifesto
Suketu Mehta

The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why It Matters
Tom Nichols

Not Forgotten Helen McKendry holds a family photograph showing her mother, Jean McConville, and some of Jean's children. In 1972 the 38-year-old Belfast woman, a mother of 10, was kidnapped in front of her children and murdered by the IRA. She had been accused of passing information to the British forces. Her body was not found until 2003. Helen herself, the murdered woman's eldest daughter, is shown second from the right in the photograph she holds on her lap. PHOTO: PETER MUHLY/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



Say Nothing: A True Story of Murder and Memory in Northern Ireland

Patrick Radden Keefe

Doubleday. 441 pp. 2019.

Northern Ireland's Ghosts, Living in Plain Sight

A journalist lays bare the enduring, inescapable legacy of the Troubles in a land where memory, tragedy, violence, and family are inextricably intertwined

By **Aaron Stanley**

When driving through the tight, winding rural roads of Northern Ireland (or is it the north of Ireland?), you pass through quaint, sleepy little towns. Most barely have a High Street. But if you didn't know any better, you'd think there was an important sporting event most days. It isn't unusual to see a town draped in flags; light blue and red or orange and maroon, intermixed with a few Union Jacks. Look closer and you might see a red hand or a red fist. In other towns, the tricolor of the Republic of Ireland flies.

These flags are representations of community. They are expressions of identities forged through almost 30 years of violence, a period that came to be known as "the Troubles." From 1969 to 1998 organized elements from the Catholic community of Northern Ireland, with the primary group known as the Provisional Irish Republican Army (nicknamed "Provos," or the Provisional IRA), mounted an armed resistance against British rule and the Protestant community of Northern Ireland that governed the region. Complicating matters, the Protestant community organized its own paramilitaries to resist the Catholic movement.

Northern Ireland was beset by brutal violence that ripped apart families and communities over the course of three decades. While the conflict must have felt much more intense for a divided Belfast than in other parts of the region, even in cities like Londonderry (or is it Derry?), where bombings were less frequent, regular outbursts of bloodshed contributed to a palpable tension in these culturally divided cities.

The Troubles can be considered a "low-boil" conflict with consistent but relatively low numbers of fatalities compared to other conflicts — 3,289 in total between 1969 and 1998. However, the early years of the hostilities were distinctly more intense and lethal. Approximately 15 percent of the deaths directly related to the conflict occurred in 1972, with 60 percent of all fatalities falling in the first decade of the conflict. In June of that year, the most violent of the conflict, the British Army officially stationed over 30,000 troops in Northern Ireland — a staggering number. By comparison, the United Nations has placed 17,000 troops in South Sudan in response to a civil war that has claimed nearly 400,000 lives.

The Troubles officially came to an end with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Despite parties signing on the dotted line, demobilization did not happen overnight, and hardened attitudes were difficult to displace. Violence declined but persisted, albeit at much lower rates, with 66 reported deaths between 1999 and 2003. Several groups unhappy with the agreement decided to develop splinter groups like the Real IRA, a 21st-century iteration of the Provos. Reports show that demobilization of armed groups like the Provos was largely effective. But as Gerry Adams, former Provos leader turned Republican

Why do we remember? What do we remember? How do we remember?

politician, said with a wink in 1995, "they haven't gone away, you know."

Violence is one of human society's most memorialized activities. "Lest we forget," the graves of unknown soldiers, Memorial Days, commemorations of tragedies (man-made and natural), war memorials, and other remembrances extend through and beyond the generations, beyond those who could have any direct personal connection to the dead. Why do we remember? What do we remember? How do we remember?

At first glance, Patrick Radden Keefe's new book, *Say Nothing: A True Story of Murder and Memory in Northern Ireland*, seems like an interesting history of critical members of the Provos in Northern Ireland. If you do not get to the end of the book, you might think Keefe's crowning achievement is in simply providing a more gripping retelling of a story that has been told many times before. The first 200 pages offer engaging portrayals of Provos characters like Dolours Price, Marian Price, and Brendan Hughes, which leave you sympathizing with their cause while despising their actions. The twist, and ultimately the power of the book, is that it isn't just a history, it is a *recollection*.

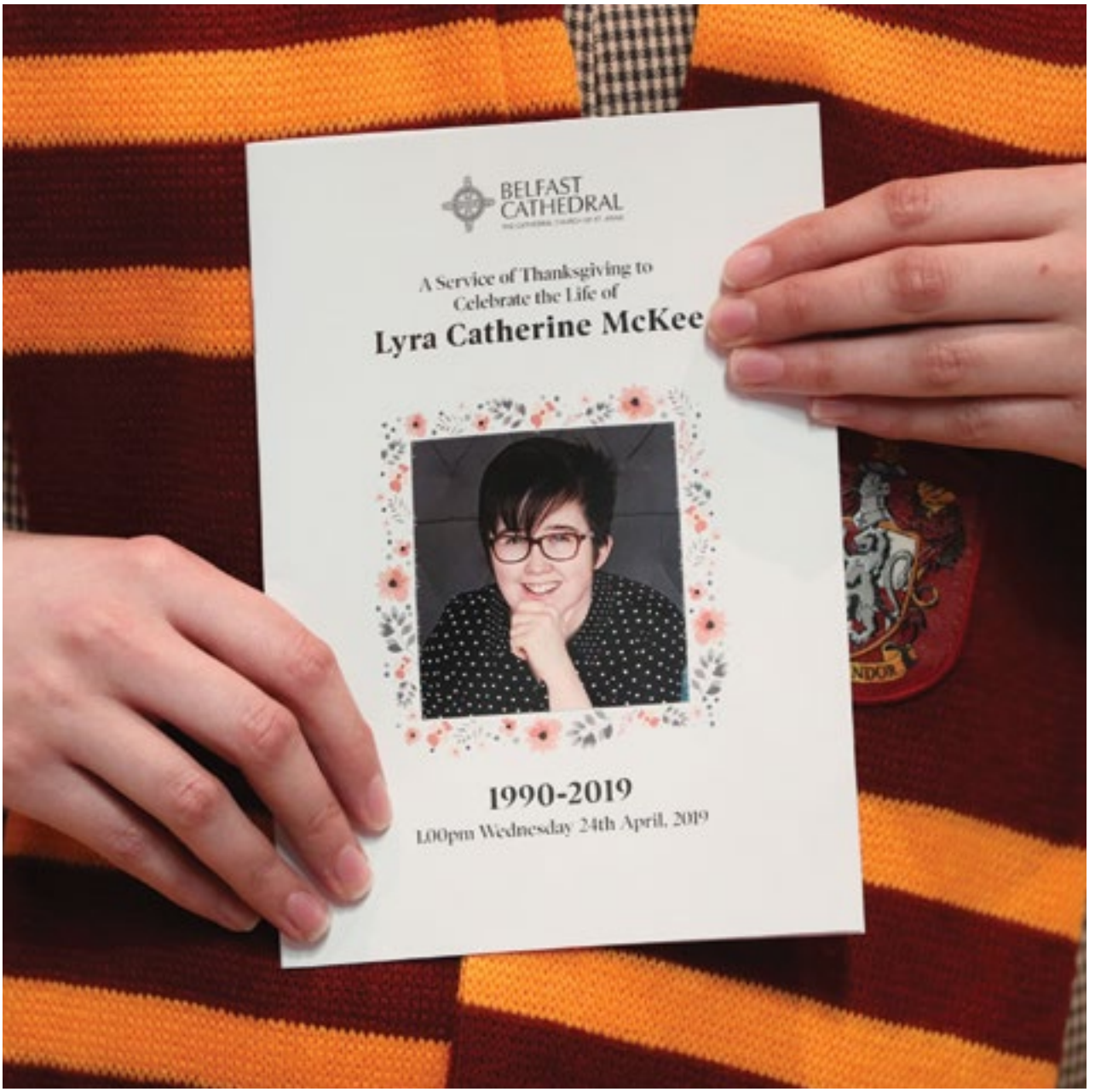
Memory and recollection can distort the contours of reality. Over time, perspectives dim, opinions harden, and nostalgia creeps in. Current-day emotions influence how our memories form as well as our remembrances of the past. *Say Nothing* makes no apologies for this approach to history as it acknowledges the gaps within the puzzles of the past. Keefe tells the stories of those who disappeared during the conflict (abducted, murdered), focusing in particular on the case of a young mother of 10 named Jean McConville. His work is a striking example of how memory, politics, and personality not only obscure and challenge the writing of history, but also have a direct impact on how those who are most affected by history can come to cope with and even reconcile with the past.

The author's methodology in selecting his cast of characters is revealed later in the book. Each person not only had a direct involvement in the Troubles, they also granted interviews to the Belfast Project, an oral history undertaking hosted at Boston College. The project collected interviews with more than 100 individuals from both the Republican and the Loyalist sides of the conflict. Participants confidentially shared their memories, opinions, and feelings with interviewers who, it turned out, had themselves all been important participants in the conflict.

As Keefe explains, the Belfast Project's difficulty revolved around the timing of the release of the "private" interviews. Would a participant's recollections be available once he or she died, or would the project wait until the passing of all participants before releasing any of the interviews? As it happened, it didn't matter what interviewees had been promised. Once individual participants began to die, Ed Moloney, the Belfast Project's founder, used excerpts from the tapes for his 2010 book, *Voices from the Grave: Two Men's War in Ireland*, resulting in legal and social difficulties for those who had opened up about their activities during the Troubles — and who were still amongst the living.

The tapes are a treasure trove of individual recollections of the most confidential and impactful discussions and private thoughts during the Troubles. The recordings provide insights into major events and their planning, such as the car bombing of the Old Bailey courthouse in central London in 1973. They also raise new questions. Did the Thatcher government negotiate with the 1981 Irish hunger strikers? Who is actually responsible for the death of Bobby Sands, the member of the Provos turned parliamentarian who died during the hunger strike? Who ordered the disappearance and killing of Jean McConville, abducted from her West Belfast home? Like Pandora's box, the tapes reveal new information, open up new avenues of inquiry, recast interpretations, and, of course, throw up fresh questions.

Us vs. Them narratives are effective forms of propaganda. The realities of the Troubles, however, present complicated relationships between a multitude of armed groups, sides, and alliances. In a number of conversations that I've had with people directly involved in the Troubles, it's clear that while the conflict can be easily portrayed as Republicans versus the British, such a straightforward dichotomy obscures the way the British military played both sides of the sectarian divide. A former colleague who was part of a Loyalist paramilitary group recounted how the Brits provided information to both sides, often planting information with the Provos to set up no longer useful Loyalists or to feign impartiality.



Just Doing Her Job A mourner holds a program at a vigil for the 29-year-old journalist Lyra McKee, held in Belfast in April 2019. Shot by a bullet intended for the police during rioting in Londonderry, McKee had written movingly of the lingering trauma of the Troubles on her own generation — the "ceasefire babies." PHOTO: BRIAN LAWLESS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Hearing from the Loyalist side is critical to a full understanding of the Troubles. Not only do Loyalists have their own memories, recollections, and feelings about the conflict, their politics played a central role in the emergence of the Provos in the first place. If there's an area in which *Say Nothing* falls short, it is here. Like many explorations of the Troubles, the book focuses predominantly on the Catholics of Northern Ireland (on the Provos, specifically) and their rebellion against the British. Keefe should be praised for his fascinating depictions of British military tit-for-tat intelligence gathering as well as for his explorations of early developments in modern counterterrorism and counterinsurgency strategies. But the approach is wanting for its omission of how the Loyalists fit into the story.

And what about all the blue, maroon, and orange flags waving throughout Northern Ireland? The flags represent Loyalist paramilitary and political organizations. If you ever take one of the famous Black Cab tours of West Belfast, you will undoubtedly see the mural of Bobby Sands. But you will also see the memorial of Stephen "Top

> "The Ceasefire Babies was what they called us. Those too young to remember the worst of the terror.... We were the Good Friday Agreement generation, destined to never witness the horrors of war but to reap the spoils of peace. The spoils just never seemed to reach us."
>
> – **Lyra McKee**, "Suicide of the Ceasefire Babies," Mosaic (January 19, 2016)

Gun" McKeag, a volunteer for a Loyalist paramilitary force called the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), who got his nickname for committing the most murders in a year — and earned that distinction for multiple years. Notably, McKeag was born a year after the Troubles began. Another Loyalist named Jackie Coulter also features prominently in the Lower Shankill district of Belfast.

If you come at the right time, the Black Cab tour will take you past one of the preparations for the annual Eleventh Night bonfires and street parades held in honor of the victory of the Protestant William of Orange over the Catholic King James II in 1690. It isn't unusual to see the bonfires burning Irish tricolors and likenesses of the pope. The Black Cab tour down memory lane isn't trafficking in bloody history merely for the benefit of the tourist. This tragic history lives on in the present day, reified by the conclusion of a 2015 report by the secretary of state for Northern Ireland, which opens: "All the main paramilitary groups operating during the period of the Troubles remain in existence: this includes the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Red Hand Commando (RHC), Ulster Defence Association (UDA), Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)." All sides remain organized.

And yes, our memory of yesterday impacts our actions of today. The collective repressed demons of Northern Ireland have been stirred with the issue of Brexit and its implications for the territory's border with the Republic of Ireland. A recent census shows the number of Protestants declining as a percentage of the Northern Ireland population, yet the community is politically engaged and outspoken.

Perhaps there is something we can take away from Keefe's timely publication of a book about the memory of conflict and its impact on individuals and the collective psyche. Political scientists following Northern Ireland like Roger Mac Ginty have recently commented on the failure of politicians on both sides to support reconciliation. Education statistics show that schools are more religiously segregated than they were 15 years ago. In January 2019 a car bomb detonated in downtown Londonderry. Three months later in the same city, a 29-year-old journalist named Lyra McKee was killed by a bullet intended for the police during a riot sparked by a search by law enforcement for guns and explosives. McKee was reporting on the situation.

A respected journalist despite her youth, McKee had once written a deeply personal narrative about youth, sexuality, and trauma in which she said, "The Ceasefire Babies was what they called us. Those too young to remember the worst of the terror.... We were the Good Friday Agreement generation, destined to never witness the horrors of war but to reap the spoils of peace. The spoils just never seemed to reach us." In the same article, McKee notes how the suicide rate in Northern Ireland has almost doubled since the end of the Troubles. Such a statistic might have been expected for those who lived through the Troubles, but the proliferation of suicides in Lyra McKee's generation is shocking.

Recent studies have shown that trauma is passed down from generation to generation. Trauma can be transmitted not only through the construction of identity via memorials, murals, flags, and stories, but can be imparted, we are learning, biologically through the alteration of DNA sequences called epigenetic changes. And so, a geopolitical event like Brexit has the effect of igniting the emotions, memories, and traumas of past generations. This can happen because, while the fighting has ended, real reconciliation has not occurred. In Northern Ireland, at least, trauma hasn't gone away, memories linger, and not everyone has felt the benefits of peace. As Faulkner wrote, "The past is never dead. It's not even past."

They haven't gone away, you know. ■

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Deputy Head of Foreign Desk, *Kommersant*

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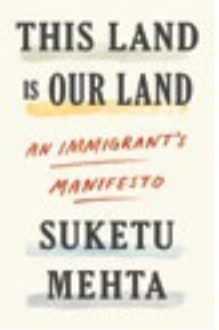


This Land Is Our Land: An Immigrant's Manifesto

Suketu Mehta

Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 306 pp. 2019.

We Are Here Because You Were There

What debt does the West owe immigrants for colonialism and climate change?

By **Anita Jain**

In 2004 Suketu Mehta arrived on the literary scene, accompanied by the fully formed voice on display in his nonfiction tour de force about India's largest city, *Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found*. The 500-page plus lyrical narrative took as its subjects some of Bombay's most notorious denizens — its gangsters, crooked cops, and the girls who performed at so-called dance bars before they were shut down over a decade ago. A Pulitzer Prize finalist, *Maximum City* established Mehta's place among the pantheon of giants writing about India in English, luminaries such as Salman Rushdie and Arundhati Roy.

And then cometlike, the New York University journalism professor disappeared for 15 years, barring sporadic palate-whetters, such as the profile of an all-female cannabis delivery service published in *GQ* magazine a couple of years ago. His readers were led to believe he was working on a magnum opus about New York City, one to rival his Bombay tome. Instead, he released a book this summer quite unlike the one that put him on the map, *This Land Is Our Land: An Immigrant's Manifesto*, an anguished clarion call for open — or at least open-ish — borders.

In *This Land Is Our Land*, less than half the length of his previous book, Mehta trades in his rapturous prose for hard data, think tank research, and coruscating polemic. This is not a criticism, and the book is no less masterful than his first.

Mehta's call comes not a moment too soon. The U.S. is experiencing an unprecedented influx of immigrants at its southern border, many of whom are claiming asylum. The number of border-crossers peaked at a record high 144,000 in May 2019, more than twice as many the same time a year ago, with the majority hailing from the Central American countries of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, collectively dubbed the Northern Triangle.

The migrants are, of course, escaping poverty, made acute by climate change–caused drought, but the real reason they're fleeing is that rampant gang violence has made life untenable for residents in these countries. MS-13, for example, acts as a de facto government in El Salvador, extorting fees from legitimate businesses and residents on threat of violence or even death.

Mehta's argument is simple: let them in. The U.S. economy is more than equipped to absorb the overflow and in fact, requires immigrants' willingness to work jobs Americans scoff at. In order to retain its place as the world's largest economy, the U.S. needs to offset a decline in birthrates with immigrants. Among other things, immigrants pay into social security, supporting the retirements of the growing number of baby boomer retirees, who are living longer than ever before.

Mehta cites one economist's estimate that immigrant-driven population growth in the U.S. has accounted

Love Has No Borders Author Suketu Mehta devotes a chapter of *This Land Is Our Land* to interviewing family members in Friendship Park, an area along the U.S.-Mexican border separating San Diego from Tijuana. Family members gather here to speak and touch each other through the slats of the border fence. PHOTO: GUILLERMO ARIAS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

for about half its economic growth rate in the past decade, compared with one-sixth in Europe and none in Japan, a country with a foreign-born population of under two percent. The author also references a study showing that on a global basis, migrants comprise only three percent of the world's population yet contribute nine percent of its gross domestic product.

When calling for greater immigration, Mehta doesn't stop at proof-is-in-the-pudding economic arguments, many of which we've heard before. What enlivens his treatise is the compelling notion that a Central American immigrant is entitled to live and work in the U.S., while an Indian immigrant is owed the same in England as a form of repayment for the havoc wreaked by the forces that colonized their homelands.

He's talking about reparations, of course, which may seem like a fashionable argument du jour, modeled after African American writer Ta-Nehisi Coates's call for the U.S. to compensate its black community for their enslavement and the subsequent discriminatory policies that have kept its members impoverished.

Yet reparations were used on several occasions in the past century to right historical wrongs. To date, Germany has paid out $89 billion in Holocaust reparations, $7 billion of which went to newly established Israel. The U.S. has its own history of paying reparations, when it sought to compensate Japanese Americans around $3 billion in today's dollars for their forced internment during World War II.

This Land Is Our Land begins with a bracing story. A few decades ago, Mehta's grandfather was approached in a London park by a man asking, "Why are you in my country?" His grandfather replied with unusual equanimity (no *l'esprit de l'escalier* here), "Because we are the creditors. You took all our wealth, our diamonds. Now we have come to collect." Mehta summarizes his grandfather's remark thusly: *We are here because you were there*.

The U.S. has had a long and sordid history of meddling in Central America. In the 1950s the U.S. overthrew Guatemala's democratically elected president, Jacobo Árbenz, whose land reform policies threatened to harm United Fruit Corporation (which has sought to shed its

There's another giant bill coming due. Climate change will displace 200 million people affected by flooding and desertification by 2050.

nefarious reputation by rebranding itself as Chiquita Brands). Since then, Guatemala has cycled through a rogues' gallery of brutal dictators, never enjoying a period of relative tranquility.

And what of neighboring El Salvador? In one of the country's darkest chapters, the El Mozote slaughter saw a regiment of the Salvadoran army kill 1,200 people, including women and children. Prior to carrying out the massacre, the battalion had just returned from a three-month training course in Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

MS-13 has its seeds in El Mozote: young men fleeing the military ended up in Los Angeles, where they formed a gang for self-protection. Mehta describes the Guatemalans and Salvadorans arriving at the southern U.S. border as creditors merely collecting their debts.

And there's another giant bill coming due. Climate change will displace 200 million people affected by flooding and desertification by 2050. "In the twenty-first century, the number one driver of migration might be climate change," Mehta writes. "No force on earth is going to keep their desperate inhabitants from moving. And, logically, they should be given a home in the countries that are most to blame for the inundation."

Climate expert Michael Gerrard made the same argument in the pages of the *Washington Post* a few years ago: "Rather than leaving vast numbers of victims of a warmer world stranded, without any place allowing them in, industrialized countries ought to pledge to take on a share of the displaced population equal to how much each nation has historically contributed to emissions of the greenhouse gases that are causing this crisis."

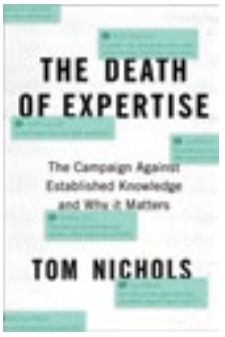
President Donald Trump's own grandfather, Friedrich Trump, was a climate refugee, arriving in America in 1885 along with five million other Bavarians who'd suffered a few years of erratic weather — extreme cold spells interspersed with extreme heat — that had led to crop failures.

Which brings us to the elephant in the room. President Trump has implemented immigration policies such as cutting off aid to the Northern Triangle countries, family separation at the border, and deportation raids. His latest salvo? Proposing that migrant families be held in detention indefinitely. These policies haven't done much to stanch the flow of border-crossers yet have increased suffering for asylum seekers and placed enormous pressure on an already heaving immigration system.

Some reviewers believe Mehta's book will have little impact on these policies and that the author is preaching to the choir. Such criticism falls wide of the mark.

How about moderate liberals who wonder if the country's economic and social infrastructure can sustain the record numbers of immigrants flowing into the country? Mehta's answer is a resounding yes. "There are no serious arguments that demonstrate long-term economic damage to countries that accept immigrants, even large numbers of them all at once," he writes. "During the age of mass migration, for example, a quarter of Europe moved to the United States — and the United States survived, and thrived."

Of late we've seen the Overton window shift on many ideas only recently considered too outré for public discourse, like Medicare for All or student loan debt forgiveness. Five years after Coates first made his case for reparations for African Americans, he testified before Congress on a bill that would establish a commission to study reparations. We might see Mehta doing the same a few years from now. ■



The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why It Matters

Tom Nichols

Oxford University Press. 252 pp. 2017.

Knowledge and Its Discontents

Civil discourse breaks down and democracy is threatened when facts become matters of opinion and no one is ever wrong

By **Noelle Pourrat**

Over one hundred years ago, Andrew Carnegie established Carnegie Corporation of New York and gave it the mission to "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States." But what if a significant portion of that people is uninterested in knowledge and disdains understanding?

That's exactly what Tom Nichols argues in his book *The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why It Matters*. A professor of national security affairs at the U.S. Naval War College, an expert on Russia and nuclear weapons, and a prolific tweeter, Nichols finds himself often frustrated in his interactions with nonexperts. His conversations with other professionals, in his own field and beyond, confirmed that a larger trend was afoot. Beyond the long-standing American tradition of a general dislike and distrust of intellectual elites, he concludes that the situation has become much more acute. "We do not have a healthy skepticism about experts: instead, we actively resent them, with many people assuming that experts are wrong simply by virtue of being experts."

As a result, analytical shortcomings such as confirmation bias, common logical fallacies, and conspiratorial thinking are becoming more pernicious and — even worse — for many a point of pride. "The United States is now a country obsessed with the worship of its own ignorance," Nichols writes. Though he develops the problem of deepening ignorance at length, Nichols warns against calling anyone *stupid*, a "judgmental, harsh word" that he says we should all swear off using. Nonetheless, he is unrelenting in his criticism of the "low level of foundational knowledge among Americans, about the narcissism and bias that prevents them from learning, about a college industry that affirms ignorance rather than cures it, about media who think their job is to entertain, and about journalists who are too lazy or too inexperienced to get their stories right."

Experts acquire specialized knowledge through training and experience; their analysis must meet the standards of the field and is subject to peer scrutiny. Disagreement among experts and, inevitably, identifying occasions of expert error are part of this rigorous process. When functioning correctly, expertise plays an essential part in helping policymakers and communities understand and craft solutions to complex problems. Yet, for society to benefit from expertise, people must accept that experts do actually know more about their field than others do, and they must give experts the benefit of the doubt that — generally — they are acting in good faith.

While Nichols challenges many of the ways in which experts and their fields are unfairly or inaccurately disparaged, neither does he let them off the hook. When experts go outside the lanes of their own knowledge, give in to the temptation of making black-and-white predictions, or

Global Delusion "The United States is now a country obsessed with the worship of its own ignorance," asserts Tom Nichols in *The Death of Expertise*. In Orange County, California, a man holding a globe challenges the beliefs of "Flat Earther" Nathan Thompson (r). Flat Earthers, including a number of celebrity adherents, believe that gravity is an unproven theory, that NASA is a fraudulent organization, that our planet is ringed by a giant, heavily policed ice wall, and, of course, that the earth is FLAT. PHOTO: JOEL FORREST/BARCROFT IMAGES/BARCROFT MEDIA VIA GETTY IMAGES

become snobby and distant, they undercut their own credibility and relevance. Experts need to be held accountable, but in ways that are realistic and grounded in an appropriate understanding of their role in society.

Nichols makes his case in a style that is witty and often distinctly snarky. He has mastered the art of crafting zingers that make the trends he describes sound as ludicrous as they are problematic. One of my personal favorites: "Unfortunately, people thinking they're smart because they searched the Internet is like thinking they're good swimmers because they got wet walking through a rainstorm." It's hard not to laugh at the image while simultaneously cringing at the severity of the message.

The pull-no-punches approach is not meant to be simply entertaining but purposefully provocative. A core theme is that people are losing the ability to engage in constructive conversation with those they disagree with because they prefer to "insulate their increasingly fragile egos from ever being told they're wrong about anything." Nichols seems to dare the reader to be offended by his sharply worded assessments, proving his point. Even if the critical tone is warranted, it makes me question whether he expects the book to be read broadly by the general public, who — by the logic of his own argument — should be one of his main audiences if his goal is to spur societal change.

As Nichols describes his frustration and explains the dynamics at play, the reader may feel a sense of vindication: *Yes, I've seen and experienced these things and it's infuriating!* But the sword cuts both ways, and it's hard to avoid doing a little self-analyzing as well. I kept trying to measure to what degree I am also guilty of doing exactly what he describes. Was my decision on which college to attend possibly swayed by "experience-oriented" marketing, such as UC Irvine's promotion of its beautiful campus, including the Middle Earth–themed student housing complex? When I debate someone on this or that new policy, have I sometimes done so with unjustified confidence? Did I simply "walk through a rainstorm" of Internet scrolling, searching for confirmation of what I already knew I wanted to believe?

> "Experts need to remember, always, that they are the servants and not the masters of a democratic society and a republican government. If citizens, however, are to be the masters, they must equip themselves not just with education, but with the kind of civic virtue that keeps them involved in the running of their own country."
>
> – **Tom Nichols**, *The Death of Expertise*

Next, I would do an analysis of my analysis, wondering whether I was falling prey to another well-studied psychological phenomenon, the Dunning-Kruger Effect — the almost universal tendency of each of us to rate ourselves above average on almost anything. It can be a bit mentally exhausting, but a reader who completely avoids such soul-searching has also missed the point. No one is perfect or immune to these tendencies. By identifying these widespread flaws, their underlying dynamics, and how to guard against them, including through rebuilding a healthy relationship with expertise, Nichols challenges all of us to do better.

That is *not* to say that everyone gets the same grade by Nichols's rubric. In fact, he repeatedly stresses that just as knowledge and expertise are not evenly distributed, when it comes to these failings, some people are more "aggressively wrong" than others. Firm convictions held in defiance of all scientific evidence to the contrary are becoming ever more prevalent. He cites, for example, the anti-vaccine movement (causing vulnerabilities that have contributed to the biggest measles outbreak in the U.S. in 25 years) and the growing number of Americans who believe that the earth is flat. Yet in spite of such clear-cut, extreme examples, "Americans now believe that having equal rights in a political system also means that each person's opinion about anything must be accepted as equal to anyone else's," hindering society's ability to self-correct based on facts.

Beyond subjecting myself to a personal inquisition and becoming quite disheartened by the systemic underpinnings of the problem, I also thought a lot about this book in terms of its implications for Carnegie Corporation of New York and its mission. Much of our strategy is based on training the next generation of experts in our priority areas, connecting expertise to policymakers, as well as supporting and sharing expert knowledge with the public, including through the media. If the relationships between the public, experts, and policymakers are fundamentally fracturing in the way Nichols describes, the very foundation on which our mission lies is compromised.

Yet just as Nichols's book shows he hasn't given up hope, neither has Carnegie Corporation of New York, where I work in the International Program. We continue to believe in the importance of building knowledge and bringing people together in constructive ways to address major challenges for our nation and the world. In doing so through our grantmaking, we have partnered and will continue to partner with many inspiring people and organizations.

I had a few qualms with the book, and there were sometimes complicating factors that I thought Nichols didn't sufficiently engage with. For example, the ongoing American struggle to create a respectful and inclusive culture of diversity cannot be boiled down — and then dismissed — as nothing more than oversensitivity and an aggrieved sense of entitlement. I don't doubt he would acknowledge this, and to be fair, "political correctness and its discontents" was not the focus of the book. That said, with his most important invocation, I absolutely concur: "Experts need to remember, always, that they are the servants and not the masters of a democratic society and a republican government. If citizens, however, are to be the masters, they must equip themselves not just with education, but with the kind of civic virtue that keeps them involved in the running of their own country." With the 2020 presidential election coming up and all signs pointing to a nasty road ahead, on this point at the least, we should all be on the same page. ■

NOTABLE **EVENTS**

Celebrating Excellence All-day thunderstorms couldn't stop more than 230 people, including many prominent New Yorkers, from attending a gala reception at the elegant Grand Ballroom of New York's Plaza Hotel, where Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, received the Carnegie Hall Medal of Excellence. Violin virtuoso Pinchas Zukerman performed at the event, and among the guests were former New York governor George Pataki and famed historian Robert Caro. The event raised $1.9 million for Carnegie Hall's program of music education and social impact projects. PHOTO: JULIE SKARRATT

The Company He Keeps In awarding Vartan Gregorian the Carnegie Hall Medal of Excellence, former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg compared him with Andrew Carnegie, saying the two "are alike, both as extraordinary immigrants, in helping others, as gifted writers, and in reshaping philanthropy. As an optimist and a realist, Vartan knows how to bring people together." Mayor Bloomberg is shown above with Gregorian and Judy Woodruff, Corporation trustee and PBS news anchor. PHOTO: JULIE SKARRATT

GALA

The "Sweetest Medal"

Carnegie Corporation of New York's own president, Vartan Gregorian, was bestowed one of the country's highest honors for commitment to the arts through philanthropy, the Carnegie Hall Medal of Excellence.

On June 10, former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg presented Gregorian with the medal at an event that also commemorated the 100th anniversary of the passing of Andrew Carnegie, who used his considerable fortune to establish both the Corporation and the eminent music venue.

Bloomberg compared Gregorian to the legendary philanthropist himself, saying the two "are alike, both as extraordinary immigrants, in helping others, as gifted writers, and in reshaping philanthropy. As an optimist and a realist, Vartan knows how to bring people together."

The event's host and Carnegie Hall's executive and artistic director, Clive Gillinson, said, "Vartan's story is a reminder of what is possible with remarkable talent, tireless dedication, and limitless imagination. No one is more deserving of this honor."

Gillinson recounted how Gregorian had left Iran, where he was part of the country's small Armenian community, arriving in the United States at the age of 22 and speaking little English. After attending Stanford University, Gregorian went on to become the first foreign-born president of The New York Public Library, serving from 1981 to 1989, after which he became the first foreign-born president of an Ivy League university, heading Brown University from 1989 to 1997. He has been the president of Carnegie Corporation of New York since 1997.

More than 230 guests attended the gala event at New York City's Plaza Hotel, including many prominent New Yorkers and such Armenian dignitaries as the ambassador to the United States, Varuzhan Nersesyan, and the ambassador to the United Nations, Mher Margaryan. The event raised nearly $2 million for Carnegie Hall's program of music education and social impact projects.

The distinguished historian Robert Caro described how Gregorian brought The New York Public Library "back to life," how he presided over Brown University with "warm communication," and how he "embodies the true spirit of generosity as a philanthropist."

PBS news anchor and Corporation trustee Judy Woodruff said of Gregorian, "He made a huge impact on public media, especially PBS, and he has been a man of inspiration, boundless energy, and special warmth both with the powerful and the not powerful."

Gregorian, who has received 75 honorary degrees and 19 medals over the course of his distinguished career, matched the powerful words spoken about him with his own eloquence, saying, "This medal is the sweetest, happiest medal I have ever received." He concluded his remarks fittingly: "This is Carnegie's honor."

Crain's New York Business named Brooke Jones, director of investments at Carnegie Corporation of New York, to its 40 Under 40 list. Overseeing $1 billion in investments, Jones has made shrewd bets in emerging-market countries – bets that have paid off. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD

Stephen Del Rosso, program director of the International Peace and Security program at the Corporation, moderates "A Debate: Political Science is Lapsing into Irrelevance," held on May 31 at Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs in New York City. (l–r) Stephen Del Rosso, Henry Farrell, Michael Desch. PHOTO: BILLY PICKETT

HONORS

Investment Director Named to Crain's 40 Under 40 List

Carnegie Corporation of New York staff usually get recognized for their program work in, for example, fostering democracy or encouraging international peace, but this time the spotlight shined bright on a talented investment director. *Crain's New York Business* magazine named Brooke Jones, who oversees $1 billion in investments (about a third of the foundation's portfolio) to its closely watched annual 40 Under 40 list, published in March.

The magazine took note of Jones's contrarian instincts, which have paid off. After the Chinese stock market tumbled in 2013, Jones worked with a Chinese partner to invest $25 million in 20 stocks that were only available to locals. The investment took an initial nosedive, but instead of selling off the shares, Jones poured $15 million more into them, which have since doubled, becoming Carnegie's best-performing emerging market investment.

"I joined Carnegie not only to further its wonderful mission, but also to work with two female investors whom I admired: Kim Lew, our current chief investment officer, and Meredith Jenkins, her previous partner," Jones said. "I feel lucky to contribute to our team and to Carnegie's philanthropic legacy, which is as relevant today as it was when Andrew Carnegie endowed the foundation more than 100 years ago."

DEBATE

Getting Research Out of the Ivory Tower

Stephen Del Rosso, program director in the International Peace and Security (IPS) program at Carnegie Corporation of New York, presided over a lively debate on the nexus between the academic study of political science and policymaking.

Held on May 31 at Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs in New York City, "A Debate: Political Science is Lapsing into Irrelevance" featured Michael Desch, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, arguing "yes" on the motion that in recent years political science has become less relevant to policy in the real world, while Henry Farrell, professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University, represented the other side.

Del Rosso, who moderated the debate, manages the Corporation's subprogram on bridging the gap between the academic and policy worlds in the arena of political science and international relations. The initiative aims to move academic insights into the policy realm by building a cohort of scholars interested in real world problems while also giving grants to academic institutions that are chipping away at this gap.

Susan Hockfield, former president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, signs copies of her new book, *The Age of Living Machines: How Biology Will Build the Next Technology Revolution*, at Carnegie Corporation of New York on May 7. PHOTO: DEBRA WEXLER

The Corporation's Geri Mannion (center), director of the U.S. Strengthening Democracy program, receives NALEO Educational Fund's 2019 President's Award on June 20 in Miami. The award recognized Mannion's work to support and expand access to naturalization services and increase voter engagement, especially in Latino communities. PHOTO: COURTESY NALEO EDUCATIONAL FUND

BOOK RECEPTION

The Next Tech Revolution Will Be Biological

Virus-built batteries. Protein-based water filters. Cancer-detecting nanoparticles. Mind-reading bionic limbs. Computer-engineered crops. These innovations might sound like they emerged from the imagination of a science fiction novelist, but these cutting-edge technologies will actually be available in the very near future.

A book reception for *The Age of Living Machines: How Biology Will Build the Next Technology Revolution*, which describes how biology is powering these next-generation developments, was held for its author, Susan Hockfield, at Carnegie Corporation of New York on May 7. The former president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Hockfield also chairs the selection committee for the Corporation's Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program.

At the reception, Hockfield discussed how these developments highlight the promise of technology to address some of the 21st century's greatest humanitarian, medical, and environmental challenges. Corporation president Vartan Gregorian has called the book "an essential book for our fast-moving times," noting that it "offered a generous supplement of hope."

AWARDS

Latino Organization Recognizes Geri Mannion's Democracy Work

The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund recognized the work of Geri Mannion, Carnegie Corporation of New York's director of the U.S. Strengthening Democracy program, with the 2019 NALEO President's Award in Miami on June 20. The award recognized Mannion's philanthropic commitment to supporting and expanding access to naturalization services and increasing voter engagement, especially in Latino communities.

"I was both honored and touched with this award from NALEO, a longtime Corporation grantee. As a child of immigrants and a naturalized citizen myself, I recognize the challenges of the naturalization process. Becoming a U.S. citizen is not easy, but the rewards are so worth it, especially the ability to vote and have one's voice heard in all aspects of civic life," Mannion said.

Founded in 1981, NALEO Educational Fund is the nation's leading nonpartisan organization that facilitates full Latino participation in the American political process. The organization provides national leadership on key issues such as immigration and naturalization, voting rights, election reform, the census, and the appointment of qualified Latinos to top executive and judicial positions. ■

CARNEGIE **CORNER**

ANDREW CARNEGIE'S DINOSAUR DIPLOMACY CONTINUES TO INSPIRE

Dippy, the world's most famous dinosaur skeleton, continues to awe crowds near and far, but Carnegie realized a grander vision for "the greatest animal that ever lived"

By **Carrie Nieman Culpepper**

For the last two years, a symbol of Andrew Carnegie's audacity has been touring the United Kingdom in the form of a 14-foot-high by 70-foot-long dinosaur skeleton. We owe a great deal of our knowledge of prehistoric creatures to Carnegie and his ambitions. Even more incredible is the role that the legendary fossil came to play in international diplomacy. The story gets to the heart of Carnegie's desire to spread peace and rid the world of war, or as he called it, "the foulest blot upon our civilization."

In 1898 after a brontosaurus was discovered in Wyoming, the philanthropist set his sights on getting one for the three-year-old Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh. An ardent evolutionist, Carnegie went on to fund paleontology expeditions in the western United States, including one fruitful 1899 dig in a Wyoming quarry that uncovered fossils of a massive new dinosaur species, which the paleontologist John Bell Hatcher named *Diplodocus carnegii* in honor of the expedition's sponsor.

Now known as "Dippy," the specimen crafted from those fossils proved to be incredibly important to science as a *holotype* — that is, the original specimen on which a species is formally described. The study of dinosaurs was still in its infancy when Dippy was unearthed, but it provided the first real sense of the size and scale of dinosaurs in relation to other animals. Indeed, dinosaurs as a species had only been identified 57 years earlier (in 1842). Dippy would also play a very significant role in the history of both the museum and the city it came to call home.

"Most early discoveries of dinosaurs, which were made primarily in the U.K., France, and Germany, were of isolated bones and teeth and the overall appearance of the animals was usually conjectural or incomplete," says Paul Barrett, a researcher and specialist in the evolutionary paleobiology of dinosaurs at London's Natural History Museum. "Dippy was one of the first substantially complete dinosaurs to be found and the first very complete sauropod, so it fed into many ideas about how dinosaurs looked and behaved. Dippy literally gave substance to just how huge these animals could be, and how different they were from living animals."

Believed to be between 152 and 154 million years old, Dippy remains relevant to this day. "It's the 'gold standard,' the first and still the most complete skeleton of this species ever found anywhere in the world," says Matt Lamanna, associate curator of vertebrate paleontology at Carnegie Museum of Natural History. "Because it is the holotype and still the best-preserved specimen of its species, dinosaur paleontologists from all over the world still come to our museum to study its bones. Amazingly, 120 years after its discovery, we scientists are still learning important new things about *Diplodocus carnegii* based on the study of the Dippy specimen."

The discovery and exhibition of Dippy did what Carnegie intended, putting his museum on the map as a major player among American natural history museums. And today, Dippy serves as a beloved mascot for both the museum and the Steel City.

"Dippy is an enduring embodiment of Carnegie's legacy and mission," says Eric Dorfman, the Daniel G. and Carole L. Kamin Director of Carnegie Museum of Natural History. "He is a beloved treasure because he connects us vividly to Earth's distant past. Thanks to Carnegie, millions of people have engaged with Dippy intellectually, in the name of science, and emotionally, in the name of wonder."

But the Dippy story — or impact — doesn't end there.

Carnegie was so proud of the discovery that he had a large drawing of the dinosaur hung at Skibo Castle, his estate in Scotland. King Edward VII saw the sketch when visiting the American industrialist at Skibo, resulting in Carnegie's gift of a full-scale plaster replica of the Dippy skeleton to England. When London's Natural History Museum received their plaster of paris Dippy in 1905, the London papers did not hold back. "Carnegie's gift to the nation," declared the *Morning Leader*, was "the greatest animal that ever lived."

"Dippy was a sensation when it was revealed in Edwardian London," says the Natural History Museum's Barrett. "The British public, indeed the global public, had never seen anything on such a colossal scale before. The presentation was widely covered in the international media, was attended by many members of the U.K. political and scientific elite, and drew huge numbers of spectators to the museum. It was a coup for the museum to get such an impressive gift and was probably the first museum specimen to achieve 'star' media status in this way."

Soon other nations throughout Europe and in Latin America requested copies of their own. "Within 15 years of its discovery, replicas of 'Dippy' were on display in museums in London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Bologna, St. Petersburg, La Plata (near Buenos Aires), and Madrid, and would later be installed elsewhere (for example, in Mexico City, in 1930)," said Lamanna. "As such, very shortly after its discovery, *Diplodocus carnegii* was effectively marketed to a large number of major cultural centers, and in the process, it became essentially synonymous with the term *dinosaur* for a great many people in the early 20th century."

More Than Scientific Discovery

Dippy is not simply a gateway to learning about science and our natural world. As William Thomson, Andrew Carnegie's great-grandson, pointed out recently, *Diplodocus carnegii* was seen by his great-grandfather as "a symbol and an opportunity."

Dueling for Dinosaurs An expedition in Wyoming in 1899 funded by Andrew Carnegie yielded the great treasure of fossils from a new long-necked dinosaur species that would be christened *Diplodocus carnegii* in tribute to the expedition's benefactor. Today, "Dippy" (above and p. 98) is one of the crown jewels of the Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh. The beloved dinosaur fossil was the first – and still is – the most complete skeleton of the species ever found anywhere in the world. At the time, the discovery caused an absolute sensation with press and public. A little over a decade later, W. J. Holland, the director of the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, wrote a letter to Andrew Carnegie, reveling in the envy he perceived from his "adversary," Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History. "There are now lying at the quarry in Utah two large carloads of boxes containing the bones of fossil dinosaurs, in splendid condition, and representing what remains of the big fellow the hind limb of which I had the pleasure of showing you last spring, the skeleton of another dinosaur hitherto unknown and undescribed, somewhat smaller in size, and skeletons more or less complete of half a dozen other small dinosaurs some of them undoubtedly new to science," he wrote. "It may gratify you to know that our mutual friend Henry Fairfield Osborn visited me last August, spending a day with me. Of course he is very anxious that the institution which he represents should excel in all things, but he had the very charming kindness to say to me before he left that the work we are doing here has in many respects surpassed in importance that done by any other institution in the world. He said, 'So far as Jurassic dinosaurs are concerned you have us and all the other museums of the world skinned a mile.' Coming from this source this remark naturally pleased me, because you know Osborn and I have been more or less rivals, and at times I have felt that he was a little jealous." The amusingly candid letter, dated November 15, 1911, can be found in the newly launched Carnegie Corporation of New York Digital Archive, whose goal is to "connect Carnegie Corporation of New York's digitized past with its born-digital future" (see page 24 for more on this ambitious project). PHOTOS: COURTESY CARNEGIE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Carnegie's ambitions in gifting models to world leaders was twofold: to spread the advances that scientists were making in their understanding of the natural world and to celebrate our shared history and findings — both objectives serving in his eyes as a form of diplomacy.

Carnegie's ambitions in gifting models to world leaders was twofold: to spread the advances that scientists were making in their understanding of the natural world and to celebrate our shared history and findings — both objectives serving in his eyes as a form of diplomacy.

"Carnegie hoped to demonstrate through mutual interest in scientific discoveries that nations have more in common than what separates them," Thomson said. "He used his gifts in an attempt to open inter-state dialogue on preserving world peace — a form of 'dinosaur diplomacy'! Replicas of *Diplodocus carnegii* are still on display in some of the most famous natural history museums in Europe, but sadly, the wellspring of their united history has been largely forgotten."

Carnegie's drive to promote peace and understanding around the world was a highly relevant endeavor during the years leading up to World War I, but while seen as naive if not downright daft by some, Carnegie's peace project lay at the very core of his philanthropic endeavors.

Andrew Carnegie's peacebuilding efforts, including his seemingly quixotic "dinosaur diplomacy," could not stop the world wars that were to come. In fact, as World War II raged, London Dippy was moved to the basement of the Natural History Museum to protect it during the blitz of the capital. Today, Dippy stands tall as a champion of our shared history and interests, a celebration — as Carnegie hoped — of the commonalities of nations.

Dippy on Tour

London's Dippy, which has never before left its home in the Natural History Museum, has been traveling to every region of the U.K. in a three-year tour to end in October 2020.

Free to the public at each of the exhibition's eight stops, *Dippy on Tour: A Natural History Adventure* is meant to spark curiosity about the natural world while helping to bridge differences between peoples with an awe-inspiring symbol of our common history on this planet — just as Andrew Carnegie envisioned when he gifted the magnificent skeleton to the British.

"Carnegie's legacy endures in the empowerment of people and the sharing of knowledge," says Carnegie Museum of Natural History's Dorfman. "He understood how democracy and equality depend on access to knowledge, to culture, to education. Dippy's U.K. tour, sharing this wonder with people who might otherwise not have access, is a proper tribute to Carnegie."

On August 11, 1919, Andrew Carnegie passed away peacefully in Lenox, Massachusetts, with his wife, Louise, at his side. In this centennial year of his death, Carnegie institutions worldwide are hosting Forging the Future, a series of events celebrating his commitment to doing "real and permanent good in this world," while also working to sustain his vision and his legacy into the 21st century. That philanthropic legacy has continued to evolve over the years through the ever-evolving work of the more than 20 organizations founded by the great philanthropist. The challenges these institutions address are some of the most intractable and urgent of our time.

The wildly popular *Dippy on Tour* exhibition is part of the Forging the Future series, which commemorates and expands upon Andrew Carnegie's lasting achievements in peace, education, the arts, science, culture, and philanthropy. The Forging the Future series culminates in the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy awards ceremony in New York City, on October 16, 2019, where Carnegie's boldness of vision will be recognized in the work of others who have followed in his footsteps. ■

Big Red Dino

Diplodocus carnegii is brought to life in Scotland's Dunfermline with the help of the community and 35,000 Lego bricks

The Lord Rector Approves Lego Dippy greets a young visitor at the Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum in Dunfermline, Scotland. The built-by-the-community project was an apt way to celebrate the legacy of Andrew Carnegie, who – from the back wall – looks down on the results of the collaboration with approbation. The formal full-length portrait of Carnegie in ceremonial cap and gown was likely painted sometime between 1901 and 1907, during which time the philanthropist served as Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. PHOTO: LEZ DOW

This past spring, a six-and-a-half-foot red Lego dinosaur loomed large in the Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum in the Scottish town of Dunfermline. One might not guess that thousands of hands and minds went into its construction, but this playful interpretation of the beloved *Diplodocus carnegii* dinosaur represents a grand collaboration, as well as an innovative way to engage visitors in Andrew Carnegie's life and work.

While London's Natural History Museum's full-scale plaster replica of *Diplodocus carnegii*, the ever-popular "Dippy," is currently touring the U.K. with great success, Dunfermline community members — perhaps unable to see the skeleton on its recent visit to Glasgow — put together a 35,000-Lego brick version of the famed dinosaur.

Together with representatives from the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust and the Carnegie Hero Fund Trust, as well as renowned Lego artist Warren Elsmore and his team, visitors young and old built the "big red dino" in the collaborative spirit that was championed by Andrew Carnegie. Lego Dippy is an apt way to celebrate the philanthropist's legacy today, during the centennial year of his death.

"The interactive build process really brought the community together," says Nora Rundell, chief executive of the Carnegie Dunfermline & Hero Fund Trusts. "The aim of the exhibition in Glasgow and the Lego build in the Birthplace Museum was to allow people to see a *Diplodocus* take shape while learning about the fascinating story of Carnegie's use of paleontology as a vehicle for peace diplomacy."

In Dunfermline, the building of the Lego Dippy sculpture was one of several innovative educational programs designed by the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust and the Birthplace Museum to teach not only natural history but structural engineering as well. The program had the added benefit of encouraging collaboration and educating the public at large about Andrew Carnegie's legacy.

The process reflected "Carnegie's idea that education should be accessible to all and his belief that working together will help us all to achieve great things," explains Rundell. Carnegie wisely understood that by being a "shareholder" in a process, participants would value the outcome more.

The Lego build project represents a directional change for the museum. "In the past, the museum has had more of a top-down approach, presenting a ready-made exhibition for visitors to see and enjoy," says Rundell, "whereas now it is more about joining in and doing things together."

The Birthplace Museum Dippy exhibit has proven to be one of the most popular — and colorful — parts of the Forging the Future series commemorating the centennial year of Andrew Carnegie's passing. As a matter of fact, Lego Dippy's sojourn in Dunfermline was so successful that even after the big red dino was taken down, the Birthplace Museum hosted Bricks 4 Kidz workshops, where children continued using Legos to build models of such favorites as the *Stegosaurus* and the fearsome *Tyrannosaurus rex*. In Dunfermline, dinosaur fever rages on. ■

Contributors & Credits

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Joshua Yaffa is a journalist based in Moscow and a correspondent for the *New Yorker*. He has also written on Russia for *Foreign Affairs*, *National Geographic*, the *New York Times Magazine*, and other publications. He has been a fellow at the New America foundation, a finalist for the Livingston Awards for Young Journalists, and a grantee of the Pulitzer Center for Crisis Reporting. Yaffa's first book, *Between Two Fires: Truth, Ambition, and Compromise in Putin's Russia*, will be published in February 2020. @yaffaesque

On the Cover "La Salle des planètes" (Room of the Planets) is one of a suite of 11 illustrations by the acclaimed French artist and printmaker Erik Desmazières (b. 1948) for a 1997 edition of Jorge Luis Borges's "The Library of Babel." In this surrealistic short story, the Argentine writer describes a library that is infinite — comprised of the sum total of all knowledge that has ever existed and that will ever exist. From a private collection, this particular version of "La Salle des planètes" has been hand-colored in gouache by the artist. For more on Borges's nightmarish fable, see Vartan Gregorian's essay "Power Houses" in this issue (pp. 2–9). © 2019 ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/ADAGP, PARIS

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Remembering **David A. Hamburg**, Who Left a Lasting Impact 1925–2019

Carnegie Corporation of New York, its board of trustees, and staff mourn the loss of **David A. Hamburg**, president emeritus of the foundation, who passed away in April 2019.

Dr. Hamburg, a physician, educator, and researcher in the medical and psychiatric fields, led the Corporation for 15 years starting in 1982. Hamburg made a lasting impact on the foundation, introducing new focus areas such as conflict resolution and early childhood education.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Hamburg established a task force whose work inspired the Nunn-Lugar Amendment, which sought to dismantle Soviet nuclear weapons and reduce proliferation risks.

A recipient of the country's highest civilian award, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Hamburg once said that the common thread running through his life's work was "the prevention of rotten outcomes." Hamburg certainly prevented a great number of rotten outcomes throughout his long career.

He and his wife of more than 65 years, the late Beatrix Hamburg, will be remembered for their dedication to humanity and to the mission of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

We need constant vigilance to mobilize human capacities for fully learning to live together in personal dignity and shared humanity. We can do a lot to stimulate interest in this great mission, to disseminate the best ideas we can find, and generate better ideas so that our children and grandchildren will be able to move us into a world of decent human relations in spite of all the obstacles.... Eventually, we can build a worldwide constituency for prevention of human suffering. In essence, this would be a global cooperative venture for the shared, enduring mutual benefits that are inherent in the approach that has guided my life.

– **David A. Hamburg**, *A Model of Prevention: Life Lessons* (2015)

David A. Hamburg in 1982, the year he was named president of Carnegie Corporation of New York.
PHOTO: NEAL BOENZI/ THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

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Ketaki Srivastava, International Rescue Committee (IRC), San Francisco Bay Area / Photo: Pat Mazzera