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CARNEGIE REPORTER

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK



WELCOME TO THE **CARNEGIE REPORTER**

"I consider anybody a twerp who hasn't read *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville," the American writer and salient social commentator Kurt Vonnegut once said, noting that no book better depicts the "strengths and vulnerabilities inherent in our form of government." Many of those vulnerabilities are on full display as Americans prepare to elect their next president, in what some have (hash) tagged the first "Twitter election."

At a time when unfiltered 140-character campaign messages are sent directly to the voting masses (circumventing the so-called Fourth Estate of journalism), when agents of foreign governments allegedly hack major American political institutions and individuals, and as fears that the voting process itself could be undermined by cyber-disruptions—there is no doubt that it is time to take a hard look at the impact technology is having on our democracy.

We attempt to do just that—and more—in this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*.

In these pages, Scott Malcomson examines the delicate balance between government and the private sector when it comes to confronting increasingly common cyber threats. The conclusion? While uncharted, a growing body of knowledge around such cyber challenges makes these perilous waters—perhaps—navigable.

Michael Moran offers further evidence of the positive impact technology can have on educating Americans, highlighting the successful deployment of digital media by think tanks to directly inform both policymakers and the public on the country's most pressing foreign policy challenges. And **Next Wave**, Gail Ablow and Pat Mazzera's stunning photo essay at the center of the magazine, as well as a commentary from former Secretary of State Colin Powell, document the beating heart (and economic engine) of American democracy—our newest immigrants.

While Ian Bremmer, who joins Scott Malcomson for a wide-ranging and provocative conversation in this issue, has said the world is currently experiencing a moment of "creative destruction" when it comes to democratic governance and institutions, the Corporation's resident historian (and president) Vartan Gregorian, no twerp, draws on Tocqueville's writings to bring perspective—cautious, hopeful—to this moment in time. "American democracy is not perfect, but it is perfectible," he writes. "For all of us, whether Americans by birth or naturalization, America is not just an actuality but a potentiality, too."

We hope you enjoy this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*.

Robert Nolan

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

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On the Cover
Originally from Ethiopia, Hayat Ahmed is a community integration manager with the International Rescue Committee in Atlanta, GA, and was photographed by Pat Mazzera at the United Citizenship Practitioners Conference in San Francisco, August 2016. See **Next Wave** (the magazine's "Center Point" section) inside for more.

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Statistical Map of the Continent of North America. 1835.
Hand-colored map from the first English edition of Alexis de Tocqueville's masterpiece, *De la démocratie en Amérique,* translated by Henry Reeve and published in London by Saunders and Otley as *Democracy in America* (1835–40). Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

FROM THE **PRESIDENT**

Democratic Vistas

Only committed citizenship can preserve and protect our democracy.

As I write these words, we are coming to the end of what has seemed to many to be an unusually vitriolic election season. Have American politics ever been so fraught, so divisive?

In his presentation to Carnegie Corporation of New York's Board of Trustees in September, Michael Waldman, president of the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University, reminded his listeners that the divisions, the animosities, the rough and tumble of American political life are by no means unprecedented. Speaking of his new book, *The Fight to Vote*, Waldman told us, "When you look at the full sweep of American history . . . these fights are consequential, they are intense, but they are not new. This fight over the vote, this fight to vote, the fight over American democracy, has been at the center of American politics from the very beginning." One might be tempted to shrug one's shoulders and say "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose." But the fact is, U.S. democracy has made tremendous progress.

American democracy today remains a living, breathing *idea,* a work in progress. Indeed, the course of American history attests to the long and arduous struggle to right the wrongs and attempt to strengthen the institutions of our democracy in order to do justice to the values and rights embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. For my part, I have always believed that American democracy is not perfect, but it is perfectible. For all of us, whether Americans by birth or naturalization, America is not just an actuality but a potentiality, too.

A major example of America's continued struggle for a more perfect union is illustrated by the fight for voting rights. As Waldman points out, by current standards the modern world's first democracy—the United States of America—was, at its beginning, in many ways limited and undemocratic. After all, only propertied white men could vote. Since then, the history of voting in our country has been one of a gradual expansion of rights: first to unpropertied white men, then to African-American men, and then, at last, to women. It has been a constant battle, marked by many setbacks. But it is important to remember that we have come a long way from where we began. Although there is certainly more to be done, it is a fact that the democratic process in the United States has never been as inclusive as it is today. In large part, this is because each generation has struggled to close the gap between reality and our ideals.

Listening to Waldman's enlightening speech to the Board of Trustees regarding *The Fight to Vote* brought to mind the fascinating analysis and observations of one of the earliest studies of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. This classic work, first published in 1835, described our nation's dynamism and resilience. These qualities, the author argued, fostered the very principles upon which a successful democratic society could be built. Tocqueville had great hopes for American democracy to succeed. He saw in our country a dynamic and progressive phenomenon uncharacteristic of European society at the time—so new that he had to coin a word to describe the American character: *individualism*. For Tocqueville, this term was not to be equated with self-centeredness, selfishness, or egoism, nor with "the cult of the self." Rather, it stood for independence of both thought and action, as well as the reconciliation of personal interests and the public good. Individualism, he argued, was essential to a healthy democracy, for it ensured that citizens' desire for equality never came at the expense of liberty. Indeed, he believed individualism would safeguard liberty and encourage the harmonization of private and public interests. That was his hope, and what he saw as one of the great strengths of the new nation.

But while lauding the rights and privileges of the Americans he observed, Tocqueville also adumbrated the responsibilities that came with being an American citizen. While each American deserved the vote, it was also important that each understood that that right came with certain obligations. That is why, as part of the social compact, individuals had to be able to recognize the importance of postponing the desire for immediate gratification for the public good. It was this understanding, of the interrelationship between the self and the community, that enabled Americans to reconcile their personal well-being with the common welfare of the people.

Thus, Tocqueville raised the concept of participatory citizenship as the cornerstone of any true democracy. And indeed, from the founding of the republic to the present, we have witnessed seminal changes in our democracy. The democratic process is unquestionably more representative; voting rights have been expanded to all. Men, women, young people; native and naturalized citizens; and all racial and ethnic groups—everyone participates in the process. That being said, Tocqueville did not foresee a number of structural issues in our democracy. For example, he did not anticipate the growing role of big money in politics, the rise of gerrymandering, or the emergence of a new professional class of lobbyists to push special interests, be they corporate, regional, international, or ethnic.

He did recognize, though, that democracy constantly faces great risks and challenges. As a supporter of both the free press and the open discussion of ideas as critical to the vitality of democracy, he may himself have been musing on the possibility of even a free and progressive society degenerating into "Orwellian" conditions when he wrote, "I am aware that, at a time like our own, when the love and respect which formerly clung to authority are seen gradually to decline, it may appear necessary to those in power to lay a closer hold on every man by his own interest, and it may seem convenient to use his own passions to keep him in order and in silence."

So far, as Americans, we have thankfully managed to avoid allowing ourselves to be manacled by all-powerful overlords or permitting the strength of our democracy to be leeched away by the fear of what the future may bring. That does not mean, however, that we must not constantly be mindful of the importance of preserving our democratic principles and defending the individual freedoms that are the legacy of our founders' trust in the nation they established and in the descendants to whom they bequeathed the guardianship of their great "experiment in liberty."

Tocqueville believed that true democracy stands for and promotes the equal right of all citizens to the advantages of this world, yet at the same time causes anxiety in our quest to attain these advantages. Frustrated by the apparent tension between liberty and equality, the individual is often pressured to choose between the two. And that pressure may come from the same democratic government that citizens have put in place to protect their freedoms. Tocqueville writes: "The true friends of the liberty and the greatness of man ought constantly to be on the alert, to prevent the power of government from lightly sacrificing the private rights of individuals to the general execution of its designs. At such times, no citizen is so obscure that it is not very dangerous to allow him to be oppressed; no private rights are so important that they can be surrendered with impunity to the caprices of a government."

Nevertheless, referring to the push and pull between equality and freedom that are endemic to both the American character and the American political process, Tocqueville went on to say, "I firmly believe that these dangers are the most formidable . . . but I do not think they are insurmountable." I would add that it is only possible to confront these challenges with the participation of a committed citizenry.

Another peril our democracy faces that the French nobleman alluded to is that our democratic system allows free people to constantly review and question the principles they live by, while they appreciate the matchless benefits of that very system. It is undeniably true that since Tocqueville's time we have come a long way. When Tocqueville wrote his seminal book nearly 200 years ago, America was still in a state of becoming. He would have been gratified to know that, while during his era there were only twelve Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, today there are twenty-seven, many of them dealing with expanding and ensuring the rights of all American citizens.



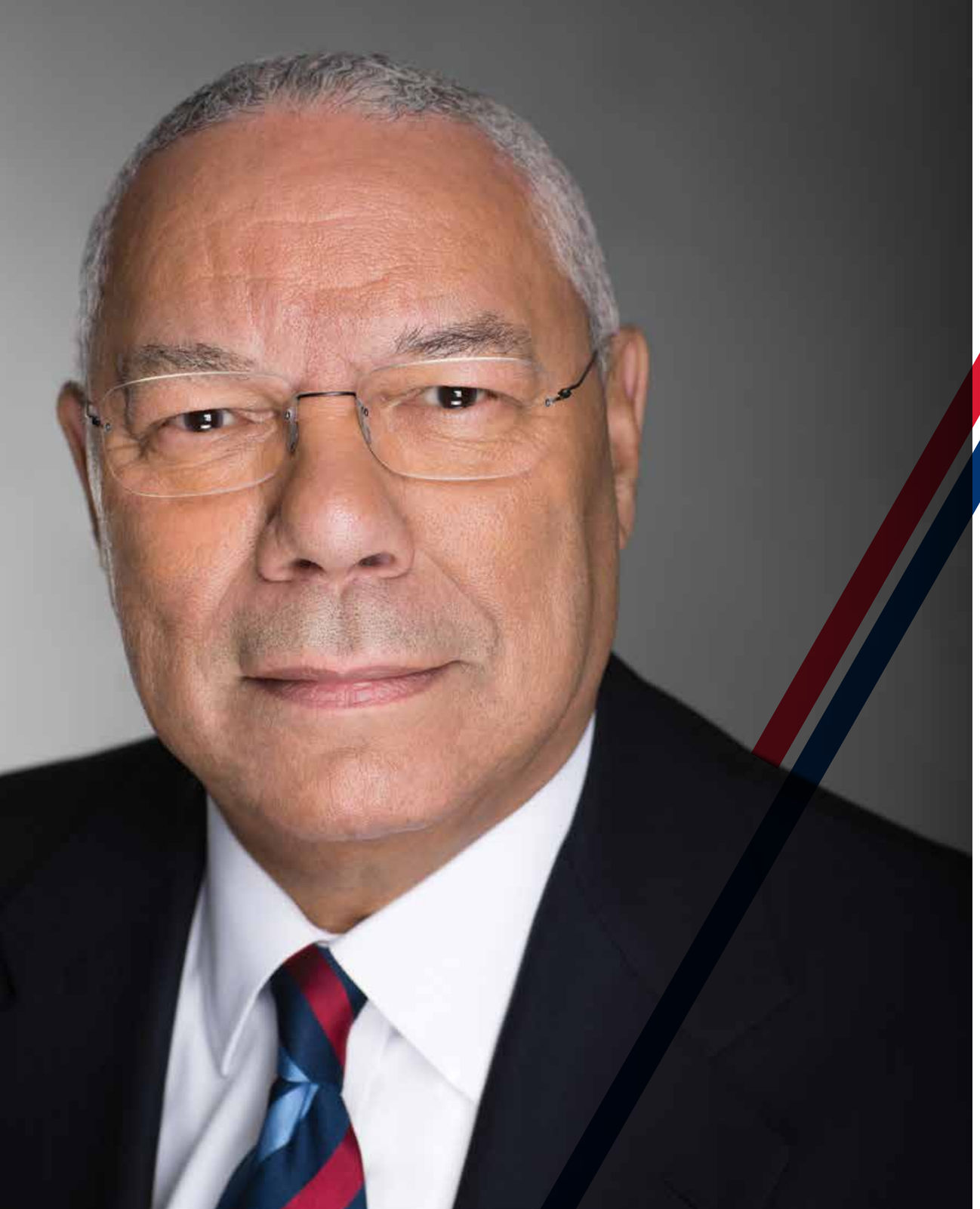
Alex. Ch. Henri de Tocqueville
The author of *Democracy in America* captured in an 1849 lithograph by the great French caricaturist Honoré Daumier. Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

As in the past, if America is to continue its course of progress, one thing is clear: not only do we need exceptional captains of our ship of state, but committed citizens, too. We as Americans cannot abdicate our responsibilities and claim our rights at the same time. After all, a committed citizenry—assisted by a responsive free press—is the best watchdog of democracy. To paraphrase one of my illustrious predecessors at Carnegie Corporation, John W. Gardner, when it comes to our democracy, we must be loving critics and critical lovers, but never indifferent.

Our challenges today are different than those faced during Tocqueville's time—whether ensuring the universal right to high-quality education, fighting against economic inequality, or preserving freedom of speech. As citizens, we are all responsible for preserving liberties while rectifying inequities. We are, each and every one of us, the guardians of our democracy. Indeed, as Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Alan Taylor reminds us in the cover story of the most recent issue of the *American Scholar*, the founders warned that uneducated voters make us vulnerable to reckless demagogues.

Today we as Americans still strive to safeguard our democracy while taking great care to balance our quest for social and economic justice for all with our foundational commitment to individual freedom. Liberty, as the history of our nation and many others has shown, is an irreplaceable prize that, without vigilance, is easily lost. ■

Vartan Gregorian
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York



Making America

We are all immigrants—wave after wave over several hundred years.

by **General Colin Powell**

Many years ago, after I had become a four-star general and, then, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the *Times* of London wrote an article observing that if my parents had sailed to England rather than New York, "the most they could have dreamed of for their son in the military was to become a sergeant in one of the lesser British regiments."

Only in America could the son of two poor Jamaican immigrants become the first African American, the youngest person, and the first ROTC graduate from a public university to hold those positions, among many other firsts. My parents arrived—one at the Port of Philadelphia, the other at Ellis Island—in search of economic opportunity, but their goal was to become American citizens, because they knew what that made possible.

Immigration is a vital part of our national being because people come here not just to build a better life for themselves and their children, but to become Americans. And with access to education and a clear path to citizenship, they routinely become some of the best, the most patriotic Americans you'll ever know. That's why I am a strong supporter of immigration law reform: America stands to benefit from it as much if not more than the immigrants themselves.

Contrary to some common misconceptions, neighborhoods with greater concentrations of immigrants have lower rates of crime and violence than comparable non-immigrant neighborhoods, according to a recent report from The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. Foreign-born men age 18–39 are jailed at one-fourth the rate of native-born American men of the same age.

Today's immigrants are learning English at the same rate or faster than earlier waves of newcomers, and first-generation arrivals are less likely to die from cardiovascular disease or cancer than native-born people. They experience fewer chronic health conditions, have lower infant mortality and obesity rates, and have a longer life expectancy.

My parents met and married here and worked in the garment industry, bringing home $50 to $60 a week. They had two children: my sister, Marilyn, who became a teacher, and me. I didn't do as well as the family hoped; I caused a bit of a crisis when I decided to stay in the Army. "Couldn't he get a job? Why is he still in the Army?"

We were a tight-knit family with cousins and aunts and uncles all over the place. But that family network didn't guarantee success. What did? The New York City public education system.

I'm a public education school kid, from kindergarten at PS 20 through PS 39 and JHS 552, and on to Morris High School in the South Bronx and, finally, City College of New York. New York University made me an offer, but tuition there was $750 a year. Such a huge sum in 1954! I would never impose that on my parents, so it was CCNY, where back then tuition was free. I got a BS in geology and a commission as an Army second lieutenant, and that was that. And it all cost my parents nothing. Zero.

After CCNY, I was lucky to be among the first group of officers commissioned just after the Army was desegregated. I competed against West Pointers, against graduates from Harvard and the Virginia Military Institute and the Citadel and other top schools. And to my surprise, I discovered I had gotten a pretty good education in the New York City public schools. Not just in geology and the military, but also in wider culture. I had learned a little about music, about Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and theater and things like that. I got a complete education, all through public schools, and it shapes me to this day.



General Colin Powell at the "Welcome Home Parade," which marched up the Canyon of Heroes on Broadway in lower Manhattan, celebrating the return of American soldiers from the Gulf War, June 10, 1991. PHOTO: ANDREW HOLBROOKE/CORBIS VIA GETTY IMAGES

> I didn't do as well as the family hoped; I caused a bit of a crisis when I decided to stay in the Army. "Couldn't he get a job? Why is he still in the Army?"



ATTENDEES OF THE MAY 2016 CARNEGIE FORUM "MAKING AMERICANS, MAKING AMERICA"

BACK (L–R) Robert J. Birgeneau, Chancellor Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley; Vincent G. Boudreau, Dean, Colin Powell School for Civic and Global Leaderhip; Vartan Gregorian, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York; General Colin Powell; Eileen Truax, journalist and writer; James B. Milliken, Chancellor, The City University of New York; Thomas H. Kean, Chair, Board of Trustees, Carnegie Corporation of New York, and Chair, THK Consulting; Joel Sati, student, Colin Powell School for Civic and Global Leadership.

FRONT (L–R) Colin Powell School students and alumni Elias Veneris, Jason Ramnath, Frank Jimenez, Annika Leudke, Stephanie Elaboria, Evelyn Infante, Jessica Tong, Hanna McIntyre, Johnnie Lee Fielder, Victor Vargas.

PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK PHOTOGRAPHY

But that's not the end of the story. Today's immigrants are also part of a long tradition of newcomers who have made America great. Like Japan and Russia worry that population decline threatens their economies, America's economic future vibrates with promise from immigrants' energy, creativity, ambition, and countless contributions.

This amazing gift goes back to 1847 when the Free Academy of the City of New York was created with a simple mandate: "Give every child the opportunity for an education." And who would pay for it? The citizens and taxpayers of New York City and State. They did it and kept at it when the Academy became CCNY in 1866, because they knew that poor immigrants were their children. They were the future.

They still are. Today some 41 million immigrants and 37.1 million U.S.-born children of immigrants live in the United States. Taken together, the first and second generations are one-quarter of the U.S. population. While some countries

Every one of these people deserves the same educational opportunities I had. It wasn't—and isn't—charity to immigrants or to the poor. Those early New Yorkers were investing in their own future by making education and citizenship accessible to "every child." They knew it—and what a future it became! ■

The author's comments were made during a discussion on immigrant access to higher education hosted by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Colin Powell School for Civic and Global Leadership at City College of New York. The forum—**Making Americans, Making America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Public University**—was held at Carnegie Corporation's New York offices on May 25, 2016.



ILLUSTRATION: MITCH BLUNT

Think Tank Digital

Getting out in front of the [Google] news cycle

by **Michael Moran**

In the basement of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) headquarters in Washington, D.C., is one of the latest iterations of the digital revolution that has swept through the once fusty world of think tanks. The "iDeas Lab" at CSIS looks more like a web startup firm, an open-plan space of white desks, huge Macintosh monitors, and 20-somethings picking away at keyboards as high-end java steams nearby.

"I'm very proud of this space," says H. Andrew Schwartz, senior vice president for external relations at CSIS. "The iDeas Lab is a collaborative space. It's a multimedia production facility. It's an intellectual collaboration space, not just with the people in the Lab, but with our experts."

Grafting a multimedia storytelling unit into a traditional think tank was not a simple endeavor. "You're basically taking experts who have been trained their entire life to write research papers and memos and things like that and saying to them, well let's adapt and communicate in a 21st-century manner," he says. "Not everyone was convinced right away."

Schwartz's evangelism for all things digital at CSIS is part of what might be called Think Tank 2.0, an effort to build on what early adopters like Brookings and the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) achieved online in the first decade of the century, when simply having a decent website marked an institution out as forward thinking.

CFR's site (cfr.org) is a case in point. As late as 2005, it was still largely a repository of press releases and program papers. An overhaul of the site (partly led by the author, who was executive editor of cfr.org from 2005 to 2009) changed that, retooling a staff of junior researchers to highlight the latest analysis in text, audio, and multimedia forms that were relevant to the news cycle. (CFR's new website launches in early 2017.)

All of a sudden, Google began driving traffic, which was then amplified further with social media. The effect on site traffic was dramatic—tripling in a matter of a year. Eventually, CFR launched a series of web documentaries—Crisis Guides—with support from Carnegie Corporation of New York. Three of the six guides were honored with News and Documentary Emmy Awards, prevailing over entries from such major media outlets as NBC News, the *New York Times*, and the BBC.

The lesson was clear: think tanks could reach their audiences using a tactic borrowed from modern politicians—speak directly to your preferred constituencies, going over the heads of the news media middlemen who once offered the sole route to a mass audience.

Leaning Forward

Today, going straight to your audience is standard practice. Indeed, many think tanks draw a million or more visitors a month, and they feature not only classics of the milieu (e.g., 150-page research papers), but also a range of new content, everything from blog posts, videos, and audio podcasts, to complex multimedia productions.

The Nieman Foundation, itself something of a media think tank, featured the Brookings Institution's website on its own pages recently, noting the think tank was publishing 20 pieces a day and netting 1.5 million unique users monthly.

"Go back 20 years: for a piece written by a Brookings scholar to be perceived as impactful and topical, it would have to be published in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*," Brookings Vice President of Communications David Nassar told NiemanLab.org. "Now we have the capacity to publish this content ourselves. Obviously, the *New York Times* is still important, but we have the capacity to deliver our own message as well."

CSIS, along with a select group of other major institutions, is moving aggressively beyond the "archival" role of the modern think tank website and instead pushing into digital news gathering in ways that may be a harbinger of the future. For CSIS, this has taken the form of database analysis and state-of-the-art satellite photography.

In November 2014, CSIS launched the first such effort—the Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative (AMTI), employing satellite photography to identify exactly what China was doing in the remote and disputed depths of the South China Sea.

The project, led by Bonnie Glaser, CSIS senior advisor for Asia, and Zach Cooper, managing editor of the iDeas Lab, is based on a partnership with Global Eye, a satellite imagery firm CSIS has used to produce an interactive look at China's reclamation and construction on the disputed Fiery Cross Reef. The *New York Times*—one of the traditional arbiters of think tank value propositions—put the story and its imagery (of what appears to be a military base under construction) on its front page in November 2014.

"The idea behind that was that there are so many developments that are taking place in these maritime spaces around China, but there's a lot of information that is not being discussed in the public realm," Glaser observes. "So, it's sort of in this gray area. It's not, not all of it is classified. But not all of it is something you can read about in the newspapers."



From the Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative's "Island Tracker," satellite imagery of China's land reclamation on Fiery Cross Reef. Per AMTI, "China's large-scale island-building in the South China Sea since late 2013 has focused international attention on the territorial disputes and invited widespread criticism that Beijing is responsible for escalating tensions." PHOTOS: CSIS/AMTI DIGITALGLOBE







According to AMTI's website: "Civilian planes landed on Subi and Mischief reefs for the first time on July 12, [2016] giving China three operational runways in the disputed Spratly Islands. Except for a brief visit by a military transport plane to Fiery Cross Reef earlier this year, there is no evidence that Beijing has deployed military aircraft to these outposts. But the rapid construction of reinforced hangars at all three features indicates that this is likely to change. Each of the three islets will soon have hangar space for 24 fighter-jets plus 3–4 larger planes." PHOTOS: CSIS/AMTI DIGITALGLOBE

> "People see an interesting question, they want to get the answer. They see an infographic, they want to go explore it, read it, play with it, interact with it."
>
> — **Bonnie Glaser**, CSIS

The impact of the photographs was immediate—hearings on Capitol Hill, requests from other media outlets for access. "There were many people in the military, the Pacific Command, who were very pleased that this information was out there because they were quite concerned about these developments and they wanted the administration to take a bit of, you know, tougher posture toward it," she says.

There were also complaints from China's embassy in the U.S. alleging unfairness. "It's true the Chinese embassy on occasion complained that we're not being balanced enough, but we have in fact looked at Vietnam and other land reclamation that's going on," Glaser says. That includes work underway on shoals and sandbars claimed by Vietnam, Taiwan, and the Philippines.

The iDeas Lab is part of a trend that began in the middle of the last decade, when the websites of research organizations like the Brookings Institution, CATO, and the Council on Foreign Relations moved away from posting press releases on their websites and began trying to get out in front of the news cycle—specifically, the Google News cycle.

Since then, think tanks, once known primarily for their output of thick academic policy studies that might (or might not) be widely read, have warmed to the potential of the Internet as another way—perhaps a better way—to influence the policy debate in Washington and beyond. Blogging, podcasts, and slideshows have become de rigueur. Many think tanks regularly produce sophisticated video and audio offerings—and not just of their own events. The Hoover Institution produces a video series called Uncommon Knowledge, which focuses on providing historical context to U.S. political debates. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) relies on photo essays to tell complex stories, and Carnegie Corporation, CEIP's sister organization and funder, recently launched a multimedia look at nuclear security, part of a series of mini-documentaries ("Interactives") produced by its staff.

With the support of Carnegie Corporation, CSIS's Glaser has since launched a new website, China Power, which is aimed at providing accurate information on the extent of Chinese economic, military, and soft power. So many misconceptions exist among the public—even in Congress—about the extent of China's military buildup, the size of its economy, its holdings of U.S. debt, or its strategic aims. "The idea was to try to address these misconceptions and to do it in a way that would be interesting to people. Then they could use the website as a resource tool," says Glaser. "My audience really is broader. I'm also appealing to students, people who want to actually use data and download data. So, one of the original ideas when we were thinking about putting it together, this site, was to have a data repository where we would bring data that we're using in our site and then people could access it and actually download it."

The website is, indeed, a repository, but it also makes good use of the iDeas Lab team. For instance, one feature tries to place China's one aircraft carrier, the former Soviet *Liaoning*, into perspective by stacking it up against U.S. and other countries' active flattops. This includes a 3D model, comparative graphics of various carriers in active service, and video interviews with naval experts.

"We decided to organize the entire site around these questions," Glaser says. "And I thought this would be a great way to promote it too. People see an interesting question, they want to get the answer. They see an infographic, they want to go explore it, read it, play with it, interact with it." ■



{ 2009 }

Ian Bremmer and **Scott Malcomson**: A Conversation

AMERICAN HUSTLE: WE ARE OUR CHOICES

Indispensable? Pragmatic? Independent? Globalist? None of the above? On the eve of the 2016 presidential election, Ian Bremmer, founder and president of Eurasia Group, and Scott Malcomson, author of the recently published *Splinternet: How Geopolitics and Commerce Are Fragmenting the World Wide Web*, discuss the challenges facing the next president, casting a cool gaze at the world that stares back at America, waiting to see what happens on November 8, 2016.

SCOTT MALCOMSON: In *Super Power: Three Choices for America's Role in the World*, which came out earlier this year, you take the question of American leadership in the world and pose three different views of what America's role should be. You then argue for each one in turn: Indispensable America, Moneyball America, and Independent America.

"Indispensable" is what most people probably associate with the Clinton Administration. It maintains that no country but the U.S. can provide leadership based on its values, but also on the projection of power, gradually bringing other states around to something like the American model of democracy, free markets, and liberal values. "Moneyball" is what it sounds like: a pragmatism or realism that looks at the choices America faces and, while holding its values dear, mainly tries to find out the best route to take based on the available options and leave it at that. Finally, "Independent" emphasizes that America's mission is really for America, and its greatest responsibility as a democracy is to its own citizens—to its own values and their unending refinement. "Independent" America leads by example more than by the assertion of power.

I would think of George W. Bush as being an "Indispensable" America kind of guy, if maybe of a particular confused type and with the wrong cabinet. Obama, as you argue, might have started out as an "Indispensable" America person but has governed as a "Moneyball" president. "Independent" America made me think of Donald Trump.

In the "Independent America" chapter you talk about how NATO costs too much, our allies do not contribute enough, and NAFTA has its shortcomings; that Vladimir Putin merits some sympathy and the millions of ethnic Russians on Russia's periphery deserve a hearing as well; and that the frequent use of drones by the United States under President Obama has been an error. If Donald Trump were at some point able to articulate his foreign policy, it seems to me it would probably be "Independent" America. So when you wrote at the end of your book that you really feel strongest and best about the Independent America model, I thought: Is Ian going to be the Donald Trump explainer?

IAN BREMMER: Absolutely not, but it is complicated. Let me start with the absolutely not. I agree that Obama is more of a "Moneyballer," and that Hillary Clinton and Bush are more "Indispensable," if in somewhat different ways. But is Trump "Independent"? You started off saying an Independent America leads by example. Trump is the antithesis of leading by example. The way he talks about the Muslim community in the United States, the way he talks about people that need to be "sent back," the way he talks about torture. It is very clear that under a Trump administration other countries would run in the other direction as fast as they can. I actually think that in a Trump presidency there would be at least a 50% chance, probably more, that López Obrador would win as the next president of Mexico. That is not leading by example. It is not getting other countries to be more like you. That is other countries having presidents who supported the U.S. so weakened that anti-U.S. populism is actually strengthened.

Trump understands and can deliver a message that resonates with the American people—because the establishment is missing a lot about where America is heading in the world. It does not matter how unsuited temperamentally and experientially to be president Trump in fact is. He delivers a message that resonates.

— Ian Bremmer

MALCOMSON: You could call that leading by repulsion.

BREMMER: Yes, and I think that Trump leading by repulsion is the exact opposite of what "Independent" America is. But, as I said, it is complicated. Trump understands and can deliver a message that resonates with the American people—because the establishment is missing a lot about where America is heading in the world. It does not matter how unsuited temperamentally and experientially to be president Trump in fact is. He delivers a message that resonates. For example, when Trump said, "If the South Koreans and Japanese are not going to pay more for their defense, then let them go nuclear," and Hillary Clinton went nuts. She said, "Oh, my god, does he know what he is talking about? I mean, go nuclear? Nuclear war? Does he have any idea what nuclear war is?" But hold on a second. The South Koreans and the Japanese would be two of the most responsible countries imaginable with nuclear weapons, in terms of transparency.

MALCOMSON: Surely no one understands nuclear war like the Japanese.



{ 2016 }

BREMMER: Absolutely. And if you ask the average American would they have a problem with the idea that the U.S. would do less and Japan and South Korea would do more for their defense, I think they would be okay with it. Japan's prime minister, Shinzo Abe, wants to change the constitution to move in that direction. And, you know, when Trump talks about European allies as being free riders, heck, Obama said that when he was interviewed for the *Atlantic*. But because Trump is such a buffoon and because he is willing to use racism, xenophobia, and all of the worst and basest impulses, he is also discounted as a buffoon—even when he says something that resonates.

For example, I was, for my sins, in both Cleveland and Philadelphia for the conventions this year. I was on the floor when Trump said: "We're going after the globalists." I have never heard an American president say he was going after the globalists, but Trump has a point. A lot of my friends, you and me included, have more in common with people sitting in conference rooms like the one we are sitting in here in New York, and in other commercial centers around the world, than they do with the people listening to Trump at the Republican Convention in Cleveland. Trump is calling BS on that, and I think that is important. I think that resonates. A lot of people in the 1%, both economically and in terms of influence—public intellectuals, the media—really have allowed that bubble to let them forget.

MALCOMSON: I am preoccupied by the idea that there is an emerging electorate united around the negative idea of anti-globalization but not necessarily around a more positive idea about what America might stand for, what its values might mean to the rest of the world. With the right leadership, could that be a real electoral grouping that would have any stability? It does not seem like either Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump is able to really corral that. Certainly the idea that Donald Trump would be the spokesperson for the 99% is, on its face, pretty hard to believe. At the same time, Hillary Clinton hasn't managed to bring Bernie Sanders voters behind her with any enthusiasm. But, theoretically, say there was some other, more suitable candidate. Is there a stable or even somewhat coherent anti-globalization electorate within the U.S.?

BREMMER: If Bernie had said, "Look, Hillary Clinton is by far the most establishment candidate out there, and that's what we have a problem with. Special interests in the United States have eroded and destroyed the social contract and the legitimacy of U.S. political institutions. We need dramatic change. The only way we are going to get that is with the only candidate we have right now. So, we have got to hold our noses on the things we disagree with. We are going for Trump." Well, I think that then you would have had a more coherent movement. The problem Trump really has is not that he is a billionaire who grew up with a rich father; he still comes across as someone who was never really allowed into the establishment.

The problem is that a big part of Trump's message is aimed at disgruntled, undereducated white folk. America in general is becoming more secular, more pro-immigrant, much more multicultural, more socially liberal. And these undereducated, older white people do not like that. They feel like they have been forgotten and they have been told that it is not okay for them to articulate their grievances. Not only have they been left behind, their suicide rates are through the roof, their behavioral disabilities are horrifying, and their life expectancies are going down in ways unimaginable for an OECD demographic. They have also been told by President Obama (or are convinced they have been told): "You are not allowed to talk about it." Right? "You are not the ones with the problems here. And you can cling to your guns, your religion." Or Hillary can dispense with them as "deplorables." It is not okay for them to even have an identity as an aggrieved population because they're white men.

MALCOMSON: And white people, by definition, cannot be aggrieved in the United States.

BREMMER: Correct. White people cannot be aggrieved in the United States. I think that Trump really embraces that group, but it is entirely too small to win and it is dying off. In Europe, however, that demographic is actually much more coherent across generations because of the Islam issue, the migrant issue, and because the history of being much more nationally coherent is very strong.

MALCOMSON: Hillary Clinton: "Indispensable" on the campaign trail, "Moneyball" in office? Similar to Obama in that trajectory?

BREMMER: She is "Indispensable" by temperament. I think that Obama was "Moneyball" by temperament. He did not want to do what the establishment wanted him to do. I think Hillary does. She's more interested in recalibrating and rebuilding the traditional relations with countries like Saudi Arabia. She is much more pro-Israel. She would be much stronger about NATO. She would be more hawkish about interventions against terrorism in a lot of countries around the world. But constraints in terms of the situation on the ground in those countries and how much American allies are willing to support, as well as just how unwilling the American public is to go along with this stuff—these are some of the factors that will probably make a more pragmatic Hillary emerge.

You know, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)—that trade agreement was something Clinton really wanted. She was the architect. She is ostensibly opposed to it now. I have talked to enough people around Hillary who make it very clear that she fully intends, assuming she wins, to get back behind it and try to find a way to lawyer that. It is that kind of dynamic that ends up making Hillary more of a "Moneyballer."

> The idea that there is a normal level of nationalism is itself kind of an odd one, but you can see that it has a grip on people.
>
> — **Scott Malcomson**

MALCOMSON: There is also, theoretically, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which has fallen on hard times politically in Europe. I do not think it ever got prominent enough over here in the U.S. to fall on hard times, but, presumably, it would.

BREMMER: It would have, yes.

MALCOMSON: Is TTIP dead in the water, so to speak?

BREMMER: The Germans have said so, the French have said so. I do believe that if Brexit had not happened, the Germans and the French would not have made that announcement. But with Brexit they know that what they have to do now is this negotiation with the U.K. They do not know what that is going to look like or how long it is going to take, and they have their own domestic constituencies that are absolutely not clamoring for trade agreements right now.

MALCOMSON: What I find interesting about that reaction was that Germany and France began speaking as sovereign nations more than they had been. Not long ago the Germans were acting, up to a point anyway, as good Europeans within the context of the European Union and pooled sovereignty. Once Brexit happened and this issue came up of European nations' attitudes to a transatlantic trade agreement, they began to speak as nations. My presumption is that Germany and France will continue to speak more and more about and as nations rather than as partners in a greater European project, whether in economic or security terms. Would you agree that the European dynamic is towards increased national expressions, particularly by the more powerful countries?

BREMMER: I would argue that the Germans have been doing that much more so than the French over the past years. They are the ones that we really look to for being the voice of Europe. The French do so somewhat, but would we have the sanctions against Russia that we presently do if not for the Germans? No. The French were only modestly constructive on that. The Greek deal was all about the Germans, both being constructive but also wielding a stick as necessary. The French were very much a junior partner. But your point is an important one: you look at these countries and they all increasingly look like it is becoming "every nation for itself."

And this is all taking place in the heart of what had been the most successful, by far, experiment in supranational governance that the world had ever seen. It is disconcerting for people hoping for a strong Europe; it is still more disconcerting for Germany. The ability of the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) party, the Eurosceptic party, to go from nowhere to beating chancellor Angela Merkel's own party in her home district is something Merkel would have found astonishing even six months before.

Merkel came from East Germany. When the Berlin Wall came down, she saw the U.S. as the savior of the planet. The Americans were the staunch anti-communists who worked very hard to free the Eastern Bloc. They were there for the Germans, bringing the wall down. And now Merkel saw these people who were in need: refugees. They were being oppressed, they were starving, they were being shot at, they were dying, and they had nowhere to go. Germany had the money and had the ability to take care of them, and said they were going to. Merkel and Germany then look to the United States—which does nothing. Merkel looks around to other European countries. They do nothing. Merkel looks within Germany and sees the nation is not up for it. I think she was very deeply surprised.

MALCOMSON: In the local Mecklenburg election you mentioned, Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) took votes away from Merkel's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) but also from the far-right NPD, the Greens, the Social Democrats. Similar to what we were discussing with the U.S.: Is there a coherent, durable electoral grouping that would make sense in the German context, analogous to the would-be Trump-Bernie coalition?

BREMMER: Absolutely. You definitely could make that argument. This is a fairly new party, and their leaders are not well known. So, as easy as it is for them to cohere, bad leadership can make them fall apart. What is Trumpism without Trump? Right now it is nothing. So we will see. But for Merkel's upcoming 2017 election, I firmly believe that the AfD will be the main opposition. That is an enormous change in a short period of time in the country that matters the most for Europe. It could be the most important risk coming out of Europe in 2017. And that is in the context of an Italian referendum, and French elections, and the Hungarian referendum, and a Turkey refugee deal, and potential Italian and Portuguese banking crises, and Spain not having a government, and the Brexit negotiations. There are lots of things to worry about in Europe.

MALCOMSON: On the subject of nationalism, we have the European example and, in its own strange way, the American example. Nationalist parties have also come to dominate East Asia and, to a significant extent, South Asia since around 1997. They are very, very different situations, but if you were to look from way above the earth, you could argue that there has been an advance of nationalist politics and power beginning in Asia and then rising more in Europe and in North America. Do they have anything in common? I understand that in itself "nationalisms" having something in common is a slightly weird concept. It is not meant as a shared ideology.

BREMMER: And yet you have Vladimir Putin providing financial support for the French National Front and Nigel Farage in Mississippi stumping for the Trump campaign. It feels weird and yet you kind of get it.

MALCOMSON: It is a great destabilization policy, which seems to be Putin's immense strength as a politician.

BREMMER: But they do address similar kinds of issues. I do not think this is just politics making strange bedfellows. There is something structural there. Asia is different. The hollowing out of the middle class that is happening in the U.S. and Europe that has driven so much of this populism and nationalism—that is not what we are seeing in Asia.

In Asia the middle classes have gotten stronger, and a lot of that nationalism is actually patriotism that is supportive of the pretty strong governments in place. That is certainly true with Xi Jinping in China. It is certainly true with Narendra Modi in India. There, the middle classes have been rising very significantly because of globalization. People feel like their governments have helped facilitate that. There is a lot more nationalism in China today than there was 20 years ago, but that nationalism is supportive of Xi Jinping and of China becoming number one economically in the world. In India, it has not reached anywhere near that level, but Modi is still taking advantage of a younger, prouder India that is willing to get behind him. And there is a danger, of course, that that could lead to anti-Islam sentiment in India. Certainly, it could cause more conflict with Pakistan over time. But as long as the leaders are strong and they have the people with them, they have the ability to tamp down the more destructive elements that lead to protectionism or lashing out geopolitically. For now, I actually think that Asian nationalism is a more constructive force.

MALCOMSON: Both of the Koreas, including the southern one, also have nationalist governments, as does Japan under Abe. The three-way conflict between Korea, China, and Japan is one of long standing. Do those respective nationalisms—taken in combination—worry you? The narrative in Japan is often of a kind of restoration of normalcy. The idea that there is a normal level of nationalism is itself kind of an odd one, but you can see that it has a grip on people. Does that nonetheless add up to a fairly combustible situation, obviously factoring in the East China Sea issue?

BREMMER: I do not think so. Obviously, these are countries that historically have fought against each other. There is a lot of propaganda. There are history textbooks that demonize the other and that is not great. And yet the business that is being done between Japan, South Korea, and China is very significant and is increasing a lot. Record numbers of Chinese are traveling to Japan as tourists. Younger Chinese are really excited to go to Japan. Abe himself definitely feels China is a malevolent force that at some point will pose a fundamental and even existential threat to Japan, but younger Japanese do not feel that way. They kind of want to get on with their lives and think more about the economy and their friends; they are not as interested in this historical enmity. The South Korean government and those who remember the Korean War are absolutely oriented toward the U.S. and the military relationship, the bases. You talk to South Koreans under 35, they think that all of that is a disaster for the country. The U.S. is in decline. They think it causes problems with North Korea. They think China is the future, and that is where they want to be oriented. So I actually think that the longer-term trend in all three countries is much more pragmatic and not prone to emotional outbursts over symbolism.

MALCOMSON: Russia has a more or less single-resource economy and lacks the trade incentives to create the kinds of ties that a country like China or Korea or Japan would have, or that most non-petrol states would have. There is also a nationalism in Russia. There is unquestionably an anti-globalism feeling, although the degree to which that can be separated from anti-American feeling is hard to parse. Is Putin a manifestation of something that is going to last beyond him in terms of Russia's approach to the rest of the world, whether it be Europe or China or the United States?

BREMMER: I am pessimistic about Russia's future. That feeling of "Great Power" status being deserved but lost is manifest in almost every Russian you talk to, and Putin is the guy who finally has stood up to the West, even at some economic cost. As a consequence he is being lionized across the country, and he has made it much easier on himself to really consolidate power and gut any possibility of pluralist institutions in Russia.

The Russians have some legitimate grievances about the West, but their real worry has to be China. The Chinese have a trillion dollars to spend on infrastructure of various sorts outside their country. They are going to spend it everywhere, but not in Russia. The deals just are not there.

MALCOMSON: Xi Jinping's signature One Belt, One Road initiative goes right underneath Russia.

BREMMER: And the countries along that road are countries the Russians believe are fundamentally really theirs: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan. And the Chinese are going to dominate these countries economically in short order. The Russians are going to feel really encircled. They are not going to like it.

MALCOMSON: Can we revisit the "G2" concept?—that is, with regard to the U.S. and China joint announcement on climate change and clean energy cooperation. In terms of climate change, over the eight years of the Obama administration, the White House has emphasized what amounts to fairly quiet, if not secret, diplomacy on climate issues.

BREMMER: With China.

MALCOMSON: With China. And it might, in retrospect, be looked at as one of the real foreign policy successes of the Obama administration. Is there still a little life left in the G2? They also had a cyber agreement that might or might not be viable, depending on the day.

BREMMER: I am glad you raised that because there are big challenges before G2 becomes possible. We are not close to an agreement right now. One look at the U.S. presidential race explains why. The Chinese are definitely doing more internationally, not just on climate. The Chinese are providing some humanitarian support to Syria. They would not have done that before. The Chinese are putting a military base in Djibouti in the Horn of Africa. The Chinese are building out economic architecture: the new Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), for example. As their economic interests are becoming bigger and more global, the Chinese are recognizing incrementally that their national self-interest is in creating and defending better security for those investments. That does make them more aligned with the U.S. over time.

Keep in mind that the biggest money has been made by multinational corporations that are getting cheaper rates by going over to these other countries, which they want to continue to do. That is capitalism.

— Ian Bremmer

But the Chinese still have to work through this extraordinary and unprecedented domestic transformation, which will both be their top priority and distracting, and also may not work. Right now most Americans are probably less interested in all of this because of the growing populism here at home in the U.S.

MALCOMSON: In fairness, there is the famous elephant curve of Branko Milanovic, the economist and scholar of income inequality, which essentially shows that the Chinese middle class, in particular, has benefitted greatly from globalization at the same time that the American lower and middle classes have not.

BREMMER: There are all sorts of policies that could allow you to redress the comparative losses of the middle classes in advanced industrial democracies. But let us keep in mind that the biggest money has been made by multinational corporations that are getting cheaper rates by going over to these other countries, which they want to continue to do. That is capitalism. But those profits do not need to only go to the 1%, because if they keep doing that, they are going to really piss off those middle classes who are going to eventually call for a very dramatically different system.



Production line at Royal Enfield Motors Ltd. motorcycle factory in Chennai, India, July 2015, as the invasion of robots into India's manufacturing sector undercuts Prime Minister Narendra Modi's quest to put the poor to work.
PHOTO: DHIRAJ SINGH/BLOOMBERG VIA GETTY IMAGES

And you are going to have to repress them, or they are going to vote you out of power, or you are going to end up walling them off. Those are options, but I think most of us do not want the bad options.

The good option is to ask: how do you best address this? What do you do with these people? Denmark has basically said, "We know we are not going to have jobs for these people. Those jobs are mostly going to be in China and in Mexico, and, frankly, they are going to be automated. And, by the way, when they get automated, a lot more of the profits are going to come back to our countries, right? So then the emerging markets are going to have a big problem." This still does not help the middle classes unless you do something for them.

Denmark is basically saying that labor is going to be like Airbnb. Every individual has a set of skills—and those skills, some are highly paid, some are not as highly paid, but they need to be made much more efficient. They are not going to be tied to one job, and at certain times of the year, they will respond to certain market indicators.

With your job, there is going to be surge pricing. You will not be working all the time, and it will not be regular, and you may be really crushing it for three weeks, then you may be unemployed for two months. But you know what? Your benefits and your baseline ability to live are going to be attached to you as an individual, not to your employer—because you are not going to have an employer. There are things you can do to address the dip in the elephant curve, but we have chosen not to do them, in part because the U.S. political process has been captured by special interests, who have no interest in supporting reforms.

MALCOMSON: What you said about automation implies that the back of the elephant, so to speak, will be lowered over time.

BREMMER: Right, but the tip of the trunk will be fantastic.

MALCOMSON: You seem to be thinking mainly of American multinationals. If you look at the way they have been able to take their supply chains around the world, it is a technologically enabled means of lowering labor inputs and decreasing other costs, such as for transport. Those companies have tended to park their profits overseas when they can, to keep them away from American taxation. Can that continue indefinitely?

BREMMER: If people are angry about the fact that Starbucks is not paying taxes, they have the ability to say, "We're not going to actually use your products if you don't change your behavior." Governments will respond to the mob as well. The real question is whether or not those two responses from governments and from mobs are too diffuse and too ineffectual—because there is a third alternative, which is that the disenfranchised just get walled off virtually. And that is happening. Israel/Palestine is a great example of it, but you also see it in parts of the United States and Europe right now. If that continues, then multinationals are still going to have a pretty strong ride before they are actually disabused of some of their present practices.

MALCOMSON: In the contemporary framework, is state capitalism, or rather the capitalist state, the only likely defender of the non-corporate citizen? In other words, when it comes to the inequality-increasing aspect of technology, is it really only up to the state to be able to manage that in a way that will not just simply abandon large portions of the population?

BREMMER: Look at GenXers, who are running a lot of these big multinational corporations—which seem to be going incredibly well, world-busting places—and they are not paying much attention at all to this growing inequality. But they are very competitive, these people. And if they see that the social contract is starting to erode, and if they understand that if they do not start doing something that actually addresses the social contract for these people, that—god forbid—one of their competitors does and it hurts them and they are now the villain, but the other one is now the nice guy? Then, they are going to want to be out there first.

So maybe the private sector will be a part of the solution. I hate it when people say that, but I think that is possible. ■

This conversation, which took place at the New York headquarters of Eurasia Group in September 2016, was edited for clarity and length.

NEXT WAVE

Faces of Asia, Faces of America

Photography by **Pat Mazzera** | Text by **Gail Ablow**

The face of immigration is changing rapidly. Asians outpaced Hispanic immigrants in 2009, becoming the largest and fastest-growing wave of newcomers to the United States. The group is a mosaic and not a monolith. People are arriving from dozens of countries in Asia and the Pacific Islands, bringing unique languages, cultures, and histories. Some come as legal immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, while others may overstay a visa or enter without proper documentation.

Many Asian immigrants share a collective desire to become American citizens. Since the 2012 presidential election, 60 percent of all eligible Asians and Pacific Islanders have become U.S. citizens. This represents a demographic shift that shows no signs of slowing down.

In August the New Americans Campaign brought more than 225 immigration workers to San Francisco for the annual United for Citizenship Practitioners Conference. There were panels and strategy sessions and a lot of time for networking. The practitioners, many of whom are immigrants themselves, returned to partner organizations around the country with new insights and tools for helping legal permanent residents become U.S. citizens.

The conference concluded with a day-long citizenship workshop held at a local union headquarters. More than 235 aspiring Americans lined up to get free legal counsel on filing their citizenship applications. New Americans Campaign volunteers were on hand to offer help in eight languages.

While India, China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Korea are currently the top five Asian countries of origin, this Asian wave of immigrants includes people who had moved to the U.S. from as far afield as Mongolia and Fiji. We spoke with people from other continents and countries as well. They all arrived toting their documents in file folders and backpacks—and carrying their hopes and dreams in their hearts.

There are eight million people living, working, and paying taxes in this country who are eligible for citizenship, yet, according to the New Americans Campaign, only about eight percent of them naturalize each year. Since the campaign began five years ago, affiliates across the country helped complete 211,000 citizenship applications. Eager to become American citizens, each applicant we spoke with was tremendously grateful for the help they received. Many expressed a desire to give back—to the best of their ability—to the United States. "In Mongolia," Khosbayar Ravjaa told us, "our traditional saying is, 'Even a drop of water is helpful for the ocean.'" ■

Khosbayar Ravjaa

Born Mongolia, arrived 2003

“I came to America because of my big curiosity and my interest in so many different fields about religion, about culture, about technology. It’s lots of different people from all over the world, they live together peacefully and respect each other’s beliefs and religion. I wanted to open my mind. I needed so much to learn from other people from different countries. I have learned so much and still I am curious about so many other religions and countries and cultures. To me it was my personal life experience, journey. I like the U.S. and being here and wanted to become a U.S. citizen. It’s really the best country to be in. I will be proud to be a U.S. Citizen. I will support the institution and system, and I respect it and I like it. Just do everything for the best. I have always had a passion for helping others. I like psychology and some spirituality, and I’d like to do something good for people. I don’t know what my future will be, but since I was a kid, I have always had a big mind and goals to achieve for doing good for the people and doing good for the Earth. In Mongolia, our traditional saying is, even a drop of water is helpful for the ocean.





Jie Ying "Virginia" Liang
Born China, arrived 2009

"I live in the United States for seven years. I was sixteen when I came. My family come to the United States, my mother's sister, and whole family—and my brother, younger brother, my mom saved for coming to the United States, there was a love for here. My mom say come to the workshop today, so I come. I want to be an American for my family, for my family. Yes.

Justino David, Jr.
Born Philippines, arrived 2011

“Earlyn, my wife, said, ‘If we are qualified to be an American citizen that’s good. Yes. America is great. You know? Great.’ I left because the Philippines was very—you know, more corruption, more drugs there. That’s why I petitioned to come here. My sister was here and sponsored me to the state. My family was already here in North Carolina, my daughter, and she met my wife and me. If I am a citizen my impression is there are very good benefits here. Benefits to . . . old people like me. I’m 68 years old.





Ketaki Srivastava
Born India, arrived 2012

I am an immigration caseworker with the International Rescue Committee. The IRC works with a lot of refugees and asylees from around the world. And, as an immigration caseworker, we help them with their citizenship, their naturalization, their green cards, and helping them to bring their families over.
So being part of the New Americans Campaign has been great because you work with other organizations. They have their own experiences, and their own skills, and their own strengths.
My husband was working here in the tech industry and when we got married I moved to the United States. I would like to eventually become a citizen. I'm a bit far away from it, but I would like to become a citizen. And I love the work that I am doing, helping people bring their families, making them safe, making them secure, but, especially when they come from really bad and terrible situations from around the world. I hope to continue doing that sort of work and making people realize that, if you come to the United States, and you work hard, and you try, you can have a good and fulfilling life.

Yuanchuo Yang

Born China, arrived 2008

“I have been in the United States almost eight years, just working and going to school and learning English, and meeting new people. I want to join the citizens. I like the United States. I want to grow up and to get married to my girlfriend and have my children and have grandchildren who are born in the United States and they can become citizens.





Myuong Munlnickel
Born South Korea, arrived 1974

“Back home in Korea I just got a high school education, and when I came here there wasn’t a whole lot of things I could do, so I worked in a factory assembly line and I did restaurant work for years and years and years. It was hard work but money was good. Later on I learned how to do nails, so I did that for about four or five years, and after that I did outside sales for a couple years so that I could travel. I am very happy with all the experiences I had, you know? It gave me freedom and opportunity. I’ve been here for plenty long enough, and I think I should participate fully, instead of just being a Green Card holder. Honestly, I want to V-O-T-E… because it’s the most important thing you can do with citizenship. I never thought, oh, I should get a citizenship someday, but this year it’s different, you know what I mean? I’ve been living here for 42 years and I’ve never seen a time like this.

Anh Dung T. Tran &
Thu ha thi Nguyen
Born Vietnam, arrived 2007

“My husband and I . . . it was our dream to come to the United States with our family. We have a daughter, 19 years old, and I would like to have her to go to school and to learn all of the culture of the United States. I think that is a big part of it for me. I would like people to know that where I came from, we didn’t have much freedom, or a lot of things like a good health system, and the benefits I get for my family. The environment and the economy in the United States are really helping my family. I want to help get the message out that this one is the best country on earth. I want to be a good citizen. And to be a good citizen, voting is very important. And voting for the right person to help the country, is essential.





Nenita Bautista

Born Philippines, arrived 1996

“My nephew, Carlito, brought me here today. I stay here in the United States almost 20 years. I need America because America give me a good future and everything for me. I would like to help the poor people. If I can help, I will help.

The Making of Americans

225 New Americans Campaign partners convened in San Francisco, CA, for the annual **United Citizenship Practitioners Conference**, August 3–5, 2016.











The 2016 Conference at a Glance

ATTENDEES	over 225 attendees	from 125 local partner organizations	in 31 sites
AGENDA	3 days of activities	23.5 hours of planned programming	33 discussion topics
PRESENTERS	61 presenters, panelists, table hosts & mentors	from 47 partner organizations	in 15 sites

CLOCKWISE FROM UPPER LEFT

A volunteer helps aspiring Americans complete their citizenship applications.

Melissa Rodgers, director of programs, Immigrant Legal Resources Center, and director of the New Americans Campaign.

(L) Javeria Jamil, staff attorney, Asian Americans Advancing Justice-Atlanta and (R) Hayet Ahmed, International Rescue Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, participate in a panel discussion at the conference.

Mohana Walambe, South Asian American Voices for Impact, Detroit, Michigan, volunteers at the citizenship workshop.

(L) Andrew Geraghty, Carnegie Corporation of New York; (C) Eric Cohen, executive director, Immigrant Legal Resource Center; and (R) Cat Bao Le, Southeast Asian Coalition, Charlotte, North Carolina.







DON'T GIVE UP ON DEMOCRACY

Voting in the Wisconsin primary, Menomonee Falls Public Library, Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin, April 5, 2016. PHOTO: MICHAEL SEARS/MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL/TNS VIA GETTY IMAGES

Foundations are funding the right—and the fight—to vote through donor collaboratives and litigation.

by **Gail Ablow**

In July Carnegie Corporation of New York, in collaboration with the Mertz Gilmore and Overton foundations, hosted a briefing on voting rights for funders. Michael Waldman, president of the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, launched the conversation with stories from his new book, *The Fight to Vote*. He was followed by advocates who are in the trenches today, defending the rights of hundreds of thousands of potential voters—in particular, minorities, the elderly, and the poor. Not long after the gathering, a wave of rulings from four federal courts, and one state court, struck down or loosened voting restrictions in Texas, North Carolina, Wisconsin, Kansas, and North Dakota.

Legal victories like these are hard won and expensive—and behind the scenes, philanthropy is playing an important role. Geri Mannion of the Corporation and Jay Beckner of the Mertz Gilmore Foundation got together after the briefing for a discussion with Carnegie visiting media fellow Gail Ablow to discuss how foundations can support voting rights litigation. As the Corporation's Mannion put it, "We should not be making voting so difficult. . . . Democracy should be about broadening the ability to vote, not narrowing it."

GAIL ABLOW: What are some of the biggest voting rights challenges we are facing as a country this election year?

GERI MANNION: This is the first presidential year following *Shelby County v. Holder*, the 2013 Supreme Court decision that gutted the Voting Rights Act. In addition, this year many states will be implementing voter ID laws—and without the preclearance protections of the Department of Justice and a lack of understanding by citizens, there may be confusion on the ground.

The Justice Department no longer has the ability to preclear election plans, such as reviewing changes in polling locations or redistricting plans. In the past you had the protections of the Voting Rights Act that would preclear changes to the laws in communities that had a history of racial bias: New York City, Chicago, places in the South—or any place with a historical pattern of voting discrimination. In the *Shelby* decision, the Supreme Court basically said that there are no longer these patterns of racism, so they removed the preclearance responsibility. Since then, people have taken advantage of this, both overtly and by accident. Sometimes it is an economic issue, but often it is racially biased in the implementation, if not in the intent.

JAY BECKNER: There should also be a huge voter turnout this year, so I am also concerned about equipment and staffing and choices that are being made in certain places—to not have as many polling places and to be open for fewer hours. There may also be problems with the voting machines.

ABLOW: Why should foundations become involved in addressing election issues?

MANNION: We talk a lot about democracy—and what it really comes down to is: Who is responsible for it? We do not have the oversight for elections that we would have for businesses, for example. We think about elections very episodically, and because it is the government's responsibility, we presume that they are going to do it well. But where does the responsibility fall? Is it with the state or is it with the local government? Is the responsibility with educators, or with the advocacy community? It is a very difficult challenge.

BECKNER: When we first started funding democracy issues, our focus was on money and politics. But after *Shelby* it became very clear that: 1) money in politics and voting issues are intertwined, you cannot totally separate them; and 2) the *Shelby* decision was so harmful and had such ramifications that we couldn't *not* get involved in doing something about funding in the voting rights arena.

Voting is a nonpartisan issue. Our board—the Mertz Gilmore Foundation—wants everyone to vote. There are very positive ways to make an impact that increases voter registration; I do not see how anybody could be against more people voting. If you are worried about voter fraud, there are a lot of positive changes being made that will clear up those issues.

ABLOW: Why is it important to fund voting rights litigation?

> We talk a lot about democracy—and what it really comes down to is: Who is responsible for it?
>
> — **Geri Mannion**, Carnegie Corporation

MANNION: Litigation is important because it offers you the first opportunity to stop something bad from happening through an injunction. A lot of foundations hate litigation because they think it is a money pit. But litigation has been a very important tool. If it were not for all the great legal defense funds and other litigation groups, we would be in much worse shape.

BECKNER: At NEO Philanthropy there is the State Infrastructure Fund, which is a donor collaborative. It is an excellent way for a funder that does not know much about the issue to get going very quickly, with very few barriers to entry. You do not have to develop in-house expertise, you can join people who have been doing this for a long time, and you can do it collaboratively. We joined in 2012 and—four years later—we are still in.

MANNION: To fix election administration, the State Infrastructure Fund is looking at voting rights from both a defensive posture and from an offensive posture. Our taxpayer dollars support our governments and municipal agencies to carry out elections efficiently and at low cost. And yet all these different barriers effectively increase the cost of elections, like voter IDs, for example. We should not be making voting so difficult.

One grantee that the State Infrastructure Fund and Carnegie Corporation support directly is MALDEF, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, which convenes the informal voting rights litigation group, a dream team of voting rights litigators. Over ten groups have come together, they divide up the work, they make sure they know who will take which cases, in which places.

ABLOW: How do donor collaboratives make it easier for a foundation to tackle voting rights litigation?

MANNION: Donor collaboratives are cost effective. If you have a limited amount of money, you are putting it in with other funders. There is a staff that oversees the grantmaking and that ensures due diligence is done correctly. They vet the proposals and recommend a grantmaking docket. A funder's money goes a long way. You are able to leverage your funding with that of other donors, rather than having to start a whole new program yourself.

BECKNER: We also trust that NEO Philanthropy is able to handle the legal and administrative decision-making. If your foundation board is at all unsure of this kind of funding, you want to go with someone that you know has very smart procedures and legal people advising them. You really have to trust the collaborative management, which we do in this situation.

If a funder is more interested in supporting efforts to play defense, an excellent place to look is the Voting Rights Institute at Georgetown University. Mertz Gilmore Foundation and others helped launch it. The Georgetown University Law Center, the American Constitution Society, and the Campaign Legal Center got together to help attorneys, witnesses, law students, and the public combat discriminatory voting practices across the country.

ABLOW: So donor collaboratives are very practical?

BECKNER: Absolutely.

MANNION: Jay—you are part of the Piper Fund, a donor collaborative that works on money in politics. Carnegie Corporation of New York is also part of the Four Freedoms Fund, which focuses on building immigrant integration policy in the states. Jay has a small team. I have a small team. I would not be able to do the work I do without having these kinds of collaborations. First of all, I am learning a lot from the other donors, and I do not have to worry about hiring a bigger staff. Also, I would not be able to fund in so many states without the good staffing of these funds.

BECKNER: The flip side is that if you do want to staff up and grow, it is a great place to go to learn from your peers and eventually build an in-house program if that is what you are interested in doing. You can be somewhat hands-off and still trust that great work is being done, or if you want to learn, it is a fabulous place to learn from your peers. And while you are learning a program, it makes it easier on the funding community and on the NGO community as well to work through a collaborative, rather than having all these individual groups coming to you.

ABLOW: What is your advice for people who want to take a first step into funding voting rights work?

BECKNER: Some foundations with more resources than we have will commission a study for a couple of years on the funding opportunities. Or they can afford to hire someone on staff who already knows the issues. But one of the ways that we approached it was to go first to a collaborative. I have always thought personal contact is the place to start. If you call just a couple of people, they will give you the five to ten key organizations that you should meet with—and you can go from there.

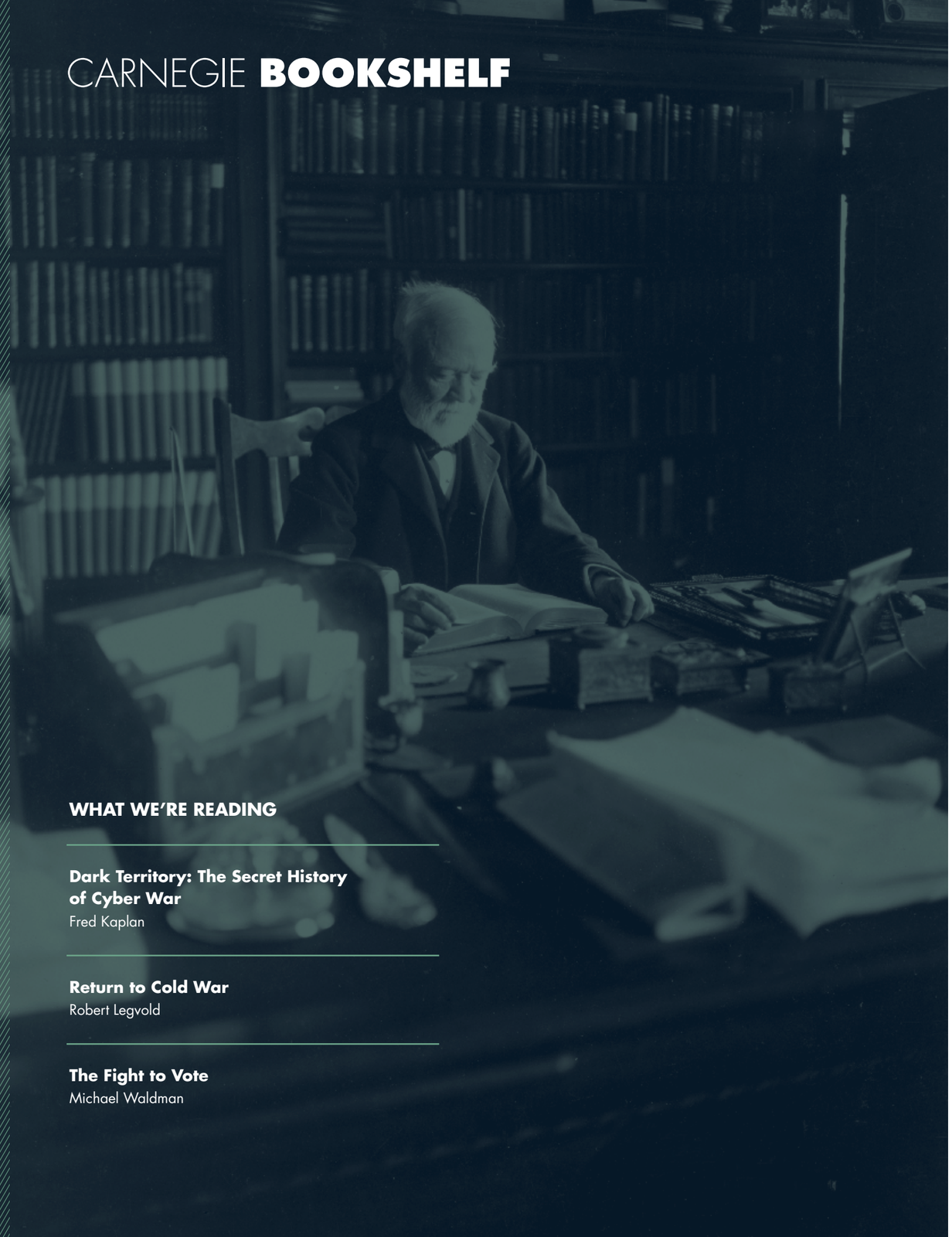
The State Infrastructure Fund will gladly give you peer contacts in the foundation world. All the funders I call are happy to speak to other funders who are thinking about getting into this arena, whether or not you join the fund. The Foundation Center also has a democracy mapping project. It is a democracy website that shows you which groups are being funded and by whom, and how much is being spent. Voting and voting rights are included. It is another great resource for people to begin with.

ABLOW: How do you assure funders that their grantees receiving the funds are not partisan?

BECKNER: If your foundation is worried about partisanship, you can certainly fund public education on these issues—programs for young people, or programs for new citizens. There are a lot of people out there who do not understand the way government works. You can fund that without any fear.

I am a little surprised when philanthropies do not feel that this is a responsibility. Why cannot a piece of every philanthropist's money go toward encouraging civic engagement and nonpartisan voting work in this country? We are worried about our young people. That they are giving up on democracy. We want to engage young people to be interested in politics and government, to get them to care and to want to be good citizens.

MANNION: Some funders think that voting rights has become partisan. I totally disagree with that idea. Lower-income people, young people, people of color—they may tend to be more progressive, but not always, and not always over the long term. Latinos, for example, are both progressive and conservative. Democracy should be about broadening the ability to vote, not narrowing it. We should be figuring out ways to engage the next generation of leaders. Who is going to run for office if young people have no idea why politics is important, why government is important? How will they learn to lead? ■

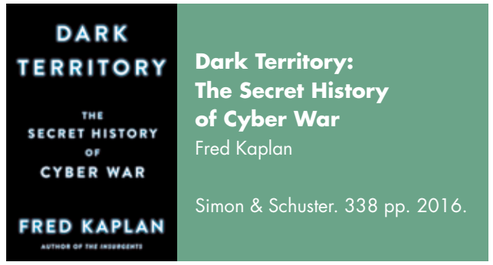


WHAT WE'RE READING

Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyber War
Fred Kaplan

Return to Cold War
Robert Legvold

The Fight to Vote
Michael Waldman



Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyber War
Fred Kaplan

Simon & Schuster. 338 pp. 2016.

Which Cyber Side Are You On?

The cyber library is finally taking shape.

by **Scott Malcomson**

In August 2016, the director of the National Security Agency's Information Assurance Directorate (IAD) told reporters that his division—responsible for cybersecurity in government and, to a degree, the private sector—would soon merge with the NSA's other, much larger division, Signals Intelligence (SIGINT).

Since IAD was responsible, in general terms, for defense, and SIGINT for offense, their two missions had been kept distinct since the agency's founding under President Truman in 1952. The distinction was always delicate, because vulnerabilities discovered by IAD could, if kept secret, be used by SIGINT to penetrate target networks. But this delicacy was a sign of its importance. If an American company, for example, had a vulnerability that IAD discovered, the company would want to know about it—so that it could be fixed, and not left open for SIGINT to exploit. (Remember, foreign governments that the U.S. spied on, as well as foreign companies, were purchasers of the same software that American companies used and sold.) The NSA had a responsibility to help American companies defend themselves.

Earlier that same month, it happened to be leaked that the NSA had been holding onto several vulnerabilities it had discovered in the systems of Cisco, an American multinational, and other U.S. companies. Cisco's technology is used around the world, so for the NSA it could well be very useful to keep Cisco and its many customers in the dark. However, once Cisco learned, through the leak, of the vulnerabilities, it moved to patch them.

It is a tribute to Fred Kaplan's fifth book, *Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyber War*, that while neither of these developments is in the book—they are too recent—both are illuminated by it. He describes how, for many years, IAD and its information security predecessor agencies were not even housed in the NSA's headquarters at Fort Meade. More importantly, he puts the offense-defense conundrum at the center of his very valuable history. For example, Kaplan reports, IAD had "found fifteen hundred points of vulnerability in Microsoft's first Windows system. And, by an agreement much welcomed by the software industry at the time, they routinely told the firms about their findings—most of the findings, anyway: they always left a few holes for the agency's SIGINT teams to exploit." Kaplan adds, parenthetically, "Usually, the Silicon Valley firms were complicit in leaving back doors open."

> Regardless of how much states want to assert a monopoly on cyber violence, any future conflict—and most conflicts are simultaneously becoming cyber conflicts—will be as much in the private sector as in the public.

The merging of IAD and SIGINT, Kaplan shows, had been mulled over since the 1970s and gained momentum in the mid-1990s, as (mostly) American private technology spread around the world and the (mostly) American Internet became a global platform for commerce, politics, spying, and much else. Kaplan writes:

Since people (and military establishments) around the world were using the same Western software, the Information Assurance specialists possessed knowledge that would be useful to the SIGINT crews. At the same time, the SIGINT crews had knowledge about adversaries' networks—what they were doing, what kinds of attacks they were planning and testing—that would be valuable to the Information Assurance specialists. Sharing this knowledge, on the offense and the defense, required mixing the agency's two distinct cultures.

Such discussions were, of course, top secret, opaque even to many in the intelligence community. As Kaplan notes, the first NSA head to have a sophisticated grasp of technology took office only in 2005.

Government's hold on the cyber world has been tenuous for decades, mainly because most technological innovations are dual-use: immense commercial enterprises are built around technologies (think mini-satellites, or for that matter social networks) that have—potentially—direct political, military, and intelligence uses. Cyber world is run by a unique public-private subculture that is more private at some times, more public at others. Kaplan's focus is very much on the public side and in particular on the U.S. military and its intellectuals, as it has been since his landmark study of nuclear policymaking, *The Wizards of Armageddon* (1983). *Dark Territory* is the best book on this topic since Shane Harris's *@War: The Rise of the Military-Internet Complex* (2014) and builds ably on the work of Michael Warner, Jason Healey, Peter W. Singer, and many others. The cyber library is finally taking shape.

Dark Territory makes an excellent companion to Adam Segal's *The Hacked World Order: How Nations Fight, Trade, Maneuver, and Manipulate in the Digital Age* (also 2016), which covers some similar ground—one cannot really avoid having a chapter on Stuxnet (a computer virus that was deployed to wipe out many of Iran's nuclear centrifuges in 2010) or a discussion of Edward Snowden—but also treats the crucial, vexed topics of Internet governance, Silicon Valley relations with government, and how states other than the U.S. might see their own cyber futures. Segal writes:

The stark division between public and private was temporary, if not illusionary, as was the idea that the two were separable when it comes to cyberspace. . . . Almost everything the United States does in cyberspace requires a blurring of the line between public and private. Private firms own the networks necessary for attacking and defending the telecommunications, energy, and financial sectors. More than 90 percent of American military and intelligence communications travel over privately owned backbone telecommunications networks. Many of the most talented programmers are in the private sector or academia. . . . The demands nation-states make on the technology companies are ever expanding. Not only do these companies innovate, commercialize technologies, and provide new services, but they also defend against cyberattacks, uncover espionage campaigns, and help the Pentagon become cooler. And now, US and European governments expect tech companies to help them deliver their diplomatic messages and disrupt those of extremists, jihadists, and rogue states.

Of course, we are not talking about just the U.S. and European governments, as Segal, a China expert before he turned to cyber issues, well knows. Russia and China even held a joint conference earlier this year to compare notes on Internet control. The game is not limited to major powers. Ethiopia switches Internet access on and off with shifts in the political winds. Iran has launched its own "bordered" Internet.

The critical point is that the breakdown of the public-private distinction in cyberspace, and the blurring of offense and defense as described by Kaplan, are taking place at the same time and for much the same reason. Put simply, if a nation wishes to participate in the global economy, it needs to enter into open networks; it if wants to maximize political control, it cannot enter open networks. So the blurring of offense and defense, of public and private, is an effect of the network architecture.

Currently, the control (security) side of the balance is reasserting itself after a period of commercial dominance; an analysis of this resurgence is at the core of Segal's book. As Chris Demchak wrote in her contribution to the Cyber Conflict Studies Association collection *Cyber Conflict After Stuxnet*, "The institutional and technological building blocks of national virtual borders are rising across cyberspace. . . . If current trends hold, and there is every reason to believe they will, eventually a 'Cyber Westphalia' of national jurisdictions parsing the global web will emerge."

That may be, but there are also strong forces pushing for openness. (In this respect, it might count as good news that cutting-edge militaries, ever in search of greater resilience, are developing ways to remove their systems from as many networks as possible.) There is still a global open-source/hacker subculture committed to an open network, and that fact should not be dismissed even if it is unquantifiable. Nor should one discount the expectations of a global generation (or two) that believes they have a right to unmediated information.

Beyond that, a security-driven cyber Westphalian order is unlikely to produce the levels of innovation that are possible with more open networks—the innovation that drives growth. It is a peculiarity of the cyber literature that while everyone (including in government) recognizes the



A man walks past the Cyber Terror Response Center in Seoul, South Korea, March 21, 2013. A cyber attack on computer networks in South Korea the day before was traced to China. PHOTO: CHUNG SUNG-JUN/GETTY IMAGES

centrality—even the supremacy—of the private sector, few delve into how commercial innovation really works.

This may be partly explained by the Internet's military roots, which can make its post-1995 commercialization seem like a long but exceptional interlude, and by a Silicon Valley boosterism in which dewy entrepreneurial geniuses kissed by sunshine inevitably become nature's designated disrupters. The reality is a good deal more complicated and, for the early days, is captured very well by Shane Greenstein in *How the Internet Became Commercial: Innovation, Privatization, and the Birth of a New Network* (2015). There is ample room for further work, not least in the academy, on how private and public, companies and nation-states have interacted and should interact in the cyber realm. Regardless of how much states want to assert a monopoly on cyber violence, any future conflict—and most conflicts are simultaneously becoming cyber conflicts—will be as much in the private sector as in the public.

The most likely near-term scenario is that tech companies, caught between the demands of states and their own ambitions (which do not include baking lots of security into immature products), will establish areas of cooperation with government. They will also fight to carve out extra-governmental spaces, through encryption or even legislation, to preserve the freedom of maneuver that has led to such spectacular innovation. This could work, as it would preserve the core interests of the main parties.

What any of this will *not* do is prevent cyber war. In one of his best detective moments, Kaplan unearths two documents, one from 1995 and the other from 1997, establishing the point that the U.S. has been engaged in cyber offense for as long as the term has existed. Moreover, Russia and China were well into catching up more than a decade ago. The capabilities exist and have proliferated. They have been used: against Serbia in the Balkan War, against Iran with Stuxnet and Flame, against Saudi Arabia and Ukraine. More recently, cyber groups allegedly tied to the governments of Russia and China have targeted U.S. governmental, political, and business institutions.

And yet, capabilities have not risen to the level of ongoing cyber war, and as Kaplan suggests in his final chapters, this is partly because cyber war itself eludes definition. The reality is that cyber weapons, like other weapons, are there for states to use when they decide to make war. So far, initial fears that cyberspace would become a virtual battlefield, where wars could start all too easily, have proved unfounded. However, for years now, cyber powers large and small have also demonstrated their willingness to engage in cyber-skirmishing on a daily basis.

Could this constant low-grade conflict, made possible by cyberspace, inure decision makers to the danger of real war, making the "real thing" all the more likely? Certainly the lubricating language of "win-win cooperation" has long since given way to what seems to be a chronic irritability and tetchiness among world leaders. Cyber is part of that, this new period of anxious vulnerability and a lack of endings; cyber undermines the state without replacing it. As Kaplan concludes, in a rather anguished passage on cyber deterrence, "The fact was, no one in a position of power or high-level influence had thought this through." ■



Return to Cold War
Robert Legvold

Polity Press. 187 pp. 2016.

A [Cold] War by Any Other Name

by **Eugene Scherbakov**

In late September 2016, a delicate ceasefire in Syria collapses amid mutual recriminations between the United States and Russia. The bombing continues. In Moscow, newscasters denounce American aggression and plans for regime change in Syria. In the U.S., magazines and newspapers depict a Russian president intent on destabilizing the upcoming American elections. And all of that is just for starters. The crisis of a U.S.-Russia confrontation now appears inevitable. Have we entered a "new" Cold War? If so, how did it happen, and where do we go from here? Robert Legvold, professor emeritus at Columbia University and one of the world's foremost experts on Soviet and Russian foreign policy, tries to answer these questions in his concise and tightly argued new book, *Return to Cold War*.

Legvold begins by pointing out an essential similarity between today's confrontation and that of the Cold War. As was the case during the early days of the Cold War, in the current climate one would be hard-pressed to find a voice within either the American or the Russian political establishment willing to admit that his or her country played a role in the breakdown of relations between the two superpowers. On the contrary, President Vladimir Putin harshly condemns American policies, and then is in turn widely vilified in the U.S. by government officials, policymakers, and other influential figures. In short, jingoistic rhetoric from both Moscow and Washington continues to obstruct the space for meaningful discussion.

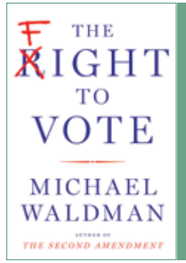
From the Kremlin's point of view, the United States is pursuing a policy of foreign destabilization in order to assert and maintain economic and geopolitical control. As Legvold drily notes, "Major powers do not respond graciously to hostile alliances pushing up to their borders." Conversely, Washington believes that Russia is determined to satisfy its imperial ambitions, even if this means upending the global world order. Both countries appear inured to the notion that this is just the way things are, and the way they will remain, unless the other side sees the error of its ways and fundamentally transforms its foreign policy.

Perhaps the greatest contributing factor to the breakdown of relations has been the inability of either country to articulate the stakes that make the U.S.-Russia relationship so important. Both countries have gestured toward the importance of maintaining good relations, but neither country bothered to define the significance of those "good relations." Accordingly, neither the United States nor Russia, as Legvold writes, "was in much of a position to appreciate (or be constrained by) what was being lost as the relationship disintegrated." He stresses that, in order to arrive at stability, both the U.S. and Russia must develop a practical strategic vision of where they would like to see the relationship be ten years down the road, and—with that goal in mind—work in reverse.

The crisis of a U.S.-Russia confrontation now appears inevitable. Have we entered a "new" Cold War? If so, how did it happen, and where do we go from here?

As Legvold makes clear, tackling such an ambitious program during this fraught period of U.S.-Russia relations will be challenging. The first step on such a path may be the most difficult, because, as the author points out, the two powers will have to discard decades of suspicion and ill will before they can begin to move forward. *Return to Cold War* is an indispensable analysis of how we got into this labyrinth, and a levelheaded guide of how we can get out of it. ■

Scherbakov is research assistant, Russia/Eurasia and Office of the President, Carnegie Corporation of New York.



The Fight to Vote
Michael Waldman

Simon & Schuster. 368 pp. 2016.

Dressing for (Electoral) Success

by **Andrew Geraghty**

For those of us watching the presidential campaigns, wringing our hands, and wondering when politics got so crazy, Michael Waldman has some bad news: it has always been like this, and do not expect it to change. In his latest book, *The Fight to Vote*, Waldman takes readers down memory lane (one that most of us have forgotten, or never knew, or, if we remember, wish we could forget) to relive some of the quirkier milestones in politicians' efforts to expand—or, as was and is still more often the case, restrict—voting rights.

In New Jersey, the only state where women were allowed to vote prior to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, men dressed up as women so that they could vote multiple times in the 1807 election. Naturally, the New Jersey legislature solved that problem by disenfranchising women later that year.

In New Jersey, the only state where women were allowed to vote prior to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, men dressed up as women so that they could vote multiple times in the 1807 election. Naturally, the New Jersey legislature solved that problem by disenfranchising women later that year.

The vote was once limited solely to white male property owners. Waldman reminds readers that since the nation's founding, every voting group outside that charmed circle has struggled to secure the franchise for themselves. Political parties often followed their own self-interests—not their moral compasses—when picking sides.

Waldman lays bare the shrewd political calculus that went into policymakers' attempts to expand the franchise, such as the Fifteenth Amendment. Republicans pushed for its passage knowing it could give their candidates an edge if newly enfranchised blacks chose to support the party of Lincoln.

The current state of voting rights in America—with efforts to enact strict voter identification laws and to curb early voting and election-day registration in several states—is then hardly novel, and, according to Waldman, there is no reason for doom and gloom. African Americans, women, young people, and even white men who did not own property all faced efforts to keep them from the ballot box. This drive to expand voting rights is in fact the very story of American democracy, and, as a fretful John Adams said of new groups seeking the franchise, "there will be no end of it."

Waldman has a fascinating story to tell, and he begins at the founding of the new nation, "a time when Americans could barely imagine the democracy we've become." Which brings us, as he writes, "to today, and tomorrow." The author is prudently optimistic:

Out of today's fights to protect voting and campaign finance law, we're starting to see innovative reforms. They rely on technology to address some of the most stubborn and long-standing gaps in our system. As history makes clear, changes do not come from judicial fine print or technical tweaks. Rather they start with a recognition that these issues—the core issues of American democracy—once again are properly the topic for deep, engaged, contentious, often partisan debate.

There has been progress—indeed, "no end of it." ■

Geraghty is program analyst, U.S. Democracy and Special Opportunities Fund, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

NOTABLE **EVENTS**



Carnegie Forum panelists—(from left) Stephen Henderson, Molly Ball, Martin Baron, Arianna Huffington, and moderator Alberto Ibargüen—disagreed about the values of news, what was newsworthy, and how well the media had served the public in playing its role as constitutional watchdog. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK PHOTOGRAPHY



Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian, Afghan Minister of Information and Culture Abdul Bari Jahani, and Librarian of Congress Carla Hayden display a box of hard drives, marking the completion a three-year project to digitize the library's holdings relating to 600 years of Afghan history. PHOTO: SHAWN MILLER/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Carnegie Forum Asks, "Who Makes the News?" Good Question!

With the release of the third Shorenstein Center report on media coverage of the 2016 presidential campaign, Carnegie Corporation and Knight Foundation hosted a panel discussion—"Who Makes the News? Journalism and the State of Our Democracy"—at the Corporation's New York headquarters on September 28. The studies from the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy found that the coverage of policy and issues that might strengthen our democracy was taking a back seat to coverage of the candidate's polls, projections, and scandals. Missing in the coverage overall was context and background that could help potential voters make sense of the issues.

Panelist Martin Baron, executive editor of the *Washington Post*, questioned the methodology of the studies. "I kind of want a recount," he said. "I don't think that the media is all the same, and I don't think the stories are all the same, and I don't think they should be counted the same based on their volume as the study does." Harvard's Tom Patterson, the author of the reports, thought the panelists missed the main point of his research. "We are not saying that the media nominated Donald Trump," he said, but the data suggests "it put a little wind at his back."

Riches of Afghanistan's History and Culture Digitally Preserved

Librarian of Congress Carla Hayden, joined by Carnegie Corporation of New York President Vartan Gregorian, presented two hard drives containing more than 163,000 pages of documents to the Afghan Minister of Information and Culture, Abdul Bari Jahani, and other officials, during a ceremony on September 21 at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. "One of my goals as Librarian is to open up the riches of the Library of Congress to all people, wherever in the world they might be," Hayden said. "I am so thrilled we had these items to share with the people of Afghanistan. This project is an example of what can be accomplished when resources are paired with the Library's extraordinary treasure chest of items from around the world. I want to thank Carnegie Corporation for making this project possible."

"You can conquer Afghanistan, but you cannot dominate Afghanistan. The spirit of independence, freedom, and self-respect is there," commented Dr. Gregorian, an expert on Afghan history and the author of *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization, 1880–1946*. "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 this project."



The White House hosted a special screening of highlights from the new NOVA production *School of the Future* on September 13, the day before the film premiered nationally on PBS. Panel discussion featured participants in the project, including (from left): Khandace Mitchell, student, The Workshop School, Philadelphia, PA; Simon Hauger, founder and principal, The Workshop School; and Murtada Mahmood, student, KIPP Academy Lynn Collegiate, Lynn, MA. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD



The Mandela Washington Fellowship for Young African Leaders is the flagship program of President Obama's Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI). Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian (center) poses with the visitors and Corporation staff. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD

NOVA: How the Science of Learning Is Reshaping Education in America

In a new age of information, rapid innovation, and globalization, how can we prepare our children to compete? *School of the Future*—a NOVA production for which Carnegie Corporation provided underwriting—attempts to answer that question.

Once the envy of the world, American schools are now in trouble. Test scores show our children lag far behind their peers from other industrialized countries, and as the divide between rich and poor grows wider, the goal of getting all students ready for college and the workforce gets harder by the day. Can the science of learning—including new insights from neuroscientists, psychologists, and educators—reveal how children's brains work and tell us which techniques are most likely to engage and inspire growing minds? What role should technology play in the classroom? Teachers, students, parents, and scientists take center stage as NOVA explores a new vision for the *School of the Future*. "Now more than ever," said NOVA senior executive producer Paula S. Apsell, who moderated the panel following a White House screening of highlights from the film, "it is crucial that we develop an understanding of how children learn, and look at the science and technology that could allow schools to help all children fulfill their potential for generations to come."

Mandela Washington Fellows Visit Carnegie Corporation in New York

Twenty-five Mandela Washington Fellows from the Young African Leaders Initiative met with Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian and program staff, including Deana Arsenian, vice president, International Program, and Claudia Frittelli, program officer, Higher Education and Research in Africa. Discussions ranged widely, from the role of philanthropy and the work of the Corporation to current trends in Africa. Hosted by Wagner College, the 25 visiting fellows were immersed in a six-week civic engagement track and part of a larger group of 1,000 Mandela Washington Fellows being hosted in 40 programs at 37 colleges and universities across the U.S. this past summer. "It was a truly amazing experience for all of us," wrote Wagner College's Jason C. Fitzgerald after the July visit. "They were truly inspired."

Since its start in 2014, the Young African Leaders Initiative has empowered young people through academic coursework, leadership training, and networking. The Fellows, who are between the ages of 25 and 35, have established records of accomplishment in promoting innovation and positive change in their organizations, institutions, communities, and countries. In 2016, Fellows represented all 49 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. ■



GREAT IMMIGRANTS

THE PRIDE OF AMERICA

To celebrate the Fourth of July, each year Carnegie Corporation honors an inspiring group of foreign-born Americans. The "class" of 2016 was a bumper crop—and the initiative a smashing success.

Each year since 2006, Carnegie Corporation of New York has recognized the contributions of naturalized citizens with its **Great Immigrants: The Pride of America** campaign. For 2016, the Corporation named 42 honorees, who represent some 30 different countries of origin, a wide range of personal immigration stories, and inspiring professional achievements. "These accomplished Americans are immigrants like our forefathers, who founded this nation of nations," said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York. "They are representative of the millions of immigrants who have come to the United States for economic opportunity, education, political or religious asylum, security, or reunification with families and relatives. They, like all Americans, share a common faith in this country." Andrew Carnegie, himself an immigrant from Scotland, would concur—heartily!

Representing 30 different countries of origin, the 2016 Great Immigrants honorees ran from "A" (Noubar Afeyan: entrepreneur, venture capitalist, philanthropist—born in Lebanon) to "V" (Fernando Valenzuela: former Major League Baseball pitcher—born in Mexico). Learn more: carnegie.org/programs/great-immigrants

Great members of the Carnegie Corporation of New York family—and great immigrants to boot!

As part of the 2016 Great Immigrants initiative, three Corporation staffers told their own immigrant stories on The Huffington Post. You can read them here.

Do It! Participate in the Process—Become a Citizen!

by **Natasha Davids**



I was born in Jamaica, West Indies, and emigrated to the U.S. in 1988, the day after I turned 16 years old. My mother, stepfather, and sister were already living in New York, but I chose to stay in Jamaica a couple of extra years so that I could graduate from high school. I became an American citizen in 2003. How did that happen?

I had gone through college and realized by then that, while I loved going back to Jamaica to visit, I was now thinking of New York as my home. I also really wanted to participate in the political process, so I knew that I needed to take the necessary steps to become a citizen. In those days the process was long and arduous. There were a lot of long days and a lot of long lines at the INS offices downtown. The most memorable and enjoyable thing for me was the day I became a citizen. The joy, the diversity, and the positive spirit of the soon-to-be citizens in the room was incredible and unforgettable. For me, the educational opportunities have been amazing. I was the first in my family to graduate from college. I am not sure I would have been able to accomplish that in Jamaica.

To legal permanent residents considering naturalization, I say: DO IT! You live here, you pay taxes, so you should be participating in the process!

My high school in Jamaica very strategically emphasized the importance of service and volunteerism, and ever since I arrived in the States, I have looked for opportunities to get involved. I have always been a volunteer. I now serve on the boards of two nonprofit organizations, both of which lean heavily toward immigration and education, and in some cases, a combination of the two.

Working at a nonprofit grantmaking organization also fosters a culture of giving. How amazing it was for me to arrive at Carnegie Corporation, and to hear a quote the nuns back at Immaculate Conception High School in Jamaica had said over and over, and in many variations: "To whom much is given, much is expected." And now I know that this was also something Andrew Carnegie said many times over the years. I believe in this wholeheartedly, believe it to be part of my mission, my story to leave with others. Giving has made me a better person, and I have gotten back way more in return than I could have ever imagined.

Davids is executive assistant, President's Office, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Hot Dogs, Mushrooms, Gluten-Free . . . America!

by **Eugene Scherbakov**



In 1993 I flew from Irkutsk, in southern Siberia, to Moscow—from Moscow to New York—from New York to San Francisco—and, finally, from San Francisco to Monterey, California. It was a long flight for a five-year-old. I was immigrating to America to join my mother, who had found a position teaching Russian at a small graduate school on California's foggy central coast. Several years later my St. Petersburg uncle and cousins would arrive in Santa Clara, followed later by my maternal grandparents, who settled in Monterey. As a five-year-old, I took in my American surroundings like water to a sponge. I started by reading Dr. Seuss, Shel Silverstein, and Roald Dahl. I watched Nickelodeon and I played football. Some things were hard to adjust to. The first time I had a hot dog I had a conniption because the ketchup on it was unbearably spicy. My cousins, who were a little older than me, stealthily watched others to figure out how to use vending machines. My mom always mixed up walnuts and doughnuts, which landed us in several unexpectedly pleasant situations.

I was naturalized in 5th grade, and while I do not remember taking the civics exam, I do remember the drive up the coast to the testing center in San Francisco. Having dealt with immigration officials of all stripes, my mom was anxious for me to make a good impression. "Sit up straight and make sure you don't have any lint on your clothes." In fact, I was no doubt completely absorbed in the latest Pokémon game. Later on, I do remember helping my grandparents prepare for their exam. While hunting for mushrooms (California's coastal climate creates perfect growing conditions for what my grandparents believe are the world's tastiest mushrooms), I would quiz my grandmother on the three branches of government, and my grandfather on the Constitution.

They passed the exam. Now, during election years, we all discuss, as we have tea and crackers after dinner, what is best for the country and what kind of future we want. Aside from politics, we talk about popular phenomena like Lady Gaga and the gluten-free revolution (my grandmother derives great pleasure from the fact that "gluten-free" is nearly a homophone of *glupesti*—the Russian word for "stupid"). We are all still learning what this "America" is. As we figure out our place in it, it is nice knowing that generations and generations of immigrants have played a meaningful role in imparting the depth, complexity, and vibrancy that we find here today.

Scherbakov is research assistant, Russia/Eurasia and Office of the President, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

A Recipe as American as Apple Pie

by **Daniel Kitae Um**



I had made a few trips to San Francisco to visit my sisters, before I finally landed in New York City in 1994. At that time, I had no idea that I would end up staying—and in fact ultimately become a U.S. citizen. None of that was in my original plan, but life rarely goes as we plan it.

Born in Korea, I studied communications for six years in Seoul. Finished with my studies, I wanted to explore what might be next for me. It was a kind of a sabbatical time for me. I had spent one and a half years in mandatory military service, which had extended my studies to seven and a half years. I needed a pause to think about what I really wanted to do for a career.

Great things started to happen for me once I arrived in New York City.

The new city and its environment seemed to be what was necessary for my change and my evolution. Somehow, I stopped following all of the preset "recipes" that I had learned and packed away inside of myself for so many years. New York whispered to me about different recipes and different directions, sometimes even telling me to stop following recipes entirely. Suddenly, many things became clearer to me, helping me to become very focused. Nothing was planned.

But as I quickly learned, good and worthwhile things never come easy. After graduating from the School of Visual Arts (SVA), I decided to stay in the States and moved toward getting a proper visa status. Things got a little complicated. There were more than a few moments when you have thoughts about just giving up. 9/11 came—so terrible. My partner's sister was lost, which had such a crippling effect on those she left behind. Suddenly, my personal situation became much more challenging, and the visa process also seemed to stall, as processing times extended significantly after the September 11 tragedy. It was a difficult time for everyone. I did not plan for that either. Life is about finding your way, finding your personal recipe to solving those challenges.

Just staying in New York, or staying and becoming a U.S. citizen—these are two very different things. But 22 years in one place makes it become your home. It brings you friends and a new family. I have been making many beautiful new recipes in my new home, so much so that I realized that I want to make America my permanent home, not just my permanent residence. I needed to participate; I decided that I needed to add my voice to the other voices in our community and in our nation.

I would not ever know until that moment, so I was not truly sure how I would feel until I took the oath, which I did—at 11 a.m., on Friday, July 8, 2016. But I do know that I am now with the people I care about the most, together, and that is why I decided to become an American citizen. And that is my recipe, my voice, as November is not very far off. Just saying . . . ■

Um is principal designer, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Contributors

Gail Ablow has been a documentary and news producer for ABC News, PBS, CNN, and CNBC. Currently she produces for BillMoyers.com while also holding the position of visiting media fellow, Democracy, at Carnegie Corporation. For many years Ablow wrote and produced for Bill Moyers's television series, covering money and politics, economics and inequality, public participation in democracy, the criminal justice system, and contemporary culture. An alumna of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, Ablow was a Stanford University John S. Knight Fellow.

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

Ian Bremmer is founder and president of Eurasia Group, the leading global political risk research and consulting firm. He is a prolific thought leader, author, and noted lecturer, regularly expressing his views on political issues in public speeches, television appearances, and top publications. Dubbed the "rising guru" in the field of political risk by the *Economist*, he teaches classes on the discipline as global research professor at NYU and is a foreign affairs columnist and editor at large for *Time* magazine. Bremmer is the author of several books, including the national bestsellers *Every Nation for Itself: Winners and Losers in a G-Zero World* and *The End of the Free Market: Who Wins the War Between States and Corporations?* His latest book is *Superpower: Three Choices for America's Role in the World*. Find him on Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter @IanBremmer.

Currently Carnegie visiting media fellow, International Peace and Security, **Scott Malcomson** has worked in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and North and South America. He is also an international security fellow at New America and director of special projects at Strategic Insight Group. As a journalist and the author of five books, he has focused his writing on the real-world fortunes of civilizational organizing ideas such as globalization, the Muslim *umma*, international civil society, race, nationalism, and cyberspace. Malcomson was foreign editor of the *New York Times Magazine* and has contributed to the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, and many other publications. He has been an executive at two global NGOs and was a senior official at the United Nations and the U.S. State Department. His fifth book, *Splinternet: How Geopolitics and Commerce Are Fragmenting the World Wide Web*, was published earlier this year.

Pat Mazzera is an Oakland-based professional portrait photographer. Her subjects range widely from film directors, artists, and senior citizens, to the transgendered and nomads. Fascinated by each equally, she strives to honor the individual in front of her lens. Clients include San Francisco International Film Festival, San Francisco Jewish Film Festival, Carnegie Corporation, and many editorial publications. mazzera.com

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

General Colin L. Powell, USA (ret.) has served in senior military and diplomatic positions across four presidential administrations, including secretary of state under President George W. Bush; chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President George H. W. Bush and under President Bill Clinton; and national security advisor under President Ronald Reagan.

Credits

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Barack Obama gives his inaugural address during his inauguration as the 44th President of the United States of America in Washington, D.C., January 20, 2009. PHOTO: JONATHAN TORGOVNIK/GETTY IMAGES

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Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton shakes hands with Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump during the first presidential debate, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, September 26, 2016. PHOTO: JOE RAEDLE/GETTY IMAGES

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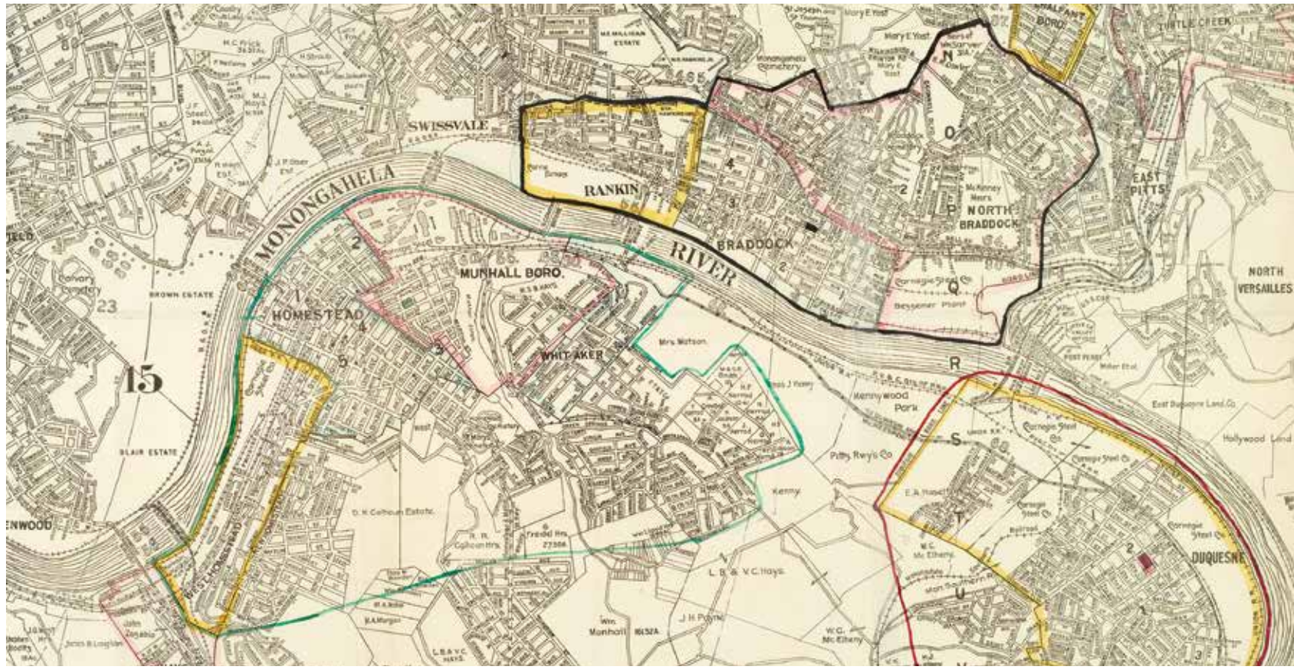

Map of Pittsburgh area, showing locations of the Carnegie Steel Mills, 1917
The city of Pittsburgh witnessed "Andy" Carnegie's meteoric rise from bobbin boy in a cotton mill, to telegraph operator, then railroad manager, and finally steel industry titan. Carnegie moved to New York City in 1867, but Pittsburgh was the recipient of many Carnegie benefactions.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

Coming in the Spring 2017 issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*—a new section of the magazine that will delve into the historical riches of the official archives of Carnegie Corporation of New York

Safeguarded at Columbia University's Rare Books and Manuscripts Library on the university's Morningside Heights campus in New York City, the Carnegie Corporation of New York Records include an extensive and fascinating array of materials documenting the history and development of the philanthropic foundation founded by Andrew Carnegie in 1911. The Records illustrate how Carnegie used philanthropy to pursue his twin passions: the love of learning and the quest for world peace, while also offering important insights into the development of philanthropy in the American institutional landscape over the course of more than a century. Minutes, correspondence, annual reports, press releases, financial records, photographs, maps, memorabilia, printed matter of all types, and audiovisual and digital materials are an invaluable resource, explored by historians, journalists, researchers, and writers from around the world. Now, **From the Archives** will highlight some of the more intriguing items from this important collection (such as the map of Pittsburgh in 1917 reproduced here), offering snapshots of moments in time that would, in fact, exert a tremendous impact on the social, intellectual, and political history of the United States.

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“Even a drop of water is helpful for the ocean.”

Khosbayar Ravjaa
Born Mongolia, arrived 2003

Ravjaa is featured in this issue’s “Center Point” section—**Next Wave**, a portfolio of photographs of immigrants (and future American citizens) from Asia by Bay Area-based photographer Pat Mazzera.