

Volume 12 / Number 1  
Winter 2020

# CARNEGIE REPORTER

## Carnegie 100

Letter to Our Visionary Founder

Crisis at the Border

Philanthropy's Deep Impact

U.S. Retreats from Global Stage



# WELCOME TO THE CARNEGIE REPORTER

## Taking the Long View

Once, on a visit to Beijing, I asked a Chinese university leader what he believed was the singular thing that well-educated Westerners missed in their understanding of Chinese culture. He shared a favorite proverb, “Take the long view, but get up early.” Another leader suggested it was their ability to invest in research over decades, as opposed to short-term market cycles, that made it possible for Chinese researchers to compete globally on critical issues.

I have thought about this for years as we watch market-driven science and technology radically redefine much of what drives America’s focus and research. We see U.S. election cycles create frenzied debate leading to legislation that is enacted hastily if not haphazardly.

Are we losing the long view entirely?

Philanthropy may be one of the few places left in America that can sustain efforts that are measured over the long term — in years and decades rather than market quarters and election cycles. It is an important point as our nation debates how we will govern ourselves and to what end. If philanthropy can share a lesson, it is that the most intractable challenges need long-view solutions.

Welcome to the Winter issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, where we step back and take the long view on our work, on the work of other philanthropists, and on the vision of the extraordinary man who endowed more than 20 organizations more than 100 years ago, Andrew Carnegie.

In this issue we delve into some of the themes that were planted deeply into the organizations Carnegie created, and that have endured over decades of work.

Inspired by a century of Andrew Carnegie’s legacy, we hear from Gov. Tom Kean about the need for philanthropy in America — now more than ever; we celebrate the work of nine extraordinary philanthropists who were awarded the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy this past October; and we eavesdrop on a letter from Vartan Gregorian to Andrew Carnegie about the Corporation’s work over the last 100 years.

We explore the complex challenges and opportunities of global migration and American immigration with a former secretary of homeland security, a migration policy expert, and the former national immigration correspondent for the *New York Times*. A related book review looks at the issue from a migrant family’s perspective.

We visit some of the sobering discussions on emerging challenges to peace that took place with leaders such as Hillary Rodham Clinton, Bill Burns, Ian Bremmer, and many others at the Second Carnegie Peacebuilding Conversations, a daylong event convened in New York City by the Peace Palace and the Carnegie family of organizations.

When we consider what is at stake, the pressing need for a national long view should be calling us beyond the polls and headlines into the sort of collaborative partnerships that bring real change over time, or as Carnegie described it, “real and permanent good in this world.”

We wish you peace in the new year as we seek that good together.

### Julia Weede

Chief Communications and Digital Strategies Officer  
Carnegie Corporation of New York

Volume 12 / Number 1  
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# CARNEGIE REPORTER

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

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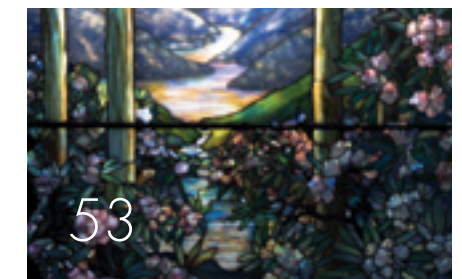
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### On the Cover

**Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919)**

Drawing his inspiration from the commemorative pin that was designed in honor of the centennial of Andrew Carnegie’s passing, illustrator Marcos Chin has conjured up a colorful, elegantly swirling capital “C” that plays off of and extends the Celtic cross-inspired design of the original. For a photograph of the actual pin, see p. 56.

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# Dear Andrew Carnegie

The president of Carnegie Corporation of New York writes a letter to the singular man – immigrant from Scotland and proud American, titan of business and visionary philanthropist, an optimist and perpetual dynamo – whose inspirational and vastly influential mission was to achieve “real and permanent good in this world”

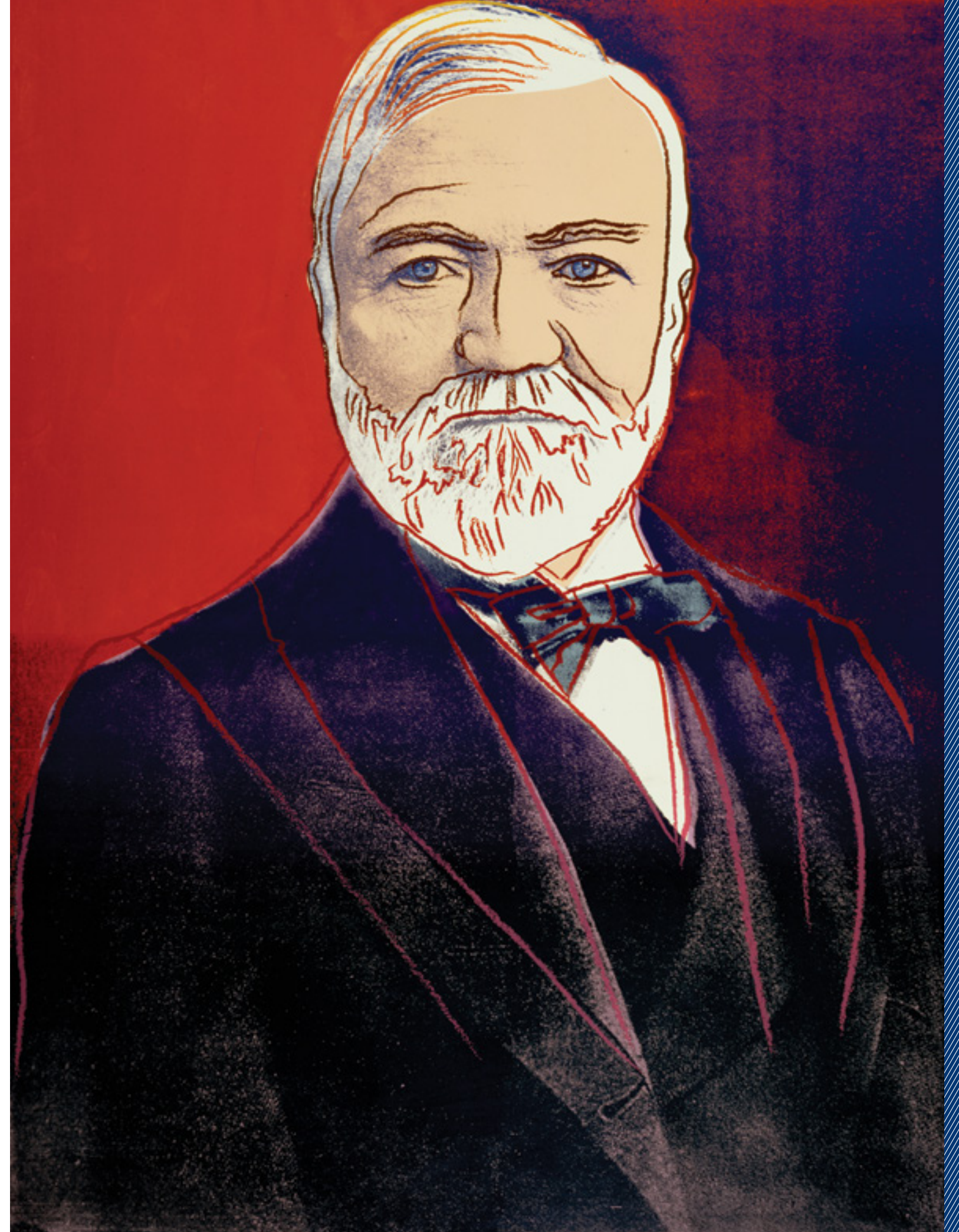
In your autobiography, you wrote, “I intend to tell my story, not as one posturing before the public, but as in the midst of my own people and friends, tried and true, to whom I can speak with the utmost freedom.” That is also my intent in this letter. Every day, when I walk into my office, I see your statue and your portrait. Every once in a while I imagine that you are looking back at me, and I hope you realize that Carnegie Corporation of New York still strives to uphold your mission “to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding.” As a historian, I’m fully aware that I have inherited a great mantle of responsibility. After all, I am the second immigrant to preside over the Corporation. You, of course, were the first. Growing up in a relatively poor family in Tabriz, Iran, I never dared to dream that I would someday be among your successors.

In retrospect, our worlds, though distant, were not so far apart. Our formative years were shaped by strong women, yours by your devoted mother; mine by my beloved grandmother, Voski Mirzaian. Although she was illiterate, my grandmother knew the importance of education, and she instilled that belief in me. You and I both loved books as children. I understood instinctively what you meant when you wrote about your youth in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and the way books and libraries “opened windows” for you, as if they were letting light into a dark room.

Just as you had Colonel Anderson to loan you books, I too knew kind individuals who gave me access to their libraries and thereby opened new worlds. In Tabriz I read noncirculating books at the Armenian diocesan library. In fact, I volunteered to be a book shelver there at age 12 precisely for that privilege. Like you, I loved to read. And my world expanded as I read translations of Persian, Russian, French, and German literature. Occasionally, I read books about “self-made men,” where I came across your name for the first time.

Another source of light for me was the private library that belonged to Miss Boodakian, the sister of a local bank president, who lived in a large house in a wealthy neighborhood. She generously lent me her precious leather-bound books, one at a time. There was also a stationery store in town, where I found lighter reading material, like detective stories featuring the master of disguise, Arsène Lupin. With shrewdness worthy of Monsieur Lupin, the store owner divided his books into three parts, which he rented out to customers, charging each time, and tripling his profit.

Later in life, when I learned that you were the father of the modern public library system, I was filled with gratitude. Thanks to you, millions of individuals have been able to read books and discover new worlds of their own. Yet you did it in such a way that the public took ownership of their







**What About the Children?** The main branch of Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh opened on November 5, 1895. There was at least one problem. No provision had been made for a separate children's department. That shortcoming was soon addressed with the arrival of pioneering children's librarian Frances Jenkins Alcott (1872-1963). This photograph of a packed reading room at the main branch dates from the first years of the 20th century, clearly after Alcott had rolled up her sleeves. PHOTO: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, WASHINGTON, D.C.



Thanks to you, millions of individuals have been able to read books and discover new worlds of their own. Yet you did it in such a way that the public took ownership of their libraries, providing the building only if the community agreed to establish the library's collections and support the cost of its operations. You were wise to create new partnerships between the private and public sectors, seeking to empower others rather than to control them.



libraries, providing the building only if the community agreed to establish the library's collections and support the cost of its operations. You were wise to create new partnerships between the private and public sectors, seeking to empower others rather than to control them.

A justice of the United States Supreme Court, Clarence Thomas, once spoke about his gratitude to you and to Carnegie Corporation of New York for building a library for African Americans in Savannah, Georgia. During his childhood, this library was, to him, "an outlet on a whole other world." Justice Thomas reminisced, "I would walk into the Carnegie Library, and I would see the pictures of Booker T. [Washington] and pictures of Frederick Douglass, and I would read. Did I dream that I would be on the Supreme Court? No, but I dreamt that there was a world out there that was worth pursuing."

Subsequently, when we met, Justice Thomas sent me a thank-you note to express his gratitude, describing the Carnegie Library as a "sanctuary." I felt exactly as he did, finding a sanctuary in one library after another — the Collège Arménien in Beirut, the library of Stanford University, and The New York Public Library.

Yet you did not open windows only through your libraries, you also opened them by establishing institutions devoted to honoring heroism, strengthening education, and promoting international peace. You were ingenious at finding appropriate purposes and fitting names for this commonwealth of organizations, all united by the goal of doing "real and permanent good in this world," as you put it in your essay "The Gospel of Wealth." I am happy to report that today your vision and mission are still carried

out by Carnegie Corporation of New York, as well as its sister entities. Those institutions have endured, unlike so much of the ephemera in our modern world. You made sure that our missions were relevant, and that we were well organized and well funded. Moreover, you wisely gave those Carnegie entities and their leadership the freedom and the funds to adapt, to meet new challenges, and to pursue new vistas. Today, all these institutions have one thing in common: they embody your optimism and perpetual dynamism.

How fortunate Carnegie Corporation of New York is that you gave a great deal of thought to your philanthropy. It still has both purpose and coherence. We have also always been fortunate to be guided by excellent governing boards, which have included distinguished diplomats, financiers, political leaders, educators, authors, journalists, generals, and others. They share your commitment to the mission of the Corporation. The stability and continuity of Carnegie Corporation of New York is reflected in the number of presidents we have had — only 12 in 108 years. Each president who succeeded you arrived at a different transitional moment, and made an important impact. Your charter provided the Corporation with both flexibility and clear goals, allowing us to be at the forefront of nearly every major issue.

Today, international peace remains a pillar of our work. In keeping with your vision for a world without war, the Corporation continues to champion peaceful negotiation, arbitration, and diplomacy. We supported negotiations to reduce weaponry and strengthen global security, resulting in pacts such as the Nunn-Lugar Act. By establishing the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program (CTR), the Act

helped states of the former Soviet Union effectively safeguard and dismantle their enormous stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. We also promoted U.S. engagement with countries and regions during challenging periods in bilateral relationships, encouraging diplomacy and sustaining engagement when official governmental relations were limited.

We continue to fund official efforts to reduce tensions and build understanding among countries, through the United Nations and, perhaps most effectively, by encouraging Track II negotiations, a creative unofficial diplomatic channel that allows nations to find common ground. Your belief that education cultivates peace led us to establish research centers where scientists and intellectuals from rival countries learn from each other, fostering trust and fellowship.

We helped build and sustain the peacebuilding field in Africa, reinvigorated the study of China and Russia in American universities, and funded Middle East and Islamic Studies for almost 20 years. Of course, there are at present many forms of inequality in the world, and virulent ethnic and racial tensions still persist in defiance of the Enlightenment principles you believed in. But Carnegie Corporation of New York still maintains, as you did, that people and nations can live together in peace, and adjudicate their differences through arbitration.

In our own nation, we remain committed to helping immigrants become a part of the civic fabric of the United States because, like you, we believe that, "along with the freedom to pursue wealth and happiness, the greatest gift the American Republic has to bestow is citizenship." In 2001 the Corporation launched its current immigrant integration program, which encourages immigrants to become citizens, and focuses on improving current federal immigration policies as well as supporting pro-immigrant and refugee policies at the national and state levels. In addition, every year we publish a list of Great Immigrants with your photo at the center, saluting your legacy along with the contributions of the millions of other immigrants who have made, and continue to make, our nation strong and vibrant. Understanding that enlightened citizenship is the foundation of our democracy, we also support civics education, funding a national campaign on the need to restore civics and history in school curricula.

We continue to believe that Americans should think not just of themselves, but of the nation; not just of the rights but also of the responsibilities of citizenship. Since the early 1980s we have consistently funded nonpartisan voter registration and turnout efforts as well as voter protection efforts for new citizens from immigrant backgrounds. We are proud of our long history in support of voting and voting rights, and we work to ensure that all those who are eligible to vote have the opportunity to cast a ballot.

Through the decades, we have acted on your belief in equal education as the right of all citizens. In 1921 the National Urban League, a civil rights organization dedicated to economic empowerment and social justice, received its first major foundation grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York. In the 1960s the Earl Warren Legal Training Program (the educational affiliate of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund) and the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council received more than \$3.4 million to address a critical shortage of black lawyers, particularly in the South.

Your generosity and your faith in education were reflected in your support for universities and your work on behalf of the professoriate (including the early funding of what would become TIAA). The Corporation has played a major role in education from early childhood to graduate school here in your adopted homeland, in your native Scotland, and around the world. When I think of all that has been done in your name to support the education of women — grants for fellowships in the humanities, financial support for women's colleges and for continuing education programs for women, a comprehensive report on the state of women in higher education from the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, and more — I am convinced this is the work that would most gratify your mother and my grandmother, who knew the value of education.

You, I believe, would heartily approve of our 10-year Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, which brought seven foundations together to increase the resources and impact of higher education — especially for women. Thanks to university and graduate fellowships from the Corporation, thousands of African women and men have graduated and have begun to transform their societies and nations. I am proud to inform you that, following your example, we too have opened windows to new worlds by supporting various libraries in Africa, including the establishment of two national libraries, a children's library, and exemplary circulating libraries in South Africa.

We continually look for new ways to support education at home and abroad. Fifty years ago, the Corporation, together with the Ford Foundation, supported another transformative program, an innovative educational experiment on television called *Sesame Street*. It has had a lasting impact on generations of children around the world. Today, we also invest in education through the Andrew Carnegie Fellows, a highly selective program that supports scholarly research, and through grants to organizations like the Institute of International Education and the Brookings Institution.

The Corporation continues to believe, as you did, that with wealth comes responsibility. While adhering to your ideals, we have not forgotten our duty to manage your legacy and trust. Our sense of responsibility and accountability in our



grantmaking was best summed up by one of our earlier trustees, who declared that it was incumbent upon us, and indeed all foundations, to have “glass pockets.” We place a high priority on the quality of our investments, assessments, and internal auditing; and transparency is an integral part of our mission. I am proud to inform you that we were the first foundation to provide annual reports to the public. We believe that people should know what resources we possess and how we spend and invest those resources. We have evolved with the times, and as a nonprofit organization know that we have to be accountable and responsible not only to our charter, but to the public as well.

In all of our work, we have acted as laboratories for our nation, helping to test the best of new thinking about national security, science, and educational practices. Like you, we continue to believe that people should be taught to help themselves, and that a good idea should ultimately succeed on its own merits. We nurture ideas and disseminate them, but we don’t support them indefinitely. The Corporation has made it a point to acknowledge where we have failed, share what we have learned, and thus prevent others from repeating our mistakes in the future.

Throughout your life, you found significant ways to help people lead better lives, individually and together in their communities. When you came to the United States in 1848, I wonder if you had any inkling how much change you would set in motion. Your generosity transformed the country we both grew to love and call home. Indeed, the United States is the world’s leading practitioner of philanthropy. Giving has become a profound part of American culture.

Last year, Americans gave over \$400 billion, with more than two-thirds of that amount given by people who make less than \$75,000 a year. Today, we have more than 1.5 million nonprofit organizations in the United States, supported by the generosity of people throughout the country.

Thanks to the extraordinary work of my colleagues, the Corporation’s reach has also grown. From 1911 to 1997, Carnegie Corporation of New York granted one billion dollars. Since 1997, we have given \$2.1 billion in grants supporting the work of nonprofit institutions. Today’s endowment stands at \$3.4 billion.

You taught us that our work is meant to empower others. We constantly strive to do good, by ourselves or in tandem with like-minded organizations. Toward that end, we have increased our cooperation with other foundations. Indeed, when we started our magazine, the *Carnegie Reporter*, we decided to include a few pages highlighting the work of our fellow foundations, as we are all in the realm of philanthropy.

We have also tried to promote the same public-spirited philanthropy that you espoused so well in “The Gospel of Wealth.” Since its creation in 2001, the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy has publicly encouraged a spirit of giving by thanking prominent donors from many different countries. What is more, the Carnegie Medal also led to the revitalization of the Carnegie family of institutions, bettering their collective power and helping them usher in another century of philanthropy devoted to your mission and legacy. I am very proud to inform you that today the Carnegie institutions lift one another up, cooperating with one another to meet the important challenges of our time.

Finally, we share our commitment to your legacy, which continues to touch so many lives. It is a constant pleasure for me to run into people like Justice Thomas who thank me for continuing the work you began. Robert Caro, one of the foremost biographers of our time, told me recently that a grant from the Corporation enabled him to finish his Pulitzer Prize-winning book *The Power Broker*. The economist Milton Friedman said his life was saved by going to a library you built. In other ways, too, you saved lives — a Carnegie grant resulted in the discovery of insulin for treating diabetes, thus saving millions of lives around the world.

I was once asked if your legacy was a difficult burden to carry. I answered that it would only become a burden if I stopped believing in it. And how could I stop believing in such universal goals? You championed the importance of humanity’s welfare, the possibilities of education, the redemptive qualities of science, and the values of a democratic society. Your extraordinary vision still sustains the mission of Carnegie Corporation of New York. Thank you for making your legacy so easy to carry. It has been the privilege of my life to continue your work. I hope this letter will, like the whispers of the “still small voice within,” assure you and all future generations that because you lived, “one small part of the great world has been bettered just a little.” ■

Yours,

**Vartan Gregorian**

President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

To mark the centennial of Andrew Carnegie’s passing, the leadership of the more than 20 institutions he founded wrote letters to the “Star-Spangled Scotsman” (as he proudly called himself) as a tribute to Carnegie’s continuing impact across the world. Gathered together in a handsome volume, *Letters to Andrew Carnegie* was published on the occasion of the 2019 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy. The complete collection of letters is also available online at: [carnegie.io/letters](http://carnegie.io/letters)

← PAGE 3 **One City, Two Famous Andys** Pop Art master Andy Warhol — born in Pittsburgh in 1928 and, after graduating from Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1949, hardly ever to return — was commissioned to create this portrait of Andrew Carnegie in 1981. PHOTO: CARNEGIE MUSEUM OF ART, PITTSBURGH; RICHARD M. SCAIFE AMERICAN PAINTING FUND, 81.1.107. © 2019 THE ANDY WARHOL FOUNDATION FOR THE VISUAL ARTS, INC./LICENSED BY ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK



**On American Soil** Andrew Carnegie passed away on August 11, 1919, at Shadowbrook, his summer home in Lenox, Massachusetts. Several years earlier his wife, Louise Whitfield Carnegie, had purchased a burial plot for the pair at historic Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, at Tarrytown, New York, on the easterly bank of the Hudson River, just north of New York City. A monument was subsequently erected at the gravesite, the granite quarried at Carnegie’s Skibo estate in Scotland, transported by his tenants to the railway, and delivered to the Glasgow studio of Scottish artist George Henry Paulin (1888–1962), who sculpted the stone into a Celtic cross. The Carnegie cross, one of several such at Sleepy Hollow, is adorned with graceful carvings of the Celtic knot, which, being without a beginning or an end, is a potent symbol of eternity.

PHOTO: DANIEL KITAE UM



# BORDER BREAKDOWN

The U.S. immigration crisis continues to confound

What's causing the record influx of immigrants at the southern border, where are they coming from, and will a recent change in asylum laws help slow the flow?

By **Jeh Johnson, Andrew Selee, and Julia Preston**

**Both Sides** A panoramic view taking in a section of the United States–Mexico border wall, between Sunland Park, New Mexico, and Puerto de Anapra, a *colonia* (suburb) of Ciudad Juárez in the Mexican state of Chihuahua.  
PHOTO: GRANDRIVER VIA GETTY IMAGES





**On the Line** In the continuing series of Carnegie Conversations, immigration experts (l-r) Andrew Selee, Julia Preston, and Jeh Johnson recently came together to discuss the current situation at the U.S. southern border, exploring the “underlying push factors” that are the main drivers of the crisis (witness the surge in asylum seekers and economic migrants hoping to enter the United States from Central America). PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK

In 2019, the number of migrants attempting to cross the U.S. southern border surged, reaching a record high for a single month in May of more than 144,000, nearly triple the number in May a year earlier. Border Patrol stations and migrant shelters were overwhelmed.

Most of these border crossers are families and unaccompanied minors from the troubled Central American countries of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. Many are seeking asylum to escape uncontrolled criminal violence in their homelands.

In a bid to stem the flow of migrants seeking asylum, the Trump administration initiated a policy that forces them to wait in Mexico while their claims are being heard in United States immigration courts — which could take months or even years. To date about 50,000 asylum seekers have been turned back to wait, with little or no assistance, in some of the most crime-ridden cities in Mexico. Carnegie Corporation of New York convened three immigration experts in September to discuss the immigration crisis and what can be done to manage it.

Jeh Johnson served as the U.S. secretary of homeland security during the Obama administration from 2013 to 2017. The spike in immigration from Central America began under his watch.

Andrew Selee is president of the nonpartisan Migration Policy Institute, which seeks to improve immigration policies and address complex immigration policy questions. Selee’s research focuses on immigration policies in Latin America and the United States.

Julia Preston, a journalist who spent a decade as the national immigration correspondent for the *New York Times* and who currently writes for The Marshall Project, moderated the discussion.



**JULIA PRESTON:** We begin this conversation right after a momentous decision by the Supreme Court. Mr. Secretary, if you could explain the rule in question?

**JEH JOHNSON:** The asylum law on the U.S. books basically says anyone found in this country has a right to apply for asylum, unless there is an agreement with a third country through which the migrant has passed. Then that country should be the first place where the migrant should apply. Apparently we reached some form of that agreement with Mexico and Guatemala.

So the Trump administration says that if you come here from Central America and you haven’t applied for asylum in Mexico, you must go back. You don’t have a right to apply for asylum in this country. The Supreme Court has essentially agreed, in an interim decision, but it hasn’t been fully heard yet on the merits.

**PRESTON:** So how did we get here? This crisis really started in 2014, no?

**JOHNSON:** It burst into the public consciousness in 2014. The spike in those numbers of migrant families coming north from Central America ended in late summer 2014 and stayed low all through 2015, but began to creep up in 2016.

**PRESTON:** Why do you think that happened?

**JOHNSON:** In the presidential election one candidate was very pro-enforcement and the other candidate was essentially saying, “I won’t deport you unless you commit a crime.” That created a sort of rush for the exits from those countries. But the underlying conditions in Central America — the poverty and violence and corruption there — those were the principal drivers of illegal migration then and now.

### Migration from Mexico on the Decline

**PRESTON:** What was happening with Mexican migration in this period?

**ANDREW SELEE:** Mexican migration has been dropping since 2007. Mexicans make up only 18 to 20 percent of the overall flow, behind Guatemalans and Hondurans, and that’s amazing.

**PRESTON:** The Mexicans never really had the U.S. asylum system available to them. And enforcement has been getting tougher.



**Hope Against Hope** Immigrants from Central America waded across the Rio Grande from Mexico into the United States at El Paso, Texas, in early February 2019. They later turned themselves in to U.S. Border Patrol agents, seeking political asylum. PHOTO: JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

**SELEE:** For a Mexican to try twice to go across is quite costly — it ends up in a prison term. Mexicans are also exempt from the Trafficking Victims Act, which says that any minor gets their day in immigration court to see if they’re being trafficked.

**JOHNSON:** And there’s no option for expedited removal for Mexicans.

**SELEE:** Right, which means Mexican families can’t be released into the general population while they wait for their day in court. So it is much easier to return Mexicans home. But we saw the numbers from Mexico dropping even before the Trafficking Victims Act. It’s been fairly steady. El Salvador numbers also seem to be receding. They were once the biggest flow from Central America and now they are a very, very distant third. It’s primarily Hondurans and Guatemalans right now.

**JOHNSON:** In general, Mexicans have a less compelling case for asylum given the legal parameters. Essentially you have to be part of a group that’s being oppressed by your government. That works for the three Central American countries but less for Mexico.



**The Trump administration says that if you come here from Central America and you haven’t applied for asylum in Mexico, you must go back. You don’t have a right to apply for asylum in this country. The Supreme Court has essentially agreed, in an interim decision, but it hasn’t been fully heard yet on the merits.**

— **Jeh Johnson**, Former Secretary of Homeland Security (2013–17)



**SELEE:** Also, people in Mexico can get away from a bad situation by moving somewhere else in Mexico, in a way you can’t in a smaller country.





**Fences** After crossing the Rio Grande from Mexico into the U.S. at El Paso, Texas, Central American asylum seekers walk between a newly built “bollard-style” border fence, on the right, and the older “legacy” fence. They would later turn themselves in to agents from U.S. Customs and Border Patrol (CPB). PHOTO: JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

## Unintended Consequences from Family Separation

**PRESTON:** How much was this recent surge driven by factors on the ground in the sending country and how much by the breakdown of the U.S. asylum system?

**JOHNSON:** To have the right answer to that would solve illegal immigration. In my view the underlying push factors are the principal long-term drivers. The short-term surge this summer I believe came from Trump ending the zero-tolerance policy that had led to the family separations. The threat to close the border then caused a rush to get in. And the suspension of aid to Central America gave people a sense of hopelessness.

Also, the coyotes, the smugglers, are much more sophisticated than they were five years ago. In their sales pitch, they always exaggerate what’s happening with U.S. enforcement policy. In 2014, for example, when we asked people in the holding centers why they came, they’d say, “Well, I heard the Americans are giving out *permisos*, free passes, if you get here.” That was just false, but the coyotes were telling them that.

**PRESTON:** Do you think it was a mistake for the Trump administration to end the family separation policy?

**JOHNSON:** No, not at all. I think the family separation policy was an inhumane disaster. I’m glad they ended it. But the coyotes amplify that to say, okay, you’re now free to come to the United States.

**SELEE:** I agree. It became something of a giant billboard. They should never have done family separation. It was inconsistent with American values and we heard that from the American public. But having done a policy that was not sensible to begin with, they created a giant billboard that it had ended and that became a call to come. This is the unintended consequence of bad policies.

**JOHNSON:** There’s a separate question about whether the policy now is sustainable over the long term, and whether Mexico has the capability to handle asylum applications at the volume we’re talking about.

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We should be thinking of asylum needs outside the country.... We could also be talking with Mexico, Canada, or Costa Rica about in-country processing, like the Obama administration’s Central American Minors program. You can think of it as several countries working together to adjudicate asylum applications in a safe zone in southern Mexico, sending people to several other countries. If we were creative, there are ways of being both fair and tough.

– **Andrew Selee**, President, Migration Policy Institute

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## The Remain-in-Mexico Policy

**PRESTON:** Andrew, what does this mean for Mexico? Are they ready to handle this?

**SELEE:** No, definitely not. Mexico had refused the idea of a full safe third-country agreement, where asylum seekers would be adjudicated outside the U.S. but guaranteed safety in some third country. They preferred what’s called the Migrant Protection Protocol, where people are still in the U.S. asylum system but they have to wait in Mexico, not in the U.S.

So the Trump administration has essentially imposed a *unilateral* safe third-country agreement. It forces Mexico to become a country of refuge, where Central Americans can apply for asylum. Meanwhile Mexico’s asylum system just got a huge budget boost — from \$1.2 to \$1.5 million! I say that ironically. At only \$1.5 million, it is heavily underfunded. It receives another couple million from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, but it has nowhere near the capacity to handle even the 60,000 to 80,000 applications it was already going to get this year, much less what might happen with this new arrangement.

Of course, we don’t know what’s going to happen. At the moment there is no effective U.S. asylum system at the border. With some very small exceptions, most people are no longer eligible to apply.

**PRESTON:** Do you think this rule will eventually prevail? The asylum statute pretty clearly says that a person who gets into the United States can apply for asylum whether they came legally or not.

**JOHNSON:** Except if a country of transit has made an agreement to consider that asylum application first. Then the migrant has to apply there first.

**PRESTON:** But we don’t really have a formal agreement with Mexico, do we?

**JOHNSON:** That could be the litigation battleground. I’ve heard conflicting things.

**SELEE:** Yes, the circuit courts have been very skeptical of this rule change, but the Supreme Court sent it back. So this could yet be thrown out and then restored on appeal.

**JOHNSON:** A lot of people don’t want to hear this but another magnet for illegal immigration was the *Flores* decision. *Reno v. Flores* was a 1997 Supreme Court settlement between the government and lawyers representing a class of unaccompanied children. The settlement said that unaccompanied children should not be held in immigration detention unless it is a licensed, nonsecure facility.

That led to a spike in arrivals, which led to expanded detention, so the lawyers went back to court and said, “The government’s violating the settlement.” So the new interpretation of *Flores* was we could only hold families for an average of 20 days. That was big news in Central America. We predicted it would lead to more immigration, and it has.

**SELEE:** Under Secretary Johnson we had a case-management system that gave people alternatives to detention, so a very high rate of people showed up for their hearings. There are ways to fix the asylum system so that you’re not waiting two to three years to get a hearing. We should be giving people asylum and we should be protecting kids who are in danger of being trafficked. But you also need some limits on who ultimately gets to stay and who has to return home.





**What Is to Be Done?** Undocumented immigrants are led after being caught and handcuffed by Border Patrol agents near the U.S.-Mexico border at Weslaco, Texas, on April 13, 2016. According to Jeh Johnson, secretary of the Department of Homeland Security during the Obama administration, “The moral of the story is there’s no amount of security you can throw on the southern border to end illegal migration. You have to address the push factors, period.” PHOTO: JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

### Addressing the Cause, Not the Symptoms

**PRESTON:** It seems like the entire policy is focused on deterrents.

**JOHNSON:** Yes, this administration believes fervently that a deterrent message, or “consequence delivery,” as they refer to it, is the principal way to reduce illegal immigration, rather than addressing the underlying causes. But I believe no level of deterrent message can overcome the desire to flee a burning building in Central America. That’s why we have to address the underlying causes.

**SELEE:** In Guatemala and Honduras, the two big flows, we’ve seen some real backsliding in governance. Not just drug trafficking and gang violence but now political violence has increased noticeably. In El Salvador or Mexico, the political system is often messy but people have a certain hope that maybe the future’s going to be better. Unless people think that, they’re going to be leaving the country.

**JOHNSON:** On the other hand, the economy in these countries depends in part upon remittances from someone who goes to the United States, gets a job, and sends part of that money back home to their families in Central America.

**PRESTON:** What can the United States do to address these issues?

**JOHNSON:** It has to be at least a 10-year project. There’s no quick fix to poverty, violence, and corruption. We started this in 2016 with \$750 million — really a drop in the bucket — but if you ask people in Homeland Security if it was having an impact, they will tell you, “Yes, a limited impact.” But the administration has turned that money off for a year and a half now — the exact wrong thing to do.

**SELEE:** A few things we can do in the short term. We can help create boundaries against the worst antidemocratic excesses, like keeping the Guatemalan government from kicking out an international anticorruption body. We couldn’t keep the president of Honduras from running for reelection, but had there not been a wink-wink, nod-nod from the U.S. government, that would have been less likely to happen.

**JOHNSON:** The moral of the story is there’s no amount of security you can throw on the southern border to end illegal migration. You have to address the push factors, period. ■

Conversation recorded at Carnegie Corporation of New York’s headquarters in New York City on September 12, 2019.

political environment. Some things may need legislation; other things can be done by rulemaking. But when immigration law is decided by the executive unilaterally and doesn’t have support on the other side of the aisle, it will be litigated to death.

**PRESTON:** Let’s talk about migration protection protocols, the remain-in-Mexico policy where U.S. asylum seekers who have come through Mexico are sent back to wait there for their hearing, rather than waiting here in the U.S. Were you surprised at the way the Mexican government agreed to that proposal?

**SELEE:** Yes, I predicted the Mexican government wouldn’t agree to this, and I was definitely wrong. But look, there’s a history here. The previous Mexican administration was under enormous pressure to sign a safe third-country agreement, where U.S. asylum seekers are adjudicated outside the U.S. and assured of safety in some other country if they don’t get in here. Discussions were fairly far along. The new Mexican government under Andrés Manuel López Obrador felt a lot of pressure to pick up those discussions.

And they saw the remain-in-Mexico approach as a better alternative than a safe third-country agreement.

**JOHNSON:** I believe López Obrador has made a calculated political judgment to go along to get along to keep Trump off his back. But how sustainable is that? There will be a point when continued cooperation will be seen as an insult to the national honor.

**SELEE:** Yes, they’re trying to wait out the Trump administration. They figure they have another year and a half and they’re trying to get along without a major blowup while they jump-start the Mexican economy.

**PRESTON:** The current situation is 35,000 people who have been returned to Mexico are nominally in asylum proceedings, living without support from either the Mexican or the U.S. government in some of the most dangerous cities in Mexico — Juárez, Laredo, Nuevo Laredo, Matamoros.

**JOHNSON:** It’ll be really interesting to see how we manage to move 35,000 people in and out of the United States for their court cases. I think all of it is intended as a deterrent message. The appearance is more important than the logistical reality of how you implement such a thing.

**SELEE:** But some of the decisions that were made for messaging reasons may not actually be sustainable as policy.

political environment. Some things may need legislation; other things can be done by rulemaking. But when immigration law is decided by the executive unilaterally and doesn’t have support on the other side of the aisle, it will be litigated to death.

political environment. Some things may need legislation; other things can be done by rulemaking. But when immigration law is decided by the executive unilaterally and doesn’t have support on the other side of the aisle, it will be litigated to death.

**JOHNSON:** As a former cabinet secretary, I believe the agencies that manage the problem should have flexibility to address uncertain circumstances, like a spike in migration, so long as we address it in a fair, humane, levelheaded way.

**SELEE:** We should be thinking of asylum needs outside the country. If Mexico had a more robust asylum system, some people would stay there, to be closer to home. They have connections in Mexico, they can speak their own language. We could also be talking with Mexico, Canada, or Costa Rica about in-country processing, like the Obama administration’s Central American Minors program. You can think of it as several countries working together to adjudicate asylum applications in a safe zone in southern Mexico, sending people to several other countries. If we were creative, there are ways of being both fair and tough.

**JOHNSON:** That was the balance I constantly tried to strike when I managed this mission. But no matter what you do, people on both sides of the debate are going to be angry.

**SELEE:** Yeah. And another question is: What are the grounds for asylum? The grounds have narrowed under this administration, and that is not a trivial question. Gang violence, domestic violence, membership in a family are no longer considered.

**PRESTON:** Is this where Congress needs to step in and clarify the terms?

**SELEE:** Yes. In an ideal world this would be a grand bipartisan bargain. In the real world, it may need a different



# We Need Big Ideas. Philanthropy Has Them.

The chair of Carnegie Corporation of New York's board of trustees argues that in an era of government inaction and even paralysis, America's philanthropic institutions are ready to step up to the plate

By **Thomas H. Kean**

To start narrowing our country's extreme wealth gap and repair our weakened social fabric, we desperately need a host of strong new social programs, including more effective schools and colleges, better job opportunities and training, and truly affordable health care for working families. And yet with its bitter partisan divide, Washington is paralyzed when it comes to addressing these and so many other great challenges facing our democracy.

I served two terms as governor of New Jersey as a Republican, and I know what can be accomplished when both parties come together. Not long ago, the government implemented a wide range of far-sighted programs — such as Head Start to provide preschool education for lower-income children; Pell Grants to make college more affordable; and even PBS, which offers creative, high-quality

television. Could Congress pass and launch these life-changing programs today? The answer is an emphatic “No!” — and that is deeply troubling.

Who will design and fund the big ideas that allow Americans to lead the kinds of productive lives that have historically made our democracy and economy the envy of the world? The answer: Our country's great philanthropic institutions — the same ones that have recently come under so much fire for their perceived high-handedness — must fill the void left by a gridlocked government.

Even when the government has functioned better, it was grantmaking foundations such as Carnegie Corporation of New York that funded the research for Head Start, Pell Grants, and public television before those efforts moved into the realm of public policy. There are numerous



**Big Idea, Big Show, Big Bird!** Arguably the most influential television show ever, *Sesame Street* debuted on PBS on November 10, 1969. Based on the results of a Carnegie Corporation of New York-funded study she had conducted to determine whether television could be used to educate small children, Joan Ganz Cooney, then a producer for National Educational Television, proposed a new kind of children's program and formed the Children's Television Workshop (CTW) to produce it, with further Corporation support. Here, just a few months prior to *Sesame Street's* premiere, Cooney reviews material for the new show with colleagues from WNET, New York City's PBS station. PHOTO: GREY VILLET/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION VIA GETTY IMAGES

Andrew Carnegie launched Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1911 out of his remarkably prescient concern that the concentration of great fortunes in a few hands created distrust between economic classes and undermined social cohesion.

other inspiring examples. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation helped fund development of the 911 emergency call system, the Ford Foundation supported legal-aid programs that led to the introduction of public defenders, and The Rockefeller Foundation helped launch the public-private partnership that led to the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative.

It's not just frustration with the current political climate that has moved me to these reflections. This year marks the centenary of the death of Andrew Carnegie, the American industrialist who donated nearly his entire fortune to establish more than 20 institutions (which still bear his name) devoted to improving education, strengthening our democracy, and promoting international peace. The anniversary prompts me to ponder both Carnegie's legacy and the critical role philanthropy plays in our society.





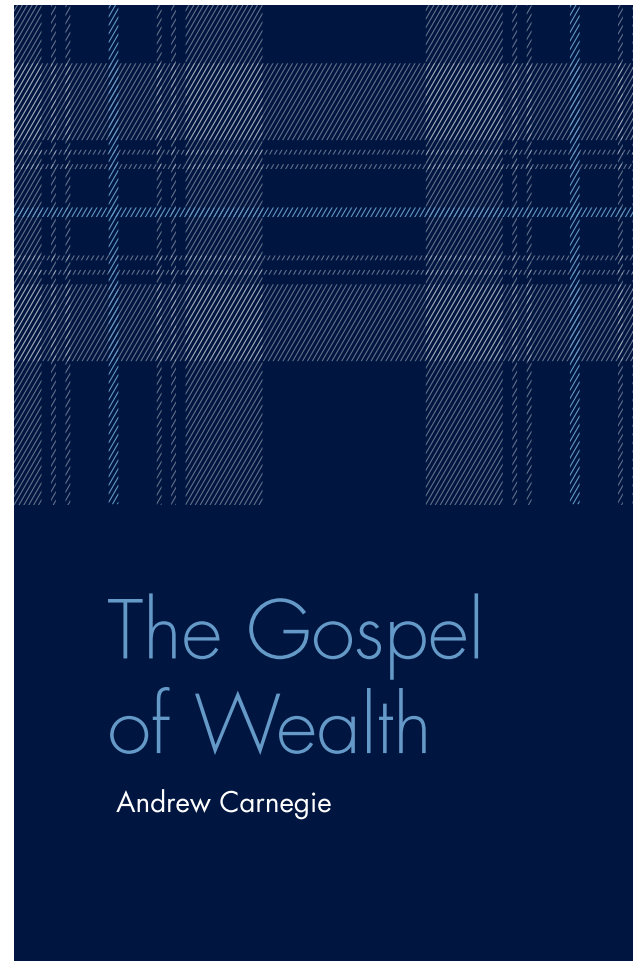
**Design for Giving** Carnegie Corporation of New York was the only trust, of the more than 20 institutions he established, that Andrew Carnegie intended to run himself. He served as its president and all meetings were conducted at the magnificent Carnegie mansion on East 91st Street in New York City. The first meeting of the Corporation's board of trustees — unsurprisingly, all male, all white — was memorialized in this group portrait taken in the drawing room of the Carnegie home on November 10, 1911. Carnegie is seated in the front row, third from the right, with his daughter and wife, Alice and Louise, to his left. Today, the Carnegie residence serves as the home of the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum. PHOTO: CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

### Concerns of Critics

I chair the Carnegie Corporation of New York's board of trustees, just one of the many philanthropic institutions that I have helped lead over the years in areas including health care and environmental protection. I have seen firsthand their immensely positive work in convening our best minds, building consensus, helping to develop critical programs, and then funding the organizations that implement them.

There has, of course, been criticism of philanthropic institutions, much of it worth careful consideration. Foundations must continually review and renew their missions, their priorities, and their performance standards. They must expand the diversity of their boards and staff to ensure that they have the best possible teams. Their programs must adapt to the needs and aspirations of our dynamic and rapidly changing society. They must continue to maintain a high degree of transparency in how they conduct their grantmaking.

Some critics question the motivations of wealthy individuals who establish foundations, suggesting they are more interested in the tax benefits or in advancing personal agendas than in serving the needs of our society. Foundations and nonprofits have a responsibility to



**You Can't Take It with You** And you shouldn't, even if you could. That is the essential message of "The Gospel of Wealth," the famous essay in which Andrew Carnegie laid down the gauntlet to his fellow Gilded Age millionaires. Live unostentatiously, provide moderately for your dependents, and — after that — hold your personal wealth as a "sacred trust" to be administered *during your lifetime* for the good of the people. Indeed, declared Carnegie: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced." Download a free copy of the Carnegie classic, newly edited and annotated: [carnegie.org/gospel](http://carnegie.org/gospel)

address these concerns while continuing to support this distinctly American tradition of giving.

Andrew Carnegie launched Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1911 out of his remarkably prescient concern that the concentration of great fortunes in a few hands created distrust between economic classes and undermined social cohesion. He laid out his philosophy in his famous 1889 essay "The Gospel of Wealth," in which he argued that the rich should not simply pass on their wealth to their heirs.

Rather, Carnegie urged them to reinvest their wealth in society through philanthropy. To him, the true solution was to contribute to organizations administering their funds in ways "best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community" — in institutions such as



**Looking Ahead** Founded in 1965 as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, Head Start provides preschool children from low-income families with a comprehensive program to meet their emotional, social, health, nutritional, and psychological needs. Research in early childhood cognitive development — much of it supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York — greatly influenced the decision to launch the program. Here, Heidi Schillinger, a senior at St. Olaf College, reads to kids with the Three Rivers Community Action Head Start Program in Northfield, Minnesota. PHOTO: JOEY MCLEISTER/STAR TRIBUTE VIA GETTY IMAGES

public libraries, medical schools, public parks, and universities. The aim was a society in which "surplus wealth" would be "administered for the common good."

### Lessons from Andrew Carnegie

Today, the country's ultrawealthy, who have benefited most from the last decade's prosperity, might learn from Carnegie's example. According to a recent study by the consulting firm Bridgespan, they are donating only a paltry 1.2 percent of their assets annually. The study concluded that simply doubling this amount would increase social mobility and eliminate disease for millions.

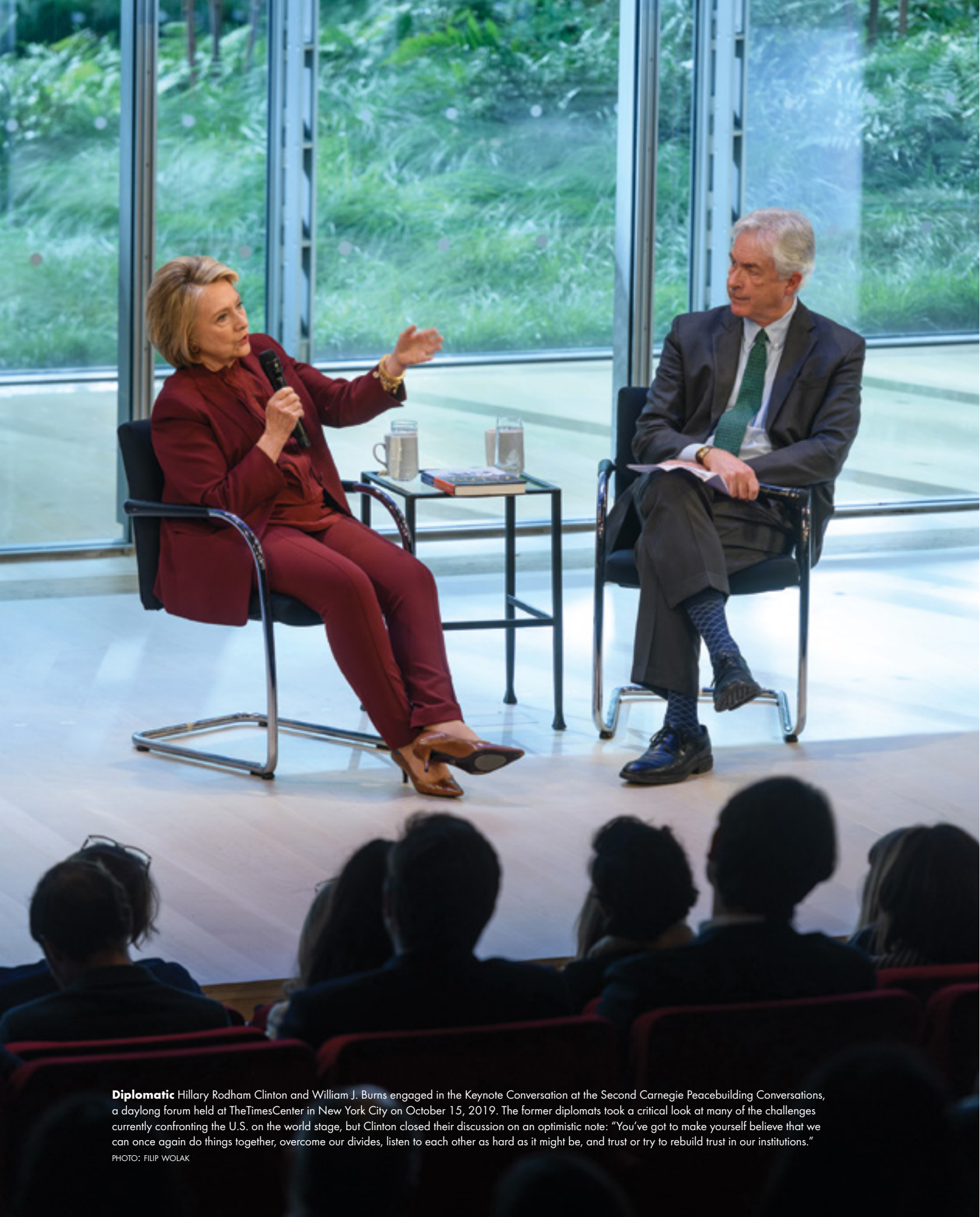
Overall, we are fortunate because no other country has anything like America's robust culture of giving: about half of us make charitable donations each year. In total,

an estimated \$428 billion went to U.S. charities in 2018, according to the Giving USA foundation. That's up an astounding 48 percent increase from \$288 billion in 2010. But clearly, we could do even more.

Andrew Carnegie exhorted the rich to give their fortunes away while they were still alive as he did — a revolutionary concept at the time — writing in his landmark essay: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced." Perhaps the real disgrace is doing nothing at all. In a time of governmental inaction, wealthy individuals and philanthropic institutions must work even harder to bring back the big ideas — and the will to make them real. ■

First published in the *Chronicle of Philanthropy* and republished with permission.





# PEACE OUT

Is a U.S. retreat killing global peacemaking?

By James Sterngold

Former secretary of state Hillary Rodham Clinton said at a peacebuilding forum hosted by Carnegie Corporation of New York that the Trump administration's withdrawal from global leadership, as well as the dismantling of U.S. diplomatic and peace-making expertise, is contributing to rising violence and dangerously undermining American influence around the world.

In a keynote conversation at the conference with William J. Burns, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) and former deputy secretary of state, Secretary Clinton decried what she characterized as administration attacks that are damaging the State Department's capabilities at a time of increasing risk and violence in global hotspots. In discussing one challenge

after another, she criticized what she said was a failure to exercise American influence to enhance peacemaking and stand up for American values.

She called the Trump administration's withdrawal of troops from northern Syria a "betrayal" of the Kurdish allies that, she said, was already leading to war crimes against the Kurds, and harshly condemned the administration's failure to hold Saudi Arabia to account for the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi journalist and critic of the kingdom, in a Saudi diplomatic facility in Turkey.

In the case of China, she said the Trump administration had failed to stand up to unprecedented Chinese expansion in Asia and elsewhere through its major construction projects and other investments, focusing instead on trade

**Diplomatic** Hillary Rodham Clinton and William J. Burns engaged in the Keynote Conversation at the Second Carnegie Peacebuilding Conversations, a daylong forum held at TheTimesCenter in New York City on October 15, 2019. The former diplomats took a critical look at many of the challenges currently confronting the U.S. on the world stage, but Clinton closed their discussion on an optimistic note: "You've got to make yourself believe that we can once again do things together, overcome our divides, listen to each other as hard as it might be, and trust or try to rebuild trust in our institutions."

PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK



The number one uncertainty is what human beings are going to do. When I think about climate policy, I think about it as allocating to various degrees mitigation, adaptation, and suffering. And our actions today will determine how those get meted out and to what populations.

— **Kate Marvel**, NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies

issues. “They’re also building ports that they’re going to control and they’re going all the way from Myanmar to Djibouti and they’re now also up in southern Europe,” she said. “What are the consequences? Don’t you think somebody ought to be thinking about that and trying to figure out how, if at all, we’re going to be countering it? There’s no business, there’s no work being done in this administration. Everybody waits around to see what the latest tweet is or the latest South Lawn press statement is. That’s how policy is being made, and we are going to pay a really big price for that in the years ahead.”

The exchange between Secretary Clinton and Burns set the tone for a day of sobering, and at times dark assessments of the mounting threats to peace, including nonstate actors, climate change, and divisions caused by disinformation spread by ever more sophisticated and constantly evolving digital technologies.

“Our topic today, Advancing Global Peace, has certainly never seemed more urgent or more complicated, given the intersection of some really powerful dynamics: a much more competitive geopolitical landscape, transformative forces like climate change, the revolution in technology, the massive migrations of peoples, and, not least, deep uncertainty about American leadership,” Burns said.

Clinton and Burns were among the roster of scholars, former government leaders, UN officials, and distinguished experts in peace and technology who gathered for the Second Carnegie Peacebuilding Conversations, convened by the global family of Carnegie institutions on October 15 in New York City. In the post-World War II era there were many successes in peacemaking, but in assessing current and future threats, speakers focused on several emerging themes, including opportunities for peace.

## Urgent Threats: Diplomatic Chaos, Climate Change, Nuclear War

Secretary Clinton said the U.S. withdrawal from northern Syria was not only leading to “executions, civilian casualties, really uncontrolled violence” against the U.S.’s Kurdish allies, it was strengthening the positions of Syrian president Bashar al-Assad, Russia, and Iran, all American adversaries. “I think it’s going to be a free-for-all with tremendous and terrible loss of life,” she said.

She objected to the administration’s decision to simultaneously pull some troops from Syria and move U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia, in part because of concerns over the Saudi role in the civil war in Yemen.

“Yemen is a disaster on every front,” she said. “The amount of sheer cruel infliction of violence on this population is almost hard to imagine. The human toll is tremendous, and there is no real effort undertaken to try to work out what could possibly be a real end to the hostilities, in part because there’s no broker willing to do that.” She added, “That’s a role that we could have and should have played in the past.”

Other speakers identified not just looming threats but a need for strong policy responses. In addressing climate change, Kate Marvel, an associate research scientist at the NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies, explained that scientists had developed a solid understanding of many aspects of global warming and of the role of carbon dioxide emissions from burning fossil fuels as a cause.

“We know what happens on a warming world,” she said. “We know that as sea surface temperatures heat up that’s hurricane food. We expect that hurricanes will get stronger. And we know that as sea levels rise that storm surge can go further inland.... So we know a lot about climate change.”

The great variable, she added, is not scientific but what policymakers will have the foresight to do. “I think the number one uncertainty is what human beings are going to do,” she said. “When I think about climate policy, I think about it as allocating to various degrees mitigation, adaptation, and suffering. And our actions today will determine how those get meted out and to what populations.”

Oscar Fernández-Taranco, UN assistant secretary-general for peacekeeping, stressed the need for rapid responses. “This is part of the changing nature of conflict and the changing nature of displacements and refugee dynamics,” he said. “But I think critical to everyone sitting in this room is the challenge of global climate change and how societies will come to grips in that time because the education process, the political leadership process, the financing process, everything that needs to align for the very survival

The risk of catastrophic blunder is going up. Decision time for leaders in determining whether an attack is real and whether and when to retaliate, releasing their own nuclear weapons, that decision time is all important and that decision time is going down. Technology is driving decision time down.

— **Sam Nunn**, Nuclear Threat Initiative

of the planet and its people is something that needs to happen, in historical terms, extremely fast.”

Nuclear weapons pose a number of significant challenges, said Sam Nunn, a former U.S. senator and the founder and cochair of the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), which works to prevent attacks with weapons of mass destruction. We have entered “a high-risk era of nuclear instability,” he said, particularly where there are regional disputes, as there is between India and Pakistan, both nuclear-armed states. He said he is particularly worried about miscalculations that could trigger accidental war.

“The risk of catastrophic blunder is going up,” he said. “Decision time for leaders in determining whether an attack is real and whether and when to retaliate, releasing their own nuclear weapons, that decision time is all important and that decision time is going down. Technology is driving decision time down.”

Eric D. Isaacs, president of the Carnegie Institution for Science, warned that potential cyberattacks were exacerbating those nuclear risks. The “nuclear risk overlaps with the dangers of cyberattacks: digital attacks which are occurring, as you know, more and more could be used to trigger a nuclear conflict or could be used to wreak havoc in almost every other sector,” he said. “An unprecedented scale of the pace of expansion in digital technologies has challenged our ability to adapt to it.”

## The Destabilizing Impact of Technology

The abuse of information flows on the Internet is a rapidly expanding threat, and several panelists proposed stronger regulation of the web and a possible breakup of the largest technology companies. What had once been seen as the promising role of digital technologies, especially social media, to strengthen societies by making useful



October 15, 2019  
TheTimesCenter, New York City

## SECOND CARNEGIE PEACEBUILDING CONVERSATIONS

### KEYNOTE CONVERSATION

#### Advancing Global Peace: A Conversation

Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton and William J. Burns

### PANEL DISCUSSIONS

#### Risky Business: Peace and Its Enemies in the 21st Century

UN Assistant Secretary-General Oscar Fernández-Taranco, Rt. Hon. David Miliband, and Michelle Nunn

Moderator: **Ian Bremmer**

#### Think Peace: Lessons from History and Andrew Carnegie’s Visionary Peace Project

Jessica Tuchman Mathews, Frédéric Mégret, Timothy Snyder, and Ted Widmer

Moderator: **Thomas de Waal**

#### Swords or Plowshares? The Complex Relationships Between Technology and Peace

Kate Marvel, UN Under-Secretary-General Izumi Nakamitsu, Senator Sam Nunn, Ray Rothrock

Moderator: **Eric D. Isaacs**

### CLOSING STATEMENT

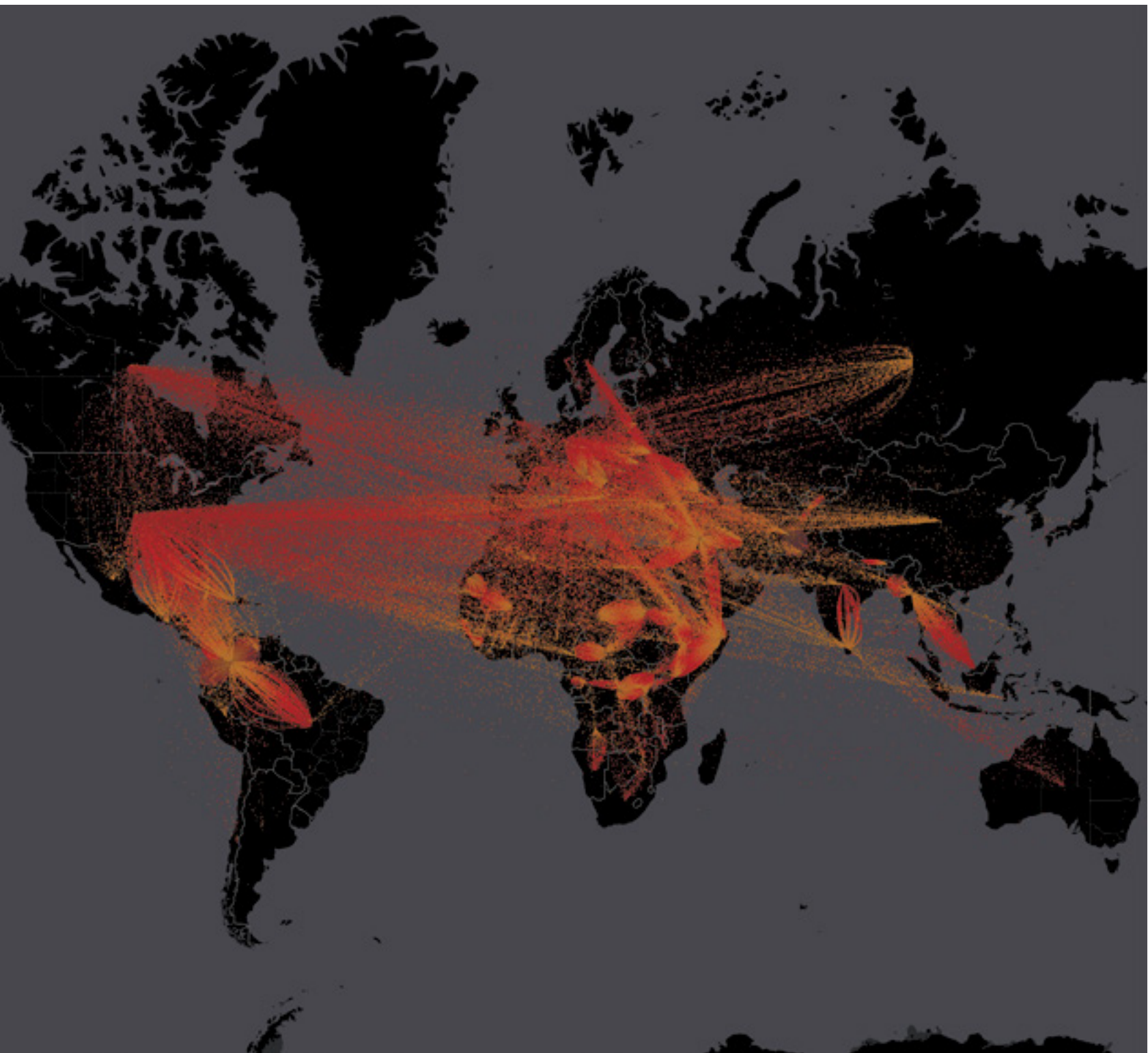
#### Partnering for Peace

Erik de Baedts

This event followed last year’s first set of Peacebuilding Conversations at the Peace Palace in The Hague and came on the centenary of the death of the visionary philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, who called war “the foulest blot upon our civilization.” He dedicated a large portion of his immense fortune to endowing a group of influential philanthropies to study, discuss, and devise peacemaking programs that, he hoped, would remove that blot.

**#CarnegiePeacebuilding**





**Earth Stories** This stunning data visualization, its power only hinted at here in print, is from EarthTime, a project of the CREATE Lab at Carnegie Mellon University. EarthTime enables users to interact with visualizations of the Earth's transformation over time, combining huge data sets with images captured by NASA satellites between 1984 and 2016. This amazing tool brings to life patterns of natural change and human impact, using compelling animations accompanied by fact-based narratives from international experts. This visualization – “Global Refugee Flow: 2000–2015” (1 dot = ~17 refugees) – gives an overview of the international refugee crisis, exploring trends in forced migration and conflict. Other EarthTime stories include: Women and Economic Growth, Global Gender Gap, The Good & Bad of Globalisation, Ocean Mining, Melting and Sea Level Rise, Polar Vortex, Workers’ Rights, Mining, Crisis in the Sahel, and Voting 2018. For more information, visit [www.earthtime.org](http://www.earthtime.org). PHOTO: DATA VISUALIZATION COURTESY OF THE CREATE LAB AT CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY.

DATA FROM: THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR), BASEMAP FROM GOOGLE MAPS

Digitalization has also driven us towards a kind of politics of “us” and “them,” because what the digital does to us is it appeals to our prejudices. So what’s happened with the digital is that it’s made us all more vulnerable to the politics of “us” and “them.”

– **Timothy Snyder**, Yale University

information more accessible has been overwhelmed by the spread of disinformation to divide and manipulate people, several speakers said.

“Technology and the way it’s connected individuals has created a dark side of the web that is outside many governments’ purview and reach,” said David Miliband, the chief executive of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and former foreign secretary of the U.K. “That’s created a new force of destabilization.... It’s net added to insecurity.”

Jessica Tuchman Mathews, the former president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) and now a distinguished fellow there, agreed. “In the late ’90s, we had no idea, nobody did, that cyber technology, digital technology, and the Internet would be a thriving, powerful force of fragmentation and disinformation.”

Timothy Snyder, a professor of history at Yale University, said that the Internet had been especially damaging by erecting ideological barriers rather than bridges between groups with different opinions, reducing dialogue and hardening differences.

“Digitalization has also driven us toward a kind of politics of ‘us’ and ‘them,’ because what the digital does to us is it appeals to our prejudices,” said Snyder. “So what’s happened with the digital is that it’s made us all more vulnerable to the politics of ‘us’ and ‘them.’”

Ray Rothrock, a venture capitalist and cybersecurity expert, described those divisions as particularly dangerous. “What’s a dangerous side of technology? Well, presently I think it’s social engineering. I really worry that it has created — we used to call them birds of a feather, an ability to hang out with people of like minds and forget the facts and just sort of believe what you say. And we’re right now in this amazing disruptive political system where that is exactly what is happening.”

Snyder suggested that the U.S. should consider applying antitrust laws to reduce the market dominance of the biggest Internet companies. “These companies are just too big,” he said.

Some of the panelists said that addressing these issues was beyond the grasp of any single country, even the U.S. They stressed that multilateral institutions, NGOs, and civic organizations needed to step up and place greater energy behind the search for creative solutions.

“When governments are in retreat, businesses, NGOs, civil society have to step forward,” said Miliband. “And in that time of government retreat, my very strong feeling is that there’s a responsibility on those of us outside government to be mobilizers of change. We have to be the incubators of new solutions.”

### Declining Leadership, Rising Complacency

The consensus was that three major factors were fueling the global threat: a loss of will on the part of the U.S. and other countries to actively embrace collaborative engagement for peacemaking; the declining strength of democratic institutions internationally; and a failure to adequately confront aggressive expansion and attacks by players ranging from nonstate actors to China and Russia.

The IRC’s David Miliband said, “The great fear I have now is that we’re going to move into a vacuum because America is such a big player that if the democratic countries of the world don’t have a leader on the international stage, then you don’t just get a vacuum at the local level, you get an age of impunity at the international level, where the norms and laws that were built up so carefully for hundreds of years and took form in the 20 or 30 years after 1945, those norms and laws get broken.”

Added Michelle Nunn, president of CARE USA, “I do believe this is a place where the moral voice for human rights, for international law is missing in the U.S., but also globally and in the world, and it makes an enormous difference.”

Really creating gender equality would open up a latent set of possibilities that I think could be transformational.

– **Michelle Nunn**, CARE USA



You've got to make yourself believe that we can once again do things together, overcome our divides, listen to each other, as hard as it might be, trust or try to rebuild trust in our institutions.

— Hillary Rodham Clinton, Former U.S. Secretary of State

A problem stressed by several participants was an erosion of democratic institutions and the breakdown of the social contract in some countries. The UN's Fernández-Taranco noted that a "decrease in the quality of democracy around the world and ... increasing mistrust between people and their governments" were contributing to the disruptions.

These scenarios are contributing to a complacency that is undermining peacemaking, said the Carnegie Endowment's Mathews. She expressed concern over whether Americans and others who had long struggled to tame global problems previously had the will now to continue in that role, and how that withdrawal is allowing the mechanisms of peace to atrophy.

"This sense that we don't have to fear a return of the constructive fear we dealt with — that we lived with — for 50 years in the Cold War, building an international arms control regime that consumed a huge fraction of the best minds of the people who cared about international peace for all those decades — we've just let it drift away," she said. "The work of 50 years, it's gone."

### "Optimistic About the Future, No Matter What"

The successful containment of threats is largely in the hands of multilateral bodies, which need to formulate workable solutions and build the needed consensus to take them on. In looking for strategies, CARE USA's Michelle Nunn emphasized the need for reform of traditional organizations to make them more resilient and responsive to these challenges.

"I think that those of us in civil society are called to a kind of audacity and creativity that is difficult and challenging but imperative at this particular moment," she said. "We have to look at how do we take some of these calcified institutions, take a hard look at them ourselves, democratic institutions, multilateral institutions, and think how are we going to revivify them as we go forward."

She urged, in particular, that they place more women at the head of initiatives as well as younger leaders, because they are offering some of the most effective solutions.

"We know that ... there's a higher correlation between gender equality and peacefulness than GDP," she said. "We know that, if you look at that sort of study over 20 years, that there's a 35 percent increase of the longevity of peace processes when women are involved."

Michelle Nunn added, "Really creating gender equality would open up a latent set of possibilities that I think could be transformational."

While a streak of deep pessimism ran through the conversations, there were some positive takeaways. Erik de Baedts, the general director of the Carnegie Foundation — Peace Palace in The Hague, noted that in one troubling flash point, the dispute between India and Pakistan over the status of Kashmir, Pakistan has said it will bring a recent escalation in the conflict to the International Court of Justice for resolution, potentially stopping these nuclear-armed states from resorting to military action. "There is always hope, I think," de Baedts said.

Secretary Clinton sought to end her remarks on a note of hope for future peacemakers, some of whom — students from nearby universities — were in the audience as invited guests.

"You've got to make yourself believe that we can once again do things together, overcome our divides, listen to each other, as hard as it might be, trust or try to rebuild trust in our institutions," she said.

She concluded, "I would hope that young people see the opportunity for public service as what it is — a determined effort to be optimistic about the future, no matter what." ■

# CENTER POINT

# BIG IMPACT

Giving that is hands-on, savvy, proactive, transformational

Photographs by Andrew Shipley



**Class Acts** The recipients of the 2019 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy gathered together for a group portrait at the opening reception (l-r): Robert F. Smith, Sir Ian Wood KT GBE, George Lucas, Melody Hobson, Anne G. Earhart, Henry R. Kravis, Marie-Josée Kravis, Jehuda Reinharz (accepting for Morton L. Mandel), and Leonard Tow. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK



In the centenary of his death, Andrew Carnegie's revolutionary vision of philanthropy is more relevant than ever — and the outstanding philanthropists honored at The New York Public Library on a rainy October afternoon with the 2019 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy are inspiring examples of that vital truth. Yes, these incredibly generous men and women are helping to make the world smarter, cleaner, healthier, and safer today, each in their own way. But it is the very human stories that come out of their giving that move us so profoundly. And what stories they are! In the portfolio of striking photographs that follow, we meet some of the beneficiaries of the "class" of 2019's philanthropy, and we can read a bit of their remarkable stories in their own words. Master of ceremonies Judy Woodruff put it this way: "This is always such an uplifting event — one that restores my confidence in the difference each one of us can make. Throughout this ceremony, we will hear stories of people whose lives have been made better due to the generosity of this year's medalists. Each of these stories represents just one small example of the wide-ranging impact and lasting legacy their philanthropy will leave behind."

These are the stories.



## After School Matters

Chicago, Illinois

Through life-changing after-school and summer programs, After School Matters provides Chicago public high school students with opportunities to explore and develop their talents, while gaining critical skills for work, college, and beyond. Each year, nearly 19,000 teens have a place to do what they love to do, and to become better at the things they care about.



“ I was really closed in my own little bubble. I had a couple friends in my neighborhood. It was really a narrow perspective that I had. I honestly could not imagine even wanting to explore the arts. I would never have been able to have that courage without After School Matters. Youth from all around the city are able to explore all things — whether it be science, sports, conservation, art — literally anything. After School Matters is like coming to a second home, because you interact with so many teens you would have never met and I get so many new perspectives. After School Matters is probably one of the only reasons that I am the person I am today. So, yeah.

### Abdur Rahman Thomas

Student, Lincoln Park High School  
Chicago, Illinois

### Melody Hobson and George Lucas

George Lucas Family Foundation

Fierce advocates for equity and opportunity, Melody Hobson and George Lucas invest in education, arts, and culture to counter disadvantage with programs, such as Chicago's After School Matters, that promote personal development, scholastic achievement, and professional accomplishment.







## SEO (Sponsors for Educational Opportunity)

New York, New York

SEO Scholars is a free, eight-year program that successfully educates and mentors underserved public high school students to and through college, setting the standard for academics, mentorship, community, positive peer pressure, and a powerful, lifelong network – and boasting a phenomenal 90% college graduation rate.



“ I was born and raised in the Bronx. I’m the first person in my family to be born here in the States. Also I was the first person in my family to go away for college. I’m getting my PhD because I want to be able to give back in ways that are important to me. A big part of my success started at a program called SEO in downtown Manhattan. SEO not only pushed me to apply to Bucknell but they also were able to financially support me. Right now I’m getting my MA/PhD in clinical psychology because I really want to focus on mental health disparities within marginalized communities. I can’t say that I’d be who I am without the Kravises and without SEO. All of those sacrifices that I had made were worth it.

### Grevelin Uleno

Graduate Student, DePaul University  
Chicago, Illinois

### Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis

The Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis Foundation

Their generosity spanning an incredible diversity of interests, Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis have improved countless lives in New York City and across the country. The couple’s commitment to such institutions as the Sloan Kettering Institute and the Museum of Modern Art, as well as to transformational programs like SEO, has also been strengthened by the hands-on role they play in many of the organizations they support.



## The Public Theater

New York, New York

Founded by Joseph Papp in 1954 and originally known as the New York Shakespeare Festival, The Public Theater takes as its core idea that the culture belongs to everyone – it is “theater of, by, and for all people.” The Public has been integral in developing generations of groundbreaking American playwrights, composers, directors, designers, and performers.



“We take Shakespeare to prisons, to halfway houses, to community centers. We take Shakespeare to the people who our society has marginalized, and we say, ‘He’s yours. You own him as much as I do.’ Len Tow’s philanthropic concerns align so perfectly with our mission. He cares about social justice, he cares about access for everybody. Len is a proud alum of Brooklyn College, he loved The Public Theater. He thought they had things in common, he thought we should work together. Turns out he was totally right. The collaborations that we have with Brooklyn have all been things that enrich the public and enrich Brooklyn College. Len has made this city a better city, he’s made this country a better country.”

### Oskar Eustis

Artistic Director, The Public Theater  
New York, New York

### Leonard Tow

The Tow Foundation

Striving to help those in greatest need, The Tow Foundation supports four grantmaking domains: criminal and juvenile justice reform, medical research, higher education, and culture, with the goal of helping others to “achieve success in their own lives, to alleviate pain and suffering, and to offer opportunities for joy.”







## WILD COAST

Imperial Beach, California

An international team working to conserve more than 31.9 million acres of globally significant coastlines, islands, lagoons, and ocean, WILD COAST establishes and manages protected areas, advocates for strong conservation policies, and works with communities to preserve healthy thriving oceans and wild coastlines.



“ Behind me is Tijuana, Mexico, and the U.S.-Mexico border. This is ground zero for our efforts to help manage and protect marine protected areas. Stop pollution from coming across the border, stop the tsunami of plastic that’s entering the ocean, and really doing everything we can to preserve ocean wildlife and combat climate change. Anne Earhart has this really quiet presence; not everybody knows about the work she does in the world of ocean protection, but she’s out there kind of like a coach, really pushing everybody forward. She’s like that surfer on the beach that watches the gnarliest waves on the biggest day of the year — and instead of sitting on the beach, she decides to paddle out.

### Serge Dedina

Executive Director, WILD COAST  
Imperial Beach, California

### Anne G. Earhart

Marisla Foundation

Initially directing her philanthropy to health and human services organizations in Southern California, Anne Earhart gradually reshaped the Marisla Foundation into a conservationist powerhouse supporting more than 600 nonprofits — like WILD COAST — with missions focused on addressing global environmental challenges.



## Tovanoth B'Hinuch

Lod, Israel

Literally translated from the Hebrew as Insights in Education, Tovanoth B'Hinuch is an innovative and unprecedented social venture providing the "tailwind" that principals need to generate educational – and social – revolution in their schools, developing in students a conception of themselves as entrepreneurs and leaders.



In Israel, we have 800,000 children that are children at risk. And we decided that we will be the voice of the children. Mort Mandel changed my life by giving me the opportunity to study in Mandel Leadership Institute. And then I took all the skills that I got there – the courage, the ability to make a large impact – and go back to my community – and to encourage them so that they are able to make change in the students at risk all over the country. Mort Mandel inspires so many people to make this world a better world by giving us the courage to do things with passion, with wisdom. And as he said always, at the end of the day, it's all about love.

### Karen Tal

CEO and Cofounder, Tovanoth B'Hinuch  
Tel Aviv, Israel

### Morton L. Mandel

Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel  
Foundation

Throughout his career, the late Morton Mandel made it a priority to "invest in people with the values, ability, and passion to change the world," including through the Mandel Leadership Institute, which helps nonprofit leaders become more effective change agents in their communities.







## Youth and Philanthropy Initiative (YPI)

Aberdeen, Scotland

An active citizenship program in Scotland's secondary schools that raises awareness of philanthropy, social issues, and community needs, YPI empowers young people to have a direct impact on grassroots social services charities they personally champion.



“ **W**hen I'm racing, when I'm in my chair — it's exhilarating. I am one with the track. I can just be myself. I have a condition called EDS, which causes a lot of dislocations and that's why I use a wheelchair. We try to raise funds for adaptive equipment because adaptive equipment for disabilities is really expensive. I did a whole thing about how Forth Valley Disability Sport really changed my life, and I was approached afterwards by Sir Ian Wood, who told me that he really liked my story and thought it was quite inspirational. I really like to pay forwards everything that a lot of these people have done for me. YPI gave me the opportunity to advocate for a crucial group that really lacks a voice.

**Abby Cook**

Student, Grangemouth High School,  
Grangemouth, Scotland

**Sir Ian Wood KT GBE**

**The Wood Foundation**

Addressing some of society's greatest inequalities, The Wood Foundation develops and supports a range of innovative programs enabling and empowering social, educational, and economic impact, notably for young people in Scotland and for small-holder farmers in Africa.



## Morehouse College Class of 2019

Atlanta, Georgia

Honoring the sacrifices of those who paved the way for his own remarkable achievements, Robert F. Smith champions the educational and professional advancement of African Americans through his giving, including when – on the spot, while delivering the commencement speech – he pledged \$34 million to pay off student loans for the entire Morehouse College Class of 2019.

“

The moment he spoke those words, that’s when people’s ears started perking up a bit. Something’s kind of stirring here. In that moment, that exact moment after he said that, again you would expect some cheers, some rowdiness – but it was complete and utter silence. We looked at each other just kind of in shock like, ‘Is this really happening right now?’ We were kind of processing the magnitude of what that gift meant. A lot of people already had a mindset in my class of giving back. I am going to be a Fulbright Scholar teaching English, and also hopefully volunteering at a hospital when I have free time. What he did on May 19, 2019, it changed my life, plain and simple.

### Jonathan Epps

Morehouse College Class of 2019

### Robert F. Smith

Fund II Foundation

Supporting a wide range of initiatives, like internX, which provides on-ramps for underrepresented minorities entering the workforce, Fund II Foundation makes grants in five areas: African American Experience, Human Rights, Outdoor Education, Music Education, and Sustaining American Values.





# FAMILY AFFAIR

**Carnegie institutions gather to honor philanthropists in Andrew Carnegie's mold**

Andrew Carnegie died 100 years ago after giving away most of his wealth to establish more than 20 institutions bearing his name. The Carnegie family of institutions came together in mid-October in New York City for three days of events surrounding the 10th Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy and to commemorate the centenary year of the great philanthropist's passing.

**Elusive Peace** Held on October 15, 2019, at TheTimesCenter, the Second Carnegie Peacebuilding Conversations celebrated Andrew Carnegie's legacy as a peacebuilder while examining the challenges that lie ahead, including nuclear security, climate change, artificial intelligence, among other emerging threats to international peace. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK



**DAY ONE**  
October 14

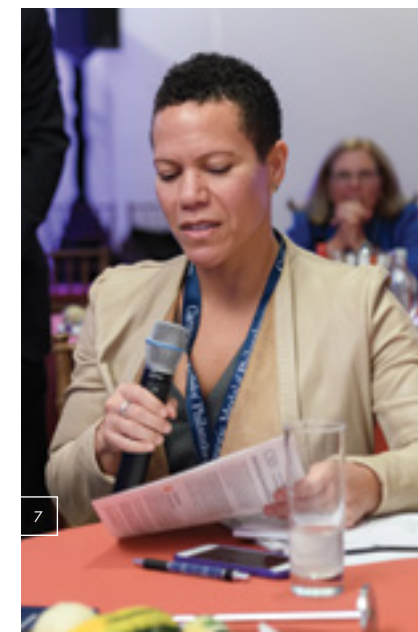
**V**artan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, kicked off ceremonies on Monday, October 14, at TheTimesCenter by welcoming the Carnegie family of institutions to a biennial business meeting at which representatives from each institution discussed their mission and strategy in today's world.

Among the dozen leaders who spoke were Clive Gillinson, executive and artistic director of Carnegie Hall; Farnam Jahanian, president of Carnegie Mellon University; Joel Rosenthal, president of the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs; and Nora Rundell, chief executive of the Carnegie Dunfermline & Hero Fund Trusts, who shared the good news she received that very morning that the Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum in Dunfermline, Scotland, had been named the best family museum in the U.K.

The afternoon featured a TED-style talk from the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a Corporation grantee, on the urgent challenges facing our future, which CSIS explores as part of its Seven Revolutions program.

Defining the Seven Revolutions as the most important drivers of change over the next 30 years and beyond, Samuel Brannen, senior fellow of the International Security Program at CSIS, identified them as population, resources, technology, information, economics, security, and governance.

The day ended with a reception hosted by Bloomberg Philanthropies. Former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg is a past recipient of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy.



1. Vartan Gregorian, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York  
2. (l-r) Dame Diana Brittan, Thomas H. Kean, Chair, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Sir John Elvidge 3. Eric Isaacs, President, Carnegie Institution for Science 4. Sarah Davidson, Chief Executive, Carnegie UK Trust 5. Judd Devermont, CSIS 6. Samuel Brannen, CSIS 7. Nicole Howe Buggs, Carnegie Corporation of New York  
PHOTOS: FILIP WOLAK



**DAY TWO**  
October 15

The second day of events focused on one of Andrew Carnegie's most enduring ideals: world peace. To this end, he donated \$1.5 million — \$43 million in today's terms — in 1903 to erect the Carnegie Foundation — Peace Palace in The Hague, which houses the International Court of Justice. Held on October 15 at TheTimesCenter, the Second Carnegie Peacebuilding Conversations built on discussions initiated in 2018, when the Peace Palace hosted the first forum in The Hague.

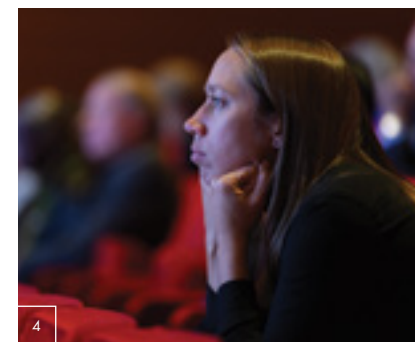
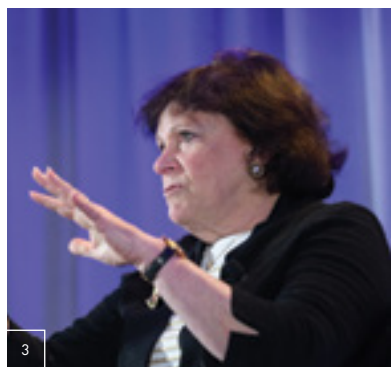
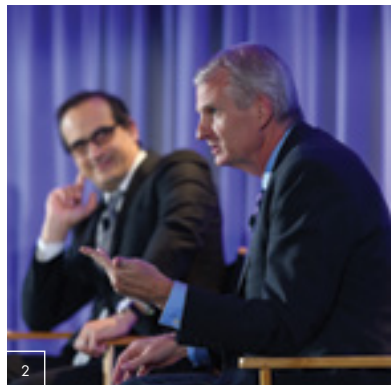
The morning began with a keynote conversation between former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and William J. Burns, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) and a former deputy secretary of state under Secretary Clinton. The two public servants discussed the ongoing conflict in Syria, one that has major players like Russia, Turkey, ISIS, and the Kurds locked in combat. In the days leading up to the event, the United States — long a stabilizing force in the country — began removing troops from the arena, a move Secretary Clinton condemned for the current administration's failure to follow the proper decision-making channels.

Subsequent panels focused on threats to peace from rising nationalism, nuclear insecurity, climate change, and cybersecurity challenges, and included such eminent experts as Ian Bremmer, president of Eurasia Group; David Miliband, chief executive of the International Rescue Committee; Sam Nunn, former senator and cochair of the Nuclear Threat Initiative; and Izumi Nakamitsu, United Nations Under-Secretary-General of Disarmament Affairs.

The day ended with a dinner and performance by The Philadelphia Orchestra at Carnegie Hall.

1. Erik de Baedts, Director, Carnegie Foundation — Peace Palace  
2. (l-r) Frédéric Mégret, Timothy Snyder 3. Jessica Tuchman Mathews, CEIP  
4. Elise Henson, Carnegie Corporation of New York 5. (l-r) Ian Bremmer, Oscar Fernández-Taranco, United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support 6. (l-r) Izumi Nakamitsu, Sam Nunn.

PHOTOS: FILIP WOLAK





The remarkable series of events culminated in the august Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy ceremony, held at The New York Public Library (NYPL). Every two years since 2001, the Carnegie family of institutions has recognized distinguished philanthropists for their extraordinary impact on a particular field, nation, or the international community, and for embodying Andrew Carnegie's philanthropic vision of doing "real and permanent good in this world."

The day's master of ceremonies, Judy Woodruff, anchor and managing editor of *PBS NewsHour*, touched on the incredible power of philanthropy and the transformative work of the medalists being honored. Woodruff noted the impact of the 2019 medalists at a time when society is facing serious threats to peace and progress and when the role of philanthropy itself is being questioned. "Today, philanthropy is being confronted with some tough questions, many of which are valid," she observed. "Is the philanthropic model that Andrew Carnegie created still relevant when so much wealth remains concentrated in the hands of so few? The Medal recipients we will honor today stand as proof that the role of philanthropy ... is as vital today as it was in Andrew Carnegie's lifetime."

The 2019 medalists are Anne G. Earhart, Marisla Foundation; Melody Hobson and George Lucas, George Lucas Family Foundation; Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis, The Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis Foundation; Morton L. Mandel, Jack, Joseph, and Morton Mandel Foundation; Robert F. Smith, Fund II Foundation; Leonard Tow, The Tow Foundation; and Sir Ian Wood KT GBE, The Wood Foundation.

A bagpiper led the medalists into the Celeste Bartos Forum at NYPL to the tune of "Scotland the Brave," a tribute to Andrew Carnegie's Scottish heritage. Later, at intervals during the luncheon ceremony, a quartet of young jazz musicians, Citizens of the Blues, performed for the guests.

1. William Thomson, great-grandson of Andrew Carnegie 2. Robert F. Smith, recipient of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy 3. (l-r) Vartan Gregorian, Anne G. Earhart, recipient of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy 4. Carnegie Corporation of New York staff 5. Judy Woodruff.  
PHOTOS: FILIP WOLAK







**A Good Provider Is One Who Leaves: One Family and Migration in the 21st Century**

Jason DeParle

Viking, 382 pp. 2019.

## The Lives Left Behind — and the New Ones Created

Jason DeParle tells the fascinating story of global migration through the tale of one family

By **Joseph J. Jung**

**Starting Over** In his new book, *A Good Provider Is One Who Leaves*, Jason DeParle traces Rosalie Villanueva's journey from the Philippines to the Persian Gulf, where she worked as a nurse for two decades, and then to Galveston, Texas, where she helped fill a nursing staff shortage in the wake of a hurricane a decade ago. Rosalie is depicted here outside her home in Texas City, Texas, with her three children, (l-r) Lara, 13; Dominique, 12; Kristine, 16; and husband, Chris, in back. Her family was able to join her in the U.S. soon after she arrived in 2012. Foreign-born workers make up 17.4 percent of the U.S. workforce, often filling critical gaps in key industries. These gaps are not just in the agriculture and service industries but also in high-skilled labor markets requiring advanced degrees. PHOTO: TAMIR KALIFA/THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

Debates on immigration are typically presented from the vantage point of the receiving country. We ask our citizens how they feel about the immigrant and whether they've considered the immigrant's good standing when forming their opinions. We ask whether our nation has the capacity to support immigrants, turning a blind eye to their contributions to key industries and the state's full coffers. Less often do we ask the immigrant why they have chosen *us*, as though the answer is all but obvious.

Jason DeParle's *A Good Provider Is One Who Leaves* explores immigration from its other ends — through the eyes of emigrants and the forces driving them from home. At the book's heart is the Comodas family, who hosted DeParle in Manila nearly 30 years ago. Over years of friendship, DeParle bore witness to (and, at times, participated in) their journey out of poverty. It was a journey of love and duty, certainly, but also one of separation, lost time, and heartache.

When DeParle first met the Comodas family in 1987, they were living in Leveriza, a slum district in Manila. His host, Tita Portagana Comodas, was a mother of five and a manager of a dozen co-op stores run by nuns. Her husband, Emet, was an overseas laborer in Saudi Arabia, cleaning pools for 10 times the salary he had been paid in Manila for the same work. They were doing all they could to keep their children fed, in school, and safe.

The International Labour Organization estimates that there are more than 165 million migrant workers around the world. In 2018, remittances from these immigrants amounted to \$689 billion, of which 77 percent, or \$529 billion, went to low- and middle-income countries. For many of these countries, remittances far exceed the foreign aid they receive from higher-income nations, making migrant labor one of the most effective forces bringing down global poverty. In countries like the Philippines, where remittances make up 11 percent of gross domestic product, families of migrant workers experience a rise in school attendance and health, as well as a decrease in child labor.

For the Comodas family, Emet's contract in Saudi Arabia was a lifeline. Before Emet went abroad, Tita's days began before dusk, when she cooked a meager breakfast of rice and what little else she could afford. Her days ended at midnight, when she washed her kids' single set of uniforms by hand so that they could wear clean clothes to school. After Emet left for Saudi Arabia, Tita stopped running out of food, bought extra uniforms for her kids, and could treat the toothaches that had plagued her for years.

Unfortunately, the price of this lifeline was steep. Tita had to raise the children by herself for most of the children's youngest years and for Emet, who had grown up as an orphan, the distance was painful and almost unbearable. The family's youngest child, at age two, cried when Emet



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 tried to hold him — after all, it was the touch of a stranger. DeParle writes, “[Emet] would flare when he heard critics say that overseas workers deprive their children of love. ‘You cannot look at each other and say it’s love if your stomach is empty — I sacrificed.’”

DeParle’s admiration of his subjects is one of the most striking aspects of the book. “As a reporter in the States, I had tried to understand what kept people from seizing opportunity in a society of plenty. As a reporter in Leveriza, I tried to understand how people seized opportunity where it scarcely existed,” he writes. He reflects on his time in Leveriza as “an encounter with grace,” where he saw families that “faced crushing poverty without being crushed.”

To be fair, what keeps people from “seizing opportunity” in America is not a lack of perseverance or sense of duty. The United States struggles with a long and ongoing history of marginalizing our most vulnerable members with institutional barriers to prosperity. This includes the predatory housing loans that led to the 2008 housing crash, our ever-growing student debt crisis, the endless attempts to suppress the right to vote in minority communities, and the persistent inaction on immigration policy that leaves immigrant families in fear for their lives and well-being.

In his book, DeParle’s focus is on grit amongst the Filipino poor, rather than the structural impediments to their economic mobility. Take Tess Aliscad, for example: a single mother who forfeited her dream of becoming a nurse to be a nanny for a wealthy American-Australian family. She made the difficult decision to put aside her own aspirations and tend to this family in their foreign homes, leaving her to watch her own children grow up in the Philippines via Skype and social media.

A majority of the providers in DeParle’s book are women like Tess. Unlike Tita, who obtained “a hint of the deference offered to people of means” through her husband’s honorable labor, women migrant workers like Tess are often criticized as bad mothers who neglect their children. Yet, women comprise 75 percent of the Philippines’

overseas workforce, making them the primary driver of development based on migrant labor.

As a migrant nurse, Tita and Emet’s daughter Rosalie, too, struggled with her family obligations and the cultural expectations of a patriarchal society. Working in the Persian Gulf, Rosalie earned a sizable salary, helping her to support immediate and extended families, as well as needy neighbors. Later, after passing a stringent visa application process to work in Galveston, Texas, she also contended with anti-immigrant pushback from Americans who accused her and other immigrants of stealing jobs and being insufficiently qualified to be a nurse.

According to an essay published by the Brookings Institution, the impact of immigrant labor on the overall employment levels and wages of most native-born workers is “low.” Moreover, “undocumented workers often work the unpleasant, back-breaking jobs that native-born workers are not willing to do.” Foreign-born workers make up 17.4 percent of the United States’ workforce, often filling critical gaps in key sectors, not only in the agriculture and service industries, but also in so-called “high-skilled” labor markets requiring advanced degrees.

In Galveston, Rosalie and her immigrant peers were filling a nursing staff shortage that had followed a major hurricane with “Katrina-like consequences” in 2008. Hundreds of American nurses had left the area due to hospitals being closed for extended periods. Many others were lured away by higher-paying hospitals in nearby cities, such as Houston.

Some patients were initially skeptical of the influx of immigrant staff, but the hospital understood that nurses like Rosalie were godsend. With time, the patients warmed to Rosalie and her peers too. DeParle quotes Jeanette Dotson, a former patient of Rosalie’s, saying, “You can tell that she really loves to take care of people. It wasn’t like ‘this is just my job.’ She let me know she’d pray for me. There was just something about her that was very special.”

Today, immigration is a thorny political issue around the globe, with various parties eager to debate terms of entry and removal for immigrants. While countries are within their right to review the impact of having immigrants within their borders, we should not forget that immigration is, at its core, a *personal* story driven by the emigrant’s own circumstances and needs.

There are 45 million immigrants in the United States, and they comprise 13.7 percent of the country’s total population. Each one has their own migration story, but their lives are more than their history with this country. When we reduce immigrants to statistics and visa classifications, we erase from our minds the families they are trying to protect and the lives that they have left behind. ■



**Wish Granted** The ceremonial activities performed on a long summer day in Andrew Carnegie’s hometown of Dunfermline, Scotland, were 106 years in the making. On August 12, Carnegie’s longtime wish to install an 11.5 by 7 foot Carnegie Tiffany window at the Abbey Church of Dunfermline was fulfilled at a ceremony attended by friends, institutions, and members of the Carnegie family. In 1913 Carnegie commissioned the famous Tiffany Studios of New York to create a stained-glass window to hang in the Abbey Church, but his plans were quickly thwarted. The dean of Dunfermline Abbey and His Majesty’s Commission for Ancient Monuments denied Carnegie’s wish, declaring the window “uneccelesiastical and too modern.” Recently, it was decided that the window, which was housed at the office of the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, would be installed at the Abbey Church at last in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Carnegie’s death. The Art Nouveau-style window stunningly depicts a landscape of trees framing mountains, a river, and flowering rhododendrons, all made of the colored Favrite glass patented by Tiffany in 1894. PHOTO: COURTESY CARNEGIE DUNFERMLINE TRUST





Rev. MaryAnn Rennie joins a piper in leading a procession through Pittencrieff Park in Andrew Carnegie's birthplace of Dunfermline, Scotland, ahead of a wreath-laying ceremony on August 11 to commemorate the centenary of the philanthropist's death.  
PHOTO: COURTESY CARNEGIE DUNFERMLINE TRUST



Standing in front of the building bearing his name, Vartan Gregorian addresses guests at the grand opening of the new global headquarters of the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research.  
PHOTO: CELESTE FORD



Carnegie Corporation of New York staff gather on National Voter Registration Day to show support for the day of civic action in which thousands of major companies and nonprofits participate.  
PHOTO: CATRIONA WHALLEY



Carnegie Corporation of New York's Kim Lew and John Williams, president of the New York Federal Reserve, in conversation about the latest economic trends at the MFA Outlook conference.  
PHOTO: SYLVESTER ZAWADZKI/COURTESY MANAGED FUNDS ASSOCIATION

## TRIBUTE

### Wreaths Laid on Both Sides of Atlantic for Carnegie Centenary

The centenary of Andrew Carnegie's passing was commemorated by ceremonial wreath-layings on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean in the town of his birth and at Carnegie's burial site. Held on Sunday, August 11, in Carnegie's hometown of Dunfermline, Scotland, and organized by the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, the first memorial took place in Pittencrieff Park, a 76-acre park that Carnegie was banned from as a child but later purchased in 1902 and gifted to the people of Dunfermline.

After a piper led a procession down High Street and through the ornate gates named for Carnegie's wife, Louise, about 75 people gathered in front of the park's nine-foot-tall bronze statue of Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie's great-grandson, William Thomson, and Carnegie Corporation of New York president Vartan Gregorian were among those laying wreaths.

A month later across the Atlantic, Gregorian presided over a second wreath-laying at Carnegie's grave in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, located along the Hudson River just north of New York City. Staff and trustees of Carnegie Corporation of New York attended the graveside memorial service on Friday, September 13.

"We thank you very much for your generosity, for your vision, and for your humanity," Gregorian said, addressing the spirit of Andrew Carnegie.

## GRAND OPENING

### New Building Named After Corporation President Vartan Gregorian

The National Association for Armenian Studies and Research (NAASR) named the new state-of-the-art building housing its global headquarters after Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York. Founded in 1955, NAASR advances Armenian studies by connecting scholars of Armenian history and culture with the public.

The grand opening of the NAASR Vartan Gregorian Building, located in Belmont, Massachusetts, was held on November 1. The naming of the building fulfilled the request of the building's chief benefactors, Edward and Pamela Avedisian, who attended the event along with Gregorian. Speaking at the event, NAASR board chair Yervant Chekijian said, "The building is NAASR's gift to future generations."

The state of Massachusetts supported the new building project with a capital grant of \$225,000, which helped install an elevator and accessibility features.

The grand opening featured tours of the building's public spaces, such as the Mardigian Library, whose holdings dating to the 1600s include rare periodicals from the 19th century, nearly 30,000 books, pamphlets, and maps, and the personal archives of prominent scholars, early Armenian Americans, and religious leaders.

## DAY OF ACTION

### National Voter Registration Day Shatters Records

Every year on the fourth Tuesday of September, Carnegie Corporation of New York joins dozens of other organizations in sponsoring National Voter Registration Day, a nonpartisan day of action to help eligible citizens register to vote or update their voter registration ahead of state deadlines.

Held on September 24, this year's National Voter Registration Day shattered records with an estimated 400,000 citizens registering for the first time or updating their voter registration, more than three times the previous record set for an "off year," when most elections are local.

As part of the day of action, more than 4,000 community partners, including technology companies like Google and Facebook, nonprofits, libraries, colleges, local election offices, and veteran groups, came together to promote voter registration online and at in-person, community-based events across the nation.

In the end, #NationalVoterRegistrationDay was the #1 trending topic on Twitter throughout most of the day, garnering nearly 100,000 tweets. Given this year's record, the goal of registering more than one million voters at next year's National Voter Registration Day may well be within reach.

## KEYNOTE

### The Corporation's Kim Lew Discusses Economy with New York Fed President

Kim Lew, chief investment officer at Carnegie Corporation of New York, moderated a keynote discussion with John Williams, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, at the MFA Outlook conference on October 17 in New York City, hosted by the Managed Funds Association. Lew and Williams discussed the evolution of the current business cycle, the tools available to the Federal Reserve to manage the economy, and the impact of new technology on productivity.

The same month, Lew's prowess as an investment manager was recognized by *Chief Investment Officer* magazine, which ranked her as number 16 on its 2019 Power 100 list across all institutions and number 5 among endowments and foundations.

CIO's Power 100 honors asset managers who have distinguished themselves by navigating a constantly shifting market landscape, using a sophisticated equation incorporating five factors to determine its rankings: innovation and influence, collaboration, talent development, fund size, and tenure.

Talent development is certainly part of the unique skill set Lew brings to the Corporation, where she manages a team of six investment professionals and oversees an endowment of \$3.5 billion. ■



## Contributors & Credits

Currently editor/writer at Carnegie Corporation of New York, **Kenneth Benson** has written, edited, and curated print, digital, and exhibition projects for The New York Public Library, the Museum of Biblical Art, The New York Botanical Garden, and other cultural institutions. He recently edited and annotated a new edition of Andrew Carnegie's most famous work, *The Gospel of Wealth*, a pair of articles first published in 1889.

Originally a transplant from Toronto, **Marcos Chin** has been living and working in New York City as an illustrator for over 12 years. An instructor at the School of Visual Arts, he has created illustrations for companies such as Google, Target, HBO, Starbucks, Michael Kors, and the *New York Times*. marcoschin.com

**Anita Jain** is a writer, journalist, and communications strategist. Her writing has appeared in the *Washington Post*, the *Guardian*, the *Financial Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *New York* magazine. She is the author of the memoir *Marrying Anita: A Quest for Love in the New India* (Bloomsbury USA, 2008). anitajain.org

A program assistant with Carnegie Corporation of New York's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program, **Joseph J. Jung** manages grantee relations, supports and informs program strategy, and contributes to internal projects. His work focuses on a range of national issues, including immigrant integration, voting rights protections, and voter engagement. Prior to joining the Corporation, Jung was a development professional at a New York City-based nonprofit organization that helped to empower immigrant communities. He holds BA degrees in English and government from Georgetown University, and is an MA student of human rights at Columbia University. @hijojung

**Thomas H. Kean** is chair of the board of trustees at Carnegie Corporation of New York. He served as governor of New Jersey for two terms from 1982 to 1990. He chaired the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, known as the 9/11 Commission, which was responsible for investigating the causes of the September 11 attacks and providing recommendations to prevent further terrorist attacks. After completing his second term as governor, Kean served as president of Drew University for 15 years. He has also served as chair of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and vice chair of the Environmental Defense Fund. Kean is the author of *The Politics of Inclusion*, published by The Free Press and is coauthor of *Without Precedent*, published by Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Penguin Random House.

Award-winning journalist **James Sterngold** spent most of his three-decade long career as a domestic and foreign correspondent in Asia at the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. He has written two books and numerous magazine articles on subjects ranging from nuclear weapons policy and national security to prison reform, the arts, national politics, economics, and business. @JimSterngold

A strategic thinker with deep experience in diverse communications work for a wide range of iconic global brands, **Daniel Kitae Um** is the Corporation's principal design director, responsible for managing all branding and visual presentation initiatives across the organization. Taking his BA and MA from Sogang University in Seoul, Korea, he went on to earn a BFA in graphic design from the School of Visual Arts (SVA) in New York City. Um's multilevel perspective on communications has helped him create award-winning work in the education, design, nonprofit, and commercial sectors for such previous employers as EdLab (Teachers College, Columbia University), The New York Public Library, SVA, *Interior Design* magazine, Case Commons, and CDM New York.



**Toward Andrew Carnegie's "more perfect day" ...** Carnegie Corporation of New York's Rick Brown (design) and Kate Newburger (concept) created this commemorative pin to honor the centennial of Andrew Carnegie's passing. Looking to the elaborate and graceful ropelike designs of Celtic crosses for its inspiration, the pin made its debut at the 10th Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy awards ceremony, held at The New York Public Library on October 16, 2019. The handsome pin was presented to attendees that day, attached to a card on which was printed this quotation: "This is man's work on earth, one of development toward the more perfect day; nothing yet finished, but all growing better through his strenuous exertions. 'Rest and be thankful' is for another existence."

The views, conclusions, and interpretations expressed in the *Carnegie Reporter* are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of Carnegie Corporation of New York, or those of the Corporation's staff, officers, trustees, partner organizations, or grantees.



**Tribute in Light** On the evening of October 16, the Empire State Building shone bright into the night with the traditional tartan colors – yellow, purple, and navy – of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy. Guests attending the closing reception at Carnegie Corporation of New York's midtown headquarters enjoyed a clear view of the lighted tower of the iconic building that evening. Since 1976, the Empire State Building has maintained a tradition of changing the colors of the tower's lights to recognize various occasions and organizations throughout the year. PHOTO: FILIP WOLAK



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Artist Sean Qualls's portrait of **Tamara Cox**, school librarian at Wren High School in Piedmont, South Carolina, 2019-2020 SC School Librarian of the Year, and 2018 I Love My Librarian Award recipient!

