

Institute of Arctic Studies partners with Greenland to develop new models for collaborative Arctic research

Dartmouth's Institute of Arctic Studies recently co-sponsored an event at the Woodrow Wilson Center's Polar Institute in Washington D.C. The event, Greenland – U.S. Research Cooperation: Exploring a New Model for Research in Greenland, focused on how Greenland and the U.S. can yield better research, consider more diverse perspectives, articulate the benefits of research to Greenlandic society, and train the next generation in this framework. The event was part of the Wilson Center's Greenland Dialogue series and Dartmouth's ongoing efforts to strengthen partnerships and build capacity for collaborative research in Greenland.

The event was opened by former Congresswoman Jane Harman, who is President and CEO of the Wilson Center. In the keynote address that followed, Minister Ane Lone Bagger from the Government of Greenland's Ministry of Education, Culture, Church, and Foreign Affairs stated: "Climate change in the Arctic is changing the condition of our lives for our people. The Arctic is experiencing much faster effects of climate change than anywhere else on the planet. We are the very first to feel the consequences of climate change."

Dartmouth researchers have worked in Greenland for more than a decade studying the causes and consequences of rapid Arctic climate change. "When we started working in Greenland, we immediately recognized our responsibility to connect with stakeholders and diverse communities in Greenland to learn how we could work together to solve shared challenges. It's more important now than ever to continue these efforts as Arctic change continues to intensify and affect us all," said Ross Virginia, director of the Institute of Arctic Studies , which is housed in the Dickey Center, and a global fellow at the Polar Institute at the Wilson Center.

In August 2018, the Institute of Arctic Studies led a 2-day



Participants in a "Greenland Dialogues" event hosted by the Wilson Center's Polar Institute and Global Europe Program. Experts participating included Dartmouth's Lauren Culler from the Institute of Arctic Studies (far left).

WHAT TRUMP'S SYRIA DEBACLE MEANS FOR ISIS The chaos in the Middle East helps terrorists in more ways than one By Daniel Benjamin, *POLITICO Magazine*, October 18, 2019

On October 6, President Donald Trump agreed during a phone call with Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to withdraw US forces from northern Syria and allow a Turkish military incursion into the area. Although Trump had long signaled his desire to remove the US military from the area, the timing of the decision came as a surprise. The move largely ended the US alliance with the Kurdish force known as the YPG, which had played a critical role in the campaign against ISIS in the area and lost an estimated 11,000 troops in that effort. Turkey has been eager to occupy the area and to displace the YPG, which it considers an affiliate of the Kurdish Workers' Party or PKK, a terrorist organization that has fought the Turkish central government for decades.

Politico asked Dickey Center Director Daniel Benjamin, the former Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the State Department, to evaluate the impact of the drawdown in Syria on the fight against ISIS.

To many counterterrorism experts, it has often seemed that President Donald Trump had an unerring instinct for bad policy. Blanket support for repressive dictators, Islamophobic language and the Muslim immigration ban, which alienated the Muslim Americans law enforcement depends on and encouraged white supremacists, a refusal to invest in programs to blunt extremism—what more damage could he do?

Few, however, imagined that he might just give ISIS the enormous boost of the Syria debacle.

Just months after the last scraps of ISIS' Caliphate were wrested from the organization, northern Syria has been plunged into chaos thanks to Trump's abrupt removal of U.S. troops from the region. Trump, a man addicted to superlatives, can now safely boast of having squandered a hard-fought military victory faster than anyone in history. And with the Turkish military and its proxies, Syrian forces, Kurdish fighters and Russian troops converging, there is real danger that prisons holding 11,000 ISIS fighters will be breached.

According to U.S. officials, many of the Syrian Kurdish soldiers guarding the prisons have been departing either to fight the Turks or simply escape the onslaught, leaving minimal or no security. At some facilities detainees are rioting. Scattered reports have been received of escapes, with official estimates of those who've gotten out rising to more than 100. (Accounts of larger numbers of escapees have come from camps where families of fighters are being held.) Officials also worry that their ability to get news from the Kurdish SDF or Syrian Democratic Forces, fighters guarding the prisons is diminishing fast. As has been widely reported, the U.S. military was unable to relocate 50 "HVIs" (High Value Individuals), the most dangerous of the terrorists, in the chaos.

Although Vice President Mike Pence and his Turkish interlocutors agreed on a cessation of hostilities on Thursday, the agreement will probably have little effect on ISIS detainees. Kurdish spokesmen have already understandably derided the deal as part two of a U.S. sellout and presumably will continue to fight. The 13-point agreement has no bearing on Syrian forces who are moving to retake control of the Kurdish region. And it commits Turkey to anti-ISIS "activities in northeast Syria" and "coordination on detention facilities," but it is anyone's guess what that will mean.

Exactly what the various parties have planned for dealing with ISIS detainees or fighters in the field is hard to say. For the Turks, jihadi fighters are a low priority compared with the Kurds, who they depict as a profound long-term threat to Turkish security. President Recep Tayyib Erdogan deserves no small amount of credit for the rise of ISIS: His policy of allowing foreign fighters to transit Turkey en route to Syria, over the objections of innumerable allies and partners, enabled ISIS to enlist some 20,000 outsiders to the conflict in the Levant. Erdogan, another paragon of bad judgment, had hoped these fighters would topple the regime of Syrian leader Bashar Assad.

For his part, Assad also has a history of neglecting—and manipulating—the jihadists. For years, his government quietly encouraged jihadis to travel to Iraq to harass U.S. forces and the post-Saddam, U.S.-backed government. Through most of the Syrian Civil War, the Syrian regime— with backing from Russia—concentrated its fire on other regime opponents rather than the ISIS fighters who built the cross-border caliphate. U.S. officials take some hope that Russia will press their Syrian partners to keep ISIS militants—and especially foreign fighters—locked up. None of these actors is known for a commitment to civil rights, to put it mildly, so bombing the prisons or otherwise attacking the prisoners also can't be ruled out. If, that is, ISIS fighters on the outside don't break their comrades out first, a tactic in which the group is well-practiced.

How much of a difference would this kind of replenishment to ISIS' ranks make? Although Trump recently tweeted that the group is "100% defeated," that is not the case. In Syria, Carter Center reporting shows ISIS still carrying out numerous attacks each month. The same is true in Iraq, where the group has embraced a strategy of hit-and-run attacks to demonstrate its resilience. United Nations reporting has put the total number of ISIS fighters in the field at 20,000 to 30,000. That number may be high, and it is unlikely that the group could start holding significant territory in Iraq as long as there are some 5,000 U.S. troops in Iraq with air power to back them, but the scope for trouble is considerable—and all the more so with civil unrest elsewhere in Iraq, distracting the country's leadership. In Syria, for now, fighting among the various militaries will likely prevent any new ISIS statelet from reemerging, but for the longer term, nothing is certain.

The potential for ISIS carrying out terrorist attacks elsewhere is also noteworthy. Of the detainees in Syria, 2,000 are foreign fighters representing some 40 countries. While some of these might be reluctant to return to the fight after the ordeal they've been through, Gen. Joe Votel, then commander of Central Command, testified in Congress in March that plenty of the "ISIS population being evacuated from the remaining

Bliska '20 and Lane '20 Receive First Annual Bosworth Award

Two outstanding students were awarded the *Class of 1961* Stephen W. Bosworth Award for International Affairs based on their engagement in global studies throughout their time at Dartmouth.

Hanna Bliska '20 is an Environmental Studies major and works as a research assistant in Professor Ross Virginia's Arctic Studies lab. She is a Raynolds International Expedition Grant Recipient, a James O. Freedman Presidential Scholar, and a Stefansson Fellow. She traveled to Greenland multiple times for research work and with the Joint Science Education Project (JSEP), a program run by the Dickey Center's Institute of Arctic Studies since 2015 and supported by the National Science Foundation through 2022 to teach Greenlandic, U.S. and Danish high school students about field-based learning in the Arctic. Her own research looks at linkages between Arctic aquatic and terrestrial food webs. She has served as a liaison to visiting Arctic Scholars at Dartmouth. Hanna has also spent time at the Rockefeller Center conducting public policy research and she played an active role in the Dickey Center's Global Health Initiative. During her freshman year, she was a Great Issues Scholar at the Dickey Center.

Taylor Lane '20 has been involved with international issues since her initial days on campus. Selected as a Dickey Center Great Issues Scholar, she spent her first year looking at a range of interdisciplinary international issues with faculty and visiting practitioners. She served as a mentor for the program in her sophomore year. She is also an active member of the Dickey Center's War & Peace Fellows program and a member of the World Affairs Council. During her freshman summer, Taylor was selected as a Rockefeller Center First Year Fellow and had an internship with the Congressional Research Service's Defense and Trade Division under the mentorship of Mary Beth Nikitin '96. This experience helped Taylor solidify her interest in government—now her major at Dartmouth. She will also graduate with a minor in Public Policy. Her particular area of focus is on defense policy. Taylor spent this past summer in Oxford as part of Dartmouth's Keble Exchange and this summer she undertook an internship in Seoul, South Korea.

The Class of 1961 Stephen W. Bosworth Award honors students who have shown particular excellence in their engagement in Dickey Center international affairs activities. The award, endowed by the Class of 1961, honors the memory of class member Steve Bosworth, who served as the United States' ambassador in Tunisia, South Korea and the Philippines, where he played a pivotal role in pressing Ferdinand Marcos to step down, ushering in a new era of democratic governance in the country. Bosworth held many other positions at the State Department including Special Representative for North Korea Policy during the first Obama Administration. An outstanding scholar of international relations, he served as dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University 2001-2013 and held positions at Harvard, Johns Hopkins and Stanford.

Ambassador Bosworth contributed to Dartmouth in numerous ways. He had been a member of the Dickey Center Board of Visitors and spent two terms in residence as a Dickey Center Fellow in 1987, delivering several lectures, co-teaching a course on international politics and documenting his experiences in the Philippines. Dartmouth awarded him an honorary doctor of laws degree in 1986.

The students delivered presentations on their work and experiences at Dartmouth to members of the Class of 1961 during Homecoming Weekend, October 12th. ■



Class President **Don O'Neill '61** (far left) and **Pete Bleyler '61** (far right) present the first annual Bosworth Award to **Taylor Lane '20** (left) and **Hanna Bliska '20** (right).

DICKEY CENTER INTERNS USE THEIR IT AND DESIGN SKILLS FOR DEVELOPMENT

The tools of technology and the principles of design thinking hold tremendous promise for human development. We can use mobile technologies to expand opportunities for education, provide access to finance, and help entrepreneurs make better decisions. We can leverage "big data" to design smart growth in cities, make energy infrastructure more efficient, and track environmental changes. We can facilitate the modernization of government bureaucracies and lower the cost of information in order to increase transparency, lower corruption, and engage civic participation.

But many people in the world access the Internet only on their mobile phones, have no broadband, have different needs, and they may lack schooling and have no access to capital. Are we preparing Dartmouth STEM students to work on digital solutions with these challenges in mind? The Technology and Design internship affords undergraduates an opportunity to spend an off-term applying their coding, data management, and design skills for social impact projects. The Dickey Center has now supported nine internships – in Kosovo, Nepal, and Ghana – in this rapidly emerging field of human development.

This past summer, Aaron Lit '19 worked as a data analyst and project manager at Open Data Kosovo. Open Data Kosovo (ODK) is composed of a team of dedicated software developers, data analysts, and journalists who harness government census and statistics to improve business, economic, and political transparency. In addition, ODK functions as a lab that provides mentorship and training programs, engaging local software developers to develop apps for social good. The digital tool Aaron and his team created, The Future Workplace, analyzes trends in the Kosovo IT ecosystem to allow students, foreign investors, and the education ministry to make informed decisions about investments. "At Dartmouth, my data analysis coursework was heavily theory oriented, with the audience primarily being math students or professors. However, working at ODK has given me the opportunity to transform data such that it speaks to the general public with maximum efficiency and ease of relating my message."



Aaron Lit '19 (second from right) at work in the Open Data Kosovo office.



Jai Smith '22 (far right) with members of the Kathmandu Living Lab in Nepal.



Sylvester Elorm Coch '22 (far right) with the Leti Arts team in Accra, Ghana.

Stories from the Field, Shae Wolfe '20 NeuRA Sydney, Australia

During Winter Term 2019, Shae Wolfe '20 interned at Neuroscience Research Australia (NeuRA) in Sydney. In this position, she worked to create culturally sensitive research protocols to understand the factors of neurodegenerative diseases in Aboriginal populations and in the Torres Strait Islander communities. She also helped develop a mindfulness-based stress reduction study.

Shae is a senior majoring in Neuroscience. On-campus, she is involved in the Center for Social Impact as the Student Director of SEAD (Student Enrichment at Dartmouth) and conducts research in the brain sciences laboratory. Her experience interning at NeuRA allowed her to both further develop her practical research skills and realize the value she places on a workplace culture where employees advance their cultural appreciation. The following is Shae's "Story from the Field."

Over Winter Term 2019, I spent three months at NeuRA in Sydney, Australia, helping conduct and translate research on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health and aging. Due to Australia's long history of racism and discrimination towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, they are at high risk for developing physical and mental health-related issues. My focus was on neurodegenerative diseases, such as dementia and Alzheimer's; the risk factors associated with cognitive decline; and what preventive measures we could implement into at-risk Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Some of my projects included exploring culturally appropriate research methods for future research projects; analyzing data from previous studies on community resilience; aiding in the development of a mindfulness-based stress reduction study for Aboriginal communities; and communicating with the communities regarding appropriate research translation.

I came to Australia thinking that my biggest take away would be related to science and how to make research culturally safe and appropriate. However, as I reflect on my experience, I realize what I have taken back with me is so much broader than I could have ever anticipated.

I began my internship by reading about Aboriginal culture. I dove deep into Aboriginal values and tried to understand what is most important to this community. All Aboriginal mobs are different, but I was expected to learn as much as I could about the population as a whole. Many common values included a connection to country, nature, and family.

I also worked to understand this population in their historical context. I researched the Australian history of colonization by watching past interviews with the Aboriginal community. From these records, I learned of the trauma, racism, and abuse that colonization brought, and how it affects Australia's indigenous people today.

Up until the 1970s, the Australian government forcibly removed children of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent from their families, land, and culture. These children are called the Stolen Generation. Many of the children were mixed race and were taken under control by appointed "protectors" who determined where they could live or work. Government and missionary institutions were created to "educate" and "care" for the those removed but instead left the generation with devastating psychological and health effects. To design culturally appropriate research, it was essential to have a strong understanding of not just the Aboriginal culture, but the past and present traumatic contexts the communities face. I think it was essential that I took the time to educate myself before I engaged with these communities. This independent research kept me from placing the burden of my education on the communities I interacted with. I believe that this approach is essential and will continue to practice it as I interact with people from backgrounds different from my own.

After having a better understanding of Australian Aboriginal culture, one of my roles was to explore Indigenous designed research methods. With this task, I spent a lot of time at my desk conducting online research for various methodologies, such as decolonization and storytelling and what those methods would look like in practice. I also had the opportunity to work on the development of a pilot for mindfulness-based stress reduction study.

What was special to me about this internship was that I was able to see neuroscience research holistically. In my previous research experience, I was only ever involved in the actual data collection process. But, through the wide range of tasks I





Shae Wolfe '20 (left) with colleagues at NeuRA.



Aboriginal community members performing a traditional dance before a conference at NeuRA.

THE DICKEY CENTER'S BOARD OF VISITORS Thanking Past Members and Welcoming New Members

The Dickey Center is fortunate to draw on advice from an accomplished Board of Visitors who help the Center improve its programs, strengthen its policies and enhance its resources. The Dickey Board members are appointed for a period of four years, but may be asked to serve an additional two years. The Board typically meets twice a year in Hanover. At the Center's spring meeting, we bid farewell to two members -- Susan ("Susie") Huang '84 and Welton Chang '05 -- who have been extraordinarily committed to Center and supported it in innumerable ways. "It's hard to imagine the Dickey Board without Susie and Welton," said Dickey Director Daniel Benjamin. "They were everything a center leader could have asked for, and more. I'm sorry we won't be seeing them at regular meetings, but I'm grateful for their counsel and friendship."

Susie Huang is a Vice Chairman of Investment Banking and a Managing Director at Morgan Stanley, where she specializes in mergers and acquisitions with a particular focus on cross border deals and the healthcare, consumer and chemicals sectors. Of her Board experience Susie wrote: "Being on the Dickey Board was a great way to be connected with Dartmouth and its students, but also to get the perspective of a very interesting group of board members with broad international experience. And, of course, to work with Dan Benjamin, who has brought so many high-profile speakers and important, provocative discussions to campus!"

Welton Chang '05 is the Chief Technology Officer at Human Rights First. Previously, he served as a psychologist and senior professional staff member at the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory (APL). Welton reflected on his time on Dickey's Board: "I had a very rewarding six and half years on the Board. I enjoyed getting to meet with students on a regular basis, including dinners with the War and Peace Fellows during their annual trip to D.C. I learned an immense amount about Dartmouth and about the work of the Center, including being a member of and running the board's nomination committee. Dartmouth and Dickey are special places and I very much welcomed the opportunity to serve the College."

Dickey Board Chairman Bill Obenshain added: "It is always a bittersweet moment when Visitors complete their term and roll off the board. It is certainly true in the case of Susie Huang and Welton Chang. It has been a pleasure for the rest of us to associate with these two very accomplished, bright individuals. Always personally engaging, they have consistently added to the quality of the discourse whether in formal meetings or in informal conversation. Dickey has been lucky to have them as loyal Board of Visitors members. Welton deserves a special note of gratitude for his persistent, conscientious stewardship as chair of the Nominating Committee. We wish them both the best and hope that we have the good fortune to cross paths in the future, whether at Dartmouth or in the 'wide, wide world.'"

Though the Center will miss Susie and Welton's contributions, two new members will bring their expertise to the Board this fall.

David Edelson '81 P'15 P'18 is the CFO of Loews Corporation and serves as a director of AutoNation Inc. Before joining Loews in 2005, he was EVP & Corporate Treasurer of JPMorgan Chase. David graduated from Dartmouth in 1981 with an AB in English and subsequently received his MBA from Stanford. While at Dartmouth, David participated in off-campus programs in Blois, France (French) and Washington, D.C. (Government). As an alumnus, David has been an active fundraiser; in 2013, he was inducted into the Stephen F. Mandel '52 Society in recognition of his leadership in raising gifts for the College. David has served on the Dartmouth College Fund Committee, the Alumni Council, and the Nominating & Alumni Trustee Search Committee, which he chaired for two years. He is currently a member of Dartmouth's New York Regional Campaign Committee and co-chair of the 1769 Society. Away from Dartmouth, David serves as president of the Jewish Board of Family & Children's Services in New York, governor of the Hebrew Union College, and director of UJA-Federation of NY. David lives in Manhattan and has three children, two of whom



Dickey Center Board members at the spring 2019 meeting. Photo by Lars Blackmore.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON SHARES INSIGHTS DURING A DAY AT DARTMOUTH

The former secretary of state meets scores of students and speaks at an overflow Dickey event by Bill Platt, *Dartmouth News*, May 09, 2019



Jake Sullivan (left) and Dickey Center Director Daniel Benjamin (right), who both worked for Hillary Rodham Clinton when she was secretary of state, participated in a wide ranging discussion with Secretary Clinton before 900 Dartmouth community members at Spaulding Auditorium. Photo by Lars Blackmore.

The first question posed to Hillary Rodham Clinton on her visit to Dartmouth came from Jasin Murati '19 of Park Ridge, Ill., as the former secretary of state met with students in the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding's War and Peace Fellows program.

Before he could ask how to get young people involved in politics, Clinton stopped him. "You are kidding me. Park Ridge? That's where I grew up."

Clinton told the students that young people have the power to change politics, something she says was evident in the 2018 U.S. mid-term election. She answered, in great detail, questions about foreign policy in China, Libya, Afghanistan, and Russia; spoke about her work on gender equality; and offered an analysis of current conflicts in Iran, Saudi Arabia, and North Korea.

After the session, she chatted with Murati about Maine East High School, from which they both graduated. "She started the Republican Club in the same room where I took my first U.S. history class," Murati said.

Clinton laughed. "Yes, yes, I was a Republican, until I saw the light in my freshman year in college."

In addition to meeting with undergraduates in the War and Peace Fellows program and U.S. foreign policy and international security postdoctoral fellows, Clinton's full day in Hanover had her visit students in classes taught by Daniel Benjamin, the Norman E. McCulloch Jr. Director of the Dickey Center, and Jake Sullivan, Dickey's Magro Family Distinguished Visitor in International Affairs and a Montgomery Fellow. She also spoke to an overflow crowd in Spaulding Auditorium, and later dined with President Philip J. Hanlon '77, Provost Joseph Helble, faculty members, and other guests.

"It's personally gratifying to be back here with Danny and Jake by my side," Clinton said of Benjamin and Sullivan. Sullivan was Clinton's deputy chief of staff in the State Department and foreign policy adviser during her 2016 presidential run. Benjamin worked with Clinton as coordinator for counterterrorism in the Obama administration and years earlier had been a foreign policy speechwriter for President Bill Clinton.

"They really helped move the ball forward on behalf of the State Department," Clinton told students.

Having the opportunity to meet Clinton was a thrill for Lily Hinec '19.

"I joined the War and Peace Fellows this year for my senior year and it's been fantastic. I've heard, just in this past week, Hillary Clinton and Timothy Geithner '83, the former secretary of the treasury. And last fall I got to hear from Jim Mattis," then the secretary of defense, said Hinec. "Not only do we have incredible access to speakers, but also access to other students who are the next generation of people who are going to be tackling these issues."

In her public talk, the Obenshain Family Great Issues Lecture, Clinton answered questions from Sullivan and Benjamin and from audience members who had submitted written queries in advance.

In response to a question from Benjamin about Russian interference in American politics, Clinton told the packed auditorium—as well as an audience in an overflow room and

2019 Named Interns

The Center offers funding for students to engage with the world through internship and research experiences. While some funding opportunities support established relationships with international organizations, students also can create their own experiences with an organization that fits their interests, skills, and timeframe. The Center is fortunate to receive tremendous support from a number of College Classes and alumni donors. This past year's named interns are:

Class of 1954 Intern

Shae Wolf '20 Neuroscience Research Australia (NeuRA) New South Wales, Australia

Class of 1960 Intern

Pedro Miguel Castro '21 Build Health International Beverly, MA, USA & Lusaka, Zambia

Carol and Jim Baum 1961 International Intern

Jarely López '19 Young African Leaders Initiative Johannesburg, South Africa & Maputo, Mozambique

Louis J. Setti 1962 International Intern

Mary Versa Clemens-Sewall '20 Tangier-American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies and the American Language Center of Tangier, Morocco

Class of 1966 Intern

Cecily Craighead '22 International Organization for Migration San Jose, Costa Rica

Class of 1966 Intern

John Caramichael '20 Innovations for Poverty Action Tamale, Ghana

CLASS OF 1981 INTERN Andrea Sedlacek '20 Centre for Global Equity Cambridge, UK & Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar, Ethiopia

Lombard Fellows

DIANNA L. RYNKIEWICZ 1984 GLOBAL HEALTH INTERN Namrata Ramakrishna '20 Action for Mothers and Children

Pristina, Kosovo

Bhavsar Raman Narandas International Intern

Jeff Maina Gitahi '22 Civil Society Urban Development Platform (CSUDP) Nairobi, Kenya

Goldstein Japan Intern

Janine Sun '20

Journalism and Media Intern with Professor Chie Togawa, Tokyo, Japan



Jarely López '19 with colleagues in Mozambique.

The Lombard Fellowship supports graduating seniors and first-year Dartmouth alumni, including the professional schools, in public service. The Dickey Center, together with the Dartmouth Center for Social Impact, administers the Richard D. Lombard '53 Public Service Fellowship Program. Every year as many as a dozen Lombard Fellows match their interests and skills with partners in the U.S. and abroad to create a 6-12 month project that addresses local need and benefits the public good. Those who concluded their fellowship before the end of the summer 2019 are:

Leah Alpern, WADR West Africa Democracy Radio, Dakar, Senegal

Mae Hardebeck Asuiku, Minami Sanriku, Tohoku, Japan

Arielle Isaacson Botswana Harvard Partnership, Gaborone, Botswana

Kennedy Jensen Institute for Circumpolar Health Research, Yellowknife, Canada

Meghana Mishra Action for Mothers and Children, Pristina, Kosovo

William Paja

United Nations International Organization for Migration, San Jose, Costa Rica

Alexandra Sclafani

The Intervale Center, Gleaning and Food Rescue Program & Women on Farms Project, Burlington, Vermont

Bukiwe Sihlongonyane Boston Healthcare for the Homeless Program, Boston, MA

Nicholas Valenzuela Sante Fe Dreamers Project, Santa Fe, NM

Jenna van de Ruit International Rescue Committee, Harare, Zimbabwe

GREAT ISSUES SCHOLARS PROGRAM CELEBRATES 10 YEARS

Former Dartmouth President John Sloan Dickey is well known for having created the Great Issues Course that ran from 1947 to 1966. The course offered Dartmouth seniors—all men at the time—an unparalleled opportunity to study world affairs in their final year on campus.

In 2009, the Dickey Center launched an initiative aimed at reviving the spirit of the Great Issues Course with a year-long, co-curricular program for first-year students. The program, known as the Great Issues Scholars Program (GIS), is now celebrating its 10th year and has counted among its ranks more than 750 scholars and involved nearly 300 events. Since the fall of 2013, alumni Tom and Gina Russo, both of the Class of 1977, have provided generous support that made the program possible.

As part of the 10 year anniversary of the Great Issues Scholars program—and in coordination with Dartmouth's 250th celebration—the Dickey Center hosted a panel discussion over homecoming weekend that showcased Dartmouth graduates from a range of classes and one current undergraduate who spoke about how their experiences at Dartmouth and how their study of "great issues" in global affairs affected their lives.

A reception followed the panel discussion, with alumni and current students engaging in discussions about their experiences at Dartmouth and the Dickey Center. Throughout the year, the program looks forward to holding other special anniversary events that involve current and past scholars with other alumni for cross-generational discussions about the world's greatest issues. Nearly 300 globally-focused events 756 Scholars between 2009-2019 479 US citizens and 277 international scholars (from 56 countries!) 117 student mentors over the years

13-15% of each incoming freshman class applies to the program



During a reception following the panel discussion, current Dartmouth students speak with members of the Class of '57 about their shared experiences at Dartmouth.



Panelists included: **Sam Carlson '82**, who spent much of his career as an expert on education working in developing countries, including 21 years at the World Bank; **Anna Ghnouly '16**, who was awarded the Donald M. Payne International Development Fellowship and is now attending graduate school at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA); **Chris Wren '57**, who worked for 28 years at the New York Times as an editor and foreign correspondent; and Current Great Issues Scholar mentor, Global Health Fellow, and Dickey Center intern **Namrata Ramakrishna '20**. Photos by Lars Blackmore.

Cont. from page 4, IT and Design Internships

Jai Smith '22, interned at Kathmandu Living Labs (KLL). Jai notes, "My experience in Nepal was technically unlike anything I'd ever done. Over the course of my internship, I learned a new programming language and learned how to develop for iOS. From the moment I arrived at KLL, I was expected to work independently, learn what I needed, and meet deadlines." Smith, who intends to major in Computer Science, was struck how differently KLL operated from American software companies. "Most state-side software products strike me as solutions looking for problems. Software companies market finished products to potential users without incorporating them in the development process ... The KLL developers do not look for the flashiest and 'coolest' solutions to the problems they tackle, they focus on practical, effective, and easy-toexecute ones. This experience is something I will undoubtedly carry with me into my future work and will make me a far more effective and productive developer than I would have been sans KLL."

In the summer of 2019, Sylvester Elorm Coch '22 returned to his home country of Ghana to intern with Leti Arts in the capital city of Accra. Leti Arts, founded by 2017 Dartmouth

Cont. from page 5, Stories from the Field

was given, I gained exposure to the other aspects that go into research, such as: applying for funding, planning, organizing various projects, ethics considerations, and many other necessary details. Although, these more administrative tasks were not as dynamic, they are an essential part of the process which I had not previously considered. My internship gave me a glimpse into all the parts of a career in research, which has allowed me to better understand if it is something I want to pursue or not.

Being in Australia and connecting with the community forced me out of my comfort zone and made me really vulnerable, but it has given me so much freedom and room for growth. In America, I felt so much pressure to do things in a specific way

Mandela Washington Fellow Eyram Tawia, is an award-winning company and one of the pioneers of the African video gaming industry. A rising sophomore hoping to major in computer science, Sylvester saw this internship as an opportunity to gain practical experience with video games and digital comics curated with rich authentic African themes. "There was definitely a learning curve at the start of my internship. Together with the other interns, I had to learn technologies in the area of web development and database management. I believe this experience made me tougher and more driven. I learned to quickly comb through vast resources on the Internet for the specific information I needed and to apply concepts and ideas to gain newer perspectives or fix a bug, with particular attention to contextual nuances."

Most important to Sylvester was an enhanced sense of the possibilities for home-grown solutions to entrepreneurship in his own country. Sylvester said, "I learned to appreciate how solutions from other parts of the world can be tailored to fit Ghanaian tastes and context. Games and comics have been in existence for a very long time, but they have rarely been created with African themes and music in Africa."

and to create a "successful" identity. So much so that I realize I was giving up the pieces of who I am for that. What I learned here is that success looks different for everyone, and that it is okay to change your mind. And then change it again, and again, and again until you are truly happy.

From this opportunity, I learned many practical skills that I will take with me in whatever career I choose. But by far the largest impact of this experience, and the moments and wisdom I will never forget, was gained through connecting with the community outside of science. Most importantly, I learned to take the time to really get to know people, because all that people will remember is how we loved them and showed up for them. ■

The Human Development Fellowship

The Human Development Fellowship offers Dartmouth undergraduates funding both for field-based internships and on-campus research opportunities. Once selected as a Fellow, students can apply for funding to work with Faculty in any discipline on human development research.

During the Summer of 2019, Meriem Fouad '21 pursued a research assistantship with Professor Lisa Baldez of the Government and Latin American, Latino & Caribbean Studies (LALACS) departments. Meriem worked on two main projects: In the first, she helped with the redesign of two courses that Professor Baldez teaches – Protest and Revolution in Latin America and Sex and the State in Latin America. The second project investigated global discourses about women and military conscription, with a particular focus on the U.S. and Israel. She helped Professor Baldez craft new lectures about narratives associated with women in the military in the U.S. based on archival research relating to conflicts during the 20th and 21st centuries.

Said Meriem, "Overall, it was an enriching experience. Coming in, I knew very little about the challenges that face women serving in the military ... Methodologically, I enjoyed conducting literature reviews that immediately informed the redesign of a courses and lectures that will be taught to my peers."

CONT. FROM THE COVER, INSTITUTE OF ARCTIC STUDIES PARTNERS WITH GREENLAND

workshop in Nuuk, Greenland that brought together nearly 50 researchers from the U.S. and Greenland. On the basis of that workshop, IAS released a report that established priorities for collaborative research, co-production of research, public outreach, and education and training. "I was thrilled when the Greenland Representation – its equivalent of an embassy – in Washington, D.C. read the report and immediately reached out to organize follow-up events, including at the Wilson Center, to keep the conversation going," said Lauren Culler, A&S'13. Dr. Culler, who is the Institute's Science Outreach Coordinator, is also a Research Assistant Professor of Environmental Studies and the lead principal investigator of the NSF-funded workshop.

Dr. Culler presented the report's findings at the Wilson Center along with co-author Dr. Josephine Nymand, chair of the Greenland Research Council and head of the department at the Pinngortitaleriffik-Greenland Institute of Natural Resources.

Other speakers at the event included members of the Greenland and U.S. research communities and government agency representatives. In his keynote remarks, Drew Horn, Special Assistant to Vice President Mike Pence said that U.S., Greenland, and Danish relations have "a long history of friendship that I see strengthening and continuing to grow, underneath the lanes, I would say, of scientific research, energy, development, and overall expansion of human potential." Collectively, the speakers reinforced the importance of collaboration for understanding global processes, environmental change, economic and social-cultural issues in Greenland.

In closing, Minister Bagger declared, "I think today left us uplifted to see that developments are ongoing, and that scientists from Greenland and U.S. research communities are working together on these exact issues. Because we can do better by working together and contributing more diverse perspectives, but also [relate] the benefit to the communities in Greenland and train the next generation on a collaborative framework."

"I remain very grateful for the willingness of the Greenland research community to be open to new collaborations with the U.S. The conversations at the Wilson Center reinforced the notion that working together with Greenland creates a space for Arctic researchers to go beyond producing scientific publications, to do work that benefits both Greenland and global society," said Lauren Culler at the close of the event.

The workshop in Nuuk was made possible thanks to a National Science Foundation award from the Office of Polar Programs to Dr. Culler and Dr. Virginia. The full report was officially released on September 9, 2019 in conjunction with the event at the Wilson Center and can be seen at www.dartmouth.edu/~nuukworkshop.



Lauren Culler (right), Research Assistant Professor of Environmental Studies and Science Outreach Coordinator at Dartmouth College, presents the outcomes of the Joint US-Greenland Report at the Wilson Center. Other panelists include co-author Josephine Nymand (not pictured), chair of the Greenland Research Council and head of the department at the Pinngortitaleriffik-Greenland Institute of Natural Resources and Jennifer Mercer (left), Program Manager, Arctic Sciences & Arctic Research Support & Logistics, Office of Polar Programs, National Science Foundation.

Spring Events

GLOBAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND PERIOD POVERTY Deborah Brooks, Associate Professor of Government, Dartmouth, Faculty Coordinator of the Dickey Center's Gender Pillar, Apr 4th

THE STATE STRIKES BACK: THE END OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN CHINA?

Nicholas Lardy, Author of *The State Strikes Back* and Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, Apr 9th

Co-sponsored by the Political Economy Project. Made possible by the Ralph Greenhouse Asia/China Diplomacy Project.

Mary and Peter R. Dallman 1951 Great Issues Lecture ONLINE POLITICAL DISINFORMATION: THE GLOBAL THREAT AND WHAT THE TECH GIANTS NEED TO DO

Michael Posner, Director, Center for Business and Human RIghts, New York University's Stern Business School Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (2009-13), Apr 10th

Co-sponsored by the Vermont Law School.

CONGO STORIES: BATTLING FIVE CENTURIES OF EXPLOITATION AND GREED

John Prendergast, Author and Human Rights and Anti-Corruption Activist, Apr 16th

FILM SCREENING OF 'SAMBA UN NOMBRE BORRADO,' AND CONVERSATION WITH MAHMOUD TRAORÉ, SENEGALESE AUTHOR AND ACTIVIST Apr 16th

Co-sponsored by the Leslie Center for the Humanities, Provost's Fellowship Program, African and African American Studies, and the Departments of Anthropology and Spanish and Portuguese.

Class of 1950 Senior Foreign Affairs Fellow

THE BACK CHANNEL: A MEMOIR OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND THE CASE FOR ITS RENEWAL

William J. Burns, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Deputy Secretary of State (2011-14), Apr 25th

CAN PEOPLE IN POOR COUNTRIES ESCAPE POVERTY WITHOUT MOVING TO CITIES?

Sam Asher, Economist, Development Research Group at the World Bank, Apr 29th Made possible by the E. M. Skowrup 1937 Fund.

IN CONVERSATION WITH FORMER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY TIMOTHY GEITHNER

Professors **Michael Mastanudo** and **Charles Wheelan** and Magro Family Distinguished Visitor in International Affairs **Jake Sullivan** participated in the discussion, May 2nd

AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD: A DEBATE

Speakers included: Eugene Gholz (University of Notre Dame); Jennifer Lind (Dartmouth College); Constanze Stelzenmuller (Brookings Institution); Jake Sullivan (Dartmouth College); and Stephen Wertheim (Columbia University). Moderated by Daryl Press (Dartmouth College), May 7th

Co-hosted by the Brookings Institution and Charles Koch Institute.

Obenshain Family Great Issues Lecture

IN CONVERSATION WITH HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON Jake Sullivan and Daniel Benjamin, Director of the Dickey Center, participated in the discussion, May 8th

Leila and Melville Straus 1960 Family Symposium Public Panel

THE FUTURE OF THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARAB MONARCHIES OF THE GULF

Jason Bordoff, Senior Director for Energy and Climate Change on the National Security Council Staff (2009-13); Anne Patterson, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs (2013-17); and Jeffrey Feltman, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs at the United Nations (2012-18) participated in the panel, Jun 25th



Dickey Center Director **Daniel Benjamin** in conversation with Ambassador **Bill Burns** during the Class of 1950 Senior Foreign Affairs Fellow lecture. Photo by Lars Blackmore.



FALL EVENTS

ARE THE U.S. AND CHINA DECOUPLING? WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE GLOBAL ORDER?

Orville Schell, Director of the Asia Society's Center on US-China Relations, Sep 25th *Co-sponsored by the John Sloan Dickey Center for*

International Understanding and the Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth.

The Rabbi Marshall Meyer Great Issues Lecture on Social Justice

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN AN ERA OF RESURGENT POPULAR NATIONALISM

Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2014-18), Sept 26th Co-sponsored by the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding, the William Jewett Tucker Center for Spiritual and Ethical Life, and the Jewish Studies Program. Made possible by a gift from Marina and Andrew Lewin '81.

DOES LANGUAGE LIMIT WOMEN'S EQUALITY?

Pamela Jakiela, Senior Fellow at the Center for Global Development, Oct 1st Mαde possible by the E. M. Skowrup 1937 Fund.

IN THE DRIFT TRACK OF NANSEN: EXPLORING THE NEW ARCTIC OCEAN

Donald Perovich, Professor, Thayer School of Engineering at Dartmouth, Oct 2nd

Sponsored by the Institute of Arctic Studies at the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding.

CAPTURING A LEGACY: FOUR GENERATIONS OF NEPALESE PHOTOGRAPHERS

Displayed in the Russo Gallery, Haldeman Center until Nov 1st. A reception was held Oct 3rd. Navesh Chitrakar spoke and discussed his, and his family's, work. Photographers James Nachtwey and Kevin Bubriski also delivered remarks on the exhibit.

The exhibit was co-sponsored by the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding and the East-West Center, with additional support from the Nepal Foundation and Dartmouth's Department of Anthropology.

STOPPING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE

Tanya Ghani '03, UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women, Oct 7th



Rabbi Marshall Meyer lecturer **Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein**. Photo by Lars Blackmore.

THE EGYPTIAN ASSASSIN: A NOVEL

Book talk with **Ezzedine Fishere**, Former Egyptian Diplomat and Dartmouth Visiting Professor in Middle Eastern Studies, Oct 10th

NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES POSED BY CHINA'S RISE

Charles Glaser, Roth Family Distinguished Visiting Scholar at Dartmouth, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University, Oct 16th

Sponsored by the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding and Department of Government.

COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE OF NATURAL RESOURCE SYSTEMS IN NORTHERN CANADA AND THE ARCTIC

Gordon Hickey, 2019-20 Fulbright Canada Visiting Research Chair in Arctic Studies, Oct 17th Sponsored by the Institute of Arctic Studies at the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding.

SAUDI ARABIA'S ROLE IN 9/11 AND WHY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS KEPT IT HIDDEN

James Kreindler '77, Partner, Kreindler & Kreindler LLP. Co-chair of the Plaintiff's Committee in the 9/11 Litigation, Oct 28th

BUILDING UP AND INVESTING IN AFRICA

Gayle Smith, President and CEO of the ONE Campaign, Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (2015-17), Oct 29th A Dartmouth 250th event sponsored by the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding.

THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP IN A CHANGING ARCTIC

Ambassador David Balton, Senior Fellow, Polar Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Ambassador for Oceans and Fisheries, U.S. Department of State (ret.), Nov 4th

Sponsored by the Institute of Arctic Studies at the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding.

GIVING UP THE HIGHER GROUND: WHERE DOES THE U.S. GO FROM HERE?

Sarah Margon, Director of Foreign Policy Advocacy, Open Society Foundations, former Washington Director, Human Rights Watch (2015-19), Nov 5th

CONSIDERING IMPEACHMENT, FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE WAY FORWARD IN 2021: IN CONVERSATION WITH JAKE SULLIVAN

Jake Sullivan, Magro Family Distinguished Visitor in International Affairs, Director of Policy Planning at the U.S. State Department (2011-13) and National Security Advisor to Vice President Biden (2013-14), Nov 7th

WAR, PEACE AND REMEMBRANCE: A CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL CARTER HAM (RET.)

Carter Ham, President and CEO of the Association of the U.S. Army and former Commander, U.S. AFRICOM (2011-13), Nov 12th

Part of Dartmouth's Veterans Day Observances. A Dartmouth 250th event co-sponsored by the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding and The Nelson A. Rockefeller Center for Public Policy and the Social Sciences.

Cont. from page 2, TRUMP'S SYRIA DEBACLE

vestiges of the caliphate largely remains unrepentant, unbroken and radicalized." Intelligence services in Europe, North Africa and elsewhere will be looking hard for returnees, but borders are hardly airtight. Although ISIS' principal focus is on the area that was home to the Caliphate, the group will want to continue to score points by carrying out violence wherever it can to demonstrate its vitality.

Numbers of militants are one measure of a terrorist group's strength, but morale matters as well, and the Trump drawdown in Syria is a godsend for ISIS' spirits. It's not just that fighters in the field and supporters around the globe will be heartened by the possible return of the detainees; it's also confirmation of the stories that jihadists tell themselves about their struggle.

At the heart of the ISIS narrative is the belief that its struggle is a long one, filled with tribulations its members must endure but also with occasional triumphs. The fact that the U.S. is abandoning Syria so shortly after the destruction of the Caliphate will resonate with the faithful as a sign of divine support. ISIS' story is already one of comebacks, especially after the devastation the group suffered beginning in 2006, and the death of Abu Musab al-Zargawi, its first leader. ISIS leadership speaks of the establishment of the Caliphate as a historic achievement coming out of those ruins, and ISIS communications, though not nearly as voluminous as they were, aim to create a nostalgia for the Caliphate. Recalling that historic achievement helps keep ISIS at the forefront of its followers consciousness and aims to entice others into the fold. Just as the Prophet Mohammed faced setbacks, the propaganda claims, so do ISIS fighters, but this quick a revival will be received a portent of great things to come. Al Qaida tried a similar approach after the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, likening its followers to the companions of the Prophet who endured terrible defeats, but it never benefited from the broad-based popularity of ISIS or the kind of turnaround seen in Syria.

Like all jihadist groups, ISIS also has entwined in its ideological DNA the notion that the U.S. is ultimately a paper tiger. Osama Bin Laden made this argument from the earliest days of al Qaida, claiming that President Ronald Reagan's retreat from Lebanon in the early 1980s and the pullout from Somalia after the Black Hawk Down episode were indicative. After the pounding al Qaida took in Afghanistan beginning in 2001 and the methodical dismantlement of the Caliphate, that narrative has been in eclipse. Given events in Syria and Trump's naked eagerness to escape from Afghanistan, expect it to come roaring back.

Departing Syria will hurt global security—and the U.S. in particular—in still other ways. In the first instance, the rekindling of war in Syria will inevitably increase the production of new extremists. War may be the father of all things, but it especially prolific in producing militants. The U.S. has, until now, been remarkably effective at dispatching specific terrorist foes who aim to do us imminent harm. But after two decades of war in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia, Yemen and the north Caucasus, the number of jihadists in the world is widely believed to be at least four or five times the number that who were operating on 9/11. So the pool of extremists who may want to harm America tomorrow is steadily growing.

A greater concern for the U.S. is simply that Trump has shredded our ability to build coalitions to deal with urgent threats. The global network of intelligence and law enforcement agencies that coordinate the day-to-day work of counterterrorism will continue to operate because of the strong bonds at the professional level built up over many years and the continuing interest of national leaders to see that cooperation continue.

But after the president's spur of the moment action, which appears to have been a surprise for our French and British allies, who have troops in Syria as well, America's ability to rely on others for military support will be greatly diminished. In Europe, our allies are furious, and Trump's offhand remark that the U.S. had nothing to worry about because ISIS extremists "are going to be escaping to Europe," is the equivalent of a verbal flip of the bird to our closest friends. In the Middle East, as longtime CIA analyst Emile Nakhleh put it, "America's abandonment of its Kurdish allies [is seen] as an act of short-sightedness, untrustworthiness, expediency, undependability, fickleness, disloyalty, and vacillation."

This is a loss that will haunt us. The U.S.-led coalition to defeat ISIS consists of 75 countries. Some contribute more than others, but overall, the group has shared burdens and established a durable legitimacy for the operation. Consider now the hypothetical from hell: ISIS revives in six months and reestablishes a caliphate in Western Iraq and eastern Syria. Iraqi forces melt away again. The Syrian Kurds, understandably, are nowhere to be found. Who will then follow Donald Trump into battle?



Friends of the Dickey Center

The Friends of the Dickey Center is a program created to help us share news about our international programming on campus, the global scholarship of our students and faculty, and our active engagement with alumni around the world. The Friends group also serves as a portal for charitable contributions made in support of the Dickey Center and its future growth. We depend on your generosity to open new opportunities for our faculty and students.

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Cont. from page 6, Dickey Center Board

graduated from Dartmouth.

L. Brooks Entwistle '89 P'23 is the Global Head of Business Development at Uber. Prior to this role he served as Chief Business Officer International, responsible for Business Development and the Uber's relationships across Asia Pacific, EMEA and Latin America. He joined Uber in early 2017 and was the Regional General Manager for Asia Pacific for his first year at the firm. Previously, he was the CEO of Everstone Capital, a premier India and Southeast Asia focused private equity and real estate investment firm. Prior to joining Everstone in 2014, Brooks was a Partner at Goldman Sachs where he spent 22 years in various capacities, including 15 years based in Asia. Most recently, he was Chairman of Goldman Sachs South East Asia as well as CEO of Goldman Sachs Singapore. Prior to this, he spent 5 years in Mumbai as CEO and Founder of Goldman Sachs India where he was responsible for leading and building the firm across all divisions. He also served as the Founder & Co-Head of Goldman Sachs Asia's High Technology Group. Earlier in his career, Brooks served as a District Electoral Supervisor with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Brooks holds a bachelor's degree from Dartmouth College and a master's degree in Business Administration from Harvard Business School. He is currently a Board member of The Aspen Institute, EmancipAction, Telluride Mountainfilm and Young Life. An avid mountaineer

and big mountain skier, Brooks is the oldest American to summit and ski an 8000 meter peak, Cho Oyu in Tibet in 2016. He also summited Everest from the North Side in Tibet in 2017 in a guided climb record 27 days. ■



David Edelson '81 (left) and L. Brooks Entwistle '89 (right).

The biographies of all of our Board members can be viewed on the Dickey Center website under the tab "About the Center."

Cont. from page 7, Hillary Rodham Clinton Shares Insights

hundreds watching a livestream broadcast—that Russia, led by President Vladimir Putin, represented an existential threat.

"Putin has a very clear agenda, which is to weaken not only our democracy, but all of the Western democracies," she said. The Mueller report concluded that Russia conducted a sweeping and systemic interference in U.S. elections, she said, adding, "We need to stand up to that, and right now I don't think that will likely occur until we have a new president."

"And that's spoken as a person who apparently really annoyed Putin—which I take as a badge of honor."

Sullivan asked a question, posed by several people, on whether Congress should impeach President Trump.

"I think it's a mistake to jump to it. I have experience with that, too, as you might recall," Clinton said to laughter. "I think you take this step-by-step, but you don't shelve it. It's on the table, but you deliberately build toward it, or not."

Clinton said the vitriol and distortion in politics today is made worse by social media. "This is serious now," she said. "We are really going to have to take back our information." The press has to push beyond "both-sides-ism" that allows falsehoods to go unchallenged, people need to be more active online to counter hoaxes and lies, and social media platforms need to take responsibility for the content they perpetuate, she said.

Sullivan posed a question several people had asked: "If you had to tell one thing to all the young girls here in America, what would it be?"

"Follow your dreams and don't let anybody knock you off course or squash them. Don't listen to the negative voices in your head. Believe in yourself. If you don't have it now, develop confidence in yourself," Clinton said.

Over the years, she said she's seen many barriers women face knocked down—in the workplace, in higher education, in athletics, and in politics. However, internal barriers still stand in the way for women, Clinton said.

"Young men and young women look at their opportunities, and young men—if they have three out of the 10 requirements for a job—think they'll knock it out of the park. If young women have eight out of 10, they think, well, 'I don't have the other two, I'd better not try,' " Clinton said.

"So, this is all internal. This is inside our heads. And look, it's not easy. If you come across as too confident—well, you know what the result can be," she said to laughter and applause. ■



THE JOHN SLOAN DICKEY CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

6048 Haldeman Center, Dartmouth College Hanover, New Hampshire 03755-3525

HTTPS://DICKEY.DARTMOUTH.EDU DICKEY.CENTER@DARTMOUTH.EDU