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**Sent:** Saturday, October 8, 2011 8:10 AM  
**To:** H  
**Cc:** Abedin, Huma; Cheryl Mills; Jacob J Sullivan (SullivanJJ@state.gov)  
**Subject:** weekend reading

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I published the piece below on the New York Times website yesterday – the ideas about injustice and invisibility as the drivers of what we are seeing both on Wall Street and across the Middle East reflect much of what we did together. And the piece below that is from my blog at The Atlantic pushing financial inclusion, empowering women, and multi-stakeholder alliances as the foreign policy frontier. Interestingly, without my even knowing, they chose a picture of you at CGI to illustrate the piece. I think you will like the idea of a “global tree of life.” All best, AM

OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

## Occupied Wall Street, Seen From Abroad

By ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER

Published: October 6, 2011

THE American mainstream media is gradually beginning to pay attention to the Occupy Wall Street movement and its spinoffs springing up in Atlanta, Chicago, Boston and Seattle. But from the very beginning the movement has attracted extensive coverage from Al Jazeera and other Middle Eastern news outlets and Twitter users – probably because they recognize the forces that are reshaping politics across their region.

Indeed, the twin drivers of America’s nascent protest movement against the financial sector are injustice and invisibility, the very grievances that drove the Arab Spring.

Go on the Web site “[We are the 99 percent](#)” and you will see the [Mohamed Bouazizis](#) of the United States, page after page of testimonials from members of the middle class who took out loans to pay for education, took out mortgages to buy their houses and a piece of the American dream, worked hard at the jobs they could find, and ended up unemployed or radically underemployed and on the precipice of financial and social ruin.

They are not setting themselves on fire as Mr. Bouazizi did in Tunisia. But after electing a president who ran on the theme of hope and change, these Americans feel betrayed. The only change they are seeing is a tiny percentage of rich Americans getting richer while they are getting poorer. That is the injustice.

The invisibility is even worse. Human dignity is about being recognized, listened to, and acknowledged as an individual human being with an irreducible moral worth. But at a time when one in six Americans live in poverty and virtually all of our social indicators are worse than at any time since the Great Depression, the political system is locked in partisan paralysis. They are not being heard, so increasingly they will make themselves seen. And given unemployment rates, millions of Americans have nothing better to do with their time.

If we have learned anything from watching the Arab Spring over the past nine months, it should be that efforts to ridicule, ignore and block these kinds of protests only fuel them further. The only effective response is a political response, of a nature and magnitude that convinces protesters on the streets that they can in fact secure the change they seek within, rather than outside, the system. The news anchors and political commentators who scoff at the Occupy Wall Street marchers' lack of direction or articulated demands only make them madder and more determined.

Moreover, it's not hard to discern a political agenda taking shape. If the Tea Party is obsessed with debt and hence the size of government, the "99 Percent" movement is focused on problems that depend as much on the state of our political system as on any specific government policies. In the words of one protester interviewed in San Francisco, "We don't have a government for 'we the people' anymore."

Our political system is skewed to extremes by party primaries and beholden to donors at every subsequent stage. Neither Democratic nor Republican candidates can win without the support of the wealthiest 1 percent. And even if they could finance their campaigns more broadly, moderate candidates on both sides of the aisle who are willing to compromise and make the dramatic economic, environmental and energy policy changes our country needs cannot survive partisan primaries. The result is a government that does not actually represent the majority of the American people.

Yet solutions are not hard to find. California has replaced party primaries with open elections, a measure that passed easily. New York City has a matching campaign finance system that offers \$6 in public funds for each of the first 175 dollars that a donor gives to each candidate, an approach that has been endorsed by campaign finance reformers on both the left and the right.

Proposals abound for universal voter registration, and Oregon's vote-by-mail system resulted in over 80 percent voter turnout in the last presidential election. There are also proposals for proportional representation schemes, electing our presidents by popular vote, amending the constitution to bar private money from federal elections, and ending the filibuster in Congress. The common theme of all these proposals is simple: each citizen should get a vote that counts as much as the vote of every other citizen. The deeper point is that our economic system will work for all Americans only when our political system works for all Americans.

In the past month, it has been odd to read Twitter and blog posts from the Middle East taking the Wall Street protests far more seriously than anyone here has. My reflexive response was to explain that they didn't understand our politics; after all, that is so often what citizens of other countries tell Americans when we opine oh-so-knowingly about their politics.

But in this case, I am beginning to suspect that people abroad with long experience of disenfranchisement and trampling of their dignity may in fact understand the fissures in our society better than we do ourselves.

*Anne-Marie Slaughter, a professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton University, was director of policy planning at the State Department from 2009 to 2011.*

# The Future of Global Connectivity

By Anne-Marie Slaughter

Oct 3 2011, 7:05 AM ET

*Envisioning a world in which personal mobile technology can connect every human being in every village in every country to the tap roots of knowledge, markets, services, and community*



U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton speaks during closing plenary of Clinton Global Initiative / Reuters

Last week was the last week of the UN General Assembly meeting, when all New York is gridlocked and grumpy and the foreign policy community is over-loaded with invitations to events, meals, and meetings. I shuttled back and forth on the train between New York and my classes in Princeton, but the three events I chose to attend tell us quite a bit about the trend-lines in global affairs.

On Monday night, *The Atlantic* co-hosted a dinner moderated by Steve Clemons on the technocratic sounding topic of "financial inclusion," which brought together a hedge fund director, heads of various NGOs focusing on women, development, and microfinance, UN officials, bankers, telecom entrepreneurs, and others. "Financial inclusion" essentially means banking the unbanked, which is most of the world's poor. That often starts with mobile money, which has taken off with Kenya's M-PESA (the M stands for mobile and *pesa* is Swahili for money, which the program allows Kenyans to send by cell phone). But once you are getting and sending your money via cell phone you can also, at least theoretically, put it into a bank account and start saving, paying on lay-away, using a credit card, buying insurance -- in short, doing all the things that those of us who are connected to the financial system at least at a retail level take for granted.

Tuesday night was a dinner sponsored by the Cherie Blair Foundation for women as part of the Clinton Global Initiative on a related subject: "Women + Technology: the 21st Century Solution." Again, it was a distinctly "tri-sector" event, including guests from the private sector, the public sector, and the civic sector; from former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to the young and compelling Kiva president Premal Shah to various entrepreneurs working on a sustainable business plan to sell (and have local distributors sell) pumps, drip irrigation, solar lamps, and various other development technologies to poor families. Some of the most compelling presentations focused on how mobile phones could help women make money, improve their health and that of their family, feel more secure and independent, and even connect to fellow victims of trafficking and other abuse in a way that affirmed their dignity and common humanity.

Wednesday morning was a breakfast hosted by the World Economic Forum (WEF), which now has 72 Global Agenda Councils on issues ranging from aging to rebuilding fragile states. What was most interesting here was Klaus Schwab's articulation of his overall vision for WEF, which is of a grand multi-stakeholder coalition. WEF is of course best known for Davos, but it now also holds annual meetings in the Middle East and in China, as well as sponsoring all sorts of smaller meetings and projects in between. Time will tell as to the actual results, although as befits the world's leading business conference, Schwab is very focused on metrics. But what he sees most clearly is WEF's ability to connect the business leaders who pay to hob knob in the Swiss Alps with NGO leaders, philanthropists and foundation heads, spiritual and cultural leaders, young economic and social entrepreneurs, national and international government officials, academics, policy experts, journalists -- whoever it takes to get good ideas and implement them.

Several themes cut across these events. One was the tension between firms and funds operating on a "double bottom

line" of social as well as economic value versus those simply seeing a profit to be made in large, untapped markets. Strikingly, a representative of Developing World Markets, which describes itself as "an asset manager and investment bank dedicated to making socially positive investments" to "promote sustainable economic and social investment on a global scale," said he had \$1 billion under management, which is real money by anyone's count. But other ventures still need a lot of philanthropic funding to survive; still others will only engage if the traditional single bottom line adds up. A second theme was a shift from a "culture of owning and earning to a culture of feeling and belonging," suggesting that many people are willing to pay for and invest in the value of connection itself and the sense of purpose and collective enterprise it provides (although plenty of people, rich and poor, are still keenly interested in owning and earning). Third, even very poor people will only pay for technology if it works reliably and is tailored to their needs. The top concern of consumers of mobile money transfer and banking services, for instance, is not price but security of transactions. If security can't be guaranteed, they will stick with trusted methods. Fourth, all of this is hard. For every example that works, a myriad more do not, and the devil is still in the details.

At this point I can just about hear some of my more critical readers and friendly realist interlocutors crying selection bias -- e.g., I am arguing these issues are salient because I am interested in them in the first place and so of course I chose to attend these events rather than events focused on terrorism, nuclear proliferation, meltdown in the Middle East (though for my views on Palestinian statehood, see my *Financial Times* [article](#)), the European debt crisis etc. That's obviously true. But ten years ago I wouldn't have had this array of events to choose from. Dinners on banking via cell phone and empowering women might have been connected with meetings of the World Bank, but UN meetings would have focused much more on geopolitics than development, at least for developed country audiences. When those meetings occurred, they would not have included hedge fund managers and entrepreneurs together with government officials and NGOs. Remember, the Clinton Global Initiative did not exist yet. And many of the people WEF is reaching out to would have assembled at the World Social Forum at Porto Allegre, not Davos.

All of these shifts flow from a deeper vision of a global tree of life: a world in which personal mobile technology can connect every human being in every village in every country to the tap roots of knowledge, markets, services, and community. That vision is social, developmental, digital and global. It's a powerful motivator. And it's pushing out the foreign policy frontier.