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carnegie Reporter

Africa goes Online

BEN FRAKER, PHOTOGRAPHER

A Letter from the President

Emily Dickinson once wrote, "There is no Frigate like a Book / To take us Lands away." So it is that our second issue of the Carnegie Reporter takes us on a global voyage: to Balkan nations bristling with constant ethnic hatreds as well some hopes for reconciliation; to African countries that are plugging into the Internet to overcome another famine, the information famine; to the curiously apolitical world inhabited by most young Americans, who don't vote and think that volunteering is sufficient for citizenship; and to American high schools where one in four urban graduates can't read his or her own diploma and where "only computers and condoms are new," as Bel Kaufman wrote, comparing current realities with her fictional portrayal of failing schools in her best-selling 1964 novel Up the Down Staircase.

These four articles explore issues close to our philanthropic mission, which puts faith in the power of education, knowledge and communication to improve the lot of mankind and promote international peace. These ideas were carved into our work by our founder, Andrew Carnegie. He wrote: "Peace wins her way not by force; her appeal is to the reason and conscience of man…Upon no foundation but that of popular education can man erect the structure of an enduring civilization."

Along with many other philanthropies, we see our work as nurturing good ideas. In this context, the Carnegie Reporter is a "frigate" for carrying ideas forward and developing discussions among colleagues, researchers and policymakers who share our interests. It's also worth noting that while the Reporter inevitably mentions the pioneering work of some of our grantees, the magazine is not a showcase for the Corporation's grantmaking. The issues presented here are also of deep concern to other foundations, which have a different, but equal dedication to the work of creating knowledge. We mention some of their philanthropic work to provide a sense of the whole picture—in a sense, we are unified by our efforts to nurture the growth of knowledge and peace. In a small way, then, the Reporter is an effort to promote greater understanding of these global challenges and to encourage more collaboration among the many individuals and organizations that are taking on the arduous task of improving the human endeavor.

During the last few months I had the inspirational opportunity to travel with my colleagues to Russia, China and East Africa. In visits to the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and Makerere University in Uganda, we saw the enthusiastic start of a joint effort to strengthen these universities. In sub-Saharan Africa, we are working with African universities and academic associations as well as with the MacArthur, Ford and Rockefeller foundations to strengthen higher education and foster such things as continent-wide learning networks.

In China, I was asked to give several lectures on the strength and weaknesses of American higher education as part of a celebration marking the 20th anniversary of the Fulbright program in China. And in Moscow, we launched another higher education initiative, mentioned in the Reporter's first issue, called Higher Education in the former Soviet Union. Our goal is to help restore Russia's intelligentsia, the country's engine of reform, and nurture a new generation of scholars and leaders. Once again, we're collaborating with the MacArthur Foundation as well as with the Russian government. During our visit to Moscow, we announced the creation of the first three Centers for Advanced Study and Education. These centers, located in regional universities, are designed to become epicenters of excellence in the social sciences and humanities.

During the trip, I was struck again and again by the universal quest for learning, the unity of scholarship, the centrality of the English language, the high regard in which American higher education is held and—on the part of so many people in so many places—the thirst for connection, contact and communication. In that regard, the Internet has removed many barriers, creating a new unity in the realm of access to learning communities.

The trip also reinforced, once again, the vision of Andrew Carnegie that education, equal opportunity and access to knowledge is the sure way to understanding and, hence, international peace. Since I began this letter with an American poet, in the interests of universality of learning, I will sign off with a quotation from a Senegalese poet, Baba Dioun:

In the end
We will conserve only what we love
We will love only what we understand
And we will understand only what we have been taught

VARTAN GREGORIAN
President

Carnegie Corporation of New York
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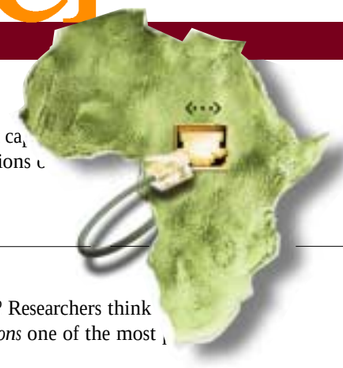
carnegie Reporter

2 Africa Goes Online

Students who demand post-Soviet honesty from their teachers, a more open society inching towards all-out ca… struggling to co… surrounded by so much change, how will the new Russia's institutions … vent themselves? In many cases, the process has already begun.



15 AOL, Africa Style

Can a children's television show set in a library and starring a family of literate lions help kids learn to read? Researchers think the TV Critics … …g children who have made *Between the Lions* one of the most … new programs on public TV.

16 Looking Back, Facing Forward: One Reporter's View of the Balkans

There was a tim… …re probably headed for a career in academia or maybe the sciences. But today, could … for becoming a techno warrior?

24 Meeting the Challenge of the Urban High School

The late Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., helped author a landmark 1976 Supreme Court decision that struck down all … ironic twist, the law center that bears his name is spearheading the effort to have the ruling overturned.

30 Youth Vote 2000: They'd Rather Volunteer

He was born into Mozambique's segregated society and helped shepherd its universities through both his country's independence and its struggle to move from Marxism to democracy. Now the former secretary general of the A… …gie Corporation as a senior program officer with a mandate to shape the foundation's new program in African higher education.

38 Foundation Roundup

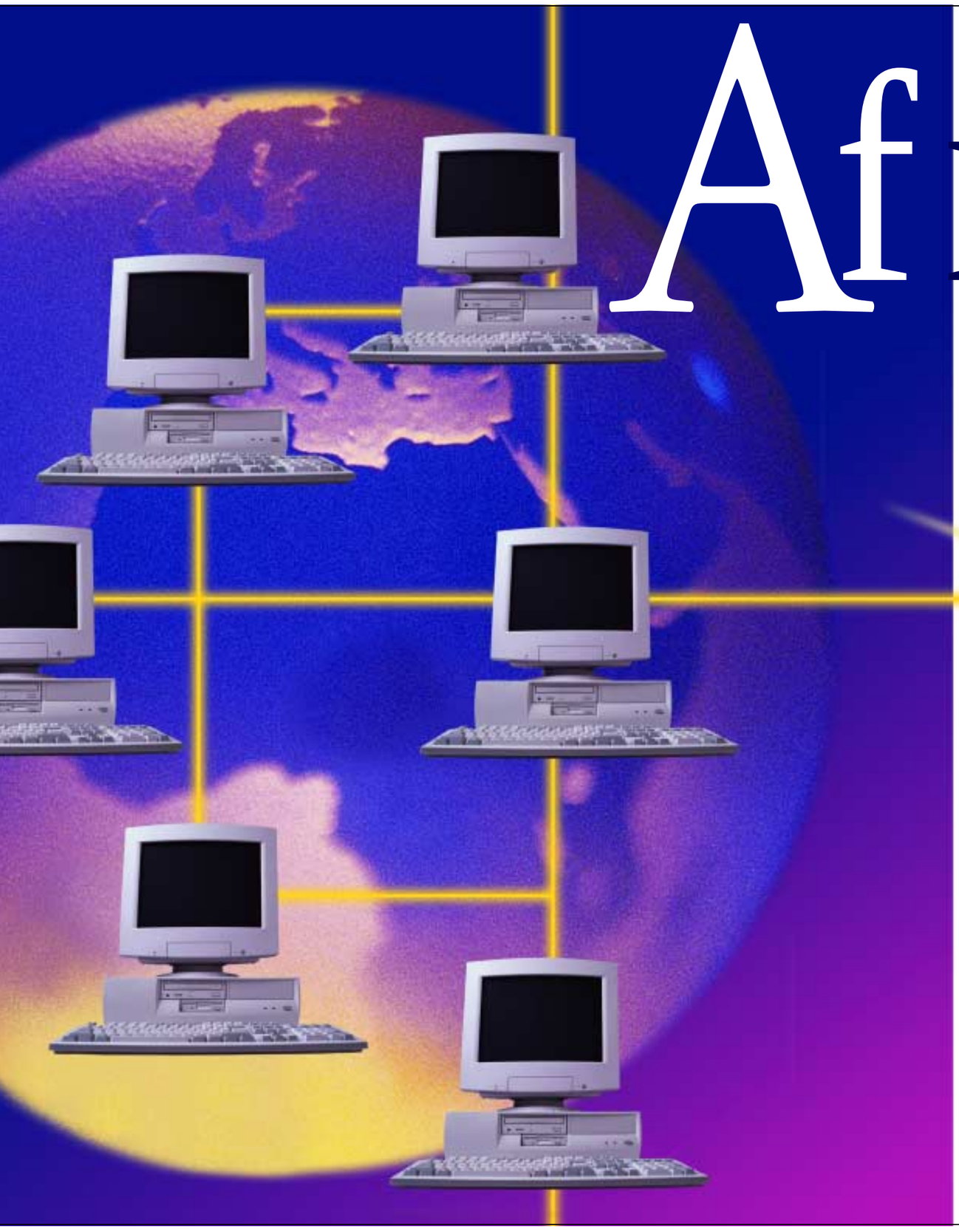
From a study of … …n innovative program for funding the arts, foundations around the United States c… …ty, the country and the world.

40 THE Back Page

Article to Come

William J. Perr… …ght of as the chief architect of this country's stealth … …ink about recent proposals to develop a national missile defense system? Maybe not what you'd expect.

An extended version of the *Carnegie Reporter*, with additional articles, can be found on our web site at www.carnegie.org.



Africa goes Online

by
DANIEL AKST
and
MIKE JENSEN

Can the Internet ease the information famine in Africa? Many people on the continent are already proving it can do that, and more.

A remarkable characteristic of mass starvation is how rare it is in free countries. As the Nobel Laureate economist Amartya Sen points out, "no substantial famine has ever occurred in a democratic and independent country, no matter how poor."

Unfortunately, Africa today is in the grip of famine, although it only sometimes involves not having enough to eat. The continent is afflicted instead by an information famine, one with consequences not so very different from a severe shortage of food. Growth is stunted. People die. The future dims. And just as in the case of a food shortage, the lack of democratic and responsive governments is a major reason.

The irony is that while a great deal of attention has been paid to the supposed digital divide within developed countries such as the United States, where computers are more often than not readily available to schoolchildren, the digital divide that really matters is the one between information-age societies like ours and undeveloped places like sub-Saharan Africa.

Americans without e-mail, after all, can pick up the phone or send a fax, an option rarely available to most Africans, for whom even conventional postal service can be an adventure (one former development worker tells of receiving a letter in Ethiopia postmarked nine years earlier in Nigeria). Americans have such a wealth of informational resource—books, periodicals and hundreds of television stations-that they sometimes seek shelter from the punishing hail of media that falls here. Africans enjoy no such luxury-which is precisely why the Internet is so important to Africa.

Outside relatively advanced South Africa, there are only a handful of African Internet users so far. But the potential of the Internet in Africa is staggering. Using the 'net, after all, impoverished Third World peoples can interact with the intel-

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Mike Jensen is an independent consultant with experience in over 33 countries in Africa assisting in the establishment of information and communications systems over the last 15 years. A South African based in Port St Johns in the East Cape, he maintains a web site on African Internet issues at: http://www3.sn.apc.org/africa

lectual capital of the West. A virtual university, for instance, could at little cost bring many of the benefits of Stanford to Senegal. More informally, the 'net can make available a world of information and expertise to remote, information-starved communities at very little expense. The Internet also allows educated residents of undeveloped countries to leverage their training and skills in the global marketplace, something already happening in India and even, here and there, in Africa. Many Africans speak English or French, and shared communications devices are old hat on a continent where hardly anyone has a telephone.

In fact, large-scale sharing of information resources is a dominant feature of the African media landscape. A given copy of any newspaper might be read by more than ten people, there are usually perhaps three users per dial-up Internet account, and it is not uncommon to find most of a small village crowded around the only TV set, often powered by a car-battery or small generator. Why not shared public Internet terminals?

If the 'net in the industrialized West is a place for entertainment, trading antiques or following your stock portfolio as if it were your favorite sports team, in sub-Saharan Africa the Internet can actually help break the deadly information famine that besets the continent, and begin to set people free. Surprisingly, if you look closely enough you can begin to see that just such a thing is already happening.

In Morocco, a local Internet service provider has landed the contract to digitize the entire National Library of France's paper archives. Scanned pages are beamed by satellite from Paris to the data center in Rabat where they are processed by a large team of low-cost keypunchers and then sent back.

In Senegal more than 10,000 small businesses across the country emerged to provide public telephone services after the national telecom operator opened up the public telephone market. Now many of them provide Internet access and other PC-based business services. And in the capital city, Dakar, medical students are being taught by a team of doctors in Brussels using video link-ups.

On 24 university campuses across Africa students are linked to classrooms and libraries world-wide via satellite as part of the African Virtual University (AVU) project, based in Nairobi. Many of these students will soon be able to obtain degrees in this way in computer science, computer engineering and electrical engineering. More than 12,000 students have completed semester-long courses in engineering and in the sciences and more than 2,500 professionals have attended management seminars on topics such as Strategy and Innovation, Entrepreneurship, Global Competencies and E-commerce. The Internet plays an important role at AVU, which gives students access to an online digital library with over 1,000 full-text journals. Over 10,000 free e-mail accounts have been opened and can be accessed through the AVU web site. Students must pay for the courses, but classrooms are packed anyway. (http://www.avu.org)

In Togo, an Internet-based call center has been set up to provide globally competitive telephone support services for companies with customers in North America and Europe who simply dial a local number in their own country, which routes the call via the 'net to the support desk in Africa.

In sub-Saharan Africa the **Internet** *can actually help break the deadly information famine that besets the continent, and begin to set people free.*

Craft makers around Africa are selling their wares all over the world via the World Wide Web through such non-profit groups as PeoplLink, which sends digital cameras into the bush so that pictures of the crafts can be e-mailed back to the web site.

(http://www.peoplink.org)

In West Africa, a women's fishing cooperative has set up a web site that enables its 7,350 members to promote their wares, monitor export markets and negotiate prices with buyers overseas.

The National Museum of Namibia plans to make information about the fifth largest insect collection in Africa available worldwide via the Internet, thanks to the efforts of some industrious Namibian secondary school students. Despite their lack of computer experience, the students managed to digitize 20,897 insect inventory records in just 12 hours and 30 minutes. Further student marathons are planned to digitize the entire collection.

(http://www.natmus.cul.na).

At least 11 African nations have initiated national school-networking programs and most countries on the continent are seeing more and more of their schools connected to the Internet, demonstrating increasing interest from governments, schools and the private sector. A continent-wide organization called SchoolNet Africa has also been set up to enhance teaching and learning by spreading basic information technology skills, as well as by fostering the development of information resources and projects linking students, teachers and administrators across Africa and beyond. For example the I*EARN school networking project has linked many American school children with their counterparts in Africa.

(http://www.schoolnetafrica.org)

These are, of course, the exceptions. Africa's poverty and telecommunications problems mean that it will be a long time before it becomes a continent of Internet addicts. Sub-Saharan Africa has by far the least developed infrastructure in the world. Although encouraging trends have emerged in the last few years, the differences between development levels in Africa and the rest of the world are especially wide in the area of information and communications technologies. Only 2.5 percent of the world's televisions are on the continent (which has 13 percent of the world's population). Computer penetration is less than 3 per 1,000.

Africa's phone systems are spotty and often rely on antiquated equipment, and progress is hamstrung by bureaucracy, outdated administrative structures and, in most instances, the state-owned monopoly.

All these problems can be seen as part of the generally abysmal state of networks of every kind on the continent. Africa's electrical grid, for example, is grossly inadequate, resulting in irregular or nonexistent electricity supplies. In many countries the power distribution network does not penetrate significantly into rural areas, and "power sharing" (regularly scheduled outages lasting for many hours) is a regular occurrence, even in some capital cities.

The poor state of the transport networks in Africa follows the same pattern, and this results in additional barriers to the movement of people and goods. These barriers make the need for Internet access all the more pressing, at the same time they make it all the more difficult for e-commerce and other Internet-age developments to blossom

But poverty probably isn't the main impediment to Internet use. "African governments are the big barrier to progress in this area as in most areas," says Nancy Hafkin, who as a United Nations aid worker in the early 1990s helped bring something called FidoNet to Africa (FidoNet is a simple way of getting computer bulletin boards to talk to one another and was in common use before the Internet became ubiquitous).

There is general agreement among those with long experience trying to bring information technology to Africa

that the difficulty is highly regulated telecommunications services, usually appearing in the form of a moribund state-owned monopoly that is expensive and wary of change-especially of change embodied by a medium as potentially subversive as the Internet. African governments have the power to alter these circumstances, and gradually, some are doing so.

The signs of progress are unmistakable. Four years ago only 11 African countries had any Internet access at all. Now all 54 of them have permanent connections, and although some 20 countries have only one Internet service provider, hundreds of ISPs are open for business elsewhere on the continent, many of them in fierce competition with one another.

There is also a rapidly growing interest in various forms of public Internet access, such as adding PCs to community "phone shops," schools, police stations and clinics which can spread the cost of equipment and access among a larger number of users. "Cyber cafes are popping up in all the capital cities of Africa," reports Bob Hawkins, a World Bank official working to bring Internet education to African schools. Many phone shops are now adding Internet access to their services, even in remote towns where the nearest dial-up access point can only be reached by a long-distance telephone call.

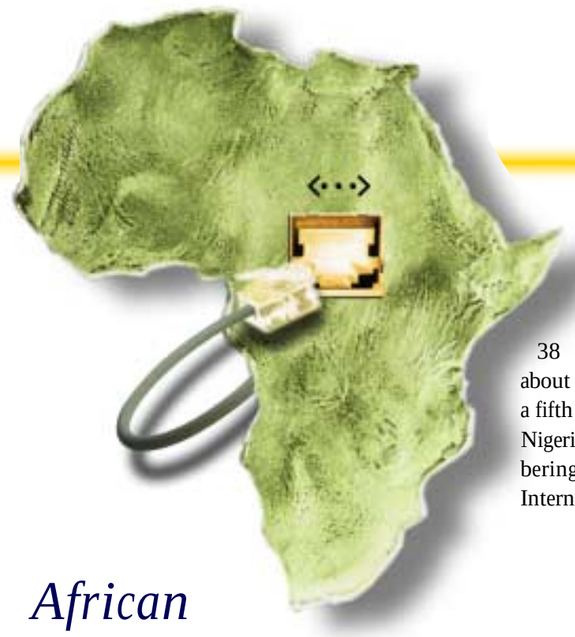
A growing number of hotels and business centers also offer Internet access. Roaming dial-up access is now a reality for travelers to most African countries courtesy of SITA, the airline cooperative, which has by far the largest data network in Africa. SITA's Equant unit, which was formed to service the non-airline market, maintains dial-up "points of presence" in about 40 African nations.

"I really didn't find anyplace where I couldn't find the Internet," says John Perry Barlow, an American writer and thinker on computer connectivity who has repeatedly visited Africa. "Even Timbuktu."

The result is that, all things considered, a surprising number of Africans are using the Internet. It is difficult to count actual users, but the number of Internet dial-up subscriber accounts is readily available, and it is striking—more than one million to date. Of these, North Africa is responsible for about 200,000 and South Africa for 650,000, leaving about 150,000 for the remaining 50 African countries. But each computer with an Internet or e-mail connection supports an average of three users, a recent study by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa has found. This implies a total African user base of around three million, two-thirds of them in South Africa. That works out to a ratio of one Internet user for every 750 people outside South Africa, compared to a world average of about one for every 35 people. (The ratio in North America and Europe is about one in three.)

Even African governments are coming around. In 17 countries, for instance, the telephone agency has established special area codes for Internet access, allowing Internet service providers to immediately roll out national access—and allowing users to dial in for the price of a local call. This strategy has helped widen Internet access in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Chad, Gabon, Ethiopia, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Kenya in particular is setting the pace in sub-Saharan Africa. It recently established the first public Internet peering point exchange for ISPs in Africa outside of South Africa. A peering point is a neutral computer where ISPs can exchange traffic between their respective users without having to do so via their international links. That saves time and bandwidth.



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It also recently rolled out its first national Internet backbone connecting six cities with the use of digital switches, fiber-optic cable and satellite services. Access costs are expected to drop by up to 70 percent in the next two years or so. The results are already evident in terms of entrepreneurial opportunities in the Internet sector. The number of ISPs shot from 7 to 23 in the space of a few months and more than 50 ISP licenses have been issued by the national regulator. The cost of surfing the web dropped to a maximum of $3 an hour from $8 an hour (in a country where annual income averages just $250). There also has been an explosion of local "dot coms" created by young entrepreneurs. One example is Kelele.com, an "infotainment" site that concentrates on the Nairobi base of users.

Nigeria is also opening up its Internet market. The country's telecom regulator has licensed 38 ISPs to sell services and about 12 are already active. With a fifth of Sub-Sahara's population, Nigeria has been one of the slumbering giants of the African Internet world; until mid- 1998 it only had a few dial-up e-mail providers and a couple of full-service ISPs operating on very low bandwidth connections. (It's no wonder, given that the annual cost of an international leased line was $130,000—and it was still slower than modern modem speeds.) The national telecom operator—Nitel—has now opened up Internet access in Lagos with a 2 megabit link to the United States and has set up additional points of presence in four other cities. The Nigerian government is being supported in this by the United Nations Development Program in a $1 million project to help Nitel establish the Internet backbone. This "Internet Initiative for Africa" also aims to strengthen Nitel's telecommunication school to become a regional Internet training center.

In some ways, Internet use in Africa is not so different from Internet use elsewhere. It is disproportionately white, educated and affluent, and the 'net is used by some people for the same panoply of ends as in the rest of the world. But in other ways African Internet use is very different. Barlow recalls African programmers undertaking "heroic" coding to get an ancient IBM XT to act as a server, and a computer center in Uganda that received e-mail for everyone in the village. Messages would simply be dumped to a printer and posted on the walls.

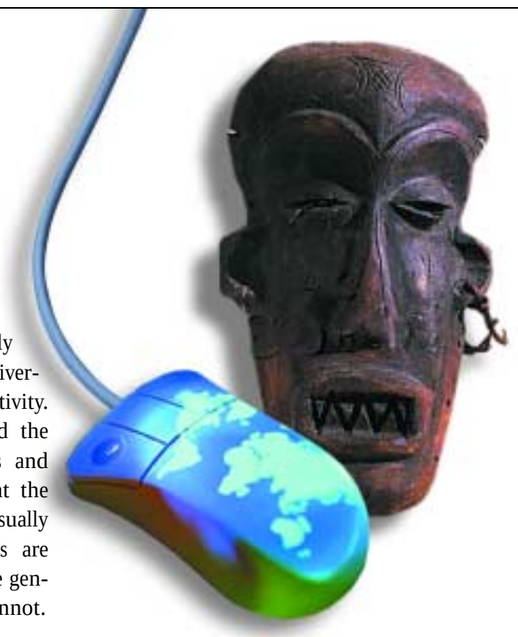
In truth, Internet use in Africa looks a little like use in this country a decade ago in that it often involves a technically educated elite, takes place via slow and unreliable connections and leans heavily to e-mail, the worldwide killer app that requires relatively little in the way of bandwidth or expensive desktop equipment. Getting enough bandwidth to access the graphics-intensive World Wide Web remains a big problem in most African countries, where sky-high tariffs make international connections hugely expensive, and where growing numbers of users make the strain on existing connections worse. There are also almost no Internet links between neighboring countries, and for various reasons a growing number of African Internet servers are situated overseas. One result is that e-mail from one user to another in the same city often travels by way of the United States or Europe.

Some of the regional Internet backbones now being built across the continent will help address this problem. In

particular, the African Connection project, developed by the African Telecommunications Union, aims to create the underlying infrastructure needed to support future Internet activities. Since building backbones takes time, the first project of the African Connection was a rally of sorts in which the South African Minister of Telecommunications drove from the northernmost tip of the continent in Tunisia to its most southerly point in his own country. Accompanied by a team of 40 journalists and support crew on a Hercules cargo plane and helicopter, the minister was met at the border and escorted through each of the 11 host countries by the local minister of telecommunications.

One of the best known and most important telecom projects on the continent is Africa One (www.africaone.com), a private venture that aims to put a 32,000 kilometer optical fiber necklace around the entire continent by 2002. The $1.9 billion network will be built and maintained by Global Crossing, a leading broadband firm, and is planned to better connect African nations with one another as well as the rest of the world. Africa One contends that when the project is complete it will not only vastly expand telephone and Internet capacity on the continent, but will also eliminate $600 million a year in connection fees that Africans pay to complete international telephone calls—many of them from Africa to Africa.

Universities were initially at the vanguard of Internet developments in Africa and most of them provide e-mail services, however by 2000 only about 25 African countries had universities with full Internet connectivity. Because of limited resources and the high cost of computer facilities and bandwidth, full Internet access at the universities where it exists is usually restricted to staff. Postgraduates are often able to obtain access but the general student population usually cannot.



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Carnegie Corporation, among others, is working to change that, at least at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The Corporation is providing $3.5 million for a variety of projects, many of them related to information technology, including staff training in using computers and the Internet; more computers for student access as well as for use in digitizing the university library's card catalog; network security; and emergency power generators. "What we're funding is university strengthening," says Andrea Johnson, a Carnegie Corporation program officer who is working on the project.

The Carnegie Corporation effort is one of many Internet initiatives undertaken by nongovernmental organizations on the continent. These reflect increasing interest from the international community in assisting with Internet development in Africa. At last count there were roughly 100 such projects underway (for a continuously updated list, visit (www3.sn.apc.org/africa/projects.htm.)

Since 1997, to cite a single example, the World Bank has been sponsoring a global effort to train teachers in using the Internet, a project now in 261 African schools. The idea is that these teachers will in turn teach other African teachers, spreading the knowledge ever deeper into the educational system and society.

Regional collaboration within Africa is regarded by many as an important means of tackling the problem of inadequate Internet infrastructure. Action has been seen on a number of fronts in this area, starting with the Conference of African Ministers of social and economic planning who requested the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa to set up a 'High-Level Working Group' to chart Africa's path onto the global information highway. Hosted by the Egyptian Cabinet Information and Decision Support Center in Cairo, an expert group developed a framework document entitled the African Information Society Initiative, which has since been endorsed by all the countries in Africa.

But perhaps the most telling sign of Africa's Internet potential is the involvement of Cisco Systems Inc. The big network equipment company, whose devices help power the Internet all over the world, is helping Kenyan ISPs band together to establish and share "internet exchange points," so that e-mail and web page requests from one local ISP to another don't have to go through Europe. Cisco is doing the same for "domain name servers," the machines that translate a prose Internet address (such as www.carnegie.org) into the corresponding numbers for the requested web page. Establishing local exchange points and DNS servers will mean a radically faster web experience for users of African-based pages, which Cisco hopes will encourage their creation, particularly in local languages. It's as if an airline's route map was changed so that customers could fly from New York to Washington without first stopping to refuel in Los Angeles.

Cisco is doing the same thing in South Africa. To help things along, the companyis donating or subsidizing equipment and expertise, presumably in hopes that a burgeoning African Internet scene will open up new markets for its products. "If we aren't there to work with these governments today, we probably won't be allowed to do it later," says Jim Massa, Cisco's director of strategic government alliances. "It's an opportunity but also a responsibility."

But with or without the help of governments, corporations or aid organizations, individuals in Africa are seizing the Internet opportunity any way they can. Consider the bittersweet tale of James Magondu, an electrical engineer with the International Livestock Research Institute in Nairobi.

One of his tasks, he writes by e-mail, "is to source for spare parts for the repair of the Institute's equipment. Before I started using the Internet I would labor for days on end to accomplish these duties." He'd have to write to manufacturers in Europe, or send blind orders to far-off purchasing agents in hopes of a price quote.

"Since starting to use the Internet," he writes, "the time to perform the above tasks has been reduced to the bare minimum. I can now go directly to the web site of the equipment manufacturer and get an online catalogue which gives me the component's price immediately. So many times, I easily get valuable information about the failing equipment and/or maintenance help immediately through the equipment vendor's website help-line or by Internet e-mail. Now I can access a component's Data Sheets easily without having to go to the shops to buy the necessary books or to subscribe to magazines. In all, the Internet has dramatically reduced the equipment downtime and hence improved the maintenance efficiency."

And instead of waiting more than a month for the latest issue of the magazine published by Britain's Institution of Electrical Engineers, of which he is a member, Magondu says that "today I go directly to the IEE web site and get fully updated on all that is going on in the engineering world."

Unfortunately, the Internet has yet to solve Africa's money problems. Magondu says that starting Jan. 1, his job has been reclassified and his pay, formerly in dollars but hence in local

currency, cut by something like 50 percent. So his future with the livestock institute is cloudy.

The Internet is also proving useful to the growing number of Africans living overseas—as well as family members who stay at home on the continent. In Togo, for instance, Dejean-Tchapo Oboté Pierre was worried about his pregnant wife, Julie, who had gone to Marseilles to give birth there among relatives. "Since I was so concerned about Julie," he writes, "I had to be calling her every two days and that was quite expensive (US $3 per minute). One day, I read an article about Internet telephony in a computer magazine."

Making telephone calls via the Internet isn't very common in the United States because people are affluent and phone rates are low. But it's a different story overseas. Pierre looked around on the Internet and discovered Net2Phone, an Internet phone service that boasts substantially lower rates for international calls. Pierre had the technological wherewithal to get this going. His only problem was, he didn't have a credit card.

"I therefore sent an E-mail to my nephew in Washington, DC requesting him to pay something into my account," explains Pierre. "This was done and from that day I have been able to call my wife twice a day for the paltry sum of ten cents per minute. I should mention that soon after the birth of Melissa, her mother made me hear her cries on the telephone. I was overjoyed," Pierre adds, "to be so united with them."

His sentiments have been echoed by individuals, companies and organizations all over the world who have integrated use of the Internet into their daily routine, using it for modern day life. Perhaps slowly, but surely steadily, Africans from every country on the continent are joining the online world community, a place where they are necessary and eagerly awaited partners. ■

AOL African Style

Despite a set of obstacles that would try the patience of Job, a trio of African entrepreneurs is proving that there really is a demand for Internet services on the continent—and that you can at least hope to make money satisfying it.

Founded in 1995 by some Kenyan students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard, Africa Online started as a web site financed with credit cards. Six years later, the Nairobi-based company is Africa's leading Internet service provider outside of relatively advanced South Africa, with annual revenue of $12 million and operations in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Swaziland and the Ivory Coast. Recently, it has also expanded operations into North Africa and Egypt.

From the outset, the company's youthful founders have focused on bringing the Internet to as many Africans as possible. Thus, Africa Online (yes, you can call them AOL for short) is in advanced talks to enter Nigeria, Zambia, Ethiopia and Senegal, and says that in the next six months it plans to break into South Africa and Egypt, the continent's two biggest Internet markets.

Africa Online can pursue such rapid growth thanks in part to the financial strength of African Lakes Corp., a British former plantation and automotive group that wanted to get into the information technology business on the continent. African Lakes provided a $2.8 million convertible loan and $4.4 million in working capital in exchange for 65 percent ownership of Africa Online (a stake since raised to 100 percent). African Lakes recently raised $15 million on the London Stock Exchange to fund the expansion of its African Internet venture.

To American Internet start-ups, renowned for their ability to quickly burn through hundreds of millions of dollars in capital, that may not sound like much money, and in fact $2.8 million is about the cost of a single Superbowl commercial. But in Africa, a little money goes a long way.

For a company like Africa Online, South Africa is a long way, at least in terms of a competitive stretch. "We did consider going to South Africa in 1995 and 1996," says Makatiani, "but realized it would be a waste of time. The competition is murderous and we would have been swallowed by the country's ISP giants."

But Africa Online is bigger now, and its sub-Saharan background offers some competitive advantages. After all, it has succeeded thus far by selling low-cost connections in the poorest parts of the world, which should help it penetrate South Africa's black communities where currently, there is virtually no Internet access.

Despite its rapid growth, Africa Online hasn't had an easy time of it. Africa presents a host of challenges to any business, especially one dependent on technology and the phone system. Thus, Africa Online has had to overcome obstacles ranging from restrictive government regulations (which have made telephones scarce and bandwidth prohibitively expensive) to civil wars and political instability in such countries as Zimbabwe and the Ivory Coast.

Sam Nganga, Africa Online's corporate communications manager, recalls emailing the company's team in Cote d'Ivoire "requesting an update on some information we needed at the corporate headquarters, and 'could they please treat this issue as extremely urgent.' No problem,' came back the reply. 'We'll try and get round to it as soon as possible, but there's men with guns outside ... so it might take a while.'"

Despite such incidents, Makatiani says the biggest hurdles facing Africa Online have been a scarcity of computers and overall low levels of literacy. Most poor Africans cannot read, and even among the relatively small core of middle- and upper-class urbanites in these countries, computer literacy is scant.

To counter such problems, Africa Online has developed E-touch—a network of Internet terminals in public calling stations that it hopes to expand all over the place. Working on a franchise basis with small businesses and post offices, E-touch has rolled out more than 600 low-cost Internet centers across the continent to give people facilities to send e-mail and browse the World Wide Web at something like the cost of a postage stamp. Africa Online says E-touch already has 60,000 users, in addition to the company's 50,000 dial-up subscribers.

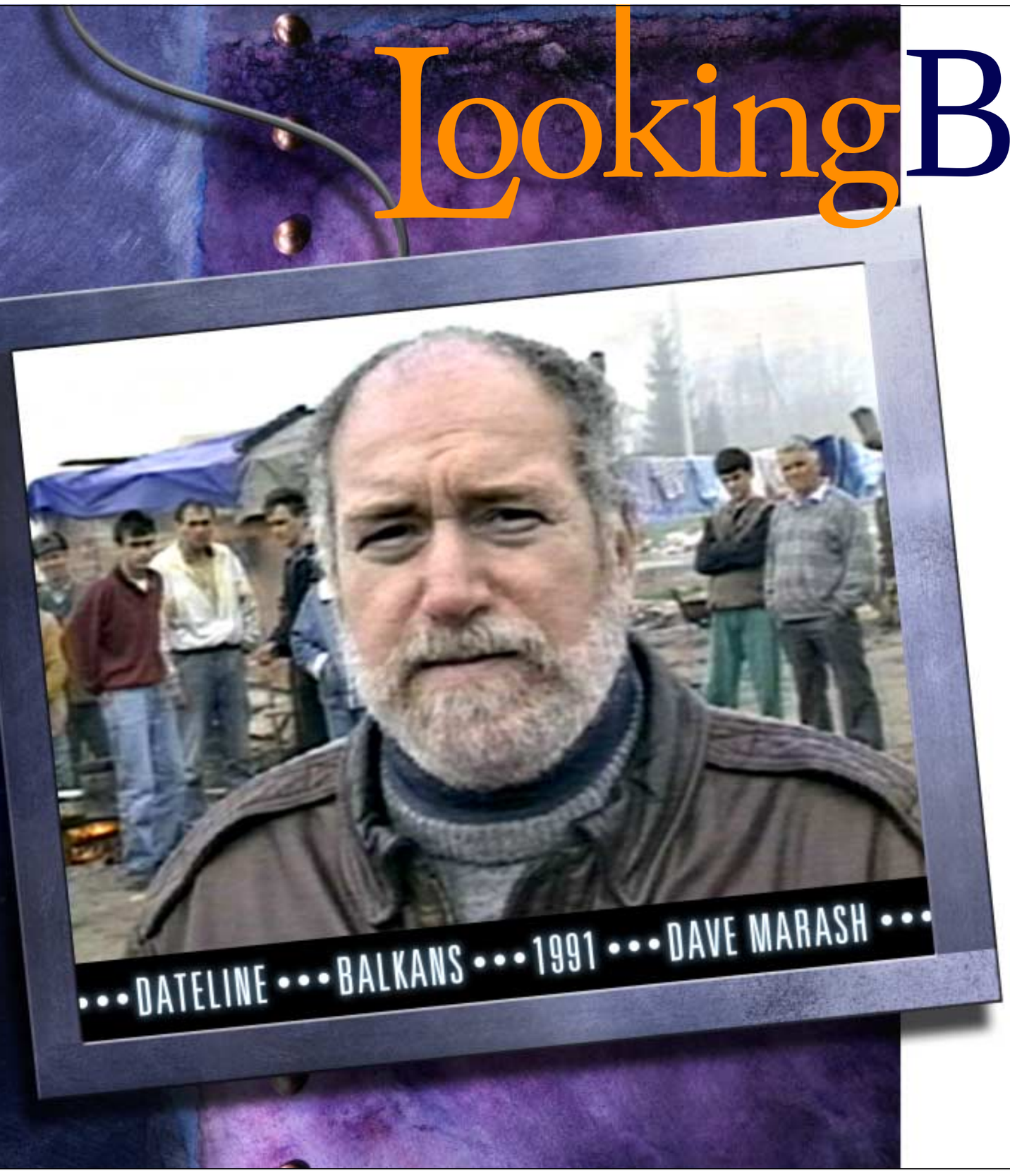
More recently Africa Online completed a deal with Britain's fourth largest bank, Barclays, that will ultimately allow it to take advantage of the convergence of financial services and the Internet. The alliance will roll out low-cost Internet information centers at Barclays branches in 12 African countries where both companies have a presence. The goal is to pave the way for customers to buy groceries and other services on the Internet without credit cards. (Africa's paucity of credit cards—hardly anyone there has one—is a major barrier to e-commerce on the continent, even for companies and individuals that manage to surmount the general lack of computers, phones, money and even electricity.)

Initially, Barclays and Africa Online are launching a $400,000 pilot project in the Kenyan capital of Nairobi, where they hope some 20,000 participants will test the system with an estimated 300 transactions a day. These human guinea pigs will use smart-cards that allow users to load cash from their Barclays accounts and then pay for routine services and e-purchases at Africa Online internet centers across the country under E-touch brand.

The companies say the new card will be available next year to Barclays account holders in Zimbabwe, Cote d'Ivoire, Tanzania, Uganda, Ghana, Botswana, Zambia, Swaziland, Namibia, Mauritius and the Seychelles. "A stored value card will fit in nicely in a society that still uses cash," Makatiani says.

Africa Online has also made the development of locally relevant content a priority. Since its inception it has made a point of carrying local news and weather on its home pages, and hosting the web pages of various organizations, in particular local newspapers, which gives the growing African diaspora (to say nothing of foreign investors) a better chance to keep up on what's going on back home. Most recently Africa Online acquired 3mice Interactive Media Ltd., a leading African web design house, for $520,000. Web design offers higher profit margins than being an ISP, and Africa Online was determined not to leave it to competitors.

Founded two years ago in a kitchenette by 25-year-olds Njoroge and Betty Mwaniki, 3mice is a good example of how some young Africans are pursuing Internet dreams. Who knows? Africa might even manage an Internet bubble of its own; the Nairobi Stock Exchange is expected to open up a second tier market so that start-ups like 3mice can raise funds from the public. Perhaps Africa, where so much has gone bust, can at least enjoy a boom first. ■



Looking Back facing Forward

One Reporter's View of the Balkans

by
DAVE MARASH

At the end of the Cold War, ethnic conflicts raised troubling questions about borders in central Europe as cities like Belgrade and Sarajevo became war zones instead of destinations. Ten years later, ABC News' Dave Marash, who covered the wars in the Balkans, returns to see what the world faces after the fighting ends.

Here's what many people consider to be the defining statement about the Balkans: since 1991 virtually every collective of political or economic power on planet Earth has tried to impose its will on a collection of ever-fracturing mini- to micro-states from the former Yugoslavia. And by and large, they have failed. Some cases in point:

Franjo Tudjman, leader of Croatia for most of the 1990s, won admission for his country to Europe's markets and travel freedoms, and an expanded, equipped, and trained military force, courtesy of the United States. At the same time, he grinned in the face of European and American objections to his disciplined and directed campaign of ethnic cleansing against Croatian Serbs and his sustained, murderous meddling across the border in Bosnia.

Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia and the disputed remnants of the federal republic of Yugoslavia, used international economic sanctions to create a black-market economy dominated by his family and some friends that had a vampire's throat-hold on the national treasury. Milosevic remained America's key man in the region, even after American warplanes had to be used to end his project for a Greater Serbia, which involved taking over large parts of Croatia and Bosnia.

In a peace agreement signed in 1995 in Dayton, Ohio, Milosevic's sometime surrogates and allies in Bosnia, the indicted war criminals Dr. Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, were awarded half a loaf of territory they were, in the weeks before, losing slice by slice on the battlefield. This gift was a sign of respect for Milosevic, as was the omission of any prescriptions in the Dayton Agreement about the Serbian province of Kosovo. Milosevic repaid these rewards by toughening up his police state in Kosovo and supporting separatist extremists in the Republika Srpska, which comprises 49 percent of Bosnia.

Diplomatic exclusions and economic penalties, threats of force, even weeks of bombing, failed to move the Serb leader from his destructive path. It took an electoral revolt by his own people to do that.

Now, Tudjman is dead and Milosevic has been overthrown. New leaders have shown a propensity for some grudging cooperation with the interna-

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tional community, which has state-building administrations as well as military and police forces on the ground in Bosnia and Kosovo and is slowly withdrawing the economic and political restraints from Serbia. Will the local powers in these entities acknowledge the wishes of the world and treat their neighbors and their own people with civility and respect? And, if they won't, what can or should the international community do to compel cooperation?

The U.S. Congress has given a fast-approaching deadline to the new government of Yugoslavia for full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, which is based at The Hague. The "or else" inherent in that deadline is that vital American economic assistance for the rebuilding of the badly bombed and sanctions-struck Yugoslav infrastructure and economy will be withheld if all indicted Serbs are not surrendered to the International Tribunal.

So far, the Belgrade regime has been stubbornly resistant, especially to calls that it give up Slobodan Milosevic. To the threat of economic exclusion, the Serbs reply, "Our sovereignty is not for sale." In the words of one leading advisor to new Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica, "The U.S. Congress is not our Congress. We report to our own people, and our own people are not yet prepared to prosecute Milosevic, much less to turn him over for prosecution by the countries that bombed us." (That attitude may be changing, though. There have been recent reports that fear of losing American aid may spur Serbia's leaders into arresting Milosevic and trying him on Serbian soil for crimes ranging from embezzlement to treason.)

What choices would the region's failure to cooperate with the International Tribunal leave for American and international policymakers? Certainly not another use of military force; no international consensus would support bombing, much less armed occupation of Serbia. It is unlikely that America's European allies would willingly resume economic sanctions. Many would be reluctant to stop economic development aid over the war crimes issue. Given that, the U.S. can either show its displeasure by cutting off aid and reducing political and economic contacts with Yugoslavia, or it can acquiesce in the disobedient independence of what is, after all, the first legitimately elected, would-be democratic government in Yugoslav history.

The situation is well limned by William Montgomery, America's former Ambassador to Croatia and currently Chief of Mission of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade: "We have one school of thought that says Yugoslavia is in a long process, that the needs here for political reform, political structure, will take years to accomplish, and that the best way to help is really to give a lot of support, keep things going in the right direction while maintaining our standards, our goals and objectives. The other school of thought," Montgomery continues, "is that there are some issues so important to the region that, before any assistance is given, this government must show its willingness to abide by international standards with relation to the International Tribunal, the Dayton Agreement, and human rights. The second school of thought actually believes it would be a huge mistake to give any assistance before those objectives are met."

Ambassador Montgomery adheres to the first school, but the U.S. Congress has spoken. The looming deadline remains and President Kostunica seems determined to stare it down. His friendly meeting with Milosevic in mid-January, preceding a much less friendly session with Carla Del Ponte, prosecutor for the International Tribunal, made his position clear. Once again the NATO states must decide: Do we intervene, and if so, how, where and when?

In Bosnia and Kosovo, where NATO forces have forcefully intervened and remain, far less forcefully, on the ground, the results of their efforts fall short of the interveners' preachments of revitalized inter-community civility and cooperation. In Kosovo, where the Serb minority is still viciously besieged by the Kosovar Albanian majority, all the Albanian political parties remain focused on independence. In Bosnia, the most recent elections left in power the corrupt and extreme nationalist parties that tore the country apart in 1992. Economic progress in Bosnia has been as feeble as civil enlightenment, and more than five years after the Dayton agreement, it seems clear that the contract has ratified a dysfunctional, divided, semi-state, dependent on outsiders for financial assistance and the rudiments of rule of law.

What follows is a progress report on efforts to normalize life in Serbia, Bosnia and Kosovo.

Belgrade

Simultaneously, both of the cab driver's hands fall to the steering wheel. His head follows a similar downward arc, stopping just short of a lobotomizing collision with the wheel. We stop just short of the car ahead.

The gesture and the frustration are familiar to any urban dweller. The cause is familiar, too: a traffic jam, perfectly normal for most capital cities of over a million inhabitants. For Belgrade, the bomb-damaged capital of the ever-diminishing Yugoslavia, the recent routine of heavy traffic at noon and midnight, as well as at the standard commuter drive times, is super-normal.

"Traffic in Belgrade is worse than it's ever been," moans Bratislav Grubacic, one of Belgrade's most successful independent journalists. "It used to take five minutes to get downtown, now I spend 45 minutes each way between my home and my office."

Grubacic, a burly, bearish man who publishes two weekly newsletters covering news and the economy and a bi-weekly on defense and security issues, calls Belgrade's now almost round-the-clock traffic, "the price of progress," a promise of better times for his hometown and country. Downtown, and in the shopping zones of a few suburban neighborhoods, pedestrian traffic also runs thick. Perhaps the first, best sign of a nation reviving: people are out and about.

Grubacic hails what he calls another sign of returning normality, "There is no repression in the atmosphere, no repression of the media."

Vojin Dimitrijevic, the Director of the Belgrade Center for Human Rights and a respected campaigner for civil freedom under Milosevic, tells me he awakens every morning now aware of "the absence of fear," which he also calls, "the best sign of how normal we have become."

Grubacic and Dimitrijevic, like so many Yugoslavs, are celebrating a normality they have, in fact, never before enjoyed. Most of Grubacic's journalis-

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tic career was spent under the 13 year regime of Slobodan Milosevic (1987-2000), famed for his use of thugs and tax liens against those who waxed too freely in the news media or who worked too vigorously for human rights. Dimitrijevic remembers his constant fear of "the financial investigations and the secret police who would come by every week just to look things over."

"No repression" is something new in Belgrade, and the claim that it represents returning "normality" is actually the cover for another, wider claim of more significance made by Dimitrijevic: "What we in Yugoslavia mean by 'normal' is just what you mean in America and Western Europe, life with the privilege of privacy, free from war, economic crisis, politics or other overwhelming outside forces."

In Belgrade, at the close of the year 2000, just over three months after the liberating election of Vojislav Kostunica as President of Yugoslavia and just under a week after the Serbian Parliamentary elections, which emphatically reinforced Milosevic's hand over of government, a new sense of freedom was in the air. This freedom may never before have been experienced by Yugoslavs, but it had long ago been normalized for them by CNN, BBC, MTV and the other media calling cards of the modern European-American world, the world to which most Yugoslavs want to belong. It was that world of family life, family shopping, family vacations that Yugoslav after Yugoslav, Croat, Serb, Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) and Kosovar had been referring to whenever I asked them, over more than eight years of mostly war and post-war reporting, "What are you hoping for when this is over?"

"We just want a normal life," was the reply. "We just want to be normal," they said, hardly aware that the normality they sought was not only far off, but had touched them mostly through their media-driven imaginations.

In the new normality of Belgrade, the media marketplace for information is open and flourishing. "You can push any button on your radio, turn on any channel of the TV and know," reports Vojin Dimitrijevic, "that you're not going to be lied to."

For 13 years, Milosevic filled Yugoslav radio and television with a wall-to-wall carpet of lies. Lies about the alleged anti-Serb plots of neighbors. Lies about the heroic feats of the Yugoslav Army and semi-official Serb paramilitaries fighting off the vicious attacks of the "Ustashe," the scale-model Nazi Croats of the 1940s, and "the Turks," the Bosnian Muslims. The net result for most people, says everyone I talked with, all of whom knew the lies were lies, was that the lies stuck.

"You talk to the average man in the street," says a man who does a lot of exactly that, "about what was going on in Kosovo, and they will tell you that the 800,000 refugees were all actors hired by NATO. People believe this."

James Lyon of the International Crisis Group (a multinational organization dedicated to helping to prevent and contain crises) has spent more than a decade in the Balkans as everything from an academic to an entrepreneur to a monitor of the international effort to make Bosnia a civil society. The Milosevic media operation, he tells me, left a populace cynical about his corruption, but blind to war crimes committed outside Serbia. "Most people believe that there weren't any excesses committed during the wars, and if there were, they were justified."

"The way our media worked, people here really don't know what happened in Srebrenica," says Vojin Dimitrijevic, referring to the massacre of thousands of Muslims in that city by the Bosnian Serb army. "You tell them we bombed Sarajevo, bombed civilians, and they believe the propaganda that the Muslims committed mass suicide."

"We need a total re-education of the people. We need an energetic public drive just to bring the issue of war crimes before the public so the ordinary citizen can realize the significance of what was done in his name. That could have a powerful effect." Pavle Jevremovic, the man speaking this prescription, is a widely respected career diplomat, turned foreign policy advisor to the often-enigmatic President Kostunica. His ambitions for a public re-education plan are specific and wide-ranging, with two particular ends in mind: prosecuting Slobodan Milosevic and his henchpeople, and "clearing the name of the Serb people." He also adds this cautionary note: "We must face up to the crucial issue that advocating a mono-ethnic state in a multi-ethnic space is, in itself, a crime."

"We must face up to the crucial issue that advocating a mono-ethnic state in a multi-ethnic space is, in itself, a crime."

—Pavle Jevremovic.

A dramatic increase in Belgrade's traffic is "the price of progress" for this reviving city.

Goran Svilanovic, the 30-something Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, a slender, dark-haired man with a boyish look and an adult intensity and intelligence, sees the media re-education project as part of a five-step process. The first two steps, set to begin by spring, would be a public re-education campaign and the prosecution of some of Milosevic's "corrupt cronies." Third would be a Truth Commission to verify the facts revealed during the re-education phase. "I don't envision a Truth Commission instead of a prosecution, but as an introduction to a prosecution, creating an awareness among ordinary people here that crimes have been committed, and those who committed these crimes need to be prosecuted."

Only after the Yugoslav citizenry are convinced that prosecution of Milosevic is just, Svilanovic claims, could the final two steps of the political healing process be completed: the Yugoslav prosecution of the former president for corruption and possibly, murder, and a crimes against humanity prosecution of Milosevic under control of the International Tribunal.

Will this pass muster as compliance with the world's will? So far, the official word is, no. Foreign Minister Svilanovic's get-to-know-you visit to Washington in early January seemed to win some favor from Madeleine Albright, but then, she is now the former U.S. Secretary of State. And President Kostunica's badly misjudged meetings with Milosevic and the International Tribunal prosecutor left even Belgrade's most fervent allies frowning sternly. Right now, the international message is: "Send Milosevic to The Hague or pay for it," with, as is usual for stern messages from the international community, a vaguer than vague sense of how Yugoslavia will be made to pay for its unwillingness to extradite.

The lever here is the economy. The word for it, used to me by all manner of voices in and out of government, though not for direct attribution, is "hopeless."

This cruel reality also ought to be part of the public re-education campaign. If it isn't, hoped-for free market reforms may founder on a real rock of public resistance, warns Ambassador

Montgomery, because so many in Yugoslavia can remember when the economy seemed to work. "When I lived here in the 1970s," the ambassador recalls, "Yugoslavia was, in some ways, a great place. There were a lot of foreign loans, travel, they had this absurd system of self-management, but everybody sort of bought into this."

What would be worst, Montgomery tells me, would be if Yugoslavia thought it could split the difference between the new reality and the Communism of its recent past. "People here do not understand, they do not fully grasp, the philosophy of the private sector," he says. "They want to have more workers' rights, more benefits, more workers on the job than should be. They don't want to have layoffs. They don't want to give the degree of control that real private enterprise has."

Graffiti and stickers exclaiming "He's Finished" were part of an anti-Milosevic regime campaign conducted in August 2000 by OTPOR, the student resistance movement.

As an example, Montgomery cites the resignation of the new Minister of Energy. "One of the reasons he resigned is that he wanted to raise electricity rates and it wasn't allowed. Now, if that sort of thinking continues, if they keep subsidizing these basic products, then they are going to be doomed." His judgment: "Unless changes are made, the economy is going to be in real trouble."

Changes? Coming up! That's the tone at the office of the new Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister for Finance, Miroslav Labus, and the assertion of change is high on the agenda of Labus' vigorous young economic advisor Boris Begovic.

"Yugoslavia's basic legislation affecting foreign investment," he states in clipped British-inflected English, "comes rather close to the world standard." And the just-passed first budget of the new Yugoslav government, he adds, after having read it line-by-line, "is perfectly transparent. This is the first signal of what the Kostunica government wants." The second, very clear signal, Begovic explains, is reform of the Customs Office. "Our first move," he says, "after Milosevic was deposed, was to kick out his infamous crony, Mihalj Kertes, and put clean, decent guys in his place."

More changes are coming, Begovic promises. Taxes, especially payroll taxes, will be coming down and rules on corporate share limits and profit repatriation will, Begovic vows, measure up to the World Bank standard.

Will there be a "Belgrade spring"? While there are serious signs of progress, Ambassador Montgomery is skeptical. "It's not about changing one law," he says, "it's about changing the mindset on everything."

And, one might add, it's not just about Milosevic. Here, too, there is a mindset that must change in order for Yugoslavia and its capital city to be judged normal.

While in Belgrade, I pay a visit to General Ratko Mladic, the former commander of the Bosnian Serb Army, and an indicted war criminal, perhaps number three (after Milosevic and former Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic) on the International Tribunal wanted list. Among other brutalities, General Mladic stands accused of personally leading the slaughter of thousands of unarmed civilian men and boys in Srebrenica (an official UN protected zone at the time of the massacres). I have personally interviewed credible eyewitnesses who place Mladic at collection points from which truck and busloads of victims were driven just minutes away to execution. There is even a videotape record of some of this. Over the five years since his indictment, prosecutors have received evidence which ranges from survivor testimony to hi-tech voice intercepts. Most consider a Mladic conviction to be a slam dunk.

Mladic's presence hangs like a toxic cloud over the suburban neighborhood. No sense of normality could survive the routine offense of the trio of armed guards stationed in front of an otherwise unremarkable modern three-story apartment building.

"It's not about changing one law," Ambassador William Montgomery says, "it's about changing the mindset on everything."

With my interpreter, Dragana "Dada" Jovanovic, I approach the guard nearest the entrance. I identify myself, and mention that I have interviewed the general on previous occasions and would like to speak with him any time that day that suits his convenience.

"Tell your boyfriend," the man whose handgun rests between his hip and his sans-a-belt sneers at Dada, "he is misinformed. General Mladic does not live here. And," he adds illogically, "he's not in. And if he were, he wouldn't waste his time talking to you. So get out!" He slightly less than gently applies a hand to Dada's forearm and my shoulder and gives us both a shove.

We walk down a wooded slope towards the avenue, half a block from the apartment house, where our cab is waiting. We get maybe ten steps. "Your papers, please," says a man who is showing no credentials himself, other than an offensive tackle's body, and two hands which he keeps jammed inside the pockets of his open overcoat. He throws the hand-filled pockets around as if they also contain weightier stuff. "What are you doing here?" he asks. We then watch as four, five, then maybe seven other gentlemen gather in an almost complete circle around us.

There are a few more questions, most of them aimed at the interpreter. The big man is bored. Dada is barely jittery. No one is going to have any fun. After three or four minutes, he breaks it off, and leading his group of lunkheads up the slope, departs.

Neither serious, nor really threatening, the incident, the apparently semi-permanent scene of thugs in the quiet curving street, clangs against the honeyed claims of the new government and its well-wishers. Big plans for re-educating the people and modernizing the tax codes notwithstanding, the alleged perpetrator of the worst war crime in Yugoslavia in the last 50 years is still officially considered a Serb so valued he must be protected.

II Bosnia

The bad news is how good things look in Bijeljina. It's probably, by quantum leaps, the most prosperous place in Republika Srpska, the Serb 49 percent of Dayton-treaty-divided Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bijeljina has always been a prosperous place, because it is the chief market town of one of the richest farming regions in southern Europe, the Posavina, the valley of the Sava River, which is the natural boundary that separates Bosnia to the south from Croatia on the north bank. Bijeljina's fortune has been and continues to be a function of location, location, location.

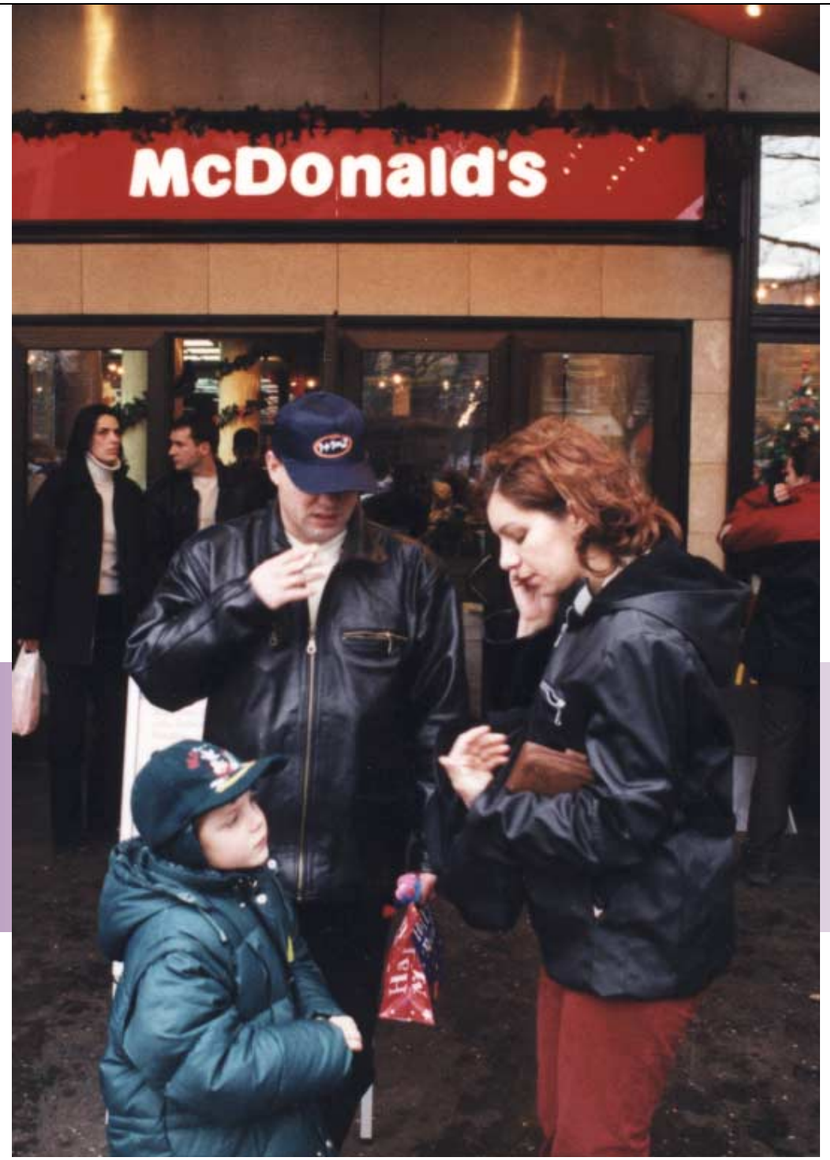
Bijeljina straddles a crossroad of north-south and east-west highways, which because they are two-lane blacktop and not part of the nearby four-lane European superhighway system, have tended to draw little attention from law enforcement. From Bijeljina, those roads can take you to Serbia, Croatia, Hungary and the Muslim-Croat side of Bosnia in an hour or so, and on to Austria, or Italy or, for that matter, Romania, or Greece, or the Ukraine in just a few hours more. Smugglers appreciate this, and so does the local government, which seems firmly in the hands of the police, military and paramilitary leaders who ran Bijeljina during the war. Then, it was a center of brutal mass murders and expulsions of a once-considerable Bosnian Muslim population.

From whichever direction you enter Bijeljina, new restaurants, motels, and retail showrooms bloom on both sides of the highway. Downtown, a new three-story shopping center surrounds the traditional marketplace. Several new apartment buildings are

going up, and there is more residential development on the outskirts of town. Chief among the developers are many who are notorious locally for their perpetration of war crimes.

International officials are well aware of Bijeljina's prosperity, and its sources and beneficiaries. They are also aware that the customs receipts turned in from several busy Bijeljina-area border crossings amount to pennies on the dollars of the real take. No one has a plan to do anything about it. "That's Republika Srpska," several sum up.

Actually, Republika Srpska is far worse. Most of the towns would kill for the off-the-books bucks of Bijeljina. Deprived of all but the last leavings of international aid, long ago abandoned by their former allies in Belgrade, attracting no foreign investment and having little but tainted money of its own, Republika Srpska is described to me by several people, local and international, as "a political and economic black hole." Unemployment is 70 percent, and aside from a few struggling mom-and-pop enterprises, there is virtually no honest private sector in the region.



Yugoslavs, Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks and Kosovars are looking forward to the nomalties of everyday life—shopping and eating with family and friends–as well as to the new economy foreign investors can help foster.

"The Serb population in Republika Srpska is being held hostage by war criminals," says James Lyon, who for more than a year headed the International Contact Group office in Sarajevo. "These war criminals are plundering them on a scale similar to what Milosevic did in Serbia. Let's look at the Serb refugees [from Sarajevo and northwest Bosnia] who are living in local towns. They are under the control of a criminal element, politicians, war criminals, who are active in the black market or who exploit these people through their complete control of jobs in the area. In some cases, the criminals literally prevent the refugees from leaving."

About 45 minutes drive west of Bijeljina is Brcko, a town unique in Bosnia, being still under direct UN control. Since Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian claims to Brcko, a Muslim-plurality town before the war that is now tightly held by a new Serb majority clustered downtown, are so intractable, the international community keeps deciding not to decide its fate.

So today it has an American administrator, Ambassador Gary Matthews, and a carefully apportioned local government: A Serb mayor, Croat Deputy mayor and Bosniak president of the still un-elected District Assembly. The police have a Serb chief and Croat and Bosniak deputy chiefs and multi-ethnic patrols.

This is the evidence Ambassador Matthews cites to support his claim that Brcko is "as representative of what's supposed to be going on as any place in Bosnia-Herzegovina." That the claim may well be true only underscores how pathetic it is. While Serb and Bosniak cops do walk beats together, and all three communities work side-by-side inside municipal and district governments, real social interaction across community lines is, the diplomat admits, "one area that's been lacking." But the gregarious ambassador, who has won points from all sides for his energy and affability, sees progress in one staged social event, the first post-war celebration of the Muslim holiday Bajram, which involved a reception hosted by the Serb mayor. "It couldn't have happened last year," says Matthews. "It would have been considered too soon."

This school year proved too soon for Ambassador Matthews' most cherished reform strategy, consolidating Serb, Croat, and Muslim high school classes. The idea was not only to mix students but combine curricula because, in Matthews' words, "three ethnic groups going to their own separate schools at three separate locations where each was the ethnic majority, is not the way things are supposed to be heading."

For the first month or so, says Matthews, "things worked fine, until the eve of the national elections. Troublemakers showed up, demonstrations ensued. The schools had to be closed for several weeks, and classes resumed about a month ago, and we have not had any problems since then."

The Ambassador's recitation leaves out a lot.

"The Brcko school riots, I was there with my cameraman." This report is from Silih Brkic, among the best investigative reporters working in Bosnian television. Based in Tuzla, he ranges across northern and eastern Bosnia and, like many of us, is often literally digging for stories. "I can't get away from the dead," he says. "The mass graves in Brcko, the ones they've opened—I've been there. And the ones they haven't opened, there are several I've been told about."

The central states of the tri-furcated Bosnia and Herzegovina are little more than barely-secret sharers of power and swag with the ethnic mafias left over from the war.

At the Brcko school, Brkic tells me that he and his cameraman "saw who was encouraging the kids, who was giving out bottled water and flags and signs and candies. They were people from the Serb Democratic Party (SDS), Karadzic's old nationalist party, which is still the reigning power in Republika Srpska politics. Later, one of their people in Parliament came up and made a speech praising the demonstrations."

Though students are once again divided by ethnicity, attending different schools, or different shifts, and studying mutually exclusive, mutually antagonistic versions of local history, Matthews enthusiastically vows that next year, "we're going to make another try." The plan calls for all three separate schools to teach the same curricula in math, science and physical education. But what about history, language and culture where there are no such universal truths to teach? Don't ask. Should one laugh or cry at this "plan?" Don't tell.

"The Dayton treaty saddled us with a political construct that ratified three ethnic nationalist party monopolies." Those are the words of a non-nationalist Serb, Mirko Pejanovic, a political science professor at Sarajevo University, who is president of the Serb Community Council in Sarajevo. These could also be the words of General Jacques Klein, the top deputy to the UN's Special Representative in charge of Bosnia and Herzegovina. "Dayton gave us three presidents—Serb, Croat and Muslim—who rotate every eight months," Klein says. "That means no focus, no continuity, no responsibility." Under this system, he wonders, "where the hell is the central state?"

The answer to that anguished question is ugly: The central states of the tri-furcated Bosnia and Herzegovina are little more than barely-secret sharers of power and swag with the ethnic mafias left over from the war.

"What happened here," continues the famously blunt-spoken General Klein, "is that during the war, all three sides created illegal infrastructures to buy weapons and other goods around the world. After the war, these structures were recreated into mafias."

Today each of the one-party governments that rule, Communist-style, every aspect of the economy within

their city town or county, has its own mafia. The Party for Democratic Action (SDA), the Muslim nationalist party of President Alija Itzetbegovic, has the biggest mafia, according to law enforcement, diplomatic and civilian sources. "Because of the mafias," says Klein, the grimly frowning second-in-command in the UN superstructure over Bosnia, "we lose about $250 million a year in uncollected customs revenues and probably half a billion in unpaid taxes. That's real, and shows we have a long way to go."

Christopher Hoh, the number-two man (Deputy Chief Mission) at the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo, offers a somewhat different point of view when I ask him if mafia activity in the region is a defining problem. "Yes and no," he answers. "Yes, if your sights are limited to the old Bosnian economy. But the new economy is going to demand foreign investment and, in that, those guys don't figure." Hoh describes a big investment by Coca-Cola in a bottling plant and distribution system for which there had been no mafia contact or involvement. Then he thinks again. "There may be some powerful people in politics or economics who decided that this was a good thing and let it happen."

"You don't want to be too successful," says a young businesswoman who has been quite successful in her small-scale enterprises. Like the majority of the entrepreneurs of Bosnia, she's working within "the old Bosnian economy." She's been left to the mercies of the mafias, whose chief mercy is to leave small fry alone. "I keep a low profile," says the businesswoman in a low voice, in a dim corner of a quiet, almost empty restaurant and bar. "I don't advertise. I'm not in the papers or on TV. They don't think I'm an interesting person. They don't find this business worth their interest. I'm content."

Other, less cautious business-builders known by this woman have wound up with mafia "partners" or in one case, "They bought him out. They paid him very well, but he had no choice. Now, he tells me he will start another business, but I don't think so. He won't take a chance on going through that again."

The truth is, aside from Coke and a Slovenian mall-builder, Merkator, few foreign investors have come to Bosnia and the politico-mafia hold on the local economy (and for a while, much of the banking sector) is a big reason why.

Jakob Finci, the long-time leader of Sarajevo's 700-person Jewish community, is obsessed with another aspect of Bosnia's long-awaited rebirth as a civil society: he wants to create a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Bosnia. When he first made the proposal, he says, leaders of the International Tribunal told him, "'No, it's premature. You should wait until we've completed our cases.'" But, Finci says, articles written by the first International Tribunal prosecutor, Judge Richard Goldstone of South Africa, indicated that "these two things can go together. Because the Tribunal is for justice and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is not for revenge or for payback for the victims, but to help write the history of the last ten years."

Which is exactly what Jacques Klein says Bosnia needs, "because what we have here is Fascistic nationalist history, Communist-Marxist mumbo-jumbo, or what we historians call anecdotal history: 'I know all about it because my grandfather was there.' It's all crap! We need something which says, as far as the international community is concerned" (and Jakob Finci would insist, even more important, as far as all citizens of Bosnia are concerned) "this is what caused the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. Objective history, honest history is very, very hard to find here, and that's what we need here more than anything else."

Finci says Bosnia needs truth and reconciliation, and it needs them fast. "We need to make Bosnia a safe place for our children and grandchildren." But most of these progeny, it turns out, have something else on their minds: leaving. "The last poll of our youngsters," says Finci, "showed that 62 percent of them were ready to leave the country immediately, and 70 percent said they would leave Bosnia for the right job, because they cannot see any bright future here."

Perhaps what they also cannot see is a normal future. "But the question of how normal things are," says the American diplomat Christopher Hoh, "might depend on your definition. I think a lot of people here would be very happy with a lower level definition: no war, you can basically go about your business, have some vacation, save a little money, and not feel a threat that people are going to come and take it away from you because of who you are."

"Things work," Hoh summed up, with some satisfaction at the American and international contribution to the state of things today in Bosnia. "If you compare it to some places in the world, a third world state, you'd say, 'Hey, this isn't too bad.' While if you compare it to places in Europe, you'll see that a lot of things don't work very well."

Bosnia, most of its residents would remind you, is and always has been, a place in Europe.

Belgrade, the bomb-damaged capital of the ever-diminishing Yugoslavia.

We must face up to the crucial issue that advocating a mono-ethnic sta[Need Additional Quote]e is, in itself, a crime." attribution Pavle Jevremovic.

III Bosnia

No people know better the value of amalgamation with Europe than the Kosovars. Like most southern Europeans, they have been exporting workers to Germany, Switzerland and Scandinavia for decades. But during the last decade, when Kosovar Albanians were systematically excluded from all public employment by order of Slobodan Milosevic and his rubber-stamp Parliaments, Kosovo had the highest number of wage-earners abroad, perhaps in European history. Their remittances are what allowed their families to survive the years of Serb-run apartheid and their savings are fueling a retail-level boom in Pristina, Pec, Prizren, and Kosovo's other significant towns.

Kosovar Albanian families know, from a decade of letters and phone calls and from almost as long of satellite-dish broadcasts from Albania, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, Great Britain and the U.S., what the "civilized world" means when it says normality. But like the American diplomat Christopher Hoh in Sarajevo, the UN Special Representative for Kosovo for the first year-and-a-half of international administration, Dr. Bernard Kouchner, suggests a double standard.

"In the usual sense of your country or mine, we are far from normality," Dr. Kouchner, a former French Minister of Health and the founder of the invaluable Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders), tells me in his spacious office just days before departing for home in Paris. "In the Balkan style, the Balkan way," he says, "we are coming back slowly to normality. That is to say, the [Serb and Albanian] communities are far from knowing each other, living with each

other, loving each other. But they are not so much killing each other."

Not so much, perhaps, but the possibility never seems far off in Kosovo. At the border, for example, between Montenegro and Kosovo, translator Dada Jovanovic and I have our papers and KFOR (the NATO military forces in Kosovo) cards taken away for a long time. Then, we learn that because they have expired, the KFOR cards are being taken away forever. This is potentially a serious matter, especially for Dada. My American passport protects me, but she's a Serb, and without the card saying that KFOR knows who she is, just running into the wrong police checkpoint could spark real danger.

In the normality of Belgrade, the media marketplace for information is open flourishing.

We say we won't move on without the expired cards, which we expect to exchange for new ones the next day in Pristina. The Italian soldiers at the border tell us that we will move on or go back to Montenegro. Since it is already midnight on a day when driving through fog, rain and for the last two hours, heavy, wet, slippery snow, began at 9 a.m., we're ready to concede when Dada is called back.

A few minutes pass and the veteran of bombs in Belgrade, death threats in Bosnia and the madness of Chechnya returns to the car pale and shaken. "This is incredible," she says. "I just had to sign a paper for KFOR admitting that I am a Serb and that if I am killed on this visit to Kosovo, it's not their fault."

"Look," says a young Kosovar Albanian businessman in the provincial town of Pec, "we all know the two things we have to do before any foreign capital comes into Kosovo and before Kosovo is treated like part of Europe. A stable, civil society has to be established, which means Serbs who fled Kosovo should be allowed to return, and to live here treated equally under the law and with civility by their Albanian neighbors. That's one. Here's two: we must establish a free and fair economy with modern and effective laws. Most people here understand that," he continues. "Of those who don't, only a small minority are real extremists."

"Can they stop the show?" I ask him. "Not at all," he says. But he is installing bullet-proof glass in all the windows of the new house he's building after his old one was blown up during the 1999 war.

"Of course, they can paralyze a majority that wants civility and peace," says Gordon McRae, a Canadian police officer just a month from leaving his post as Chief of Operations for the UN Civil Police Unit in Kosovo. "Go to a bar. Two people can terrorize the whole place if they are determined to fight one another, much less attack the rest of the people in the place."

The extremist remnant discussed so optimistically by the businessman, and so pessimistically by McRae are the familiar left-over functionaries and hit squads from the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), now making mafia money. In the businessman's hometown they have installed drone "company managers" over real managers, and hired hundreds of "war veterans" for no-show jobs. Elsewhere, they run street stalls selling bootleg cigarettes and compact discs and dozens of brothels renting, leasing and selling young women into what amounts to sexual slavery.

KLA alumni have also kept up the violence and pressure on the remaining Serbs in Kosovo, and have even mounted paramilitary campaigns to "liberate" Albanian villages inside Serbia. The NATO military forces, and most notably their American component, have failed to stop this. The results: "Our monastery is in total isolation," reports Father Jezekije of the Visoki Decani monastery, a place that had, during the violence of 1999, sheltered Albanians, Serbs and Roma. "All our monasteries, all Serb villages, are now totally isolated. We have vowed," he says of his brethren, "that we won't leave this monastery until ten Serbs are allowed to return to their homes and live in peace in Kosovo."

There was a U.S.-backed UN plan to return hundreds of Serbs to villages near the town of Istok in northern Kosovo, but local Albanians protested. The plan stopped dead in its tracks.

"We're the legitimate authority here, and people recognize that," says UN police executive McRae. "But there's an illegitimate authority, a determined extreme group out to produce instability as well as crime. So who is running this place," he asks, "the legitimate authority or the illegitimate? Unfortunately, that's a real question, especially in the minds of many Kosovars."

When I asked Kouchner, he had no doubt, listing for me the number of KLA-installed "factory managers" and "municipal authorities" his UNMIK operation had successfully removed. But, he admitted, many trouble spots remain in governmental and especially judicial institutions, and all across the economy. "Next time," Kouchner says, looking to the next international rescue effort, "we have to come up with a full emergency kit of administration. One thing to think about," he said, echoing an idea forcefully presented in the Bosnian context by Deputy UN Special Representative Jacques Klein, "is next time, to impose a state of emergency, and set up a temporary judicial system and police. This should not be a military government, but it must be done with the military."

General Klein edges closer to recommending full military occupation on the models of Germany and Japan after World War II. "The mistake we made here in Bosnia-Herzegovina—and they made a similar mistake in Kosovo—is that we came in here thinking, if we stop the violence, they will end the war. But they didn't. The war went on bureaucratically, through obstruction and obfuscation. In Nazi Germany, by 1942-43, we were already drafting a plan. No member of the Nazi Party would participate in government until de-Nazification was complete. We wrote the German Constitution."

"General Douglas MacArthur in Japan, gave women the vote, created labor unions, created [land reform]," he continues. "In other words, we had a plan of governance. Today, the West still has not communicated what they think the end state is here in Bosnia, or in Kosovo. [British historian Arnold] Toynbee said, every nation has an agenda, has interests, and if you don't have an agenda, you become the victim of somebody else's. In Kosovo, we became the victim of Milosevic and the Kosovo Liberation Army's agendas."

As the person who spent 18 months sorting through all that in Kosovo, Bernard Kouchner deserves the final word: "The main thing about normality is that it takes time. Because cultures, traditions, history, centuries of confrontation cannot just be swept away in two years or ten or twenty."

"There is a real human speed," Kouchner continues. "We cannot change the behavior of people the way we change their Constitutions. There, media's speed, human speed and political speed are not all the same. We have to face media people saying, 'What have you done in a year and a half?' This is impossible. This is a long process."

"Think of Northern Ireland," Kouchner says. "It's been 30 years there, and it's not finished." ■

The central states of the tri-furcated Bosnia are more than barely [Need Additional Quote] *nd swag with the ethnic mafias left over from the war.*

Stephen J. Del Rosso an interview

Stephen J. Del Rosso came to Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1999 after working at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations where he served as program director of one of the country's largest and most active international affairs forums. Del Rosso also managed The Pew Charitable Trusts"Global Security" grantmaking program for almost six years. A former career diplomat, Del Rosso served nearly ten years in the Foreign Service with overseas assignments in Central America and the Caribbean and also served on the staff of Secretary of State George P. Shultz. He is interviewed here by Susan King, vice president of public affairs for the Corporation.

SK: *What was it that led you, both as a former diplomat and someone who understands grantmaking, to the New Dimensions of Security program* and, in particular, to help develop its concern with "the contending norms of self-determination and the sanctity of existing borders"?*

SJD: Attempting to make sense of the security challenges in the post-Cold War, or what is now more accurately called the post-post-Cold War, era, is an ongoing task for many foundations, and, of course, the scholars we support and the policymakers we try to influence. The New Dimensions of Security program, or as I prefer to call it some New Dimensions of Security, is Carnegie Corporation's most recent attempt to focus on a theme that we and other foundations have been exploring for the last decade in one form or another. The specific subjects we are addressing initially—self-determination and competition over scarce resources, particularly water—follow on some of the previous work of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict which formally ended operations in December 1999. Although a different and equally valid set of issues might have been selected, this particular set strikes me as plausible, topical and important, and is likely to become increasingly so in the decades ahead.

SK: *So focusing on ethnic conflict, on real politik, what do you have to do when you start defining a new area for grantmaking?*

SJD: First you have to try to get your arms around the subject matter conceptually. In the case of self-determination, we began with a subject that is more amorphous and substantively incoherent than the other issues we have long dealt with in the International Peace and Security Program, such as weapons of mass destruction and Russia, where at least we have a specific geographic focus. Self-determination is also not a field, as such. It involves congeries of fields; politics, history, geography, philosophy, law. When you're trying to develop a grantmaking program around an issue that is inherently so expansive and complicated, it becomes very important to try to not do too much. At the same time, however, it is essential to try—and this is one of the Holy Grails of philanthropy—to do something meaningful. Because Andrew Carnegie himself was very interested in the practical application of the work that he supported, it is important that there be some kind of practical payoff to what we support. So, in other words, we're trying to generate new and important insights with practical implications. And that's a tough task in a world where policy is made in a very non-linear and incremental way. But I strongly believe that good policy needs to be informed by good scholarship, although the connection between the two is not always readily apparent, certainly in the short term.

SK: *Some people who are practitioners might say, "You don't need scholarship. What you need is to really deal with an issue when it's presented to you and it's a policy question." You believe scholarship is important. Why?*

SJD: If you're going to act as a policymaker, you have to act based on a certain set of assumptions and understandings of the world. Some people have the audacity to call that theory. Alexander George, one of the great political scientists, has said that when he used the word "theory" in front of policymakers, their eyes glazed over. But once he dug deeper and discussed with them what they were really talking about, it turns out that they were describing a theoretical framework that influenced their policymaking, however reluctant they were to acknowledge the dreaded "t" word. George called it, instead, generic knowledge, a less pejorative term for policymakers. What he meant was a basic frame of reference, an understanding of the world, cause and effect—all the components of what scholars call theory. Now, before a policymaker can act in a certain situation, he brings with him this framework, and this is informed by lots of things—personal experience, knowledge of the world and, I would contend, scholarship.

SK: *So policymakers are not working in a vacuum?*

SJD: Most busy policymakers barely have time to read what's in their in-box, let alone to read scholarly journals. But there are what I would call "trace elements" of scholarship that can be found in the policy realm. The responsibility of scholars and those who support them, like foundations, is to make sure that policymakers have in their intellectual toolkits a range of useful knowledge and ideas to draw upon when needed—even if policymakers themselves don't recognize the source of those ideas.

SK: *Tell me what like a trace element would be, theoretically or specifically in your program. That someone realizes that negotiations can lead to a changed situation, or a conflict resolution can be inserted in an ethnic situation that might change?*

SJD: Let me give you an example from the self-determination portfolio. A number of the projects we are supporting right now involve comparative case studies of successes and failures in certain power sharing arrangements in ethnically-divided countries where national minority groups within a state either want independence, or, in many cases, want more of a stake in the political system in which they find themselves. And all kinds of variations on this theme have been tried, especially in the last ten years. Some of them have succeeded in varying degrees, such as in Northern Ireland, for example. Some of them have failed, as we saw before the crises in Kosovo and East Timor. So the idea is that if scholars can show policymakers that in certain circumstances, a particular formula has a greater chance of working, then it seems to me that this would be a contribution. When a policymaker is faced with the dilemma of what to do in dealing with a particular separatist movement in a particular country, at least there can be some kind of empirical record that demonstrates that a certain arrangement might or might not work, so that policymakers won't blindly walk into a situation trying something that has been tried before and has failed.

SK: *So you're concerned with supporting the kind of scholarship that builds a framework for looking at a situation.*

SJD: I would say so. There are lots of ideas that float around the scholarly world that find their way into the policy realm, but not through the usual means because, frankly, a lot of the scholarship is written for other scholars and is, particularly in political science, sometimes difficult to penetrate. But one of the things that we try to do in our program is to push our grantees to try to make their work accessible through articles in less esoteric foreign policy journals, or in op-eds, for example, that can reach a broader audience and will have a better chance of getting the attention of busy policymakers, or at least their influential aids.

SK: *Do you focus your work around what would be a flash point, for instance, the Balkans, or Kosovo? Do you say, "Now we need to work because there's a problem there," or do you try to be ahead of what becomes the crisis?*

SJD: Ideally, we try to be ahead of any flash point. I can't help believing that if American foundations had been prescient enough, say, in 1980, to have been thinking realistically about post-Communist transitions—none of us were—we would have been better situated when the Berlin Wall fell and the Cold War ended to have responded more effectively. So, thinking ahead, by the time Kosovo or East Timor happens, it's really too late. This problem of self-determination—the simple fact that there are more national groups in the world that want a state of their own than existing states want to allow—will undoubtedly involve and is involving many flash points. The international community, and the United States not the least among them, still hasn't figured out how to deal with this challenge. So one thing that we can contribute is some kind of assessment of the lessons learned, what works, what doesn't work, and a systematic analysis of the most important questions that need to be answered: When to intervene in self-determination disputes, when not to intervene, how to intervene, who should intervene, and a whole other series of questions relating to the impact of this phenomenon called globalization and the constraints and opportunities it presents to the expression of self-determination in the 21st century. So, yes, I think it is our responsibility to look ahead.

SK: *Can you talk a little bit about what you're looking for in a proposal for this area?*

SJD: I don't think it will surprise anyone to learn that there are no sure-fire formulas. There are limitations, not the least being financial, on what we can do. Even if a proposal fits substantively into whatever we've said in our guidelines, there are inevitably other implicit and explicit criteria involved. Decisions would also depend, of course, on the quality and clarity of the proposal itself, on the ability to try to build on some of the previous scholarship, and to ideally "break some new ground," even though, admittedly, that's a very difficult thing to do.

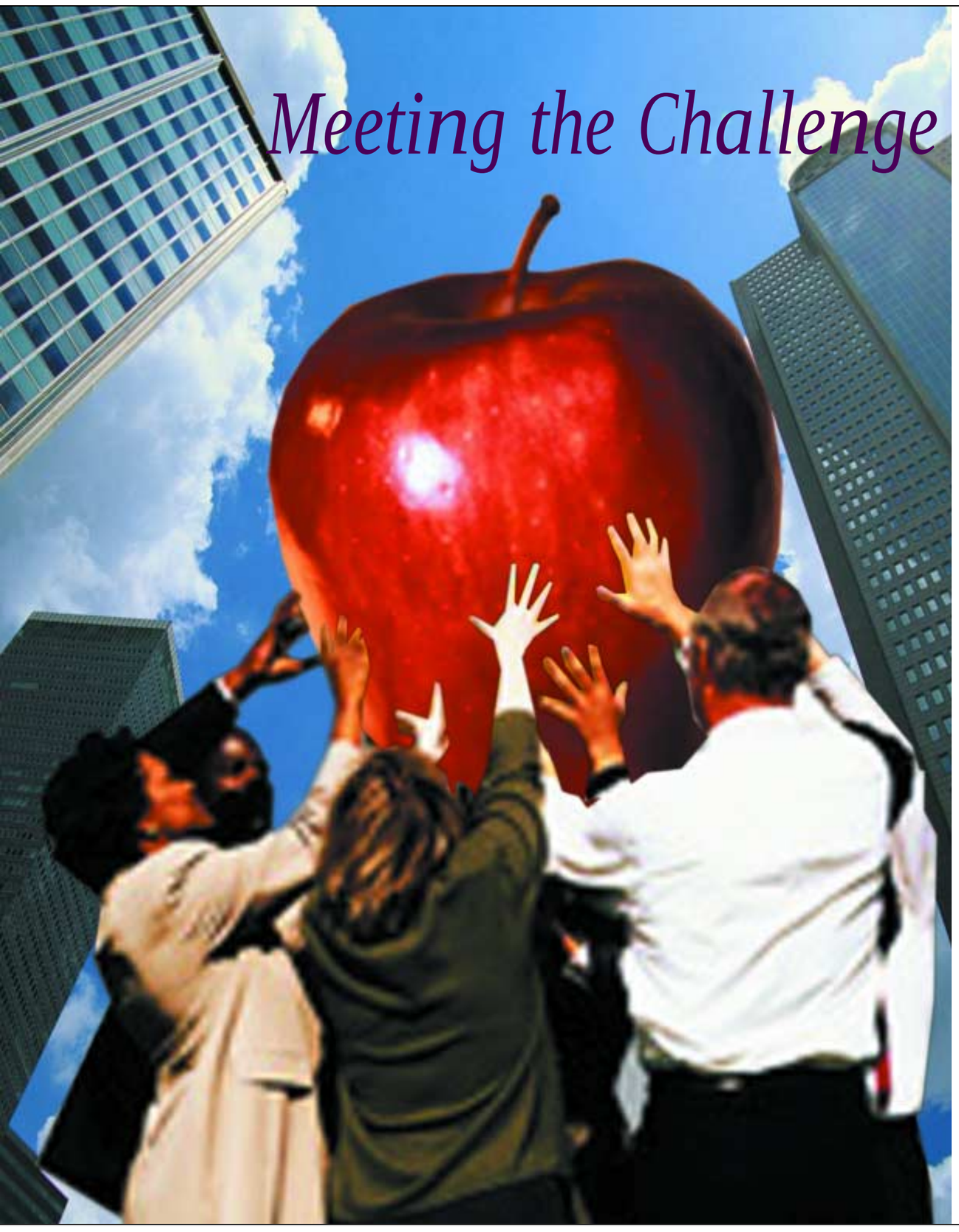
SK: *In other words, you're looking for the cutting edge.*

SJD: Well, I'm not sure what cutting edge really means. But what I do believe about the work we do here—and I know it's a philosophy that the foundation endorses—is that philanthropy has a responsibility to serve as a catalyst and promoter of good ideas that may contribute, even indirectly, to the public good, and, in some cases, fill a void or advance understanding of an issue in a way that the government can't or won't.

I think my own experience bears this out: Although I came to philanthropy from the policy world about a decade ago, I make no claim of having had any effect whatsoever on foreign policy making. But in my ten years as a Foreign Service Officer, and particularly through some of my work in legislative affairs and on the secretariat staff of Secretary of State George Shultz, I got to see how "sausage" was made up close in ways that I wouldn't have otherwise. And in the foreign policy realm, this process is not always pretty or easy, and it requires great knowledge, skill and judgement to be done well. So I approach philanthropy with an interest in supporting scholarship not just for the sake of scholarship, and ideas for the sake of ideas, but as a means of effecting policy in some way or another. I believe that a valid argument could be made that even some of the more esoteric, or seemingly esoteric, work that we support has practical value. It may not be always apparent, and, in some instances, much less so than others, but I wouldn't be interested in doing what I was doing unless I felt somehow that this were the case.

SK: *Thank you.* ■

** The New Dimensions of Security subprogram of the International Peace and Security Program addresses some of the most salient "non-traditional" security threats in the early years of the 21st century. Initially, grantmaking is focusing on the challenge of reconciling the desire of national groups to obtain greater political authority, including a state of their own, and the interests of existing states to maintain the territorial status quo. Grantmaking will also begin this year on the perils and promise of competition over water. Further details on these new initiatives can be found on our web site at www.carnegie.org.*



Meeting the Challenge of the urban High School

by JOYCE BALDWIN

If it takes a village to raise a child, it may also take the equivalent—teachers, parents, elected officials, business leaders and anyone else who cares about kids—to create a successful high school.

"Hi, teach!"

This snappy, disrespectful first line in Up the Down Stair Case effectively sets the tone of Bel Kaufman's portrayal of her experiences as a teacher in New York City high schools. Kaufman draws a deft portrait of a situation that is at once funny and sad, a story of how teachers and students try to cope with a system that simply doesn't work for them. The book, which was a great success when published in 1964, sold more than six million copies and was made into a motion picture starring Sandy Dennis. Kaufman became a celebrity; she reports being photographed on staircases in schools around the nation and receiving many letters from teachers and students, one of them signed by "Your devoted pupil," although the former student had never met his "Dearest Teacher."

In a forward to a paperback edition issued in 1991, thirty years after she wrote the classic, Kaufman described her story as one of plunging "Sylvia Barrett, the young, inexperienced, idealistic teacher, into the maelstrom of an average city high school, where, inundated with trivia in triplicate, she had to cope with all that is frustrating and demeaning in the school system, while dealing with larger human issues."

At the beginning of the new millennium many educators and students view their own school situations as similar to that experienced by Sylvia Barrett. In a comment about the current urban school crisis, Kaufman notes that "Everything described in my fiction is today reality. Only computers and condoms are new." Her story now, she says, "seems more timely than ever, and more urgent."

The Scope of the Problem

Since Ms. Kaufman wrote that observation, the crisis in the nation's schools has deepened, especially in large impersonal urban schools. Students are too often absent from school and too often drop out altogether. According to the National Education Association, in 1998 nearly 12 percent of 16 to 24 year olds were without a high school credential; this included 29.5 percent of Hispanic youth; 13.8 percent of black, non-Hispanic youth; 7.7 percent of white, non-Hispanic

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As a high school biology teacher, Joyce Baldwin had an up-close view of a classroom; now she writes about education from a wider perspective. She also enjoys writing about health and medicine and is the author of DNA Pioneer: James Watson and the Double Helix (Walker Publishing Company, 1994).

Urban Academy
As a Student Views it

Stephanie Perez is a senior at Urban Academy, one of the high schools that is part of the Julia Richman Education Complex in New York City. Before Stephanie arrived at Urban Academy—or simply "Urban" as the students refer to the school—Julia Richman had been transformed into a group of small schools remodeled from a large, impersonal school that was seriously being considered for closure, a school described in the press as "known . . . more for its shoplifting than for its scholars."

Today, Stephanie can't say enough positive things about her experience at Urban. And she should know. Before coming to this school, Stephanie attended a "traditional" high school in New Jersey where she felt she was "wasting my time, just memorizing things, taking a test and not really retaining anything." Then Stephanie attended a small alternative school that she describes as "not challenging." "I just would sit in class and talk with friends, and no one noticed," she explains.

At Urban, people notice.

"The most critically important factor (about Urban) is its size—it's small and personal, and I get the attention I need from teachers," says Stephanie. "Since the school is small, the curriculum is both personalized and challenging. Before I came to Urban, I attended a large traditional high school. The work I do here is more rigorous, demanding, and definitely more interesting.

Stephanie also cites the multicultural aspects of Urban as important to her learning. "I have the opportunity to get to know other students from different backgrounds very well," she explains. "This gives students the chance to see different issues from different perspectives." She says learning in a culturally diverse atmosphere "helps you with social interaction, it teaches you how to deal with people that you've never dealt with before, and it helps with the class discussions, too."

At Urban classes are about an hour long, allowing sufficient time for students to read an assignment and then discuss it or, in science classes, to get involved in laboratory work. On Wednesdays students are in class only half the day and spend the rest of the day in field work.

"One of the things Urban taught me was how to use the city as a resource for my research," says Stephanie. "I've learned how to use city libraries, museums, and other cultural institutions more to my advantage. While most of my assignments and projects are started at school, a lot of my work and research are done outside of the traditional classroom setting and my education feels more hands on."

Students who attended Julia Richman before it was revamped probably wouldn't recognize their school as the one Stephanie describes. But for Stephanie and other students like her, the school is the best.

youth; and 4.1 percent of Asian/Pacific Islander youth. Many students who remain in school are unable to read their higher-level textbooks, with one study finding that only one-fourth of graduates can read the words inscribed on their diplomas. Yet few if any high schools teach reading even though many ninth grade students do not have the basic skills to pass required courses and advance to the next grade. In large urban schools, which have never graduated more than half of their students or prepared more than two in five students for postsecondary education, there is a significant schism between students who achieve at a high academic level and those who do not.

The "shopping mall" approach to secondary education allows students to take only the courses they want and does not place too many demands on students except those in a high-pressure, high-achievement group. This relaxed approach to education coupled with the fact that high schools often do not demonstrate how education and the world of work are connected prompts too few students to take challenging courses. Although some students tackle rigorous academic work, they represent only a tiny minority—a disturbingly low ten percent—of high school students, and there is an appalling lack of scientific literacy or interest in mathematics, according to Charles J. Sykes who cites a "legacy of dumbness" in his book Dumbing Down Our Kids (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1995).

The traditional high school has served as a **sorting** *device, sending graduates off to college or to pursue a* **vocation** *or service work and sending students who did not graduate to unskilled jobs.*

Metal detectors are installed at many high-school entrances and guards patrol hallways; even in suburban areas students at an alarmingly high rate report carrying a weapon to school. U.S. Department of Education data show that in 1996 more than one-quarter million students ages 12 through 18 were victims of nonfatal serious violent crime at school and that in a four-year period more then 1.5 million teachers were victims of crimes including 619,000 who were victims of violent crimes defined as rape or sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated and simple assault. Drug and alcohol abuse are problems for teens, too, and contribute to low achievement rates in school. One Long Island school superintendent recently stated in a letter to parents that abuse of these substances by students in his district had reached an "almost epidemic state."

The traditional high school has served as a sorting device, sending graduates off to college or to pursue a vocation or service work and sending students who did not graduate to unskilled jobs. However, even though the changing workplace now requires many more people to think creatively rather than perform only manual labor or service work, too many high school graduates do not graduate, and many of those who claim a diploma do not meet the entrance requirements of colleges and universities. The problem is particularly acute in urban areas where the high school graduation rate—which rose to 82 percent nationwide in 1998 (up from 41 percent in 1960) —is much lower than the national rate.

A Disconnected Society

The urgency of the situation in our schools must be viewed in the context of larger changes that have taken place in our society. In Bowling Alone (Simon & Schuster, New York, 2000), Robert D. Putnam cites data that attest to the fact that people tend to live more and more in isolation, not reaching out to connect with others. At home, families too often do not interact, spending less and less time vacationing together, attending religious services together, or just talking together. Rarely do families convene even at the dinner table with one study showing that since 1980 the one-time family ritual of eating dinner together declined by a third, dropping from the 50 percent range to 34 percent. Teenagers spend untold hours watching television or surfing the Internet, unsupervised and not in close association with another adult.

Students who attend large urban schools report feelings of anonymity, of being just one person among thousands of other troubled youth without an adult in their lives to help negotiate problems and provide support. Many students do not have a relationship in their schools with even one caring adult who knows them personally and participates significantly in their development.

Our new knowledge-based economy with its emphasis on problem-solving and the ability to cope with change makes it imperative that high school graduates attend college. Yet too many students are unable to meet college entrance requirements and those that do often find it a highly challenging situation.

"We have students living on campus now who have fewer and fewer social skills," says Sarah E. Sudak, who is Associate Dean for Residential Life at Middle Tennessee State University, which houses about 3400 students on campus and has a total enrollment of about 19,000 students. "Their parents worked all day, the students came home to empty houses and turned on the TV or computer, probably grabbed something out of the microwave for dinner, and then went to their own rooms complete with TV, VCR, stereo, etc. They had minimal social contact and no real understanding of what it means to be a part of the community."

"Then we ask them to move with all their belongings into a 10' X 12' room with someone else and assume they'll be able to get along. They've never had to share in their entire life, and now we ask them to do that at age 18, and it is a real obstacle for some. While we all see the value of living on campus (both academically and socially), developing community, and growing as citizens, it can be a really challenging prospect for the majority of our students."

Looking Back

How have we reached this crossroads? The history of the American high school began in 1821 when the English Classical School of Boston (later renamed English High School), was established as the first public high school in the country. In the 1880s Calvin M. Woodward and other educational leaders sparked an interest in vocational training with the first manual training high school opening in Baltimore in 1884. Other such schools soon followed

Bel Air High School
As a Teacher Views it

"It was like a dark tunnel, with no end, no results," says Genny Galindo describing how she felt a few years back about her teaching job. "You would like to see results at the end of a hard days' work, to see your students be successful."

But at Bel Air High School in El Paso, Texas, the students were simply not interested.

"Teachers would stand in front of class, giving the students the same old lesson plans," says Galindo. "They just kept doing the same old thing over and over and coming up with the same results, and it was (thought to be) all the students' fault."

The school, which is in a low socioeconomic community was on the brink of being closed. Only about five percent of students even thought about applying to college.

But then six years ago things changed radically. A new principal, Vernon Butler, took over; one of the first things Butler asked was that all staff members write a letter to reapply for their jobs.

"We wrote about what we believed in as educators, what we had done for the school, for our students, about our teaching methods and strategies, our contributions to the community," says Galindo. "He wanted to know what we would be willing to do for Bel Air and were we going to take the challenge."

Galindo says she found the new approach appealed to her integrity as a teacher.

"Hey! We're not here jut to collect a check," she says softly. "Are we helping our country with the training of minds? Are we doing our part?"

Only 57 of the 132 teachers remained at Bel Air. The teachers who stayed took up Butler's challenge and transformed the school. "I started looking at new (teaching) strategies," she says. "We learned new ways to convey the information to our students; we also became very high-tech with computers. I found a new me."

Galindo says Butler provided the "vision that we needed." The school now has high academic expectations for all students and, she explains, that Butler models compassion and supportive behavior with teachers that transfers to the students.

"He believed that this group could do it, that the parents and the students of the community could rise to the challenge regardless of their background," Galindo explains. Now she proudly says some of her students from this border town in Texas have gone on to be successful at leading colleges including Georgetown, Notre Dame, and Yale.

Bel Air High School still has room for improvement, as indicated in part by its overall low SAT scores. In a letter to parents and the community, Butler said "we still have much to do to help our students accomplish their goals." But in May 2000 Bel Air was named a National Blue Ribbon School of Excellence by the U.S. Department of Education. That recognition was Galindo's biggest reward.

"We were crying, we were laughing, we were hugging; we wanted to tell the whole world," she says. "The community deserved it. All the changes and all the hard work had paid off."

with the purpose of training youngsters to become employable plumbers, bricklayers or other manual workers.

Early in the 20th century, John Dewey sparked an interest in educating the whole child so that youngsters would be able to take on the mature responsibilities of participation in a democracy and enjoy meaningful work and economic success. Educators today find themes in Dewey's concepts that are relevant to current school redesign efforts.

"We have good teachers in America; they are **committed,** *and they work very hard. But they are in a system that no longer functions very well when we have to raise* **standards** *significantly with the rising workplace requirement."*

In the middle of the last century, the launch of the Soviet Union's Sputnik, the world's first satellite, caused the United States to rethink its school system, and in a 1959 Carnegie Corporation-sponsored report, James Conant urged that the mathematics, science, and foreign language curricula be strengthened.

Other changes in the latter part of the century stemmed from the Vietnam War and its accompanying student protests, which resulted in the addition of electives that students sought as relevant to their lives.

Toward the close of the 20th century, the Internet and other changes in global technology further exacerbated the need for redesign of obsolete urban schools.

Learning from High School Redesign Efforts

Educators have made progress in revamping failing middle schools, and there are examples of dramatic changes in urban high school redesign, situations in which schools on the brink of being closed have been rescued at the last minute, transformed in a way that captures the mind as well as the heart. These isolated efforts provide information about what works and what does not. (See sidebars for profiles of three "turnaround" schools, which are seen from the perspective of a high school principal, a student, and a teacher.)

One tenet of urban high school change is the creation of smaller schools, community groups where teenagers are known as individuals by one, and hopefully more than one, adult. Small schools provide settings where the hopes and dreams of youth can be nurtured, where teenagers can be nudged and prompted to learn, and where a teacher can help rescue a student before he or she slides behind or passively lets the studying pile up until it is unmanageable.

Some educators hope to break the cycle of failure in part by addressing the need to help students successfully negotiate the transition from the middle school to the high school. The Talent Development High School Model, which was created by educators and researchers at Johns Hopkins University features a Ninth Grade Success Academy, a self-contained school-within-a school that includes a Transition to Advanced Mathematics course and a Strategic Reading course for helping all students meet with success in college preparatory algebra and language arts courses. To bolster social and study skills, a Talent Development High School includes a freshman seminar tailored to help students develop computer and keyboarding skills as well as understand the connection between their high school studies and college and career.

This model also provides block scheduling that provides increased time for learning, a core requirement of college preparatory courses for all students, Career Academies for grades 10, 11, and 12, and an alternative after-hours program for those students with serious discipline problems.

These and other schools including those in the Annenburg Rural Challenge program help students make the link between what they learn in school and work by providing field internships. For example, pupils in Rural Challenge schools study the history of their towns, publish newspapers, work at a local library or a nearby museum and find other opportunities to complement their studies.

Although small schools can provide the leverage needed for change, experts say that creating a "small" setting in which students and teachers can interact merely provides the foundation for helping students achieve and that schools must work on many issues including the need to have high standards for all students.

"Comprehensive high schools are trying to be everything to all students and are probably little to most," says Judy B. Codding, a co-author of The New American High School (Corwin Press, 1998).

Codding, who was principal of Pasenda High School for five years beginning in 1988, says academic rigor is the bedrock of school redesign. "The purpose of a high school is to prepare all students for college without the need for remediation," she explains. "That doesn't mean that all kids need to go to a four-year college, but they do need to have the knowledge and skills to live productive lives. If teens don't have that, they will be assigned to a life of poverty."

The reality, however, is that expectations for students do vary. "Our (Philadelphia) data and other data nationally show that in the large urban schools we simply are not offering students the courses, the rigorous learning that they need," says Rochelle Nichols-Solomon, Senior Program Director of the Philadelphia Education Fund. "We generally have a different set of expectations for students of color and poor students enrolled in the comprehensive (or non-magnet) high schools, even though we have the rhetoric of high standards for all students."

Expectatons for Faculty and Students

The kinds of skills, knowledge, support, and expertise that teachers need are an important aspect of school redesign. "My attention is focused on the teachers, and the expectations for them and support for them that will then in turn help them be more effective with the students," Nichols-Solomon says.

Faculty commitment is key to the success of High Schools That Work (HSTW), a large-scale effort of the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) that aims "to improve the way all high school students are prepared for work and further education."

"You must engage the faculty in a dialogue. You must do that," says Gene Bottoms, director of High Schools That Work and Senior Vice President of SREB. "We have good teachers in America; they are committed, and they

work very hard. But they are in a system that no longer functions very well when we have to raise standards significantly with the rising workplace requirement."

"Unlocking from that system is the biggest challenge we have," Bottoms says. "That system is built on the ability model that says some students can learn complicated material but most students can't, so you dumb down the curriculum for the rest of the students. What we say is that you can teach the rest what you've been teaching to the best, but you will have to teach it differently. To get faculty to really begin to believe and shift from the old ability model to an effort-based model you have to change your language, mindset, and teaching techniques."

The HSTW program bolsters learning in part by advocating a solid academic core curriculum and by enrolling grade nine youth who lag behind in an 18-week program geared to help them catch up so they will be as prepared as their peers to take the more rigorous algebra and language arts classes. Results so far have been promising. Some examples: At Loganville High in Georgia, where the HSTW principles have been implemented, 86 percent of students pursue education after graduation (up from 62 percent before HSTW); chronic absences are down and the dropout rate has gone from 9 percent to less than 4 percent. In 1998, in Oklahoma schools participating in the program, students averaged above 50 percent in math, science and reading for the first time.

Engaging Parents and Youth

Parental involvement is another element that can affect a student's success. Schools can reach out to involve parents by keeping them informed and by organizing volunteer activities and providing parent education programs.

"There's no way we're going to raise the achievement level of students unless we engage parents on behalf of their kids," says Codding. When Codding saw that only a small fraction of parents attended a back-to-school program at Pasedena High School, she set up a structure that reached out to parents with telephone calls and mailings to inform the parents about their teenagers' school programs including the names of students' advisors, advocates and head teachers. "The line of communication became clear to parents," Codding explained.

Youth, too, must be heard. Students clearly, often plaintively, describe their world and that is information we need in order to successfully redesign urban high schools. "We know the way to effect change is to have that change be based in reality, to be data-based," says Michele Cahill, senior program officer in the education division of Carnegie Corporation. "Quantitative data are becoming more available, but there are also incredibly important qualitative data—narratives that convey the experiences of young people in school. This youth voice has been missing in the past, yet a key part of changing the high schools is seeing young people as assets and seeing them as active learners. We recognize the need to hear the youth voice because we get new information from that about what needs to be changed and what might work that you can't get from any other source."

A Clarion Call

Overarching themes echoed by urban educators are the need to personalize education and to tailor rigorous education to reach all high school students, not just some of the students. To do this requires a revamping of the system, not just a minor alteration, and a commitment from all members of the school community as well as members of the larger community. High school redesign is one of the greatest challenges facing our nation at the start of this new millennium: the challenge to create a vision of the American urban high school that

Over 7 Lines

Whole-District School Reform

In June 2000 Carnegie Corporation awarded 15-month planning grants to ten urban school districts-community partnerships nationwide. These grants are the first phase of the Schools for a New Society initiative launched by the Corporation in an effort to provide long-term support for the revamping of large comprehensive urban schools.

"Every student in America is entitled to attend a good high school in order to be prepared for the world of the 21st century," says Vartan Gregorian, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York. "They are owed a high-performance education where much is offered and much is expected. We don't expect instant success in turning around every low-achieving high school in each of the ten cities, but we are determined to help build the will that believes no student can be written off. To do less would be to abdicate the Corporation's role as a leader in education reform."

Although the participating districts have been actively seeking to redesign their schools, the revamping efforts have been more successful in the elementary and middle schools. The challenge at the high school level is much greater, requiring new leadership strategies and a new and dynamic vision of the high school. A key component of this initiative is the partnership teams composed of school officials, teachers, parents, and students as well as community stakeholders who are crucial to the success of a high school reform effort. These stakeholders include unions, college personnel, elected officials, business leaders, and leaders of community-based and youth development organizations.

"With this initiative, Carnegie Corporation will encourage and support the development of high schools for all students where there is effective teaching and learning, where students are invested in their own education and support their peers to achieve, and where there are clear pathways to higher education, careers, and community participation," says Michele Cahill, a nationally recognized youth development expert and educator who created the initiative and who will lead the Corporation's long-term effort.

Three foundations launched the New Century High Schools Consortium for New York City. Pictured at the event are Harold Levy, Chancellor of the New York City Board of Education; Patty Stonesifer, President and Cochair of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; Randi Weingarten, President of the United Federation of Teachers; William C. Thompson, Jr., President of the New York City Board of Education; Gara LaMarche, Director of the Open Society Institute's US Programs; and Vartan Gregorian, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

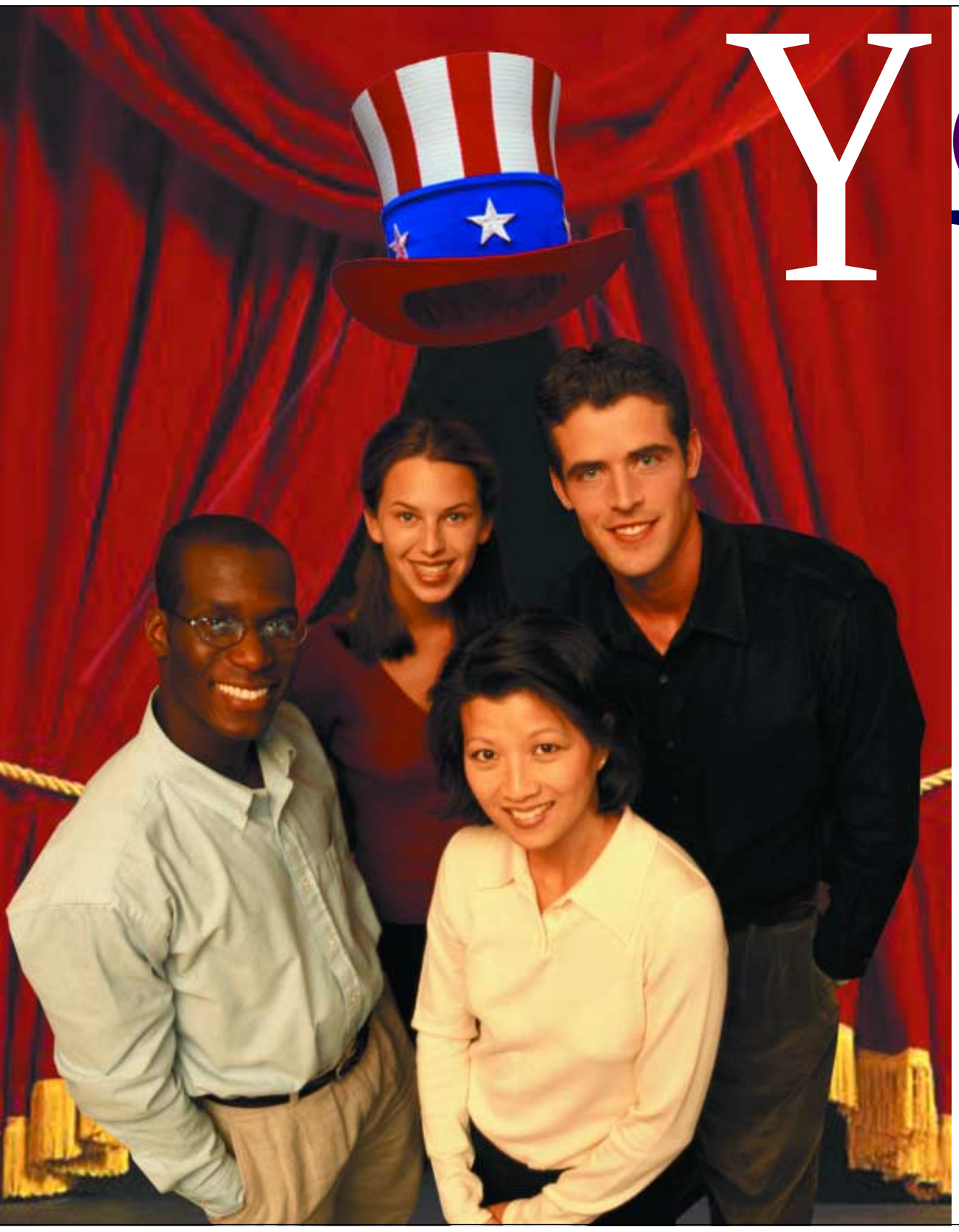
The ten partnerships that received Carnegie Corporation planning grants are: Boston Plan for Excellence in the Public Schools Foundation, The Chattanooga-Hamilton County Public Education Fund, Houston Annenberg Challenge, Indianapolis Public Schools Education Foundation, Inc., New Futures for Youth Inc. (Little Rock), Portland Public Schools Foundation (Oregon), Health and Education Leadership for Providence, Linking Education and Economic Development in Sacramento, San Diego Foundation, and Clark University (Worcester).

Upon completion of strategic plans for all city high schools, five of the ten partnerships will be invited into the second phase of the initiative that will fund implementation of theplans. Beginning in the fall of 2001 when the second phase is launched, Carnegie Corporation anticipates committing $40 million over five years in direct grants, which will require a one-to-one match from public or private funds.

In December 2000, Carnegie Corporation along with the Open Society Institute (OSI) and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation announced another project—this one a partnership with New York City's public schools—aimed at redesigning some of the city's large comprehensive high schools that serve approximately 76,000 students across the city. The three foundations will make a five-year, $30 million investment in the initiative, known as the New Century High Schools Consortium for New York City, which promises effective high schools for all students and the implementation of small-school designs.

The consortium is targeting the lowest performing academic comprehensive highschools that serve students from low income neighborhoods and will back plans for both large-school redesign and development of small schools. The consortium expects to choose approximately ten large-scale high school redesigns and sponsor the creation of a number of new secondary schools serving grades 7 through 12.

Small-school designs have a proven track record of helping all students achieve,"says Patty Stonesifer, president and co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. "A number of New York City high schools have successfully implemented small-school models and this partnership will help bring these innovations to scale by supporting both new small high schools and the redesign of large high schools." Adds Gara LaMarche, director of U.S. Programs for OSI, "Far too many failing high schools crush the aspirations of poor students of color, and serve as conveyor belts for the criminal justice system, not for the opportunity that is their birthright. "The good news is that we know how to do better, and in this New York City partnership, we will." ■



Youth Vote 2000

by
MICHAEL DECOURCY HINDS

They'd Rather Volunteer

Whether young people voted in the last election or sat it out, their voices had an impact.

Voting is a civic right, duty and privilege. So there's cause for concern about democracy's health and future when about 30 million young Americans don't vote.

It is, however, also possible to look at the youth vote with some pride and amazement: One in three young people did vote last November, overcoming a variety of cultural, educational and political impediments. To name a few: As usual, the Democratic and Republican campaigns paid scant attention to young people, writing them off as likely nonvoters. Except for Ralph Nader, the candidates did not champion any compelling or inspirational youth issues—and largely ignored the age-related perspectives and concerns the young have about mainstream issues. Nor, from the start, did young people have much interest in following the political debate: most said in surveys that their schools and colleges hadn't taught them much at all about politics or the democratic process, and many said they rarely, if ever, discussed politics at home.

As society's silence conveyed the message that politics and voting weren't important, record numbers of young people poured their energy into community service—which they consider to be far more effective than government at solving public problems, even national ones. Whether naïve or wise, this trend is reshaping politics: surveys indicate that somewhere between 24 and 44 percent of young people identify themselves politically as Independents.

In this context, it could be considered something of a countercultural act of rebellion that young people went to the polls and voted. Moreover, their disproportionately strong support of Nader not only made a significant difference in the extremely close election, it arguably gave a leadership voice to the rumbling discontent that

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many older Americans express about the two-party system.

"Not a bad day's work for a small bunch of young reformers," said Terry Madonna, director of the Center for Politics and Public Affairs at Millersville University of Pennsylvania. Exit polls indicate that in Florida, where Al Gore lost the presidency to George W. Bush by about 500 votes, young people gave Nader an estimated 35,000 votes. The exit polls, conducted by Voter News Service, found that, nationally, young people between the ages of 18 and 29 gave Nader five percent of their votes, or two and a half times the support that he received from voters over 30. Nader had the strongest youth support in New England: 16 percent of the youth vote in Massachusetts, 11 percent in Maine and Vermont, 10 percent in Rhode Island and 8 percent in New Hampshire.

Apart from their stronger support for Nader, the exit surveys indicated that young people split their votes: 48 percent for Vice President Al Gore, 46 percent for Texas Governor George W. Bush, and about one percent for Patrick Buchanan.

What brought young people to the polls? Pretty much the same things as their elders, according to a post-election survey sponsored by Third Millennium, a nonpartisan Generation X think tank that has received Carnegie Corporation support. The top three reasons cited by people between the ages of 18 and 34 who supported Gore: he's pro-choice, represents the Democratic Party perspective and is a vice president with more experience. For Bush, his young supporters said he has better moral character, will restore dignity to the White House and is pro-life. For Nader, the top reasons were that young voters didn't like the other two candidates, were fed up with the two-party system and wanted to help Nader's Green party qualify for federal funding in the next election.

Those were Paul Ambrose's top three reasons for voting for Nader. Ambrose, 22, is a business major at the University of New Hampshire and plans a career focused on community service. "I agreed with Bush on some things and I agreed with Gore on others. But I felt like I was trying to choose the lesser of two evils. As I was walking into the high school to vote I decided to vote for Nader. I figured that a vote for Nader might mean I'd be able to choose from three candidates in the next election."

Young voters registering on the University of Washington Campus

Madonna at Millersville University said that if society wants to get out the youth vote, we need to stop paying lip service to the importance of voting and start paying attention to what young people are saying.

They Say: No One's Listening

"They ignore us! We're nonentities," Iahana Spain, 25, an office manager, told the Washington Post just before the election. She said she was tired of inaction and canned rhetoric. "Young people won't vote. Why should we?"

Young people have long felt out of the political loop. In a landmark study of 15-to-24-year olds in November 1998 by the National Association of Secretaries of State, nearly seven out of ten young people agreed with the statement: "Our generation has an important voice but no one seems to hear it." A nonvoting college student in Salt Lake City said: "I think if they're speaking to us, instead of over our heads, then we'll pay more attention. If I feel like they're speaking to me, I'll register to vote."

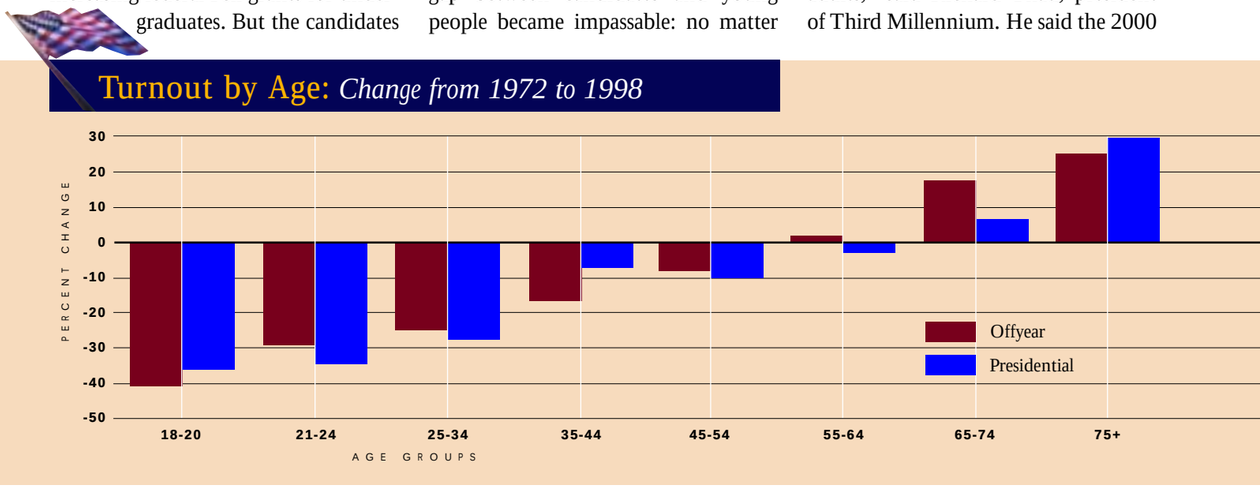
What were the young people's concerns that fell on deaf ears during the 2000 campaign? On the surface, young people share the very same concerns as the rest of the electorate. Consider the similarity of responses to surveys of the general public last year by Gallup and an August 2000 survey of 18-24 year olds by Princeton Survey Research Associates for MTV and the Kaiser Family Foundation. In the surveys, both groups were asked to identify issues that were very important in determining their vote for president. Seven issues appeared on both groups' top ten lists: education, economy and jobs, healthcare, the environment, Social Security, taxes and crime.

Despite the overlap, younger voters have very different, age-related, concerns about the same issues. For example, education was the highest-priority issue for the electorate. But young voters were most concerned about the costs of tuition and paying off college loans. The candidates occasionally addressed these concern: among other things, Gore called for tax credits for higher education and Bush proposed increasing federal Pell grants for undergraduates. But the candidates concentrated on the general public's main concern in education, which was school reform in grades K-12.

"The candidates made a decision to reach out to parents more than to young people," said Julian S. Scott, a 19-year-old in Philadelphia, who voted for the first time. "It was funny that the candidates spoke about the lower grades of school and not higher education—when they know that college students can vote. I guess they looked at the numbers and knew that students don't vote as much as older people."

Scott said he voted because he saw that some issues, like tax cuts and help with college tuition, would soon have an effect on him. Also, he followed the race closely because he'd taken an innovative American Government course at Roxborough High School in which he and classmates conducted surveys, analyzed candidates' positions and wrote voters' guides.

Outside of that course, Scott said, most of his friends saw nothing of interest in the campaign, ignored it and didn't vote—echoing what young people around the country said in surveys and interviews. At some point in the campaign, then, the communication gap between candidates and young people became impassable: no matter what the candidates said, most young people weren't listening.



They Say: We Don't Know Enough to Vote

Apart from the communications gap, many young people said, quite simply, "I don't know enough about the candidates to vote." This was the statement selected by a majority of young people who were unsure whether they would vote last November, according to the survey by Princeton Research.

No wonder.

For one thing, campaign advertising bypassed the young even in the dozen battleground states where candidates ran most of their ads. In a Third Millennium study of nine of those major media markets, 64 percent of campaign television advertising was found to be directed at people over 50, who represent 37 percent of the population. By comparison, only 14.2 percent of the campaigns' advertising was directed at people between the ages 18 and 34, who make up 31 percent of the population.

"We attempted to demonstrate that there is a cycle of mutual neglect that exists between candidates and young adults," said Richard Thau, president of Third Millennium. He said the 2000 campaign perpetuated a cyclical problem: politicians didn't pay much attention to young adults because they don't vote enough; and, to some extent, young adults don't know enough to vote because political ad campaigns ignore them.

But political issues don't make it to the kitchen table, either. It's becoming the norm these days for young people to grow up in homes where parents don't talk about politics or vote, according to the Secretaries of State study. Almost half of the survey participants said their parents rarely, if ever, spoke about politics; among this group of young people, three out of four didn't vote in 1996. Only 42 percent of the young people said their mother or father votes in every election. "My parents don't vote," said one participant. "So I guess that's probably why I don't vote."

In surveys, young people continu-

ally report that they don't know much about the way democracy works or who the key players are, yet few schools require courses in American government. "At present, civic education is in considerable disarray," Derek Bok, Harvard University's former president, has written. His findings: Fewer than half of the states require high school students to spend even a single semester studying civics or government, and those courses cover a hodgepodge of topics. Teaching tends to be didactic and dull. "Not surprisingly," Bok wrote, "most investigators have found that civic education in its current form has little or no subsequent effect on voting or other forms of civic participation."

Colleges and universities have not picked up the slack; in fact, they have joined the trend by dropping requirements for American studies. Most participants in the Secretaries of State study said that their college education didn't provide the basic information they needed to vote. A Baltimore college student who didn't vote in 1996, said, "When I actually understand what I'm benefiting from, then I'll go out and vote."

A poor excuse? Older Americans may scoff at the thought of an information gap in this Internet age, but there is a time gap to consider as well. People passing through the stressful ages of 18 to 29 are starting college, starting jobs, starting families and starting to worry about their own children's health and education. In 1996, nearly three in ten young people who had registered to vote but didn't make it to the polls told the Census Bureau they couldn't get time off from work or school, or were too busy. Older Americans can also relate to this problem: Among all registered voters who didn't vote in 1996, 22 percent said they were too busy or couldn't get time off school or work, compared with 8 percent in 1980. "Perhaps it's a sign of the times—the hectic schedules and increasing demands of employers," the bureau concluded.

Foundations Working for Youth Participation in Politics

Many philanthropies are providing support for strengthening citizenship. A few examples:

Surdna Foundation. Its program, Effective Citizenry, focuses on "strengthening the groundwork for meaningful youth involvement." It has supported efforts to strengthen civic engagement programs in higher education and public schools. Surdna also helped organize the Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing.

Pew Charitable Trusts. It's Public Policy Program aims to improve civic confidence in government and participation in the democratic process, especially elections. Under a new, six-year initiative, the foundation is establishing a national research center and a network of youth-oriented organizations.

H.M. Jackson Foundation. It's Public Service Program supports efforts in the Northwest to give young people the training and experiences that nurture interest in the processes of government.

Ford Foundation. Several of its programs support youth development, civic participation and education. The Governance and Civil Society program, for example, has supported efforts to help education leaders fulfill the academic and civic mission of public schools.

W.K. Kellogg Foundation. Two programs, Youth and Education and Philanthropy and Volunteerism, make grants for civic engagement and service learning. The foundation recently launched a four-year initiative to promote service learning across the country.

James Irvine Foundation. Its Children, Youth and Families program has helped community organizations get involved in the education of children in California's public schools.

Jewish Fund for Justice. Its Investing in Youth program has supported efforts that help young people organize and advocate their interests on issues that affect them.

Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation. Its Youth Advisory Board, with 20 members between the ages of 14 and 19, considers youth development needs and makes recommendations to the foundation. The focus is on creating opportunities that encourage youth leadership and community service in metropolitan Kansas City.

Open Society Institute. Its Youth Initiatives Program is the umbrella program for several youth programs. One, Youth Media and Communications, encourages young people to become more socially conscious by having them create media materials.

The Points of Light Foundation. With continued support from the Annie E. Casey Foundation, Points of Light has several initiatives that involve volunteering in low-income communities, by both residents and nonresidents.

Carnegie Corporation of New York. Its Democracy and Special Projects programs (now renamed Strengthening U.S. Democracy) have supported a variety of initiatives including efforts to mobilize the youth vote last year, conduct youth-focused research and programs that encourage political participation by young people.

They Say: Politics Stinks! I'd Rather Volunteer

Most Americans, including two out of three young people, believe that prime-time television accurately portrays government employees as mindless bureaucrats and politicians as inept, corrupt buffoons. "On entertainment television, when government institutions do serve the public, it is usually

Students enrolled in an American Gonvernment course at Roxborough High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

because mavericks or whistle-blowers fight the system to make it work," concluded a 1999 study of television and public opinion that was sponsored by the Partnership for Trust in Government, a coalition of nonprofit organizations that promotes citizen participation.

Politicians, paradoxically, build these negative stereotypes into their campaign materials and strategies, said Geraldine P. Mannion, chair of the Strengthening U.S. Democracy program at Carnegie Corporation. "My pet peeve is that as we're here trying to encourage citizens to participate in political life, elected officials are out there running campaigns against government and public service. Almost no one is saying public service is a decent profession."

If young people are more cynical and iconoclastic than their elders, it may be because they had fewer icons to start with. Michael Schudson, a sociologist, said older Americans grew up with political heroes and rose-tinted pictures of government, but that today's young adults grew up with political scandals and a government that bought $600 hammers. "Our youth culture has turned savvy and ironic, where it's easier to joke about politics than say 'I really want to participate in democracy,' which now sounds simple-minded," said Schudson, who is professor of communications at the University of California in San Diego. "We've created a very different world and we don't know what the mindset is for a young person trying to navigate it. But what we're seeing is that young people are turning away from politics toward activities that have a human face, and that speaks quite well for them."

About 70 percent of young people volunteer in their communities, outperforming all prior generations in the altruism department. Mostly, they work in the social services and do community projects, such as cleaning trash from rivers and parks, tutoring children and working in food banks and hospitals. More than three out of four middle schools and high schools offer volunteer opportunities, and almost a third of high schools require a community service project to graduate—more than double the percentage of schools with such requirements a decade ago, according to a 1999 report by the U.S. Department of Education.

Initially, many young people volunteer because they have to, but they say they keep volunteering because they find it fulfilling. For example, Campus Compact, a nonprofit organization formed 15 years ago by college presidents to encourage volunteering,

was keeping up with the campaign. But when I wanted to read something about where each candidate stood on the issues, I couldn't find it. The fact that the candidates were so similar and didn't distinguish themselves made it harder. I definitely would say that this election was not an election on the issues. No way! I don't even know what the election issues were anymore."

Willey said she was really torn between Bush and Gore and didn't decide until the last minute before she voted. "I chose Bush as the lesser of two evils—he wasn't so wishy-washy, bending with the wind," she said. "I liked his personality better than Gore's, and I felt like I wanted a change. The Clinton-Gore administration has been there for eight years."

recently found that 67 percent of campuses recently reported an increase in students participating in community service. Today, more than 712,000 students on 638 campuses are doing either long-term or one-time service projects. It doesn't end there. Large majorities of twenty-somethings say in surveys that they volunteer in their communities.

This altruism is affecting career choices, as well. A 1999 Mellman Group survey of college students under 31 found that 80 percent said it is very important for them to find a job that "will make a positive difference in people's lives." Moreover, about one in six students said it was "very likely" they would work for nonprofit organizations; by comparison, fewer than one in 12 said it was "very likely" they would work in politics or government.

Is it naïve or wise to believe that such altruism can bring major societal improvements? "I think there is wisdom out there," said Cynthia Gibson, a program officer in Carnegie Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program. If all politics are local, as the saying goes, then young people are politically engaged through their community service work, she said. "I think the challenge is to help young people take their energy and desire for social change to a higher political level. The trick is trying to figure out how to do that. You can teach young people about voting, have parents talk to them about it, remove structural barriers, whatever—but it won't matter unless you have good candidates who speak clearly and cut through the spin, and a system that's free of big money interests."

Until—and if—the time comes when candidates do begin speaking directly to the interests of young voters, perhaps the younger generation will continue to see community service as a better alternative to participating in politics. On one hand, more than six in ten colleges recently reported an increase in students participating in community service. Today, more than 712,000 students on 638 campuses are doing either long-term or one-time service projects. It doesn't end there. Large majorities of twenty-somethings say in surveys that they volunteer in their communities.

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The Youth Vote

Defining the Problem and Possible Solutions

Although there was a slight uptick in voter turnout last November, almost 100 million Americans, including two out of three young people, didn't vote. Although there are more older nonvoters than younger ones, it is the youth vote that quadrennially absorbs most anxieties about our democracy's future health.

Studies of voting behavior since the 1960s suggest that every new generation has voted less often than its predecessor. More disturbing, studies indicate that this is not just a phase of youth; for as each cohort of young people moved into a higher age bracket, its members continued to vote less often than the cohort it replaced. In other words, many people who didn't acquire the voting habit in their youth never acquired it.

So the low voter turnout in 2000 was not an isolated event, but part of a larger downward trend—nearly a 20 percent decline since the 1960 presidential elections, according to analysis by Curtis B. Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate—and the youngest voters contribute the most to this downturn. From 1972, the year after 18- to 20-year-olds got the right to vote, to 1998, turnout by 18-to-24-year-old voters declined by about 35 percent. Of course, 1972 wasn't a banner year for the youth vote, either. Only half of 18-to-24-year-olds voted, even though George McGovern ran a campaign that hinged on opposition to Richard Nixon's handling of the Vietnam War and called for decriminalizing marijuana. By 1972, the war was winding down and so was the antiwar fervor on campuses that had, in 1968, given a boost to Eugene McCarthy's ultimately unsuccessful primary campaign.

Looking at declining rates of voter turnout over the last few decades, some scholars say the trend, taken to the extreme, points to a time when only ideologues and those with vested interests will go to the polls. "America is in danger of developing a permanent non-voting class," warned a 1998 study by the National Association of Secretaries of State.

That said, there is no consensus about the problem, its size, scope, remedy or whether or not the trend really constitutes a problem:

There is no problem. Charles Krauthammer, the Time magazine columnist, has called low voter turnout "a leading indicator of contentment," and many agree with his assessment.

There's a problem, but no crisis. In The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life (Free Press, 1998),sociologist Michael Schudson reported that voter turnout has not been consistently high since the 1920s, when reformers of the Progressive Era succeeded in curbing the political parties—along with their parades, banquets and cash rewards—that drew many voters to the polls.

There's a problem, and low voter turnout is just one measure of democracy's ill health. Scholars like Ruy A. Teixeira and Robert D. Putnam worry about America becoming a spectator democracy. They have written extensively about declining voter turnout from one generation to the next along with parallel declines in activities that are traditionally associated with citizenship, ranging from attending public meetings to working for political parties.

Finally, others say the political system is sick, but citizenship itself is not in trouble. In this view, fewer young people participate in traditional partisan activities because politics has a reputation for being ineffective and corrupt. But far from being disengaged citizens, young people are throwing themselves into community service at record rates. Recognizing this shift in citizenship from political activity to community service, The Portland Oregonian called the new model "shirt-sleeve citizenship" in a 1997 series of articles. Among other things, the newspaper's surveys indicated that most Oregonians saw voting as choosing the lesser of two evils. Eight in 10 nonvoters also said they were active participants in their communities.

While there is no consensus in defining the problem, there is little doubt the nation would be stronger with more youthful participation in politics. With that goal in mind, many institutions are trying to reform education and channel youthful altruism into politics:

Reviving civics courses in school. To address young people's complaints about not knowing enough to vote, many organizations are trying to rejuvenate civics courses, making them more innovative, interesting and required for high school graduation.

Improving community service. Proponents, including child-development experts, say that the volunteer experience can be a great way to engage young people in their communities and local politics. They say, though, that the volunteer experience should be meaningful and not just busywork, as are some community service programs.

Connecting community service to school work. Building on the popularity of community service programs, many educators have added a classroom component in which lessons from volunteer work are integrated into school work on democracy and public policy. These service-and-study programs, which are called "service learning," are already offered in almost half of U.S. high schools and more than a third of middle schools, according to the National Center for Education Statistics.

Mixing politics with service learning. Proponents say that the best way for service learning to promote political participation is by allowing young people to volunteer at advocacy organizations. Students in Philadelphia public schools, for example, pick their favorite cause—the environment, civil rights, gay rights, tax policy—and work with professional advocates in trying to effect social change.

Using service learning to improve education and entire communities. Taking service learning a step further, some colleges and universities are pioneering ways to engage their faculties and students in community-wide improvement projects. More than 400 college presidents, all members of Campus Compact, have committed their own institutions—and challenged others—to "improve the quality of community life and the quality of the education we provide" through service learning projects.

Trying to bring the best of all approaches together. Foundations, which have supported many of the above reforms, have begun working together in a coordinated effort to define problem areas as well as the best practices for addressing them. In a recent collaboration, about 40 researchers from many fields and perspectives produced a consensus report that calls for a new, melded approach for engaging young people in politics. Drawing on the best aspects of several youth development programs, the researchers called for youth opportunities that would include such components as meaningful personal experiences, group activities, community-improvement projects and lessons for building the skills and knowledge needed for participating in politics. This conference was held at Stanford University and was sponsored by Carnegie Corporation of New York (see sidebar on foundations).

For its part, the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program is developing a multiyear initiative that may include sponsoring extensive research and bringing prominent experts together to produce an authoritative reference manual guide future programs and research. The Corporation also has a special interest in encouraging colleges and universities to take a more active role in engaging their students and institutions in civic life. ■

lege students said they do not trust the federal government to do the right thing “all” or “most of the time,” and almost half said the same thing about state government, according to a national survey conducted last April by the Institute of Politics at Harvard. On the other hand, more than eight out of ten students said that community volunteerism is the best way to solve local problems, and a majority even said that community service is the best way to deal with important issues facing the nation. “Today’s students do not see the political process as an agent of change,” concluded the researchers, who included Harvard undergraduates.

In their own way, young people advocated for this reform agenda last year, Gibson said. “They are media savvy, and they saw through hype very quickly. They pushed the media and the candidates to be more real. And that is a good thing, in and of itself. That’s why they responded to Ralph Nader, Bill Bradley and John McCain. They backed candidates who at least seemed like they were talking straight with them. And you know what, I would bet most Americans wanted that.”

How the younger generation interacts with the political process, how engaged youth is with civic life and culture may well decide the kind of leadership that America elects in the future. In the end, how young people choose to become involved with the national life of this country is a not question with answers that have an impact on youth alone. ■

Winter 2001 — carnegie reporter | 44

Foundation Roundup

FORD FOUNDATION
INTERNATIONAL
FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM

Ford Foundation Launches International Fellowships Program

The Ford Foundation has launched the International Fellowships Program (IFP) that offers graduate and post-baccalaureate fellowships to outstanding scholars from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Russia. The aim of the program is to foster future leaders by recruiting promising students who otherwise have limited opportunities for advanced study.

The fellowships, which will be offered to 350 individuals annually for the next ten years, provide support for up to three years of master’s or doctoral study anywhere in the world in areas compatible with Ford Foundation goals. Funds will also be available to assist programs that strengthen undergraduate education in targeted countries.

Ford’s commitment to this program of $280 million over the next ten years represents the largest single grant in the foundation’s history. Under a complementary Pathways Initiative, an additional $50 million in Foundation funds will also be available to assist institutions in targeted countries to broaden opportunities for undergraduate education.

“In making this commitment to international higher education, we can draw on our 50 years experience working overseas as well as the recent growth of our assets resulting from the strong U.S. economy,” said Ford Foundation president Susan Berresford. “We thought it would be good to share our new wealth with people in developing countries and particularly those from disadvantaged communities.”

More information about the program is available at www.fordfound.org.

AOL Time Warner Foundation

The merger that created the first Internet-powered media and entertainment company has also produced a foundation committed to serving the public interest and strengthening communities around the world. The AOL Time Warner Foundation will focus on developing strategic partnerships in the areas of “Equipping Children for a Better Future,” “Extending Internet Benefits to All,” “Engaging Communities in the Arts” and “Empowering Citizens and Civic Participation.”

The new foundation combines the former AOL Foundation, whose mission included increasing access to technology, and the Time Warner Foundation, a dedicated leader in promoting and encouraging literacy.

Kathy Bushkin, a senior vice president at AOL Time Warner, has been named president of the new foundation. Steve Case, AOL Time Warner chairman, will head its board of trustees. The AOL Time Warner Foundation maintains offices in New York City and Dulles, Virginia.

Higher Education in the Former Soviet Union (HEFSU)

In Moscow, Minister Vladimir Fillipov, of the Russian Ministry of Education, and Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, launch the partnership that will build an expected eight Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASEs) in regional universities across Russia. Three universities – Tomsk State, Ulral State and Voronezh State – were awarded the first centers after an intense national competition. The MacArthur Foundation and the Open Society Institute are also backing CASEs.

Irvine Foundation Supports Ethnic Diversity in Higher Education

In California, The James Irvine Foundation has pledged $5 million in new grants to support ethnic diversity at independent colleges and universities in the state. The grants are part of the foundation’s Campus Diversity Initiative, a program started in 1987 that has since invested more than $30 million to promote student, faculty and curriculum diversity in California.

The latest grants will fund study abroad programs, faculty fellowships for minority Ph.D.s and the recruitment of faculty from under-represented populations on college campuses. One grant will provide support for the Diversity Scorecard project, a coalition of public and private colleges in the Los Angeles area that will monitor and improve access, retention and achievement for underserved students.

The Irvine Foundation is also providing support for Pathways to College Network, a broader program to improve access to higher education for low-income students across America, formed from an alliance of corporate and private foundations, educational institutions, and the U.S. Department of Education. Along with the Irvine Foundation, start-up funding for Pathways will be provided by the Ford Foundation, the Lucent Technologies Foundation, the KnowledgeWorks Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the U.S. Department of Education’s Fund for the Improvement of

Postsecondary Education.

For more details, go to www.irvine.org.

NUCLEAR THREAT INITIATIVE

Nuclear Threat Initiative

CNN founder Ted Turner and former senator Sam Nunn, a Carnegie Corporation trustee, have announced the creation of the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), a private foundation whose mission is to strengthen global security by reducing the risk of use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

Pledging $50 million over the next five years for the new entity, Turner named Nunn, former chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, as co-chairman and chief executive officer of the Initiative. Describing the role of the new organization, Nunn said, "No private effort can be a substitute for the strong role of government nor can the private sector provide substitute funding for activities that are the proper role of governments. Only by working with the U.S. and other governments, other nonprofits and the private sector can we make meaningful progress toward mutual assured safety."

Board members for NTI include Charles Curtis, who was also named president and chief operating officer; Senator Pete Domenici and Senator Richard Lugar, Republicans who have played leadership roles in promoting legislation to help former Soviet nations reduce and safely handle their nuclear arsenal; Susan Eisenhower, president of the Eisenhower Group and a specialist in U.S.-Russian releations; Rolf Ekeus, former Swedish ambassador to the U.S. and head of the UN Special Commission on Iraq from 1991-1997; General Eugene Habiger, former commander in chief of the U.S. Strategic Command; Andrei Kokoshin, a member of the Russian parliament and former member of Russia's Security Council; Jessica Mathews, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and William Perry, former U.S. Secretary of Defense.

RW RESPONSIBLE WEALTH

Responsible Wealth Opposes Repeal of Estate Tax

A network of corporate, foundation and academic leaders has joined forces with Responsible Wealth to oppose the proposed appeal of America's estate tax. In a recent advertisement printed in The New York Times, the group cautioned about the potentially devastating effects the repeal would have on public charities, educational institutions and other organizations that serve the poor and disadvantaged. Advocates for preserving the estate tax include William H. Gates, Sr., Warren Buffet, Paul Newman and members of the Rockefeller family.

Responsible Wealth is affiliated with United for a Fair Economy, a nonpartisan group that spotlights the widening wealth and income gaps in America. *For more information, visit www.responsiblewealth.org.*

Measuring Up 2000

A recent report called "Measuring Up 2000" produced by the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education indicates that the state in which a student lives, along with ethnicity and financial resources, plays a major role in determining that individual's educational future.

The report rated each state after analyzing statistics on the degree of preparation students undertake for college, the percentage of students enrolling and completing college, the affordability of higher education within each state, and the economic and civic benefits gained by states as a result of its citizens receiving higher education.

"Despite the accomplishments of American higher education, its benefits are unevenly and often unfairly distributed and do not reflect the distribution of talent in America," said former North Carolina governor James B. Hunt, Jr., chairman of the National Center's Board of Directors and Carnegie Corporation trustee.

"Measuring Up 2000" was funded with grants from The Ford Foundation, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, the William R. Kenan, Jr. Charitable Trust, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, The Pew Charitable Trusts and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

For more details on "Measuring Up 2000," go to www.highereducation.org.

American Legacy Foundation

The American Legacy Foundation, created in March 1999 as a result of the tobacco settlement agreement, has awarded $15 million to the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) to establish a permanent center for scholarly research of former top-secret documents of the tobacco industry relating to corporate practices and the health effects of tobacco.

The grant will fund two programs, the American Foundation National Tobacco Documents Library and the Center for Tobacco Control Research and Education, and ensure online access to more than 40 million pages of documentation, most of which was obtained through litigation by state attorneys general.

In 1995, Brown and Williamson Tobacco Co. brought a lawsuit against the University of California in an effort to remove tobacco-related documents from the UCSF Library. After the California Supreme Court sided with the university, the library made 10,000 pages available on the Internet, the first time such material had been posted online. The library continues to make online access to the documents a priority, since beginning in 2010, existing materials may be removed from the Internet by tobacco representatives, according to a settlement agreement between the tobacco industry and 46 state attorneys general.

The Tobacco Control Archives may be found at www.library.ucsf.edu/tobacco.

MACARTHUR
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

MacArthur Foundation Strengthens African Universities

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation has approved a group of five grants that will provide support for higher education in Nigeria. Four universities and a social science organization are the initial recipients of awards that will primarily fund strategic planning and technological development.

One of the largest of the five grants, awarded to the Social Science Academy in Abuja, will help underwrite a case study of higher education in Nigeria that is expected to become a reference for identifying future investments by grantmakers. A portion of the grant will also be used to publish a journal for social scientists.

Other grantees include the University of Ibadan, the University of Port Harcourt, Bayero University in Kano and Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria.

MacArthur Foundation is one of four organizations collaborating in an initiative called Strengthening African Universities that was announced last year. Other partners are the Ford and Rockefeller foundations and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Foundations Target Diseases

The Global Alliance for TB Drug Development, a new consortium of public and private partners, unveiled a Scientific Blueprint for the discovery and development of anti-tuberculosis drugs at the International Conference on Health Research for Development in Bangkok.

The Alliance is committed to improving control of tuberculosis, particularly in countries worst hit by the disease, by developing an affordable series of drugs that will either shorten the duration of TB treatment or simplify its completion as well as improve the effectiveness in treating both latent-TB infection and multi-drug resistant TB (MDR-TB).

Books

Since "diffusion of knowledge" is part of Carnegie Corporation's mission, we would like to pass on news of four recently published books. Two are co-authored by trustees, Admiral William A. Owens, Co-Chief Executive Officer and Vice Chairman, Teledesic LLC and Marta Tienda, Director, Office of Population Research, Princeton University. Another is a Corporation project and takes a look at the implementation of the well-respected "Turning Points" program for middle schools reform over the last ten years and the fourth book is co-authored by Khidhir Hamza, an Iraqui scientist who, through the efforts of a Corporation grantee, was able to flee the web of Saddam Hussein and escape to the West. Hot off the presses is a new book, edited by E.J.Dionne and William Kristol, that was distributed with foundation support.

Bush V. Gore: The Court Cases and the Commentary

E.J. Dionne and William Kristol, editors

Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001

Supreme Court of the United States, case No. 00-949, and all the litigation preceding it, made American history. The High Court's 5-4 decision to bar further recounting of the votes cast in Florida effectively decided the presidential contest and set off an open-ended debate about the Court's role. Dionne and Kristol, two friends from opposite ends of the political spectrum, have pulled together an authoritative guide to the five weeks of litigation, including all pertinent legal documents, as well as reprints of commentary by many writers. The 341-page volume gives readers ample facts and interpretation to make an informed judgement on the litigation. Was the Court, as the majority said, required "to undertake an independent, if still deferential, analysis of state law"? Or was the Court meddling, incorrectly, in state law, as Justice Stevens wrote in his dissenting opinion that ended with his now famous, indictment: "Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this year's presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear: It is the nation's confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law."

Lifting the Fog of War

Admiral William A. Owens with Ed Offley

New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000

Owens calls the United States an "exhausted superpower" with a "top-flight force that is running on empty." He warns of dire consequences, possibly a "total collapse of our military capability." Owens is on familiar territory here: in the mid-1990s, he capped his 34-year Navy career as vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff before becoming the second-ranking executive at a satellite communications company. The military's problem, described with color and lucidity in this book, is that many weapons are becoming obsolete and many people in uniform are approaching burn-out due to their overdeployment in global crises. Moreover, he argues that the antiquated and costly organization of the military into four independent services, with quadruplicated support services, retards its evolution into a streamlined fighting force that could be much more efficient, effective and high-tech. In presenting a plan that "revolutionizes" the military to make better use of dollars and technology, Owens may lift the fog

The Back Page

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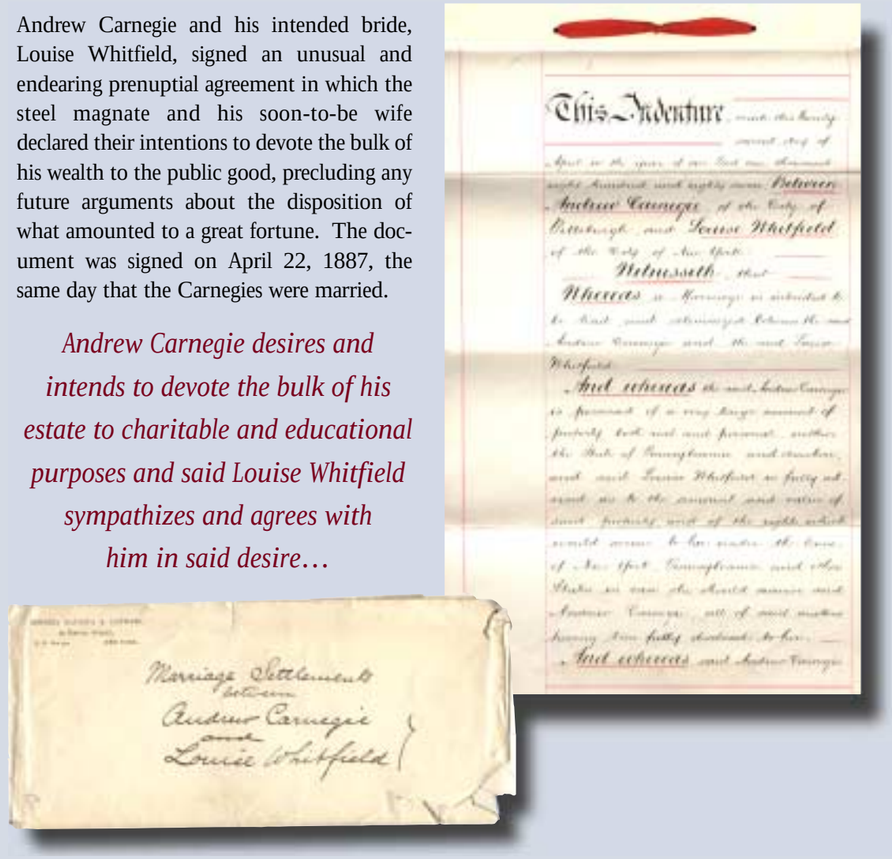
Carnegie Corporation of New York is a philanthropic foundation created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States. Subsequently, its charter was amended to permit the use of funds for the same purposes in certain 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.

a footnote to History

Andrew Carnegie and his intended bride, Louise Whitfield, signed an unusual and endearing prenuptial agreement in which the steel magnate and his soon-to-be wife declared their intentions to devote the bulk of his wealth to the public good, precluding any future arguments about the disposition of what amounted to a great fortune. The document was signed on April 22, 1887, the same day that the Carnegies were married.

Andrew Carnegie desires and intends to devote the bulk of his estate to charitable and educational purposes and said Louise Whitfield sympathizes and agrees with him in said desire…



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