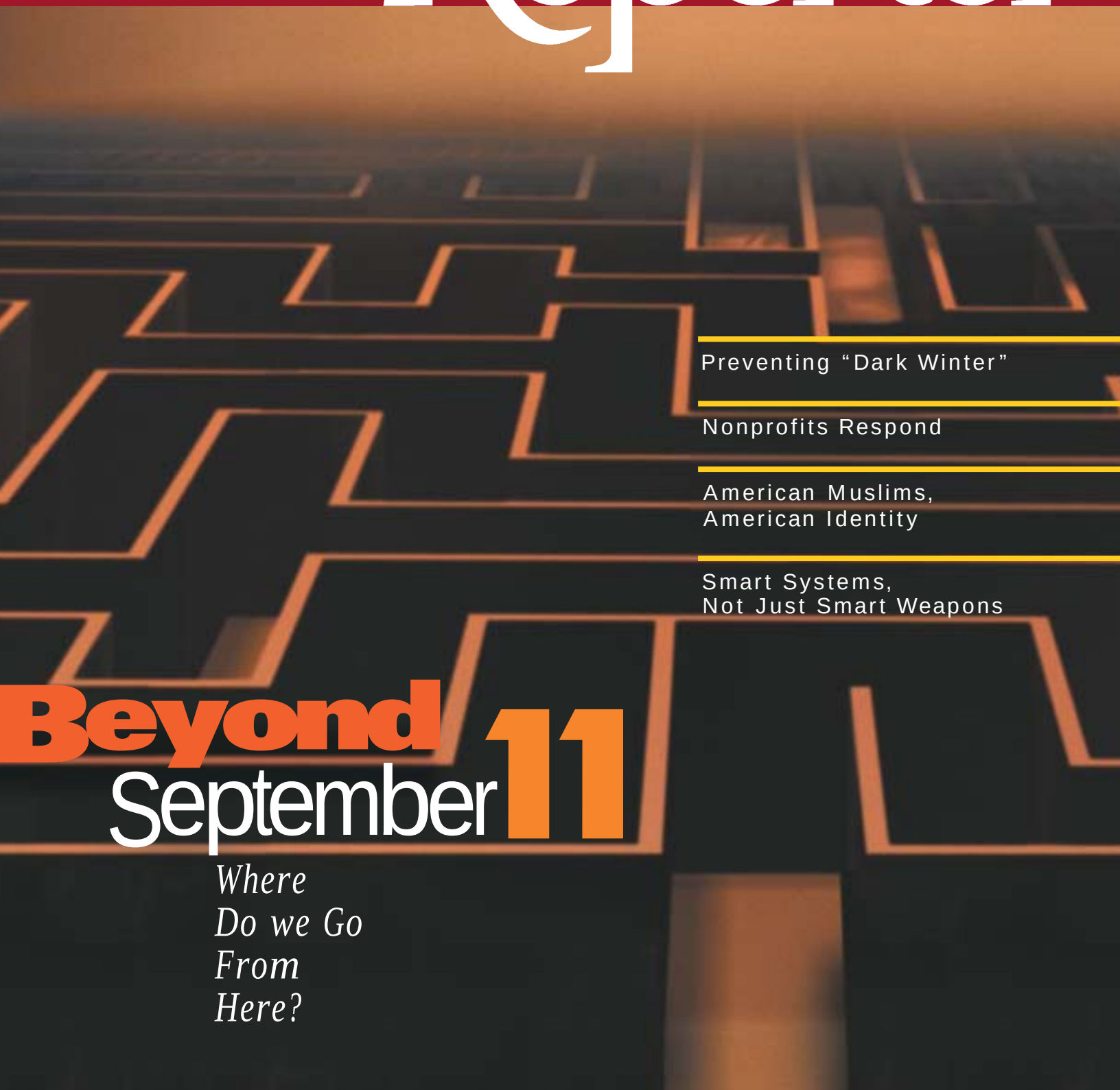
Carnegie Corporation of New York
vol. i/no. 4
Spring 2002

carnegie Reporter



Preventing "Dark Winter"

Nonprofits Respond

American Muslims, American Identity

Smart Systems, Not Just Smart Weapons

Beyond September 11

Where Do we Go From Here?

A Letter from the president

The terrorist attacks of September 11th and their tragic aftermath prompted many of us to reevaluate our personal and professional objectives and priorities. A good number of our nation's federal, state and local authorities and agencies were compelled to do so as well, as were professional associations, companies and nonprofit organizations across the country. Carnegie Corporation of New York was no exception. In light of what our nation—indeed, the world—experienced on September 11th, we felt compelled to reexamine the scope and the relevance of our programs and our work.

BEN FRAKER

Even before September, the Corporation had recognized the challenge posed by the threat of bioterrorism and the potential militarization of space, as well as the importance of expanding our nuclear nonproliferation program to include work in Southeast Asia and China. Another new program sought to assess how, short of warfare, solutions could be found to reconcile the increasingly widespread and dangerous conflicts between the right of different populations to self determination with established claims of national sovereignty and cries for territorial integrity. In addition, aware of the scarcity of water as a source of prospective international conflict, we had convened a study to consider the implications for future work.

In 1998 we had also identified the need to promote better public understanding of Islam, the world's fastest growing religion, and convened two conferences—the most recent in June 2001—to explore issues relating to the relationship between the U.S. and its Muslim population, as well as those who practice the faith in predominantly Muslim nations. These conferences, and a subsequent report last year, helped demonstrate the critical importance, both domestic and international, of accelerating efforts to develop greater knowledge about Islam and Muslim civilizations—especially about the common theological and ethical principles among the three Abrahamic faiths, Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Acknowledgment of Islam's enormous diversity and complexity is needed for three major reasons: to increase tolerance and appreciation of American Muslims, to encourage them—especially newly immigrating Muslims—to participate fully in the democratic system and to dispel the false notion that Islam is a monolith that is replacing Communism as our new nemesis. In this connection, it is my hope that as American Muslims become fully integrated into our society they will help bridge the gap in knowledge and understanding between the developed nations and the developing world. In short, we are facing another crucial epoch in our history, where global challenges have become national ones and where problems around the world have immediate impact on American daily life. The strength of democracy is being tested and challenged continually by issues dealing with private good and public good, patriotism and nationalism, citizenship rights and its responsibilities. In each of these issues, the role of education is critical for providing a path for understanding as well as means of self-improvement, autonomy and enlightenment.

These issues have been with us for a long time and will continue to be with us, as John W. Gardner noted in 1961, writing that, "One is struck by the paradox of all human history and human life: change and continuity. It is sometimes a little startling, and more than a little humbling, to realize that most of the old problems are still with us, and that many of the bright new ideas for attacking them today were bright new ideas 50 years ago."

Last summer, a month before September 11th, when a reporter asked Gardner to name the world's biggest challenges, he cited the degradation of the environment and warfare—and, to address both issues, he mentioned a desperate need for better conflict resolution. He concluded the interview, saying, "There's no question that a big crisis pulls the country together. But that fades. The challenge is: How do you get to a livable level—and achieve a sense of purpose—without another?"

Gardner had spent much of his life promoting progress in our easily distractible democracy, with its countless, often competing, priorities. As Carnegie Corporation's president from 1955 to 1965, Gardner became a pioneer in using knowledge to build political momentum for reforming public policies and budgets. He did it by always keeping his eye on the objective and he pushed the nation toward these goals with strategic research and policy analysis. For Gardner knew that what counts in society must be counted.

Gardner—author, civic leader, educator, statesman—died in February, leaving behind a spectacular legacy in countless fields, from civil rights to public health to school reform to anti-poverty programs. He helped plant the seeds for public television, Head Start, two-year colleges, uniform student testing and university research centers that promoted international understanding during the Cold War. In education, he was a champion reformer, promoting countless improvements in K-12 and the complete transformation of higher education. It was appropriate that Gardner served in the Johnson Administration as U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare because he always emphasized that the three areas were interrelated. He also recognized the importance of the nonprofit sector in creating a civil society and in developing civic leaders—and he acted on this conviction in many ways, including co-founding the Independent Sector, an umbrella organization that serves to strengthen all nonprofits. And as the founder of Common Cause, he must have been pleased by the U.S. House of Representatives' vote—just two days before his death—to overhaul the nation's campaign finance laws.

John Gardner's life reminds me of a wise saying from Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.: "A life is action and passion. It is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time at peril of being judged as not to have lived." John Gardner lived a full life.

VARTAN GREGORIAN
President

Carnegie Corporation of New York
vol. 1/no. 4
Spring 2002

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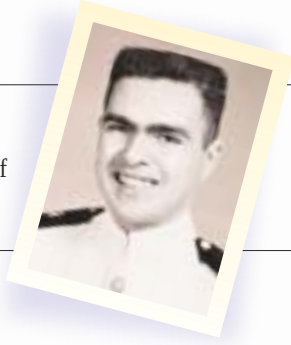

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Preventing "Dark Win"

THE PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM'S ROLE IN STRENGTHENING

by
JANICE HOPKINS TANNE

Between October 5th and November 21st, 2001, five people in the U. S. died from anthrax. Eighteen others became ill but survived after long hospital stays. Thirty or forty thousand people received preventive antibiotics because they might have been exposed. Millions panicked, seeking Cipro, the most popular antibiotic, and buying gas masks. The U.S. government spent millions to buy even more antibiotics. The healthcare system came close to a standstill, with exhausted and overworked microbiologists sleeping in their labs for weeks. Months later, no one yet knows whether the anthrax attack was launched by a lone mad scientist, by an international terrorist group, or by a rogue state. Nor do we know whether the anthrax attack was merely a test run for a larger event.

The anthrax scare, like the attacks of September 11th, shows how unprepared and vulnerable the U.S. is to international and domestic terrorism. Suddenly, it's not only the Marines or the National Guard but also people in white coats in the U.S. public health system who have become the nation's front line of defense. Whether future terrorist attacks—and many analysts unfortunately agree that they are expected—are biological, nuclear, chemical or radiological (as in a so-called "dirty" nuclear bomb containing radioactive material that could be dispersed by using conventional explosives), clearly the public health system urgently needs improvement and expansion. More money, better communications, more personnel, improved training, updated facilities, national direction and coordination—all these are on the list of requirements for bringing the system to a level where it can be effective in the event of a bioterrorism attack.

"It may prove impossible to prevent future bioweapons attacks from occurring, yet prior plan-

Janice Hopkins Tanne, an award-winning medical writer, co-authored the new book, Timebomb: The Global Epidemic of Multi-Drug-Resistant Tuberculosis *(McGraw Hill, 2002) with Dr. Lee B. Reichman. Her articles have appeared in the* British Medical Journal, Parade, Columbia Journalism Review, *and* New York *magazine, among other publications.*

Communications may be as important as preparedness if the U.S. experiences another anthrax attack—or something even worse.


ter”
NATIONAL SECURITY
BIOHAZARD

ning and preparation could greatly mitigate the death and suffering that would result. As a nation, we need comprehensive, integrated planning for how we will address the threat of bioterrorism, focusing both on prevention and response. We need to define the relative roles and responsibilities of the different agencies involved, and identify the mechanisms by which the various levels of government will interact and work together," said Dr. Margaret Hamburg, vice president for Biological Programs at the Nuclear Threat Initiative, in a speech to the New York Academy of Medicine. When she was New York City's health commissioner in the early 1990s, she engineered the city's successful response to its epidemic of multi-drug-resistant tuberculosis and to the first terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in 1993.

Although the 1993 attack caused six deaths and many injuries, Dr. Hamburg points out that, "The release of a bioweapon could have created even more havoc...thousands of people who were working in that building or visiting would have unknowingly been exposed to a biological agent, returned home and become ill within days or weeks. With worsening illness, these individuals would begin to come into emergency departments, walk-in clinics and physicians' offices, but they would be spread out in time and geographic location." Because healthcare providers probably would not recognize the infection, diagnosis would be delayed. If the disease were communicable from person to person—as smallpox is, but anthrax is not—then the circles of infection would widen, in an international ripple effect. The resulting devastation would probably be compounded by the lack of an organized and coordinated response on the part of local, state and federal public health systems. Indeed, says Jerome Hauer, former head of New York City's Office of Emergency Management (OEM), "Our public health infrastructure has fallen apart. Local health departments don't see themselves as emergency agencies. They're closed on weekends."

Because of the potential for calamity that bioterrorism represents, the International Peace and Security program of Carnegie Corporation of New York has added chemical and biological weapons to its nuclear weapons focus. Says David C. Speedie, the program chair, "Biological weapons are easier to develop and acquire," but their dispersal and impact would not be immediately apparent. "It's not impossible that a nuclear weapon could fall into the wrong hands or that terrorists could create a 'dirty bomb' that spreads radioactivity," he continues. "In a nuclear attack, there would be immediate shock, immense casualties and a huge psychological reaction." Chemical or nuclear attacks, while they might be far more devastating than the airplane attacks of September 11th, are also likely to be local. (See Sidebar: "What if the Attack is Chemical or Nuclear?")

Protection against bioterrorism is now a public health issue. President George W. Bush called for spending $11 billion over the next two years to improve the nation's ability to defend itself against biological warfare and to create an early warning system. Distribution of the first funds for state and local bioterrorism preparation began in mid-February 2002. The money is to go to hospitals, laboratories and first responders (such as paramedics and emergency medical technicians) for purchase of communications systems to link with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), as well as other agencies and networks.

Several times, U.S. public health experts have contemplated the effect of a terrorist attack with biological weapons and concluded the nation would fail to respond effectively. Carnegie Corporation grantees Amy E. Smithson and Leslie-Anne Levy of the Henry L. Stimson Center interviewed police officers, firefighters, paramedics, emergency managers, healthcare providers and public health officials in 33 cities throughout the U.S. in 1999 and 2000 for a report they called *Ataxia*, which means lack of order, confusion, or failure of muscle coordination. It's a fitting title: the scenarios they described closely resembled what happened in the anthrax scare and in several war games exercises.

Our public fallen apart. Local as emergency

Bugs for Sale

Bioweapons are very available. Dr. Ken Alibek, former deputy head of the Soviet Union's secret bioweapons project, who defected to the U.S. in 1992, wrote in his book *Biohazard: The Chilling True Story of the Largest Covert Biological Weapons Program in the World* (Random House, 1999), that the Soviets manufactured tons of "weap-

onized" smallpox virus and also made bioweapons out of pneumonic plague bacteria and anthrax, experimented with deadly viruses and worked on combining smallpox and Ebola virus into an unstoppable bioweapon.

Dr. D. A. Henderson, who led the World Health Organization's successful campaign to eliminate smallpox, believes that perhaps a dozen countries are researching bioweapons. Soviet experts in bioweapons, underpaid or unemployed in the past decade of economic turmoil, may have been recruited by rogue states. Besides walking away with the sophisticated knowledge in their brains, they may have tucked tiny samples of the smallpox virus into their pockets.

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The threat of bioterrorism is very real, particularly in light of the failure to reach agreement on a biowarfare treaty. In 1972, the United States and the Soviet Union, both of which had secret biological warfare projects, were among the 144 nations signing the Biological Weapons Convention and agreeing to stop such activities. President Richard Nixon halted the U.S. biowarfare program; the Soviet Union secretly continued, developing tons of deadly organisms, as Dr. Alibek revealed.

The 1972 treaty had no provisions for inspections and verifications. Late last year, discussions to review the treaty broke down when the U.S. rejected an enforcement program, saying that it would be detrimental to American commercial biotechnology and to biodefense efforts. Review of the treaty was postponed until late 2002. Even if the treaty is finally accepted, it would only be the beginning according to Speedie, who says: "We need a UN initiative like the genocide convention. Bioterrorism has a truly global dimension. We don't know what networking is going on between terrorists, but we assume there is intelligence sharing." His Carnegie Corporation colleague, Patricia Moore Nicholas, says that failure of the treaty has led to non-governmental organizations and universities taking a closer look at the threat of biowarfare.

Dr. Tara O'Toole, current director of the Johns Hopkins University Center for Civilian Biodefense Strategies, agrees about the potential for catastrophe. "Bioterrorism is a strategic threat to the world and it is growing," she says. "Anthrax is only the beginning." Bioterrorism can kill more people than any other form of terrorism, she adds, and dozens of nations have the capacity to wage biowarfare. Chemical weapons also have deadly potential. In 1995, members of the Aum Shinrikyo cult released sarin gas in the Tokyo subway system, killing twelve people and making nearly 4,000 ill. The group also attempted unsuccessful attacks using anthrax and botulism. Unlike nations, such groups "have no return address, nothing that can be held at risk for an attack on the United States," Dr. O'Toole points out. While a uranium enrichment plant is big and difficult to hide, equipment such as fermenters have legitimate uses in producing pharmaceuticals and making beer, as well as producing virulent microbes, and they are easy to hide.

Weapon of Choice

Smallpox is the word that comes to every expert's lips when asked, "What scares you most?"

CDC defines three categories of agents that could be used as bioterror weapons, based on ease of dissemination or transmission, potential for high mortality, risk of public panic and social disruption, and requirements for public preparedness. In category one—the most dangerous agents—CDC includes anthrax, plague, smallpox, botulism, tularemia and the viruses causing hemorrhagic fevers such as Ebola. Just about all these illnesses start with flu-like symptoms that are difficult to diagnose, particularly when most doctors, nurses and emergency medical technicians have never seen these diseases.

"I'm very concerned about smallpox," says Dr. Mohammad Akhter, head of the American Public Health Association (APHA) and former health commissioner of Washington, D.C. "It's very contagious. We have a mobile population. The first week, we wouldn't know we had an outbreak." Because smallpox no longer occurs naturally, a single case anywhere in the world would likely indicate a bioterror attack.

Smallpox is an undetectable airborne infection spread by invisible droplets from an infected person. Ten days to two weeks after infection, the victim develops flu-like symptoms and muscle aches. After about two days of misery, a characteristic rash appears on the face and the extremities. The rash develops into pustules all at the same time (different from chicken pox). The pustules are more common on the arms, legs and face than on the trunk. The pustules form scabs, heal and drop off in about two weeks—if the person survives. The death rate is about 30 per-

cent, and there is no treatment except supportive care. However, vaccine given within a few days of exposure prevents smallpox or lessens the disease's impact.

Almost everyone on the planet is unprotected against smallpox. Routine vaccination ceased in 1980 and pharmaceutical plants making the vaccine were dismantled. Older individuals who were vaccinated (and still bear the characteristic scars on their arms) may have some residual protection, but no one knows how long it lasts—ten or twenty years? When smallpox was still a threat to health workers in hospitals, a respected medical text, *Manson's Tropical Diseases* (Williams & Wilkins, 1972, 17th Edition), recommended revaccination every year.

Patients with smallpox would not die quickly. They would need care for several weeks, be hooked up to respirators in isolation rooms, require antibiotics to fend off secondary infections and nursing care from personnel in expensive disposable masks, gowns and gloves. The equipment itself would have to be destroyed, probably by burning. The patients would tie up thousands of hospital beds and healthcare providers. Merely arranging safe disposal of the dead would be a problem because thousands of bodies might still be infectious.

Plague is another disease of choice for terrorists. When it caused "The Black Death" in the Middle Ages, it was usually spread by bites from infected fleas. Only small numbers of people developed pneumonic plague, which involves infection of the lungs. Flea-borne plague killed perhaps one-third of the population of Europe in the 1340s and 1350s and spread from southern Russia to Iceland in a time when the fastest way to travel was on horseback.

When plague infects the lungs, it spreads through the air to those around the victim as a rapidly fatal pneumonia. Death rates range up to 90 percent unless the disease is recognized and immediately treated with antibiotics. Soviet scientists were known to be experimenting with pneumonic plague.

Anthrax, the recent cause of five deaths and national panic, was spread in the form of spores that were distributed as an airborne infection, with the U.S. postal service as the unwitting vehicle of dissemination. Individuals infected with anthrax may die unless the disease is quickly recognized and treated, but the infected person does not infect others.

Almost everyone on the planet is against **smallpox**. *Routine in 1980 and pharmaceutical plants the vaccine were dismantled.*

Are We Prepared?

Just how bad could we expect a bioterrorism attack to be?

Dr. Akhter's prediction that it would take a week or so before anyone recognized a biowarfare epidemic proved all too true in several recent war games exercises, among them Operation TopOff and Dark Winter, which involved experienced physicians, public health experts and government officials.

Operation TopOff, in May 2000, included top officials of the government (hence the name). Aspects of the exercise were staged with real people simulating plague symptoms. Other parts were calculated on paper, such as shipments of medications and equipment.

In the Operation TopOff scenario, airborne release of plague at the Denver Performing Arts Center was not detected until three days later when people began seeking medical care and some were dying. The state public health laboratory and the CDC quickly confirmed plague, probably much faster than would happen in the real world. Hospitals called in extra staff, who began wearing masks. Already there were shortages of ventilators and antibiotics and by the end of the first day, 783 cases of plague had been confirmed and 123 people had died. Travel in and out of the Denver metropolitan area was restricted. The public was told about the outbreak: Seek care if you feel ill, but otherwise stay home.

By the end of the second day, hospitals were running out of antibiotics and ventilators. Emergency supplies were flown in, but there were difficulties moving supplies from the airport to the hospitals that needed them. At day's end, 1,800 cases of plague had been reported in other states, England, and Japan and 389 had died.

By day three, medical care in Denver was shutting down and the CDC advised closing Colorado's borders, while Colorado officials worried about getting food and medical supplies into the state. Operation TopOff ended on day four, with an estimated 3,700 cases of plague and 950 deaths, but without an end to the epidemic.

Dark Winter was a war games exercise carried out in June 2001. Former senior government officials, journalists and experts in the field played familiar roles in mock meetings of the National Security Council. While a Middle East crisis developed involving a rogue state that might have bioterror weapons, 20

confirmed cases of smallpox showed up in Oklahoma and there were suspected cases in two other states.

A week later, there were 2,000 cases in 15 states and isolated cases in Canada, Mexico and the U.K. Vaccine supplies were running low, the healthcare system was overwhelmed, and there was social unrest. International and some state borders were closed. There was sporadic violence against minorities of Arab descent. Officials had to make hard decisions: How could the government meet homeland security needs and contain the disease while maintaining international commitments? What about quarantine, travel restriction, civil rights infringements? Who should be vaccinated, given limited supplies?

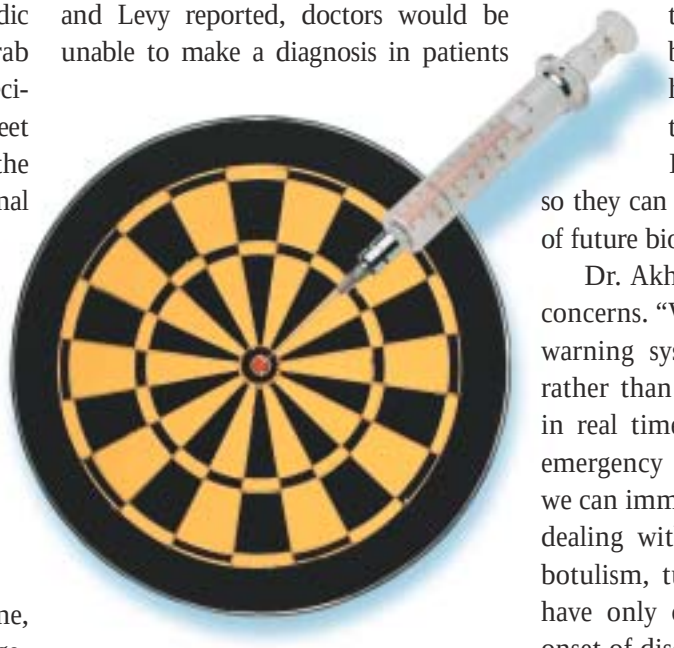
unprotected vaccination ceased making

By the third week, there were 16,000 cases in 25 states with 1,000 deaths and cases in ten other countries. It was predicted that smallpox would infect as many as 300,000 victims and kill one-third of them. No new vaccine supplies would be available for a month and the national economy was suffering from food shortages and restriction of travel.

The exercise stopped there. Obviously, the epidemic would not have. Former Senator Sam Nunn, who is currently the co-chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative and a member of the board of trustees of Carnegie Corporation of New York—and who also played the role of the U.S. president in the Dark Winter exercise—later gave testimony about the experience to a congressional committee. "Our lack of preparedness," he told the representatives, "is a real emergency." He added, "It is not necessary to overstate the threat to make the point that it is real [and] it is dangerous."

Back to the Lab

In the event of a bioterror attack, Stimson Center researchers Smithson and Levy reported, doctors would be unable to make a diagnosis in patients with vague, flu-like symptoms. Early detection would depend upon a doctor's suspicion followed up by laboratory diagnosis by technicians in the nation's 158,000 state and local public health and private laboratories. It helps if the labs have some idea of what they're looking for: few laboratory technicians have ever seen the organisms that might be used in bioterror attacks, and they may not be familiar with the tests to identify them. Furthermore, they may be overwhelmed by an enormous number of samples to test, as happened in the anthrax scare. There would be delays before the illness was identified, and during that time the bioterror disease would spread widely.



"A surveillance network is the key. We need nationwide reporting in real time," says microbiologist Nancy Connell, director of the Center for Biodefense at the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, which is located a few miles from the postal center where the anthrax letters were mailed. She heads a university lab that could have helped in diagnosis but was not connected as a backup to the state's overwhelmed public health labs. "Bioterror moves so fast," she says. "In the first 12 hours you would be absolutely alone." Her lab has now made arrangements to link with the New Jersey Department of Health labs so they can be of assistance in the event of future bioterrorism attacks.

Dr. Akhter of APHA voices similar concerns. "We still do not have an early warning system," he says. "We react rather than act. We need information in real time from hospitals and from emergency medical service people so we can immediately identify what we're dealing with. In the case of anthrax, botulism, tularemia and smallpox, we have only one or two days after the onset of disease to treat and save lives." As an example, he explains that the Washington, D.C. area has a regional system connecting information from hospitals. During the anthrax outbreak, several infected patients were brought to facilities linked up by the system. Two people died, but two others lived because staff at Inova Fairfax Hospital in Virginia, realizing their patients worked at postal facilities, quickly suspected anthrax, called the D.C. authorities and provided appropriate treatment. However, Dr. Akhter warns that healthcare workers in the Washington, D.C. area communicate with each other and with the health departments involved by telephone, which means that they experience delays when someone is not available and must call back. Most metropolitan healthcare systems work this way, which Dr. Akhter believes is a mistake;

they should all have computerized communications and work in real time.

New York City, with probably the nation's best public health system, set up a syndrome surveillance system four years ago, using the 911 emergency system. It monitors calls that suggest the person has flu, for example, and enters that information, together with information from other sources, into a computerized system. Dr. Neil Cohen, who recently left as health commissioner to join a regional early-warning system, explains that these procedures have made a significant difference. "We got a jump of two to four weeks on a flu outbreak, compared to national reporting," he says. The New York system is exploring new ways to incorporate information from HMOs, nurse-advocate hotlines, commercial lab reporting, and sales of flu medications and anti-diarrheal agents from large retail drugstores, particularly using online technology and collecting information by day, night and on weekends.

Dr. Akhter wants to see the establishment of regional systems that are computerized from the moment someone calls 911 or when a healthcare person first sees the patient. If somebody calls 911 because of difficulty breathing—an early sign of many serious problems—the 911 system should note that and automatically enter it into a computerized system organized by zip code. If there are an unusually high number of similar cases in the zip code, the system should sound an alarm.

Ideally, the system should connect the police and fire departments, the Department of Justice, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Department of Health and Human Services, CDC, the National Institutes of Health and military hospitals in real time so that they can monitor information. When an emergency medical technician reaches the patient with breathing difficulty, for example, the technician would enter the patient's vital signs into the system while en route to the hospital. Once the patient arrived in the emergency room, healthcare workers would enter further information and transmit the information to the health department. As the hospital's laboratory provided test results, they too would be reported. The health department, monitoring incoming information 24 hours a day, might suggest further tests if the case seemed suspicious and these results would also be entered. A similar system would enable physicians to communicate information about a suspicious case. Every hospital would have an individual designated and trained to investigate a possible bioterrorist attack. Although there are not enough epidemiologists—often called disease detectives—to staff every one of the nation's 3,000 health departments, four or five counties could get together in a regional organization and hire one, Dr. Akhter suggests.

On the positive side, some advances have been made in educating providers and first responders that may contribute to early detection of disease outbreaks. Since September 11th, many medical schools, teaching hospitals and medical societies have added courses, updates and lectures on bioterrorism to their curricula. The web sites of many professional organizations now include comprehensive information on diagnosing and treating disorders that were previously considered to be exotic.

Real-Time Communications

CDC thinks it imperative that a national, online system be set up to monitor the earliest signs of a bioterrorism attack, and it is actively working toward that goal. The system would require that infection control professionals—usually a doctor or nurse who monitors anomalous infections within a hospital—be trained to spot unusual patterns of infection. They should have current telephone numbers for notifying other concerned professionals in the hospital and for contacting state and local health departments, the FBI's local office, and the CDC Emergency Response Office.

The CDC thinks it imperative national, online system be set up to of a **bioterrorism** *attack, working toward that goal.*

What else is needed? State health departments should provide information and reminders to healthcare providers and clinical laboratories. They should operate 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. They should immediately investigate unusual clusters of illness that suggest release of a bioterrorism agent and request CDC's assistance if necessary; implement a plan to access the Laboratory Response Network (which links public health, university and clinical laboratories in order to monitor and share information related to bioterrorism preparedness and response) to send and analyze specimens; and report immediately to CDC if the investigation suggests a bioterrorist attack. How long would it take to set up such a

national system? Dr. Akhter says it depends on the amount of federal money made available because no locality could afford it. Even if all the funds needed were suddenly to materialize, Dr. Akhter estimates that it would still take two years to have an effective system up and running.

In this era of fast and popular international travel, an epidemic will not remain local for long, but international disease surveillance rests in the hands of individual nations, which have different concerns at different times. In the early days of the AIDS epidemic, many countries did not report AIDS cases for fear of the effect on business and tourism. The World Health Organization (WHO) set up the Global Outbreak and Alert Response Network in 2000 to link up 72 existing networks and institutions around the world. However, because the network depends on countries voluntarily reporting outbreaks, that may mean days of delay in areas with poor communication or even suppression of information that might be economically harmful.

that a monitor the earliest signs and it is actively

In the U.S., in addition to the Laboratory Response Network, CDC has made headway in its efforts to develop a national alert, analysis and response system. Already in place is the Health Alert Network, designed to link local health departments to one another and to first responders, hospital and private laboratories, state health departments, CDC and other federal agencies. CDC is also implementing the National Electronic Data Surveillance System to electronically link a variety of disease surveillance activities, providing faster and more accurate reporting of information to the CDC and state and local health departments.

The European Union's 51 countries have national disease surveillance systems and there are plans to upgrade them. "Changes in social and physical environments have created a host of new threats of infectious disease," says Dr. Marc Danzon, WHO Regional Director for Europe. "Early detection and response are our best defense. Regional and global health and economic security depend on them."

Treating Thousands, or Millions: Would It Be Possible?

What if there is a significant bioterrorism attack? Is the U.S. prepared to treat all those who might become sick? Who would be given protective antibiotics or vaccines? People exposed to the infection? Healthcare workers? Police, firefighters and emergency personnel? All of these groups, or only some? And

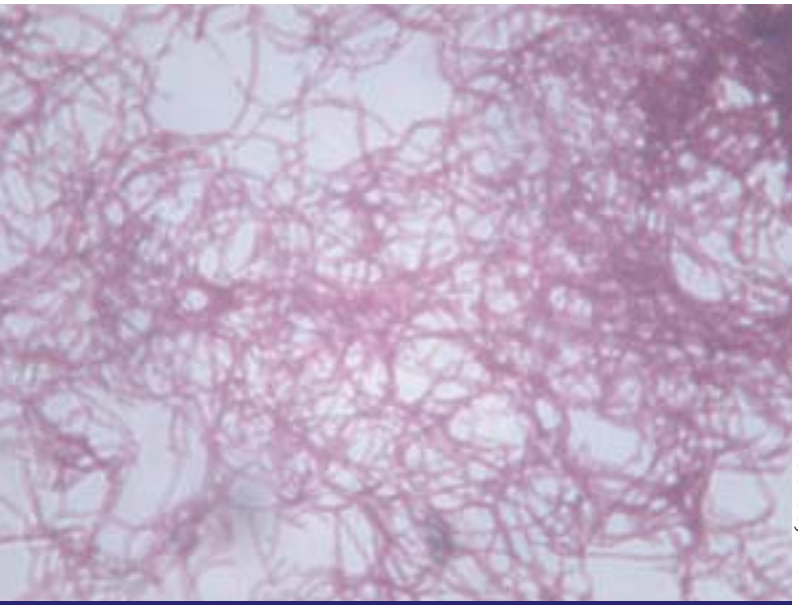
AN UNDISCOVERED Attack

The Unthinkable Has Already Happened

The United States has already seen a biological attack by a cult, which the public health system failed to detect for more than a year. In 1984, the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh group established a large commune near The Dalles, Oregon and wanted zoning changes that local residents opposed. Cult members deliberately contaminated several salad bars in The Dalles with salmonella bacteria, which causes stomach cramps, diarrhea and dizziness. As described in *Germs: Biological Weapons and America's Secret War* (Simon and Schuster, 2001) by Judith Miller, Steven Engelberg and William J. Broad, cult members hoped to incapacitate voters in the zoning dispute. The 125-bed local hospital was overwhelmed with patients; some were kept in corridors. Almost a thousand people became ill; 751 were confirmed to have salmonella infection, but fortunately no one died. Despite a thorough investigation at the time by CDC, no source for the bacteria was found. A year later, a dispute within the cult and an investigation of immigration violations revealed that the group had acquired several dangerous pathogens and had spread *Salmonella typhimurium* onto salad bars. ■

what if supplies are not sufficient?

There is enough "old" smallpox vaccine in U.S. stockpiles to protect about 15 million people, but that's hardly enough to cover the entire population. (An additional 85 million doses were recently rediscovered in a pharmaceutical plant freezer.) Analysis is underway to determine whether these doses can be diluted to vaccinate larger numbers of people, but even so, massive doses of new vaccine are needed. In the last major smallpox outbreak, which took place in Yugoslavia in 1972, 18 million doses of vaccine were needed to contain the epidemic. In 1947, a single case of smallpox in a man who had traveled from Mexico led to vaccination of more than six million people in New York City—500,000 of them in a single day.



Microscopic image of *bacillus anthracis* (anthrax)

Photodisc; Duncan Smith

Infectious disease experts are cautious about using the old smallpox vaccine, which was produced from cowpox infection of live calves—much like the vaccine that the English physician Edward Jenner used in 1796. This vaccine caused serious, even fatal, illness in a small number of people: the very young, pregnant women and those with compromised immune systems were more likely to have reactions. Many more people are now in those risk categories: immunosuppressed because of organ transplants, chemotherapy for cancer and infection with HIV/AIDS (of which they may be unaware). In November 2001, Secretary of Health and Human Services Tommy Thompson awarded production of a new smallpox vaccine to a firm working on the development of a "cleaner" vaccine that is less likely to cause reactions.

Dr. Akhter expects that the U.S. will have adequate vaccine to protect the entire U.S. population against smallpox by next year—and then, he believes, every American should be vaccinated because everyone is vulnerable.

Another response to the previously underplayed possibility of having to treat vast numbers of patients in a very short time was the creation of the National Pharmaceutical Stockpile. Established by CDC in 1999, it maintains reserves of antibiotics, chemical antidotes and medical supplies at several secret sites around the nation. In the event of a terrorist attack, CDC says the supplies can be delivered to the attack site within twelve hours. Vastly increased funds, about $644 million, have been spent this year to increase the stockpile and to replace antibiotics used in the anthrax scare. Its first use was on September 11th, 2001, when supplies were sent to New York City to help treat victims of the World Trade Center attack.

In January 2002, CDC officials told the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* that 12 of the ready-to-go shipments of drugs and medical supplies, called "push packs," are stored in 10 cities around the nation. Contents of the packages, the warehouses and the cities where they are stored are a closely guarded secret.

Ready-to-go shipments of medical supplies, are stored in cities around the packages and

In October 2001, American pharmaceutical companies established a task force to assist the government in emergency preparedness, meeting with federal agencies and members of Congress. Leaders of major pharmaceutical firms said they would offer free antibiotics to treat people infected by or exposed to anthrax, offered to develop and manufacture a smallpox vaccine, promised to increase production of certain medicines as needed, and promoted interchanges between government and company scientists, including allowing government scientists access to company labs and making company scientists available for work in government facilities.

But Would They Lock You Up?

Beyond the issue of treatment looms the dilemma of containment after a terrorist-created disease outbreak, which

might mean that some population group or locality would have to be quarantined. But who would make the difficult decisions involved?

Quarantine is a state issue, says Dr. Julie Gerberding, Acting Deputy Director of CDC. Unfortunately, many localities and states don't have clear rules. Some laws have not been revised since Typhoid Mary infected about two dozen people in the early 1900s. A minefield of legal issues stands in the way of swiftly quarantining a geographic area, for example, even if it were determined that such a response might contain a potentially massive outbreak of disease. Under those circumstances, if a governor tried to close state borders, who would enforce the order? Would there be enough police officers to stop people driving down back roads or walking across a field to the next town?

When she was health commissioner of New York City, Dr. Hamburg helped draft a sensitive system for quarantining tuberculosis patients who refused to take medication but could spread the disease. It used persuasion, made treatment easy, provided legal counsel and hearings for patients and used quarantine only as a last resort. Nevertheless it took time—time probably not available in a fast-spreading epidemic.

In an emergency, could authorities force preventive treatment such as vaccination on people who didn't want it? They did in a smallpox epidemic in Boston in 1903, when police officers held down people who didn't want to be vaccinated so that doctors could immunize them. While it seems difficult to imagine authorities going to those lengths today, government officials, medical staff and law enforcement personnel now find themselves in the uncomfortable position of thinking about all kinds of situations that until recently seemed highly unlikely but that have suddenly inched closer to the realm of possibility.

If It Happens: Surge Capacity

After the September 11th attack on the World Trade Center, hospitals in the New York area canceled elective surgery and sent home patients who could be discharged while they waited for a wave of injured victims. Unfortunately, there were few.

It would be different with a biological attack. Hospitals and laboratories would soon be overwhelmed. "Essentially there is no surge capacity in the healthcare system," says Dr. O'Toole. Managed care has meant that hospitals don't have empty beds and staff and supplies such as antibiotics and intravenous sets are provided on a "just-in-time" basis. Hospitals compete with each other and don't participate in community plans.

How can the system build in excess capacity? Do we "mothball" some hospitals? Designate large facilities, such as gymnasiums, armories, or piers as emergency centers to care for patients? And even with these measures in place, how would we deal with the need for special treatments and equipment? Bioterror infections such as smallpox and plague spread through the air and patients must be cared for in negative-pressure rooms, which have air pressure lower than the outside corridor and high-efficiency particulate air filters that capture the dangerous organisms. Such rooms would be desperately needed, but there are few of them available.

After September 11th, the American Hospital Association (AHA) looked at what it would cost the nation's 4,900 acute care hospitals to increase their ability to respond to a nuclear, biological or chemical attack. The AHA distinguished between about 2,700 metropolitan hospitals and 2,200 rural or community hospitals. Among the considerations taken into account were that hospitals would need the ability to communicate with each other and with emergency medical services, the public health department, police and fire departments, the FBI, and others. Existing systems have problems with interference and often rely on outdated equipment—mobile radio systems are, on average, ten years old. (In a related, tragic illustration of how critical radio communication can be in an emergency, the firemen who rushed into the World Trade Center towers after they were attacked had such unreliable radio contact with each other that many probably never heard orders to evacuate.) Backup systems are needed if the existing system fails, even bullhorns for crowd control. Translators and translated information leaflets and multi-lingual signs for directing patients would be needed in hospitals.

Hospitals would also need to improve their surveillance of unusual infections, get better at disease reporting and disseminating real-time information and buy instruments, monitors and test-

drugs and
called "push packs,"
nation. Contents of the
even the cities are a secret.

ing solutions for radiation and for chemical and biological agents. They would have to invest in personal protective equipment—gowns, gloves, goggles, respirators and protective suits—for everyone on staff, simply because they would not know what they were dealing with. A receptionist would be at just as much risk as an emergency medical technician. Hospitals would have to stock antibiotics, antitoxins, antidotes, ventilators, respirators and other supplies to treat huge numbers of victims until medicines and equipment from the National Pharmaceutical Stockpile reached them. They would have to plan for counseling and psychological help for victims of the attack and for police, fire, rescue workers, health care workers and people in the community.

What would all this cost? The AHA estimated that for a metropolitan hospital the cost would be just over $3 million; about half that for a non-metropolitan hospital. Nationally, that would mean over $8 billion to bring all metropolitan hospitals up to the needed standards, and another $3 billion for non-metropolitan hospitals.

Who would pay this staggering bill? Hospitals have no source of funds to upgrade for disaster planning or to recompense them for the revenue they would lose if they took care of people injured in a bioterror attack. Managed care plans pay for treatment of individual, insured patients—not for building surge capacity or for the care of uninsured patients. When New York hospitals emptied beds and prepared to care for victims of September 11th, they lost millions in expected revenue.

Telling the Public the Bad News

Speaking to science writers about public health unpreparedness, Jerome Hauer, New York City's former OEM director, stressed that the media's role in a bioterrorism incident would be critical, either by disseminating information that would help to allay anxiety or by contributing to public panic. Therefore, any response to bioterrorism must include a plan for dealing with the media. Some authority must tell the public what's going on, rapidly providing accurate information through credible spokespeople. (Many attribute the lack of widespread panic in New York City on September 11th to how quickly and effectively then-mayor Rudolph Guiliani used television broadcasts to keep the citizenry informed.) In the *Ataxia* report, Smithson and Levy point out that news crews monitor emergency broadcast frequencies and sometimes get to an incident before emergency response squads. Continuous live broadcasts of the Oklahoma City bombing began twelve minutes after the event; coverage of the World Trade Center attack was equally immediate.

Like doctors in the era of managed care, journalists are under more pressure than ever in a 24-hour news cycle, and are working for huge conglomerates that are downsizing staff to increase profits. Furthermore, the Internet is unregulated. Anyone can post information, without the traditional checks of seasoned reporters and editors.

And journalists now complain that getting a response from CDC is far more difficult—and slower—these days than it has ever been before. Imagine a reporter trying to convey accurate information within minutes or hours to people who fear they are under biological attack, and failing to get a response from government officials, scientists, doctors, hospitals, medical centers—what then often happens is that journalists end up calling anyone and everyone they can think of. Smithson says she was surprised, during the anthrax scare, that reporters seeking a quote from her didn't question her credentials. Maybe they already knew her background or had looked up the Stimson Center's web site—or maybe they were just desperately calling any possible source in their Rolodex.

Any response to bioterrorism must include a plan for dealing with the **media**. *Some authority must tell the public what's going on.*

At CDC, Dr. Geberding is well aware of the problem of providing credible information and says the agency is working with professional organizations to identify appropriate spokespeople who can provide the public with accurate facts and assessments.

Lessons from a Dark Winter

On its web site, the newly formed U.S. Office of Homeland Security has posted the declaration that, "The mission of the Office will be to develop and coordinate the implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to secure the United States from terrorist threats or attacks." Clearly—and quickly—the U.S. has recognized that terrorism is a national security issue

requiring the attention and dedication of the nation's best resources.

But who can predict the nature of the terrorist threat—or, more likely, threats—that we should be attempting to secure the nation against? Before September 11th, to most Americans, the concept of terrorism probably conjured up the image of a bombing—perhaps a device delivered in a truck or strapped to the body of an individual intent on carrying out a suicide attack. But that sunny September morning, terrorism took on a new and horrific shape: death delivered by 800,000 pound airplanes slamming into buildings full of people at work in New York City and Washington, D.C. Just one month later, terrorism metamorphosized into yet another form: tiny powdery bits of anthrax delivered through the mail that heralded a new and frightening threat to the nation and its stability.

By sickening or killing large numbers of people, straining the healthcare system's ability to treat them and incapacitating countless others because of fear of contamination, a major bioterrorism attack on the U.S. could hobble the workforce, cripple the economy, limit the government's effectiveness and tear perhaps irreparable holes in the fabric of national life. Across the country, there is consensus that we cannot let this happen. Much is being done to ensure that it never does, and our ability to respond increases every day.

But much more work lies ahead. In the words of Sam Nunn, who played the role of the president presiding over the Dark Winter exercise: "Enemies don't attack you where you're strong; they will attack us where they believe we are vulnerable. Today, we are vulnerable to a biological weapons attack. And it is crucial that we prepare with all possible speed because if an attack comes, and succeeds, there will be others. Preparing is deterring." ■

What if the Attack is Chemical *or* Nuclear?

In a chemical attack, Smithson and Levy in their *Ataxia* report found there would be, "absence of awareness and standard operating procedure in 911 call centers; insufficiently equipped and trained police who are therefore likely to rush into trouble; difficulty in decontaminating large numbers of casualties rapidly; lack of chemical antidotes...uncertainty among paramedics about how to administer them; far too few hospitals ready to handle a major onrush of panicked, possibly contaminated chemical casualties; deficiencies in communications systems;...glitches in implement[ing] a large area evacuation on short notice...in most cities surveyed, hospitals plan to lock their doors after a chemical terrorist attack rather than risk compounding the problem by getting contaminated." Because U.S. hospitals are so fully occupied, there would be very few beds available.

Nuclear terrorism is another fearsome threat. The former Soviet Union had a massive stockpile of nuclear weapons, including small devices called "suitcase" bombs—at least according to Alexei Yablokov, Former Science Advisor to Boris Yeltsin, who told a subcommittee of the U.S. House National Security Committee in October 1997 that not only do these weapons exist but that some may be missing. Al-Qaeda agents have also reportedly tried to purchase nuclear weapons or material to make nuclear weapons.

In the February 9, 2002, issue of the *British Medical Journal*, three American physicians calculated the effect of a 12.5 kiloton nuclear explosion—the same size as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima—from a bomb concealed in a cargo container aboard a ship in New York harbor. Using software from the U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, they estimated, "The blast and thermal effects of such an explosion would kill 52,000 people immediately, and direct radiation would cause 44,000 cases of radiation sickness, of which 10,000 would be fatal. Radiation from fallout would kill another 200,000 people and cause several hundred thousand additional cases of radiation sickness…the ability to aid survivors would be very limited. About 1,000 hospital beds would be destroyed...and 8,700 more would be in areas with radiation exposures high enough to cause radiation sickness. The remaining local medical facilities would quickly be overwhelmed, and even with advance preparation outside help would be delayed."

Terrorists might also attack nuclear power plants, perhaps by crashing an airplane into the reactor building itself or into more lightly protected stores of radioactive materials in spent fuel pools at the reactor site. The watchdog group Physicians for Social Responsibility has called nuclear power plants "land mines waiting to be stepped upon." Or flown into? Though officials have publicly downplayed the possibility, recently, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission removed a study from their public reading room that graphically spells out the vulnerability of nuclear plants to an air attack. ■


And We have Sent You as a Mercy to mankind and all that exists
ISB
الجمعية الإسلامية في بوسطن
ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF BOSTON
PROSPECT STREET

AIMÉE SISCO

by
GUSTAV NIEBUHR

Muslims in America

IDENTITY DEVELOPS AS A COMMUNITY GROWS

Muslim Americans come from diverse backgrounds and trace their roots to many nations. Though notable for its diversity, the community also struggles for unity.

In Islam, midday Friday marks the time ordained for communal prayers, the Salat Al-Jumah, whose attendance is binding on Muslim men worldwide. In the United States, hundreds of mosques and prayer halls exist where Muslims can meet the obligation, from Chicago to Corpus Christi.; Phoenix to Fairbanks; Brooklyn to Boston.

But one of the most intriguing sites, in terms of its proximity to civic power, lies within the basement of the United States Capitol building, where a room has been reserved for an hour for this very purpose.

To get there one February day, a visitor descended a flight of steps from the busy first floor, passed two statues of early American settlers and rounded a corner toward a warren of committee rooms. The only indication that a sacred threshold stood nearby was a row of empty shoes pushed up against the baseboard near a frosted glass door.

On that Friday, 55 people had come to pray. Arranging themselves in six rows, they knelt on cream-colored mats spread across the wall-to-wall carpet, facing east, the direction of Mecca, Islam's holy city.

The numbers were not remarkable: many mosques, including several within a few miles of the Capitol, draw far larger crowds. But the men and women in this room, by virtue of their youth, ethnic diversity and the generous number of professionals in their ranks, were broadly representative of the larger American Muslim population. Only their closeness to national power made them more anomalous than representative.

These days, American Muslims can look back on two decades of vitally important achievements,

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in which they elevated the public profile of their faith by building new houses of worship, formed advocacy and educational organizations and, most recently, became increasingly involved in national political activity.

In terms of the breadth of their ethnic diversity (and the widespread suspicion with which they have often been viewed), they may most closely resemble the Roman Catholics of a century ago, who entered public consciousness as their numbers rapidly increased through immigration.

But the comparison is a limited one. Nineteenth century Catholics had the advantage of a religious heirarchy to bind them and speak for them; in that heirarchy, too, a single ethnic group—the Irish—played the dominant role. By contrast, Islam is decentralized. And so far, no national grassroots organization has emerged that would unite Muslims' disparate communities.

AIMEE SISCO

Elora Chowdhury: "Post-September 11th, my religious background as a Muslim woman has compelled heightened public curiosity."

For American Muslims, the present is both the best and the worst of times. They have freedom, but they're being watched.

"It's a very Protestant system," says Zaid H. Bukhari, a fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding. "There should be a collective leadership among the Muslim community," he adds, pointing out that the current "struggle" among American Muslims is for that to develop.

Mr. Bukhari is well-placed to make such observations. At Georgetown, he is director of a research project called Muslims in the American Public Square, or MAPS, in its inevitable shorthand. Previously, he served as secretary general of the Islamic Circle of North America, a Queens, N.Y.-based membership association in the mainstream of American Muslim life.

His comments raise the question of how close Muslims are to being able to form a national community, such that people can speak of a distinctly American Muslim identity, with an attendant public voice and way of voting. And, were such a community to take shape, could it become a bridge of understanding between the U.S. and Muslim majority nations? The latter question is largely dependent on a positive resolution to the first.

In the view of many Muslims, the movement toward an American Muslim identity has come under intense but conflicting pressure since the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. The assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were, after all, carried out by violent extremists who claimed to act in the name of Islam, but whose deeds have been roundly condemned by many Muslim organizations and leaders here in the U.S.

Nevertheless, a predictable by-product of the tragedy has been a rapid escalation of public curiosity about Islam in general and American Muslims in particular. Sales of the Qur'an, Islam's holy book, shot up in the attacks' wake, as did books by such academic writers on Islam as Karen Armstrong, John L. Esposito and Bernard Lewis.

To respond creatively to the public curiosity, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), a Washington, D.C.-based advocacy organization, began urging mosques nationwide to host open houses, advertising that on a specific day non-Muslim neighbors could drop by, ask questions and pick up basic material on Islam. Many mosques did so, and

many of their leaders reported larger-than-expected crowds.

But a part of the attention paid to American Muslims has been unnerving. In the wake of September 11th, vandals struck several mosques, and some Muslims received threatening phone calls. Perhaps even more disconcerting for some was the federal government's increased scrutiny of illegal immigrants, its detention of people who had violated their visa restrictions and its closure of Islamic charities that officials said were linked to terrorist groups.

COURTESY OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE ARCHIVES

Omar ibn Sayyid, a West African Muslim, was taken to North Carolina as a slave in 1807.

This happened while President Bush and others emphatically declared the U.S. not to be at war with Islam itself. That the situation might seem paradoxical to Muslims was noted by Yvonne Y. Haddad, a Georgetown historian who is an authority on Islam in the U.S. For American Muslims, she says, the present is both the best and worst of times. "They have freedom," she notes, "but they're being watched."

That particular sense of living with contradiction is not unique in American Muslim life. More basic is the problem that Islam is often described as the nation's fastest-growing faith, but that its numbers remain unknown. Because the U.S. census asks no question about religious affiliation, there is no official way of quantifying the Muslim population. Without such a figure, educated guesses abound, but these range so widely—from two million at the lowest to ten million at the highest—that the estimates themselves tend to be controversial. As of 2001, Islamic organizations like CAIR began to say the Muslim population had exceeded six million.

Another contradiction is the public perception that Islam is a "new religion" in the U.S., because of its rapid growth through three decades of immigration from Asia and Africa. But the faith's roots on this side of the Atlantic go back centuries, as African American converts will point out.

Muslims set foot in North America along with Spanish explorers and English settlers, who often came with their African slaves. How many slaves were Muslim is unknown, but a handful left behind evidence of their passing, including a scholar named Omar ibn Sayyid, a West African enslaved in North Carolina, who wrote an autobiographical letter in 1831.

Organized Islamic communities began forming in the American Midwest a century ago. But Muslim religious life became publicly visible only recently, as the number of mosques increased. Nor did the rise in Islamic population derive solely from the immigrants, but also from a large influx of African American converts, especially after 1975, when Imam W. Deen Muhammad led members of the black nationalist sect, the Nation of Islam, into the orthodox fold.

These days, blacks comprise upwards of one-quarter of American Muslims, while South Asian and Arab immigrants also constitute large groups. But the ethnic mosaic reaches much further, to embrace dozens of different groups. Even cities with relatively small Muslim populations can include a highly diverse range of people with no previous experience of each other. Take Seattle, for example, where prominent members of the Muslim community include white and black converts, Arab and South Asian immigrants and groups of Somalis from East Africa and Chams from Cambodia. Latino Muslims are also a growing community: the Washington, D.C.-based American Muslim Council estimates that there are 25,000 Muslims of Hispanic heritage in U.S. metropolitan areas.

Given that that degree of diversity is not unusual, what specific factors can form a common denominator in forging a true Muslim community in America?

"That's the question," says Sheik Anwar al-Awlaki, who is the imam, or spiritual leader, at Dar Al-Hijra, a major mosque in Falls Church, Virginia, a Washington suburb. "How much uniqueness American Muslims have among themselves," he says, "will determine whether they have an identity."

Elora Chowdhury, a program associate at the Ford Foundation and a Ph.D. candidate in the Women's Studies program at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, agrees that identity is an increasingly important issue, but is concerned about how public perception may affect individuals as well as the Muslim community as a whole. "I think that post-September 11th," she says, "my religious background as a Muslim woman has compelled heightened public curiosity and I feel that people often expect Muslims to have external markers when, in fact, there isn't a categorical identity that all Muslims—men and women—share."

Still, among the estimated one billion Muslims globally, those in the U.S. do possess a distinctive and potentially valuable economic identity, at least

when one speaks generally. American Muslims include an unusually large proportion of highly educated professionals, especially physicians and engineers, who have arrived in this nation since the sweeping reform of federal immigration laws in 1965.

Their presence helps distinguish American Muslims as "the best educated elite in the Muslim world," writes Haddad, in an essay in the book, *Muslims on the Americanization Path?* (University of South Florida, 1998). And this professional cadre sharply distinguishes American Muslims from their counterparts in immigrant communities in Europe, says Sheik al-Awlaki. "In Europe, they're the working class," he explains. "In America, they're professionals and intellectuals."

A growing body of statistics lends weight to their observations. In December 2001, Bukhari's MAPS project published a demographic survey of nearly 2,000 American Muslims. Conducted by Zogby International, it reported that 58 percent of American Muslims were college graduates; three-quarters under 50, and two-thirds with an annual household income of $35,000 or more (nearly one-third said it was at least $75,000).

Strikingly, the survey also found a high commitment among Muslims to civic participation: 79 percent said they were registered to vote. Of that group, the overwhelming majority said they were "highly likely" to do so.

That finding in itself points to a sea-change in the basic political attitudes of American Muslims, one that suggests a Muslim political identity may be emerging. Only a decade ago, the question of whether Muslims should participate in any level of politics appeared to be up for grabs.

Ingrid Mattson, vice president of the Plainfield, Indiana-based Islamic Society of North America, said that as late as 1989, she heard people in mosques debating whether Islamic law permitted Muslims to vote in a society where they were a minority. But attitudes have shifted to the point that by February 2002, CAIR was busily promoting a nationwide voter registration drive. It would take place at mosques, coinciding with Eid al-Adha, the feast that marks the culmination of the hajj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

A rising interest in politics was not alone as an important development in Muslim life in the 1990s. During that decade, Islam became more visible on the American religious landscape, as building campaigns increased the number of mosques. In 2000, "The Mosque Study Project," a survey sponsored by four major Islamic organizations, counted 1,209 Islamic houses of worship, up from 962 in 1994, an increase of 25 percent.

As Muslims became more visible, so too did some local leaders embark on efforts at interreligious dialogue, entering into discussions with Protestant, Catholic and Jewish counterparts.

And, in a development that would seem likely to add to the growth of an American Muslim identity, the mosque-building trend relied on money raised locally, rather than from governments or organizations overseas, which had contributed to some previous work. "They decided, 'We can do it,'" Haddad says, referring to American Muslims.

At the same time, greater opportunity began to open for women within Islamic organizations, a change reflected in the experience of Mattson, who is also a professor of Islamic studies at Hartford Seminary in Connecticut.

The Islamic Society, a membership organization dedicated to helping establish Muslim community centers and schools, elected her its vice president in the summer of 2001. The move, she said, starkly contrasted with the situation that prevailed in the organization in the mid-1980s. "I remember 15 years ago, being at a meeting when women weren't allowed to speak on stage," she says. Instead, they wrote their questions or comments on sheets of paper, then passed them forward for men to read aloud.

But some of this momentum toward change has also produced drawbacks. The rising interest in political activism, for example, has highlighted an important, long-existing division between immigrant and native-born Muslims.

In 2000, four Muslim organizations joined forces to found the American Muslim Political Coordination Council, to rally an Islamic vote behind one of the presidential candidates. Shortly before Election Day, it endorsed George W. Bush, who had met with American Muslim representatives early in the campaign and had also spoken out against so-called "secret evidence" provisions of recent immigration laws that allow for the detention of non-citizens without full disclosure of the evidence against them.

Dar Al-Hijra, in Falls Church, VA

When Mr. Bush won the election as narrowly as he did, Muslims who voted for him could claim a vital role in his

Masjid Al-Farooq, a mosque in Brooklyn, NY

AIMEE SISCO

pilgrims follow the same rituals, and the men among them dress alike, each wearing a simple garment of two large pieces of unstitched and seamless cloth.

The ideal of unity has never been far from American Muslim consciousness, perhaps a recognition of the unprecedented task of bringing together such a wide-ranging group. In annual meetings, Mattson says, Muslim organizations have prominently displayed a passage from the Qur'an as a theme for discussion: "… surely we have created you of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other."

The emphasis on unity is also often reflected at the local level, which is

Islam carries an ideal of a universal community. Belonging to the *ummah*, the community of the faith, should trump race, class and ethnicity.

PENNY COLEMAN

victory. But the committee's decision also exacerbated an old rift. Many African American Muslims felt they had not been consulted about the endorsement, a lack of recognition that rankled, given the high proportion of blacks within the overall Muslim population.

Partisan politics, Mattson says, can reinforce class and ethnic distinctions. "Some of the African Americans would see the immigrants as falling into supporting an economic order that is inherently oppressive to African Americans, so that can exacerbate conflicts," she says, adding that politics "forces you into categories that you don't have to have in a religious community."

Aamir A. Rehman, director of outreach at the Islamic Society of Boston, also ponders some of the conflicts that can be created by different cultural and ethnic groups' experiences and expectations about the practice of Islam in the U.S. "In America," he says, "Muslims often worship side by side with people from all over the Muslim world. Exposure to this rich diversity of cultures can be stimulating but also confusing for some. But this uniquely American situation also presents an opportunity to focus on the study and practice of Islam—on what Islam is all about—rather than on the cultural features that attend Islam in any particular country or region."

Islam carries an ideal of a universal community. Belonging to the *ummah,* the community of the faith, should trump race, class and ethnicity. That vision of equality becomes visible during the pilgrimage to Mecca, itself one of Islam's Five Pillars of religious practice. Muslims are required, if they are able, to make the journey once in their lifetimes. In Mecca, the hundreds of thousands of

really the scene of much action in American Islamic life.

The All-Dulles Area Muslim Society in Herndon, Virginia, familiarly known by its acronym, ADAMS, offers one example. The mosque is among the most prominent on the East Coast and its constituency is decidedly multi-ethnic, with immigrants from Asia and Africa, as well as African American, Latino and white converts.

In an interview, Imam Mohamed Magid, the tall, broad-shouldered and bearded spiritual leader, emphasized the symbolic value of the mosque's having had four different speakers at last year's Eid al-Fitr, the holiday that concludes the dawn-to-dusk fast at the end of the lunar month of Ramadan. Two speakers, he said, were African American, the third a Yemeni immigrant and the fourth himself, a native of Sudan. "That

shows the acceptance of the community," Imam Magid said, referring to the mosque. "We don't have an ethnic community dominating."

The mosque stands out in another way, too, as one of those Muslim institutions that will alter its local religious landscape. Last fall, the mosque broke ground for a new building, a $4.5 million project to house a congregation now so large that it must worship in shifts.

Imam Magid looks to the next generation of American Muslims to shape an Islamic identity in this country. "The children of American Muslims play together without recognizing ethnic backgrounds," he notes. "When our children ask each other, 'Where do you come from?' They answer, 'I come from America,' or 'I come from Virginia.'" The implicit message, he says, which he shares with parents at the mosque, is: "America has the ability to create a collective identity, even though you come from different cultural backgrounds."

Members of Boston's Muslim community at the traditional Friday Salat Al-Jumah, at the Islamic Society of Boston

AIMÉE SISCO

Muslims have expanded their presence on the Internet, resulting in the creation of a "Muslim cyberspace" where ideas are exchanged and tested.

By raising the issue of children, he touched on a central issue of concern among American Muslims. How the next generation will carry on the faith is a question that has always concerned religious minorities in the U.S. But its urgency among Muslims can be glimpsed on an Internet site that specializes in selling audiotapes of prominent Islamic scholars. The number one lecture listed there focuses on retaining the loyalty of Muslim children to their faith.

In the view of Sheik al-Awlaki, at Dar Al-Hijra, a key to keeping younger Muslims active as Muslims lies in the use of English as the predominant language within Islamic organizations. "Whenever there's a switch in language from ethnic to English, you would suddenly find more participation among the young," he said. "It's immediate. English is their mother tongue."

This group will shape the future of Muslims in the United States, Sheik al-Awlaki says. Already a religious leader at the age of 30, he was born in New Mexico but raised mostly in his parents' native Yemen, before returning to the United States at 18. He refers to the younger generation as "Muslim baby boomers." The sons and daughters of immigrants and converts, they have a keener interest in civil rights and politics than their parents do, he says. But how they will exert their leadership is something he cannot predict.

Arabic is Islam's sacred language. The Prophet Muhammad received the Qur'an in Arabic from the Archangel Gabriel. Any rendering of the Islamic holy book into another tongue is considered an interpretation, not a translation. But as a means of communication, the majority of Muslims do not use Arabic, either globally or in the U.S.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, mosques and Islamic organizations increasingly switched to doing business in English, rather than relying on the native languages of their immigrant members. Last year, the change occurred at Dar Al-Hijra in Falls Church. "English is a determinate factor of the American Muslim identity," Sheik al-Awlaki says.

The use of English as the common medium of communication among American Muslim groups has broader implications, too, not least for the

influence that they may have on Muslims overseas.

In an essay for the book, *Muslim Minorities in the West* (Altameira Press, 2002), the Moroccan scholar Abdul Hamid Lotfi said that American Muslims have steadily expanded their presence on the Internet, rather than attempting to make themselves heard over the far more expensive media of radio or television. The result, he says, was the creation of a "Muslim cyberspace, where ideas are exchanged and tested" in a democratic forum, outside the traditional grounds of the university or mosque.

AIMEE SISCO

Islamic Society of Boston

AIMEE SISCO

The Internet, of course, is international, allowing ideas and discussions begun in the U.S. to find an audience in any number of nations overseas, a medium through which the Islamic population in this country could speak to its counterparts elsewhere.

But because the Internet is still so new, its effect in this area can only be conjectured. So when American Muslims speak about the effect they can have as bridge-builders between the United States and Muslims abroad, they tend to cite the value of personal contacts—and also to raise a caution about how those contacts can be undercut by the impact of American foreign policy decisions.

The latter issue is often raised in interviews with Muslims, usually with the expressed concern that the U.S. must be perceived by their counterparts overseas as taking a more active role in attempting to resolve certain long-term conflicts. Those conflicts are between the Israelis and Palestinians, the Pakistanis and the Indians over Kashmir, and the Russians and Chechnyans. But if it is possible to step beyond these weighty issues for a moment, then the possibility of what American Muslims might do for the image of their country in other parts of the world is a tantalizing one upon which to reflect.

The interview with Imam Magid, for example, took place the day before he was to depart on the pilgrimage to Mecca. In the conversation, he noted that before returning to the U.S. he was stopping in Sudan to speak at a university in the capital, Khartoum.

His audience, he explained, might be interested to hear about the life of his mosque in Virginia, including how other religious communities offered to help after anti-Muslim graffitti was painted on its exterior in the wake of the September 11th tragedy. "I think some of them might be shocked that some Jews and some Christians volunteered to paint our walls," he said.

A story like this reflects a situation that some academic authorities have remarked on as an important new piece of American Muslim life, post-September 11th. Many Muslims in this country, they say, were touched by gestures of kindness and concern from their non-Muslim neighbors during the tense weeks after the terror attacks. Some women wore headscarves as a way of showing support for Muslim women, while men and women alike called local mosques and offered to step in and help those—say, with grocery shopping—who felt afraid to go outside for fear of being harassed.

But regardless of how widely such information is shared, Mattson predicts that American Muslims will have "increasing influence" abroad. "Muslims in other parts of the world are going to receive American culture, and part of that includes American Muslim culture," she says.

She has her own, recent example. When she was elected the Islamic Society's vice president, the event was covered by television stations in Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. Later, Egyptian television followed up by interviewing one of the society's officials, a discussion that turned on the role of American Muslim women. "And that's getting to millions of people in Egypt," she points out.

"I'm an academic," she says. "I see how ideas have come down through history. And I do believe that ideas filter down and have an impact on things that are common knowledge, things that are known by the average person." ■

Nonprof Z

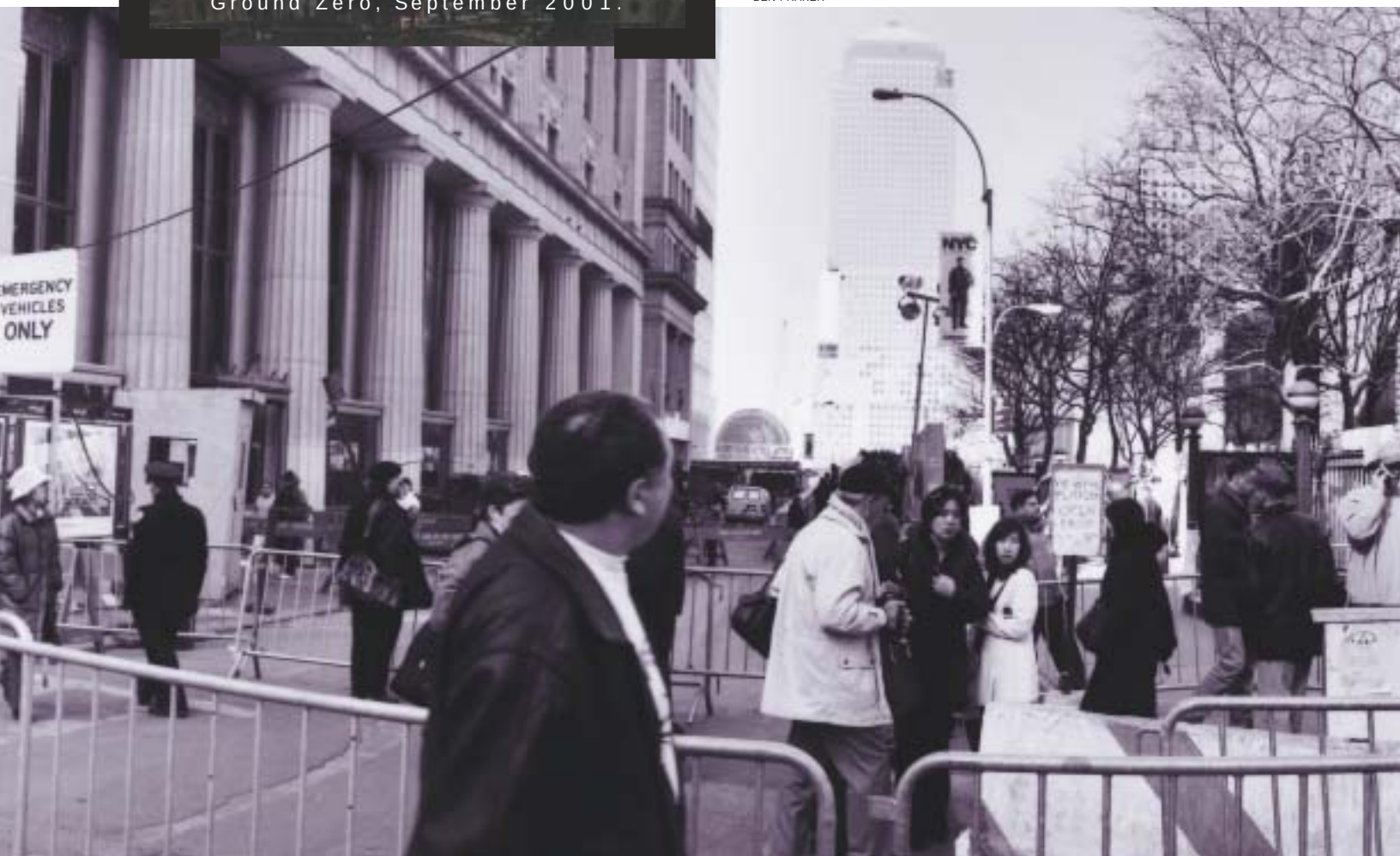
STRUGGLING TO

Just blocks from the World Trade Center, four nonprofit organizations find renewed meaning in their missions as they recover from disaster.

GENE LEWIS

Ground Zero, September 2001.

BEN FRAKER



1ts *at* Ground Zero

by
MICHAEL DECOURCY HINDS

SURVIVE, THEIR MISSIONS POINT THE WAY

This is the story of how four nonprofit organizations responded to the September 11th terrorist attack. As much as any handful of organizations can represent the vast nonprofit sector, these four can serve as a microcosm. Their names alone suggest their diversity: Four Way Books, Futures and Options, Safe Horizon and Robin Hood Foundation. Their bottom lines reflect the number of books of poetry published, public school students placed in internships, services provided to victims of violence and support given to poverty-fighting programs. Apart from their public-spirited missions, what brings the four together is their coincidental proximity to Ground Zero. (See sidebars for profiles of the organiza-

Michael deCourcy Hinds is the Corporation's chief writer. Previously, he was a national correspondent for The New York Times *and he also wrote citizens' guides to social issues at Public Agenda, a nonprofit, nonpartisan public policy research organization.*

The corner of Fulton St. and Broadway, February 2002.

tions.) In their own words, culled from interviews and woven together chronologically, leaders of the organizations describe how the disaster shook up their lives and organizations.

Martha Rhodes,
Director, Four Way Books

When the first plane hit, I was at my desk. I thought it was a sonic boom, but opened my blinds to see the plane dissolve—how else to describe it?—into the building. I saw the wing disappear.

I got dressed quickly, to go tell my husband, Jean. He's a graphic artist, with a business on Warren Street, a couple of blocks from the Trade Center. I figured he might not have heard the crash since it wasn't very loud. If he were unaware of the accident, he might go outside and be hurt by falling glass. An accident is what I thought it was.

I left the apartment and got about three blocks, to Reade Street and West Broadway. There weren't a lot of fire engines or police cars, I thought. I heard a few sirens but they were slow to respond, to my mind. I remember thinking, what's taking them so long? But then I saw them on foot and in trucks. (My husband remembers thinking "Oh my God, they are going to die.") These are our firemen, big guys, the guys who shop at our market, filling their carts up with TONS of food, yelling across the aisles to each other: "Hey ya want steak tonight? Sirloin? Or filet mignon?"

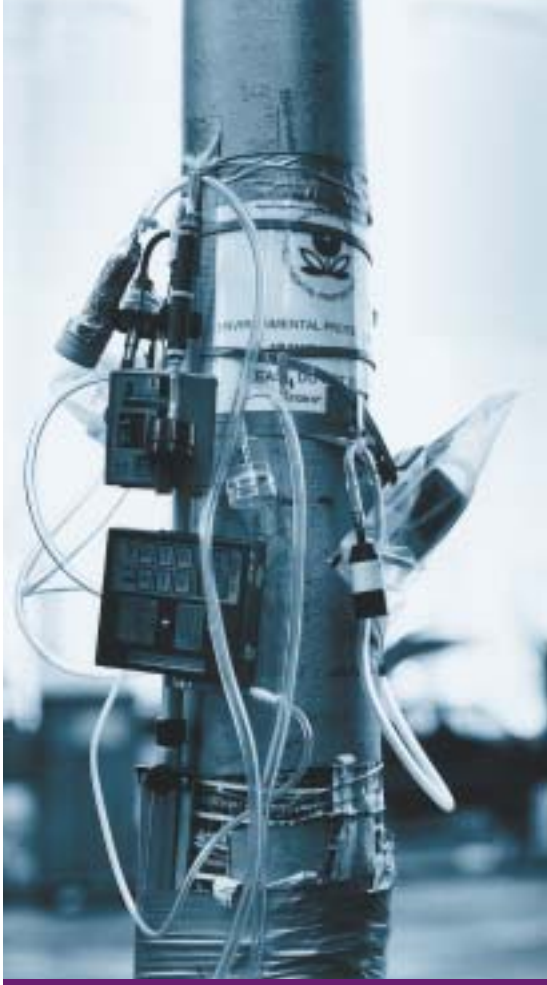
The second plane hit the towers. All of us screamed. A woman and I held onto each other. We didn't know it was a plane since we were north of the tower. We didn't see the plane hit. We saw the huge explosion. I thought it was a collateral explosion—that somehow part of the first plane had also struck the second tower. This explosion was much bigger than the first.

I shoved through the crowd and went to get Jean. I walked one block too far, got disoriented, then headed south. I got to his building. He wasn't there. On the way back to our apartment, I looked at the tower. People were jumping and we were yelling, "They're jumping. Oh my God! They're jumping." I saw a woman, I was sure she was a woman, I saw her leaning out a window and waving a large white cloth. I wondered where she got such a cloth. A helicopter hovered near the window where she was and I felt so sorry for the pilot, knowing he couldn't help. The woman was waving the cloth slowly. I remember calling her "Darling," thinking, "Oh darling," and talking to her. I fantasized that she would jump into my arms and be safe. She must have worked at Windows on the World and the cloth must have been a tablecloth.

A lot of workers were on the street trying to use their cell phones but couldn't. At that point, we heard about the Pentagon and bin Laden's name was shouted around. Then a fighter plane flew over. We started screaming and crying, thinking we were under attack. I think that's the first panic I really felt. Being in that open space and seeing that fighter plane overhead. Someone yelled, "It's ours, it's ours! It's our plane!"

I walked north, stopping every few feet to look back, and then I saw the first tower fall, vertically, "pancaking" down. It was such a sunny day. I remember the sparkle of paper and glass in the air. The building, with its floors, walls, computers, sofas, desks, paintings, carpets, shoes, briefcases...and people, exploding before our eyes into fire, smoke and ash. I was breathing everything in. I was breathing people in, and would be for weeks.

I walked north so slowly. Then the second building collapsed and the force of smoke went east like a river flooding down a street. Suddenly, everyone started running and yelling, "Gas explosion, gas explosion." I was thinking, maybe I should jump into the Hudson and swim to Jersey. Are the currents too



BEN FRAKER

Air quality monitors near Gound Zero, February 2002

When the first plane hit, I was at my desk. I thought it was a sonic **boom**, *but opened my blinds to see the plane dissolve—how else to describe it?—into the building. I saw the wing disappear.*

strong? Should I do it? But there were no gas explosions.

Barbara Christen,
Executive Director, Futures and Options

On Tuesday morning I was at 48th Street and Park Avenue, meeting with an executive at a brokerage firm. He was interested in becoming a partner in our program and employing our students as interns. As you know, brokers and bond people always have a television on. His assistant all of a sudden leaped from his seat, literally, and said, "My God, a plane has just gone into the World Trade Center." I will never forget the look on that fellow's face. The first thing I did was to call our office on the 21st floor of 1 World Trade Center. It was our field office, staffed with one or two people, plus, after-school, between six and eight part-time teachers. They work with the interns to prepare resumes, practice interviews and learn general job skills.

Barbara Christen

BEN FRAKER

When I called, the phone rang and rang and the answering machine picked up, so I felt fairly certain that no one was there. As it turned out, one staff person had stopped to vote in the primary election being held that day and had arrived in time to see the whole thing happen, safely, from a distance. The other young woman had planned to come in later, thankfully.

Gordon Campbell,
Chief Executive Officer, Safe Horizon

I knew a plane had hit the World Trade Center, but I had no sense of the magnitude when I took the subway downtown to our headquarters. It's at 2 Lafayette Street, just about six blocks from the towers. I went up to the third floor to meet with some senior staff and, almost immediately, over the loud speaker an announcement came blaring: "You've got to leave the building."

We looked out the window—this must have been just after the first tower collapsed—and saw people literally running down the street. We made sure that everyone had left the floor and then we ran downstairs. On Greenwich Street, we stood watching the second tower collapse. On Eighth Avenue, cars were parked right in the middle of the street, with their doors open and radios turned up, and people gathered around to listen to the news. In front of the Red Cross building at 67th and Amsterdam, people were already lined up to give blood. It didn't feel like a city, it was a small community. Just an outpouring of affection and camaraderie.

David Saltzman, *Executive Director, Robin Hood Foundation*

At 8:48 a. m. on September 11th, when the first plane hit, a whole bunch of our people were in the office at 111 Broadway, just across the street from the World Trade Center. All of a sudden, I heard a terrible explosion and the building shook. The only time I ever heard an explosion like that was in the very same building—in 1993, when terrorists tried to blow up the Trade Center.

Not long after that, a staff member came stumbling into the office. She said she was just getting out of the PATH train station when the first plane hit, and was nearly trampled to death in the stampede. She said a person right in front of her and one right next to her were both hit with flying, flaming debris and were probably killed. All of a sudden, there was a second explosion.

I gathered everyone and said we don't know what's going on, but we're going to buddy up, just like we would in grade school or summer camp, and we're going to head east, away from the World Trade Center, the Wall Street area, and City Hall. Let's get away from all the places that might be targeted because we don't know what's happening. We walked down 19 flights of stairs and headed toward the South Street Seaport. Thankfully for me, I was following up the rear, trying to make sure everyone was okay, so I never looked back at the Trade Center. The people who did saw things that people should never see. They saw men and women, on fire, jumping out of that building to their deaths. They saw people on the ground dying.

While we were running east, some other staff members were still coming to work—just as the first tower collapsed. A Good Samaritan saved the life of our director of development, by pushing him to safety, inside the doorway of a coffee shop. To this day, we don't know if the Good Samaritan survived. He was still outside when the flaming debris engulfed the street.

Martha Rhodes, *Four Way Books*

Our apartment building was in the restricted zone, and we didn't move back for a week. Looking south, from my office window, I could see the smoke, the towerless and empty sky, the workers, the trucks, the dumpsters. Our dear, beloved street was lined with Secret Service trucks, FBI, CIA, bomb squads, National Guard, Red Cross,

police, command posts, boxes of food, socks, water and Gatorade. The Red Cross kept ringing our door bell and offering cans of waxed beans and sweet potatoes. And creamed corn, too. This made me laugh and cry.

Four Way Books was pretty much out of business for three weeks and frankly, I had no idea if I could continue. I remember telling my very closest friend, "You know, I don't care if I never publish another book of poetry again." I was just so down and so devastated. And we were still going to bed with our shoes on, just in case.

Martha Rhodes

BEN FRAKER

But we were safe. We could go on with our lives. In the early weeks, I repeated this, as a mantra. And I feel we owe it to those who died on September 11th to go on with our lives.

Barbara Christen, *Futures and Options*

In the next few days, we made sure that students who had worked last summer as interns downtown were taken care of in their schools. We called their guidance counselors or assistant principals, alerting them that these particular students might well need some extra attention, psychologically, in dealing with the trauma. Last summer, for example, there were at least 21 young people working at the Port Authority in the Trade Center. We heard back from one intern who was happy to tell me that the five people he had worked with were all safe. He said he had been going through agonies. Sadly, two other supervisors from the Port Authority who worked with our interns did die as did the buildings' Fire and Safety Director, who was well known to us. It was a heartbreaker. They were terrific people.

Losing our field office at the Trade Center meant we lost not only all our furniture and equipment, but also all our records related to the students, their mentors, the sites, everything to do with the operation of the program. Luckily, I had the financial information at my office at the Downtown Alliance at 120 Broadway. Then our office assistant remembered that, months earlier, she had mislaid a disk that had the names and addresses of most of the students who had been part of the program since it began in 1995. Luckily, she found the disk in an old pocketbook in her garage. We are now surveying people on that list to get the information we need to reconstruct the database. We really need that information, if we are going to be successful in two of our goals: to evaluate the success of the program and to replicate the program in other business improvement districts across the city.

Downtown was in dreadful shape and the authorities encouraged people to stay away. I returned to work on September 24th in my office at the Downtown Alliance. Two of our five feeder schools downtown—the High School of Economics and Finance and the High School for Leadership and Public Service—were closed and their students were sent to schools uptown. Our teachers, who work part-time with us, were unavailable to work on the program because they were so busy in their own schools.

Gordon Campbell, *Safe Horizon*

Just being back here was a real challenge. There were problems with transportation and security—lines of people had to go through a metal detector in the lobby. You always smelled the fire, constantly. The first day we got back into this office, I think there were six fire drills. People were so on edge, and worried.

Our telephones were not working from September 11th until the week before Christmas. No phones, no e-mail, no faxes for more than three months! Just cell phones. So at the same time we were doing our regular work—providing assistance to some of the quarter-million New Yorkers we serve each year and mounting this disaster relief effort to assist tens of thousands of people—we were communicationally, even though that's not a word, challenged. I mean, to put it mildly. I have to tell you, the best holiday present for everyone was getting phones that worked.

So there we were: having just **escaped** *the Trade Center disaster, we were going through the hell of the anthrax scare.*

Our first communications priority was getting our Domestic Violence Hotline and our Crime Victims Hotline back up, as they are literally lifelines to about 200,000 callers a year. These people need information about getting an order of protection, a new lock on their front door or even police assistance—we have a link with 911. We worked with senior officials at Verizon and within 24 hours we had our hotlines up. We also created a September 11 Hotline, and we are still receiving about 800 calls a day on that line.

David Saltzman,
Robin Hood Foundation

On Tuesday the 11th, our people had already started making calls to reach all our grantees, to make sure they were okay. Part of our engaged grantmaking model encourages us to develop real partnerships with the organizations we support so it was just understood that we were going to reach out and make sure everyone was alright.

Gordon Campbell
BEN FRAKER

the hell of

It was a crazy time.

At the same time, we kept receiving requests for Robin Hood to do something special to help, so by the end of that first week we had set up the Robin Hood Relief Fund. We were very fortunate that, through a little bit of thinking and a lot of luck, we came up with a broad mission statement. We wanted to focus on the immediate needs of the victims, but we did not want to limit our ability to reach a large variety of people in a wide variety of ways. So, rather than locking ourselves into a narrow focus—only on the families of the dead—we also said we would address the needs of people who were in the area and victimized in one way or another, including low-income people who had lost their livelihoods or homes.

On September 17th, Lachlan Murdock, whose company owns the *New York Post* and who is one of our board members, secured some temporary office space for us in the *Post*'s building at 1211 Avenue of the Americas. But soon we found ourselves in the same building with, ultimately, three cases of anthrax. It started, as you may recall, on September 22nd, when an editorial assistant at the *Post* noticed a blister on her finger that was later diagnosed as anthrax. So there we were: having just escaped the hell of the Trade Center disaster, we were going through the hell of the anthrax scare. It was a crazy time.

On September 24th we brought together all of the organizations we support with our staff and our board of directors at the Plaza Hotel, which donated the space. These are some of the organizations that keep New York going, and that day they talked about their experiences and what they were doing to help people. Of course, what they were doing after September 11th was completely different from the work they usually did, but it fit in well with their missions. The Association to Benefit Children, for example, is used to working with families in crisis, those who suddenly become homeless or suddenly lose someone. Right after the attacks, the association's staff was downtown, counseling families. The difference was that, before September 11th, they had never swabbed the inside of a child's mouth to get DNA to identify missing parents.

From Robin Hood's perspective, we wanted to know what the organizations' needs were and how we could help. We also wanted to reassure them that the foundation would continue to support their core missions going forward. That was important for them to hear, just as it was important for our board members to hear what our grant recipients were up against. That meeting at the Plaza was so powerful that not too long afterwards we invited all of our donors to a similar meeting, moderated by Diane Sawyer, one of our board members. We wanted to keep people informed about what we were doing with the relief fund.

Martha Rhodes, *Four Way Books*

Life, along with the phones, slowly returned to something like normal in early October. As soon as we plugged in the fax machine, it rang! The first call in a month! A reviewer wanting a copy of Noelle Kocot's poetry collection, *4*. I was so excited to receive this call, I told her I would tape her fax request to our wall.

But Jean wasn't able to return to work because his commercial loft building—two blocks from Ground Zero—is in the deepest part of the frozen zone. He lost all of his tenants, and it's unclear what the future holds for restarting his graphics business or finding tenants, what with all the cleanup and renovation going on.

Before September 11th, the plan for Four Way Books was to grow. We were negotiating with a national distributor and that meant greatly expanding our reach into stores and libraries. We had also improved our web site and are now able to sell our books online. And we had planned to move the press from our apartment into a beautiful, modern—and rent-free—space in my husband's downtown loft building. We would have more access to his company's graphics equipment and expertise. We would have access to printing equipment in the basement. We would finally

Continued on page 29

Books, Kids, Hotlines & Robin Hood

Who They Are, What They Do

Four Way Books

Founded in 1993, with first books out in 1995, Four Way Books is the New York publishing arm of a Vermont nonprofit called Friends of Writers, Inc. The two organizations' shared mission is to encourage, support and publish writers at every stage in their careers. Four Ways Books was started by four writers, hence its name, to help overcome the dearth of publishing opportunities for authors of poetry and short fiction. The literary press is directed by Martha Rhodes, one of the founding editors and a widely published poet (her latest collection, *Perfect Disappearance*, won the Green Rose Prize in 2000). She is also a a member of the writing faculty at several colleges including The MFA Program for Writers at Warren Wilson College and New School University. The nonprofit press has 32 books in print and annually publishes a half-dozen new ones (www.fourwaybooks.com). All this and more—including Readings on the Bowery, a reading series at the Bowery Poetry Club, and a national poetry competition—is done on a shoestring budget of under $100,000 a year.

Futures and Options, Inc.

Futures and Options enables public high school students to make a successful transition to work, careers and higher education by providing them with supervised, paid internships, mostly in downtown Manhattan companies and nonprofit organizations. For the employers, which range from Merrill Lynch to the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, the internship program provides a stream of candidates for entry-level positions. Barbara L. Christen started the program and continues to serve as its executive director, assisted by a small staff and working with a budget of about $300,000. During her tenure, the program has made more than 1,300 placements of interns, all of whom are trained and monitored. The program, established in 1995 by the Alliance for Downtown New York, had recently begun to expand—in part, by opening a field office at 1 World Trade Center.

Safe Horizon

In 1978, the Vera Institute of Justice established an independent, nonprofit organization called Victim Services to work with the New York State Crime Victims Board in providing compensation and crisis counseling to crime victims. The organization was renamed Safe Horizon in 2000 reflecting its expanded mission: to support and advocate for victims of crime and abuse, their families and communities, as well as working on violence prevention. While best known for its 24-hour hotlines that provide crisis support and referrals, Safe Horizon operates 75 programs, including training schoolchildren and teachers in conflict resolution; guiding victims through the criminal court system; providing long-term counseling to families of homicide victims, refugees and victims of torture; sheltering victims of domestic violence; advocating for abused children and even installing new door locks after a burglary or robbery. With an annual budget of $35 million, 800 employees and 250,000 New Yorkers served each year, Safe Horizon is the nation's nonprofit leader in this field. Gordon J. Campbell is the agency's chief executive officer.

The Robin Hood Foundation

Established in 1998, Robin Hood raises money from the rich and distributes it to anti-poverty programs in Sherwood Forest, a.k.a. New York City. Unlike traditional philanthropies, which make grants to a great many capable organizations with promising proposals, Robin Hood is a pioneer of the newer "venture philanthropies" that work more intensely with relatively fewer grantees, leveraging cash grants with technical, legal, accounting and management support. Benefits and appeals to wealthy donors support the grantmaking, while members of the board of directors personally underwrite the foundation's operating expenses. In addition to cash grants, the foundation supports grantees by soliciting tens of millions of dollars worth of donated goods and services each year for them. David Saltzman is the foundation's executive director, overseeing a staff of 39 and an annual operating budget of $8 million, and an annual grantmaking budget of $28 million. ■

have space for a bigger inventory of books and for staff to work and hold conferences with authors. There were going to be readings, book signings, panels and writing workshops. It was my dream: Four Way Books was going to become more public, a center for fine literature.

Of course, plans have changed since September 11th. My husband's livelihood is very threatened, so his office space downtown is no longer available to Four Way Books—definitely not for free, if at all. So, instead of growing the press, we're trying to hold onto what we've already built.

Barbara Christen, *Futures and Options*

In addition to being short-staffed, we also lost about 40 of our 85 internship sites. Many companies had been in the Trade Center. Other office buildings were closed and companies could not accommodate interns in their temporary quarters. Some companies were laying off workers and didn't feel right about hiring interns. Many restaurants and retailers closed temporarily, or even permanently.

You have to remember the atmosphere of tremendous upset in those first weeks. The air was absolutely awful and we had many questions about whether we should be encouraging anybody, especially students, to come down here to the offices. So we did it case by case. One student at Stuyvesant High School said his school was as close to the wreckage as you could get and that doing an internship on Pine Street would actually be a getaway for him. We also focused on placing interns in midtown sites.

As a result of all the confusion, we did not have our usual five-day workshop to orient the students to the internship program—teaching them how to prepare a resume, handle an interview, dress for work and learn job skills. Instead, we worked with a limited number of students on an individual basis. All told, in the fall of 2001 we had about 55 students in internships. We should have placed more than 80 interns that semester, but given the circumstances we were lucky to get up to 55.

Gordon Campbell, *Safe Horizon*

Our regular work was impacted because the September 11th disaster traumatized virtually everyone. It was really a re-traumatization for many of our clients, who thought they had worked through certain issues—such as fears about an abusive parent or issues in a battering situation—only to have their problems start bubbling up again. In our shelters people were really on edge. And, of course, new cases came in unrelated to the Trade Center disaster. In September and October we reached out to 156 people who had lost a loved one to violence—it just shows you that people were still being murdered.

On September 12th, the governor's staff asked us to help the Trade Center victims. Talk about building on our experience! One of our responsibilities is to provide compensation to crime victims for the state, and we've been doing that since the agency began. But we said, instead of following the usual state procedures—having the victim or family complete an application, having it notarized and sending it to Albany for processing and mailing a check—wouldn't it be great if Safe Horizon could make the determination on the spot and the family could walk away with a check in hand? We agreed, over a handshake, that we were going to do that. So when the mayor opened the Family Assistance Center, we were there from Day One to provide immediate financial assistance to people who had lost a loved one and/or were physically injured.

But that was not enough. Because of laws and regulations we were not allowed to provide assistance to victims who were displaced, in terms of losing jobs or homes, by the disaster. To meet those needs, I reached out to the United Way and the New York Community Trust, which had started the September 11th Fund, to ask for additional funding for the victims. Within 24 hours, they got back to me and said, "You can proceed."

So the next day, that was September 24th, we were able to start helping many more people: A dishwasher at Windows on the World, who wasn't working on the 11th, needed help paying his rent until he received state unemployment benefits. A gay man who needed financial help after losing his partner in the tragedy. An elderly couple, who shared an apartment with their daughter who was lost at the towers—they needed help with mortgage payments. One woman came from Ecuador with Western Union receipts showing that her deceased son had provided support for her. We defined "victim" in the broadest sense. As we all know, there has almost become a hierarchy of victims, and our feeling is that, and I mean this in the most positive sense, a victim is a victim is a victim.

With the support of the September 11th Fund we have been able to provide more than $47 million to over 27,000 people.

David Saltzman,
Robin Hood Foundation

One of our board members—Harvey Weinstein, the co-chairman of Miramax Films—was flying across the Atlantic with Paul McCartney, on the way to a wedding. They got to talking about what they could do to help with the relief effort, and they decided to put on a concert. That was how the Concert for the City of New York was born, less than a month before showtime on October 20.

We thought it was great that we got

Paul McCartney—but if got Paul McCartney, why not get Mick Jagger? If we can get Mick Jagger, why not get Eric Clapton? Why not get the Who? Why not get Billy Joel and Elton John?

About two weeks before the concert, we realized we would have to occasionally make some time-consuming changes in the stage setup. Oky, we thought, maybe we'll show some videos about New York City. Well, you know what Harvey Weinstein said: Hell, if you're going to show videos, I'll call Martin Scorsese, I'll call Spike Lee, I'll call Woody Allen, I'll call every important New York-based filmmaker and ask them to make a movie about New York. There wasn't a single person we asked to do something who said no. Jim Dolan of Cablevision donated Madison Square Garden. The unions were incredible. This was a time when the more outlandish your dream was the more likely it was to be accomplished.

Other board members jumped into the action: John Sykes, president of VH1, said he would broadcast the concert; Bob Pittman, the co-chief operating officer at AOL Time Warner, said he'd put it on the Internet and take online donations; and Doug Morris, the chairman and CEO of Universal Music Group, said he would help get the artists. The rest of our board said they would underwrite the whole thing, covering the cost of anything we couldn't get donated, so that all the money from the concert could go to help the people in need. By the end of January, the Concert for New York City, including sales of CDs and DVDs and rebroadcasts, had raised $33 million for the Robin Hood Relief Fund; another $19.59 million was donated to the fund by long-time foundation supporters, corporations, Boy Scout troops, school groups and hundreds of individuals from around the country and abroad.

Martha Rhodes, *Four Way Books*

Our donations in 2001, which represent a significant portion of our annual budget, are about 30 percent below what they were in 2000. Our contributors say that their gifts would continue to be smaller, if anything at all, no matter how much they love us, because of the stock market, the ongoing war and their support of charities that are helping with the disaster relief effort. We knew that would happen, and we didn't want to compete with those organizations that are helping the disaster relief. But the arts are important. We can't forget them, and not everyone has. I saw an announcement in *The New York Times* that the Mellon Foundation wanted to help arts organizations. I called, and they very graciously said, by all means, apply. Whether we receive any help or not, it was so heartening to know that there was an organization doing this.[1]

Barbara Christen, *Futures and Options*

By October we finally had our phones working and we had put Futures and Options, Inc. back in operation—with a great deal of help from many other organizations. A nearby nonprofit on Exchange Place loaned us a temporary field office. Another organization, NPowerNY, provided us with a desktop computer, two laptop computers and a printer.

We are still looking for a permanent home, as well as financial support to help us reconstruct the database, and to rent and furnish and operate the new office. I'm optimistic because several organizations, including the Nonprofit Finance Fund and one appropriately called ReStart Central, have offered us a great deal of support.

Gordon Campbell, *Safe Horizon*

We were staffing the Family Assistance Center at Pier 94 from 8 a.m. to midnight, seven days a week. Our people were working 12 to 16 hours a day for weeks and months at a time. We got so focused on providing assistance to victims that we weren't adequately addressing the emotional health of our own staff who, apart from the long hours were also grieving and suffering from the disaster. We got better at it as we went along. I had to tell certain staff members, "You are taking a day off or you need to leave at midnight." For me it was a real challenge, because I had to push the organization to respond, but you can only push so much and then you have to back off.

On our September 11 Hotline we mostly receive calls from people who need information and referrals or who want someone to talk with at 3 a.m. on a sleepless night—or they need someone to manage their case. These are the callers who say, "I'm so overwhelmed, there are all these forms and applications."

REBECCA COLEMAN

One of our board members was flying across the Atlantic with Paul McCartney. They got to talking and That's how the **Concert** *for*

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[1]*On February 11, 2002 Carnegie Corporation of New York announced awards ranging from $25,000 to $100,000 to 137 different cultural and arts organizations throughout the five boroughs of New York City. The awards, which totaled $10 million, were made in the name of an anonymous donor who gave the Corporation a gift to help cultural organizations in the city that have been struggling in the aftermath of September 11th. Four Way Books was one of the recipients of the awards.* *(See page 41.)*

Chambers Street—World Trade Center subway station, November 2001

decided to put on a concert.

New York was born.

As you may recall, every day the media was publishing all these toll-free telephone numbers for people to get help from a lot of different programs and opportunities. But in many ways, it was like applying for public assistance. People were told, call this number, go to this office, get those documents, have this form notarized or sorry, go someplace else. Some people are sophisticated enough or have the emotional wherewithal to do very well. Other victims, understandably, are totally overwhelmed.

Starting on September 17th, we tried to help clarify the process by publishing a guide to all the programs and distributing it to 3,000 social services, public agencies and downtown companies and updating it three times. Even so, there has been a lot of confusion. There is no single organization prepared to meet the needs of all of the victims. Some people have advocated for one super-agency, and yes, in some ways, it would have been easier. But at the end of the day, I don't think it would have been as effective. Some people already had relationships with certain organizations, and different organizations provided different types of support, based on their experience.

The disaster required those of us in the nonprofit world to work together and collaborate more than we ever have before, which is good. But we've had to create this relief response as we go. It wasn't as if we were able to turn on some ready-made program for responding to a major terrorist attack. In a collective sense, beyond Safe Horizion, I think nonprofits have done a very good job.

David Saltzman

BEN FRAKER

Obviously we could have used some additional funding up front, but it's wrong to say that the money wasn't being spent fast enough, I don't think that was the case. I am much more concerned that two years from now—when there will still be needs—the cupboard will be bare and people will have moved on. We can learn lessons from Oklahoma City. Six-plus years after the bombing, their family assistance center is still open.

David Saltzman,
Robin Hood Foundation

Just after the concert, at the end of October, we were told that we had to leave the *Post* building. As luck would have it, some extraordinary people from a company called Wit Soundview called us up, out of the blue, saying they wanted to give us more than a million dollars to help people affected by the attacks. They casually mentioned they had just moved from New York, leaving behind some office space at 12th Street and Broadway. When they heard Robin Hood was about to become homeless, they said, squat in our place rent free. The office was fully wired, ready to go with telephones, computers and everything.

On December 10th, we realized an awful lot of families who lost somebody on September 11th were going into the holidays without any help. We knew that many people hadn't received money from the relief organizations providing direct aid, so the Robin Hood Relief Fund board voted to send a $5,000 gift to each of the victims' families. But we quickly found out that the lists were just in terrible, terrible shape. So we had to set up a de facto detective agency, with about 20 people—about half our staff—working around the clock. We got help from volunteers and hired five or six new staff members and some temps. Just before Christmas, we were able to get more than 2,900 checks out to families who had lost someone.

Martha Rhodes, *Four Way Books*

Right now, we are able to pay our bills, but, we will soon be on shaky

ground financially. We will try to sell more books, do another fundraising appeal and hope writers continue to support our various projects. I may have to cut back on staff and devote more of my time to teaching to earn money—and that will take me away from my duties with the press.

Running a nonprofit has always been "If, if, if, and who knows?" But now it's totally unstable, with the economy so shaky and people so frightened and upset. But Jean doesn't want me to close the press and neither do I. We are going to try to make it work. I don't know what's going to happen—and I now realize that I never did.

"My experience helped me understand what's required of me to apply for a position"; "It made me realize that I do have the potential"; "I became open minded and outspoken"—a girl wrote that, and for a girl to become outspoken, that's great!

Gordon Campbell, *Safe Horizon*

One of the ways nonprofits collaborated was to create the 911 United Services Group, which collectively represents over 90 percent of the nonprofits in the city. We are working on several issues. We are creating a uniform database, working very closely with IBM. As we speak, the files for Safe Horizon, the Salvation Army and the American Red Cross are all in the new database and other organizations are feeding their information into it. We are also developing a more uniform application process for clients and discussing how to create a clearinghouse for managing cases as they come in.

Since the beginning of the new year, we have been moving to the next phase, with support from the Robin Hood Foundation. We have a phone bank—thanks to GHI, the health insurer—that volunteers are using to call each of the 27,000 people we have served so far. We are finding out how people are doing and letting them know that we have created Trauma Support Centers in each of the five boroughs. The centers provide a wide range of assistance, just about everything September 11th victims may need. Our staff and public agencies' staff will be there as well as people skilled in job training programs, job placement, legal issues and investment planning. We've got to help people move forward. Do we know this will work? No. But Safe Horizon has a 23-year history of creating programs that help people, and if this isn't effective, we'll build on it until it is. We're optimistic.

David Saltzman, *Robin Hood Foundation*

To plan ahead, we brought in some folks who led the relief effort in Oklahoma City. Far and away, they said, their biggest issue has been mental health. They are still dealing with suicides. Clearly one of our biggest efforts going forward will be to deal with mental-health issues, which will continue for years and years and years if not decades.

Running a nonprofit has always been "If, if, if, and **who** *knows?" I don't know what's going to happen—and I realize that I never did.*

Barbara Christen, *Futures and Options*

You can't imagine how important it is to provide these internships to the students. Getting a $7-an-hour job is important to them, but even more important is having a supervised internship that enables them to make the transition from school to work and higher education. Their schools no longer have resources for extracurricular programs. If you think back to your own high school, it probably had an orchestra, band, choir, a literary magazine, newspaper, clubs and dozens of activities through which young people learn to work as a team, take leadership roles, exercise initiative and responsibility. These activities, by and large, no longer exist in the public schools here. The money isn't there. So the internships help fill the vacuum. Listen to what some of these students have written about their internships: "I became a critical thinker"; "I learned how to appreciate and interact with all kinds of people"; "I acquired computer knowledge";

We've got a lot of work to do for the children, as well. While a great deal of money has been set aside for college scholarships for the children of people killed on September 11th, we know from our work that it is not enough to offer someone a scholarship—you have to offer them supports all along the way to help them get there.

There are so many issues: Jobs, healthcare and even financial planning for families of victims who died in the tragedy. Many people may find themselves in charge of their family's finances for the first time and others may have to manage a huge amount of money they receive from the government or insurance. In Oklahoma City, where there was much less money, an awful lot of people spent it on fast cars, drugs and booze. We're going to try to help people avoid that.

Working to help people affected by the attacks has been an extraordinary honor for us. I hope it is never repeated. ■

Helping Nonprofits Help Us

by CYNTHIA GIBSON

If there was a silver lining to the dark cloud of the September 11th attacks, it was the quick and compassionate response of hundreds of nonprofit organizations to this tragedy. Just hours after the planes hit the Twin Towers, scores of New York City's social and human service agencies were providing food and shelter, offering counseling and support services and organizing thousands of volunteers. Arts and cultural organizations, nearly all of which are nonprofits, offered much needed diversion and expressed the shock and pain many felt but could not put into words. Philanthropic institutions raised millions of dollars for nonprofit-led relief efforts for thousands of New Yorkers, their families and their communities.

This is not the first time that nonprofits have stepped up to the plate in times of crisis, nor will it be the last. But events like September 11th are important reminders of the pivotal role nonprofits play in our communities—a role that is sometimes forgotten when crises subside. Every day, across this country, nonprofits provide assistance to the disadvantaged and offer opportunities for millions of Americans to pursue an array of diverse cultural, social political, and religious interests and beliefs. Imagine a community without churches, health care clinics, museums, soup kitchens, hospitals, universities, or civic groups and it is clear how deeply ingrained nonprofit organizations are in our social fabric and how critical their work is to American life.

Today, the nonprofit sector comprises nearly 1.6 million organizations and generates more than $670 billion—about 9 percent of the gross domestic product. It also employs nearly 11 million people (7 percent of total paid employment), and works with nearly 6.3 million volunteers (11 percent of total paid and volunteer employment).[1] In New York City, there are more than 8,000 nonprofits with assets over $278 billion and $99 billion in expenses. Of these, nearly a quarter are human service organizations.[2]

Many of these organizations are small or mid-sized, and, in the best of times, are undercapitalized, understaffed and stretched to the bone as they continually struggle to find and secure the financial and administrative resources they need to carry out their missions. Since September 11th, this situation has only intensified, with many nonprofits facing financial uncertainty while, at the same time, being asked to respond to rapidly increasing needs. They also are grappling with revenue losses, client populations with multiple problems, staff burnout, and the backlash from negative publicity surrounding the allocation of disaster relief monies.

These are issues, says Alisa Baratta, executive director of the Nonprofit Connection, that confronted nonprofits even before September 11th. At the same time, they have shouldered more responsibility for providing human, health care and social services that were once part of the federal social safety net but, since 1996 welfare reform legislation, have shifted to state and local governments. Despite these challenges, nonprofits rarely think twice about diverting their scarce and precious resources toward responding to community needs, especially in times of crisis. "It is a consistent characteristic of our sector that if you are good at what you do, you extend yourself, no matter what," says Fran Barrett, executive director of Community Resource Exchange, which provides technical assistance and management support to small New York City-based nonprofits.

Recognizing the growing demands on the sector, many nonprofit leaders have begun to educate donors, as well as leaders in the public and private sectors, about why it's important for these organizations to have access to the technological, accounting and management resources they need to fulfill their missions without having to face the constant threat of demise. Specifically, nonprofits need help in strengthening their internal systems, diversifying their funding bases, improving their management practices, and incorporating into their operations sophisticated contracting, marketing and fundraising strategies. They also need tools to document their impact, which because nonprofits are mission-, rather than profit-driven, is more difficult to measure. They need capital funding, loans and assistance in using technology to implement programs and activities. And they need to learn how to lobby, just like their for-profit counterparts do, so that their programs, services and missions are protected and strengthened over the long term.

Getting donors to understand the need for this kind of assistance is not easy because capacity-building is not sexy or exciting. It is slow, careful and behind-the-scenes work to strengthen the ability of the organizations to address the issues that donors say they care about. As Mary Ann Holohean, chair of Grantmakers of Effective Organizations is fond of saying, "If you haven't lain awake at night worrying about how you're going to make your payroll, you don't understand capacity."

Nonprofit fundraisers have long understood that most donors, including private foundations, are not as interested in supporting the management of organizations as they are in providing money for the programs, services, or activities that directly affect beneficiaries. The public uproar over the American Red Cross's decision to set aside a percentage of the funds raised post-September 11th so that it would be able to respond to future attacks underscores both the need for more understanding about what it takes to run these organizations and the importance of providing resources to help them do it better. As Jonathan Small, president of the Nonprofit Coordinating Committee of New York, notes: "The media and the public seem to be under the impression that there is a group of thousands of people standing by, fully organized and trained to provide the range of services and operational activities needed to deal with disasters."

Perhaps because of these misperceptions, most nonprofits say that securing support for long-term capacity building is an uphill climb. Less than five percent of current foundation grants, for example, are allocated toward improving nonprofits' performance, including strengthening their infrastructure—the sector's training, technical assistance, data gathering and management support arm, which is still in a fledging stage compared to the private and public sectors. This has to change, says Clara Miller, president of the Nonprofit Finance Fund. "We need more investment in the nonprofit infrastructure so that these organizations have the capacity to sustain their efforts beyond this crisis and respond to future events, if needed."

In addition to more funding, ensuring that the nonprofits the public relies on to serve those most in need will have the capacity to do so will require more collaboration with the private and public sectors. It will also take more understanding among nonprofits about the importance of incorporating capacity-building strategies into their day-to-day efforts—something to which some organizations are still indifferent. Above all, it will depend on the "public's knowing about nonprofit organizations and the contributions they make," says Barrett. Mario Morino, chair of a nonprofit social investment firm agrees: "The men and women who work every day in nonprofits may not wear the badges of our police and fire departments but the services they perform are crucial to the health, strength and unity of our nation." ■

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[1] Les Salamon, *America's Nonprofit Sector,* New York: Foundation Center, p. 22.

[2] Urban Institute, National Center for Charitable Statistics, 2002.

Cynthia Gibson is a program officer in the Strengthening U. S. Democracy program of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Admiral Bill Owens an inter

Admiral Bill Owens was raised in North Dakota and graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1962. He was a submariner for more than 20 years and commanded the U.S. 6th Fleet from 1990 to 1992, which includes the time of the Persian Gulf War (1991). From 1994-1996, he served as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Now retired from the military, he is Vice Chairman and Co-Chief Executive Officer of Teledesic, a satellite communications company. He is interviewed here by Susan Robinson King, Carnegie Corporation Vice President, Public Affairs.

SK: We're at war in Afghanistan. Is this the war of the future that you were planning for when you were at the Pentagon a number of years ago?

BO: Well, what we were trying to think about a few years ago was the uncertainty of the wars we would be engaged in next. I, and a number of others, were concerned that what we were always preparing for was the last war that we had fought when really, what we needed to be doing was to prepare for the type of war we hadn't seen yet. We should have been thinking about terrorism in the U.S., for example, as well as biological weapons, "dirty nukes," security leaks and related problems.

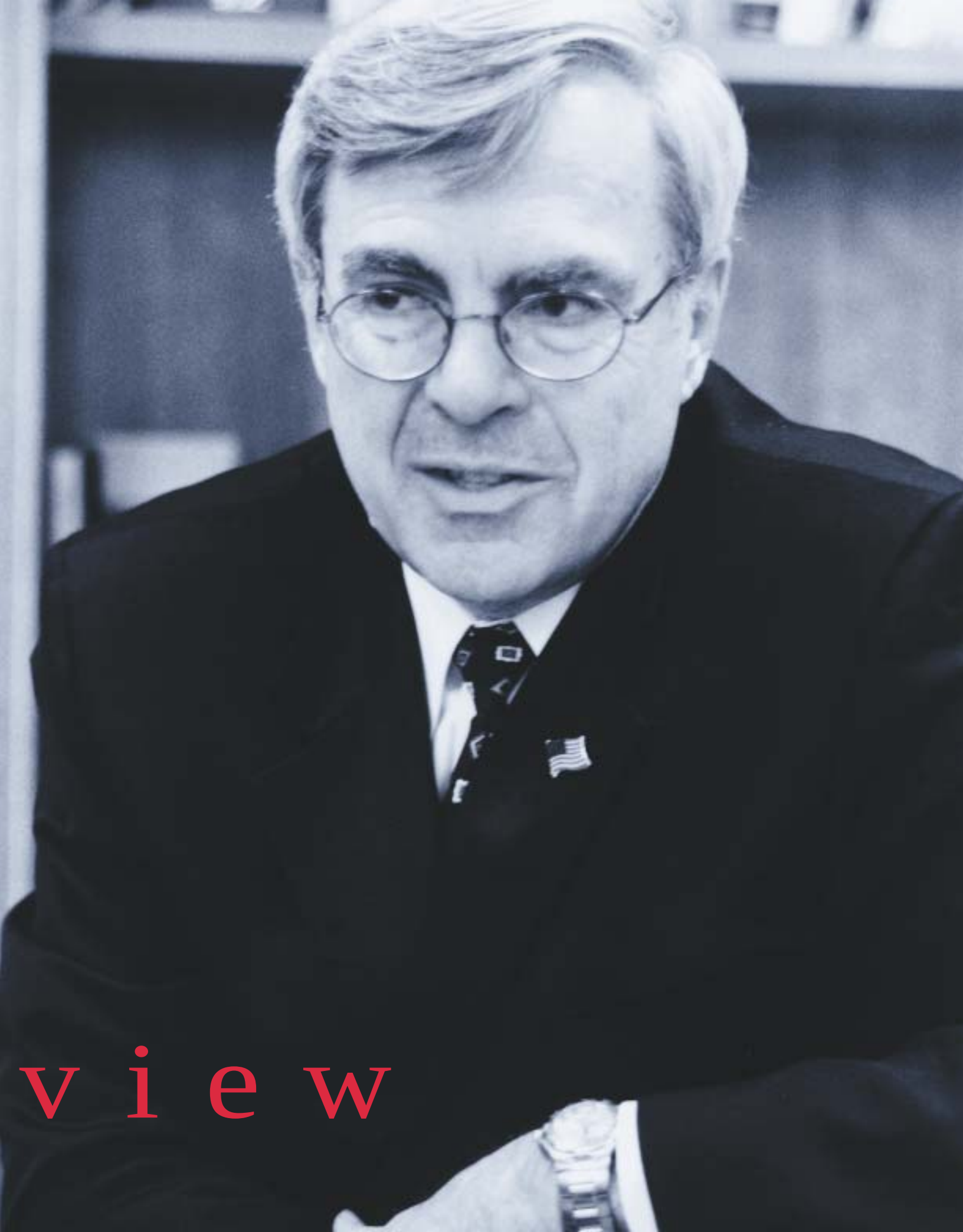
My view has always been that the issue really is how you "see" the battlefield, whatever that battlefield is: Desert Storm or Somalia or the situation we now face in Afghanistan—or America, or someplace else.

SK: How do you see it? Someone who was closely involved in Pentagon policy during the time you were there described you as "the futurist"—the admiral who was always thinking about what was to come, in very specific ways. He credited you with the advent of night vision goggles and other high-tech equipment that has made the Special Forces so sophisticated in this war, for example. But your thinking goes beyond that. You want a more technologically sophisticated military don't you?

BO: In Afghanistan we've seen some real crystal-ball-breaking things happen very rapidly. Army helicopters on a Navy carrier—you just don't do that in the traditional U.S. military. But it was a smart thing to do and it made a lot of sense. I had done some of this back in 1991 and 1992—I took all the Navy fighter planes off the deck of a carrier and put them ashore to train with the Air Force for three weeks and instead, put 40 Special Forces helicopters on board, and I remember getting considerable flack for it. But it seemed very effective.

The critically important revolution in military affairs is one that ties together a "systems of systems," where many sensors are linked together. You can do that with modern software. You can tie systems together so you can "see" a battlefield and then, with a sophisticated high-bandwidth communications system, you can get all kinds of essential information to the warrior, whether he or she is in the Army, Navy, Air Force or the Marines. If you can achieve that, then you start to have enormous power to do what the United States has to do in modern combat.

BEN FRAKER



view

People say that there have been many revolutions in military affairs. There was gun powder, nuclear power, weapons like the Tomahawk cruise missile. But in my view, those aren't the real revolutions. What some of the military theoreticians talked about thousands of years ago was knowing more about your enemy. If you know everything you possibly can about your enemy and prevent him from knowing much about you, then you have an advantage. Whether it's a battlefield in Somalia where we could have done a lot better if we had had an information umbrella over the country or whether it's the next Desert Storm, if there are "smart" systems that give us a picture of the real battlefield, then we have a decided edge. A system of systems would also include non-combat situations where agencies such as the U.S. Customs Service and the Immigration and Naturalization Service would have access to information about border crossings, flight manifests and lists of passengers traveling on airplanes. When you see and understand this information, you have the solutions that make a revolutionary difference.

So I think what we've seen in Afghanistan—Army helicopters on a carrier, Navy jets escorting Air Force bombers—is revolutionary; it's never happened as much before. And we're seeing an Army soldier on the ground who gets a piece of information from an unmanned aerial drone and then puts a laser spot on a vehicle in a far-off mountain range, which allows him to pinpoint location information which he then transmits to a B-52 bomber, which then drops a precision-guided bomb that precisely hits the target. That's much more than we were able to achieve in Desert Storm.

Clearly we can see progress; we are becoming more modern. But what we don't see is the budget changing very much. We can have all these grand thoughts and give great speeches about the future, but unless the Pentagon budget changes significantly, we aren't realizing our full potential. Where you put the hundreds of billions of dollars that go into the defense budget represents what "the policy really is." What we're seeing in the defense budget today is rising numbers but not much more is going into the "system of systems" we need—a system of smart systems, not just smarter weapons.

What we need is a system of smart systems, not just smarter weapons.

SK: And the hardware, of course, determines the war we're going to fight.

BO: Yes.

SK: I'm also really focused on something I've heard you say before: that if there is too much money in the Pentagon budget, hard choices are not made, and perhaps not the best choices are made. Do you think that putting more money in defense is not going to make us stronger?

BO: That's something that bothers me a lot. It's very hard to be against providing more money for defense. You can come across as a flaming liberal or as anti-patriotic, especially at a time when men and women are on the front lines, fighting. But the Department of Defense hasn't been pressed enough, in my view, and so when we provide more money to fund the kinds of things they have a tendency to want to fund—nuclear submarines, aircraft carriers, big artillery pieces, the F-22 fighter—these programs go forward, whether they're optimal or not. And these things, which are hugely expensive, end up getting money that could go to many other programs like countering biological weapons and dirty nukes. And you don't get the bang for the buck that you should get; instead, you bloat the military and put in place long-term contracts for big ticket-items, many of which are "old-world" programs. So I do worry about that. I think more money for defense doesn't mean a stronger defense.

SK: It's hard to move these new technological approaches and equipment into the budget, isn't it?

BO: It's very tough. We probably should have had 50 unmanned Predator surveillance aircraft over Afghanistan, for instance, not two. We should have bought them five to ten years ago, and

we should have them linked together with satellite systems and other kinds of sensors to really see the battlefield. With such an information umbrella deployed early we might, in the future, detect the Osama bin Ladens of the world and deal with them in the first days of the war. In Afghanistan, if we had been much more responsive and "seen" the battlefield, we might have been able to catch the bad guys a lot sooner. But I think the military is reluctant to change its doctrine and culture and has a penchant for not implementing new ideas, even those that are not high-tech.

BEN FRAKER

SK: And to make new ideas happen, it also takes leadership. President Bush, right now, has a lot of currency in the country, with the political bureaucracy and the military. If you had his ear, what would you tell him? He's going to be arguing for more money for defense. What does he need to know?

BO: Well, I think the kinds of things that he needs to know about include the capability of technology—particularly the concept known as C4ISR, which stands for the integration of command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance. The capacity of all the equipment and systems that have already been bought for the military is tremendous—if you change the culture, tie them together and use them optimally. And that means you have to do joint things; you have to put some money into making "jointness" happen—but those are fighting words in many parts of the Pentagon.

Proceedings, one of the Naval Institute's magazines, recently ran an article that talked about how Bill Owens and his centralized approaches were tantamount to killing the Navy. Well, Owens says, if the Navy has to be secondary to the good of the U.S., I'm for it. "Jointness" is where we need to be. It's not a matter of preserving the culture of our services—we need to take on that culture and confront it. To the president, I'd say, *you* need to take on the culture of the armed services. Make jointness happen. You, Mr. President, must emphasize the need to get much more engaged with commercial technology: cutting-edge commercial technology and high bandwidth communications, software that allows you to integrate legacy systems, even imagery and applications developed for the entertainment world. There are programs in the commercial world that can quickly identify a face from a picture at a considerable distance, which has enormous relevance today. These ideas need to be brought into the Pentagon. It may even turn out that the commercial companies that created these technologies may be the new defense contractors of the future—as much as Lockheed and Boeing and the other traditional companies are today.

So commercial technology is very important and jointness is important. I'd also tell the president that we have to start thinking in terms of military capability that's much more flexible and responsive. You have to start thinking, not as Napoleon taught us, that mass—meaning numbers of troops, numbers of ships, airplanes and tanks—is not the only important military capability. We have to understand that it's *not* mass, it's dominant knowledge that is most important to our success, whether it's success in Somalia or in fighting terrorism in this country and abroad. It is knowledge that counts much more than these platforms that we love to buy and that have visibility and a strong constituency in Congress.

SK: Those are fighting words for the lobbyists in the halls of Washington, to say that defense is not just Boeing, Lockheed and the big guys' turf.

BO: It's absolutely true, those are fighting words. We have a powerful constituency in President Eisenhower's "military industrial complex": the big companies that we see flourishing in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11th. It's probably right that they should get more money. But you also see many other companies that were developing very important technologies relevant to information technology, biowarfare, or dirty nukes that are failing because money is not being made available to them as funds pour into the big companies for traditional spending. Some of this is inevitable, but we have to identify the problem and try to create a better system for supporting both weapons and integrated technology development.

SK: On another subject, how dangerous is the idea of militarizing space? We all get satellite television, we all are connected on the Internet, we know that space presents an opportunity for communications. What happens if we do militarize space?

BO: Well, I think it is an issue and the time to think about it is right now. As a result of the Strategic Defense Initiative and the Reagan years, we've developed a lot of the technologies that give you precise locating information on the surface of the earth, which is no small thing. When you have the imagery and you have that kind of knowledge of the globe and now you have laser and other capabilities orbiting above us, it's inevitable that innova-

tive people will start to think about how you can kill things from space.

So, it's time for us to think about the militarization of space, not just in terms of the budget and the innovative nature of what can be done, but to think about whether we want to deal with the possible consequences. Clearly, if we proceed with the militarization of space we may have a great advantage in the short term—meaning, a couple of decades. But as time goes on, the technology we develop may also offer similar capabilities to others who will see it as their chance to match our own military capability. And they may not handle that capability as judiciously or as humanely as we would.

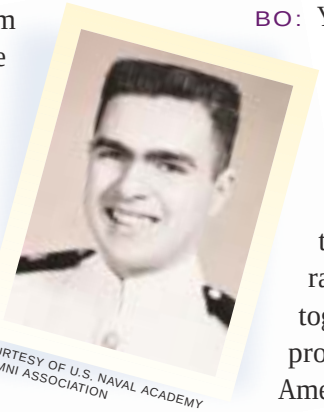
So, while I am excited that there might be potential there, I'm equally concerned that we don't try to move into that sphere without a lot of thought about what's needed to control it.

SK: A personal question: what attracted you to a military way of life in the post-World War II era when a military uniform wasn't necessarily "the thing" for a young man to choose?

BO: Well, I came from a very poor family in North Dakota and I was imagining my life if I stayed there. North Dakota is a great place, but the opportunities available to me there, at that time, were not ones that I could imagine myself pursuing for the rest of my life. In those days, there was a television show called *The Men of Annapolis*, and those guys wore white uniforms and carried swords; that sure looked a lot different from anything I was contemplating. So I went to Quentin Burdick, my Congressman and asked, "Could I get into the Naval Academy?" He said, "Nobody's ever asked me that question before." About four weeks later, I was actually at the Naval Academy. It was a lot easier then than it is today.

From that stage on, I went where the Navy wanted me to go and experienced a lot of things that made me appreciate the world we live in.

After the Naval Academy, I became a nuclear submariner. During the Cold War years, it seemed we were doing things that were very important. I spent many, many days underwater, some of them under the North Pole, some of them on strategic missile submarine patrols for months at a time. I commanded a submarine of each type and it seemed that my colleagues and I were making a real and necessary contribution to the security of our country. I hope the men and women in the armed forces today have the same sense of devotion to their important mission and that the country realizes how critical their work is. I found it important to stay in the Navy, although it is very difficult for families. It wasn't always fun but it was always challenging and interesting and I had some nice opportunities along the way. I served with people who I admired in Washington and had the chance to earn postgraduate degrees at Oxford and at George Washington University.



COURTESY OF U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

There are a lot of very bright people in the military, a lot of great opportunities.

So, life wasn't bad in the military, better than it would have been for me had I stayed in North Dakota.

SK: And a lot of people don't know the military can offer the opportunity to be part of an intellectual powerhouse, if that's what you want.

BO: Yes. There are a lot of very bright people in the military, a lot of great opportunities. It is truly an equal opportunity for women. And more than anywhere else in the world, I think, there are equal opportunities for all races and religions to come together. It is a melting pot that is profoundly important and all Americans should be proud of the way that we work together in the armed forces. It's where we led the way to important advances in solving the drug problem in the United States. It's also where we found leadership on the issue of racial integration and with women's equality. It is an institution that has changed America in profound ways.

SK: How is it now, to be an entrepreneur, a businessman, after a whole career on the front lines of military policy? Still as many challenges?

BO: You know, it's a blessing to have two careers. Very few of us have a chance to do that and I was very fortunate to have had the opportunity. You can't just step outside the military and all of a sudden, you're a businessman, although I thought that's the way it would be. There are a lot of hard knocks along the way and there is a lot of unfairness. The market goes up or down or someone doesn't like you and so you don't get a contract or whatever.

But having said that, being in business is wonderful for me. I've enjoyed it a lot, had a chance to experience profit and loss, start companies and now to run some companies and be chairman of several, so life has been good to Bill Owens and I'm blessed. ■

"More and more nuclear materials are produced in Russia and the United States. Everywhere. The threat of nuclear material we will face forever and we must control it."—Roland Timerbaev, Chair, Center for Policy Studies in Russia

Thousands of nuclear weapons are still on hair-trigger alert in the United States and in Russia, all poised to start a nuclear confrontation. Yet the reduction of tensions in the post-Cold-War world and the personal relationship of presidents Bush and Putin have removed that superpower scenario of the nuclear nightmare from the front burner of security issues.

But in the post-September 11th world, there is another deadly nightmare that has surfaced on the consciousness of

Roland Timerbaev, Chair, Center for Policy Studies in Russia; Moscow, Russia.

SUSAN ROBINSON KING

The New Nuclear Nightmare

Nukes on The Black Market?

by Susan Robinson King

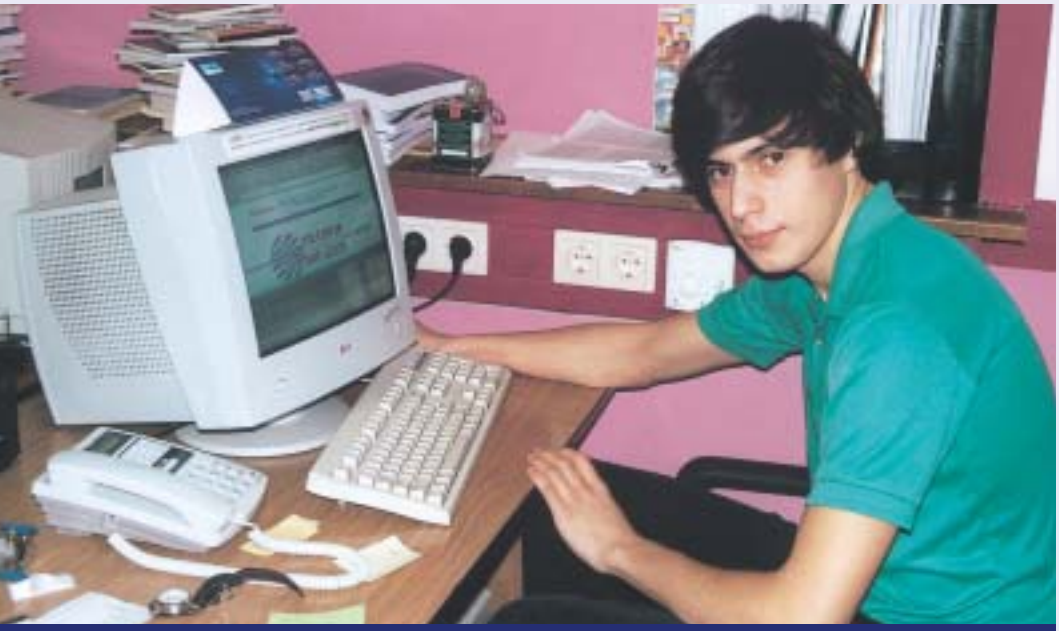
a newly aware American public: the threat of nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists. For the right price, can terrorists smuggle, trade and traffic enough nuclear material to cause a nuclear holocaust in any city of their choosing?

One of the best-positioned institutions to tackle such a question is located in a newly renovated, modern office building off one of Moscow's leading avenues, currently populated by haute couture stores like Prada. The Center for Policy Studies in Russia (PIR) was created in 1994 as the superpower confrontation wound down. Economic dislocation offered a new threat to a stable world as scientists within the Russian nuclear establishment faced an uncertain future. Leaders in Russia's policy and scientific community, and their counterparts in the United States, worried that, without safeguards, there were economic incentives for some within the Russian nuclear community to sell what they knew.

"The whole system broke down ten years ago. We needed to establish a system of control since the economic collapse meant a few people could grab a few grams of enriched uranium, thinking they could sell it," says Roland Timerbaev, chair of PIR, during a recent interview in Moscow. "There will be more bin Ladens, because the divide between [the developed and developing world] is growing, the divide between law abiding people and terrorism is growing and the situation has become more and more dangerous. That's why anything that contains a risk—nuclear, biological or chemical—must be controlled."

The center is not what one might expect of a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization in Russia: far from being dreary, dilapidated or struggling, it's a cheerful and lively place where even the walls—painted a bright pumpkin and raspberry—seem to reflect the intellectual energy within. Here, some of Russia's most respected and experienced nuclear nonproliferation experts are leading a bevy of young scientists and researchers who are examining issues pertaining to international security and arms control; PIR also sponsors training sessions that attract scientists, engineers and workers in the nuclear industry who come to Moscow to be schooled in a modern system of nuclear controls and

safeguards. It is also the site of frequent briefings for the media, both Russian and international. In less than a decade, PIR has become a highly respected institution; its web site, for example, won a top ranking in the list of best arms control web sites as featured in the Washington, D.C.-based magazine, *National Journal*. Given this level of concern for assessing facts and interacting with the press, it is probably not surprising that PIR's founder and the man who has nurtured the institution to its present status in less than a decade, Dr. Vladimir A. Orlov, is a former journalist who experienced firsthand the pathbreaking challenges and opportunities underway in Russia in the early 1990s.



SUSAN ROBINSON KING

Dmitry Kovchegin, editor, *Nuclear Russia Today*, and PIR researcher

"We want our society to be sophisticated. To understand the threat and to prevent the threat," says Timerbaev. "We want a good order in our house, a nuclear order here and in the surrounding and adjacent countries."

In the story of PIR, one can discover glimpses of the story of the new Russia. Timerbaev, who has spent his life on the front lines of the nuclear issue, was an ambassador to the United Nations in the days of Communism and is a product of the Soviet system. He began his arms control career in the mid-1960s and, at 75, his life is animated by and focused on the prospect of building a system of controls that will ensure a stable Russia. He is dedicated to creating what he calls "accountability, protection and control" of nuclear materials.

In this endeavor he is joined by a new generation of Russians, like young researcher, 24-year-old Dmitry Kovchegin, a physicist who wants to work in the policy world rather than in theoretical science and who came to PIR as an intern. "I want to help save the world from the real threats," is how he puts it. Unlike Timerbaev, he has no grand views of world relations, just a determination to cull and analyze information that will define what the "real threats" really are. Besides his research responsibilities, he is the editor of *Nuclear Russia Today*, an electronic newsletter that follows official Russian documents dealing with nuclear concerns and related media coverage within Russia. Today, those real threats are less about superpower confrontations and focus more on terrorist standoffs. Kovchegin was invited by Timerbaev to join the interview and to detail research on illicit nuclear trafficking in Russia.

"There is little demand on the black markets for nuclear material," says Kovchegin. By researching and cataloging all media reports of nuclear smuggling with its Monterey, California partner, the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, they found the number of incidents of illicit trafficking has dwindled in the 1990s. "I don't think there is a threat that bin Laden will get a nuclear bomb," Kovchegin adds. "I don't believe that even a large terrorist network can make a real nuclear weapon, or create a nuclear explosion. They can't get enough of the necessary material. Maybe some crude dirty bomb," the young physicist says, his voice trailing off.

Timerbaev interrupts. "Perhaps North Korea, maybe Libya, but not bin Laden. You have to have an industry," he says, and both agree the terrorist network does not have the infrastructure to create a sophisticated nuclear threat.

And although enriched uranium from nuclear power plants is another radioactive threat that could be enticing to criminal elements focused on destruction, PIR's researchers don't see it as an appealing commodity on the open market. "I don't think most terrorists would want to handle fissible material because it would be dangerous for them. They could damage themselves," Kovchegin points out.

As the conversation about the terrorist network winds down, Timerbaev and Kovchegin agree that while smuggling nuclear materials may not be the major threat in today's uncertain world—one defined by unthinkable acts of terrorism—nuclear power plants in Russia and the United States do present a serious danger: they are inviting targets.

"The real threat today," says Timerbaev matter-of-factly, "is the bombing of a nuclear power plant." It's a chilling final thought. ■

Foundation Roundup

The September 11th Fund

Shortly after the terrorist attacks, The New York Community Trust and United Way of New York City established The September 11th Fund to meet the immediate and longer-term needs of victims, families and communities.

The Fund combined corporate, nonprofit and individual contributions made in the wake of the disaster, including proceeds from the Tribute to Heroes telethon held on September 21st. Administrative costs have been raised separately, permitting 100 percent of donations to be used to support organizations and agencies providing direct services and assistance.

In mid-January, Franklin Thomas, chairman of The Fund's supervisory board, expressed confidence that The Fund's resources, combined with those from other charities and foundations, were sufficient to accomplish relief goals and urged donors to redirect contributions to other charities.

Said Thomas, "With the federal government's Victims' Compensation Fund and charities coordinating their responses for families, The Fund can now concentrate on effectively distributing the $270 million remaining to meet longer-term needs of affected individuals, families and communities."

As of March 2002, The September 11th Fund had collected more than $450 million and issued grants of more than $205 million. Over 92 percent of expenditures have gone toward cash assistance and services for more than 39,000 victims and families in 50 states and 20 countries. The remaining 8 percent supported rescue and recovery operations and provided grants and loans to help rebuild communities.

For more information: www.september11fund.org

LUCILLE LORTEL FOUNDATION

Lortel Foundation Assists New York City Theaters

Not-for-profit New York theaters that have been hard hit by audience fall-off and smaller contributions as a result of the September terrorist attacks will be eligible for funds from a special grant program established by the Lucille Lortel Foundation. Lortel has set aside $1 million to provide two-year grants ranging from $10,000 to $50,000 for unrestricted operating expenses.

The foundation was named for actress, theater owner and philanthropist Lucille Lortel, a longtime supporter of off-Broadway theaters who died in 1999.

For more information: www.lortel.org.

Mellon Foundation Creates Special Fund for New York Arts

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation has created a special $50 million fund which has been earmarked primarily for New York City cultural and performing organizations directly affected by last September's terrorist attacks.

Grants totaling $8 million have been made to three service organizations that fund smaller theaters and music and dance organizations. Another $6.6 million in direct support has gone to twenty-nine small and mid-sized museums and related organizations. Future awards are planned for larger cultural institutions as well as New York City public parks and libraries.

For more information: www.mellon.org

A Curriculum for Studying Terrorism

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University has developed a curriculum for high school students called *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy.* The unit traces the history of terrorism; examines Al-Qaeda, the events of September 11th, and Middle East politics; and considers issues involved in the

$10 Million Anonymous Gift Given to Carnegie Corporation of New York to Help Struggling Arts Organizations

On February 11, 2002, Carnegie Corporation of New York announced awards ranging from $25,000 to $100,000 to 137 different cultural and arts organizations throughout the five boroughs of New York City that contribute to the vibrant intellectual, cultural and arts life of the city. The awards, which total $10 million dollars, were made in the name of an anonymous donor who gave the Corporation a gift, after the December 10, 2001 Centennial celebration of the philanthropy of Andrew Carnegie, to be used at the discretion of the president, Vartan Gregorian, to aid New York City's cultural institutions, which are struggling in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks.

"We are honored and gratified by the trust the donor placed in Carnegie Corporation of New York, its president, and in our record of philanthropy," said Gregorian in announcing the institutions that were chosen for support. The Corporation consulted broadly and widely in order to choose medium and small-sized organizations that serve the public through dance, theatre, music, poetry, photography and institutions that advance historic and scientific understanding. "Our aim," said Gregorian, "was to find organizations that reach New York City's citizens in their neighborhoods and reflect the diversity of cultures, roots, interests, and arts."

U.S. and world response. At the core of the unit is a framework of four distinct policy options that allows students to consider a range of alternatives.

Published in February 2002, the curriculum has already been introduced to more than 300 high school teachers and is expected to be used by more than 60,000 students nationwide before June 2003.

The Choices Program, part of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown, offers curricular materials based on research sponsored by the Institute.

For more information: www.choices.edu

THE PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS

Pew Trusts Support Afghan Efforts

The Pew Charitable Trusts have awarded $500,000 to CARE in support of humanitarian efforts to provide food, shelter and blankets to Afghan civilians displaced by recent conflict in the area. UN officials estimate that five million Afghans were in need before the U.S. military action against the Taliban. Since then nearly two million more people have been added to that number with children under the age of five accounting for about 20 percent.

For more information: www.pewtrusts.com

NEW PATRIOTISM PROJECT

Harwood Institute/ Gallup Survey Polls Americans on Patriotism

A January survey conducted by Gallup for the Harwood Institute for Public Innovation asked Americans whether the wave of patriotism sweeping the country following September 11th will affect the conduct of politicians and the news media in the 2002 election campaigns.

Almost all Americans who say patriotism involves more than flags and parades identify voting (97%) as an important part of patriotism. A majority (88%) of the same group also advocate challenging prevailing public opinion if democratic values are at stake.

But despite September 11th, most Americans (59%) feel personal involvement is not necessary to be patriotic and about one-half were unwilling to put themselves on the line to improve politics, findings that support the belief that many Americans do not see civic engagement as essential.

For more information: www.theharwoodinstitute.org

THE David & Lucile Packard Foundation

Packard Foundation Supports Reproductive Health Services in Afghanistan

The David and Lucile Packard Foundation has awarded $1 million to two organizations providing reproductive health services to women and children who have fled the fighting in Afghanistan.

The Family Planning Association of Pakistan received $500,00 to support efforts and services in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan that also include job training skills and educational programs about safe sex.

The second $500,000 award to the United Nations Foundation supports the UN Population Fund's program of humanitarian aid in Afghanistan and neighboring countries, which includes reproductive health care and training of relief workers who will provide assistance to Afghan refugees.

For more information: www.packard.org

Carnegie Forum on Homeland Security

An important issue emerging from the September 11th terrorist attacks on American soil has been whether such actions should be identified as war or as crimes. Recently, Carnegie Corporation held a forum on Homeland Security that explored the impact either designation would have on American civil liberties.

Giving the keynote address was Ashton B. Carter, former Under Secretary of Defense and currently on the faculty of the John F. Kennedy School of Government and co-director, with former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, of the Harvard-Stanford Preventive Defense Project.

Other speakers included Senator Gary Hart, co-chair of the former U.S. Commission on National Security for the 21st Century, which recommended the creation of a homeland security agency; Christopher Edley, Jr., professor of law and co-director of the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University; and Robert F. Turner, professor of international law and foreign policy and co-founder of the Center for National Security Law at the University of Virginia. Moderating the discussion was WNYC Radio host Brian Lehrer.

BEN FRAKER

Christopher A. Edley, Jr. (left) and Gary Hart (right).

BEN FRAKER

Brian Lehrer (left), Ashton B. Carter (center), and Gary Hart (right).

"The notion of 'homeland security' opens up a number of challenges for our country as the question of national security takes on domestic and international implications," said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York who hosted the forum. "For a question on the national agenda of such complex, important and inter-disciplinary dimensions, we believe that leaders in many fields need to debate the issues and understand the policies that are being written for this post-September 11th world."

Also participating in the forum were foundation leaders, policymakers and academics who are actively engaged with security and civil liberty issues.

Give2Asia

Goldman Fund and Asia Foundation Support Relief Efforts Abroad

Following the September 11th attacks, two San Francisco organizations collaborated on two strategic grants that support relief work in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Give2Asia, part of the Asia Foundation, and the Richard and Rhoda Goldman Fund, have provided funding to the Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief in Islamabad to improve coordination of relief efforts in the region.

A second grant to PARSA, an American development organization in Afghanistan, supports nutrition, health, education and job training programs in refugee camps.

Both initiatives are part of a broader Asia Foundation response to the Afghanistan crisis that focuses on government reconstruction, economic growth and the establishment of a civil society.

For more information: www.asiafoundation.org

The New York Times 9/11 Neediest Fund

The New York Times Foundation has established a special fund called The New York Times 9/11 Neediest Fund to collect and distribute contributions to help victims of the September 11th terrorist attacks.

Six months after the attacks, the 9/11 Fund had received $60 million. Two-thirds of the funds have gone to agencies that provide food, clothing, shelter and emergency cash for people left homeless by the tragedy. One-third has been spent to save low-income jobs, provide school therapy and after-school programs, train dozens of therapists in trauma treatment and provide legal assistance to September 11th victims.

Three organizations in the Washington, D.C. area have also received support. Said New York Times Company Foundation president Jack Rosenthal, "We offer these grants to extend a hand from one grievously pained community to another."

For more information: www.nytco.com/company/foundation/neediest/index.html

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION 1913 — THE WELL-BEING OF MANKIND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Rockefeller Foundation Assists Disaster Relief Efforts

The Rockefeller Foundation has committed $5 million to support programs providing aid and assistance to families and individuals affected by the September 11th terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. Funds will target those left jobless as well as families of missing workers who lack adequate benefits and access to relief services.

Other awards will support nonprofit organizations providing protection and support to Arab, South Asian and Muslim communities in the New York area that have been the object of bigotry and violence.

For more information: www.rockfound.org

THE CENTURY FOUNDATION

Century Foundation Announces Homeland Security Initiative

The Century Foundation has taken the lead in establishing the Initiative on Homeland Security which will develop recommendations for programs and policies on domestic security. A steering committee co-chaired by former New Jersey governor Tom Kean and former Ohio governor Richard Celeste will oversee a series of working groups made up of public officials and leaders, experts in homeland security and governance and journalists during the course of the multiyear project.

Working group participants studying the Office of Homeland Security include former White House staff members Kenneth Duberstein, John Podesta and A.B. Culvahouse, as well as Morton Abramowitz, past president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Other participants are John Seigenthaler, president of the First Amendment Center at Vanderbilt University, David Burke, former president of CBS News and John Stacks, former editor of *Time* magazine.

"We hope our working groups will be able to help government officials develop strategies for protecting the nation against future attacks while preserving the fundamental character of American life," said Richard C. Leone, president of The Century Foundation.

The Initiative on Homeland Security is also supported in part by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation.

For more information: www.tcf.org

THE FOUNDATION CENTER

Foundation Center Issues Report on 9/11 Philanthropy

Private giving by foundations and corporations has raised over $850 million for September 11th relief and recovery efforts, according to a new report on September 11th philanthropy issued by the Foundation Center.

The report is the first in a multiyear study of September 11th philanthropy being conducted by the Foundation Center and is based on data compiled through mid-January 2002 from direct reporting and news releases by institutions as well as information from grantmaker associations and grant recipients.

The Foundation Center's database of 9/11 contributions contains the most complete national record of institutional giving. Information on the distribution of donations is also being tracked and will be available in future reports.

For more information: www.fdncenter.org

Fighting Terrorism:

For the U.S. and Russia, One War but

by Oksana Antonenko

Oksana Antonenko is the Senior Fellow and Program Director for Russia and Eurasia at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London. In 1996-2000, Antonenko led the IISS program on military reform in Russia, which focused among other topics on assisting Russia in developing re-training and resettlement programs for redundant officers. Currently her research work is focusing on Russian regional perspectives on foreign and security policy issues.

Antonenko holds degrees from Moscow State University and J.F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

In June, 2001, in Ljubljana, Slovenia, presidents George W. Bush and Vladimir Putin—who had, collectively, been in office for less than 20 months—met for the first time. It quickly became apparent that, a decade after the end of the Cold War, U.S.-Russian relations were still dominated by issues that dated back to the period of the U.S.-Soviet rivalry. Before Ljubljana, President Bush had declared his commitment to developing a "new strategic framework" for the U.S.-Russian relationship, but during his first six months in office, the new president never offered a practical definition for what that might mean. Instead, the Bush administration seemed to be signaling that Russia's perceived weakness meant that its concerns were no longer going to be an important factor in the construction of U.S. policy as the nation pursued its objectives around the world.

The change of leadership in the Kremlin also brought about changes in Russia's attitude towards its relations with the U.S. and Europe. Unlike his predecessors, President Putin acknowledged the real limitations on Russia's resources. He also rejected the "multipolar world" doctrine of former Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov (1998-99), which promoted Russia's great power status and opposed U.S. global dominance, often at the expense of Russia's own interests. Instead, Putin initiated a more pragmatic, Western-oriented foreign policy focused on Russia's economic interests and took personal charge of Russia's relations with Europe and the U.S. In the U.S.-Russian dialogue prior to the events of September 11th, 2001, Moscow combined its opposition to Washington's stated plans to withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty with an ambitious economic agenda that included trade and investment proposals. At the same time, Putin's war in Chechnya and his crackdown on an independent press became the main irritants to bilateral relations and real obstacles to achieving progress on some of the economic issues that required U.S. Congressional support.

After the Ljubljana meeting, all indications were that the U.S. and Russia were unlikely to produce any breakthroughs and were destined to balance differences on strategic issues with slow progress on a bilateral economic agenda. The September 11th terrorist attacks, however, prompted a radical shift in the focus of U.S. foreign policy, which, in turn, had a direct effect on almost every aspect of its dealings with Russia.

New Opportunities

Post-September 11th—and for the first time in almost half a century—Moscow and Washington recognized that they were facing a common threat, one that came not from a state but from a global network of terrorist groups seeking to undermine the security and well-being of citizens in both countries. Terrorism was already high on the Russian security agenda before the September 11th attacks on the U.S. because, in Russia, suspected terrorist-sponsored violence had already taken a heavy toll: in Moscow and other Russian cities, Chechen rebels were blamed for explosions that had ripped through apartment buildings in 1999, killing about 300 people. More incidents followed, also linked to Chechen separatists. The Russian government was pursuing what it considered to be counter-terrorist policies that included a military campaign in Chechnya, which Putin saw as a necessary measure to defeat a threat to Russia's security supported by international terrorist networks. But these actions, too, carried a heavy price: over 4,000 Russian servicemen were dead along with an estimated 15,000 residents of Chechnya. Prior to September 11th, Russia sought international assistance for its attempts to target external sources of support for Chechen warlords, but the brutality of the war in Chechnya along with perceived human rights violations in the region precluded a positive international response.

After September 11th, however, the U.S. quickly found itself echoing Russia's alarm about the growing threat of terrorism, and announced that it would bring military force to bear not only on terrorist networks but also on countries that harbored them. The American government also began preparing its citizens for the need to make some compromises in individual liberties and human rights for the sake of national security. These shifts in position had the effect of curtailing any major criticism about Russia's operations in Chechnya that might have come from the Bush administration before September 11th and lent some legitimacy to Russia's actions, both as viewed by the Russian pub-

lic and the international community. Moreover, the new Western emphasis on combating terrorism—and the lengths that the international community seemed ready to go in order to dismantle terrorist networks—defused the issue of human rights in Chechnya as an obstacle to closer ties between Russia, the U.S. and Europe. Russia's anti-terrorist activities also benefited in a practical way from the U.S.-led military campaign in Afghanistan, which destroyed terrorist training camps that had produced Chechen fighters and targeted sources of funding for the Chechen resistance.

Putin backed up his initial declaration of moral solidarity with the U.S. through concrete actions, including sharing intelligence about the Al-Qaeda terrorist network; supporting U.S. armed forces' use of Central Asian military facilities; providing increased military support for the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan; cooperating with the U.S. on freezing the assets of terrorist groups; offering to conduct joint search and rescue operations in Afghanistan; and signaling Russia's readiness to maintain a stable and affordable supply of oil and gas to international markets, including the U.S.

Two Agendas

In return, the Bush administration offered support for efforts to shore up Russia's flagging economy by endorsing its membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), promising greater U.S. investment in Russia, encouraging Congress to lift economic sanctions left over from the Soviet period, promising to grant Russia market economy status (which would reduce barriers for Russian exports to the U.S.) and boosting bilateral trade, among other measures.

Addressing Domestic Challenges

While clearly, post-September 11th, there are a number of positive developments in the U.S.-Russia relationship, the big picture is not altogether rosy. One divisive issue is the Bush administration's decision to unilaterally withdraw from the ABM Treaty, which, in Russia, continues to rankle. Though Putin himself reacted with surprising equanimity to the U.S. announcement—balancing, it seems, his concern for a strong economic and political relationship with the U.S. against any long-term implications for Russia's security—many political and military leaders in Russia were angered by the U.S. move, which they saw as representing both a practical danger to their nation and a diminution of Russia's importance on the international stage. So far, a high popular rating, the absence of strong political opposition and an effective public relations strategy have helped President Putin contain disenchantment with the U.S., but the sustainability of these instruments cannot be guaranteed.

For its part, the Bush administration faces domestic challenges that may well interfere with its economic pledges to Russia. The recession in America, which was deepened by the effects of September 11th, could affect the level of private investments in Russia. At the same time, it has become difficult to ignore powerful domestic lobbies in the U.S., such as steel producers, which are against granting market economy status to Russia prior to its admission into the WTO because it would mean lifting tariffs on Russian exports potentially undermining U.S. industry and causing job losses.

There are also bureaucratic and institutional barriers to continued advances in the U.S.–Russia relationship, which were erected in an atmosphere of pre-September 11th coolness and which, despite recent advances, show few signs of being easily torn down.

Tactical Coalition or Strategic Relationship?

Given all the issues that weigh upon both sides, is it possible to predict what the future holds for the relationship between the U.S. and Russia? While convergence might be the more desirable path, it is likely that a growing divergence between the domestic and international agendas of the two nations is a more realistic expectation.

The U.S. has made clear its intention to establish a new global norm under which terrorism is no longer just a domestic issue. This is in stark contrast to Russia's policy of maintaining that Chechnya is primarily an internal domestic problem. Moreover, the U.S. stand on terrorism is likely to result in unilateral or even multinational intrusions into the activities of states or nonstate actors that might be linked to terrorism. In such a scenario, it is plausible that U.S. concerns over proliferation of weapons of mass destruction could make Russia a target of the U.S.-led war on terrorism, as opposed to a key member of a global anti-terrorist coalition.

Another area of difference involves much broader geopolitical considerations in U.S. and Russian policies. In his recent State of the Union address, President Bush named Iran, Iraq and North Korea as an "axis of evil." This vision does not correspond to Russia's attitude toward these nations (or much of Europe's, for that matter), which it has so far refused to recognize as legitimate targets for the war on terror. Russia, for example, has established a strategic partnership with Iran involving exports of Russia's conventional weapons worth over $300 million a year. Russia and Iran also continue to cooperate on issues such as oil and gas development and civilian nuclear power. Under these circumstances, it would not be to Russia's advantage to support aggressive political pressure or even military action against Iran, and it would not derive any direct benefit from endorsing similar actions against Iraq or even North Korea. The U.S. government, in turn, may have trouble maintaining its current forgiving attitude towards Russia's war in Chechnya, which is still the target of harsh criticism from American and international human rights organizations. In addition, over the longer term, the U.S.-led counter-terrorism campaign is likely to involve far more law enforcement and intelligence work than military action. As a consequence, the use of military force under the pretext of counter-terrorism will look more conspicuous as time goes on, and America and its allies may feel freer to criticize such measures as long as they themselves don't need to resort to them. Pressure for a less acquiescent U.S. position on Chechnya could also grow if Russia assumes a more aggressive posture towards some of its neighbors, such as Georgia, which Moscow accuses of harboring Chechen terrorists.

Some of these problems could be substantially resolved if Russia scales down its military operations in Chechnya, as it has, to an extent, over the past year. But the fact remains that, while a shared threat from the Al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan has brought Russia and the U.S. into a mutually convenient coalition, this one consideration alone cannot be depended upon to form a stable foundation for a new strategic relationship between the two nations. What is needed now is an expanded dialogue between the two countries focused on building policies that are demonstrably beneficial to both sides—domestically and internationally—and on dismantling the obstacles that stand in the way of continued improvement in bilateral relations. Without a real effort to strengthen ties between the U.S. and Russia, those that currently exist may well weaken, which poses a danger not only for those nations but for the wider world as well. ■

carnegie Reporter
Spring 2002

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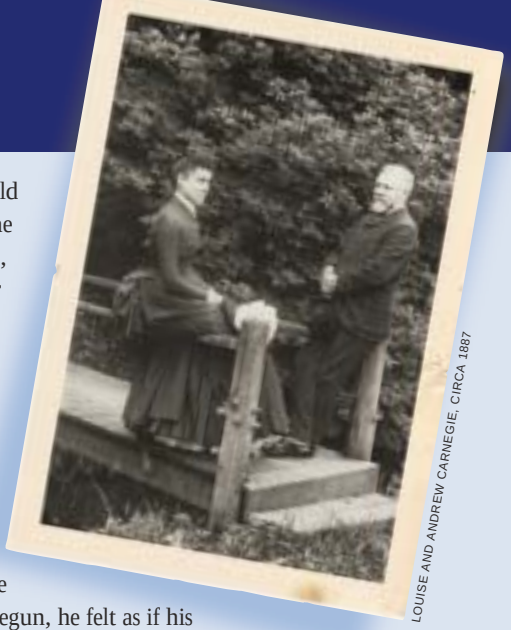
Carnegie Corporation of New York is a philanthropic foundation created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States. Subsequently, its charter was amended to permit the use of funds for the same purposes in certain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



LOUISE AND ANDREW CARNEGIE, CIRCA 1887

Andrew Carnegie had a long-standing interest in world peace. "I am drawn more to this cause than to any," he wrote in 1907. Like other leading internationalists of his time, Carnegie believed that war could be eliminated by stronger international laws and organizations. Between 1900 and 1914, he gave generously in support of this belief, funding projects such as the Peace Palace at The Hague, the Pan American Union building (now the Organization of American States building) in Washington, D.C., the Central American Court of Justice in Costa Rica and giving $10 million to establish the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The outbreak of World War I, however, shattered the high expectations of turn-of-the-century internationalists like Andrew Carnegie. When he heard the news that the war had begun, he felt as if his life had ended. He had been writing his autobiography, but was so overwhelmed with the thought of "men slaying each other like wild beasts" that he could write no more. His autobiography, therefore, ends abruptly. His wife, Louise Carnegie, wrote about his deep sadness in a preface to his autobiography:

For a few weeks each summer we retired to our little bungalow on the moors at Aultnagar to enjoy the simple life, and it was there that Mr. Carnegie did most of his writing. He delighted in going back to those early times, and as he wrote, he lived them all over again. He was thus engaged in July 1914, when the war clouds began to gather, and when the fateful news of the 4th of August reached us, we immediately left our retreat in the hills and returned to Skibo to be more in touch with the situation.

These memoirs ended at that time. Henceforth he was never able to interest himself in private affairs. Many times he made the attempt to continue writing, but found it useless. Until then he had lived a life of a man in middle life—and a young one at that—golfing, fishing, swimming each day, sometimes doing all three in one day. Optimist as he always was and tried to be, even in the face of the failure of his hopes, the world disaster was too much. His heart was broken.

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