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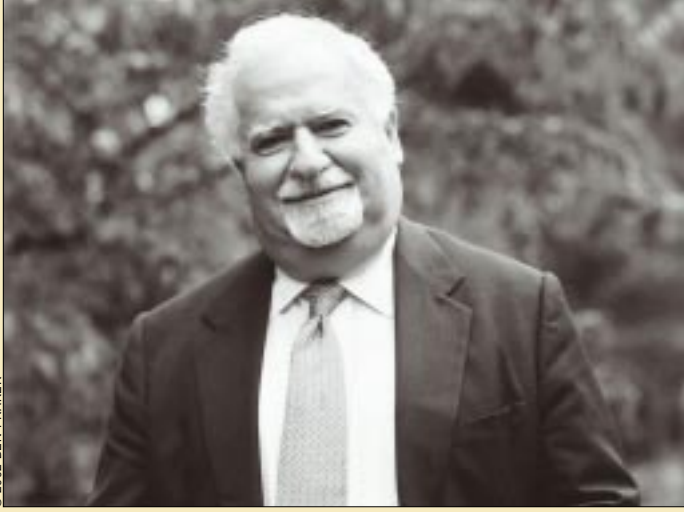
My Russia:
One Reporter's View

Transforming
Teaching and Learning
Through Technology

Foundation
Partnership to
Strengthen African
Universities

New ★
Americans,
Fresh Off the Presses

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A Letter from the president

It was Yogi Berra who said, “We’re lost but we’re making good time.” Alas, he could have been describing humanity’s roundabout trip to world peace. Today, despite making some good progress toward peace, we again face a world with escalating violence and threats of war. In these times that strain hope, I find solace in four anniversaries in the struggle for peace and thought I would share them with you.

Ninety years ago, in 1913, during a lull between wars, Andrew Carnegie opened the Palace of Peace at The Hague, which today houses the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the UN’s International Court of Justice, the Hague Academy of International Law and one of the most prestigious international law libraries in the world. At the opening, he spoke about his ardent belief that war could be vanquished by the transformative power of knowledge, learning and understanding. He believed that war is wasteful and avoidable, that diplomacy and international organizations can resolve disputes peacefully and, when necessary, help national members to act collectively in prosecuting cases involving injustice. In his speech that day he said, “The greatest advances have appeared to burst upon us suddenly although the ground has been well prepared. So it will probably be with the change from barbarous war to civilized peace.”

Twenty years ago, in 1983, Carnegie Corporation joined our sister institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in trying to keep Andrew Carnegie’s vision for peace alive. The Corporation expanded and formalized its anti-war program, calling it Avoiding Nuclear War. At that time, the nuclear arms race was heading toward outer space with President Ronald Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The Corporation had some success with its program, according to a 1988 assessment by David Hamburg, the Corporation’s president at that time. He reported: “Almost all the serious discussion in the Congress and the national press on SDI relied upon the major studies we had supported and to some degree initiated. It is widely believed that these studies changed the terms of the national debate, relying more on fact and less on fancy.” The Corporation’s program, now named International Peace and Security, continues to support research and initiatives that try to identify the ticking bombs of conflict and war and seek rational ways to defuse them.

Ten years ago, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Congress enacted the Cooperative Threat Reduction Act of 1993,

which included recommendations from a Corporation task force. This was not surprising, since its members included the law’s primary co-sponsors, senators Sam Nunn and Richard G. Lugar. The act significantly strengthened an earlier law, the Soviet Nuclear Threat Act of 1991, which was also co-sponsored by Lugar and Nunn, who now serves as a Corporation trustee. The 1993 law authorized financial and technical assistance to help former Soviet republics dismantle weapons of mass destruction, prevent their proliferation and relocate warheads from some republics to Russia. Since 1993, this international cooperation has resulted in the removal of nuclear weapons from three republics, the deactivation of more than 6,000 nuclear warheads and the destruction of hundreds of intercontinental missiles, mobile launchers and bombers. Now, after U.S. expenditure of about \$5 billion in total on this project, perhaps 40 percent of all Russian material has been “secured,” according to Senator Nunn. This work continues today, though Congress has never fully funded the project, which safeguards the world’s most insecure arsenal of weapons of mass destruction—a situation, some argue, that poses a far greater and more alarming long-term risk than does Iraq or North Korea and their arsenals.

Two years ago, in January 2001, Ted Turner and Senator Nunn founded the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a nonprofit, international organization with a mission to strengthen global security by reducing the risk of use and proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. The initiative states that it seeks to raise public awareness, serve as a catalyst for new thinking and take direct action to reduce these threats.

These four anniversaries remind us of progress as well as the need for much more. The anniversaries also remind us that old crises do not go away, even as new ones appear and preoccupy government policy and public attention. It is nonprofit organizations like the Corporation, the Nuclear Threat Initiative and others that provide a wider perspective, concerned not only with the crisis du jour but also with endemic problems, including the security of existing weapons of mass destruction, simmering conflicts over scarce resources and deeply rooted efforts to mobilize religion in service of ethnic and nationalist interests.

This January, in a step that builds on Andrew Carnegie’s legacy, Carnegie Corporation and the Nuclear Threat Initiative sponsored a London conference, entitled “Protecting Against the Spread of Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons: An Action Agenda for Global Partnership.” The conference brought together a consortium of 15 European, North American and Asian research institutions that, for the past year, had been examining ways to accelerate the work of securing and dismantling weapons of mass destruction in the former Soviet Union—and preventing them from falling into the hands of hostile states and terrorists.

Yesterday’s unresolved international problems, as we well know, have a way of developing into tomorrow’s international crises. As Wallace Stevens once observed, “All history is modern history.”

VARTAN GREGORIAN
President



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НОВОЕ РУССКОЕ СЛОВО

В снежной осаде

Подготовка к мобилизации

Курс на Ирак

Копи и McLeod's

But in other ways the *Haitian Times* is quite typical indeed. Operating on a shoestring, it strives to serve one of America's fast-growing new immigrant groups, and its editor wears so many hats that Medusa herself would have trouble accommodating them all. The photos are fuzzy and the layout wouldn't be out of place in a high school paper, but Pierre-Pierre and his tiny team know their community intimately and strive every day to live up to the paper's motto—"Bridging the Gap"—by covering news of Haitians in America as well as Haiti itself. It is a gap that will be familiar to the editors—and readers—of any ethnic newspaper: the gap between old country and new, between traditional ways and a new life, between Haitian and American.

Thus, a recent issue covered not just the Bonaventure murder, but an attack on Haiti's National Palace, as well as the life and work of a Haitian painter who lives in Harlem. "My goal is to get young Haitians involved in the community," Pierre-Pierre says, adding that, "Citizen-building is our whole mission."

Like the immigrants they are springing up to serve, ethnic newspapers, broadcast media and even web sites are cropping up all over America. Nobody seems to know how many such outlets are operating just now, but one good answer is: "a lot." In New York, the Independent Press Association counts 274 ethnic papers and magazines just in the metropolitan area, even while acknowledging that this figure isn't comprehensive. The Association counts 27 ethnic dailies in New York City alone.

In markets such as New York and Los Angeles, Spanish-language radio and TV stations are among the most watched. The large number of Hispanic immigrants and their common language have produced a handful of Latino media juggernauts including

Univision Communications Inc., which is the nation's fifth largest TV network.

"The ethnic press is very important, particularly these days," says Carnegie Corporation's Geri Mannion, who reports that her elderly mother still reads the *Irish Echo*. Mannion runs the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program, which has the goal of promoting citizenship and voter participation and raising the level of civic literacy in an age of large-scale immigration. Civics aren't taught much in school anymore, and changes in technology, attitudes and official policy have made it easier than ever for immigrants to retain a separate language and culture. Under these circumstances, says Mannion, the ethnic media serves a vital role as "a conduit to the immigrant community."

As a sign of the influence these new ethnic papers and broadcasters are having, a recent study commissioned by New California Media, a nonprofit organization of more than 400 ethnic media outlets, found that ethnic media reach 84 percent of California's three largest minority groups: Latinos, blacks and Asians. Together, these groups make up something like half the population. Sandy Close, as the organization's director—perhaps not the most objective person on the subject—nevertheless makes a persuasive case when she says of the new ethnic press, "This segment is the most powerful force in American journalism since the emergence of the alternative media in the 1960s."

Accordingly, the mainstream media is paying attention—from a weekly Bosnian-language column in the *Utica Observer Dispatch* (there are perhaps 5,000 Bosnian refugees in and around Utica, N.Y.) to a full-blown Vietnamese-language edition published by the *San Jose Mercury News*. Mainstream media companies have also invested in established ethnic organizations. NBC (itself



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Garry Pierre-Pierre, founder and publisher of the *Haitian Times*

*"My goal
in the community,"
"Citizen-*

a unit of General Electric Company), owns the No. 2 Spanish-language TV network, Telemundo, and in Southern California, the Times-Mirror Company, parent company of the *Los Angeles Times*, bought a 50 percent stake in *La Opinión*, America's oldest and largest Spanish-language daily, from the founding Lozano family. José Ignacio Lozano is now chief executive.

At *La Opinión*, in Los Angeles, Gerardo Lopez wrestles with challenges not unlike those facing Garry Pierre-Pierre, albeit on an altogether different scale. Lopez is editor of *La Opinión*, with a daily circulation of 130,000 and 86 editorial staffers. Immigration issues are bread-and-butter topics at his newspaper going back to the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration law of 1986, which offered amnesty to many illegal immigrants. "We had an avalanche of

the University of California, Riverside, who has studied the ethnic press—and who recalls that his own grandparents banned Spanish at home when they arrived in this country from Mexico—agrees that assimilation is being delayed. But he insists on a distinction between assimilation and acculturation. And the ethnic media, he says “are accelerating acculturation.”

That’s in fact what most students of the ethnic media seem to think—that the ethnic media are simultaneously acclimatizing newcomers to America while helping them retain their native culture. What ethnic papers and broadcasters are doing, in other words, is “bridging the gap,” just as Garry Pierre-Pierre tries to do with the *Haitian Times* in Brooklyn, and just as the ethnic press has always done.

In fact, the role of the ethnic media hasn’t changed all that much in the last hundred years or so, even if immigration—and America—have changed plenty. Barbara Reed says the ethnic press historically has performed a variety of functions. It gave immigrants a chance to “control their own message,” and thereby shape their own image of themselves. It was a forum of opinion, and also provided editorial leadership to a given community of immigrants. Another role was what Reed calls “surveillance,” meaning that an ethnic paper would monitor how the rest of society was looking at “us.” Are they accepting? What is the nature of the stereotypes they have for us?

And let’s not forget commerce. The ethnic press gave advertisers a way to reach immigrants, who in turn got a way to obtain goods and services of special interest to them, or at least provided by someone who might speak their language or, quite literally, understand where they were coming from. Ethnic papers have also served to keep immigrants to one city apprised of their

countrymen’s doings in other parts of America, as well as to keep everyone up on the news of the home country. Finally, says Reed, “many of these publications acted as a teacher” of group heritage to a younger generation that might have been born in America and thus lack first-hand knowledge of the old country.

Pashree Super Pat says this is why he puts money from his other business ventures into *InterThai/Pacific Rim News*, an English-language paper he publishes in Los Angeles: “It’s almost like a donation. We do this for the education of young people, to continue the Thai culture and tradition.”

Another thing the ethnic media his-

living among Jamaicans, Barbadians and other island immigrants. French signs make Haitian churches and shops obvious, and Haitian foods are available from sidewalk vendors. Pierre-Pierre points out a storefront he finds particularly interesting; it’s a business that helps immigrants send money home, one that has succeeded despite the size and prominence of Western Union because, says Pierre-Pierre, they understand the Haitian market and speak the people’s language. They know, for instance, that some immigrants want to send not just money but food, so they handle this as well, arranging for the purchase of items in Haiti

The ethnic media, many observers agree, is simultaneously acclimatizing newcomers while helping them retain

torically have taught was “what it means to be a citizen in this country,” Barbara Reed says, adding that, “Usually these publications didn’t tell people for whom to vote. But they did tell them to vote.”

A Presence in the Community

Walking the streets of central Brooklyn with the editor of the *Haitian Times* is an eye-opening experience, especially if you grew up there, as this reporter did. It’s summer, stiflingly hot, and this is a neighborhood that was once on the ropes. It’s still relatively poor, but there are no vacant shops, and the streets aren’t menacing in the least. Once overwhelmingly African-American, this section of Brooklyn is now largely Caribbean, with Haitians

that customers can pay for here.

There is a constant flow of money and goods from Haitian neighborhoods back to the island, which is why, in Brooklyn, you often see someone wrestling a large cardboard barrel into or out of a vehicle. These are shipping containers, but they are not to be confused with the battered metal barrels seen on the streets of the same neighborhoods. “These are jerk cans,” Pierre-Pierre explains, used to prepare a popular form of Caribbean barbecue.

On this particular day, Pierre-Pierre heads for the offices of Brooklyn’s annual Caribbean parade, where he wants the *Haitian Times* to have a modest presence. The parade is a big deal, but not that many Haitians participate. “We’re trying to change that,” he says.

15,000 circulation weekly on a budget so tight he can't even pay himself a salary. The *Haitian Times* claims a dozen staffers and has paid reporters in Miami and Haiti, but a number of functions, including some writing and editing, are performed by volunteers.

Pierre-Pierre spends his time juggling business and journalistic obligations, and when a potential advertiser is on the phone he takes the call personally, although he insists he doesn't let this influence the paper's coverage. "We don't accept ads that are tied up to a story," he said in a recent interview. "We don't accept money to write stories. We write stories because we believe they're worth printing."

The remarkable July 24, 2002 issue of the *Haitian Times* was full of such stories, including one about the rise of Haitian-American Republicans; a follow-up on the case of Abner Louima; a profile of an up-and-coming Haitian-American middleweight boxer; an essay about Alexandre Dumas on the occasion of his 200th birthday; a couple of articles about immigration; an account of the abduction and beating of an investigative reporter in Haiti; an Associated Press story about the collapse of a Haitian banking scheme that cost some depositors their life savings; Haitian entertainment listings for Haiti as well as America; TV and radio listings; a horoscope, a gossip column, an advice column and a recipe for Haitian cabbage rolls.

The cover story of that same issue, about the mysterious "suicide" of a young Haitian-American entrepreneur near Buffalo, New York, was written by Macollvie Jean-Francois, a wry and energetic novice Pierre-Pierre hired as a college student. She has since developed into a mainstay of the paper. That's another of the ethnic media's unsung roles: providing jobs and training for journalists covering

communities unlikely to get much ink in the mainstream media.

Passions and Divisions

The idealism of editors like Pierre-Pierre notwithstanding, it's easy to idealize America's ethnic press, but by and large these are not great papers; most have small news budgets and editorial staffs, and this lack of resources makes it almost impossible for them to conduct the kind of in-depth enterprise reporting required to expose corruption or thoroughly cover complex issues. Even *La Opinión*, which communications professor Federico Subervi of Pace University calls "the most sophisticated and complete of the Spanish-language dailies in the country," doesn't have a regular city hall reporter and finds it impossible to closely cover labor. About five years ago, perhaps as a reflection of staffing constraints, it went off the beat system altogether.

Subervi blames the media—mainstream and Latino—for the low elec-

toral participation of Latinos, noting that in Puerto Rico and Mexico, to cite a couple of examples, voter turnout is much higher than it is here among native-born Americans, never mind naturalized Latino voters. "The current Latino ethnic media are doing a lukewarm job in promoting the political knowledge and participation of Latinos," he says. "It could be a lot better, and it should be a lot better."

The media can make the difference, he says, citing Miami's Cuban immigrants. When they first arrived, they had low political participation, but when Dade County adopted an English-only ordinance for government purposes in 1980 (it was later rolled back), a local Spanish-language TV station was able to galvanize Cuban political energies around the slogan "Vota

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The *Haitian Times*, in Brooklyn, New York

New York
West Indian
Carnival
Parade, 2002



ethnic publication is keeping up

broadcasts from the Panorama Media Group, which also publishes Russian newspapers in Los Angeles. Eugene Levin, who owns the business, says he believes the paper serves the dual function of making its readers into Americans while keeping them up on their own culture and interests. “We try to help them as much as possible adjust to the American way of life,” he says.

From his company’s offices above Hollywood Boulevard, Levin has constructed a Russian-language media empire, complete with radio and television studios, an entertainment newspaper, a Russian yellow pages, and *Panorama*, probably the leading Russian paper in Southern California. His newspapers and radio service carry English lessons and the business section of *Panorama* has published articles about American laws and how to conduct yourself inside an American company.

A genial 50-year-old, Levin is politically active; he acknowledges donating money to political campaigns and attending political dinners and the like. His wife is a county commissioner of consumer affairs as well as director of West Hollywood’s Russian Community Center, and Levin heads an association of Russian immigrants. Lately, he’s trying harder to get his readers and listeners more politically active as well. While *Panorama* has long encouraged readers to vote, it only recently started endorsing political candidates, and politics, especially the Middle East, are a staple on his radio service. He says politicians in southern California understand the importance of the ethnic media and seek their endorsement.

Among the Haitians of Brooklyn, radio is probably the single biggest source of news and information, eclipsing the various Haitian newspapers. Reverend Nicolas and Garry Pierre-Pierre agree that this is because of the relatively low literacy rate among Haitian immigrants. Using a license for a station in Asbury Park, New

Jersey, which in recent years has gained a concentration of Haitians, Nicolas himself began broadcasting in Creole from Brooklyn using a relay device, but the Federal Communications Commission made him stop. The three remaining Haitian radio outlets in Brooklyn all use subcarrier frequencies to broadcast, meaning that, like the Sinocast broadcasts, they require a specially adapted radio.

Meanwhile, at the end of a long day at the paper’s storefront office, I chat with Macollvie Jean-Francois, the *Haitian Times* 23-year-old reporter, who says many of the people she meets in her work “see themselves as Haitians living in New York” rather than as Americans. Jean-Francois is a Haitian-born graduate of John Dewey High School and Baruch College, a branch of the low-cost City University system, but when I casually ask whether she is a citizen, I’m surprised to learn she is not. “I’ve applied,” she says. “I finally realized I’ve spent more time being in America than in Haiti. I’m more comfortable speaking English than French.” And travel, she says, is easy on an American passport.

Citizen or not, Jean-Francois loves writing about the Haitian community—“I like to see immediately the impact of what I write”—and ticks off the issues she’s covered, including health care, education and immigration. She recalls writing about a group of women arrested for marrying men to make them eligible for citizenship, and now she’s working on a piece about how noisy it is in Haitian Flatbush—a neighborhood that always seemed so quiet when I grew up there. Like her boss, she believes in the mission of the *Haitian Times*, and when she talks about it, her enthusiasm is obviously genuine. As she puts it, “If you don’t know yourself, how can you ever aspire to become someone else?” ■

The popularity and importance of an ethnic press in the United States is consistent with a recent study carried out by Public Agenda, which found that nearly half of all immigrants follow current events in their

Keeping Strong

U.S.

home countries. Most immigrants even telephone friends and family in their home country at least a few times a month and 14 percent regularly send money back home. “The immigrant press is probably serving a powerful need, helping people keep tabs on current events, sports and politics in their countries of origin,” says Public Agenda’s Steve Farkas, a senior vice president and director of research.

Public Agenda, the nonprofit and nonpartisan public policy research organization (www.publicagenda.org) that was founded in 1975 by social scientist Daniel Yankelovich and former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, conducted the survey with support from Carnegie Corporation’s Strengthening U.S. Democracy program. The program seeks to strengthen democracy through a variety of strategies, which include supporting efforts to help immigrants to become fully engaged citizens. One statistic suggests the practical importance of this mission: immigrants, with their children, are expected to represent two-thirds of the nation’s population growth by 2050.

by
SOPHIA KISHKOVSKY

My RUSSIA

One Reporter's View of Life After

Sophia Kishkovsky, a journalist based at the Moscow Bureau of The New York Times, has lived and worked in Russia since July 1991. Her grandparents were from Russia and fled soon after the Bolshevik Revolution. Kishkovsky was born in San Francisco and grew up in Sea Cliff, New York. She has witnessed—and reported on—Russia's often remarkable, often frustrating struggle towards democracy and a free market and has been especially interested in its effect on the everyday lives of Russians. It is a story that is still being written. In this article, Kishkovsky writes about how the lives of several very different people from different walks of life, all of whom she has known since at least 1991, have changed since the fall of Communism.

Misha Slonim's Victory March

On August 22, 1991, I spotted my friend Misha Slonim, beaming as he moved with a euphoric crowd towards Red Square. They had just stood down a coup by hard-line Communists who had taken control of the Kremlin and put Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev under house arrest. Misha helped carry a yards-long Russian tricolor flag, held high in proud, pointed contrast to the Soviet hammer and sickle.

When they reached Lenin's Mausoleum, Misha and his friends did the unthinkable: they sat down and had a beer.

When the coup began on August 19, Russians awoke to television broadcasting an endless loop of *Swan Lake* and menacing pronouncements. Gorbachev's liberalization policies, *glasnost* and *perestroika*, suddenly seemed like a dream; Moscow's lone McDonald's, a capitalist mirage.

The city's creaky phone system was overloaded as the news spread. Tanks surrounded the Russian parliament building—the *Bely Dom* or White House. The weather turned bleak as did the mood, like a color film reel skipping to black and white.

A looming black monument to secret

police founder Feliks Dzerzhinsky—"Iron Feliks"—in front of KGB headquarters on Lubyanka Square, where "enemies of the people" had once been tortured and killed, no longer seemed like a ghost receding into the past but a hint of things to come.

When the coup began, I pictured my grandparents fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. My Russian friends and relatives are my window on the world of those who stayed behind. The changes in their lives and worldview since August 1991—since the fall of Communism—are just as dramatic and evocative of a society's upheaval as the revolution that took place more than 80 years ago.

Thousands of Muscovites like Misha, many of them quite comfortably middle class by Soviet standards, rushed to defend the White House. Russian President Boris Yeltsin clambered atop a tank and rallied the crowd with a rousing anti-Communist speech, reinforcing the idea that they were defending their dreams for Russia's future.

The anti-Soviet, anti-Communist crowd achieved a remarkably swift victory. By August 22, brilliant sunshine enveloped Moscow in a Technicolor glow as it bounced off gold cupolas and the red, white and blue tricolor Misha

political statement. Probably, few of the friends gathered in the woods that day—or many others, for that matter—could have imagined the breakneck speed at which the 70-year-old Soviet empire would collapse, and new hardships and opportunities arise.

By September, the Baltic republics were free. In December, Yeltsin joined the leaders of Belarus and Ukraine in a forest outside Minsk to sign the Soviet Union's death warrant, proclaiming its dissolution. The uncertain situation that followed took a toll on the economy: store shelves were stripped and Russians began to wonder about the promises of a new life. Gorbachev, president of a non-existent country, resigned on December 25, tearing Western journalists from their imported Christmas turkeys in a race to gather the reactions of Russians, most of whom were more concerned with finding enough food for their New Year's celebrations.

Yeltsin became the main leader of the ex-Soviet Union, the embodiment of Russian democracy, and very soon a symbol of all its birth pangs. "Shock therapy" measures instituted in January 1992 by his team of young economists freed prices from state control and gradually filled stores but quickly emptied bank accounts. The Slonims' combined income from their respective jobs as a geo-mechanic and biochemist, which was more than adequate in Soviet times, turned overnight into an amount as low as the equivalent of \$10 U.S., depending on the rate of inflation and ruble devaluation. It was barely enough for the couple to support themselves and their young daughter, but they pressed on, taking cover from the chaos in their comfortable two-bedroom apartment next door to a movie theater with an ideologically correct name, Hanoi, and in their singing.

Tamara channeled her passion for alternative medicine and herbs into a



ANDREY ILYIN, 2002

The Tabak family at home in Moscow.

way of supplementing her family's diet and warding off illnesses. There was no point in relying on Russia's failing health care system at a time when shortages of medical supplies meant not even bribes were enough to buy quality care and many doctors had to moonlight as gypsy cab drivers to survive.

The couple tried starting a clothing label based on Tamara's knitwear designs. Over several years, Misha opened a café at the institute where he worked, became a Cadbury chocolate distributor, tried his hand at the fledgling securities market and earned enough for family vacations to Turkey, Prague and London. Then, in the mid-1990s, a business deal gone sour saddled him with a \$100,000 debt that he is only now close to paying off.

Russia went through similar ups and downs. In 1993, Yeltsin ordered tanks to fire on the White House, which had been taken over by hard-line legislators rebelling against him, turning it into a blackened shell. Soon, a bloody war would begin in Chechnya and

Today's upscale boutiques, 250-store,

Yeltsin would grow increasingly incoherent and infirm.

Every Russian, including Misha, received slips of paper, "vouchers" meant to be their share in the privatization of state enterprises. Most people sold them off at a pittance or kept them as souvenirs. In the lead-up to Yeltsin's desperate bid for re-election in 1996 against a Communist Party contender, a small group of top bankers gave loans to the government in exchange for shares in the leading industries. They privatized the companies after the government defaulted on the loans and later became the oligarchs who controlled most of Russia's economy and were accused of manipulating Yeltsin's presidency as he descended into drunkenness.

COMCON, a market research agency in Moscow, sets the dividing line between lower class and lower-middle class at a monthly income of \$350 per family member in Moscow and a range of \$150 to \$180 in other regions. That puts 15 percent of Muscovites and 5 percent of the rest of Russia in the middle class. Russia's sputtering economic reforms have knocked many people below the poverty line. Even in Moscow, many senior citizens who have no other source of support but state pensions subsist on as little as \$1.70 a day.

For an example of a family that has made the jump up into the middle class, I look to my friends the Tabaks. If their journey along the financial ladder were a movie, it would start with a scene in their kitchen, circa 1991. At that time, Tanya, Yura, daughter Masha, and their pet daschund Yeremei, lived in a tiny one-bedroom apartment in a rough neighborhood of Moscow.

I first met Tanya at the church she was struggling to restore from the damage inflicted by Soviet rule, which had turned most of the building into a rusty printing press. Tanya worked there largely out of devotion to the memory of her friend, Father Aleksandr Men, a priest whose prolific writings and powerful personality inspired many and whose murder by multiple axe blows in 1990 remains unsolved. It was thought to be a dark collaborative plot of reactionary forces in the KGB and nationalist groups who despised Men for his Jewish roots. The church was turned over to his extended flock in the summer of 1991.

Tanya and her husband Yura were brooding intellectuals, poor as church mice. Yura had just quit his computer-programming job at the State Statistics Committee, which he described as so disorganized that various colleagues played chess, danced, or wrote stories on the job. He could devote much of his time to his avocation for translation, as long as he

was discreet about his real love: Bible studies and Jewish-Christian relations.

Yura is of Jewish background, but like many Soviet intellectuals, and drawn by the influence of Father Men, he had become interested in the Russian Orthodox church, all the while maintaining a deep involvement in Judaism and studying Catholicism. In 1991, he decided to try making a living doing what he loved.

The Tabaks' apartment was a ruin of peeling wallpaper and leaky plumbing redeemed by an impressive multilingual library, paintings by artist friends and gracious hospitality. In the Russian dissident intellectual tradition, we spent hours in the kitchen, which was painted a ghastly turquoise, drinking tea and talking—inevitably, about the misery that was Russia.

Tanya spoke of her friendship with

books. They would ask me to bring them theological books unavailable in Russia and thank me with volumes of Russian poetry from their collection. Then, towards the mid-1990s, things started looking up. Yura had his first big commission for a translation of Charles Colson's *Kingdoms in Conflict* (© 2000, Zondervan Publishing Company), which focuses on the role of the church in society.

By 2002, the Tabaks' lives had undergone many changes. With money Yura had earned through increasingly sophisticated translations and by borrowing from friends, the family had traded up to a spacious two-bedroom apartment with a big, bright kitchen. Ironically, the 1998 financial crisis that brought down banks and devalued the ruble helped the Tabaks. Yura's translation fees were tied to the dollar, so he didn't lose on the

The Tabaks' biggest fear is the lack of quality medical care in a country where, free, but everybody pays

Nadezhda Mandelstam, wife of the poet Osip Mandelstam who died in the infamous Gulag Archipelago in 1938, doomed for unflattering poetic allusions to Stalin. His widow's memoir, *Hope Against Hope*, is a powerful indictment of Stalinism and a testament to survival in unbearable circumstances.

Every time I visited, Tanya would ask, "What are you doing in this country? Why do you like it here? Why don't you go home?" in part because she was concerned that I had yet to finish college, but mostly because life was so depressing. But for all their gloom and doom, the Tabaks never considered emigrating, although they could easily have done so.

Simple gifts of chocolate or cookies thrilled them, but their passion was

devaluation and apartment prices plummeted. Tanya now works for a "New Russian"—the nickname for Russia's nouveau riche. She oversees a group of architects who build *Sopranos*-style mansions and imitation chateaux for New Russians. Her boss designs even grander country estates for the super-rich.

Tanya and Yura are still believers, but not churchgoers, professing an ecumenical anti-clericalism. They are depressed by the Chechen war, but see no way out and are surprising fans of Putin. Most strikingly, they have caught the home improvement bug.

"Did you see our couch, how it opens up?" asks Tanya, showing off their bedroom. "The only thing we need in here is another television." Yura has other

ago I thought an economic miracle would happen right away, that we'd get all the technological help we'd need from the West," he told me when I visited his ward in November 2002. "Medicine is the easiest thing to fix."

To the untrained eye, Dr. Maschan's ward looks modern and well equipped. Gorbachev donated \$250,000 in 1992 and pressed foreign benefactors and the Russian government for \$1.75 million to pay for improvements. Parents stand outside spotless, sterile German-made Steag isolettes, wearing facemasks as they comfort their babies lying inside the glass-walled units. But despite appearances, Dr. Maschan says that this place is far from being an up-to-date Western hospital: it has only one CT scanner and no microbiology laboratory, which means tests have to be farmed out. Soviet-style regulations enforced by the health ministry restrict the number of nursing staff he can hire, limiting the number of bone marrow transplants he can carry out—which is his specialty—and thus the lives he can save.

And there are more problems: medicines that didn't exist or were impossible to obtain are now available in theory, but not always in practice, despite the dozens of pharmaceutical companies, including Eli Lilly, Pfizer and Novartis, that have set up shop in Russia. Some medicines cost up to \$250 a dose and require three doses a day. Volunteers from the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian—coincidentally Tanya Tabak's former parish—help fill the gap, raising funds through a web site, www.deti.msk.ru, that draws donations from well-to-do Russian professionals and foreign donors.

The presence, in Russia, of foreign pharmaceutical companies has also caused many talented doctors, struggling to support families, to leave hospitals altogether in order to work for the higher-paying pharmaceuticals. Dr.



ANDREY ILYIN, 2002

Gena Maltsev and his son Roman.

Maschan, for example, makes only the equivalent of \$250 U.S. a month. He put off marriage and children while his parents supported him financially through his medical training and early career. Only now, at 40, is he about to become a father, and he has finally bought a car. He splurged on taxis for years, anyway, and now public transportation has the added irritant of police patrols searching for Islamic terrorists among everyone of dark complexion—Dr. Maschan is of Armenian heritage—though they can usually be placated with a bribe to supplement their meager salaries.

Even taking into account the ongoing health care problems in Russia, Dr. Maschan will brook no discussion that "free" Soviet medical care was somehow better. "That's a Communist lie," he says. "I'm happy the Soviet Union collapsed. There was no medical care then. They allowed you to lie down in a hospital bed and die for free. We're going to be spitting up this blood for a long time. Medical care has improved only because of open borders."

Gena's salary vacations barely buys

Heartland on the Edge

The small city of Gai is near the Ural Mountains, just half an hour from the border of the former Soviet republic of Kazakhstan, now a foreign country. A bridge on the road from the airport crosses the cusp of Europe and Asia, although Gena Maltsev and his older son Stas were worried I wouldn't see the sign because it could have been swiped by vandals to sell as scrap metal. Gai itself is a factory and mining town of 45,000 fallen on hard times; it has a Midwestern Rust Belt feel that begs for a Russian Bruce Springsteen soundtrack.

Gai's young, conservatory-educated, jazz-loving priest, serving in a church unrecognizable for the storefront it once was, has taken up parachuting, a sport



Yuri Filippovich Lutsenko with his prison identification.

ANDREY ILYIN, 2002

and rehabilitate victims of Stalinism, tried to investigate the thwarted bombing, but without success. Like chapters across Russia, it does everything from hold protests against the Chechen war to help the destitute with housing or legal problems, and never loses sight of its main mission: that Russia never again experience the kind of atrocities that were the hallmark of Josef Stalin. (Twenty million people are thought to have been victims of Stalin's purges.) Local activists continue to track down Stalin-era mass burial sites and arrange proper funerals. So far the "memorial book" of local victims has

smiles sardonically at city streets bearing dual Soviet and pre-revolutionary names, and strangely, is not fearful of Putin. In fact, he sees Russia's salvation in him, because he is young, energetic and religious.

But now, he breaks down when he reads a passage about "Iron Feliks" from his memoirs about a meeting in Moscow, years later, with a greatly admired fellow Gulag prisoner. "We talked about how hard it is to be second-class citizens," he reads, tears welling. "He would get into the metro and follow the flow. He approached 'Iron Feliks.' He could bear it in the daytime, but at night he remembered hell."

Though everyone seems to be trying opportunities—and new so much seems to be left

Chechens, though this was never conclusively proved.

One night, not far from Yuri Filippovich's apartment, a man spotted a suspicious car near his building and people unloading sacks into the basement. He raised the alarm and the building was evacuated. Residents were kept from their homes all night thinking they had been a hair's breadth from death, only to have the FSB, the KGB's successor agency, praise the operation as a successful training exercise. They said the sacks were dummy bombs. Conspiracy theorists still hold that the FSB was somehow connected to all of the bombings as part of a secret effort to bring Putin to power, but this idea, also, remains only a speculation.

Ryazan's chapter of Memorial, a nationwide human rights network formed at the height of *perestroika* to record

5,000 entries and is expected, eventually, to include 17,000 names.

"People don't really remember these things," says Sergei Romanov, a prominent activist. "And kids don't know about it at all. At most, they've heard something vague about repression."

Yuri Filippovich, though, has never forgotten. At night in his chilly apartment, he types memoirs and short stories about prison life on a prehistoric computer. Filed away among his papers is a letter from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn saying he's included some of this material in his library of memoirs, which gives Yuri Filippovich some comfort.

For me, Yuri Filippovich embodies many of Russia's contradictions in its struggle to reconcile past and present. He's not too troubled by Ryazan's restoration of its main Lenin monument, which was dismantled in 1991,

Imperial Capital

St. Petersburg is the city where Russia's past, present, and future converge most symbolically. Founded on a swamp in 1703 as Peter the Great's "window to Europe," cradle of the revolution that brought down the tsars, its upcoming 300th anniversary is the impetus for a vast construction project to restore it to imperial glory. It is also Vladimir Putin's hometown.

Facades are being given facelifts, roads repaired, vast sums are being spent to restore the 1,000-room 18th century Konstantinovskiy Palace as Putin's official residence in St. Petersburg, which he has turned into a center for receiving foreign dignitaries. George W. Bush was his guest at Tsarskoye Selo, which had once been a summer palace of Russia's tsars.

Misha Pikalov was my guide to St.

The Polity Foundation is a nongovernmental, research and political consulting organization founded in 1993. Its mission is to assist the work of politicians, academics and business leaders in promoting political and economic reforms in Russia and in working toward the creation of a civil society and a law-based state. In this essay, translated from the Russian, Vyacheslav Nikonov presents his views about democracy in Russia.

ocratic breakthrough been successful? Many western journalists and Russian rights activists give this response: Boris Yeltsin made heroic efforts to lay the foundations of a genuine democratic regime, and Vladimir Putin made several steps backwards—towards a controlled democracy.

I have a hard time accepting this characterization, and not only because I am unaware of any examples of uncontrolled democ-

Russian constitutional system is a major improvement compared to the Communist system, founded on Vladimir Lenin's ideas of the merging of the executive and legislative powers and the subordination of the courts to the control of the Communist Party. The division of powers in the current Constitution is mandated at one point, but it is effectively refuted by other articles. The reason is that the president, invested with enor-



The Paradoxes of RUSSIAN DEMOC

by VYACHESLAV NIKONOV, PRESIDENT, *The Polity Foundation*

It is well known that there are many definitions of democracy, but to me most of them sound rather like noble intentions that cannot yet be fully realized anywhere. Whichever of the definitions we adopt, however, one thing is clear: there was simply no democracy in Russia until recent times. Unfortunately, the Russian historical tradition is anti-democratic. Both under the emperors and under the Communists, power was authoritarian, or even totalitarian; there was no civil society, free markets, human rights or other freedoms. The legal standards can best be described in the words of a famous Russian adage: "The severity of Russian laws is balanced by the fact that their enforcement is optional."

Russia launched an attempt to break free from authoritarianism in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the collapse of the USSR gave rise to hopes of a quick and painless transformation to a genuinely democratic country with a flourishing market economy, entering into the family of civilized countries. That period was dominated by undivided criticism with regard to the past, and the western model of democracy was perceived as the absolute standard.

To what extent has the dem-

ocracy. It is just that the Russian democratic process is developing in a much more complex, paradoxical manner.

During Yeltsin's regime, anarchy reigned because practically nobody was running the country and it was in a state of free fall. Yes, there was democracy, insofar as there were free elections for the offices established by the Constitution, but there were also elements of authoritarianism, despotism and oligarchy, as we see from the fact that during Yeltsin's prolonged absences, the country was often run by a collection of his relatives, better known as the Family. This group also included powerful tycoons, who made up a new financial elite.

Putin, on the other hand, has been able to restore some order to the country and reduce anarchy. His family does not run the country. Oligarchy is not at the helm. At the same time, there have not been any radical changes to the elections. The Constitution has stayed the same.

Does democracy offer a division of power, a system of checks and balances? I believe they are not superfluous, although in the European countries the division of power is almost unheard of, and this does not prevent them from being generally democratic. The

amous authority, is outside the system of checks and balances, and is not a part of the executive branch (this branch is represented by the cabinet of ministers). At the same time, the head of state effectively fulfills the functions of both the executive and the legislative powers through his authority to issue edicts.

Yeltsin dealt with an independent and sharply opposed parliament, which was dominated by Communists and nationalists who did not allow a single democratic law to be adopted. Now, thanks to strenuous efforts by the Kremlin, Putin has a majority, which allows him to adopt almost any reform laws against the objections of the Communist and nationalist opposition, whose size has been significantly reduced.

The judicial system has escaped from the control of one party and has become formally independent. However, judges' salaries remain low, which has made the judiciary accessible to the trends of the material world. Today, the role of the courts is growing, but this is due in large

part to the fact that Russia's "entrepreneurs" have finally grown tired of clarifying issues with the help of hired killers and have turned, instead, to the courts.

If we were to judge by the criteria of political pluralism and freedom of activity of political parties, Russia would appear to be the most democratic country in the world. There have never been fewer than thirty parties on the ballot for the State Duma, and hundreds of others have been allowed to register and participate in the primary elections. The menu is enormous, but the quality of the political cuisine leaves something to be desired. And to complicate matters, the highest authorities are not generally associ-

ated with any party. Not surprisingly, party loyalties have not sprung up; no more than 1.5 percent of voters associate themselves firmly with a particular party, and people perceive the struggle between the parties as a largely unnecessary and annoying farce.

The important factors for democracy are a local initiative, a vertical distribution of power and federalism. Russia, of course, is a

People are not at all inclined to give up their freedoms; they are simply tired of the shock effects of ten years of difficult changes.

Transforming Teaching

Through



The two teenagers bend over a piece of paper on a table, James talking excitedly as he sketches and scribbles formulas and calculations, Gomez watching.

This bit of spontaneous theater and noisy problem solving, one of several conversations rumbling sporadically through the room, might disturb a

much more motivating, he adds, than the farfetched word problems in traditional textbooks like, “If Sally is twelve years older than Jon, and Jon is eight years younger than Jeff, how old is Sally?”

Students will use PowerPoint software to explain their Fermi problems, applying design principles that Schiffman—who

Flash software,” he explains.

Such assignments illustrate the heady potential for technology to fire up kids’ desire to learn. Indeed, says Schiffman, these projects are so appealing that he saves them for the end of class. “It’s almost like candy,” he explains. “It’s always, ‘Can we work on our projects now?’ They’re just really excited to do it.”

Schiffman’s Fermi problem poster and Flash project assignments illustrate the tremendous transformation of teaching and learning taking place today at the

A survey of that most use the to integrate



Jared Schiffman, an instructor at High Tech High, and one of his students.

JEFF ROBIN

teacher in a traditional classroom, but it’s fine at High Tech High, a charter school in the San Diego Unified School District that puts a premium on collaborative problem solving and creative thinking. Gomez will have two weeks to design and present to his physics class his poster about a “Fermi problem,” which, he explains, means figuring out, “how many of something would relate to something else.”

This poster assignment aims to sharpen his students’ “real world critical thinking skills,” says High Tech High physics teacher Jared Schiffman. It’s

has a masters degree in media arts and sciences from MIT—has just taught them. (Schiffman: “What is another design principle?” “Organization!” cry several students. Schiffman: “Yes, divide space carefully.”)

A wiry, energetic 29-year-old with uncombed puffs of curly blond hair on either side of his head, a strong clear voice and blue eyes framed by black wire-rimmed glasses, Schiffman proudly describes another recently completed class project. “I showed them how to do basic simulation of projectile motion, and they made a game around it, using

intersection of 21st century technology and modern educational theory.

Two-year-old High Tech High receives funding from the Annie E. Casey, Girard, Bill & Melinda Gates and Walton foundations, among others, as well as from philanthropists Gary and Jerri-Ann Jacobs and Irwin Jacobs. Though it has an economically and ethnically diverse student body selected by zip-code-based lottery, it’s a far cry from the typical urban high school today.

It’s not that American high schools aren’t wired up. The Clinton-era legislation aimed at connecting American schools to the Internet succeeded. According to the market research firm Market Data Retrieval, 94 percent of public schools today have Internet access, and more than three-quarters have high-speed lines rather than dial-up connections. The ratio of students to computers is 3.8 to 1 (although the ratio in schools with more than 50 per-

pal of New Technology High School in Napa, California, a seven-year-old public school initiated, like San Diego's High Tech High, by educators and the local business community. Rather than creating distance, as one might think, e-mail can help to smooth and democratize school relationships. When three girls needed subsidies to buy \$22 t-shirts for the school's annual Powder Puff Football game, they e-mailed Morrison, avoiding nosy questions from anyone who would have spotted them walking into his office. In another instance, a shy student e-mailed the principal about a boy who had harassed

click onto the Library of Congress' American Memory Project web site—<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amhome.html>—can see an early version of the Declaration of Independence with John Adams' corrections scribbled in the margin, Matthew Brady's 1,188 Civil War photographs, or a broadside poster offering a bounty for a runaway slave.

Many teachers print out such documents to augment traditional textbooks. But they can also find a model lesson on the site, or assign students to work with documents as historians do, says Michael Federspiel, social studies coordinator for the Midland, Michigan

However, the young historians don't wander freely in cyberspace. Teachers provide guidance and boundaries. "Confining kids to a single collection helps control the quality of the sites on which they're working," says Federspiel. The American Memory Project, he adds, is a "rich and lively" vehicle for teaching the stringent content mandated by standards in Michigan and other states.

Some educators believe that the power unleashed by technology allows students to learn concepts previously thought beyond them. Children who build robots using "programmable

Some educators believe that the power by technology allows students to previously thought beyond them.

her. "That little bit of anonymity allowed her to send a message to me that she needed help," says Morrison.

Creativity improves as well when the community talks in cyberspace. Problem-solving at New Technology High School flourishes on the school's LotusNotes discussion database, where a secretary proposed banning the e-mail activity announcements that were flooding the system. The school accepted her suggestion to gather them instead into a daily bulletin. Even meetings can become more efficient; New Technology High School staff discussed, on LotusNotes, over several months, whether to change technology standards for students. When staff finally met, they made the decision unanimously in five minutes.

This increasingly familiar power of technology to compress time and space is also changing the teaching and learning of history. Students and teachers who

Public schools.

During a unit on the Great Depression, for example, Federspiel—who was team-teaching a four-hour block with English, art and music teachers—had students read *The Grapes of Wrath*, then illustrate a chosen theme from the book with a collage or PowerPoint presentation of photos. Next, the students formed a hypothesis about what it was like to live in that era, and judged whether the primary sources validated or dispelled it. "We taught them how to search, to narrow down multiple documents to illustrate, say, what a farmstead or highway would look like for tenant farmers," Federspiel explains. Some students compared the approaches of photographers Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans and Gordon Parks, asking themselves at the same time, "Are these an accurate record of the times? Was there political motivation in the photographs?"

bricks"—blocks with tiny computers inside—not only learn about mechanics, but also "work with some engineering concepts related to feedback and control that traditionally have been taught only in universities," says Mitchel Resnick, associate professor of media arts and sciences at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Media Lab.

A plethora of new software applications facilitates learning by making the abstract concrete. The Geometer's Sketchpad, for example, allows students to construct geometric shapes on screen and change them with a mouse while preserving the mathematical relationships. Looking quickly at many similar cases helps students understand general principles. Another program, ThinkerTools, lets students adjust settings on the screen so that simulated objects move according to laws of physics. Created to help busi-

them online, similarly categorized.

The Grow Network also gives teachers detailed suggestions for classroom activities and teaching strategies for each skill. For example, if students can't follow complex sequences, it suggests teaching them "sequence signals" like "then" and "while."

A recently launched project of the

easily replicable. To that end, "All the stakeholders are part of the process, trying to document and make public what they do," says Louis M. Gomez, a principal in the project and a professor of learning sciences and of computer Science at Northwestern University.

Such uses of cutting-edge technology to shape and speed student assess-

strengths and weaknesses, says Kristan Singleton, BPE assistant director.

FAST Track is the precursor of an all-embracing Internet/Intranet portal system called MyBPS (My Boston Public Schools). Rolled out in November 2002, MyBPS provides a "statistical snapshot" of student performance on state curriculum standards as measured by the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) tests. This snapshot allows educators in the district's 135 schools to see how many students gave the same wrong answer to a particular question on the MCAS. Or it can help a

Strong, visionary school-wide



MacArthur Foundation's Research Network on Teaching and Learning—which is exploring ways to strengthen the links between teaching and research findings—is even more ambitious: it plans to track student progress weekly and even daily, providing teachers with "just-in-time" online resources to meet student needs as indicated by the data. It will also bring comprehensive information management systems to several schools. Although the project began in elementary schools, Network members are now designing a high school prototype with teachers, administrators, software experts and university researchers. Their aim is to fashion and implement systems that are

ment exhibit "really exciting potential," says Constancia Warren, senior program officer and director of Carnegie Corporation of New York's Urban High School Initiatives. "The issue is, really, how you get it into 'the water system'."

One school district pouring state-of-the-art data management into its "water system" is Boston. The Boston Plan for Excellence (BPE), an education foundation that catalyzes school reform in that city with the help of a grant from Carnegie Corporation's *Schools for a New Society* initiative, has developed FAST Track, a database program allowing principals and teachers to easily manipulate test data to analyze their school's

teacher to plan a year's curriculum: if 60 percent of her entering class aced the statistics and probability section on the test, she can plan how to teach the 40 percent of students who didn't get it. Like the Grow Network and the MacArthur project, MyBPS also provides resources to help teachers address student weaknesses pinpointed by the test data.

By next spring, MyBPS will allow teachers to enter and access daily assessments, such as the reading evaluation of one student. "It's an information system that puts students' performance data within easy reach of teachers as part of the regular classroom routine," says Singleton.

Such handy sliced-and-diced test data is only one part of MyBPS, now beginning a five-year rollout. This year its web site will include school bulletins, event calendars and individual student schedules, says Albert Lau, the district's director of information serv-

automating old ways of instruction points out Bailey, but more like rethinking teaching from scratch.

Such radical change requires increased flexibility at the grassroots, but many districts have a centralized bureaucracy that can stifle innovation. That's what happened in the Detroit district, where voters passed a \$1.5 billion school bond issue in 1994 for capital improvements including technology upgrades. Five years later, the district had spent only \$100 million—and almost none of that on technology.

Schools and districts also must contend with fears about plagiarism, privacy

and pornography. There's even a federal law (now on appeal to the Supreme Court) that requires software to filter out pornography in every school that receives federal technology funding or discounts.

Even if they're willing, many teachers have little time to learn about integrating technology with their teaching because they have so many demands on them. Foremost among these are the welter of tests accompanying the push for school accountability. To many, they make teaching innovations seem like an unaffordable luxury. Collaborating with two other teachers, Curtis Shavers, a social studies teacher at Sicily Island High School in Sicily Island, Louisiana, used the American Memory Project to

teach his ninth-to-twelfth graders a "Dare to Dream" African-American history unit in the spring of 2000. He hasn't taught it since. Why? "Because we have a lot of content material we need to cover," he explains. "I don't have time to do a thing like we did with 'Dare to Dream.' We definitely have to cover those state standards."

Ironically, points out Bailey, that's exactly what well-designed technology-based curricula can do. "We have to guard and protect ourselves against engaging in the either/or debate," he says. "You can do both—teach creatively and to the test."

Training teachers to do just that is crucial if American high schools are going to realize the enormous benefits technology can confer on teaching and learning. As Barbara Stein, National Education Association policy analyst on technology says, "Teachers' preparation

is a key predictor of whether classroom use of technology will improve student achievement."

To meet this challenge, a new culture of professional development is emerging. Teachers are learning "by doing" more than from classroom lectures, and they are learning from each other. National communities of teachers using technology are emerging in cyberspace.

Kulikowski's training illustrates the hands-on method. At a Saturday workshop run by PASCO, a company that produces science-oriented educational materials, she and her colleagues did a

The fastest growing form of teacher training is online courses, which are proliferating so quickly they have been called "a tidal wave."

handful of lab experiments in the field and then hooked up their equipment to laptops, just as their students would do later. Kulikowski can call the company's 800 number at any time with questions and problems. "At first I wasn't so comfortable," she remembers. "But somebody showing me how I can use new programs and technology—and how I can tie them into my regular lessons—that's the key."

In Houston, the Annenberg Challenge is helping to infuse technology into courses taken by many future teachers at five local institutions of higher learning. Thus, 125 freshmen in Dagmar Corrigan's composition classes post portfolios of their work on the Internet and chat with each other online, monitored by Corrigan. They also post comments on a listserv. While the online chatting degenerates without savvy moderating, says Corrigan, the

High school teachers, entrenched in one subject, are usually more hesitant than generalist elementary school teachers to try new things, says Agnes Crawford, assistant executive director for program development for the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD). As Carnegie Corpor-

ation's Warren says, "Teachers are not, for the most part, natural tech buffs."

As Carnegie Corporation's Warren says, "Teachers are not, for the most part, natural tech buffs."

As Carnegie Corporation's Warren says, "Teachers are not, for the most part, natural tech buffs."

by
AMBIKA KAPUR

The
**Foundation
Partnership**
to
African
Strengthen
Universities

As we send more of the world's young people to school, growing numbers of students are knocking at the doors of their country's universities and colleges, hoping for a chance to further their education. In a number of African countries, some of the help these students need to realize their dreams may be

on the way from a pathbreaking four-foundation partnership.

FOUR FOUNDATIONS



From left to right: Narciso Matos, Chair, International Development Program, Carnegie Corporation; Patrick Hayford, Director, Regional and African Affairs, Office of the Secretary General, United Nations; Iqbal Riza, Chef de Cabinet, Under Secretary General, United Nations; Vartan Gregorian, President, Carnegie Corporation; Jonathan Fanton, President, MacArthur Foundation

Africa, and a mechanism to provide real assistance to its renaissance. It is also premised on an assessment that, at this junction, a number of African countries are primed for real change, have the stability for long-term reform, and are intent on finding ways of turning their challenges into opportunities.

In announcing the effort, the leaders of the four institutions, Vartan Gregorian

by years of neglect and isolation, along with the new pressures created by the reforms themselves.

The partnership was forged to support efforts, many already underway, by leaders of African universities and academic associations to expand and improve the education available to the next generation of African leaders. An important element of the partnership

tional committee convened jointly by the World Bank and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, concludes that mistakes have been made. "Narrow and, in our view, misleading economic analysis has contributed to the view that public investment in universities and colleges brings meager returns compared to investment in primary and secondary schools," states the report. Matos believes that the report will contribute to a more balanced perspective about how much African universities have to contribute to the progress and development of African nations, on many levels. "Strong African universities can play a role in protecting basic freedoms, enhancing intellectual life and informing policymaking," he says.

Matos, who served for four years as secretary general of the Association of African Universities before joining the Corporation, adds that "There is a realization now that you need university-trained personnel to assist in economic development. Despite more innovative leadership at a few African universities," he continues, "decades of economic decline, numerous wars across the continent and an enrollment explosion have left African education in a grim state. Enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa is only 3.5 percent of the college-age population, the lowest of any region in the world."

Along with this new focus on higher education in Africa, funders are increasingly mindful of globalization and the need for universities across the world to meet the challenges it brings. Ahmed Bawa, program officer in the Ford Foundation's program in Southern Africa, says that universities in sub-Saharan Africa are recognizing that the creation of knowledge, the dissemination of research and even teaching are no longer self-contained activities, but must draw on



(l.) Ahmed Bawa, Program Officer, Ford Foundation, Southern Africa, (r.) Narciso Matos, Chair, International Development Program, Carnegie Corporation

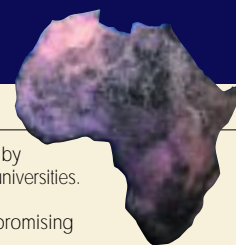
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of Carnegie Corporation of New York, Susan Berresford of the Ford Foundation, Gordan Conway of the Rockefeller Foundation and Jonathan Fanton of the MacArthur Foundation, said the decision to work together to enhance and expand their educational grantmaking in Africa was based upon two important trends. First, a significant number of sub-Saharan nations are implementing democratic and economic reforms that make them promising venues for the development of education. Second, many higher education institutions in Africa are battling difficult circumstances brought on

activities is that the four foundations share information and seek to develop common approaches as they expand support that each already provides to universities on the continent.

The partnership represents a new and different view of African higher education on the part of international donor agencies and foundations. Until recently, they often overlooked Africa's increasingly crumbling universities out of a belief that more could be accomplished by supporting primary and secondary schools in a region where only half the population is literate. A recent report by an interna-

A Selection of Partnership Grants



Country	Foundation	Grantee	Amount	Purpose
Africa-wide	Rockefeller Foundation	Africa Dissertation Internship Award	\$1,530,204	To enhance the quality of overseas education received by African graduate students enrolled in North American universities.
	Rockefeller Foundation	Africa Career Award	\$1,132,221	To enhance research capacity and development of promising young African scholars.
	Rockefeller Foundation*	African Economic Research Foundation	\$700,000	To strengthen and help retain local capacity for economic policy research and policy management in sub-Saharan Africa.
	Carnegie Corporation, Ford Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation*	Boston College	\$554,100	Toward the establishment of the <i>Journal of Higher Education in Africa</i> .
Ghana	Ford Foundation	University of Ghana	\$350,000	To integrate the Chieftancy, Governance and Development Program of the Institute of African Studies into the University's mainstream academic curriculum and for core support for its research program.
	Ford Foundation	University of Ghana	\$253,000	Support for planning and developing a Chieftancy, Governance and Development Program under the aegis of the university's Institute of African Studies.
Nigeria	MacArthur Foundation	Ahmadu Bello University	\$3,000,000	For strategic planning, information technology and the refurbishing and upgrading of teaching and research facilities.
	MacArthur Foundation	University of Ibadan	\$3,000,000	For staff development, information and communication technology enhancement and training and university strengthening activities.
	MacArthur Foundation	Bayero University	\$2,000,000	For a three-pronged university strengthening effort focusing on staff development, computer technology and the creation of a faculty of agriculture.
	Rockefeller Foundation	University of Ibadan	\$170,000	For a study to develop and evaluate reproductive health education and service programs for out-of-school youth in rural and urban sites in Oyo State.
Mozambique	Ford Foundation	Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology	\$930,000	Support for key policy reviews with relevant stakeholders; installation and training in computer systems and a fellowship program in the new Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology.
	Ford Foundation	Eduardo Mondlane University	\$480,000	For staff development and doctoral training for teaching and research staff of the Faculty of Agronomy and Forestry Engineering.
South Africa	Carnegie Corporation	Department of Education	\$3,146,900	For a national scholarship program for undergraduate women.
	Rockefeller Foundation	University of Natal	\$1,128,707	To help establish a center for crop improvement at the university, providing Course-based Ph.D. training in the plant sciences.
	Carnegie Corporation	University of Natal	\$1,120,700	Toward one-time funding to establish the KwaZulu Natal Centre for HIV/AIDS Networking.
	Carnegie Corporation	Rhodes University	\$817,500	For one-time funding of a project to train teachers and strengthen a research center for science, mathematics and technology.
	Ford Foundation	University of the Witwatersrand	\$600,000	To establish the African International Relations Centre.
	Rockefeller Foundation	University of Pretoria	\$400,000	To support collaboration between its Center for Environmental Economics and Policy in Africa and universities in eight African countries in developing an African-based regional M.A. program in environmental economics and policy.
Tanzania	Carnegie Corporation	University of Dar es Salaam	\$ 3,491,000	For implementation of institutional transformation (various projects).
	Carnegie Corporation	University of Dar es Salaam	\$1,000,000	For a scholarship program for undergraduate women.
	Ford Foundation	University of Dar es Salaam	\$540,000	Support for annual leadership training and research program for undergraduate students at the University's East African Uongozi Institute.
	Ford Foundation	Sokoine University of Agriculture	\$250,000	Supplementary support for a program to monitor institutional arrangements for forest management in Tanzania.
Uganda	Carnegie Corporation	Makerere University	\$2,015,000	To support its revitalization as an institution that can nourish Uganda's social, political, and economic transformation in the 21st century, and address the human capacity and research needs of decentralization.
	Rockefeller Foundation	Makerere University	\$2,000,000	
	Rockefeller Foundation	Makerere University	\$1,900,000	
	Carnegie Corporation	Makerere University	\$1,000,000	For a scholarship program for undergraduate women.

* Indicates a joint partnership initiative. (Support for a particular university or educational project is considered a partnership activity when funding is provided jointly by two or more of the partnership foundations.) The other grants listed reflect individual partnership initiatives.

visitors and written enquiries asking, "What have you done and how have you done it?" The university, too, is pleasantly surprised to find that it is suddenly the center of such attention, bolstering the spirit of the institution in its resolve to renew itself.

The studies, conferences and continued support for the development of African universities, coming at a time when their home countries face daunting challenges, including globalizing markets and the emerging role of new technologies, "places the four foundations at an historical juncture" says Ahmed Bawa. "They are now positioned to make a special impact, an historical impact, that could become the lever for deeply rooted systemic changes for the continent as a whole."

There has also been an impact on the foundations themselves, and how they go about grantmaking. "This partnership," says Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation, "is a new kind of collaboration among philanthropic institutions. In effect, it allows us to get more

out of the resources we all have to invest in Africa's human capital development." He said that after some initial questions about the nature of the activities to be supported, the four foundations got together and decided "who could bring what to the table. We realized that even though our approaches differ, we were united in the belief that strong universities and intellectual freedom are indispensable preconditions in developing and sustaining healthy democratic societies." This has led, says Gregorian, to "real synergy" among the foundations. "I hope this evolving model of a successful partnership in our international work will lead to more partnerships in the domestic sector," he adds.

Building on the momentum created by their partnership, the foundations are already planning how they can work on an even wider range of concerns, including helping universities to develop their capabilities in information communications technologies, increase their access to bandwidth, and expand their capacity to carry out research and contribute to

knowledge about higher education in Africa. Still, the foundation leaders believe that their partnership is only one element of the support needed to bring about substantial and long-term gains for Africa's higher education institutions. They are committed to working together to encourage other organizations and foundations to make African higher education an important part of their funding strategies.

Both the foundations and the universities involved in partnership activities believe that the work being done demonstrates the best that philanthropy has to offer by pulling together knowledge, strategies and resources, all aimed at providing universities with academic as well as practical help, enabling them to become more robust institutions, capable of launching a new generation of scholars, analysts, scientists, technologists, teachers, public servants and entrepreneurs. The foundations are confident that their investments will ultimately lead to what everyone wants: African answers to African problems. ■

The First Africa-Wide Journal *About Higher Education is Launched*

The Partnership to Strengthen African Universities, together with Boston College and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), has recently launched the first Africa-wide journal devoted to higher education on the continent that will also serve as a principal means for sharing the experiences, success and lessons learned in the partnership countries. The *Journal of Higher Education in Africa* (JHEA) is a signature achievement for the four-foundation collaboration, one that they hope will

help to create and sustain a concerned community of African higher education researchers and policymakers by ensuring access to and the dissemination of knowledge. An additional goal of the foundation partners is for JHEA to strengthen higher education's role in informing the national and regional developments associated with democratization and socioeconomic progress.

In the first phase of development, Boston College and CODESRIA will co-publish the journal three times a year and distribute it, in Africa, through

CODESRIA's existing networks, free of charge, to appropriate university libraries and to a limited number of individual researchers, policymakers and government officials. Outside Africa, there will be a charge for the journal, which will be made available on the Internet, through Boston College's web site, in collaboration with CODESRIA and Michigan State University's African Studies Center. As a multidisciplinary and bilingual journal, published in English and French, JHEA will include peer-reviewed research articles and essays on a wide range of higher education issues relating to Africa. The journal will also publish special thematic issues comprising conference papers or articles on specific subjects relevant to African higher education. ■



Middle East News Broadcasts Now Available to Americans

News reports from Middle Eastern television stations are now available with English translation on a program called *Mosaic*, which airs Monday through Friday (at different times in different time zones) on WorldLink TV, a nonprofit satellite broadcaster that offers documentaries, news, music and other programming from around the world.

Each program features stories from more than a dozen Middle Eastern broadcasters. Most programs are beamed by satellite to WorldLink TV where they are translated and dubbed in time for *Mosaic's* daily broadcasts.

Mosaic's creative team includes producer Jamal Dajani, a Palestinian-American who also serves as WorldLink's Director of Arabic Programming, and David Michaelis, a veteran Israeli journalist who is Director of Current Affairs. Both feel Americans can learn a great deal from viewing the news reports. "We've discovered, since 9/11, that what you don't know can hurt you," Michaelis comments.

The news reports are presented without filters or commentary and many of the stories are decidedly slanted. Adding an anchor to put the reports in perspective is under consideration; but for now, the program's producers have confidence in their audience. "We think our

viewers are intelligent," says Dajani, "and can draw their own conclusions."

Mosaic receives major funding from the Hewlett and Knight foundations. For a viewing schedule and more information, go to www.worldlinktv.org/mosaic.



Pew Research Center Releases Global Attitudes Report

The Pew Global Attitudes Project at The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press has released results from a worldwide public opinion survey that cast new light on how people around the world feel about their lives, their countries and the world.

Overall, respondents ranked the spread of disease as the top global concern followed by fear of religious and ethnic violence and nuclear weapons. The economy emerged as the main national concern in most countries, with crime and political corruption running closely behind.

The U.S. continues to receive positive ratings in most other countries, although matched against data from a 2000 survey of 27 countries, the favorable ratings for America have declined. Not unexpectedly, dislike of America is most severe in the Middle East; however, the latest figures also find considerable erosion in support from traditional allies such as Canada and Germany.

As a follow-up to the larger study, a smaller survey of six

New Book on the Chechen Wars

In 1992, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, only two of Russia's 89 regions refused to join the new Russian Federation: Chechnya and Tartarstan, which shared many similarities, including strategically important locations, large Muslim populations and significant natural resources. Yet Tartarstan was allowed to negotiate greater autonomy while Chechnya was treated as a breakaway republic—one that had to be brutally forced into submission with two wars that destroyed cities, towns and villages and cost tens of thousands of lives, nearly all Russian citizens. In his newly published book, *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union?* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2002) Matthew Evangelista explores this tragedy and challenges Moscow's justifications for it—that Chechnya's rebellion had to be crushed to dissuade other republics from seceding from the Federation. As President Vladimir Putin, quoted by Evangelista, once expressed it: "I have never for a second believed that Chechnya would limit itself to its own independence. It would become a beachhead for further attacks on Russia."

Evangelista, a professor of government at Cornell University, wrote the book with support from Carnegie Corporation as a Carnegie Scholar, one of 12 comprising the first class of Carnegie Scholars, which was named in 2000. At that time, the Corporation revived its support for individual scholarship to promote innovative and policy-focused research in areas of special relevance to the foundation's programs. Two subsequent classes of Carnegie Scholars have since been named as part of this annual program, and a total of 39 fellowships have been awarded to date.

Evangelista earned his A.B. in Russian history and literature from Harvard University in 1981, a certificate in Russian language from the Pushkin Institute, Moscow, in 1979, and his Ph.D. in government from Cornell University in 1986. His publications include *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), *Innovation and the Arms Race: How the United States and the Soviet Union Develop New Military Technologies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988; paperback, 1989), and numerous articles.

In answer to the question raised in his new book's title, Evangelista writes: "Could Russia go the way of the Soviet Union in the sense that Yeltsin and Putin had in mind in their fear-mongering about the consequences of Chechen separatism? The evidence presented in this book suggests that the Russian Federation is highly unlikely to break up into its constituent parts, as the USSR did, or even to see any of the other ethnic republics follow the Chechen example." ■

THE Back Page

Henry Kelly is president of the Federation of American Scientists, headquartered in Washington, D.C. Kelly has worked on technology policy for the Congress and in the White House and is the Executive Director of the Learning Federation, a group of corporate and university research leaders dedicated to building a major national research program aimed at discovering ways to use advances in cognitive science and information technology to improve the quality, accessibility and affordability of learning.

After years of rhetoric about how information technology would revo-



lutionize education, the nation's education and training institutions have not delivered anything approaching the promised change. Most of the innovations that have occurred have been driven by students using word processors instead of typewriters and using the web as a supplement to library research. Students with web-literate teachers are able to get advice and submit papers by e-mail. But progress has stalled at this point. Even efforts to put university curriculum online seldom amount to much more than posting syllabi and lecture notes.

New financing mechanisms have done a good job of providing computer connectivity to schools and market forces will make hardware costs affordable in the years to

What Can We Aim For?

We're so accustomed to the limitations imposed by today's classroom instruction that it is hard to imagine anything else, but cognitive scientists tell us that there actually is a better way for people to learn. Their research argues that the best way to acquire and maintain expertise is to provide a framework that helps learners to organize information into a logical structure and to reinforce this logic through a series of inherently motivating experiences that fixes the knowledge in a learner's mind. The goal is to keep a

student motivated by maintaining a state of disequilibrium, where there is some dissonance between their concepts and the reality they are confronting. The dissonance should not be so great that the learner becomes frustrated or despairs.

Timely, informative assessment of a person's expertise is also essential to this process. The measurements should be as valuable to the learner as to the instructor, helping the learner become aware of the success of his or her own learning strategies and approach to expertise.

It has been easy to ignore these recommendations because many seem implausibly expensive and impossible to implement. But what would happen if technology suddenly made them affordable?

What Do We Need To Know?

The recommendations of modern cognitive science strongly resemble the learning environment that was universal before the worthy desire to provide universal education forced us to use classrooms: learning apprenticeships; learning through games that imitated adult behavior; learning through mistakes and trial and making mistakes corrected by experts; learning supported by tutors giving advice in the context of a task the learner was motivated to accomplish. What's striking is how little we really know about these lost approaches to teaching. The most accomplished tutors in today's society have little but their own experience to go on; few have been tutored themselves. Laboratories and field trips are highly artificial experiences that seldom allow real exploration or

groups and some are exasperated by them. Socratic dialogues driven by experience and lots of questions are undoubtedly valuable in some situations for some students. The painful reality is that we really don't know much about when or how to use these new approaches.

How to build and use simulations

Many of the new approaches to learning depend on finding ways to make exploration and discovery practical, and for most purposes that means building plausible simulations and virtual environments. It is now possible to run astoundingly realistic simulations on computers that cost only a few hundred dollars.

The animations that are integral parts of most modern action films provide a good example of the kinds of simulations that are feasible and will function on inexpensive com-

Education for Tomorrow Needs Innovation Today

by HENRY KELLY

puters in the near future. In the movie *The Hollow Man*, a figure moves around as layers of skin, muscle and internal organs peel away. The heart beats, muscles and ligaments stretch in completely plausible ways because the animation was built by modeling every major bone, muscle and organ. *Jurassic Park* created complete Jurassic ecosystems; *Gladiator* included a model of most of 2nd century Rome.

How to think outside the classroom

The most fundamental research challenge is finding out how to design the most effective learning strategy for each subject and each student given that all problems of design and cost could be overcome. We know that computer games can be extraordinarily compelling, and that people will spend weeks mastering obscure skills that help them move to ever-higher levels of play. Some of these techniques can be used to motivate learning. Some subjects lend themselves to exploration and tutorials and some are better learned by curling up with a good book. Some learners thrive in

Highly sophisticated simulation visualization tools are used in research and engineering. In a growing number of cases, these simulations are the primary way information and insight are encapsulated. But classroom teachers, on the other hand, have none of these advantages. A major reason for the difference is that each

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Phone: (212) 371-3200
Fax: (212) 754-4073
Web site: www.carnegie.org

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A footnote to History

A large Celtic cross, carved from stone quarried at Skibo, his beloved summer home in Scotland, the country where he was born, stands in the center of a grove of rhododendron and pine trees, marking the tranquil resting place of Andrew Carnegie and his wife Louise. Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in North Tarrytown, New York, a place of myths and stories, reveals little about the poor immigrant who lived to be the richest man in the world. Understated grave markers for the Carnegies simply tell of their birth and death. Loyal servants who worked for the two are interred just a few dozen feet away. Carnegie chose to be buried in America because this was the country that gave him the opportunity to become wealthy and successful; he bought a plot at Sleepy Hollow (and had it landscaped by Frederick Law Olmsted), because it was where other prominent New Yorkers like the Vanderbilts and Millers built resting places for their families and monuments to their history. Recently, Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York and a small delegation of staff members visited the cemetery in the company of a Carnegie relative. At the Carnegie site, they found the grave itself hidden by trees and overgrown bushes—it seemed a place nearly forgotten. Carnegie's last grandchild, Barbara Miller Lawson, who died this past spring, had asked the Corporation to investigate the condition of the grave, concerned that the perpetual care fund established by Carnegie in his will might no longer be adequate for dignified maintenance. The Corporation intends to ensure our founder's dignity and will mark the site with a plaque commemorating the 21 different organizations and institutions that Carnegie established in his lifetime—a legacy that lives after him as a true and lasting tribute to the ideas, commitments and passions of one of America's first philanthropists.



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A Celtic cross marks the Carnegie family burial plot.

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