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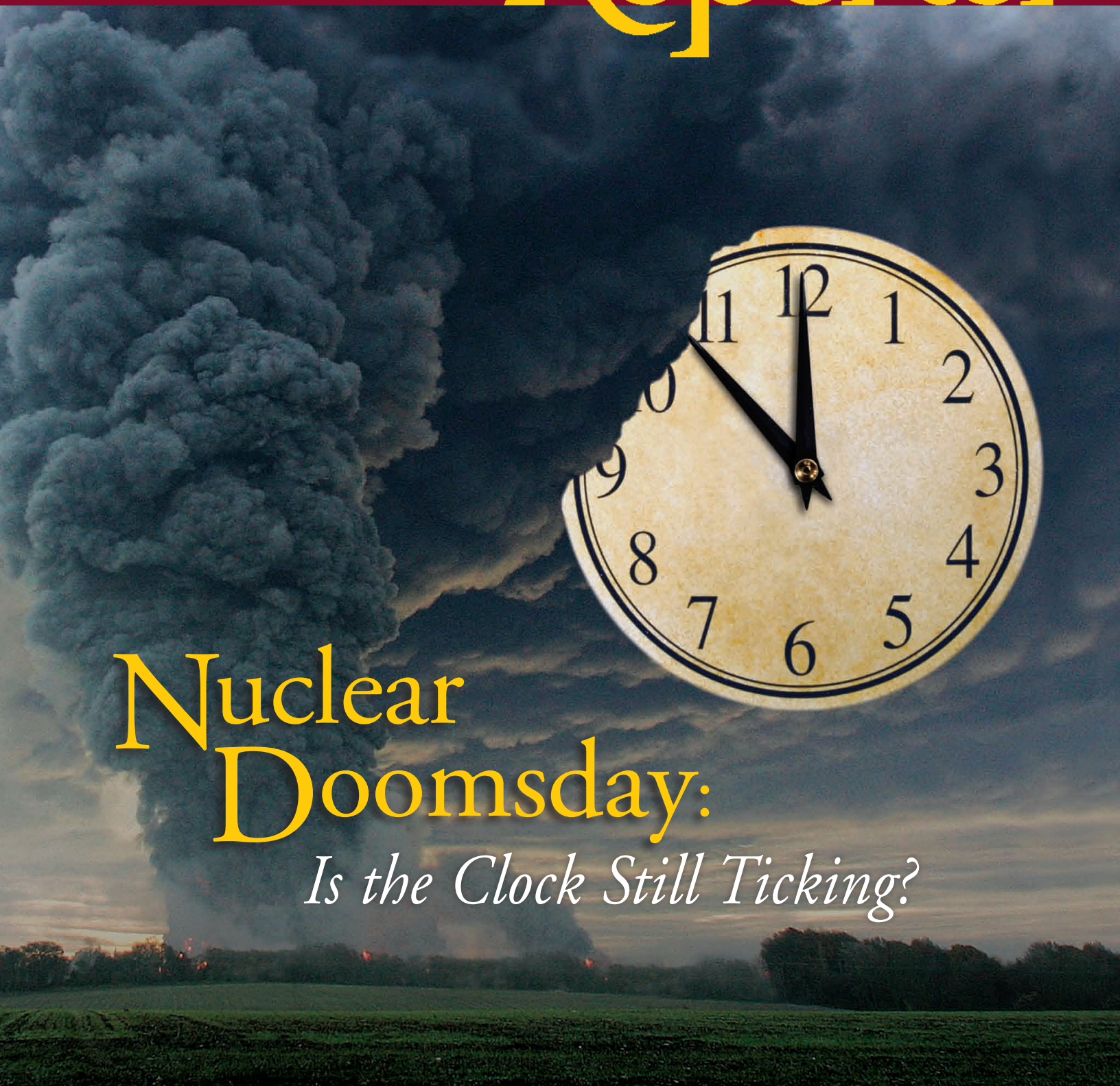
# CARNEGIE Reporter



# Nuclear Doomsday:

## *Is the Clock Still Ticking?*

# A Letter *from the* PRESIDENT

PHOTO BY INGA HENDRIKS

As I approach my tenth year as president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, I continue to marvel at the increasing effects of globalization on societies everywhere. In 1997, in my first essay for the foundation's annual report—a tradition for Corporation presidents—I noted, for example, how critical it is, in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, for foundations, nongovernmental organizations and others to work together to strengthen higher education institutions in places such as the former Soviet Union and the nations of Africa, whose progress and stability are crucial to prospects for world peace and the success of democracy.

The pressures on universities all across the world are growing as the American concept of education as a right, not a privilege—promoted in this country by legislation such as the 1862 Land-Grant Colleges Act (the Morrill Act), which brought education to the people by establishing universities in every state and the post-World-War-II G.I. Bill, which made higher education a national investment worthy of public funding—continues to gain traction. Even the citizens of states still in transition from their colonial legacies or emerging from war and civil strife demand that their homelands provide university-level education, whether they can afford to or not. Individuals increasingly recognize that their lot in life depends on their level of education and training. And states view free or affordable higher education as essential to their modernization and successful participation in the global marketplace. Many countries have tried to meet this growing demand by establishing as many institutions of higher education as possible. But creating a quality university system is easier said than done; though good schools can solve social ills from poverty to unemployment, a thousand practical problems and policy constraints stand in the way of developing them.

Indeed, simply establishing schools is not the same as having the requisite personnel, equipment, material, technological know-how, and finances to sustain them. In developing nations, there may be enough political will for equal opportunity in higher education, but not enough resources for excellence. There are other challenges as well: in developing parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, some of the best universities are under pressure to admit students from across the continent, in part-as in the U.S.-to increase their prestige and revenue. Often, this provokes debate within the university and the society at large about whether a nation should reserve its limited educational resources only for its own population or welcome students from across the region in the hope of promoting solidarity with neighboring states.

Some have turned to "virtual universities" or distance learning to help solve the problem. Widespread access to the Internet has made this feasible. But it also raises a number of concerns: to what extent, for example, does personal interaction with teachers matter to the quality of a student's educational experience? How much does mixing with other students contribute to an understanding of different ethnic groups, races and ideologies? What about the whole environment created by being part of a learning community over the course of four years?

A first-rate faculty is key to building a successful university. But strapped for cash, time, and expertise, many institutions simply import visiting professors or rely on part-time graduate students to teach. Such hires usually remain outsiders among the university community, receive few benefits and are often neither adequately trained nor highly skilled. The opposite extreme-hiring academic "stars" in order to gain prestige but then leaving empty the coffers needed to hire young, high-quality professors-is also a recipe for institutional weakness. Ironically, universities suffer further when governments, along with local and international corporations, raid their best and brightest teachers.

In many globalizing markets, student expectations far outstrip the capabilities of fledgling university systems. China, for instance, has made remarkable efforts to provide ample educational opportunities for its talented young people. Yet everyone wants a top degree; students who attend second-tier universities eagerly pay extra to have their degrees bear the name of a better university-and have been known to riot when denied that opportunity. Some recent Chinese college graduates have refused to move out of their dormitories after failing to find either jobs or affordable housing.

Similar frustrations are evident in other developing countries where a scientific degree is no guarantee of getting a job in that field. Under-employing a country's best-educated citizens is counterproductive, demoralizing and devastating to the yearning for upward mobility. A physicist working in a customs house is a symbol of national stagnation, not advancement. It also makes painfully clear that the right to an education does not automatically translate into the right to a suitably challenging, high-paying job.

Still, the clamor for higher education does not necessarily mean that students expect-or want-to be subject to rigorous coursework or held to high standards. In many countries, the trend is toward "fair" tests that give more students a chance to pass their classes and earn their degrees. To some extent, this is a reaction to the kind of centralized, high-stakes exam practices developed by the former Soviet Union, France and other states to identify talent and "manage" their citizens' aspirations—in effect, designed to ensure that while everyone may get a chance, only a certain percentage will succeed.

Even when universities do everything in their power to provide excellent, high-quality education, the need to respond to the forces of globalization by developing technology or building international ties often leads them to neglect their own nation's social agendas. If a nation is to progress, it needs well-educated teachers, doctors, lawyers, social workers, journalists, and business leaders, among others. It even needs expert bureaucrats to manage banking, healthcare, government and all the other elements of civil infrastructure. And these individuals must be not only trained but retained, requiring incentives to keep them at home. Otherwise, we see, for example, an exodus of trained health care providers from developing nations to Western hospitals. Britain has been a huge beneficiary of nurses emigrating from Malawi (and in recognition of the dire healthcare consequences for that nation, has offered aid to increase the salaries of Malawian nurses in order to reduce emigration). Similarly, even the U.S. has eased its shortage by welcoming nursing graduates from the Philippines. Namibia, meanwhile, cannot provide the financial incentives to keep its nurses; 30 percent of its nursing slots are vacant.

Taking these trends together, one conclusion is absolutely clear: throughout the world, the role of the university is critical to national development and central to the progress of society. And as such, it will continue to be the engine of change for every nation; all citizens, from the richest to the poorest, will look within its walls for the keys to their future. And not just their economic future; the main aim of higher education in a globalized setting must be for human beings and societies to develop a deeper understanding of each other's values, traditions, and culture-especially now that many of them are in conflict with modernity and the forces unleashed by globalization. In essence, while governments are busy creating economic trade agreements, universities must provide not only the requisite expertise but also work to foster cultural exchanges for ideas, wisdom and knowledge—the truly precious currency of humankind.

VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President*

*Note: This letter was adapted from "The Right to Learn," by Vartan Gregorian, which appeared in the international edition of* Newsweek, *August 21-August 28, 2006.*

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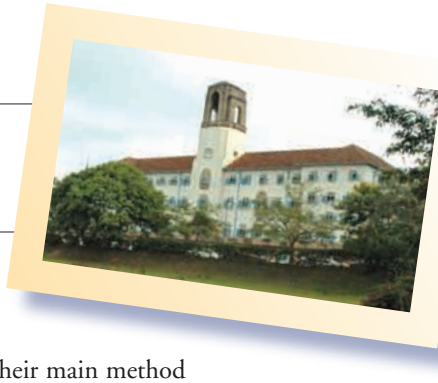



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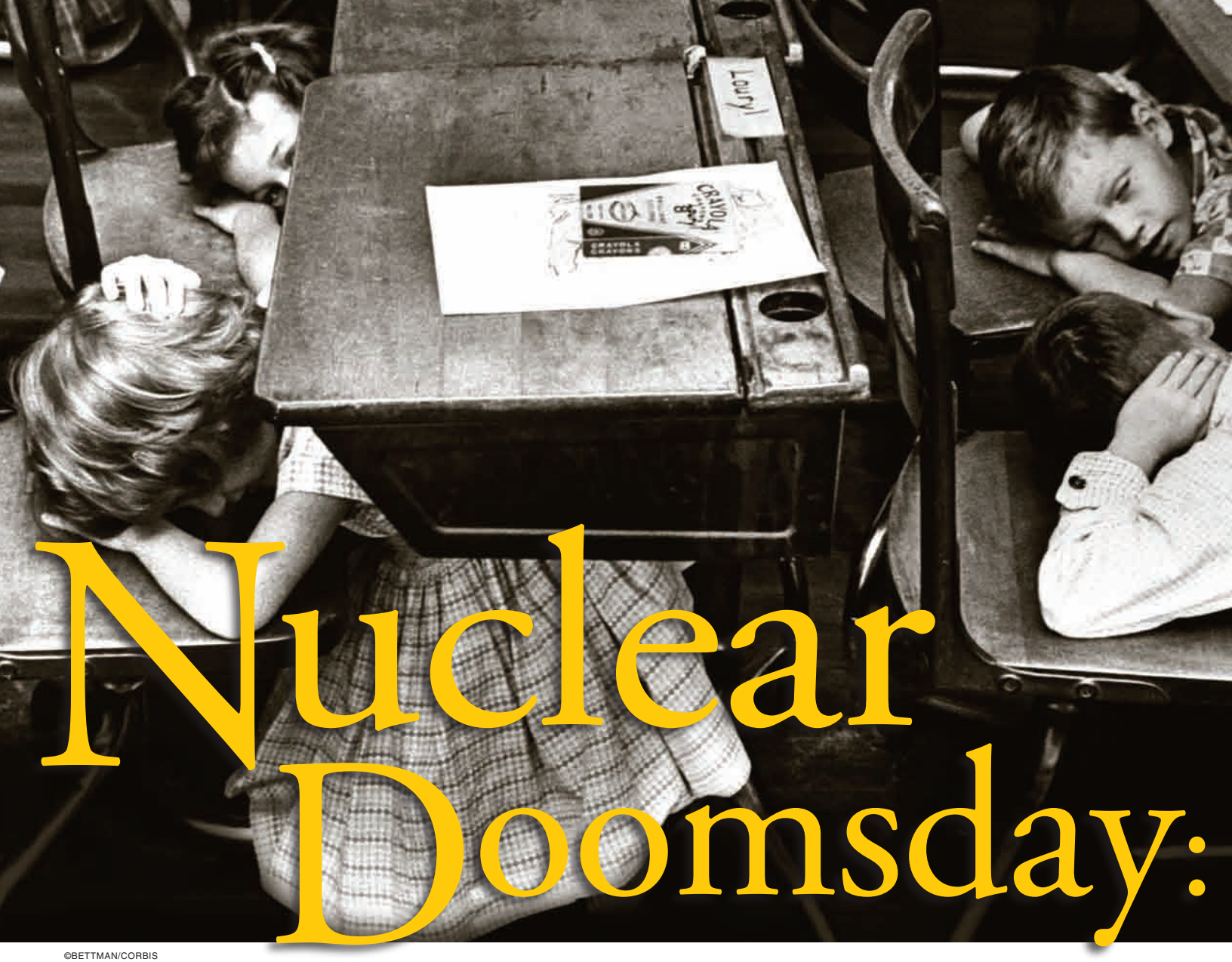

# Nuclear Doomsday:

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## *Just Because We No Longer "Duck and Cover"*

Plumb the depths of any Baby Boomer's psyche and you will, sooner or later, come upon the "Duck and Cover" drills. Tucked into some fold or flap of paranoid, formative experience—cross-referenced to Sputnik Fear and Cuban Missile Trauma—there is the childhood recollection of this oft-repeated exercise: Without any warning, the teacher shouted "DROP!" at which point every student hit the cold, dull-brown linoleum, scrambled beneath their desk and assumed *the position*, curled tight into a ball, arms over head or hugging knees. In this modified fetal posture, trying desperately not to come in contact with the layer of age-hardened chewing gum lining the bottom of the desk, children were supposed to believe that they had found refuge from the onslaught of incoming ICBMs packing hundreds of kilotons of thermonuclear might.

Officials at the highest levels of America's civil defense fully recognized that this exercise provided no real physical protection. Instead, according to a seminal study funded by the Federal Civil Defense Administration at the panicked-dawn of the nuclear arms race,


A "Duck and Cover" poster from the 1950s.



# Is the Clock Still Ticking?

## Doesn't Mean We're in the Clear

by M. J. Zuckerman

these exercises were to serve as a psychological girder for "emotion management," providing American youth with the nonsensical notion that they were saving themselves. There was also something vaguely patriotic about the exercise, as if everyone was doing his or her part to stare down Communism. All of this was personified in the memorable 1952 Civil Defense Administration's Cold War classic, *Duck and Cover*, which featured a plucky, anthropomorphic turtle named Bert [as recalled by www.conelrad.com] who survives nuclear attacks by hunkering down in his shell:

*There was a turtle by the name of Bert*
*and Bert the turtle was very alert;*
*when danger threatened him he never got hurt*
*he knew just what to do...*
*He ducked!* [Explosion sound]
*And covered!*
*Ducked!* [Explosion sound]
*And covered!*

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*M.J. Zuckerman is a Washington, DC-based veteran journalist, author, newspaper reporter and editor, who has written extensively about the intersection of technology, security, democracy and justice for more than 20 years.*

Fast forward to November 1989 and the Berlin Wall is under assault from a rag-tag collection of East Germans enthralled by the realization that their political fortunes have taken a dramatic turn; the greatest ideological competition in history ends in a fizzle rather than a mushroom cloud. Across the Atlantic, we look on, amazed and relieved.

But just as the Cold War's "emotion management" exercises sought to provide a false sense of security, distracting from the true nature of all-out nuclear war, the end of the Cold War has lulled the general population into a worldview that the nuke threat is part of a bygone age. It isn't. The nature of the threat has changed. It is no longer likely to take the form of sudden, mutually assured annihilation by cascading nuclear ordnance—although that too remains a possibility as long as the U.S. and Russia maintain nuclear arsenals on high alert. Today's most commonly contemplated nuclear threat is nuclear terrorism, in which casualties would be "limited" to several hundred thousand dead and the collapse of key economic sectors in the first days after a detonation, followed by broader economic implications and, depending which scenario plays out, localized nuclear reprisals or regional conflicts in which millions more could die. In this article we focus on understanding the threat.

The Doomsday Clock, created in 1947 by the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* as an indicator of nuclear threat should not be looked upon as a relic. For nearly 60 years, the hands of the clock have moved closer to or shifted away from midnight, "to reflect the global level of nuclear danger and the state of international security." The worst was two minutes to midnight, in 1953, when the U.S. and the Soviets, while not on speaking terms, each detonated thermonuclear tests within nine months of each other; the best was 17 minutes to midnight, in 1991, when the U.S. and Russia were unilaterally disengaging tactical nuclear weapons. Today, however, the clock stands at a disconcerting seven minutes to midnight.

That is not a narrow reflection of informed opinion. President Bush and Senator John Kerry agreed during their 2004 presidential debates that nuclear terrorism—and, more broadly, nuclear proliferation as it makes weapons of mass destruction (WMD) available to terrorists—was the single "gravest danger" and the "greatest threat" facing the United States. Russia's President Putin expresses an equally urgent view. And yet, almost inexplicably, progress is measured in decades or stalled entirely on bureaucratic matters such as U.S. demands for unfettered access to Russian nuke sites where American taxpayers aided security.

Among those most worried about this lack of progress is Sam Nunn, Co-Chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) and, since his years in the Senate, one of the foremost policy experts on nuclear nonproliferation. He rates the U.S and Russian leaders' progress by saying, "On a scale of one-to-ten, in terms of words, I'd give them a ten; in terms of deeds, about a three."

The recurrent theme one hears when speaking to Nunn is the need for leadership, accountability, responsibility and transparency. But mostly leadership. While he applauds U.S.-Russian nuclear control initiatives reached at the July 2006 G-8 meeting in St. Petersburg, Russia, as he explained in a *New York Times* op-ed, the record of follow-through and achievement "is not great." Nunn argues that the U.S. and Russian presidents each need to appoint a senior aid with full-time responsibility for WMD controls, able to engage the presidents' attention to resolve thorny bureaucratic disputes. Then, there needs to be oversight, either internally or externally, probably both, rating the performance of these efforts. He adds, "Only Bush and Putin can ride herd and say, 'Listen, we meant it when we said it, so let's get it done.' But that doesn't seem to be happening and I can't understand, particularly after President Bush keeps saying this is the most serious problem we have, keeping weapons of mass destruction out of the hands of terrorist groups. President Putin said it too, but it's not treated as the highest priority."

**The Doomsday Clock of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* is currently set at seven minutes to midnight.**

COURTESY THE *BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS.*

"The threat posed by terrorists getting their hands on WMD is an underlying theme of most of the grantmaking in the Corporation's International Peace and Security Program," explains program Chair Stephen Del Rosso. "Building on the Corporation's long legacy in the peace and security field, we support a range of work—from nuclear nonproliferation, to biosecurity, to post-conflict state building—that addresses what we consider the most serious dimensions of the terrorist threat."

Richard L. Garwin—a nuclear scientist present at the creation of the nuclear age, a member of the Manhattan Project, who today includes in his voluminous portfolio advising the Pentagon as well as the Pugwash Conferences (which

bring together international leaders and scholars seeking cooperative solutions for global problems, particularly armed conflict)—postulates that there stands a fifty percent chance of a nuclear attack on an American city within the next five years. Former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry has offered a similar prediction.

At the other end of the spectrum is Robin Frost, a Canadian government analyst, who has stirred something of a hornets' nest with his argument in an International Institute for Strategic Studies "Adelphi Paper" that the *likelihood* of any nuclear terrorist attack on the West is somewhere between slight and none.

Yet what Frost, Garwin and seemingly everyone else agree upon is that the potential of even a modestly successful nuclear terrorist detonation is so horrific that even if the *likelihood* is less than one in a thousand, the *consequences* are so awful that there remains an urgent need for cautious threat management to reduce that risk toward zero. Remarkably, despite the efforts of the United Nations, G-8 and other political, scientific, academic and philanthropic entities, the United States demonstrates no sense of urgency to address what Graham Allison, former Assistant Secretary of Defense and founding dean of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, writes in his book *Nuclear Terrorism* (Henry Holt and Company, 2005) is "the ultimate preventable catastrophe."

According to a 2001 nonpartisan Department of Energy advisory panel report, the world's most at-risk stockpiles of fissile materials—the single toughest hurdle for terrorists interested in a nuclear device—could be secured for $30 billion over eight-to-ten years. The advisory panel's recommendations were never adopted by Congress or the White House. By comparison, the United States spent $430 billion for wars in Iraq and Afghanistan in less than five years, according to the Congressional Research Service.

Arguably, we would be more secure if we were more fearful—perhaps if we thought more in terms of "Duck and Cover." As Intel founder Andrew S. Grove observed about the nature of competitive forces: "Only the paranoid survive."

But that does *not* mean hiding under a desk.

### Defining the Threat

What we *should* be doing, many experts say, is defining the threat and securing against it. We no longer face the monolithic threat of two superpowers incinerating civilization as they struggle for hegemony. Today's most likely nuclear threats are numerous, more subtle and complex.

It is estimated that some 27,000 nuclear weapons are divided among eight nations, five of which (the United Kingdom, the United States, France, India and Israel) are regarded as stable, democratic allies. The other three—China, Russia and Pakistan—are regarded with some uncertainty. The ninth member of the Nuclear Club is almost certainly North Korea and Iran is likely to join in the next few years. The newer members pose the continuing threat of destabilizing regional or global politics.

In terms of nuclear threats to the United States:

- It is widely agreed that the Bush administration's 2002 National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction, which clearly "reserves the right to respond with overwhelming force" (READ: massive nuclear reprisal) against any WMD attack on the United States, is sufficient to deter any nation—even regimes like North Korea's—from targeting American territory, its possessions or interests.
- Of greater concern is an unintended attack on the United States, either through an accidental launch, theft of a device or rogue officials providing a weapon.
- The focus of gravest concern is that terrorists could build a bomb. The toughest obstacle to achieving this goal is obtaining between forty and one hundred pounds of fissile material (either Highly Enriched Uranium or plutonium) from more than four million pounds stockpiled by forty nations (ninety-five percent of it in the U.S. and Russia), where security frequently consists of "no more than a night watchman and a chain link fence," according to a Harvard University report commissioned by NTI.

These threats should not be confused with lesser, more easily executed radiological terrorist opportunities, such as a "dirty bomb" (explosives packed with low-radiation material) or an attack on a nuclear power plant (which could cause some contamination, but no explosion). Either of these falls into the category of Weapons of Mass Distraction, which would pale in comparison to 9/11.

"We shouldn't be lulled into a false sense of security because there haven't been any mass-casualty terrorist attacks in the U.S. since 9/11," observes Del Rosso. "If it is true, as reported, that al-Qaeda aborted its planned lethal gas attack on the New York City subway system because it didn't consider it to be a dramatic enough sequel, then we have to come to terms with a persistent threat that very well might include WMD."

We probably can't guarantee absolute security from such events taking place, "but we can surely get to very much lower risk than we're at today," says Matthew Bunn, Senior Research Associate at Harvard's Project on Managing the Atom, and

co-author of the annual NTI report, *Securing the Bomb.*

The traditional view, that only nations possess the wealth and resources necessary to mount a nuclear weapons program, remains true for one step in the process: The infrastructure necessary for creating fissile material is a vast undertaking, measured in decades, billions of dollars and hundreds of trained experts. The threat of nuclear terrorism, then, arises almost solely when nations fail to exercise strategic security over fissile material or a completed nuclear weapon. "The most crucial element of such a strategy is to lock down every nuclear weapon and every kilogram of potential nuclear bomb material everywhere," says the NTI report.

In an era when terrorism requires that we assess the source of nuclear dangers in new and nontraditional ways, it's necessary to understand the unique issues presented by each nuclear nation.


ASSOCIATED PRESS, AP

**A bust of Igor Kurchatov, who became the driving force behind the Soviet Union's development of the atomic bomb, sits in front of the Jurchatov Institute nuclear research center in Moscow, which is protected by a multi-million-dollar set of safeguards underwritten by the American taxpayer.**

## Russia

Despite having forsaken the ideology that caused it to be labeled "The Evil Empire" by Ronald Reagan, America's last Cold War president, Russia remains the leading nuclear risk for U.S. interests.

"The Duck and Cover era didn't totally go away at the end of the Cold War because we still have thousands of nuclear weapons on alert," says Charles Ferguson of the Council on Foreign Relations, one of many experts concerned by the potential rise of a hardline government in Moscow.

The U.S. and Russia collectively maintain approximately 26,000 nuclear weapons of which perhaps 2,000 are on so-called hair-trigger alert. Not surprisingly, after drawing back and mothballing its nuclear presence from former Soviet republics, the Russian nuclear command and control infrastructure slipped into what many experts describe as a dangerous state of erosion. It was, after all, the competition of building, maintaining and operating this war machine that hastened the Soviet collapse, so why throw good rubles after bad, especially in years of economic severity? Today, the deterioration of command and control is unnerving to U.S. military officials who see potential for an accidental launch of systems lacking adequate safety controls.

The cautionary tale of a near accidental war arising from the U.S. and Russia remaining on high alert took place January 25, 1995, when an incoming missile was spotted by Russia's early-warning system headed in the general direction of a Russian nuclear submarine base. The missile had the "signature," or appearance, of a multistage nuclear missile fired from a U.S. Trident submarine. Moscow was alerted and President Boris Yeltsin prepared a retaliatory strike against the United

**The most crucial element of any program designed to prevent nuclear terrorism is to lock down every nuclear weapon and every kilogram of nuclear bomb material everywhere.**

States. In turn, U.S. systems would have detected the Russian launch and retaliated long before a Russian warhead reached its target. The incident, widely regarded as the closest the U.S. and Russia came to full-blown nuclear war, ended after it was realized that the incoming missile was a Norwegian research rocket. Customary alerts sent from Norway weeks earlier had arrived in Moscow, but in a breakdown of the command structure, were never delivered to the appropriate authorities.

Even under the best of circumstances—and even a dozen years later, these clearly are not the best of circumstances—"When you get any very complicated set of technologies together with human beings there's a fair chance for accidents to happen," notes Kennette Benedict, Executive Director of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.*

Specifically, Benedict refers to the concept of "normal accidents," the phenomenon under which the potential for accidents increases in correlation with the complexity of technology and potential human error.

"Because the Russian system is not quite as well maintained as it was in the past, there is worry now on the part of some in Russia," Benedict says, "that it could be hacked into by an outsider. They might be able to launch a missile from Russia and because [the United States maintains] this 'launch-on-warning' system, it is possible the U.S. might launch a missile back before the first one from the Russians would even land on U.S. soil."

Much has been made of so-called Russian "loose nukes." Yet, there may be less to these concerns than logic might dictate. During the hectic early 1990s when Russia was withdrawing its nuclear military presence from former Soviet republics, it seemed to stand to reason that some materiel would go unaccounted for. As Dick Cheney stated at the time, while serving as Secretary of Defense, even a 99.9 percent success rate in securing those weapons would have been potentially catastrophic. That's because if you do the math, 99.9 percent of the Soviets' estimated 22,000 tactical nuclear weapons would leave 22 weapons unaccounted for, each with yields ranging from 0.5 kilotons to 2 kilotons, the equivalent of from 200,000 to 800,000 sticks of TNT.

©REUTERS/CORBIS

**The Bushehr nuclear power plant in southwest Iran, which the U.S. believes is part of an Iranian program to build nuclear weapons.**

Indeed, appearing on *60 Minutes* in 1997, former Russian National Security Advisor Aleksandr Lebed claimed that more than 100 suitcase-sized tactical nuclear weapons had gone missing since at least 1995. The number was later reduced to 42. While official Russian denials came fast and furious, at least one former high-ranking Soviet scientist testified in Congress confirming the existence of the devices, and other snippets of documentation emerged in support of Lebed's claims. Add to that the sense of economic desperation that gripped post-Soviet Russia, where formerly comfortable scientists and military officials were tempted by corruption, and the threat of black-market nukes seemed quite plausible.

Yet, a decade later there is still no certainty. A study by the Monterey Institute of International Studies' Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS) concluded that Lebed's claims were never "adequately dismissed by his critics, nor fully substantiated by his supporters."

A point to consider in assessing the threat posed by "loose nukes" is that during the period of Soviet disintegration and economic turmoil, the Aum Shinrikyo, a Japanese-based terrorist-cult group with 60,000 followers in Russia, was shopping the global black markets offering upwards of $15 million for Soviet-era nuclear weapons, according to evidence presented at the trial of the group's leaders, who engineered a March 20, 1995 attack on the Tokyo subway system using the chemical nerve agent sarin. Twelve people were killed and up to 1,000 injured. The time would have been ripe for the group to have obtained such a weapon in some underhanded way, but apparently, they never did.

The only "loose nukes" that have turned up are in the custody of former Soviet states—none in private hands. One problem for marketing Russian or Soviet nuclear weapons is that unless purchased through a very senior insider, the purchaser would be stymied by a sophisticated lockout known as Permissive Access Links (PALs) requiring knowledge of lengthy security codes as well as SAFF (Safeing, Arming, Firing and Fusing) Procedures, which requires specialized instructions or training. "Stealing a nuclear weapon appears to be a very unlikely pathway for terrorists to detonate a nuclear explosive," according to Ferguson.

In the late 1990s, Energy Secretary Bill Richardson empanelled a bipartisan task force to assess U.S. programs helping Russia secure its nuclear weapons and fissile materials. The panel, chaired by former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, a Tennessee Republican who also served as Chief of Staff in the Reagan White House, and Lloyd Cutler, Chief Counsel to presidents Carter and Clinton, reported back with a stern warning in January 2001, just as President George W. Bush assumed office. Said Cutler, "The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops abroad or citizens at home."

Best estimates are that Russia maintains 1,100 metric tons (2.9 million pounds) of Highly Enriched Uranium (HEU) and 150 metric tons (400,000 pounds) of plutonium, of which, according to NTI's *Securing the Bomb*, about half is now safely secured.

"Security in Russia, at the moment, is clearly much, much better than it was in the mid 90s," says Matthew Bunn. "There's just no doubt that it's like night and day compared to what it used to be." However, Bunn notes, that still means that a very large amount of HEU is vulnerable. And, as the incident in Beslan, Russia demonstrated in September 2004, there is no lack of determination among some terrorist elements. In that event, 32 Chechen terrorists, armed with automatic weapons, machineguns, explosives and grenade launchers, took 1,200 children and adults hostage. What are the odds that a similarly armed, coordinated attack on a weapons facility, possibly aided by insiders, could be repelled?

## Pakistan

Pakistan's 50 nuclear warheads and capacity to rapidly double that force represents "a vexing security concern," says Ferguson, providing, perhaps, the greatest opportunity for terrorists interested in attacking the United States.

Pakistan's reliability as a continued American ally in the war on terror is tenuous. The CIA contends that Osama bin Laden, his lieutenant Ayman al-Zawahiri and Taliban leader Mullah Muhammad Omar are hiding in Pakistan's mountainous region along the Afghan border, which is represented by the openly pro-Taliban, Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal, the third largest political party in Pakistan's parliament.

Additionally, there have been two near-assassinations of Pakistan's President General Pervez Musharraf at the hands of pro-al-Qaeda forces. "If you can get pretty darn close to killing the Pakistani president, who presumably is one of the most heavily guarded targets in the country…it at least raises a question about other heavily guarded [targets] in the country," says Bunn.

Musharraf dismisses American entreaties to increase security over his nuclear stockpile. According to Graham Allison, Musharraf walks a precarious tightrope. "It is a widely held belief among Pakistan's scientific and military elite, that Pakistan, as the home of the first Islamic bomb, has a duty to share its knowledge," writes Allison, whose work has been supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York. And, what if Musharraf is removed from power—by force or by ballot—and Islamist fundamentalist forces take control of Pakistan, its nuclear stockpile and nuclear weapons infrastructure? While the leaders of a pro-Islamic Pakistan would likely feel constrained by the threat of U.S. retaliation, the new government could be hard-pressed to contain its most zealous elements from assisting al-Qaeda or other militant elements.

Some fear the Pakistan dilemma is already beyond repair. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, the founder of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, infamously provided nuclear weapons technology to North Korea, Iran and Libya from 1989 to 2000, according to his televised February 2004 confession in which he insisted the Pakistani government had no role or knowledge of his activities. Musharraf relieved Khan of his ministerial duties but pardoned him the next day, and refuses International Atomic Energy Agency requests to interview him. Among the questions UN and U.S. authorities have is whether Khan's network—which included two top nuclear scientists arrested in late 2001 for their close ties to the Taliban—assisted al-Qaeda.

## China

China aided Pakistan's nuclear weapons program in the 1980s and early 1990s, but for more than a decade has imposed nuclear controls, including regulations prohibiting export of nuclear technology. "A realistic estimate of China's nuclear arsenal is a total force of 30 nuclear warheads operationally deployed on ICBMs and another 50-to-100 on medium-range ballistic

AP PHOTO/B.K. BANGASH

**Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, former head of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, who provided nuclear technology to North Korea, Iran and Libya.**

missiles for a total force of 80-to-130 nuclear weapons," writes Jeffrey Lewis in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. NTI estimates China's stockpile at 400 strategic and tactical nuclear weapons. As Lewis notes, however, "China seems intent on letting ambiguity enhance the deterrent effect of its nuclear forces."

The commonly contemplated scenario for nuclear conflict with China arises in a dispute over Taiwan. But, Lewis writes, in response to the Bush administration's efforts to field a missile defense system, China is taking initiatives to beef up its nuclear muscle, including doubling its nuclear missiles targeted on the U.S. from 12 to 24. Lewis writes: "So far, none of this has happened. Chinese nuclear forces today look remarkably like they have for decades. The picture of the Chinese nuclear arsenal that emerges from U.S. intelligence assessments suggests a country that—at least in the nuclear field—is deploying a smaller, less ready arsenal than is within its capabilities. That reflects a choice to rely on a minimum deterrent that sacrifices offensive capability in exchange for maximizing political control and minimizing cost."

### Iran and North Korea

Iran presents a severe regional dilemma. Under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Iran has the qualified right to engage in the development of nuclear power for peaceful means. However, spent fuel from its nuclear reactors can be reprocessed into weapons-grade plutonium. While there is broad divergence of expert opinions, retired General Barry McCaffrey claims diplomatic engagements only delay the inevitable: "They are going nuclear—they are going to have 20-to-30 nuclear weapons five years from now," McCaffrey recently predicted on *Meet the Press*. Others see Iran's posturing as a means to win concessions from Europe and the United States. Failing to win those concessions, a nuclear Iran threatens to spark an arms race as neither Egypt nor Saudi Arabia are likely to stand by idly and become the last Middle Eastern power to go nuclear. "Saudi money and Egyptian technology gets an Arab Sunni bomb to confront the Persian Shia bomb," McCaffrey said. Hence, Israel's clearly stated position that a nuclear Iran simply is not a viable option; If U.S.-European diplomacy fails, Israel must act.

Like Iran, North Korea is likely to be constrained from striking America by the threat of devastating reprisal. However, Pyongyang finds comfort in developing long-range missiles to retaliate or serve as a deterrent to what it believes is America's intention to invade its territory and carry out regime change. Of more immediate danger is the threat North Korea poses to South Korea, Japan and the rest of East Asia. Media reaction to the North's July 4, 2006 failed missile firings was overstated, according to Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) analyst Anthony Cordesman. "It is far from clear that North Korea is any closer to a real-world capability to attack the U.S. than it was before this series of tests," he wrote. On the other hand, say William J. Perry and Ashton B. Carter who served, respectively, as Secretary of Defense and Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Clinton administration, writing in *Time* magazine, "Even a failed test provides critical data." And, to the extent that North Korea develops excess capacity for plutonium or HEU and its notoriously unstable leadership spins out of control, it cannot be ruled out as terrorist ally—just as Iran's zealots might defy containment.

### Seeking Security

Of the three potential nuclear threats facing America—a direct attack, an accidental launch or nuclear terrorism—only terrorist groups have stated their clear intent and therefore, Ferguson and others say, represent the threat we should most seriously contemplate and act upon.

Writing in 1998, bin Laden makes the chilling declaration that four million Americans must die in reprisal for those Muslims who have died in struggles with the West and Israel. To this end, that same year, bin Laden justified the need to obtain nuclear weapons, "for the defense of Muslims as a religious duty. To seek to possess those weapons that would counter those of the infidels is a religious duty. If I have indeed acquired [nuclear] weapons, then this is an obligation I have carried out and I thank G-d for enabling us to do that… It would be a sin for Muslims not to try to possess the weapons that would prevent the infidels from inflicting harm on Muslims."

In 2003, at bin Laden's request, Saudi cleric Nasser bin Hammed al-Fahd issued a fatwa authorizing the use of a nuclear weapon against U.S. targets: "If a bomb that killed 10 million of them and burned as much of their land as they have burned Muslims' land were dropped on them, it would be permissible."

In 2004, Michael Scheuer, former head of the CIA's bin Laden Unit, provided Congressional testimony as well as media interviews in which he referred to "detailed information" illustrating "the careful, professional manner in which al-Qaeda was seeking to acquire nuclear weapons." Indeed, media reports demonstrate al-Qaeda's interests in obtaining fissile materials, but also note little sophistication in their understanding of how to go about using those materials to create a bomb. Although no public reports document terrorists in possession of sufficient quantities of HEU to build a bomb, CIA and FBI authorities express grave concerns.

In 2005, FBI Director Robert Mueller testified to the Senate Intelligence Committee that the intelligence community is "extremely concerned with a growing body of sensitive reporting that continues to show al-Qaeda's clear intention to obtain and to ultimately use some form of biological, radiological, or nuclear material in its attacks against the United States."

Appearing at the same hearing, then-CIA Director Porter Goss testified that, "It may be only a matter of time before al-Qaeda or other groups attempt to use chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear weapons. We must focus on that." Pressed for any evidence that terror organizations had acquired WMD or precursors such as HEU, he replied: "There is sufficient material unaccounted for so that it would be possible for those with know-how to construct a nuclear weapon."

Actually building a 1-to-10 kiloton bomb, similar to the design and yield used to destroy Hiroshima, requires some sophisticated equipment, but given sixty years of technological advances, the hurdles to building a nuclear device are relatively unremarkable and can be achieved "without state assistance," according to a 2002 report by the U.S. National Research Council.

If the necessary HEU was available, "building a successful high-yield improvised nuclear device" would take "a year or more" and cost "in the $100,000-to-$1,000,000 range," according to Peter D. Zimmerman, a nuclear physicist at King College, London.

"A crude HEU gun-type bomb has a high probability of producing a massively destructive explosion," writes Ferguson, in *Preventing Catastrophic Nuclear Terrorism* (Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2006) a report supported by Carnegie Corporation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. "Moreover, skilled terrorists could make this type of weapon without state assistance. The truly onerous barrier for nuclear terrorists is acquiring enough HEU."

So, it seems, acquiring or building a nuclear weapon is well within the realm of possibility for a determined organization. How then to prevent them from succeeding? The only way, many experts suggest, is at the source.

As Sam Nunn has observed, "If you analyze the terrorist path to a nuclear attack, it becomes clear that the most effective, least expensive way to prevent nuclear terrorism is to keep terrorists from getting nuclear weapons or the materials to make them in the first place. Acquiring weapons and materials is the *hardest* step for the terrorists to take, and the *easiest* step for us to stop. By contrast, each subsequent step in the process—building, transporting and detonating a bomb—is easier for the terrorists to take and harder for us to stop."

**Today's effort to contain nuclear terrorism or accidents is built around a patchwork of treaties, when what is needed is a globally coordinated approach.**

Carnegie Corporation, which has been focused on international peace and security since it was founded in 1911 by Andrew Carnegie, who was deeply concerned with preventing war and international conflict, is addressing nuclear security and access to WMD with grants and support for:

- A National Academy of Sciences working group involving American and Russian scientists who are exploring cooperative approaches to preventing terrorists from acquiring and using WMD.
- CSIS, which promotes adoption of commitments made by the G-8 states against the spread of nuclear weapons, material and know-how.

■ The Russian American Nuclear Security Advisory Council, which helped develop a framework that led to the creation of the Russian Nuclear Cities Initiative—a U.S. government-sponsored effort to keep Russian nuclear scientists from offering their services to either "rogue states" or terrorists.

■ A project at the University of Georgia's Center for International Trade and Security, which has been instrumental in developing export controls for trade in nuclear weapons technologies and materials.

■ The Monterey Institute, which has developed the most authoritative unclassified mapping of the Abdul Qadeer Khan proliferation network.

Other relevant developments, according to NTI (www.nti.org) and others include:

■ In July 2006, presidents Bush and Putin announced an agreement under which Russia could get into the multi-billion-dollar business of storing spent nuclear fuel, which the U.S. administration hopes will win Moscow's support in controlling Iran's nuclear ambitions. Also agreed upon was the creation of an agency to share intelligence and establish best practices for securing nuclear material.

■ The Bush Administration's FY 2007 budget request for controlling nuclear materials, weapons and expertise is about $1 billion, "an amount essentially identical to the previous year's appropriation," reports *Securing the Bomb 2006*.

■ "As of the end of FY 2005, U.S.-funded comprehensive security and accounting upgrades has been completed at fifty-four percent of the buildings in the former Soviet Union with potentially vulnerable weapons-usable nuclear material," with a 2008 deadline to complete all upgrades, according to *Securing the Bomb 2006*.

■ In mid-1995, the United States initiated the first of a series of operations to remove Soviet-origin HEU from vulnerable sites outside of Russia. Currently the Global Threat Reduction Initiative (GTRI), launched in May 2004, seeks to "minimize and eventually eliminate any reliance on HEU in the civilian fuel cycle, including conversion of research and test reactors worldwide from the use of HEU to the use of LEU (Low Enriched Uranium) fuel and targets." At present, GTRI is working to improve storage facilities in Russia. Also, GTRI, operating under a ten-year timetable, seeks the return of spent fuel and HEU, since "enough HEU for a thousand nuclear weapons remains" at research facilities in 43 countries, allies of either the U.S. or Russia. However, as *Securing the Bomb 2006* notes, "major gaps" in the GTRI "have not yet been filled," including conversion of about half the world's HEU-fueled research reactors and two-thirds of the HEU supplied by the United States to allies."

■ UN Security Council Resolution 1540, passed in April 2004, offers the hope of global standards for accounting and securing WMD. However, while the resolution requires every member state to establish laws for the "appropriate, effective" physical protection and accounting of nuclear and other WMD-related materials, debate continues about the definition of the term "appropriate, effective."

■ A modest step forward in enhancing the physical protection of nuclear material was taken in July 2005 when the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials was amended, extending a legally binding obligation to protect civilian nuclear materials. However, the amendment has yet to be ratified and the language of the amendment provides only general security principles as opposed to specific security standards.

Even taking these measures into account, Graham Allison notes that today's effort to contain nuclear terrorism or accidents is built around "a patchwork of treaties" when what is needed is a globally coordinated approach.

## What are the Odds? The Debate Continues

Security experts apply a theoretical formula to express and explore the nature of risk:

**CONSEQUENCES x LIKELIHOOD = RISK**

Consider the *risk* of being injured while driving your car. Potential *consequences* include personal injuries, perhaps fatalities, and property damage. But the potential *likelihood* of injury are affected by a fairly extensive list of factors over which you may have some control: condition of your vehicle, time of day, the weather, traffic, speed, seatbelts, your age, your health or your state of mind.

We have a pretty good idea of the *consequences* resulting from a nuclear blast. Richard Garwin has done the math predicated on a minimal 1-kiloton HEU-based device and a 10-kiloton plutonium device: in the aftermath of a 1 kiloton explosion in mid-Manhattan on a typical weekday, "Some 210,000 people would die, mostly from prompt radiation within a week or so. Of these, 30,000 would have died [immediately] from the blast, and about 100,000 from burns…For the 10-kiloton explosion, about a million people will die from burns."

Charles Ferguson concurs: "In an area like Washington or New York, it would probably kill tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of people in a very short period of time and lead to massive destruction, have global economic effects, and leave radiation from nuclear materials."

Arguably, the enormity of the *consequences* is so great that unless the *likelihood* is nil, the *risk* is prohibitive.

What, then, is the likelihood? A view shared to varying degrees by many experts is that, while the consequences demand every effort be made to lock down HEU and plutonium, the *likelihood* that terrorists will detonate a nuclear device in a large city is relatively slim.

Robin Frost, author of a controversial report, *Nuclear Terrorism After 9/11* a recent publication of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), argues, based upon "technical, psychological and strategic grounds…the risk of nuclear terrorism, especially the risk of true nuclear terrorism employing bombs powered by nuclear fission, is overstated, and that the popular wisdom on the topic is significantly flawed."

An important underlying argument for Frost's assertion is the taboo surrounding first-strike use of nuclear weapons. He argues that use of a nuclear weapon would create a furious backlash, including among some who are nominal backers of terrorist causes.

"All over the world, from Indonesia to Saudi Arabia, there are people who support al-Qaeda and its ideals," he says. "But that support would evaporate overnight if they were to nuke a city. It would fall to a very small hard core of extremists who would actually support that kind of action. There is in Islam the notion of protected people—women, children, men too old for combat—and I think any kind of large-scale slaughter of people like that simply would reach the unacceptable limits even for fairly hard-core extremists."

"I most strongly disagree," says Allison, having skimmed Frost's book. "For a terrorist, if you're trying to do shock and awe and dread, breaking a taboo in the way that 9/11 did is a plus factor rather than a minus."

But Frost rejects the first premise of nuclear terrorism, "that nuclear weapons themselves are at significant risk of theft anywhere in the world," pointing to the fact that, fifteen years after the Russians' withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from former Soviet states, none has turned up outside government control. He adds, "Although there is obviously always a very small chance that insiders—it would have to involve several people, possibly in different locations—could be suborned or spontaneously turn traitor." Continuing, Frost writes, "No state that possessed them, whether established or 'rogue,' would be likely to hand over such weapons to terrorists unless they were acting as mercenary agents of the state itself. The threat of nuclear retaliation, even if the possibility of tracing the weapon back to its source were thought to be low, should be enough to deter any rational state from using a nuclear weapon against another nuclear-weapon state, or a country under the protection of one." Even if an intact device was obtained, he argues, built-in security measures and technical knowledge required would likely prevent any detonation.

But what about terrorists building their own nuclear weapon? While acknowledging expert opinions that constructing a nuclear device is within the realm of possibility, Frost argues that the myriad difficulties involved lower the likelihood substantially, saying, "Assembling enough fissile material for even the crudest nuclear device…would be very difficult and probably extremely expensive for a terrorist organization. The theoretical knowledge and practical skills required to design and build a nuclear weapon are of a higher order, while setting up, equipping and successfully operating an undetectable clandestine weapons laboratory would be difficult and expensive, even for the best-funded terrorist organization."

"We find this too complacent," write Anna M. Pluta and Peter D. Zimmerman in a detailed rebuttal to Frost published by *Survival*, the journal of the IISS. "The fissile material is available, or could become available, from a Russian nuclear stockpile that remains dangerously insecure," the authors say. "An improvised nuclear device would be difficult, but not *too* difficult, to build. And there are terrorist groups that have already demonstrated technical abilities and organizational reach to make us very worried."

As evidence, Pluta and Zimmerman cite a December 1998 incident in which Russian authorities thwarted an attempt to steal 18.5 kilograms of HEU, nearly enough for a nuclear bomb. The theft involved an organized group of facility employees. Frost dismisses the incident on the grounds that the Russian Special Forces intercepted the thieves before they left the facility. However, in a sweeping rejection of Frost, Pluta and Zimmerman conclude, "There are few psychological barriers to true mass-casualty terrorism still standing; fissile material is or can become available if the price is right, and some organizations can probably pay any price; the technical barriers to constructing an improvised nuclear device are far lower than Frost indicates."

Yet, a strong school of thought holds that we imbue terrorists with too much sophistication, believing them capable of greater feats of corruption and technology than they have thus far demonstrated. For terrorist purposes, the cost and effort involved in obtaining and deploying complex weapons might be more properly applied to more conventional means of destruction.

"The main trend (in international terrorism) is the trend away from state involvement and state sponsorship," as compared to 10 or 20 years ago when Syria, Libya, Iraq and Iran were directly involved, writes Paul Pillar, a former Deputy Chief of the CIA's Counter-

terrorist Center, in *National Journal*. "The specter of terrorists, especially international terrorists, using chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear means has...diverted our attention from what...will continue to be the main threat, which is the infliction of loss of life through conventional means."

ues, "Does that mean there's no threat? No. I think there's an enduring danger of either non-state actors or non-state actors in partnership with a rogue faction of a state to wield the mightiest weapons against us. But can you say, 'In the next ten years it is likely a city in America will be struck with a nuclear weapon'? There's

COURTESY THE NUCLEAR THREAT INITIATIVE

**A scene from the Nuclear Threat Initiative's film, the "Last Best Chance."**

Pillar notes that there were two attacks against targets in the United States in 2001: "The one that used box cutters and aircraft hijacking is the one that killed almost 4,000 people; the one that used anthrax spores … killed five. We ought to reflect on that; I can assure you the terrorists will reflect on that."

In a more recent example, it should be noted that the terrorist plot thwarted by the British authorities in August 2006 allegedly involved plans for multiple explosions on multiple airplanes in flight, using liquid explosives.

John Parachini of the Rand Corporation, generally concurs with Pillar, saying, "The empirical record suggests that [terrorist groups] go for the easiest and safest means that will accomplish [their] objectives." But, he contin-

no basis for that. It's possible, but based on the data set about the best we can say is that the probability is not zero. We cannot compute a probability."

Frost says he finds a reminiscent shrillness in the discussion of nuclear terrorism. "There seems to be a political and almost a psychological need to transfer the same level of threat assessment from the Cold War and the Cold War enemy to the new environment of the terrorist enemy, and they simply aren't comparable."

But some of what Frost sees as alarmist others see as a reasonable call for public attention to a potential, imminent danger; one person's charged rhetoric can be another's sincere expression of concern for society.

*Last Best Chance*, a feature film produced by NTI with Carnegie Corporation support, provides a realistic glimpse of how a nuclear terrorist attack could be mounted against the United States using HEU stolen from a Russian facility, expert support from corrupt scientists, and an old fishing boat out of Mexico delivering the package to a waiting truck in a sleepy Gulf Coast bayou.

There's already been one missed opportunity—the fall of the Soviet Union—to avert today's problems. "It's hard to believe that it could be mismanaged as much as it has been," Garwin says of the end of the Cold War. "Initially, there was a lot of reluctance to grant that the Soviet Union had truly disappeared as a feared competitor. There was a lot of reluctance to spend the money … to help democracy there, and … actually to get rid of their nuclear weapons."

As things stand today, "the Russians and the U.S. military command are talking to each other much less than they were during the Cold War days," says Kennette Benedict of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, which is conducting a series of meetings with U.S. and Russian authorities to ascertain the twenty-first-century concerns of nuclear relations. "Each doesn't know what each other is really thinking," she notes. "They're not visiting, there are no military exchanges, there's just no conversation."

She too sees a need to engage with media, to educate the public about critical issues. "Many of us have to start working hard to make this understandable to people so they aren't just frightened," she says. "After all, 'Duck and Cover' has another meaning: you just get out of the way of everything, including knowledge. We need to make a U-turn and head in the other direction. Educating people is how you solve problems, and that's what we have to start doing." ■

# M

The main administrative building overlooks campus from Makerere Hill.

Applicants search anxiously for their names on the admitted students list.

Twenty-one-year-old computer science students (l. to r.) Susan Sheila Naagasha and Doreen Nusiimenga chose Makerere for its prestige and academic excellence. They enjoy being on their own and meeting people from all over, who speak many different languages. But they say coming from humble families, the private students' fees are hard to manage.

# akerere *at the* Crossroads

***It outlasted Idi Amin. Thirty years later, can East Africa's flagship university survive its own success?***

On a balmy July day in Kampala, Uganda, a visitor to Makerere university's campus finds the sleepy atmosphere of any school in summer session. Small groups of students stroll in and out of the library while others lounge, reading or chatting, on shady benches and steps. But take a walk to the Senate building and you'll see something different. The atmosphere is charged. Young people crowd nervously around the entranceway, jockeying for position as they pore over papers tacked on bulletin boards.

On this day the academic registrar posts the admissions list and aspiring Makerere students rush to campus to look for their names. Getting in means everything: a solid education, prestige, career opportunities, a better life, they say. Inevitably, it will also mean paying fees, attending large classes, sharing scarce computers and, in many cases, commuting to class in a crowded minibus from a distant hostel. None of that seems to matter. "This is the best school in the country, in Africa!" "I've been dreaming of coming here all my life." "Makerere graduates have their pick of the best jobs."

In a way, this vignette evokes the big picture, and big problems, facing Makerere today and far into the future. *The* university in Uganda, it's a huge source of pride throughout the country and East Africa. Its first-rate reputation, eminent faculty and high academic standards never fail to attract ambitious students—no glitzy recruitment campaigns needed—and they apply in droves.

For decades, the selective public university enrolled fewer than three thousand students, all on full government scholarships. But privatization arrived in 1992. More than ten times as many students are admitted now, with only a small percentage government sponsored and many more (some say beyond what the school can really manage) paying their own fees and providing the university with essential funds. The demand for a Makerere diploma seems boundless, and in marketing terms, the brand is unquestionably a success.

But can Makerere deliver? When the new students arrive, will there be enough seats, or lecturers, textbooks or lab supplies for all? Huge demand and explosive growth have left Makerere struggling on every front: resources; infrastructure; oversight; faculty support; technology and scholarship. It's a long list of critical issues, many of which are shared by other African institutions.

Quintas Oula Obong, a lecturer in Makerere's department of political science, examined the paradox of increased financial resources and declining educational standards, and found that, yes, admitting large numbers of private students did generate significant additional resources to finance university activities. "Unfortunately, however, these changes have had a dampening effect on academic

PHOTOS BY KAREN THEROUX EXCEPT AS NOTED.

standards and the quality of scholarship," Obong writes. The fixation on costs and transfer of power from faculty to managers are partly to blame. Plus, "A combination of low socio-economic status experienced by the professors in the past and declining morality among public servants has combined to weaken faculty commitment toward academic standards and excellence in scholarship."[1] He cautions that the "money culture" that has emerged at Makerere "may be happening in other universities." Assuming that's the case, understanding events in Uganda may provide a window on the challenges facing higher education all over Africa.

### The Harvard of Africa?

Fifty or so years ago a comparison was drawn between Makerere and Harvard and, accurate or not, it stuck. The two universities are alike in that both are seen as premier institutions in their home country, says Narciso Matos, chair of Carnegie Corporation's International Development Program. The countries, clearly, are quite different. Notwithstanding, Makerere is renowned for its high-profile graduates including presidents and key ministers of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda.

Makerere's putative status as "the Harvard of Africa" came under attack in October 2005 in an attention-grabbing article in the *Washington Post* that cast the university in an unfavorable light and distressed longstanding Makerere supporters, including Carnegie Corporation. Along with the other members of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa—the Ford, MacArthur, Rockefeller, Hewlett and Mellon foundations—Carnegie Corporation has pledged $200 million over the next five years to a select group of African universities. The Corporation's strategy has been to help strengthen basic parts of the university infrastructure such as the library, where a six-figure grant supported the installation of computers and Internet access. It's a potentially risky approach, based on the belief that strengthening the institution's essential systems and helping build up its intellectual capital will drive innovation and empower the institution to withstand outside forces.

The *Post's* criticism drew attention to Makerere's evident deterioration, describing the university as underfunded and overrun, a poorly managed embarrassment desperately in need of modernization and expansion. "On The Foundation Center's most recent list of the top fifty worldwide organizations receiving philanthropic support, Makerere came in seventh," says Andrea Johnson, program officer in Carnegie Corporation's International Development Program. "When a university in a small country is getting that much money, and is still in such bad shape, there's reason to be concerned."

The article was exaggerated and far-fetched, according to Vice Chancellor Livingston Luboobi's response. A more realistic assessment would take into account not only the university's reputation for excellence in medicine, technology, agriculture and social sciences, but also such signs of progress as significant curriculum reforms, expanded e-learning and a 30 percent increase in teaching space coupled with a 10 percent reduction in student intake planned for every other year until optimum enrollment numbers are achieved.

"So many Ugandans educated here have played a significant role in the country's politics and socio-economic development—and continue to do so," says Helen Kawesah, the past public relations officer of Makerere who is now PR manager for Uganda's parliament. "The university influence is widespread, improving lives throughout the country, and in the world." Kawesah stresses the institution's importance to women, particularly its affirmative action record and ongoing efforts to enhance the potential of Uganda's women leaders—faculty, administration and in the political sphere. "The training they receive here gives women confidence to take on any role in society at large," she says.

**Helen Kawesah, public relations manager for the Ugandan parlia**

**Makerere's first permanent building, constructed in 1923.**

Institutional problems are serious, in Kawesah's opinion, but they will pass. "Demand for university education is high and choices are few. Our infrastructure can't support the numbers and private fees don't bridge the gap," she admits. The faculty/student ratio of about 1/30 is improving but isn't good enough. While there is need for improvement, "the picture is not so bleak. We have managed to innovate and to attract development partners. We are not sitting and giving up," Kawesah says. "Just the opposite, in fact. I'd say the sky's the limit!"

Makerere, however, has more than one outspoken critic. Author Paul

[1] *Quintas Oula Obong. "Academic Dilemmas Under Neo-Liberal Education Reforms." In African Universities in the Twenty-first Century, vol. 1; 2004, CODESRIA; Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and Adebayo Olukoshi, eds*

**Makerere's first fourteen students and staff.**

FROM THEY BUILT FOR THE FUTURE BY MARGARET MACPHERSON.

Theroux came to love the university while teaching English there in the 1960s. He returned 35 years later and describes his disappointment in the bestselling book, *Dark Star Safari*. Theroux mourns the fact that the school's glory days are long gone, as the decaying campus makes plain. "In spite of some new buildings it looked a ghostly and decrepit place," he writes. "Only the fact that the buildings had been well made so many years ago had kept them from falling down altogether, but anyone could see that the campus was a disgrace."

Is Theroux's grim assessment an accurate gauge of the institution as a whole? Is the once-great university on life support as the *Post* article seems to say…or is it still the center of academic excellence officials claim? We went to Makerere seeking answers to these questions, speaking directly to students, teachers and administrators and exploring conditions on campus first hand.

"Makerere is a very complex animal," according to Narciso Matos. "Students tend to glorify the university because they know almost nothing else. This happens throughout Africa because your paradigm is limited." Money is a huge problem for Makerere, Matos explains, and in order to generate revenue, tens of thousands of fee-paying students have been admitted. But government, which now fully subsidizes under 10 percent of students, has put a cap on fees for the university's privately sponsored students, meaning enrollment has grown faster than income. Consequently, private students are paying far less than it costs for their education, but the government can't risk raising fees and causing student demonstrations.

"Everyone agrees that the current model is not working," Matos says. "Facilities are not adequate, first of all. If you visit a classroom and see hundreds of students, something is wrong. It's clear to me that expansion of the university has not been controlled centrally, and the result is a serious imbalance among various faculties." Educators too are overstretched and as a result can do very little research. "This is another reason why Makerere can't be considered a Harvard—research is certainly not the mainstay."

However, we shouldn't write Makerere off, Matos says. Whatever its weaknesses, one fact is clear: Makerere is a survivor. "The defining element of the institution is the way it came back from near collapse after the Amin period. International relations were severed, faculty left. It was a very, very bad time. To understand the university, and Uganda, you must keep Amin in mind."

## Before and after Amin

The history of Makerere's first fifty years is largely one of steady progress from a start-up technical school to a strong and vibrant university. Uganda, a British protectorate since 1894, first recognized the need for such a school soon after World War I, when the demand for local craftsmen far exceeded the number of skilled workers available. In 1920, British Secretary of State Winston Churchill approved the establishment of a "native technical school at Kampala," and the building of temporary classrooms and living quarters began the next year.

The first class included fourteen boys studying carpentry, building and mechanics—almost all of them speaking Luganda or Swahili. By the next year, officials saw a growing need for broader education and Uganda Technical College became Makerere College, named for the hill where the school's permanent buildings would be constructed. The first one-story school building, dedicated in 1923, still stands today. The campus quickly grew larger, the requirements tougher and the curriculum more diversified.

Makerere officially expanded its role in the late 1930s, becoming the Centre for Higher Education in East Africa, before progress slowed during World War II as British staff members were called into the army. It was during this period that Carnegie Corporation made its first grant to the university—£1350 for a set of essential texts. In 1945 a breakthrough occurred with the admission of six women students, described in a book by Margaret Macpherson, an early faculty member.[2]

"The women made their way slowly into College life. At first the Students' Council was reluctant to admit them and inclined to feel doubtful about the whole experiment, but within the year feelings had changed and there was, it is said, a noticeable increase in good manners among students upon the Hill in conse-

[2] *McPherson, Margaret. They Built for the Future, 1964, Cambridge University Press, London*

quence of the presence of six redoubtable ladies, five of whom had already proved their ability in adult life and had proved, with tact and charm, that they were not an academic menace."

By 1950, Makerere had been officially named the University College of East Africa and, having met strenuous requirements, was awarding external degrees of the University of London. Josephine Namboze, admitted that year to the Faculty of Science, became the first African woman doctor from Makerere. Fittingly, the medical school led the way in achieving international distinction and was recognized by the General Medical Council, the organization that registers doctors to practice medicine in the United Kingdom. The fifties were a decade of steady growth that saw Makerere students increasingly swept up in political activities.

Uganda gained its independence in 1962, and the following year Makerere joined with universities in Kenya and Tanzania to form the University of East Africa. The post-independence years were a high point for the institution, which now had a solid reputation and many prominent graduates. Uganda's parliament made Makerere University an independent national university in 1970, ending its role in the University of East Africa and the University of London.

In 1971, Idi Amin seized power in a military coup, declaring himself Uganda's president and plunging Makerere into a period of strife and instability from which it has yet to fully recover. During Amin's eight-year reign, called the bloodiest in African history, as many as 500,000 people disappeared, many of them killed—their bodies reportedly dumped into the Nile when gravesites ran out.

The Amin regime decimated social services. Education was hit hardest, pushing Makerere to the brink of bankruptcy. At the same time, funds were shifted toward primary and secondary education, which upped demand for higher education. The university had little choice but to admit more students, but did so with fewer resources than ever, a situation made worse by a sharp decline in foreign donor support. As funding declined and salaries were cut, faculty left, laboratories and libraries were soon bare and dormitory conditions became deplorable. Technological advances that were changing education and communication around the world were virtually unknown in Uganda. Even after Amin's

## Livingston S. Luboobi, *Vice Chancellor*

**"I've spent more years here than in my home village, 160 kilometers away,"** says Dr. Luboobi, who has lived on the Makerere campus since 1965. After attending high school on the hill, he turned down an offer to study engineering in Nairobi and "decided to stick around because life here was good. The late sixties were the best of times at the university," Luboobi recalls, when "everything was available. People who were here then would be shocked if they returned now." After getting his B.A. in 1970 Luboobi was hired as a teaching assistant in Makerere's math department, and the next year accepted a commonwealth scholarship to the University of Toronto, Canada for a master's degree.

Amin entered the picture soon after and all but destroyed the university, Luboobi says. Resources were so scarce, students survived a famine only because of food relief from the U.S. "Those were very, very difficult years." When Luboobi's Canadian professor heard what was going on in Uganda, "he thought I was part of the problem," the vice chancellor says, "and I wondered how I would survive." That professor's sabbatical came just in time to rescue Luboobi, who got his degree and hurried home to find most of his colleagues had fled.

To get his Ph.D., Luboobi received a scholarship to the University of Adelaide, South Australia, but couldn't afford the plane ticket. Miraculously, Makerere's then vice chancellor came through with the fare, and agreed to let Luboobi's wife and seven children live on campus during his absence—a mixed blessing, he says, because the 1979 war to remove Amin happened right in the university's backyard "and a shell missed my house by only a few meters!" He kept track of events via the BBC and found the troubles at home "focused my mind and allowed me to write and submit my thesis in just two and a half years."

Luboobi returned to Makerere and to his life as a lecturer. Although Amin was gone, the university's hard times weren't over; "We lost 20 years!" he says emphatically. "It wasn't until the 1990s that capacity development and research programs became possible. Even now our resources can't keep up with the population. Rebuilding will be a long-term process—not one or two years, but ten." Leading this long-term effort is the number one task for the VC. The first vice chancellor in history to be elected by representatives of Makerere's academic and administrative bodies, rather than being appointed by Uganda's head of state, he is well aware that all eyes are on the university. "There is so much national pride invested here, so much interest in everything we do, even the smallest change is scrutinized," he says. "One thing is certain: no one wants Makerere to disappear from the map."

FROM *THEY BUILT FOR THE FUTURE* BY MARGARET MACPHERSON.

**Students in the early 1960s dressed in red undergraduate gowns.**

**Samwire Katunguka of I@MAK.**

ouster in 1979, the legacy of financial and governance crises lived on.

By 1990, Uganda was broke. The government, now run by the National Resistance Movement, was no longer in a position to support public services including higher education, and only sweeping reforms could save the economy and the university. According to Associate Professor Nakanyike B. Musisi, Ph.D., director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research, more liberal fiscal policies brought greater economic stability and easing of state control of the university. A series of transformations then took place, starting the university off on the long process of recovery despite declining financial support from the government. A renewed vision also emerged: To be a center of academic excellence, providing instruction, research and service relevant to sustainable development for the nation.

## Reinventing the Ivory Tower

In Musisi's view, Makerere has been transformed from "an ivory tower that had virtually lost touch with its environment, at odds with national development needs" to "an ally in meeting developmental challenges." Uganda's challenges are huge: Ranked 147th out of 175 countries in terms of human development, per capita annual income is around $330 (according to the United Nations Development Program). Even decades after the end of the destructive Amin era, with nearly 40 percent of its 21 million people living below the national poverty line, eradication of extreme poverty remains the country's overriding challenge.

Today, instead of preparing a small number of the elite to become leaders, the university is dedicated to promoting innovations in teaching and research aimed at making higher education more relevant to the needs of the country at large. The Innovations at Makerere Committee (I@MAK) was created to make this change in direction succeed. Launched in February 2001, this initiative was set up to enable the central government, higher education institutions and local community councils to work together in building capacity to support the government's antipoverty decentralization policy. Start-up educational programs were designed to equip graduates with the essential skills and attitudes needed for poverty alleviation work in the districts.

Over the past five years I@MAK has trained district staff, provided extension services, conducted research and integrated findings into its programs. Funding is made available for projects on an incremental basis, with a small grant upon approval of a concept paper, more funds at the pilot stage and the largest grant for full project implementation. The program, which was initially carried out solely at Makerere with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, was later expanded with additional funds from the World Bank to include other selected institutions of higher learning as well.

Samwiri Katunguka, manager of capacity building programs, says I@MAK's training programs are focused entirely on poverty eradication. Direct support from the program allows local government workers to take first and second degrees, as well as continuing education courses, in medicine, agriculture, education, engineering and other subjects. "Our real success story has been problem-based learning," says Katunguka. "It's not the typical teacher-student dynamic; it is student led and the lecturer comes into the process at the end." Another promising development: the new Makerere University Research Journal, published by I@MAK, debuted in March and offers an important forum for presentation and review of work done at the university and beyond.

While sustainability is a challenge (World Bank funding for I@MAK runs out at the end of 2006) several steps have been taken to address this issue. An investment policy has been put in place to generate further revenue that can be used for basic academic costs as well as staff retention, infrastructure, library improvements and outside recruitment. Makerere has become a 24-hour campus, and "even 12 to 6 AM classes are oversubscribed," says Katunguka. Makerere is "on the move, changing very fast to improve services to the population," he says. "This is a model that can work."

## Still Building for the Future

Since 2001, Carnegie Corporation's scholarship program for undergraduate women has helped to build Makerere's educational capacity. "An investment in scholarships for women is an investment in the creation of knowledge for Africa," according to Corporation president Vartan Gregorian. Emphasizing the huge gender gap in the top tier of university positions, he says "supporting and mentoring women undergraduates in significant numbers will help to strengthen African universities—one of the Corporation's top goals."

"As more universities begin charging or increasing tuition fees, we believe women will find it even harder to pay for university training than their male counterparts," Andrea Johnson adds. "Scholarship programs give women a way to participate and give universities experience with student financial aid programs that can help reduce gender inequality."

Makerere's female scholarship program gives priority to women from disadvantaged backgrounds and from underserved parts of Uganda. The program's leaders have been very inventive, Narciso Matos says, creating a model from ideas "not written in any book." They use T-shirts and newspaper ads in their publicity campaign and they go out into the villages to conduct home visits and interview neighbors to validate applications. "Despite the relatively small numbers, the program has an important elevating effect," says Matos. "Its reputation throughout the university is very positive and most importantly, it benefits 200 kids every year who, without the scholarship, would be unlikely to make it to college."

Other Makerere supporters are literally building up the university in a big way. The government of Norway, for example, has underwritten a campus landmark, the Faculty of Computing and Information Technology, which no visitor can miss. This cheerful, modern building rises five-stories high just inside the entrance gate—a brick-and-mortar expression of the university's intention to lead in information and communications technology (ICT). "All economic development depends on ICT," says Dr. Venansius Baryamureeba, dean of the Faculty, "and our goal is to be the center of excellence in computing in all of Africa."

A graduate of Makerere who earned his Ph.D. at the University of Bergen, Norway, Baryamureeba has within a period of three years led the transformation of the Institute of Computer Science from a small unit with one academic program, 30 students and an annual budget of $15,000 to a faculty with 20-plus programs, 280 full- and part-time staff and more than 5,500 students pursuing degrees, with a budget of $5 million a year. Baryamureeba's vision for ICT goes far beyond the department's current activities; he sees the field as an engine of economic development with great potential in capacity building.

Baryamureeba, who seems to personify Makerere's longstanding motto, "We build for the future," is now spearheading the construction of a second ICT facility, thus far using internally generated funds. Planned to be the continent's largest computing and ICT training and research center, the new building will house classrooms and lecture theaters, and its six huge computer labs will be equipped for 1000 students each. In addition to allowing for outsourcing, data entry and software development, there will be small scale computer manufacturing and assembling plants. According to Baryamureeba, "this is, basically, an incubation center for ICT development throughout the country."

Makerere's Women and Gender Studies department has also broken new ground by integrating ICT into the curriculum. The department, a pioneer in sub-Saharan Africa, addresses gender and development issues from a uniquely African perspective. Its aim is to give students an understanding of the role of gender in all areas of life, while encouraging women to advance their academic careers.

**Norway provided the funds for the computing and information technology building.**

In 2002, Carnegie Corporation, along with other donors, provided support for the department's plan to use technology integration to change women's perceptions and promote leadership and gender equity. Initially, the department itself lacked ICT equipment and fewer than 10 percent of participants owned their own computers or had received ICT training, according to Dr. Consolata Kabonesa, acting head of women and gender studies. However, there was enthusiasm for the idea and over 90 percent of the staff indicated they would use the educational technology in their courses.

A Cisco networking program was added to the women and gender studies course offerings, signifying that information technology is a field in which women can be successful. As a local venue within the Cisco structure, the department committed to holding gender balanced and all female classes with the aim of increasing the number of women in the information

**(l. to r.) Lawrence Wosukira and Hassan Higeniyi are majors in enviornmental management, Jacqueliyn Makayenze in law and Isaac Madaya in social sciences. All four say they struggle to pay tuition and other fees, but believe they're getting the best possible education in East Africa and would do it all over again.**

technology workforce. It was "a far from simple process," and Kabonesa makes clear that "training academics in the use of ICT requires transforming their thinking, their way of looking at technology, and their leadership skills."

Because the training center is located in the department of women and gender studies, women see the program as made to order for them, while having female instructors provides a role model and builds their confidence. As a result of the program, the women and gender studies department has taken the lead in the use of ICT in classroom instruction and research, in mentoring colleagues and influencing other departments to integrate gender in their curricula.

Another sign of Makerere's advancement is the state-of-the-art Infectious Diseases Institute, which provides treatment for HIV/AIDS and other diseases while fostering a new generation of African health care leadership. Opened in 2004, it is the only such center in East Africa, providing training, operational research and patient care all under one roof. It fills a major gap in the region's response to demand for anti-retroviral therapies and trained health care workers to administer them. The two-story, 29,000-square-foot structure can accommodate up to 300 HIV/AIDS patients daily and, according to Professor Nelson K. Sewankambo, dean, Makerere Faculty of Medicine, "is destined to become a major center for training medical professionals in the management of these diseases."

The Institute came about because of a unique partnership initiated by infectious disease experts from Makerere and their counterparts in the United States and Canada, who in 2001 formed the Academic Alliance for AIDS Care and Prevention in Africa (AAACP). Pfizer Inc. provided support for construction and setting up the program, with additional funding for HIV/AIDS prevention from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

Professor Sewankambo, a physician with an international reputation as a leader in the fight against AIDS in Africa, calls the Institute "a significant milestone for the university" and points out that it is the first infrastructure investment at the medical school in 35 years. "The clinic, which includes a world-class laboratory facility, is truly a model for how to treat people with HIV/AIDS," he says. Sewankambo expects the facility to help Makerere "renew its reputation as a leading educational institute in Africa and worldwide." In 2005, the Institute was handed over to Makerere to operate independently.

Hundreds of physicians, nurses, pharmacists, laboratory technicians and other health care providers from 22 African countries have been trained, and thousands of patients currently receive care at the Institute. Sustainability will be the Institute's continuing challenge, especially as the number of patients seeking care has grown far more rapidly than anticipated. Various solutions are being considered, including satellite clinics, to cope with future demand.

These promising projects are not the only ones underway at "new and improved" Makerere. A successful program in the agricultural faculty that enabled extension workers, mostly adult women, to earn bachelor's degrees in order to meet the government's newly imposed educational requirements impressed Carnegie Corporation's Andrea Johnson. Narciso Matos is highly optimistic about Makerere's library (recipient of a Corporation grant in 2001) now headed by Dr. Maria Masoke. The library, Matos says "has good leadership; they know where they want to go." Law, social sciences, economics and business faculties are thriving, he notes, because of high enrollments and resulting revenues, which the university's decentralized structure keeps within the departments. The new director of graduate studies is also headed in the right direction, although "they still have to prove themselves," he adds.

Makerere's mass communications unit is revving up its training of the new generation of journalists in Uganda's growing media sector, according to Ambika Kapur, program associate, Carnegie Corporation Dissemination Program, under the guidance of the department's recently appointed head, Peter Mwesige, an award-winning journalist and former editor of the *Daily Monitor*, Uganda's leading independent newspaper.

Ruth Mukama, head of the gender mainstreaming division, reports with great satisfaction that a sexual harassment prevention policy will take effect beginning with the new school year. "Students in gender mainstreaming were the best spokespersons for pushing this policy through the Senate [the university's chief academic body]," she says. "Resistance is still great. But these students have been getting leadership training and it really helped." With this basic protection in place, Mukama's dream is to see a full-fledged gender policy—one that achieves equity among students and academic staff at every level—in effect at Makerere within the next five years.

### Problems and Pitfalls

Walking the campus and talking with students makes one aware of Makerere's many pluses—prestigious past, academic excellence, freedom, connections, dedicated teachers, social engagement…and its considerable minuses—bad roads, broken-down buildings, burning garbage and, in the students' words, missing transcripts and fees, fees, fees.

The transcript problem seems to be the tip of an enormous iceberg, a point of contact with many other serious issues on the struggling university's agenda. Students complain it can take up to three years after graduation to get their final records, a major obstacle to job hunting. A female student from the law faculty maintained, "It's corruption! You can get your transcript much sooner—if you pay."

"Professors are as concerned about transcripts as students are," says Ruth Mukama. "We meet regularly to discuss this problem, and it's a big one." A British software company is working with the university to come up with the right computer program for managing records, she says, but the issue doesn't end there, since "There won't be any data unless teachers submit grades."

"The registrar sets deadlines, but these are dreamworld deadlines," adds Dr. Maria Gorreti Nassuna-Musoke, from the faculty of veterinary medicine. "We have two lecturers where there should be seven; they once taught two courses and now teach 30 hours a week or more. How can they give all those exams," she asks, "or provide constant assessment, which, in fact, they never get around to?" Because government declared that lecturers must have Ph.D.s, faculty members go away to study, and "if they like it better there, they don't come back!" Professors' salaries are so low, most take on consulting jobs to make ends meet.

Mukama agrees that all departments are "grossly understaffed. The government has put an embargo on teaching salaries, so we can only recruit part-timers. Of course there are gaps. They haven't raised the amount they give to the university in decades. And the power outages that plague the entire country make a bad situation worse."

Power outages aside, most of Makerere's troubles, including many of the campus's most glaring eyesores, can

## Ritah Namisango, *Public Relations Assistant*

**"My love for Makerere began when I was only nine years old,"** says the 25-year-old alum. "It was the one university in the country at that time, 1990, and graduation was a national event. The ceremony would be aired on Radio Uganda, so the public was sensitized. They would even make an announcement for people not to use the roads around a graduate's town when it was time for them to be traveling back home. I got very excited imagining what it would be like to have my name announced to the president, my family and my village."

Ritah's ambition was fueled the next year when a girl from her village graduated from Makerere—an uncommon enough event to create a buzz in the neighborhood. Ritah accompanied her grandmother to the ceremony and, finding that she "identified completely" with the graduate, set her sights on Makerere. "I thought if other people have done it then I can. I did a personal assessment and concentrated on my academics." Ritah worked, and she excelled. When the time came to apply to colleges, although there were now several choices, she checked only one from the list. "My advisor said not to put all my eggs in one basket, but I would not change my mind."

By the time Ritah was applying, the university had privatized. But she had studied for years with the intention of winning a government sponsorship and this was still her goal. Ritah's father was dead, and her brother had always paid her school fees, but she didn't want to burden him any longer. She took the national qualifying examination and waited. "I'll never forget the fourth of April, 2001, when the results were released. I placed third in my district, and the district placed second in the whole country. I was working at my brother's business when a call came in from my schoolmaster asking, 'Do you know where Ritah is?' He told me to go right over to the *New Vision* newspaper office because they wanted to interview me!"

Ritah got the full scholarship she had been hoping for as well as a place in her first-choice residence: Mary Stuart Hall. The school's female student leaders lived in this building, and VIPs who came to campus often spoke in its courtyard. "Something interesting was always happening here," she says, "and this way I'd never miss out." Ritah graduated in 2005 with a B.A. in mass communications and began working in the public relations department (where she had interned as an undergraduate) soon after. Now her goal is to leverage her love of Makerere toward improving public perception of the university. "There is a tremendous number of students here, more every year. Unfortunately, there are also many communication gaps," she says. "There's no flow among different groups, so one doesn't know what the other one is doing. Journalists write about inefficiencies, which creates a bad impression. I'd like to change that."


**An addition to the library will double the available space.**

**(l. to r.) Recent graduates Edward Atenu and Wilbur Ngolobe praised Makerere's academic and personal freedom and say they did a lot of growing up on campus. Atenu anticipates using his social science degree in the public service in one of Uganda's outlying districts. Ngolobe plans on a business career in Kampala.**

be traced to too many students and not enough funds. "In countries where the state has traditionally paid most of the cost of higher education, the introduction of or increase in tuition fees—or any other form of cost sharing—is a politically contentious issue," according to A.B.K. Kasozi, executive director of Uganda's National Council for Higher Education.[3] "While private universities and schools in Uganda have often increased fees without stiff political and student obstruction, public universities are unable to do so."

Kasozi claims, over the long haul, only institutions that can freely sell their higher education products at market value will be able to maintain high standards. The imbalance between the cost of education and student fees at Makerere is acute, with students paying only about 30 percent of the annual cost of their programs. He predicts that a lack of autonomy in managing those fees combined with declining government budget allocations, deteriorating infrastructure and growing enrollments will inevitably lead to inferior higher education.

Narciso Matos shares this view. "Studies have shown that the university is not charging enough; it could charge much more," he says. "At the same time, it needs to shrink, which raising fees would do. But university officials have been unwilling or unable to take that step."

What about the aid dollars currently flowing into Makerere? Grants in the millions have been given to revitalize the university, build capacity, fight AIDS, improve crops, educate women, construct labs and clinics and fill the empty shelves of the library. Matos wonders why there isn't more to show for all this outside aid, as well as internally generated funds. Even the university's most apparently successful projects have their vulnerable side. The computer and information technology building currently under construction, for instance, can only be finished with additional outside support. No plans have been made to sustain the women's scholarships when the Corporation funds run out, he says. And the Infectious Disease Institute is seriously strained by its doctor/patient ratio around 1/15,000—a dramatic reminder of the overwhelming impact AIDS continues to have in Uganda, the country once thought to have Africa's top track record in combating the disease.

"I'm not convinced the university has what it takes to deserve continued support," says Narciso Matos. "For example, in the past when we've asked what Makerere's priorities were, they turned around and asked what the Corporation considered most important. It's a sign of a weak center." Another bad sign, he says, is that even when a project is not performing, they won't end the program. "There's a culture of not making waves," he says. "It's distressing. While some programs are good and we may be willing to support them to completion, it's difficult to justify overall support."

Funding a few handpicked programs is what Andrea Johnson recommends. She worries about giving too much money to too few projects, "as we are sometimes urged to do. What seems efficient, in reality turns out to be the opposite. Instead of having greater impact, big sums of money can be overwhelming and the university just doesn't know how to spend it well." She recommends manageable projects, limited grants, careful planning and oversight. "The initial project idea should come from grantees, who have to be able to tell us exactly what they're doing with the funds and whether the project works," she says. "If it's the right idea, and the right people, they can."

Strong leadership is the only viable solution for Makerere, Matos stresses. "It has the necessary ingredients, but without leadership there will just be a further accumulation of problems, including student unrest. Makerere was a pioneer in privatizing education but it didn't follow through with the process. Students are beginning to ask questions: Are they getting a better service today, given what they pay? Should they expect more? The university will have to address this issue. There is no alternative, no other institution in the foreseeable future to play this role. Makerere can, and must, become a better university." ■

[3] *A. B. K. Kasozi. "The Politics of Fees in Uganda."* International Higher Education, *number 43, Spring 2006.*


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by
Daniel Akst

# ands Across the Internet:

## HOW NONPROFITS REACH OUT ONLINE

***Some nonprofits use the Internet as an adjunct to their work; some use it as their office, fundraising agency and mission central, combined.***

Ask moveon.org, the not-for-profit web site that mobilizes on behalf of liberal causes, just where the operation is based and you'll get an ambiguous answer.

"It's an interesting question," MoveOn executive director Eli Pariser says by cell phone. Pariser himself, for example, works out of Portland, Maine. But MoveOn (www.moveon.org) has employees in about 10 different cities, he says, most of them working from home and of course, making use of the Internet. There simply is no central office, yet according to Pariser, Moveon boasts more than three million members.

MoveOn, which isn't the usual type of 501(c)3 (generally defined as a tax-exempt organization created to carry out charitable, educational or religious efforts) is nonetheless a good example of a new breed of nonprofit organization—one for which the Internet is central to their identity. Of course, the more traditional nonprofits are all over the Web nowadays; the Internet is useful for fundraising, promotion and donor communications, among other things. But organizations like Moveon are different because they exist *primarily* on the Internet, using this new medium as an essential venue for their activities.

Roger Craver, a well-known philanthropic fundraising consultant, says the Internet has opened the door to all kinds of innovative nonprofit newcomers who may someday challenge the biggest established organizations in philanthropy—many of which, in his view, are still too complacent about the new medium. One reason may be that, for established organizations, building up a Web presence requires extra staff and expense, but Web-only newcomers can get up and running on the cheap. Just consider the story of Monica and Gilles Frydman.

When Monica was diagnosed with a form of breast cancer known as ductile carcinoma in situ, she and her husband Gilles were devastated. Monica had already been through two heart operations and a difficult pregnancy. Now their doctor scheduled surgery for a radical mastectomy and told them chemotherapy would be required afterwards, as well as bone, brain and liver scans to search for distant metastases.

This was back in 1995, and the despairing Frydmans turned to a new source of information—the Internet. After checking

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**Eli Pariser, executive director of Moveon.org.**

some electronic mailing lists dealing with cancer, they began to doubt the treatment advice they had been given, and shortly before the surgery, demanded a second opinion. A specialist confirmed what they had suspected: the earlier treatment plan was misguided, and the implied prognosis much too dire. The couple's experience not only spared Monica Frydman the needless surgery; it also led Gilles to rescue the mailing lists that had helped her. He decided the postings in these lists should be archived for the benefit of others desperately in search of information about a life-threatening disease. "At the time," he recalls, "there were four lists."

Today, through a nonprofit organization called Association of Cancer Online Resources (ACOR), Gilles Frydman maintains and archives more than 200 such lists serving as a conduit for questions and answers, information and, most of all, hope for 75,000 subscribers, most of them people with cancer and their families. Virtually the entire effort is sustained by volunteers. "That's what the Internet allows you to do," Gilles says.

ACOR (www.acor.org), shows how much the Internet has lowered the barriers to entry in founding new nonprofits—and how much more expensive it is to maintain an Internet nonprofit than it looks. Entering its second decade, ACOR clings to life thanks to the energy and commitment of the 51-year-old Frydman. With an annual budget of just $150,000, ACOR manages to serve its subscribers for a remarkable $2 per person per year. But Frydman works mostly without pay, and ACOR doesn't have a single employee.

Unfortunately, a site like ACOR cannot be run merely by plunking a cheap computer down on somebody's kitchen table. ACOR maintains a bank of servers in New York's borough of Queens, and they account for one of its biggest headaches: high electric bills. Electricity costs more in New York City than in most of America, but Frydman and his ACOR associates need quick access to their equipment, and New York is where they happen to live. The other big expense is computer code. ACOR pays programmers on an hourly basis to create lots of custom software, which is necessary if its web site is to serve its users well. In the long run, Frydman says, ACOR needs about $1 million a year to fund its operations. Unfortunately, he says, "we are terrible at doing fundraising."

### Nonprofits Without Borders

Two factors have helped fuel the growth of Internet-oriented nonprofits. One is really a bunch of factors—or more specifically, a bunch of disasters. The 9/11 terrorist attacks, the South Asian tsunami and Hurricane Katrina all galvanized online givers, Craver says, and helped charities recognize the power of the new medium. A second factor has been the rapid rise of Internet commerce. "Until a medium is used in commerce, it generally isn't terribly effective in charitable giving or even advocacy," Craver observes. The analogy is to direct mail: the tactic was pioneered by business and later widely adopted by charities. And while the Internet was originally mostly the province of young men, it is now used by women and older people as well, making it much more useful for nonprofit fundraising. "Most organizations get their contributions from the 45-to-65-year-old segment," Craver explains. "Now the Internet is used across all demographics."

Thus, it shouldn't be surprising that Internet-based charities are springing up. They range in size from the relatively tiny ACOR, right up through Network for Good, an Internet donation facilitator that has raised tens of millions for other charities and has the backing of such Internet heavyweights as Yahoo Inc. Some of these new Internet philanthropies use the power of the World Wide Web to connect and motivate people; volunteermatch.org, for example, connects people who want to give their time to organizations that need help. Other Internet nonprofits, such as the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), which is supported in part by Carnegie Corporation of New York, provide important information that the marketplace doesn't. CRP makes available free campaign finance information at www.opensecrets.org.

Carnegie Corporation has funded several such ventures, all of them in keeping with its longstanding focus on building democracy by fostering an informed citizenry. When books were the main repositories of knowledge, Carnegie Corporation funded public libraries, helping establish the innovative idea that everyone ought to have access to printed knowledge—and that providing such access is a proper civic function. Later, the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television (underwritten by the Corporation) produced a landmark report that led to the creation of the public broadcasting system in 1967, thereby enlisting the relatively youthful technology of television for educational purposes. Among other initiatives in this realm, the Corporation also commissioned a study by Joan Ganz Cooney that led to the creation of the Children's Television Workshop (now known as Sesame Workshop)—and its most renowned program, Sesame Street.

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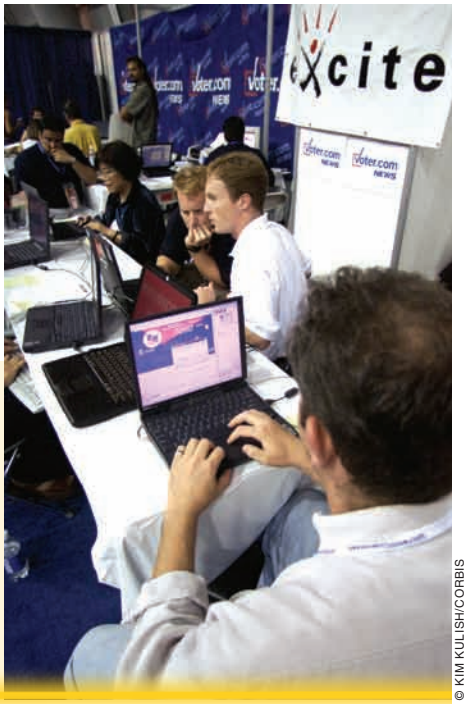
Geri Mannion, chair of the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy Program, notes that toward the end of the 1980s the Corporation helped fund Project Vote Smart, a nonpartisan venture to let voters dial an 800 number for information that might help them make more informed choices at the polls. Over the years this telephone initiative has evolved into a web site, vote-smart.org, that contains information on campaign finances, voting records, candidate biographies and other material.

More recently, the Corporation has been a major supporter of GuideStar (www.guidestar.org), which makes available on the Internet reams of information about thousands of nonprofits all over America. GuideStar, also a nonprofit, slices and dices the information in so many ways that commercial users of the site actually are willing to pay for it, helping offset the cost of what GuideStar provides for free. And it's hard to conceive of GuideStar doing what it does in the absence of the Internet.

*oriented nonprofits now fundraising and reporting Internet is central identity.*



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Carnegie Corporation has also been a supporter of Action Without Borders and its web site, www.idealist.org Founded in 1996 by Ami Dar, a former Israeli paratrooper who grew up in Latin America, idealist.org is a great example of how Internet nonprofits can leap across time zones, borders and oceans—in this case by providing information on more than 54,000 nonprofit organizations in 165 countries. Idealist.org also serves as a clearinghouse for employment and volunteer opportunities in the nonprofit sector. For example, a young Canadian looking for a chance to do the world some good—and work on her Spanish—could sign up for e-mail alerts about summer volunteer opportunities in South America. She could even set up a volunteer profile for herself listing her talents, training and interests, so that nonprofits looking for volunteers can come to her.

Internet-oriented nonprofits fall into several broad (and broadly overlapping) categories. Herewith a look at several, each of which embodies a slightly different aspect of the phenomenon.

**Fundraising:** Using the Internet for raising money would seem the most natural thing in the world, but smaller nonprofits don't have the resources. And any nonprofit should be concerned about potentially cannibalizing existing donors, who might have given the old-fashioned way without all the bother of a web site. Enter Network for Good (www.networkforgood.org), which lets users donate money to nonprofit organizations from its web site but also offers nonprofits the ability to post a "donate now" button so that visitors to *their* web sites can become instant donors. The basic "donate now" function is free, although Network For Good deducts three percent of all donations for transaction costs. Some 4,500 nonprofits now use its tools, it says.

Network For Good, which today has 21 employees, was created in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks with funding from the AOL Time Warner Foundation and AOL, Inc.; the Cisco Foundation and Cisco Systems, Inc.; and Yahoo. One of its strengths to this day is enabling people to donate at times of crisis. In May, for example, when a major earthquake struck Indonesia, Network for Good gave visitors the ability to give money right on its home page. Clicking "donate" in the "help quake survivors" box brought up a page listing a collection of charities, including Doctors Without Borders USA, Oxfam and Unicef, pulled together by the Network for Good staff—and screened to exclude fly-by-night operations.

"Crisis giving is not like other giving. It's analogous to impulse purchases in the for-profit sector," explains Bill Strathmann, Network for Good's chief executive. Impulse giving is encouraged by the placement of Network for Good "donate now" buttons next to AOL's and Yahoo's presentation of news articles about disasters. As Strathmann puts it, "There, next to the heart-wrenching photos of the disaster, is a way to give."

Network for Good's role in crisis donations is one reason its executives believe the site increases total giving, rather than just diverting money that might otherwise have been donated via the postal service. Another reason is that the average donor who gives via Network for Good is 39 years old, which is "quite young" in the nonprofit world, according to spokeswoman Katya Andresen, who says that in 2005 Network for Good brought in $32 million for charities in 211,000 transactions. "Every dollar we spend brings in $9 for charities," she said.

It's noteworthy that, according to a report by Craver, Mathews, Smith & Co., the fundraising consultancy that Roger Craver founded, online donors "give significantly more money on average; they appear more loyal in their reported giving behavior; and they indicate different giving interests than offline (i.e., non-online) donors." Yet the report also notes: "The vast majority of donors have yet to make an online contribution. Online penetration is greatest for political campaign

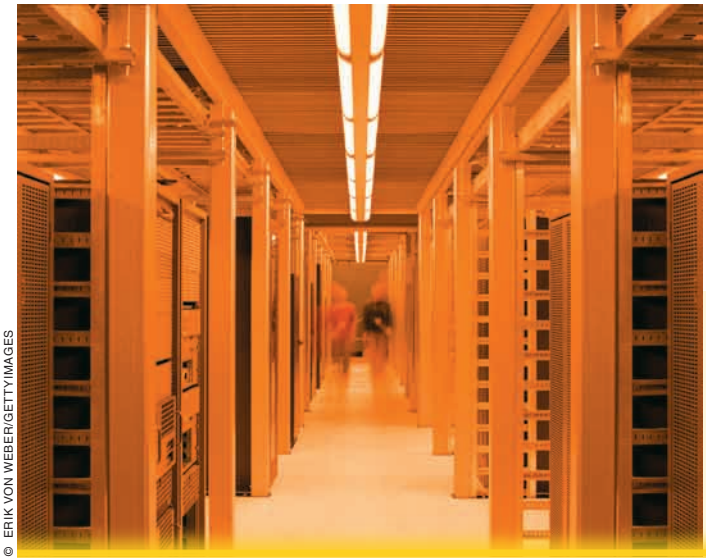
giving, disaster relief, and issue advocacy."

That means outfits like Network for Good have plenty of room to grow. As things stand, Network for Good's budget this year is just $4.2 million, and while the three percent fee it charges takes care of transaction expenses, it does nothing to support the organization otherwise. Andresen says the organization needs to earn an additional one-to-two percent of the donations it takes in to cover its costs. To keep itself afloat, Network for Good asks donors to consider giving some extra to help sustain the operation and, Andresen says, 25-to-35 percent do so. Also, Network for Good is able to charge some nonprofits for providing services beyond the basic "donate now" button. Thanks to its merger with Groundspring (www.groundspring.org), another nonprofit service venture, which was established by the Tides Foundation and is funded by Carnegie Corporation as well as others such as the Ford, W.K. Kellogg and Surdna foundations, Network for Good offers customized donation buttons and help with managing donor communications. In the fall, it will launch a web-based donor management function to help nonprofits do targeted outreach to donors.

Strathmann says the goal is to achieve self-sufficiency by 2008. "We're very much about being a sustainable organization," he notes. In the interim, Network for Good has been supported by Carnegie Corporation, the Kellogg Foundation and others. AOL also provides help by hosting the organization's web servers.

**Voluntarism:** Another thing the Internet excels at is helping supply and demand find one another. VolunteerMatch is a great example; it's like Network for Good, but instead of making it easier for people to donate money, VolunteerMatch (www.volunteermatch.org) makes it easier for them to give time. At last count, in fact, the organization has made more than 2.5 million volunteer referrals, and was offering more than 36,000 volunteering opportunities on behalf of more than 40,000 nonprofit organizations. VolunteerMatch, which says it is the largest online network of its kind, exploits the well-established power of the Internet to bring buyers and sellers together, except in this case the transactions aren't commercial. It reported that in 2005 its nearly 500,000 member volunteers gave an average of 86 hours of their time in volunteer service.

Although VolunteerMatch still relies on some foundation support, in 2005 it took in $1.2 million, or 41 percent of operating revenue, from corporate partners and sales. The great bulk of that was from corporations; VolunteerMatch has helped organize voluntarism programs at such major companies as Charles Schwab, Dell, Gap, Merrill Lynch, Microsoft, Nike and Verizon. At Dell, for instance, VolunteerMatch has helped employees get involved in community service projects, and since the year 2000, Dell employees have responded to more than 5,000 volunteer opportunities nationwide. VolunteerMatch and Dell have also extended their efforts to Dell employees in Brazil and the United Kingdom. Although most of VolunteerMatch's earned revenue comes from corporate partners, the $1.2 million also includes $89,000 from such fee-based services as "Multi-Zip," which helps nonprofits recruit more effectively at the city, county, state, and national levels.



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*Maintaining an seems. In addition to electricity to run*

**Political action:** Mobilizing people around a cause is yet another of the Internet's strengths, and this is the one that MoveOn best exemplifies. Because of federal election and nonprofit law, MoveOn consists of two main organizations: a 501(c)4 nonprofit membership organization called MoveOn Civic Action, which advocates for political causes through the media, and MoveOn Political Action, a federal political action committee, which spends money to help elect candidates to office.

MoveOn grew out of a 1998 Internet petition launched by Joan Blades and Web Boyd, Silicon Valley software entrepreneurs without political experience who were dismayed by the impeachment of then-president Bill Clinton. The petition called for Congress to "Censure President Clinton and Move On to Pressing Issues Facing the Nation." Hundreds of thousands of Americans signed on within days, clearly demonstrating the power of the Internet for organizing people around a cause. "We're definitely a product of the medium," says Eli Pariser, head of MoveOn. "You simply couldn't communicate on a daily basis with three million people, without spending a fortune, before the Internet."

Pariser points to the business-world distinction between "clicks and mortar" operations such as Wal-Mart, which operate both traditional stores and growing web sites, versus "pure plays" like Amazon.com, which exist only on the Internet and have no physical store that you can visit in person. Pariser observes that MoveOn is firmly in the latter camp, and the organization's viral growth is in keeping with how word spreads online. Virtually all

MoveOn's members, Pariser says, joined as the result of hearing about the organization from other members. That's in contrast to the pattern for more traditional organizations, which might buy a list of likely suspects and try to recruit new members by direct mail.

The relatively low cost of communications on the Internet means that MoveOn can sign up members who don't give a dime, and hope that they ante up later. In 2005, according to MoveOn's web site, it had 3.3 million members but only 125,000 of those donated money, giving a total of about $10 million to MoveOn Political Action, where the overwhelming bulk of the money goes. The average donation was $45, Pariser says, noting that some people made more than one donation.

**Information:** If by lowering costs the Internet opens the door to all kinds of new nonprofits, how are donors to sort through this growing profusion in order to distinguish the worthy from the unworthy? The Internet itself offers at least the beginnings of a solution, thanks to such web-based nonprofits as Network for Good and GuideStar. The former will do the screening for you, but the latter provides donors with free access to information they can use in judging the legitimacy of a charity for themselves. The need is clear: American individuals, estates, foundations and corporations gave an estimated $260 billion to charity in 2005 according to the Giving USA Foundation, which tracks such things. At the same time, the public has come to hold a dim view of charities as the result of a series of pay and spending scandals, controversy over the disbursement of funds in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the feeling that money may not have been used efficiently following Hurricane Katrina.

GuideStar, which makes available the federal Forms 990 that charities must file in lieu of traditional tax returns, offers donors a chance to find out what a given charity pays its CEO, for instance. GuideStar's information is used by donors large and small, journalists and the charities themselves, many of whom supplement their 990 data with additional information. By shedding light on the financial reports of charities, GuideStar also strikes a blow for credibility by increasing transparency. The 990 forms have long been public, at least officially, but thanks to the Internet—and GuideStar—charities can no longer count on the "practical obscurity" of this information to hide their doings.

Like Network for Good, GuideStar too is focused on achieving self-sufficiency, no small task given the labor-intensive nature of what it does. While GuideStar offers free Adobe Acrobat images of the 990 forms, it also offers (for a fee) aggregated data from the forms served up in innumerable ways, and getting this data into usable form has meant an awful lot of keyboarding. GuideStar is working with the IRS to try and get this data submitted electronically in the first place, even going so far as donating some software code for this purpose. Nonetheless, in 2005 GuideStar managed to obtain about half its budget from sales of one sort or another, and in 2006 it anticipates getting 60 percent from sales of products and services and just 40 percent from philanthropy, according to Debra Snider, GuideStar's vice president for communications and nonprofit relations. Bearing in mind that GuideStar got just two percent of its revenue from sales in 2001, that's a big change.

*online nonprofit is usually more expensive than it manpower, software, programming—even the cost of computers and servers—all adds up.*

Just what does GuideStar sell to bring in all that money? Extra-fee services include GuideStar Salary Search, which lets paying subscribers access a vast database of nonprofit salary information; GuideStar Grant Explorer, which lets grantmakers and grantseekers search for grant information by a variety of criterion; GuideStar Analyst Reports, which cover thousands of nonprofits complete with comparisons to peer groups; and GuideStar for Professionals and GuideStar for Grantmakers, which offer resources to help lawyers, donors and others with due diligence and research.

In addition, GuideStar offers custom data services, providing information carved to order for customers who pay thousands of dollars for it. GuideStar is even selling electronic data to the Internal Revenue Service. Financial services firms are also prominent customers; GuideStar's data can help them market their services precisely to those segments of the nonprofit market who might be most in need of them and able to afford them.

Snider reports that GuideStar now has roughly 1.5 million charities in its database, including recently added membership organizations such as AARP and the National Rifle Association. And in the first five months of 2006, she says, the site garnered 3.1 million visitors, up from 2 million in the same period a year earlier.

**International aid:** Yet another of the Internet's strengths is its ability to obliterate borders. One of the most creative Internet-oriented nonprofits with international aims is kiva.org, which has brought an interesting twist to the growing movement toward Third World microlending. Through the power of the Internet, Kiva (www.kiva.org) makes it possible to lend small sums of money to a specific borrower—a Third World entrepreneur who might want the capital to expand a grocery store, buy more fabric for making clothing, obtain a pig that can be resold later at a profit, or for any of countless other commercial enterprises. (Kiva is Swahili for "agreement" or "unity.")

Founded by Matthew and Jessica Flannery in California, Kiva started in 2005 by funding zero-interest loans in the Tororo section of Uganda, where it had

Moses Onyango, an experienced local pastor, on the ground to perform the labor-intensive task of finding and screening borrowers and then providing some minimal training in business. This is not typical banking; applicants were assisted in filling out a form that asked such questions as, how often do you eat, do you sleep in a bed, and do you own a blanket. "We have the poorest of the poor here," says Onyango, who knows the region and its people intimately. A loan from Kiva, he says, "changes their lives so, so much."

Lots of organizations, such as Accion International (www.accion.org/), are engaged in microcredit lending all over the Third World. The genius of Kiva, though, is that it doesn't take money from donors or lenders and toss it into a big pot, so that lenders and borrowers are anonymous to one another. Instead, Kiva allows lenders (and lenders can also be donors) to fund specific entrepreneurs of their own choosing. You can see a picture of a hopeful entrepreneur, read his or her story, and then follow the individual's exploits on the web. "People are really excited to be lending to other people on the Internet," says Kiva co-founder Matthew Flannery. Or, as the web site puts it, "Kiva is using the power of the Internet to facilitate one-to-one connections that were previously prohibitively expensive."

The Internet is the basis not just of what Kiva does, but how it does it. E-mail facilitates communications all over the world, and Skype, the cut-rate Internet phone service, is used for voice communications. PayPal, the Internet payment system owned by eBay, is used to receive money for lending and to convey loan payments back to the United States; it provides free payment processing, says Kiva's president, Premal Shah, who worked at PayPal before coming to Kiva. Lenders who provide funds have the option of re-lending the money, donating it to Kiva outright, or simply taking it back and walking away.

Soon after the site got going, word of Kiva's efforts appeared on DailyKos (www.dailykos.com), a liberal blog, and in yet another demonstration of the Internet's power, interest in the site exploded. Money poured in, the first 50 businesses were funded almost instantly, and Kiva quickly had no new ones to offer to eager lenders coming to the site as the result of attention in the blogosphere.

Matt Flannery soon quit his full-time job to devote himself to the new venture and, eventually, Shah came aboard. Today, Shah says, Kiva makes loans through partner organizations all over the world, including in Cambodia, Ecuador, Gaza, Kenya, Nicaragua, Senegal, Tanzania and Uganda. In Bulgaria, for example, the local partners are Peace Corps volunteers, according to Shah, who says the organization has about 1,150 lenders—and roughly 2,000 more prospective lenders who signed up when Kiva had run out of entrepreneurs to fund. The average lender makes one or more loans of $80 each and since some make more than one loan, the total is roughly $200,000. These lenders have funded nearly 400 micro-ventures—tiny businesses founded by poor entrepreneurs. The average loan size is about $500.

*Through the power of the Internet, and the like Kiva, it has become possible to lend small sums borrower such as a Third World entrepreneur capital to expand a grocery store, buy more fabric for any of countless other*

Kiva charges no interest, but its partners in the field charge anywhere from 10 to 40 percent annually, which sounds high but is not unusual in the world of microfinance given the local cost of money for borrowers with no collateral—not to mention the high cost of making and servicing these loans. Says Shah, "We're basically the lowest cost source of capital you can find because it's from individuals who value an emotional return rather than a financial one."

Although Shah says that so far Kiva has not had a single default, lenders can provide as little as $25 to each borrower, allowing easy diversification—and the satisfaction of being involved in several people's lives. Down the road, Kiva hopes to allow lenders to display their loan portfolios to their friends, the way people display their favorite songs or movies on such personal networking sites as Myspace.com.

The beauty of Kiva, Premal says, is that the Internet makes it so cheap to operate that it can achieve sustainability at very low operating costs—which means as soon as it achieves enough scale. Kiva could charge a small origination fee to its partners, for instance, and still be a cheap source of capital to them. It also makes a little money on the "float," meaning the money it holds before loans are made and as repayments trickle in. Kiva keeps loan payments until the loan is repaid in full, only then passing the money along to lenders (assuming they want to be repaid); in the interim it earns interest.

Premal notes that more than 80 percent of the loans Kiva makes are rolled over into new loans when repaid, so clearly its members like what they're doing. The fly in the ointment is that lending this way isn't tax-deductible, the way giving to a charity would be, so Kiva hopes to launch non-refundable lending accounts, much like donor advised charitable gift trusts, to which lenders could donate money irrevocably. They'd still get to pick the people they lend to, assemble their own portfolio of loans and get updates from the entrepreneurs they fund. Only this way, Uncle Sam would pick up part of the tab.

A similarly international Internet-only newcomer is the Global Giving Foundation

(www.globalgiving.com), founded by a pair of World Bank alumni to provide what it calls "an online marketplace for international giving." From the web site, donors can give to Third World projects that have been screened for legitimacy and "support the entrepreneurial work of project leaders throughout the world, who are bringing innovative, empowering solutions to challenging social problems at the local community level." Global Giving even lets donors set up event registries—couples about to be wed can sign up for helping the Third World poor instead of household tchotchkes from a department store.

### Katrina Online

Hurricane Katrina clearly showed the power of the Internet for both good and ill in the nonprofit world. On the positive side of the ledger, donations to assist the victims of Katrina poured in, and a large proportion came in via the Internet, according to data assembled by the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*. Of the $34 million raised by the Humane Society in connection with Katrina, for instance, 53.8 percent was donated online. The American Red Cross received 22.3 percent of its Katrina donations online, amounting to a whopping $479 million. Smaller outfits also raised significant sums online; of the nearly $10.2 million in Katrina money raised by Mercy Corps, 45.5 percent was raised online.

The dark side of the story is that it took just hours for dubious Katrina-oriented collection sites to crop up on the World Wide Web. All told, the FBI estimated about a week after the hurricane touched down that the number of web sites claiming to offer Katrina-related information and donation opportunities stood at 2,300, making it hard for donors to know which were legitimate and which weren't. The government inadvertently made things more complicated when the Internal Revenue Service decided to expedite the normal approval process for new nonprofits, thus facilitating the creation of some unusual charities. One tiny outfit devoted itself to supplying underwear to storm victims. Another, set up to distribute toys to children displaced by the hurricane, ended up giving the toys to needy children elsewhere because by the time it was ready to act, the Katrina victims were no longer in shelters. And the Lords of Leather Hurricane Relief Fund distributed leather jackets and other items to hurricane victims in need of fetish gear.

*intervention of nonprofits of money to a specific who might want the for making clothing or commercial enterprises.*

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Some of the online charities that sprang up in the wake of Katrina were not merely quirky. Mass e-mailings—Katrina spam—also went out in search of funds or in some cases credit card numbers, and some hackers tried to propagate malicious software under the guise of Katrina relief. One scam artist created a web page in Brazil designed to look like the Red Cross site, with the goal of getting donors to input their credit card numbers and expiration dates. Other sites collecting donations failed to properly register with authorities, and one didn't disclose its apparent links to white separatist groups. State and federal officials targeted dozens of sites for investigation. Authorities said the mad scramble for cash following Katrina was even bigger than the one that came after the giant South Asian tsunami.

Despite the potential for mischief, the Internet is only going to grow as a tool for nonprofits, as it has been doing for newcomers and long-established organizations alike. Indeed, if you want to know how important the Internet has become to a range of charities, consider the case of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society (www.nationalmssociety.org). In the long-ago year of 2001, according to the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, the society raised a tidy $233,400 online. In 2005, online donations to the society amounted to $26.2 million—an increase of more than 11,000 percent.

That gain was extreme, but other charities posted large increases as well. The *Chronicle* tabulated results for 41 charities from 2001 to 2005 and found that in the aggregate their online fundraising grew by 1,208 percent.

Even comparing 2005 to 2004, the *Chronicle* found, America's large charities posted big gains in online fundraising. The publication tracked 162 of the largest nonprofits during both years and found that online donations rose 148 percent, to $908.4 million. And remember, this is just 162 large organizations. The *Chronicle* said that the huge influx of online donations in response to the Indian Ocean tsunami and to Hurricane Katrina, both of which occurred within the 2005 fiscal year of many charities, account for only part of the increase.

"I would imagine that charities are just a few years behind what is happening in the rest of the online world," says Stacy Palmer, the *Chronicle's* editor, "where people get their news, entertainment, stock transactions, etc., by using the Internet. So if 50 percent of Americans do their banking online in the next decade, I would bet 50 percent will be doing their donations online a few years after that." ■

*by* Anne Grosso de León

# *The* School Leadership Crisis:

## HAVE SCHOOL PRINCIPALS BEEN LEFT BEHIND?

*Into the room the principal escorts the Staten Island Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Martin Wolfson. They don't acknowledge my existence. They don't apologize for interrupting the class. They walk up and down the aisles, peering at student papers. They pick them up for a closer look. Superintendent shows one to the principal. Superintendent frowns and purses his lips. Principal purses his lips. Class understands these are significant and important people. To show loyalty and solidarity they refrain from asking for the pass.*

*Frank McCourt*
Teacher Man: A Memoir
*(Scribner, 2005)*

The kabuki-like drama described by Frank McCourt in his memoir, *Teacher Man*, which chronicles his thirty-year teaching career in New York City's public high schools, unfolded more than forty years ago. Even so, to all who have ever studied or taught in an American school, the drama is disconcertingly familiar. In a flash we are all anxiously on guard. Who doesn't remember vividly the day on which the school principal made an unannounced classroom visit to "observe"—occasionally with an even higher official in tow? It was invariably a day that put everybody on edge. Students visualized detentions for their lack of preparation. Teachers visualized unfavorable letters in their files for having such embarrassingly unprepared students. What McCourt suggests, but does not say explicitly, is that the lip-pursing principal, who typically did not have the faintest idea of what McCourt might be doing in his English class that day, was also clearly on edge. As poor Principal Wolfson mimicked the superintendent's movements and expressions, he kept a close eye on the superintendent anxiously trying to divine whether disaster or success lay in his immediate future. The scene is as poignant as it is comical.

How "significant and important" a person can this principal be?

The answer to this question is as befuddling today as it was forty years ago. By definition, the principal—as the school's highest-ranking official—is indeed "a significant and important" person. Yet the metaphors currently being used by experts to describe the plight of the nation's school principals—"exposed," "deer caught in the head-



lights," "in the hot seat," "in a vise," "in the eye of a storm," to name a few—are deeply troubling. How on earth did the job of principal come to be seen in the alarming way it is today? Moreover, why do school principals feel so besieged?

Some would argue that the educational reform movement of the past two decades, culminating in the passage of the *No Child Left Behind Act* of 2002, has moved American education into an era of high accountability with heightened expectations regarding student achievement and learning—and with serious penalties for schools that fail to perform. "As No Child Left Behind has moved America's schools into an era of accountability," says Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, "the focus of American education has been on testing. The focus, however, must and will change to performance and leadership if the goal of creating effective schools in America is to be realized." Above all, says Gregorian, "It is the principal as instructional leader who is crucial to the effectiveness of the nation's nearly 96,000 schools."

Alas, the critical role of instructional leader is only one of a dizzying array of roles the school principal is required to play in today's educational environment. According to a recent study on school leadership published by the Stanford Educational Leadership Institute with support from the Wallace Foundation, ". . .[T]he role of principal has swelled to include a staggering array of professional tasks and competencies. Principals are expected to be educational visionaries, instructional and curriculum leaders, assessment experts, disciplinarians, community builders, public relations and communications experts, budget analysts, facility managers, special programs administrators, as well as guardians of various legal, contractual, and policy mandates and initiatives. In addition, principals are expected to serve the often conflicting needs and interests of many stakeholders, including students, parents, teachers, district office officials, unions, and state and federal agencies."

The "job" of school principal, it turns out, has evolved into an overwhelming, hydra-like phenomenon that requires knowledge and skills that many school principals simply do not have. Nevertheless, observes Dr. Gerald N. Tirozzi, executive director of the

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*Anne Grosso De León writes about education.*

National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP), the school principal is "held responsible for just about everything under the sun." S/he is weighed down by a staggering array of responsibilities without corresponding authority over basic issues such as hiring and firing, school budgets, curriculums, bonuses, and training. Moreover, the process by which individuals aspire to become principals and the preparation they receive to do the job are widely regarded as deeply flawed.

"In the corporate world," says Tirozzi, "leadership is *never* an afterthought." Corporate boards seek the most capable leader they can find. It is rare indeed that a corporate board regards a person who has earned an MBA as an automatic candidate for CEO. Yet as recently as ten years ago, according to Daniel Fallon, chair of the Education Division of Carnegie Corporation, the typical "path" to becoming a school principal has largely consisted of the aspiring principal—self-selected, usually male, and more often a former athlete or coach—taking a set of courses at night to obtain "certification." For the principal whose management skills and experience were largely limited to managing high school athletic teams, there could be little certainty that he knew and understood what was demanded of him in this extremely complex leadership role. That was then. Now, according to Fallon, principal preparation is "a rapidly moving field. It is vastly different today than it was ten years ago, and it will continue to be different tomorrow."

Even so, unlike other professions, the current practice still offers no "internship" or in-training apprenticeship for principals. As a result, the newly "certified" principal is in for a rude awakening that first day on the job. Certainly school principals receive greater financial compensation than teachers. However, as Fallon points out, "They work eleven months, not nine, and they have a hell of a lot more headaches." Much of the 12-to-15 hours a day the new principal spends at work will be consumed dealing with vending machines and broken furnaces, and a wide range of problems including school safety, nutrition, health, housing, employment, drugs, and violence. And, yes, says Gerald Tirozzi, in the remaining time, the principal will keep an eye on the Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) report, the *No Child Left Behind (NCLB)* linchpin that requires schools to "show significant progress in student achievement as measured by their states' proficiency tests." Moreover, according to Tirozzi, there is that proverbial elephant in the room—the glaring, seemingly intractable "issue of equity in this country." There are "two Americas," says Tirozzi, and only one of them has a focus on instruction.

Judy B. Codding, vice president of programs for the National Center on Education and the Economy (NCEE) and director of NCEE's America's Choice Design Network, would probably agree. As a former high school principal at two high-performing, affluent high schools in New York and a low-performing, inner-city high school in Los Angeles, Codding is well-acquainted with the two Americas. The spectacle of one of her students in Los Angeles trying to do his homework under a street lamp because he had no electricity at home is seared into her memory. "In the Scarsdales of America," she says, "[as principal] you are focused on instruction and learning. In inner cities, instruction is in the background. I had to bring it forward." The award-winning former principal says that the challenge in Los Angeles was "to get the faculty to believe that students can achieve and to get students to believe that the faculty believes in them." She adds, "It takes strong leadership—but you [also] have to have a system in place," a system in which the focus is on developing strategies on behalf of instruction.

Like Tirozzi, Codding views the function of the principal as similar to that of a CEO. The problem, she says, is principals don't see "the connection between what they [are] expected to do, and how they [are] prepared." The reason, according to Codding, is that schools of education simply have not done the job of preparing principals to make that connection. Sadly, she says, schools of education tend to function largely as "cash cows" for the university. With millions of dollars a year spent on curriculum, there is "still no coherence in the curriculum for the training of principals."

### Training For A Revolution

By the end of the 1990s, as the number of experienced principals opting for early retirement continued to increase, the number of qualified applicants for positions as principals continued to decline. Attempts to recruit even minimally qualified candidates, especially in school districts in low-income areas, became increasingly difficult. Carnegie Corporation of New York invited NCEE to examine the critical question of school leadership—and to produce a plan for the training of key educational leaders and managers, focusing on school principals. The goal was to design a plan based on the best research and best practices available and, at the same time, take a look at how other institutions such as business and the military addressed the issue of leadership training. Joining Carnegie Corporation in this effort were the Broad Foundation and the New Schools Venture Fund.

*Schools of education With millions of dollars no coherence in the*

One result of the two-year NCEE study was the publication in 2005 of *The Principal Challenge, Leading and Managing Schools in an Era of Accountability* (2005), a virtual primer on the school leadership crisis. Edited by NCEE president Marc S. Tucker and

Judy Codding, *The Principal Challenge* contains nine reports by experts commissioned to examine the "causes and cures" of the school leadership crisis as well as a report by Tucker and Codding that provides an overview of the school leadership crisis entitled "Preparing Principals in the Age of Accountability."

A second outcome of the study was the establishment of the National Institute for School Leadership (NISL), which, according to Codding, set out to answer the question: "What will it take to train principals to lead a revolution?"

*function as "cash cows" for the university. spent on curriculum each year, there is still curriculum for the training of principals.*

The search for an answer led to an intensive examination of best practices used in business and the military in the training of managers and leaders. As the former provost of the National War College in Washington, D.C., with 26 years of military service behind him, NISL vice president, Dr. Robert C. Hughes, is keenly aware that "In the military, it is assumed you will need to be taught." Indeed, Hughes observes, in professional military education, the qualifications for each job and career are always clearly defined, and the focus has always *been* on instruction and practice. It is a step-by-step process through which strengths and skills are built, a system that must remain both "flexible and robust." It is unfortunate, he says, that in the education of school principals, there has always been a "loose coupling between the principal and instruction."

In creating learning communities that are focused on practice, NISL is essentially "cohort-based." In the NISL Executive Development Program, the NISL faculty provides instruction, organized according to a standards-based curriculum, to leadership teams selected from among local educators. These leadership teams—comprised of up to twelve educators, depending on the number of principals to be trained—teach the NISL curriculum to local principals. Leadership teams eventually become NISL-certified instructors. Hughes emphasizes that "The superintendent must be deeply engaged," otherwise the training effort will not succeed. Instruction is conducted in face-to-face workshops, seminars, and study groups and through the use of state-of-the-art interactive web-based learning. Leading experts are featured in the curriculum. The NISL program is spread out over a year-and-a-half to two years, and includes two summer institutes. NISL projects are now in place in school districts in Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, and Texas.

In 2005, NISL incorporated as a profit-making institution. Observes Hughes, "If colleges and universities had a handle on [principal preparation], businesses like NISL wouldn't exist." The research is clear, he says, "Without practice and application through initiatives and mentoring and coaching, [principal preparation] is a waste of time."

### The Distributed Leadership Perspective: We Don't Need Another Hero

While there is general agreement among educators and policymakers about the vital role played by the school principal in establishing strong learning environments, there is also a growing consensus among education experts that in today's complex, rapidly changing global educational environment, a school leadership model that relies too heavily on one individual may, in fact, no longer make much sense. The professional jargon reflects this changing perception: principals are now "facilitators," "collaborators," and "team players."

One expert, James P. Spillane, professor of human development, social policy and learning science at Northwestern University, has focused on exploring the "distributed leadership" perspective, a model that focuses on "where the world of classroom teaching meets practice." According to Spillane, perhaps the most important question is "What do people [in the instructional process] do?" What are the routines? Who performs them and why? What purposes do they serve? What are the tools of the trade used in these routines? How do those involved in the instructional process actually make use of textbooks, software, and curriculum? How do the "leaders" and the "followers" and their "situations" interact?

To determine how leadership practice actually works—or does not work—in a given school, Spillane emphasizes that a start-up time of at least six months is required to stand back and observe the instructional practices and interactions in place. Only then, he says, can new routines be designed, specifically tailored to help education practitioners—administrators, teachers, and specialists—to approach their work in more imaginative and productive ways.

A "leadership-plus approach," he says, which closely monitors routines and structures, requires study of the "how" as well as the "what" of leadership. On the other hand, Spillane regards with skepticism an attitude that fosters hope that a charismatic, heroic leader will magically emerge (he refers to it as the "heroics of the leadership genre"). The distributed leadership perspective does not offer a prescription for developing school lead-

ership, asserts Spillane, rather, it offers "a framework for thinking about leadership differently." While the principal is a critical member of the leadership team, educational leadership is fundamentally about leadership *practice*.

Spillane's work is now part of the Distributed Leadership Study in thirteen Chicago K-5 and K-8 public schools. While NCLB has helped push the school leadership question high on the American education agenda, in the new "flat world" of the twenty-first century, the question of school leadership has emerged as an issue of urgent global concern. Accordingly, Spillane's distributed leadership research has been getting a great deal of attention in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and China.

Another model that has engendered interest on the part of educators and school administrators is the "shared leadership team," in which different education professionals share the post of principal, often in sequential multi-week shifts. In 2004, Ralph Carducci, who was the career technical education director for the Monroe public schools, participated in a shared leadership team at Monroe High School in Monroe, Michigan after the school's principal resigned. All major decisions concerning the school or any problems were considered by the entire team. At the time, he commented that, "It's a learning process for all of us." Carducci has since been appointed the school's principal.

## Wanted: A New Generation Of Principals

New York City's vast public school system, with 1.1 million children enrolled in over 1,400 schools, would seem to present both abundant opportunities and a cavernous need for the distributed leadership perspective. Dr. Sandra Stein is the chief executive officer of the NYC Leadership Academy, a $70 million principal preparation program established in January 2003 as a nonprofit organization largely with philanthropic and corporate funding. Stein agrees that distributed leadership is a worthy goal. The Academy, she says, emphasizes with its participants that their goal "should not be to try to be the lone hero of the school, but rather to create a team where leadership is embodied in more than one person." She notes that she doesn't believe that "it's possible for one person to solve the complex challenges faced by many of our schools so that a critical skill of a school leader is the ability to draw on the collective wisdom of the school team in order to move school performance forward."


ASSOCIATED PRESS, *THE MONROE EVENING NEWS*

**Ralph Carducci, Principal, Monroe High School**

That is the goal. In the meantime, until "we have gotten this into the drinking water," she says, the NYC Leadership Academy is attending to the immediate task at hand: the recruitment, training, and support of a new generation of principals who will form a core leadership focused, above all, on improved instruction and student learning and achievement.

Since 2001-2002, an astounding 730 of New York City's more than 1,400 principals have left their jobs. In May 2006, *The New York Times* reported that as recently as 2000 there were more principals over the age of 60 than under the age of 41. By the fall of 2005, there were four times as many principals under the age of 41 as over 60.

In responding to this turnover, the city's Department of Education found itself facing a dramatically "different attitude toward career," says Stein. Indeed, she points out, the "lifer" model is an increasingly rare phenomenon and in its place has emerged an increasingly "non-linear view of career." In the face of this shift in the labor market, the NYC Leadership Academy decided to look to men and women in the system who had at least three years of K-12 teaching experience, who "aspired" to become principals, and who were willing to make a hefty fourteen-month commitment to obtain the necessary leadership training. The three-part Aspiring Principals Program training includes an intensive six-week summer training program, a year's residency or apprenticeship under the guidance and supervision of an experienced mentor principal, and another intensive summer session during which the aspiring principal develops plans for his or her actual school assignment. Graduates of the program commit to a minimum of five years of service.

The Aspiring Principals Program is "premised on a social justice agenda," explains Courtney Welsh, executive vice-president for strategic planning at the Leadership Academy. As such, graduates of the program are "hired into the schools

that need them most," says Welsh, adding that "on average," graduates serving as principals are serving in "lower-performance, high-poverty schools." In the class of 2005-2006, graduates ranged in age between 26 and 59 with 40 the average age; more than half of the new principals were African-American, Latino, or Asian; and two-thirds were women. In 2005-2006, 94 candidates enrolled in the program, and it is expected that approximately 75 will complete it. All graduates are assigned coaches during their first year of work as principals. "They are getting a lot of on-the-job support," observes Welsh.

Interest in the program is intense, both at home and abroad. The NYC Leadership Academy has hosted hundreds of visitors and conducted many telephone conferences where participants are encouraged to ask technical questions on "nitty-gritty" issues. Declares Stein, "Anything we can figure out we will give away."

**Sandra Stein, CEO, NYC Leadership Academy**

Some have been critical of the high cost of the program. Starting in 2006-2007, the New York City Department of Education will "[pay] the salaries of people while they are training," says Stein, pointing out that "[The candidates] are working during their training and making a contribution." This is just one model, she says, and obviously there are different approaches to addressing the issue of cost.

## Building A Hierarchical Team

Still another New York City reform effort aimed at addressing the school leadership crisis is "SAM"—or the Scaffolded Apprenticeship Model, a comprehensive school reform model that focuses on developing school leadership *teams* comprised of the principal and groups of faculty who work in real-life—not simulated—school situations, typically, with groups of struggling students in selected New York City schools. SAM was developed jointly in the spring of 2003 by New Visions for Public Schools, an educational reform organization that focuses on New York City's public school children, and the School of Public Affairs at Baruch College of the City University of New York in collaboration with the NYC Leadership Academy.

"The Scaffolded Apprenticeship Model," explains Constancia Warren, Carnegie Corporation senior program officer and director of the foundation's Urban High School Initiatives, "grew out of Baruch College's Aspiring Leaders Program (ALP), designed originally at the request of Anthony Alvarado, former superintendent of Community School District 2, as a way of insuring a good supply of leaders for the school district." The ALP initiative involved "adapting the business school practice of having students work in teams on case studies, and of having a mandated set of courses and a supported internship," says Warren. The process of selecting candidates for the program "involved the selection of instructionally excellent candidates by the district, rather than the traditional self-nomination, often by teachers anxious to get out of the classroom." At the time, she explains, "It was New York City's most rigorous program for training principals, both because of its curriculum and its selection process."

Originally designed to train principals for K-8 placements, SAM received an initial grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York to develop and field-test a school leadership program that would address the challenges faced by high school leaders engaged in school reform efforts. Slated for eventual national replication, the program has since received support from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the U.S. Department of Education.

Using the apprenticeship model, SAM provides participants with release time from their job responsibilities to participate in instruction aimed at learning and practicing the skills needed to improve their capacity to lead within their own schools. According to Nell Scharf, lead facilitator for SAM, the program makes use of a pedagogy that is richly "experiential and problem-based." The program's components include an introductory four-week summer "intensive," weekly seminars, daily apprenticeships, monthly "inter-visitations" in which participants visit other schools to broaden their knowledge and understanding, monthly on-site coaching by facilitators who provide individual and team support, and other activities such as reading and assignments organized around specific tasks.

The SAM curriculum was developed by New Visions for Public School staff, university faculty, and participating school administrators with a view to developing "a critical mass" of change agents in the participating schools. The program's aim is to produce a leadership core that can work independently and in teams, using the same language and sharing the same goals and a common approach. The "scaffolding" effect of SAM is intended to result in a truly distributed leadership and continuity provided by a hierarchical team. The program is currently being field-tested in four high schools.

"SAM has exceeded our expectations," says Warren. "What we had not anticipated was that these hierarchical teams—each one interning one level above their current position and working on data and problem-solving cases drawn from their own schools—would not only be effective as a way of developing leaders, but would also turn into a model for school improvement."

### Whatever It Takes

The words—they appear to be the school motto—are imprinted on the masthead of the principal's weekly newsletter at J.E.B. Stuart High School in Falls Church, Virginia: "Whatever it takes." A conversation with the school's principal, Dr. Mel J. Riddile, named 2006 Met/Life/NASSP National High School Principal of the Year, suggests strongly that it is a motto with muscle and that the man who coined it is a man with a mission.

Upon arriving at J.E.B. Stuart High School nine years ago, Riddile, who holds an earned doctorate in organizational development from Vanderbilt University, saw that attendance was poor. "Kids [didn't] come to school and they [couldn't] read," he says. He wanted to know why and moved quickly to establish some baseline literacy testing. Recalling that he had to get permission from the area superintendent to do the testing, Riddile points out that at that time, such testing—reading assessment of high school students—"sounded odd" to many. Observes Riddile drily, some people said, "Mel turned over a rock." What he learned from the testing was profoundly disturbing: 74 percent of his students were reading more than three years below grade level.

Riddile held a school "literacy summit" to study the reading assessment data. Acknowledging that all this activity was initially met with resistance by some teachers, he nonetheless moved ahead by establishing a school-wide reading initiative, something that he believed strongly was essential to improving student achievement. Improving student literacy was the key not only to improving student performance on the SOL (Standards of Learning), the Virginia state assessment, and on the SAT, he explains, but to encouraging and empowering students—particularly minority students—to take more upper-level courses. At the same time, he realized that teachers would require instruction if they were to teach reading. As a result, Riddile explains, J.E.B. Stuart High School became "One of the first schools to have a literacy coach to teach teachers." Today, he says, "All of our teachers are teachers of reading."

The J.E.B. Stuart High School reading program has become a national model for improving high school literacy and is featured in *Creating a Culture of Literacy: A Guide for Middle and High School Principals* (National Association of Secondary School Principals, 2005) a publication made possible in part by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

"This school had every reason to fail," says Riddile, noting that students at J.E.B. Stuart High School suffered from the destructive effects of poverty that rob young people of hope and a belief in their own future. Ignoring the dismal odds, the school community, led by their principal, looked at each other and declared, "The bottom line is we're going to succeed!" Riddile acknowledges that they spent a lot of time on discussion and reflection. "We had to learn as we went along and to pretty much invent the wheel." Perhaps most important, according to Riddile, the entire school community was unified in their commitment to "working toward a common goal and sharing a common vision." At J.E.B. Stuart High School, the heart of that vision is the unshakable belief that all students can succeed at learning.

"Our business is to help kids to grow and learn to become responsible adults.

**Mel Riddle, Principal, T.C. Williams High School**

It's about the future of these kids. . . . It's not about test scores," says Riddile. The scores are "just evidence."

Even so, in 1998 it was test score "evidence" that labeled J.E.B. Stuart High as a "failing school." Today the school is a national model for serving disadvantaged students, named a "Breakthrough High School" by the Gates Foundation and NASSP. The mounting evidence of student achievement that has accumulated in the intervening years, including rising SOL and SAT scores and the introduction of the International Baccalaureate Program, is impressive and can be traced directly to the unwavering commitment of Riddile and his staff to achieving literacy for all their students. The pre- and post-testing of all students, a literacy program led by a literacy coach, job-embedded staff development, a reading lab, and mandatory after-school tutoring for all at-risk students were among the "best practices" that contributed to improved teaching and student learning. In addition, the staff took steps to increase positive interactions between students and adults outside the classroom, including

using community agencies to establish on-campus family service programs and providing individual and group counseling and family support. Rising ninth graders are provided a two-week summer program providing instruction in study skills and general orientation; during their freshman year, students are assigned mentors.

"To survive and thrive," says Riddile, "[students and teachers] had to work together."

On July 1, 2006, Mel Riddile moved on to lead T.C. Williams High School in Alexandria, Virginia. He is confident that the work that he and the J.E.B. Stuart High School community began will be nurtured and advanced by his successor, Pamela Jones, former teacher, department chair, and previously assistant principal at J.E.B. Stuart High School.

### When It All Comes Together

When it all comes together—a focus on practice, a commitment to student learning and achievement, cooperation and collaboration between school and school district, and broad community participation—the way is paved for a talented school administrator like Mel Riddile to lead. Experts like Judy Codding, Gerald Tirozzi, James Spillane, and Sandra Stein would be quick to point out that Mel Riddile is hardly alone out there. Despite the formidable problems they face—complex social and economic inequities that stand like huge, immovable boulders in the path of students' educational achievement—countless skilled, dedicated school principals are not bailing out but have chosen to soldier on in schools throughout America. Like Mel Riddile, these men and women are educators who love their work and love even more the children put in their charge. They tend to work at their tasks as if the future of the republic depended on their efforts—which, of course, it does.

Programs like NISL, the NYC Leadership Academy, and SAM reflect a growing awareness that the creation and nurturing of effective schools in this era of accountability cannot take place without effective instructional leadership, and that the training for such leadership depends on intensive clinical practice and supported internships and mentoring, not a handful of courses taken at night. In the increasingly complex world that students face today, success in the globalizing economy will depend on the level of excellence and depth of training their education has provided them. America's students and their families—and surely principals themselves—expect no less of those who have taken on the critical task of leading the educational programs that will prepare the nation's children for their future.

At the same time, as NASSP Executive Director Gerald Tirozzi has pointed out, the school principal cannot be expected to accept exclusive responsibility for student achievement in this era of accountability. Until our nation's policymakers effectively address the problems of poverty, poor health screening and care, inadequate housing, and unemployment—problems that continue to stand in the way of educational reform—the challenge of producing evidence of "Adequate Yearly Progress" will remain an annual Sisyphean ritual for the nation's school principals, with continuing catastrophic results for all our children.

Observes Tirozzi, "If accountability is the mantra of the land, why not share the accountability with policymakers, who insist on high achievement yet fashion policies that undermine that goal"? ■

## A Principal's Manifesto

Dr. Mel J. Riddile, principal at J.E.B. Stuart High School in Falls Church, Virginia, for nine years, was named the 2006 Met/Life NASSP National High School Principal. During his tenure, he communicated with the school community in a weekly newsletter, *Doc's.doc*. On October 17, 2005 (Volume 9, Issue 9), Riddile reflected on Hurricane Katrina and the fate of those many victims who were quite literally "left behind." Following are excerpts from that essay, entitled "Not On Our Watch."

The images of Hurricane Katrina victims stranded on rooftops waiting to be rescued still haunt me. . . .These pictures may be the best advertisement ever for the importance of an education. . . . [W]hat we do here is not about school. . . [I]t is about the lives of our students and their futures. Many of our students don't have educated parents who can encourage them and advocate for them. We are all that our kids have. If we don't do it for them, who will?

To enter the middle class and have the chance for a better life, our students must have a quality high school experience that adequately prepares all of them for post-secondary education. If we don't make this happen in this school, where will our students get that education?

In our world, there are no remedial jobs. Our students either receive a quality education or they will be forced to accept those few low-paying jobs that are available. Our school is our students' only chance. If these students don't get an education now, when will they get one?

Let us resolve here and now, that on our watch, no Stuart student will ever be stranded on a rooftop waiting to be rescued. Let each one of us rededicate ourselves to doing *Whatever It Takes* to ensure that all of our students have the life choices that an education can provide.

# RecentEvents

## A Conference on the District Role in High School Reform

High schools were once America's great pride. Today, however, high schools often fail to meet the challenge of preparing young people to succeed in the increasingly complex, knowledge-based world. How can we change that?

Acting on a shared interest in the education and advancement of America's young people, Carnegie Corporation of New York and *Education Week* joined forces for a one-day conference focusing on The district role in high school reform. More than 100 education leaders participated in the symposium, held in Spring of 2006 at Carnegie Corporation headquarters in New York City, which aimed to help set the agenda for creating systems of exemplary high schools across the nation.

A series of three panel discussions addressed the need for systematic change involving parents, teachers, business, cultural and community leaders as well as elected officials and school administrators. Important educational experiments already underway around the country were highlighted, including models of success and failure that have much to teach today's reformers. The panel topics were: "Beyond One-Size-Fits-All High Schools;" "Teaching and Learning in Redesigned High Schools;" and "Lessons from Research and Experience." Panelists included representatives from Carnegie Corporation and *Education Week* as well as from several of the nation's largest school districts and foundations active in education reform.

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**Barbara Eason-Watkins, chief education officer, Chicago Public Schools.**

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**Vartan Gregorian,Carnegie Corporation president, and John Fryer, National Institute for School Leadership.**

Results of a community-based survey of the American public's views on urban school reform were also presented at the conference. Americans want all high schools to be as good as the best ones in the community, the nationally representative survey concluded, and they believe yesterday's reforms will not solve today's problems. Political and community leaders need to step up to the plate to ensure that schools provide quality education to all students, not just a privileged few.

## A Report on Hispanics and the American Future is Launched

How are Hispanics transforming the United States as they enter the second and third generation and disperse throughout the country? And how will this transformation affect the allocation of resources benefiting not only the Hispanic population, but the nation as a whole? In Spring 2006, Carnegie Corporation hosted a meeting to launch *Multiple Origins, Uncertain Destinies: Hispanics and the American Future*, a report and companion volume of analyses from the Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education of the National Academies, which provide in-depth answers to these questions.

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**A capacity crowd filled the Corporation's conference room to hear about lessons learned in education reform.**

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**Marta Tienda, professor of demographic studies, sociology and public affairs, Princeton University.**

Geri Mannion, chair of Carnegie Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy Program, introduced the distinguished panel of presenters: Faith Mitchell, Institute of Medicine, the National Academies; Marta Tienda, Maurice P. During Professor in demographic studies and professor of sociology and public affairs at Princeton University; Louis Desipio, Department of Political Science and Chicano/Latino Studies Program, University of California, Irvine; Cordelia W. Reimers, Department of Economics, Hunter College and the Graduate School, City University of New York and Maria Echaveste, Principal, Nueva Vista Group.

"The first decade of the 21st century is a defining moment—an Hispanic moment," said Marta Tienda, chair of the NRC panel. "Hispanics are a potential demographic dividend for the labor force, expected to represent nearly one in four U.S. residents by the year 2030….It will take major educational investments to accomplish the economic and social inte-

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**Maria Echaveste, principal, Nueva Vista Group.**

gration necessary to harness the power of the Hispanic population for the benefit of the nation."

Maria Echaveste, who was assistant to the president and deputy chief of staff during the Clinton administration, believes a key to the solution is for greater numbers of Hispanics to become citizens. "Citizenship is in their interest for a stake in society," she said.

## Carnegie Scholars Colloquium: Violence, Terrorism and Social Upheaval

To many Western eyes, much of the Muslim world seems on the brink of chaos. Do we understand why? Do some in the Arab world share our perceptions? How do those with opposing views see the current state of affairs in Islamic societies? Such questions were tackled at a June, 2006 Carnegie Scholars Colloquium: Violence, Terrorism and Social Upheaval, hosted by Patricia Rosenfield, Carnegie Scholars program chair, which drew together distinguished scholars and grantees working on issues related to Islam and the modern world.

Shibley Telhami, Sadat chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, opened the session with a report on the results of a series of public opinion polls he has conducted in Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and United Arab Emirates. Intense frustration with the existing political order was highly evident in 2004, Telhami found. Recently, however, opinions have shifted in a trend he calls "the return of the state." The ensuing discussion touched on shifts in Arab attitudes along with such issues as identity, nationalism, determinants of violent behavior and the significance of jihad.

"It has become essential for us to understand Islam as a religion, its unity, diversity and culture, " Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian has written, "along with the roles of Muslim nations, the challenges they face, and their future place in the world. Of course, this is much easier said than done."

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**Patricia Rosenfield, Carnegie Scholars Program chair.**

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**Shibley Telhami, chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland.**

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**Deana Arsenian, senior program officer, Carnegie Corporation International Peace and Security Program, welcomes the scholars and their Council advisors.**

## Recognizing the American Council of Learned Societies

Funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York, the American Council of Learned Societies has provided support to the humanities in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine since 1998. Working closely with scholars in disciplines ranging from history and archeology to literature, linguistics and religious studies, the Council strives to sustain individuals doing exemplary work and to assure continued future leadership in the humanities in the post-Soviet world. In Spring of 2006, an exhibition was mounted in the Slavic and Baltic Collection of the New York Public Library to celebrate the success of this distinguished program, which has to date awarded over 500 research grants and more than 80 grants for publication of completed projects. The event concluded with a roundtable discussion on the challenges facing Russian institutions during this time of transition.

## Campus-Based Communications Seminars in East Africa

In July 2006 Carnegie Corporation sponsored campus-based training programs at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Makerere University, Uganda as part of an ongoing strategy of investing in the communication staff and outreach capacity of select African Universities. South African communications firm APCO Africa conducted the intensive two-day seminars at both locations, which were designed to help university vice chancellors and their leadership teams develop the necessary skills for dealing with key stake-

*(Continued on page 42)*

KAREN THEROUX

**Makerere University, Left to right: Maria GN Musoke, university librarian; Euphemia Kalema, assistant to Vice chancellor; Godfrey Kagoro, deputy director, Planning and Development Department; Amos Olal-Odur, academic registrar; James Okello, head, Senate; Frikkie Botha, APCO; Vice Chancellor Livingstone S. Luboobie; Martha Muwanguza, senior administrator, International Affairs; David Mwesigye Gumisiriza, acting public relations officer; Ambika Kapur, Carnegie Corporation; Ritah Namisango, public relations administrative assistant; Lyn Fourie, APCO.**

holders such as the press, public and policymakers. In addition, a strategic communications plan for the next few years was developed for each institution, to facilitate their following up on lessons learned. Ambika Kapur, program associate, Dissemination Program, represented the Corporation at the training sessions and Karen Theroux, editor/writer, went along to gather story ideas.

### Library Dedication, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

Civic and library leaders in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa invited Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian to preside at the dedication of the new city library on July 3, 2006. With Corporation support, the library was able to build a modern extension to serve as the children's library and to become a catalyst for major development of the city's center. Corporation board members Helene Kaplan, chair and Admiral William Owens, trustee along with program chair Narciso Matos and program officer Rookaya Bawa from the Corporation's International Development Program, joined this journey through the Corporation's long history with South Africa—traveling to universities and historic sites from Durban to Cape Town and Johannesburg as well. Bawa, who runs the library program and was the trip organizer, is a South African who has witnessed first hand the transition from apartheid government to new South Africa. With the participation of many Corporation grantees, she created a colorful, informative, and emotionally charged experience reflecting the changes underway throughout the country.

AMY MICHAELS

**The new extension to the Pietermaritzburg city library, constructed with support from Carnegie Corporation.**

AMY MICHAELS

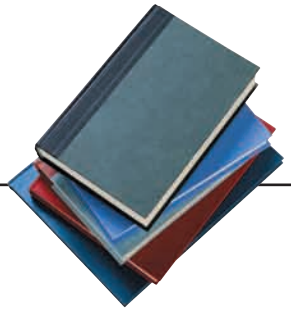
**Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian and members of the Corporation's board visit the new city library during story hour.**

INGA HENDRICKS

**Vartan Gregorian with education officials and some of the 150 students in the Carnegie Corporation South Africa Women's Scholarship Program.**

INGA HENDRICKS

**In Johannesburg: Vartan Gregorian, Carnegie Corporation president; Naledi Pandor, minister of education; Rookaya Bawa, International Development Program officer; Pallo Jordan, minister of arts and culture and Graham Domini, chief director, National Archives and Records Service.**



# Recent**Books**

## Human Security and the UN: A Critical History

BY S.NEIL MACFARLANE AND YUEN FOONG KONG
The United Nations Intellectual History Project Series
*Indiana University Press*

What does security — particularly human security— mean? The latest volume in the United Nations Intellectual History Project series traces the fundamental shift in the contemporary notion of security from its emphasis on the state to the individual, focusing on the UN's role in redefining this critical concept. Co-authored by two Oxford University-based international security scholars, this probing analysis of what is good, bad and indifferent about the way in which we look at the problem of security, explores its ideation from the era of nation states to the early twenty-first century.

"The conceptualization of security," the authors write, "has been profoundly influenced by the shifting historical context of international relations." During the rise in European nationalism, for example, individuals traded their sovereignty for protection because the state was the answer to all security dilemmas. From the industrial revolution to the atomic age, the concept of security gradually adapted to the reality that no state could protect its citizens from the possibility of mass extermination. This meant, for the superpowers at least, "security" was based on deterrence generated by the threat of mutual destruction.

More recently, as the greatest number of mass killings are perpetrated by states against their own people, the UN's vital role as an incubator of key ideas has encouraged the prevention of threats to human security within states along with the recognition that security claims of individuals need not be subordinate to those of states. While the authors disagree with making all human needs into security matters, they make the case for seeing development issues as key aspects of conflict prevention due to the deep relationship between poverty and violence.

*This volume is the latest in a series of books focusing on the intellectual history of the United Nations. Carnegie Corporation provides support for this project, which focuses on the UN as the creator and nurturer of ideas and concepts that have permeated international public policy.*

## Modernization, Democracy and Islam

EDITED BY SHIREEN T. HUNTER AND HUMA MALIK
The Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.
*Praeger Publishers*

When it comes to modernizing and establishing democratic institutions, the Muslim world's record has been disappointing, according to editor and Islam scholar Shireen T. Hunter. But while much of the world seems to blame Islam itself, the true picture is far more complex.

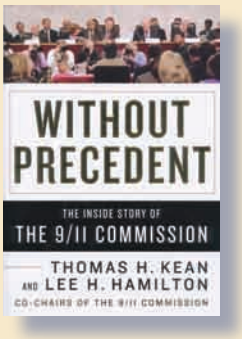
History shows that factors including colonialism, economic globalization, great-power rivalries and the role and influence of the military all interfere with the process of modernization—in the Muslim world and elsewhere. The purpose of this book, published in cooperation with Carnegie Corporation grantee the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and featuring reports from 20 of the field's leading scholars, is to examine these obstacles, provide perspective on cultural issues, and suggest remedies appropriate to Islamic countries

Since September 11, 2001, the global implications of instability in the Muslim world have become compellingly clear. Beyond direct terrorist threats, the growth of extremism as well as civil war and state breakdown endanger developing and advanced nations alike. Given the strategic importance of Islamic countries and their vast energy reserves, nothing less than the prosperity of the entire industrialized world and the health of the international economy are at stake. The analyses in this volume demonstrate that, contrary to prevailing opinion, Islam is neither monolithic nor impervious to change. With support from the international community, and revival of Islam's own traditions of rationalist and scientific thought, the authors argue, culturally relevant versions of modernity and democracy can emerge within the Muslim world.

## Fighting Words

BY LISA SCHNELLINGER AND MOHANNAD KHATIB
*International Center for Journalists*

A new guide for American and Arab reporters aims to minimize misunderstandings between the two cultures by changing the way journalists cover each other's worlds. Written by two




## Without Precedent The Inside Story of the 9/11 Commission

BY THOMAS H. KEAN AND LEE H. HAMILTON
*Alfred A. Knopf*

***"The catastrophe, which had gradually begun to fade from America's memory as the country and the world moved on, was again present and raw. The implications of the policy failures we had identified were now horrifyingly illustrated. The reason why the ten of us were sitting on a dais in a hearing room in Washington, D.C. was no longer remote."***
*— Without Precedent: The Inside Story of the 9/11 Commission*

When Thomas H. Kean, and Lee H. Hamilton agreed to co-chair the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States—the 9/11 Commission—they knew they had accepted an assignment of great historical importance, yet they also suspected they had been set up to fail. Blocked for months by the White House, given an inadequate budget and viewed with distrust by the victims' families, the Commission somehow managed to succeed beyond all expectation. Their hearings riveted the nation and their highly respected final report became a national best seller. Most importantly, the Commission's recommendations ultimately led to the most significant reform of the country's national security agencies in decades. In *Without Precedent*, Kean, the governor of New Jersey from 1982 to 1990 and a member of the Carnegie Corporation board of trustees, and Hamilton, U.S. representative from Indiana from 1965 to 1999 and a leading foreign policy scholar, tell the compelling inside story of the Commission as only they can.

experienced journalists, *Fighting Words* resulted from a three-day conference of Arab and American journalists, which featured discussions of topics such as the origin of stereotypes, use of loaded words like terrorist and jihad, the power of provocative images, covering religion and other sensitive issues and strategies for handling government and advertiser pressure. The manual includes a wide-ranging list of practical recommendations for journalists and publishers including, "Hold religious leaders accountable for their statements and opinions," "Set and keep guidelines for images," and "Require safety training, equipment and insurance for all war-zone or conflict reporters." Carnegie Corporation provided support for the 2005 conference and creation of the manual. To order a copy go to www.icfj.org or to participate in the continuing discussion, visit www.ijnet.org.

### Globalization and the Nation State: The Impact of the IMF and the World Bank

EDITED BY GUSTAV RANIS, JAMES RAYMOND VREELAND AND STEPHEN KOSACK
Routledge Studies in the Modern World Economy
*Taylor and Francis Group*

Do international financial institutions, with their policy conditions along with their provision of resources, shape the ability of governments to determine their own economic policies of reform? The editors of this comprehensive volume consider this a critical question for a developing world in search of economic growth and prosperity and, ideally, the end of poverty. The answers, often provocative, aim to bring researchers up to date and inspire new projects and new ideas leading, in time, to constructive changes in the role and governance of international financial institutions.

Recent innovations in the study of why countries enter into International Monetary Fund and World Bank programs and with what effects, as well as newly available data, have led to the reevaluation of conventional wisdom, touching on topics that may inspire heated public debate. This book, created with Carnegie Corporation support, presents the cutting edge of the related research agenda, bringing together experts, one a Carnegie scholar, from various dimensions of the frontier.

From the contention that countries important to the United States' interests are likely to receive favorable treatment from the IMF, to the discoveries that dictatorships are actually more likely to receive loans and that the World Bank tends to lend over and over again to the same countries, this book's explorations shine a light on the benefits and costs of the complex process by which governments and international financial institutions interact, seeking effective ways countries can be encouraged to truly "own" their reform programs, in word and in deed.

### Shared Secrets: Intelligence and Collective Security

BY SIMON CHESTERMAN
*Lowy Institute for International Policy*

*"If it were a fact, it wouldn't be intelligence."—Lt. Gen. Michael V. Hayden, Director of the US National Security Agency, 2002*

In the context of international policy, intelligence can be taken to mean two things: covertly obtained information, and the analysis of that information, which assesses risk and guides action. National intelligence, in both senses, has a vital role to play in addressing threats to international peace and security, particularly with reference to terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. In *Shared Secrets*, intelligence insider Simon Chesterman, Executive Director of the Institute for International Law and Justice at New York University School of Law, which receives Carnegie Corporation support, examines the role intelligence can and should play in collective security. His conclusions point to effective ways intelligence might enhance international cooperation, prevent conflict and ameliorate disasters no single state can address alone.

In making the case for improved intelligence management, Chesterman cites such dire events as have occurred in Somalia, Iraq and Kuwait. He references Rwanda in 1994, where the failure to prevent or halt the genocide—about which there was no shortage of information—provides proof that the manner in which intelligence is commonly used as a tool of conflict prevention leaves much to be desired. Given that collective security organizations such as the UN can, and should, draw upon intelligence from national agencies, he recommends developing processes for receiving sensitive information to establish basic credibility, as well as obtaining independent analysis to compensate for the presumed bias in selectively provided information. Overall, while better intelligence will not necessarily guarantee better decisions, it could make it harder for states to ignore emerging crises or embrace unworkable policies.

### Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization

EDITED BY MILES KAHLER AND BARBARA F. WALTER
*Cambridge University Press*

"Why has territory continued to be a key source of violent conflict even as goods, capital and populations move increasingly seamlessly across borders?" International relations experts Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter pose this question in their attempt to untangle the complex relationship between globalization and territoriality. This timely project, supported by Carnegie Corporation and drawing on the work of scholars from all corners of the world, begins to explain why, even as borders become more permeable, territorial attachments remain strong and territorial stakes still influence conflicts.

A close look at recent clashes reveals that globalization is not a factor when a territory's significance is primarily symbolic or spiritual. In other words, the willingness to fight for land has less to do with its material value and more to do with the role it plays in a people's identity or sense of security, as in the cases of the Irish and Eritrean diasporas. Additionally, conflicts arise when political leaders, such as Serbia's Milosevic, exploit territorial attachments for their own purposes.

Territorial attachments can diminish, these scholars suggest, in response to changes in the myths and meaning of homeland. And while globalization cannot be blamed for territorial conflict, lack of economic development will increase its likelihood. Policymakers will find that territorial conflicts continue to be difficult to resolve, they conclude, and it will take far more than economic incentives to gain acceptance from people whose emotional ties to the land are intangible, yet real.

To read about other Corporation-supported books, visit our web site: http://www.carnegie.org/reporter/12/reviews/index.html

# Foundation Round up

Capital One

THE HEART OF AMERICA FOUNDATION

### Books to At-Risk Children, Just in Time for Summer

Without the ability to read there is little hope that children at risk can break the cycle of poverty and become fully productive citizens," says Bill Halamandaris, chairman of The Heart of America Foundation.

This national, nonsectarian, nonpartisan, nonprofit, humanitarian organization was founded in 1997 to help people, particularly children, learn that they help themselves when they help others. Their approach combines character education, literacy, service learning and helping children learn to read and succeed. For their latest project, the foundation teamed up with Capital One Financial Corporation, donating more than 700,000 brand-new books over the past four years to some 300,000 needy children with more then 100,000 books arriving in time for the summer break. The program grew out of the shared belief that access to books for children at risk can spell success later in life. According to Jeff McQuillan, author of *The Literacy Crisis* (Heinemann, 1998) sixty-one percent of low-income families have no books at all in their homes.

Capital One has supported the volunteer efforts of thousands of company associates who have read, mentored and distributed books to students since the inception of the partnership four years ago. "Reading is a critical skill and it is essential to help enrich and empower our children as they grow to become tomorrow's leaders and shape our future," says Eric Schweikert, Managing Vice President of Capital One. In addition to their time, associates have also sponsored a corporation wide book drive and have engaged other students to help donate books to peers in need. Through this program over 119,000 students have participated in the book drive.

For more information on The Heart of American Foundation and this initiative please visit: www.heartofamerica.org or www.capitalone.com.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

### Media Grants Support Coverage of Race and Class in Gulf Coast States

The Open Society Institute (OSI) has awarded 31 investigative journalism grants, to promote a national conversation on racism and inequality in America. OSI is part of an international network of foundations started by George Soros; its U.S. Programs seek to strengthen democracy in the United States by addressing barriers to opportunity and justice, broadening public discussion about such barriers and assisting marginalized groups to participate equally in civil society.

Nearly $1 million will be divided among the accomplished filmmakers, print and radio journalists, photographers and youth media who are recipients of OSI's Katrina Media Fellowships. OSI created the special media competition to inform and deepen public understanding of the many significant and socially relevant issues that the storm brought to light. Particular attention was given to applicants from the affected Gulf States or those who had been displaced by the hurricane.

"We felt it was critical to support journalism and media projects to help foster debate and inspire action to challenge centuries of inequality in this country," says Erlin Ibreck, Director of Grantmaking Strategies at OSI. "Hurricane Katrina made clear that we as a nation must confront the effects of racism, poverty and government neglect exposed by the flood waters."

Among the illustrious journalists are four Pulitzer Prize-winners, several documentary photographers displaced by the hurricane and an Emmy-winning filmmaker. The wide array of recipients is indicative of the varied and rich scope of the projects, which encompass such topics as the musical heritage of the region; Katrina's toll on the economic, social and racial fabric of communities of color; the deterioration of public education in Louisiana; ineffective rural recovery; the plight of the Vietnamese-American community in the Gulf Region; and environmental problems associated with global warming.

Since November 2005, OSI has been involved in local recovery efforts and has supported some 15 Gulf Coast nonprofits engaged in revitalizing the area. OSI's $3 million investment in the region for Katrina-related support is part of a larger effort to strengthen communities in the United States and around the world. For more information on the Open Society Institute and their Katrina recovery efforts please visit: www.soros.org.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION™

### Local New Orleans Community Fund Plans for Katrina Recovery

The Rockefeller Foundation has pledged $3.5 million toward the development of a comprehensive rebuilding plan in New Orleans. The process will be managed by the Greater New Orleans Foundation, a local charity, and carried out by the newly created Community Fund Support Organization of New Orleans with the goal of bringing together state, local and community members in an attempt to accelerate recovery planning for the city.

With this commitment of foundation funds specifically earmarked for planning activities, the process of integrating the ideas and vision of representatives from every level of government and the community can begin. The effort will be followed by the creation of a detailed recovery plan, which is required to trigger national funding for full-scale redevelopment: without a well-conceived and executable plan, billions of dollars in federal development grants cannot be released. The project will involve six months of work from every facet of community redevelopment—urban planners, architects and other experts—and, through a series of public meetings, will engage New Orleans' 13 community districts as well as the four cities where most of the displaced population has been relocated: Atlanta, Baton Rouge, Dallas and Houston. Governor Kathleen Babineaux Blanco of Louisiana applauded the grant and the planning process that it will produce, saying, "what people need is to get the right kind of information to make smart decisions for themselves, and it's the one ingredient that they have not been given."

The grant, an unusually large sum for the Rockefeller Foundation, builds on the foundation's overall commitment of more than $6.5 million for rebuilding efforts post-Katrina in New Orleans. For more information on this initiative and others in the Katrina ravaged areas, please visit: www.rockfund.org.

*(Continued on page 46)*

Latino COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
*La Fundación de la Comunidad Latina*

### Small Ripples Herald Big Waves of Change

Latinos and other minority groups are often perceived to be on the receiving end of charity. However, Dr. Eugene Miller, Assistant Director of the Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society at the City University of New York notes that emerging wealth and access to economic resources within the Latino community and other communities of color is leading to an emphasis on proactive philanthropy. He says, "San Francisco's Latino Community Foundation is part of that process of attempting to tap into the growing levels of wealth in the Latino community."

"The Latino community is a generous community," says Aída Álvarez, a former investment banker who, under the Clinton administration, ran the U.S. Small Business Administration. Now, as the newly elected Chair of The Latino Community Foundation, Ms. Alvarez is helping with the Foundation's fundraising. The San Francisco Foundation, a venerable 56-year-old institution, agreed to lend its infrastructure- and endowment-building expertise to the fledgling Latino Community Foundation by entering into a supporting organization relationship. The shared dream is to develop an institution that will work alongside other philanthropic organizations to focus attention on a population segment that is increasingly important to California's economic and social growth.

Building on this momentum, the Latino Community Foundation hopes to spur philanthropy among successful Latinos to improve education, health, economic well-being and civic participation in Bay Area neighborhoods where low-income Spanish-speaking families predominate and poverty persists. This is one of a number of Latino funds across the country. New York City; Chicago, Illinois; Kansas City, Missouri; St. Paul, Minnesota; Lorain, Ohio; and Orange County, California have all established Latino funds. Such efforts, though small, fill an important niche because their staffs and boards are intimately familiar with the needs and challenges within the Latino community, notes Miller and others who study these issues.

While the Latino Community Foundation's primary focus has been on fundraising from within the Latino community, it is also actively reaching out to the broader nonprofit and corporate community to secure funds for capacity building grants to communities with limited access. Executive director Viola Gonzales has established a Latino Literacy Network involving over 30 community-based organizations and individuals working to enhance children's learning by engaging parents within a culturally relevant context. Other collaborations focus on financial literacy and strategic giving. For more information on the Latino Community Foundation please visit the website at www.latinocf.org.

BAYER
Science For A Better Life

### Science and Engineering Scholarships for a New Generation

The Bayer Foundation has awarded two scholarships totaling $300,000 to Pennsylvania State University to advance work in material science and engineering education for a new generation of innovators. The Foundation, part of Bayer Worldwide Group, focuses on civic and social service programs, education and workforce development, arts and culture, and health and human services.

The scholarships, part of a longstanding relationship with Pennsylvania State University, will establish the Bayer Graduate Fellowship and the Bayer International Internship Scholars fund. Through a competitive process, the fellowships will be awarded to outstanding students entering the university's graduate department of Material Science and Engineering, while the scholarship will provide travel expenses and a partial stipend for undergraduate material science and engineering students studying abroad. The scholarship program also includes a one-semester research internship at a host institution in England, France, Germany, Italy or Switzerland.

To find out more about the program, please visit http://www.bayerus.com/about/community/i_foundation.html.

MACARTHUR
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

### Modeling Juvenile Justice

In February 2006, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, based in Chicago, Illinois, announced the addition of the State of Illinois to their *Models for Change* initiative to promote juvenile justice system reform across the nation. (Louisiana, Pennsylvania, and Washington are also participating.) The initiative "is designed to develop successful and replicable models of juvenile justice system reform. It seeks both to set a broad, unifying agenda for change—to help accelerate change in several states toward more effective, fair, and developmentally sound approaches to juvenile justice—and to ensure that change spreads and reform momentum builds."

As part of the initiative, MacArthur will provide up to $7.5 million over a five-year period for juvenile justice reform efforts in Illinois. The Loyola University of Chicago School of Law's Civitas ChildLaw Center will coordinate the work in that state. Grants of up to $1.5 million per year for the next five years will go to state and local agencies, nonprofit organizations and others engaged in three areas of reform: juvenile court jurisdiction, community-based alternatives to secure confinement, and disproportionate minority contact with the juvenile justice system. "The momentum for change in Illinois is real, and the MacArthur Foundation wants to help," said MacArthur Foundation president Jonathan Fanton.

MacArthur's entry into the field of juvenile justice in 1996 was inspired by the need to fill a research void, specifically one related to the fundamental assumption of *juvenile* justice – that adolescents are developmentally different from adults. *The Models for Change* initiative is designed to support efforts that hold young offenders accountable for their actions but also provide for their rehabilitation and protect them from harm, increase their life chances and manage the risk to themselves and their communities. While no single pathway for juvenile justice reform can be relied on by itself to make lasting changes, foundation staff and leadership are hopeful that states such as Illinois, which are spearheading efforts for systematic and replicable reform, will influence others.

For more information about the MacArthur Foundation visit www.macfound.org.

News University
Training for Journalists. Anytime. Anywhere.

John S. and James L. Knight Foundation

## Explosive First-Year Growth For New Online Journalism Resource

The Poynter Institute is a school dedicated to teaching and inspiring journalists and media leaders. On April 26, 2006, Poynter celebrated the first anniversary of News University (www.newsu.org), an online journalism-training program that has attracted more than 18,000 participants from 157 countries, making it the largest online learning site for journalists worldwide.

"Journalists are hungry for more training," notes the program's web site. "In a recent survey, more than 95 percent of professional journalists said they want more training, but they struggle with limited resources and finding time in their busy schedules." News University, created with support from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, seeks to address those issues by offering interactive e-learning geared to journalists at all levels of experience and working in all types of media. The program was developed with the help of 15 journalism organizations, and comprises more than 25 courses ranging from "Journalism 101" topics to editing to leadership and photojournalism. (A complete list of News University's courses can be found at www.newsu.org/courselist.) Because they can be accessed online from anywhere and at any time of the day or night, the educational offerings are ideal for working professionals.

"News University has exceeded our expectations, raising the bar for online journalism training," said Howard Finberg, Director of Interactive Learning at News University. More than 70 percent of those who have taken the online courses said that the materials found on the site were highly useful and would recommend the program to colleagues.

To mark the initiative's first anniversary, News University has released a report on its work titled, *The Explosive Growth of Journalism E-Learning*, which can be found at http://discover.newsu.org.

For more information on The Poynter Institute, please go to www.poynter.org.

FREY · FOUNDATION

Johnson Center
at Grand Valley State University

## A Family Foundation Chair in Philanthropy Will Help Promote Nonprofit Leadership and Management

More than 32,000 family foundations provide critical assistance to America's 1.2 million nonprofit organizations, supporting their programs in health care, education, human services, religion, arts and culture, and the environment. The Frey Foundation, based in Grand Rapids, Michigan, has pledged $1.5 million to create the nation's first endowed chair focusing on family philanthropy, which will be established at Grand Valley State University's Dorothy A. Johnson Center for Philanthropy and Nonprofit leadership. The Frey Foundation's funding is a challenge grant that Grand Valley State, founded in Allendale Michigan in 1960 as a four-year public university, will use to help raise a $5 million endowment for the Johnson Center. The university has already raised over $3 million toward that goal.

A distinguished scholar-practitioner will be selected as the center's Frey Foundation chair to lead a program of research and learning about family foundation formation, grantmaking practices and effective operating techniques. Most importantly, the new program will identify family foundation successes and ways to enhance family foundations' beneficial impact on society.

"Few institutions in American life are so vitally important, and so poorly understood, as family foundations," says Joel J. Orosz, distinguished professor of philanthropic studies at the Johnson Center, one of the oldest such centers concerned with nonprofit philanthropy and leadership. It was created in 1992 with major support from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, which is headquartered in Battle Creek, Michigan.

These prominent Michigan organizations are helping to spotlight the work of family foundations in their state. In 2003, for example, the top 50 family foundations in Michigan awarded more than $885 million in grants. This represents 74 percent of the $1.2 billion given by all types of Michigan foundations that year.

For more information on the Johnson Center please visit: www.gvsu.edu, www.johnsoncenter.org. For more information on the Frey Foundation please visit: www.freyfdn.org.

Ewing Marion
KAUFFMAN
Foundation

## Kauffman Foundation Grants $35 Million to Encourage Entrepreneurship

In keeping with their tradition of fostering entrepreneurial education, the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation has committed $35 million over the next five years to selected U.S. colleges and universities under its Kauffman Campuses Initiative, which introduces entrepreneurship courses and programs within the liberal arts curriculum. This marks the Kauffman Foundation's second major commitment to entrepreneurial education; in 2003, the foundation awarded a total of $25 million to eight schools for programs designed "to transform the campus culture by providing entrepreneurship courses and programs within liberal arts."

"We want all students, not just those in business schools, to see the value of thinking like entrepreneurs," says Carl Shramm, president and chief executive of the Kauffman Foundation. As part of the program, colleges and universities invited to participate must present proposals for how they would use the grant money and must have demonstrated their ability to create a culture of entrepreneurship that permeates the campus. They must also commit to securing matching grants from other foundations or funding sources. The goal is to create a total pool of $200 million to further entrepreneurship education.

The 19 schools in this year's new round of grants are: Arizona State University; Brown University; Carnegie Mellon University; Georgetown University; New York University; Baldwin-Wallace College; the College of Wooster; John Carroll University; Denison University; Hiram College; Kenyon College; Lake Erie College; Oberlin College; Walsh University; Purdue University; Syracuse University; the University of North Carolina System; the University of Wisconsin-Madison; and the University of Maryland-Baltimore County.

For more information on the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation or its Kauffman Campuses Initiative please visit: www.kauffman.org.

# THE BackPage

*The Carnegie-Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education is a national effort to advance the U.S. news business by helping revitalize schools of journalism. Created by Carnegie Corporation of New York and the John S. and James L. Knight foundation, it is led by five of the nation's top research universities and has three distinct components: Curriculum Enrichment, which will integrate the schools of journalism more deeply into the life of the university; News 21 Incubators, which are annual national in-depth reporting projects overseen by campus professors and distributed nationally through both traditional and innovative media; and The Carnegie-Knight Task Force, which focuses on research and creating a platform for educators to speak on policy and journalism education issues. The essay below, a product of the task force, is signed by the deans of the four journalism schools participating in the initiative and the director of the Shorenstein Center at Harvard University, which is the fifth member of the group. It was originally published in* The Washington Post *on July 9, 2006.*

EVEROD NELSON

**Left to right, back row: Nicholas Lemann, Orville Schell, John Lavine. Left to right, front row: Alex S. Jones, Geoffrey Cowan.**

# *When in Doubt,* Publis

It is the business—and the responsibility—of the press to reveal secrets.

Journalists are constantly trying to report things that public officials and others believe should be secret, and constantly exercising restraint over what they publish.

Most Americans want their government to be held accountable, which is the raison d'être of watchdog journalism. At the same time, they do not want the press to disclose government secrets that are vital to national security.

The journalist's dilemma, then, lies in choosing between the risk that would result from disclosure and the parallel risk of keeping the public in the dark—a quandary that has become all the more pointed since the attacks of September 11, 2001. As deans charged with imparting the values of journalism to the next generation of reporters and editors, we favor disclosure when there are not strong reasons against it.

That issue is front and center again because of the June 23 articles in *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* describing the government's efforts to track terrorist financing. *The New York Times* has attracted most of the outrage because it took the lead in investigating the system.

It is appropriate for Americans to be concerned when news organizations publish information that the president and others in authority have strongly urged not be published. No sane citizen would wish the media to provide terrorists with information that would be likely to endanger Americans.

President Bush has denounced the *Times* in exceptionally harsh language, and on June 29 the House formally condemned the paper. Some critics of the *Times* have termed its actions "treasonous" and called for criminal charges under the Espionage Act. One conservative commentator told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that she would happily send Bill Keller, the paper's executive editor, to the gas chamber.

Keller has characterized the decision to publish the information as a "close call," making this an especially important example to examine. Despite

its security concerns, the public has shown steady support for the media's watchdog role. Earlier this year, a survey by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press found that 56 percent of respondents said it was very important for the media to report stories they believe are in the nation's interest. A third of respondents ranked government censorship on the grounds of national security as more important. The public wants the press to keep a sharp lookout, but wants the job performed responsibly. We share this sentiment.

In the case of the stories about financial data, the government's main concern seemed to be that the hitherto cooperative banks might stop cooperating if the *Times* disclosed the existence of their financial tracking system. So far, that apparently has not happened.

For many Americans, however, the possibility of damage to terrorist surveillance should have been sufficient justification for the *Times* to remain silent. Why, they ask, should the press take such a chance?

There are situations in which that chance should not be taken. For instance, there was no justification for columnist Robert D. Novak to have unmasked Valerie Plame as a covert CIA officer.

We believe that in the case of a close call, the press should publish when editors are convinced that more damage will be done to our democratic society by keeping information away from the American people than by leveling with them.

We know from history that the government often claims to be concerned about national security when its concern is that disclosure will prove politically or personally embarrassing. The documents that came to be known as the Pentagon Papers in 1971 told how Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson had misled Americans about our role in the Vietnam War. Hence the classification of their contents.

In the aftermath of 9/11, a new climate of caution was a sensible response to a sophisticated terrorist foe. But Bush's reaction—declaring a "war on terror" and claiming the Constitution grants almost limitless powers to the president in a time of war—is excessive. His administration has been aggressively restricting access to information on the grounds of national security. For example, earlier this year historians complained that intelligence agencies were removing previously declassified documents from archives. Some of these papers dated as far back as the Korean War; many had been cited multiple times in books.

In general, the administration has sought to conduct much of what it calls the war on terror in secret, and it has been able to do so with little oversight from Congress, which would normally be a key check on power. When the press has played such an oversight role, it has often been harshly criticized.

For instance, a few months ago Bush denounced the *Times* for revealing the National Security Agency's program of monitoring international telephone calls by Americans without first obtaining warrants, as the law requires. In that case, Bush rebuked the paper for revealing a classified secret. For most observers, however, the most important secret that was revealed was that the president had ignored the statutory process that Congress had established.

Despite the rhetoric of their fiercest critics, most journalists take secrets seriously. Indeed, in a number of cases since 9/11, many news organizations, including the *Times*, have forgone publication of information at the request of the Bush administration. The Times held the article on domestic eavesdropping for a year, publishing it only after the paper thought that the issues raised were of great importance.

We believe that the extraordinary power of the presidency at this moment mandates more scrutiny rather than less. Yet Attorney General Alberto R. Gonzales has said he would consider prosecuting journalists for publishing classified information. Such an action would threaten to tilt the balance between disclosure and secrecy in a direction that would weaken watchdog reporting at a time when it is badly needed.

We subscribe to the vision of Carl C. Magee, a crusading journalist whose Albuquerque newspaper infuriated another president in the 1920s with revelations in the Teapot Dome scandal. Forced to close his paper after being driven to bankruptcy, Magee emerged two months later with another newspaper.

Emblazoned on the front page was a new motto, borrowed from Dante: Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way. ■

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Carnegie Corporation of New York is a philanthropic foundation created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States. Subsequently, its charter was amended to permit the use of funds for the same purposes in certain countries that are or have been members of the British overseas Commonwealth. The goal of the *Carnegie Reporter* is to be a hub of ideas and a forum for dialogue about the work of foundations.





# A Footnote to History


**Jane Gorjevsky**
**Carnegie Archive Curator**

The archives of Carnegie Corporation of New York have resided in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University since 1990. This is a rich record, documenting the nearly century-long philanthropic work of the Corporation, and includes correspondence, memoranda, minutes, annual reports, press releases, financial records, photographs and printed materials relating to the foundation and its board members, officers, staff, and grant applicants. Also included in the collection are more than one hundred reels of microfilm relating to gifts and grants made by Andrew Carnegie and Carnegie Corporation in its early days to support free public and academic library buildings and for church organs, as well as Andrew Carnegie's donations to various causes in the years before the Corporation was founded. These materials, which are available to the general public as well as to researchers, provide a remarkable insight into the history and evolution of the foundation and the programs, projects and initiatives it has supported, which often parallel critical developments relating to American society and democracy in the twentieth century.

Included in the Carnegie Corporation of New York records are documents from the Home Trust Company (a financial institution that administered Andrew Carnegie's personal philanthropy during his lifetime). The Rare Book and Manuscript Library also houses related collections of philanthropic institutions endowed by Andrew Carnegie, such as the archives of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which shared staff, officers, and office space with the Corporation for a period of time. Records relating to the work of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs are also housed at the Library.

Under the supervision of Carnegie Archive Curator Jane Gorjevsky, who responds to over 300 Carnegie-related research requests each year (the majority dealing with the Corporation's records), the Carnegie Corporation archives comprise a growing collection: the foundation continues to donate its inactive grant files, board and executive committee files, annual reports, publications and other records of permanent historical value. Information about the archives and directions for how to contact the curator can be found online, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/rbml/collections/carnegie/CCNY.html, or by phoning (212) 854-8937.

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