Carnegie Corporation of New York

VOL. 5/NO. 1

Fall 2008

CARNEGIE Reporter

Immigration

The Reform Movement Rebuilds

Arab Media

Private Military Companies

Teach for America

Politics—and Politicians—Are Not Dirty Words

EVEROD NELSON

A Letter *from the* PRESIDENT

Since the days of Aristotle, almost all political thinkers have argued that politics is an integral component of civil society. In discussing the most basic elements of organized society, in which he included humans' drive to build cities, Aristotle said, "From these things it is evident that the city belongs among the things that exist by nature, and that man is by nature a political animal."

More than two millennia later, it still seems clear that politics is the engine of governance, especially in a democracy. This is an important point for Americans to bear in mind at election time, when one of the national mantras seems to center around the notion that politics is a dirty word. I would contend that it is not, though down the centuries men and women have raised questions, and no doubt will continue to do so, about the qualities that separate a politician from a statesman. It has been suggested that politicians are the practitioners of both the high art and daily routine of politics, while statesmen—and women—are those whose transformational ideas, skills and strategies can inspire societies, move nations forward, and change the world.

I was recently reminded of this subject because Carnegie Corporation, along with TIME magazine, was the co-convener of the ServiceNation Summit, held in New York on September 11-12. It brought together more than 600 leaders of all ages and from every sector of American life, including universities, foundations, business, government, faith-based groups and the military to celebrate the power and potential of volunteerism. While there was much focus on opportunities for young people and on drawing upon the rich storehouse of skills and knowledge represented by retiring Baby Boomers, I said it was about time to state the obvious: that politicians, as elected officials who have chosen politics as their métier for service, should be celebrated as well.

Those politicians whose main concern is the welfare and advancement of the *polis* (the word at the heart of "politics," originating in the Greek term for the city-state and its citizens) work very hard at their jobs because democracy does not exist in a static or frozen state; it is a dynamic and ever-changing system. That has a lot to do with the fact that in a democracy, citizens vote periodically and hence, at regular intervals, politicians are held accountable for the decisions they make and the policies they pursue. Indeed, there *is* no democracy without accountability and no accountability without elections. Leaders may serve well and they may serve poorly; if well, then they are reelected. If not, then they are turned out of office. That system provides the built-in "term limits" that many call for: through the choices made by the electorate, the potential for term limits already exists!

Voting is one of the rights we have as individual citizens of a democracy, but with rights come responsibilities. While we may each engage in the "pursuit of happiness" the founding fathers bequeathed to us, we must also remember that they founded a land of opportunity, not a land of opportunists. They signed the Declaration of Independence, wrote the Constitution and formulated the Bill of Rights with faith that the ordinary citizen was committed both to participating in the processes that underpin our democracy and to informing themselves about the issues and policies that affect society. After all, the participation of informed citizens is critical to the functioning of a democracy—and in an age when extraordinary amounts of information are available to just about everyone, no citizen can opt out of their responsibilities by claiming they "don't know enough" about various issues to cast their vote. The quality of the representatives we elect is a mirror that reflects back the knowledge and values of the electorate. Similarly, those campaigning for our support have a responsibility to communicate their position on issues with depth and thoughtfulness, not simply appeal to our emotions—or prejudices. That is why the framers created our system of checks and balances: to prevent passing passions from overtaking us. We may be able to overlook an offense to our sensibilities, but as a society, we should not forgive an insult to our collective intelligence.

Messy as democracy may be, no other system of governance has ever proved to be more equitable or effective. As Winston Churchill remarked, "No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government—except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time." Of course, there are those who have long debated the very purpose of government and the relationship between the populace and their leaders. The 17th century philosopher Thomas Hobbes, for example, opposed Aristotle's idea that political systems geared toward advancing the greater good were a natural fit for men and women. In his view, human nature was rooted in self-preservation and therefore, self-interested submission to authority was the driving force of both the governed and the governors. Isaiah Berlin, in his landmark 1958 essay *Two Concepts of Liberty*, further refined these ideas by proposing the concept of positive and negative liberty, the former being the individual's right to be free from the interference or the imposition of the will of others while the latter refers to the proactive pursuit of individual goals and participation in government. Berlin cautioned, though, that overemphasis on positive liberty could actually give rise to the abuse of power because when government leaders believe that they alone understand what is "right" for all, they may use brutal measures to achieve their objectives. Though he lived in an earlier era, John Locke in his 1693 essay, *Concerning Civil Government*, addressed the idea of how citizens might react to a bit too much "positive liberty," writing that if people are subject to "a long train of abuses, prevarications, and artifices…it is not to be wondered that they should then rouse themselves, and endeavor to put the rule into such hands which may secure to them the end for which government was at first erected…" It was from Locke and others like him that Thomas Jefferson derived inspiration for the American Revolution, and the memorable statement that, "when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is [the people's] right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government…"

One thing is clear: while intellectual sparring about the nature, purpose, responsibility and relationship of a government and its people will undoubtedly continue for generations to come, in the U.S., I am sure we can all agree that the strength and vitality of our nation and our democracy is our collective responsibility. New citizens and those descended from the sons and daughters of the Revolution alike have an equal stake in our national life today and on into the future.

Vartan Gregorian

VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President*

Carnegie Corporation of New York

VOL. 5/NO. 1

Fall 2008

CARNEGIE Reporter

A Note About the *Carnegie Reporter*

What makes us choose a story to include in our twice-yearly magazine? First, like most everything in journalism, it has to be a good read, but it also must be about an idea that animates the Corporation's priorities.

Making sure that new immigrants are on the pathway to citizenship has been a top priority since Vartan Gregorian became president of Carnegie Corporation. This month's cover story explores how leaders in the immigration reform movement have changed strategy in the face of defeat.

Making high schools a place where all students can be successful in our complicated, knowledge-based economy demands teachers up to the task. The Corporation has supported Teach for America since its creation and our story makes it clear why this "experiment" is now permanent and powerful, attracting America's best and brightest.

Carnegie Scholar Simon Chesterton captured policymakers' attention with his seminal work on private armies. When you read his essay for the *Reporter*, you'll understand why. It gets behind the headlines of Iraq's Blackwater scandal.

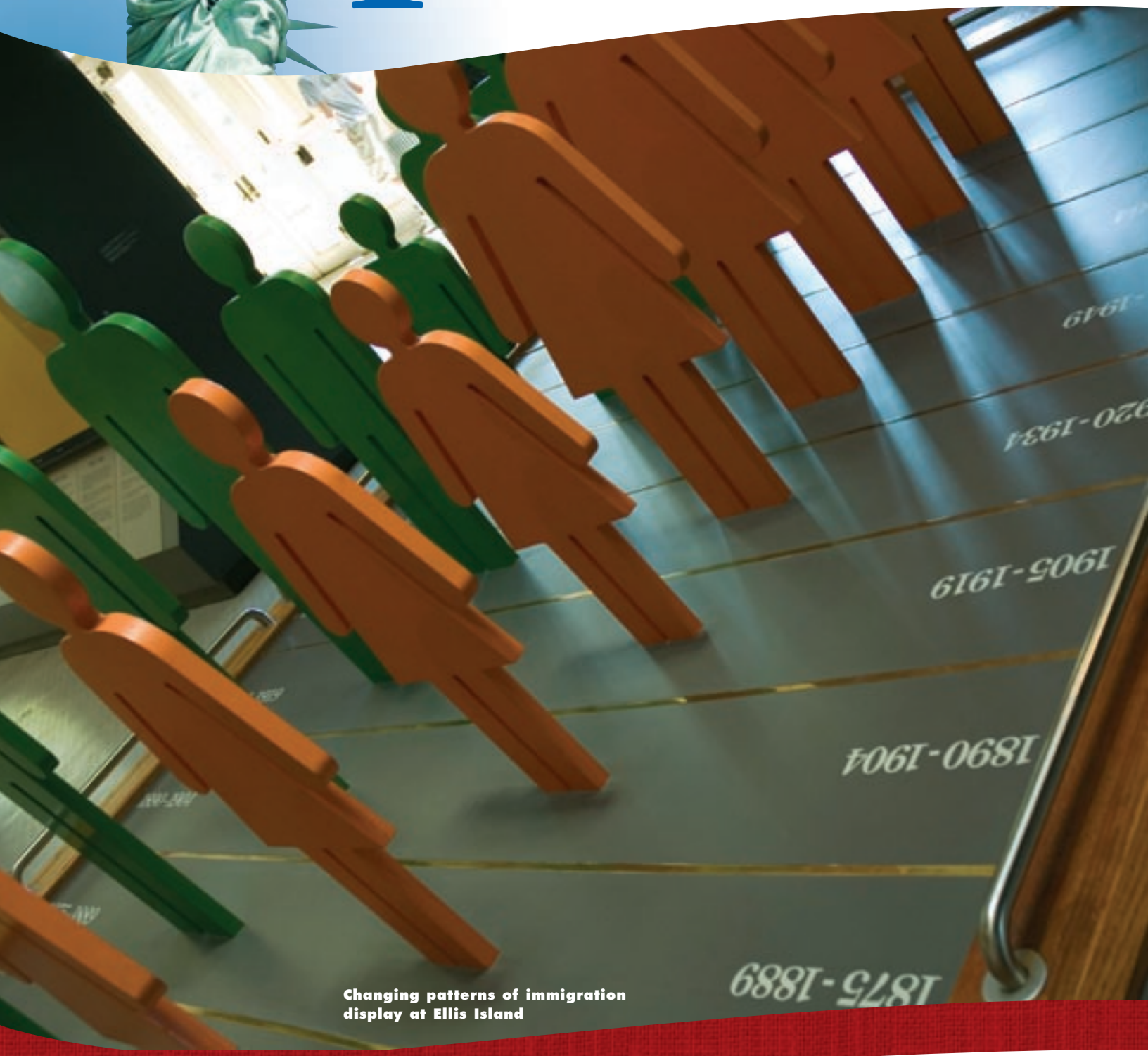
It took a long time for television and the Internet to work their way into Arab world, but our story on the Web 2.0 revolution will show you the speed of change underway and how the Corporation's journalism and Islam initiatives intersect.

Vartan Gregorian, as always, has something unique to say in his "Letter from the President"; this time, he explains why politics is far from being a dirty word. Corporation Program Director Stephen Del Rosso shares a first-hand look at North Korea, and we detail our Board of Trustees' trip to South Africa. The Roundup, as always, reports on other foundations' news. We hope you learn something you didn't know and that knowledge helps to inform your work.

SUSAN KING, *Vice President, External Affairs and Program Director, Journalism Initiative, Special Initiatives and Strategy*

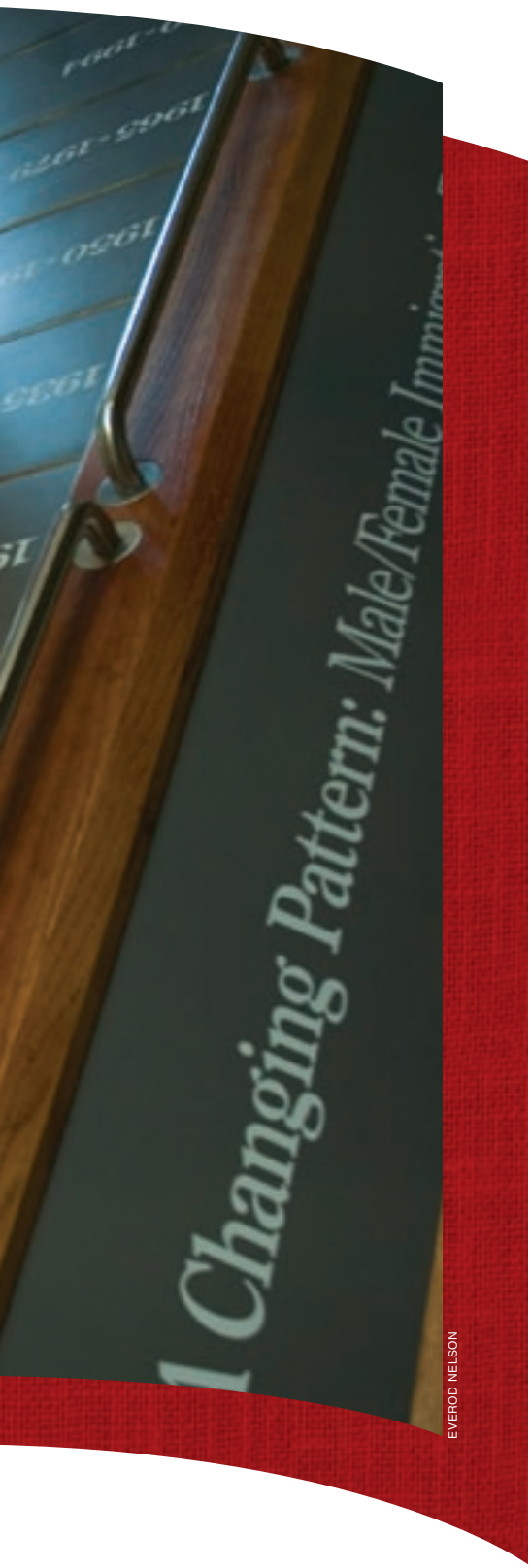
by Joyce Baldwin

Immigra



Changing patterns of immigration display at Ellis Island

TION *The Reform Movement Rebuilds*



EVEROD NELSON

Immigrant groups hope that a "four pillars" strategy will help them reform what many view as a broken immigration system in the United States.

An estimated twelve million undocumented immigrants live within the U.S. and about 300,000 people join their ranks annually, making it increasingly urgent to address the issue of immigration in a way that is both legal and compassionate and that provides a path to citizenship, protects workers from exploitation, reunites families and promotes civic participation. Yet fierce and often divisive debate threaded with provocative anti-immigrant rhetoric continues, even though polls show most Americans recognize the need to fix our broken immigration system.

Advocates of comprehensive immigration reform have tried unsuccessfully since 2006 to get an immigration bill passed, first by the 109th and then by the 110th Congress.* Now these advocates are using the sometimes painful lessons learned from their legislative battles to build alliances on a local and a national level and to bring together disparate voices. Seeking to overcome the hurdles involved in merging hundreds of organizations, several leading groups, including those who are cited in this article, have been working to develop a re-energized and re-focused structure that consists of "four pillars," which center around:

- a more effective policy approach,
- more effective work in the media,
- a stronger grassroots effort better linked to the nationwide effort, and
- successful efforts to promote citizenship and encourage civic participation.

As immigration reform leaders begin to meet with immigration groups around the country as well as with community, business, labor and faith groups, ideas of the principal stakeholders will be incorporated into the four-pillars structure. The rapidly changing political dynamics in this presidential election year will also impact decision making as members of these groups work together to develop a plan for achieving effective immigration reform.

"Let's not miss the fact that one of the reasons we lost the last time [in 2007] is that the anti-immigrant forces mobilized their advocates and the pro-reformers did not," says Frank Sharry, executive director of America's Voice. "Now we are working to answer questions such as: What is the best policy approach going forward? How do we strengthen and build a communications effort that has more volume and velocity and, most importantly, how do we have a grassroots operation that

**In 2007 Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) introduced the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007 (S. 1348) that failed a cloture motion on June 7, 2007; in 2006 Senator Arlen Spector (R-PA) introduced the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006 (S. 2611). Both this bill and a somewhat different bill introduced in the House of Representatives (H.R. 4437) did not become law.*

Editor's Note: Carnegie Corporation of New York does not fund lobbying activities. The groups, organizations and institutions it supports, however, can and do lobby within the IRS restrictions on nonprofits.

is nationwide and is effective?" For 17 years Sharry was executive director of the National Immigration Forum. He also served as a leader in the Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform, which closed in February 2008. America's Voice (www.americasvoiceonline.org), an organization that grew out of this coalition, opened in March 2008 as a communications effort designed to more directly challenge those who oppose immigration reform.

"This is an exciting time," says Geri Mannion, who leads the U.S. Democracy Program and the Special Opportunities Fund of Carnegie Corporation of New York. "Despite their problems, issues, conflicts and disappointment about the bill failing, these advocates have come together to rethink the next phase of immigration reform and hopefully are stronger for what they have gone through." Under President Vartan Gregorian immigrant civic integration has been a consistent program focus of the Corporation, as has an evolving concern with assisting those working on issues relating to the pathway to citizenship. Since 2001, for example, Carnegie Corporation has awarded $35 million in support of immigrant civic integration at the state and national levels.

Many public opinion polls document the fact that most Americans recognize the importance of approaching immigration reform in a manner that would address the various facets of the issue and help our nation move forward in a stronger and more balanced way. For example, a late 2007 *Los Angeles Times*/Bloomberg National Survey of nearly 1,500 adults found that "most voters, regardless of party, support allowing illegal immigrants who have been living and working in the U.S. for a number of years to start on a path to citizenship by registering, paying a fine, getting fingerprinted, and learning English, among other requirements." (For an overview of more than

Working Together

Some of the Leaders of the Immigration Reform Movement

Ali Noorani,
National Immigration Forum

Cecilia Muñoz,
National Council of La Raza

Karen Narasaki,
Asian American Justice Center

Deepak Bhargava,
Center for Community Change

JAMES KEGLEY

Frank Sharry,
America's Voice

20 recent public opinion polls on the issue of immigration, see http://www.immigrationforum.org/documents/PressRoom/PublicOpinion/2007/PollingSummary0407.pdf).

Learning From the Past

The seeds of the pro-immigration movement are in a tradition of coalition relationships that began when the immigration reform debate started in the early 1980s. It was then that a few national organizations developed a presence on the issue, and key local coalitions were formed to represent the voices of immigrants. During the debate surrounding the enactment and subsequent implementation of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, immigration organizations became better connected through conferences, in-person meetings and conference calls. In the 1990s the number of organizations involved began to increase. "We started to develop ways of working in crisis circumstances that formed the next phase of the movement and the challenges that people faced together," explains Cecilia Muñoz, senior vice president for the office of research, advocacy and legislation of the National Council of La Raza (www.nclr.org), the largest Hispanic civil rights and advocacy group in the United States. "September 11 changed everything. It made the hill we need to climb much higher and added a whole new dimension on national security to the debate and increased the government's ability to persecute particular people using immigration law.

After the 110th Congress failed to pass the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007, members of the Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform spent months reconsidering what they had learned over the years of working together and determining how best to reinvigorate their efforts. "There was a lot of thinking by the various groups individually and collectively assessing what happened when the bill [for comprehensive immigration reform] fell apart in the summer of 2007," says Karen Narasaki, executive director of the Asian American Justice Center (www.napalc.org). She says they learned what they do well, what they could have done better and what they could not control, and they became more determined than ever after the Senate effort to pass the proposed 2007 bill failed. "The explosion of local and state ordinances, increased raids, increased pressures on immigrant communities and the terror and chaos that all those things created underscored what our beliefs have been all along," says Narasaki. "The only way that we are going to bring order and compassion into the system is to redouble our efforts to reform the system to better reflect the reality of what our country needs and what is right for communities and families."

Narasaki says Asian and Latino communities share a great deal in common, including the fact that two-thirds of the Asian community is foreign born and about one-half of the Latino community is foreign born. "So we are familiar with the immigrant experience across ethnic boundaries," she explains. Although there are fewer undocumented immigrants in the Asian community than in the Latino community, Narasaki says, "Ten percent of the Asian community is undocumented and both communities are very much affected by backlogs of family members waiting for visas to become available. For example, spouses and minor children of legal permanent residents are now facing waits of five to ten years, and siblings of citizens could wait over 20 years. Educating both groups about the difficulties each of them face is important, so that members of both communities understand they have a shared interest and a shared stake. Another important lesson learned in the immigration rights battle is that "restrictionists often try to set ethnic communities against each other," Narasaki explains. She says there is concern about the potential for a split between the Asian community and the Latino community over potential political tradeoffs between legalization and visas required to address the enormous backlogs in the family categories of particular importance to the Asian American community. There are also potential tradeoffs between high-skilled and low-skilled employment-based visas.

Looking back on the years of work

"We are having a debate about what kind of country we want to be," says Frank Sharry. "Do we want to drive these people out of the country or figure out a way that they can get on the right side of the law and become citizens of the U.S.?"

supporting immigration reform, Sharry says, "We've made every mistake imaginable. We've been at times too big and too democratic; at times we've been too small and too insular, and neither works very well." Initial meetings of what became the Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform meetings brought together 150 groups to discuss strategy, and some devolved into tense sessions of finger pointing and accusations of bad faith, turf and resource hoarding and general positioning for power. On the other hand, meetings of small groups of people brought accusations from colleagues that these relatively few leaders, many of whom were based in Washington, D.C., were not being held accountable for their decisions by members of the coalition. In a quest to improve the situation, a decision was made in late 2006 to form a strategy council composed of 43 groups from around the country, with a mandate to coordinate on fast-breaking developments and hold informational conference calls to keep others around the country in the loop. This helped develop a sense of transparency and trust. In addition, the Coalition organized regular conference calls involving 100 to 200 people. Despite all this intense effort the coalition was unable to develop a broad and strong enough movement to prevail.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Expanding Civic Engagement Opportunities

Pro-immigration advocates are now reorganizing and placing more emphasis on civic engagement, Says Angela Kelley, director of the Immigration Policy Center of the American Immigration Law Foundation (www.immigrationpolicy.org), "More and more people realize we have an uphill battle and that there has been a devastating impact locally. Many of us feared this would happen, but I don't think we could have anticipated the ferociousness of the backlash." In referring to the fact that opponents of the 2007 immigration reform bill shut down the U.S. Senate phone system on June 28, 2007, the day that the immigration reform bill stalled in the Senate, Kelley says that "one office got 1,000 calls." She said that the balance of power between groups with differing views on immigration reform can shift if there is a strong turnout in November by recently naturalized citizens and Latino voters who are either native born or who were naturalized years ago. "This is an issue of importance to them because even if it doesn't affect them directly, it affects their family, friends and community."

The Pew Hispanic Center web site (http.//pewhispanic.org) points out that Hispanics, who comprise 15 percent of the U.S. population, could be a "swing vote" in the 2008 national election because many Hispanics live in states that President George W. Bush carried by narrow margins in the 2004 election, and the November 2008 election is again expected to be a close contest in these states. The Pew Report, *Hispanics and the 2008 Election: A Swing Vote?* states that their survey shows 57 percent of Hispanic registered voters say they are Democrats. Another group of potential "swing voters" are the 1.6 million children of undocumented immigrants who will reach voting age within a few years (see a report by the Urban Institute, http://www.urban.org/publications/1000587.html).

Strengthening the civic capacity of immigrant organizations throughout the country is vital to helping prepare these groups, so that they will be able to help immigrants integrate if an immigration reform bill is passed by the U.S. Congress. As part of its work with indigent and low-income immigrants, the Catholic Legal Immigration Network, which was formed in 1988 by the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, runs three-day training workshops across the country designed to help attendees establish and run nonprofit immigration legal services programs. With Carnegie Corporation support, the Catholic Legal Immigration Network (CLINIC, www.cliniclegal.org), convened a group of partner organizations to write a management manual, "Managing an Immigration Program: Steps for Creating and Increasing Legal Capacity." It shares the best practices of

In 2007, the public and policy makers' opinion about the Immigration Reform Bill was deeply divided.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

experienced organizations with a curriculum that covers subjects as diverse as program design, case selection criteria, financial controls and marketing. In 2008, Carnegie Corporation-supported training programs were held in eight sites around the country and were attended by more than 160 people representing more than 70 organizations, including groups in under-served areas as well as those working with migrant farm workers, victims of crimes such as domestic violence and other distinct immigrant populations.

These workshops and other CLINIC programs help community groups across the country become recognized by the Board of Immigration Appeals to practice immigration law. "CLINIC has reached out to religious as well as non-religious organizations like ours," says Diane Nguyen-Vu, executive director of the Maryland Vietnamese Mutual Association. The group assists immigrants from all countries, but finds that the populations they serve in the Washington, D.C. metro area are primarily Vietnamese, West African and Caribbean. In 2007 and 2008, Nguyen-Vu attended CLINIC workshops on family-based immigration, general immigration law and program management. It is important that as many organizations as possible become qualified to help immigrants because, Nguyen-Vu explains, there are a lot of non-attorneys, called *notarios*, who prey on immigrants. "The notarios are usually scam artists who charge excessive fees and give false promises of immigration benefits such as citizenship or deportation relief," says Nguyen-Vu.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, the Latin American Coalition (www.latinamericancoalition.org) is recognized by the Executive Office of Immigration Review of the U.S. Department of Justice to represent clients whose cases are brought before the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service (including the Asylum Office and the Administrative Appeals Unit). "As I was preparing our group's application for recognition and my corresponding application for accreditation, the word got out, and I started getting calls for assistance," says Adriana Galvez Taylor, who is manager of the immigration program and a Bureau of Immigration Appeals partially accredited representative specifically authorized to represent only those individuals who seek immigration-related legal services at the Latin American Coalition. "The first couple of months after we were granted recognition, it was as though not just the spigot was turned on, but the fire hydrant. I could hardly keep up with the flow of clients. CLINIC is trying to prepare organizations for the day that we finally have the law to legalize and offer more opportunities to immigrants, but we won't be ready even if CLINIC does the best possible job because the need is so tremendous and the funding is not there yet for human resources and staffing programs. This issue still doesn't have the cache that some other areas have."

Building a Grassroots Movement

The size and breadth of the immigration reform movement has increased dramatically over the last several years, complicating efforts to bring cohesion to the large-scale effort. "The challenge of coordinating all that energy and all those organizations is much greater [now] and there is a much greater depth of connection between national and local efforts than we've ever seen," points out Muñoz. She adds that the National Council of La Raza expects to play a leadership role in developing policy work on the immigration reform debate. "We have 300 affiliates around the country that are living with the effects of the immigration debate every day and they are major participants in the field work that we are doing," says Muñoz.

Although many of the immigration-reform organizations have a nearly two-decade track record of working well together, the struggles of recent years have helped them forge even stronger bonds of trust. "That sense of trust has put us in a better position to honestly critique what went wrong and to cooperatively make plans and implement them for applying the right fixes to the things that had gone wrong," says Sharry. "I have an enormous amount of confidence in the courage, passion and trustworthiness of many of the groups I work with most closely. That is a good starting point for then saying, 'Why did immigration reform fail and what do we need to do to advance immigration reform, so that it is more balanced and more humane?'"

The four-pillars structure aims to develop nationwide support to build a broad network that will bring together community, business, labor and faith stakeholders in a unified grassroots movement. The National Immigration Forum and the Center for Community Change are taking the lead in this initial stage of the campaign, organizing regional meetings in all the major geographic areas of

the U.S. "We need to talk with progressives, liberals and moderates to help facilitate an understanding of people across a spectrum to explain why immigration is a fundamental challenge and to get their feedback on how to organize an integrated electoral, field, communications and policy strategy," says Ali Noorani, executive director of the National Immigration Forum (www.immigrationforum.org) and former director of the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Coalition. "It's not just a few organizations in D.C. whose members sit in cubicles and say 'This is what we should do.' We need to bring new allies, including business leaders, into the network and decide how all the pieces fit together so we are prepared when we do have that call to action. We have to get outside our comfort zone and understand the national political map of getting to a minimum of 279 votes—that is one president, 60 senators and 218 representatives. We have to be disciplined about this: Do we want to win or don't we?"

The relatively small regional meetings were first held in early September 2008 and are continuing throughout the fall. The Center for Community Change (www.communitychange.org) works with 350 immigrant rights groups through the Fair Immigration Reform Movement, which helps build the power and influence of community organizations. "These meetings offer a unique opportunity to once again build a big tent for immigration reform," says Marissa Graciosa, who is immigration campaign coordinator for the Center for Community Change. "Because of local law enforcement increasing their crackdowns on families and workers there is a sense in communities that people feel they can't tolerate this anymore. The regional meetings are a reminder that input from local people about how policy should be shaped and how we all can work together on it is important." She reports that in each host city they are working with one of the immigrant rights groups helping to identify who should be at the table, including new allies, making sure that

Underscoring the Need for Immigration Reform

These are only three of the many recent headline-garnering stories that highlight the need for immigration reform in the U.S.:

- New Haven, the Connecticut town nicknamed Elm City, in 2007 began issuing municipal ID cards to immigrants, including those who are undocumented. Within months more than 5,500 people had sought the card, which can be used to open bank accounts, take out library cards and participate in other ways in the community. As a result, *The New York Times* reports that "The streets are safer and crime has dropped because immigrants are now putting their savings in banks instead of carrying them in their pockets, reducing robberies." The editorial also said these immigrants had been targets of robberies because they carried a great deal of cash in their pockets, prompting the nickname "walking ATMs" ("Courage in Elm City," May 22, 2008).
- Postville, Iowa, was the scene in March 2008 of an immigration raid on Agriprocessors, a meatpacking plant in the small town of fewer than 2,300 people that is known as "Hometown to the World." At the time, it was the largest immigration raid of its kind in the history of the U.S. As the *Washington Post* reported ("Immigration Raid Jars a Small Town," May 19, 2008), 389 immigrants, most of whom were from Guatemala or Mexico, were arrested, with many of them held at a cattle exhibit hall. Of those arrested, 262 pleaded guilty and received prison sentences or were put on probation. The

African Americans and new labor allies are included.

"Dynamics in local communities are different," says Rich Stolz, immigration policy coordinator of the Center. "The politics in Seattle, Washington, or San Francisco, California, are very different from the politics in Nashville, Tennessee, or Birmingham, Alabama, so part of our challenge is to find a consensus among organizations representing communities from many different places on both policy and strategy and then coordinate with our local partners to translate this consensus to national partner organizations and policymakers." He says the organization works to influence policy by identifying and building durable relationships with the local organizations, businesses, legal services, immigrant organizations and social service providers, while strengthening the relationships among these groups and turning these relationships into effective national coalitions. "One role of the Center is to ensure that the concerns of folks in a particular community are part of what is taken into consideration when tough decisions have to be made in D.C.," Stolz says.

It is expected that the regional meetings will produce a group of broadly supported principles of immigration reform and will help strengthen and deepen relationships among all the stakeholders. These guiding principles will then be presented at a national meeting of the National Immigration Forum scheduled for mid-December 2008.

Reflecting on the 40th anniversary of the Center for Community Change, which was founded in 1968 as a living memorial to Robert F Kennedy, executive director Deepak Bhargava said that at this pivotal time in our history, the Center's role is to act as a bridge "between the lived experience at the grassroots level and public policy in Washington, connecting grassroots groups to each other to achieve more power and unity, between low-income people and allies, and to the organizations and politicians they need to help them realize the change that will benefit all of us." Looking to the future, Bhargava said that although there has been a lot of change throughout the Center's history, "one thing [that] has never altered is our conviction that it is only through the leadership of those most affected by injustice that change is possible—that change comes from the bottom up, and that organizing is the critical ingredient."

Developing a multilevel, cohesive approach is key to success of the immigration reform movement. "One of the main lessons we learned is that you have to approach this issue from multiple disciplines and perspectives," says Donald Kerwin, executive director of the Catholic Legal Immigration Network. "You can't have a situation where people who are lobbying aren't working with community service providers and media people. It has to be a unified approach in terms of policy proposals and in terms of implementation of the policies and the planned implementation needs to inform the policy proposals."

Kerwin adds, "Building capacity on a community level to implement immigration reform legislation is an immediate need, as immigrants struggle, even prior to passage of immigration reform legislation, to find low-cost, quality services that will allow them to get the benefits available to them under U.S. law."

Framing the Issue

A communications pillar is central to securing immigration reform, a fact undergirded by a May 2008 report

effect of the raid is expected to be disastrous to Postville's economy. "The problem is, who is going to do the work?" asked a journalism professor who was interviewed for the *Washington Post* article. This is a no-win situation." Other critics point to the fact that no charges were filed against any Agriprocessors officials despite a long record of exploitation of its workers. "To allow a flagrant abuser of workers to continue to operate without penalty, while we prosecute and deport its former employees, is criminal," says Sharry, adding that workers should be able to report exploitation without fear of deportation." (For a fuller description of this issue see press releases and news clips on the web site of America's Voice, www.americasvoiceonline.org.)

- Concern about where businesses will find workers is a theme that echoes across the country in large metropolitan areas as well as small towns. As CBS Evening News reported on April 9, 2008, farmers are moving to Mexico across borders of states such as Arizona and California because they simply cannot find enough labor to grow and harvest crops. According to the report, "Farmers Crossing the Border," the equivalent of more than 46,000 farming acres have already been shifted to Mexico.

from Media Matters (www.mediamatters.org), an organization often referred to as "liberal leaning," but founded by noted conservative journalist David Brock. The report describes a study of three cable news programs aired during 2007. The report, *Fear and Loathing in Prime Time: Immigration Myths and Cable News*, determined that programs hosted by Lou Dobbs, Bill O'Reilly and Glenn Beck overflow "not just with vitriol, but also with a series of myths that feed viewers' resentment and fears, seemingly geared toward creating anti-immigrant hysteria." It documents the frequency with which these programs discuss the topic of immigration and how they perpetuate myths associated with undocumented immigrants. (For the full report, go to: http://mediamattersaction.org/reports/fearandloathing/online_version.) The report shows that hosts of these shows frequently allege there is a link between illegal immigration and crime, that undocumented immigrants do not pay taxes and that they use a disproportionate share of social services. (On the other hand, there is much evidence that the opposite is true. As reported in a 2005 study by the Urban Institute, "Undocumented immigrants pay the same real estate taxes—whether they own homes or taxes are passed through to rents—and the same sales and other consumption taxes as everyone else. The majority of state and local costs of schooling and other services are funded by these taxes. Additionally, the U.S. Social Security Administration has estimated that three quarters of undocumented immigrants pay payroll taxes, and that they contribute $6-to-$7 billion in Social Security funds that they will be unable to claim.") These cable network shows also appeal to viewers' fears and provoke their anger by saying there are plans to construct a NAFTA Superhighway from Mexico to Canada and possible plans to merge the U.S., Mexico and Canada in a "North American Union."

In addition to educating the public and officials about these allegations, immigration reform organizations are developing strategies to stay focused on their message and not allow anti-immigrant groups to distract them from their goals. "Rather than clearly laying out the reason why immigration reform is necessary, we [previously] found ourselves in a box created by the language and goals of the opposition," says Noorani. "Moving forward, we need to create and to expand that box. A way to do that is to speak with a stronger, savvier voice and to be bold in stating what we believe is best for our country."

Newly formed America's Voice is a key part of the communication efforts of immigration reform. Sharry says immigration reform organizations need to be more aggressive about defining the positions of reform opponents as well as educating people about the concept that a solution to the problem of illegal immigration is possible through a combination of law enforcement, legalization of undocumented immigrants and provision for more visas for people who will immigrate in future. "The official position of most Republicans and certainly all the restrictionist organizations is what they call 'attrition through enforcement,' which is a very polite way of [these groups] saying, 'we are going to make life so impossible for 12 million undocumented immigrants and their family members who are legal that they will leave the country,'" says Sharry. "That has been defined in the media as 'enforcement only' or 'enforcement first.' Frankly we think that should be defined as it is, which is mass expulsion hidden by polite language."

"We are having a debate about what kind of country we want to be," Sharry continues. "Do we want to drive these


ASSOCIATED PRESS

people out of the country or figure out a way that they can get on the right side of the law and become citizens of the U.S.? That is fundamentally the debate, and until that is clear to the American people, it is going to be hard to marginalize a very loud, but not very large, faction of American voters. It is a big challenge." Sharry says that the mission of America's Voice is "to support leaders of both parties who are in favor of reform and to make both the moral case and the political case to mainstream media and ethnic media that immigration is an issue whose time has come."

Another piece of the communications effort is the Wave of Hope campaign, a project of the National Council of La Raza, that works to identify and respond to the presence of hate groups and extremists in the immigration debate. One aspect of the campaign is a web site (www.WeCanStoptheHate.org) which seeks to "take the hate out of the immigration debate." Its organiz-

Rally in Postville, Iowa, after a May 2008 federal immigration raid on the Agriprocessors meatpacking plant.

ers hope to accomplish this by focusing on identifying the hate groups and extremists in the immigration debate and the code words they use in discussing undocumented immigrants as well as how the media gives these groups access.

A recent Corporation grant of nearly $50,000 to Fairfield University's Center for Faith and Public Life supports the Center's effort to explore migration as part of the faith experiences, primarily in Christianity, Judaism and Islam, but not excluding other religions. "The challenge is to figure out ways to enrich the national debate through religious communities in order to change some of the dynamics in what has been a very polarized discussion," says Reverend Richard Ryscavage, a Jesuit priest who is the director of the Center for Faith and Public Life. "We need to balance the demands of security with the understanding that you are dealing with human beings, not just statistics or economic symbols. Religions are particularly good at doing this, if they are helped along or led by some of their traditions."

There are many dynamics that complicate the challenge including, Ryscavage says, that faith communities are split, with some arguing in favor of immigration and some not. He notes that it is also very difficult to get closure on a general theory of immigration and what constitutes good or bad immigration. This is in part because many areas of migration have not yet been researched so there exists no general explanatory theory of migration. "The question of why people migrate remains a puzzle," Ryscavage says. "It is an enormously complex issue; only a few issues are more difficult to unravel. You cannot fully capture it through the lens of political science, economics, sociology or history alone; the only way to get a full picture is through an interdisciplinary approach that includes all these aspects as well as religion. If you don't approach it from all the different facets, you are not building a true picture of what successful immigration is all about. It is a challenge because universities are so turf bound that it is difficult to get that kind of thing going."

Conclusion

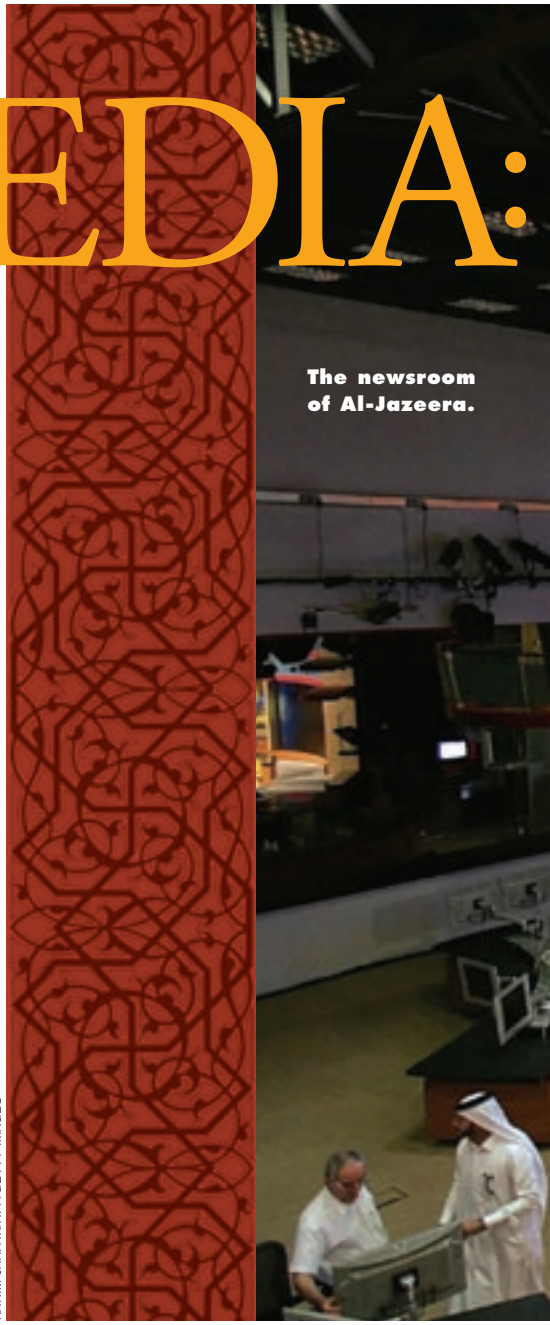
As immigration reform groups continue to grapple with the questions of how they, together with local activists and faith groups, can more effectively promote immigration reform, many questions remain. Yet armed with their history of working together and with redefined strategy, they have not lost their momentum. "We have the right architecture in place; now what we have to do is build a house," says Sharry. The need to build that house, to help undocumented immigrants on the path to citizenship and to help immigrants who are citizens become integrated in their communities and participating citizens in our democracy has never been more pressing. As with so many efforts that the Corporation supports, education and communication are central to the mission.

"The contribution that immigrants make to the strength of American democracy and the richness of its national life is immeasurable," says Geri Mannion. "But their ability to fully integrate into our society is being challenged by an immigration system that is clearly broken. In collaboration with donor partners such as the Ford and Horace Hagedorn foundations, Atlantic Philanthropies, and the Open Society Institute, the Corporation's goal is to work with its grantees and support their collaborative efforts to integrate immigrants so that all of America can continue to benefit from the skills, ideas and dreams of its newest citizens." ■

Joyce Baldwin has written on a wide range of topics for many national publications and is author of two biographies for young adult readers.

by
Anne Nelson

Arab Media:



The newsroom of Al-Jazeera.

KARIM JAAFAR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Egypt's Facebook Girl

Last April, hundreds of journalists crowded into an opulent hotel conference room for the annual Arab Media Forum in Dubai. Much of the subject matter would have been painfully familiar to journalists in the West: anxious talk about the hemorrhage of newspaper ads to the Internet, tense remarks by television executives on the challenges of convergence and broadband.

But one of the most highly charged sessions (I was among the speakers) had little to do with journalism as we know it. The final panel, "Freedom: The New Battlefront for Arab Cyber Media" opened with a video clip of Esra Abdel Fattah, otherwise known as Egypt's "Facebook Girl." The report described how the young Egyptian woman, who had no previous record of political activity, had been involved with a Facebook group in support of a national strike. The "6 April" strike was sparked by workers' protests against skyrocketing food prices, which had only begun to climb in the West but were already crippling working-class households in developing countries.

Digital technology is bringing rapid change to Arab nations, from protests to social interactions, and the effects will be felt far beyond regional borders.

No one could have predicted the Facebook group's appeal: over 70,000 users joined in the course of only a few weeks. Egyptian authorities, alarmed, arrested Esra and other young activists en route to a demonstration, and placed them in 15 days detention.

The journalists meeting in Dubai were visibly shaken by the video, which showed the young woman as she ran, sobbing, into the arms of her mother. She looked far younger than her 27 years, a round-faced woman in glasses with a light hijab covering her head. There had been rumors that Esra's release had been prompted by a medical crisis of an undisclosed nature, and she took care to repeat to her interviewer that she had "not been violated in any way, thanks be to God." Some members of the audience undoubtedly recalled that Egyptian blogger Mohammed Sharkawy, arrested on the same day as Esra, had been brutally beaten and sodomized during a previous detention in 2006.

The journalists at the Arab Media Forum reacted to Esra's case with distress. "The Internet is the only way for these young people to express themselves," one protested. An Egyptian reporter added, "There are lots of bloggers who are still in prison. They're making a big public example of her to scare off others."

The audience in Dubai considered the Facebook case to be a freedom of expression concern, but an Egyptian official would have presented the event in a very different light. Esra's arrest took place amid an ongoing national crisis. According to Joel Beinin, director

An extended version of this story is available online at www.carnegie.org/reporter/17/amedia2/index.html

The Web 2.0 Revolution

of Middle East Studies at the American University in Cairo, Egypt has been experiencing the "longest and strongest wave of worker protest since the end of World War II."

Worker protests are nothing new, but the catalyst of new media—particularly the advent of politically active bloggers—is altering the nature of dissent in Egypt and other Arab countries. The precise outcome is impossible to predict, but the impact will surely be profound.

The Implosions in Arab Society

The Arab new media revolution is unfolding in a region in which other forms of social and political evolution have long been stymied. In Egypt, as in many other Arab countries, wishful thinking on democratization clashes with the harsh reality on the ground. The second largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid after Israel, Egypt has been ruled by the dictatorship of President Hosni Mubarak for over twenty-five years. Public protests and demonstrations are illegal, and

---

Anne Nelson, a noted author and media scholar, consults for a number of major foundations on international media issues. She has taught at the Bard Globalization and International Affairs program, Annenberg's Media Law and Policy Institute in Amman, Jordan, and Columbia University, where she has developed the course "New Media and Development Communication." Nelson received a 2005 Guggenheim Fellowship for her upcoming book Red Orchestra (Random House, April 2009).

reformist parliamentarian Ayman Nour, the latest opposition candidate to openly challenge Mubarak in an election, was sentenced to five years in prison on trumped-up charges. A 1981 Emergency Law permits the government to imprison individuals at any time for virtually any reason, and to hold them indefinitely without trial. A 2008 State Department report charged that "torture occurred frequently in cases of detentions under the Emergency Law." Although the U.S. government has strongly criticized Egypt's human rights record, it also recognizes the country as a critical ally in the region and a lynchpin of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

The traditional Egyptian news media has been both victim of and accessory to this state of affairs. Most of the national news outlets are state-dominated, with political coverage that is easily confused with government press releases.

Egypt has experienced considerable turmoil in recent years, and the political temperature began to rise again over the spring of 2008, when food prices tripled or quadrupled in many areas of the country. Textile workers joined forces with other traditional pockets of opposition, including student groups, leftist parties, and Islamist organizations, and called a national strike for April 6.

In the beginning, this cycle of upheaval and unrest resembled any number of other tense situations in the developing world. But the story took a dramatic new turn when Egypt's strikers were joined by a volunteer army of tens of thousands of tech-savvy young people. Esra and her counterparts created a new political space by deploying the interactive media of Facebook, cell phone text messaging, and YouTube.

In the U.S., Facebook is often regarded as a frivolous application for facilitating gossip and beer busts. But the Egyptian students and young professionals used Facebook to exchange anonymous critiques of the government and hone strategy. Meetings and protests were organized on Facebook pages and by cell phone. The young people alerted each other to police actions by posting the news via text messaging. Once the demonstrations were launched, attacking police were met by a forest of arms holding up cell phones, arising from the crowd to record their actions on video. The results were posted on YouTube within a matter of hours.

There was much for the bloggers to report. As the April strikes spread to additional cities, thousands of Egyptians took to the streets and hundreds were arrested. Other workers stayed home in silent protest by the hundreds of thousands. The young Egyptian bloggers filled the news vacuum left by national newspapers and local television stations, as authorities applied traditional methods of repression and censorship. Ibrahim Eissa, a leading independent newspaper editor, was taken out of the action by a six-month prison sentence. The Cairo News Company, which provided satellite services and equipment for Al-Jazeera, the BBC and CNN, was raided by police after it transmitted footage of the food riots. Its satellite equipment was confiscated, effectively shutting it down, and the owner was taken to court on manufactured charges.

In the past, such repressive measures offered the government a good chance of dominating the story through the state-controlled press. But new media applications were changing the rules. This was demonstrated by the arrest of a journalism student from Berkeley named James Karl Buck, who was detained along with his Egyptian interpreter as he photographed a street protest. Buck used the Twitter application on his cell phone to send a snapshot of himself and the text message "arrested" to a list serve of his contacts. The message prompted intervention from Berkeley and the U.S. consulate. Buck was soon able to Twitter the word "free," then mount an online campaign to release his interpreter.

The Egyptian government scrambled to block protest sites on the Internet, but their young adversaries often trumped their efforts. One online posting, organized on behalf of jailed blogger Abdel Kareem, illustrated the new reality:

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Esra Abdel Fattah, Egypt's "Facebook Girl."

Esra Abdel Fattah and her new political space by deploying such as Facebook and

It appears to be that our Free Kareem campaign site is blocked in Egypt. We are now working on mirroring it. If the mirror site gets blocked; we'll mirror it again at another location, until they learn that they can't silence BOTH the victim AND his supporters!

Update: *The web site appears to be working now at its normal location.*

The government assault on the Facebook group backfired as well. It was gradually revealed that Egypt's "Facebook Girl" was a supporter of the strike group, but the actual organizer was a 28-year-old engineer named Ahmed Maher Ibrahim. Maher eluded arrest for a time, but police finally located him and tortured him for his Facebook password and the names of other members of the group (the vast majority of whom he didn't know). Upon release, Esra and Maher became rock stars of the Arab blogosphere—unrepentant and radiating new resolve. The Facebook factor helped to convert a regional textile workers' strike into a growing online universe of anti-Mubarak activism.

counterparts created a interactive media cell phone text messaging.

It is easy to understand why Egyptian officials are alarmed by their new online adversaries. Egypt's Internet revolution is just the latest phase of a gradual loss of control. For the first decade of Mubarak's rule, it was relatively easy to stage-manage the news. Few citizens had access to information beyond state television, the state-dominated press, and the BBC World Service.

Now it is estimated that 6 million Egyptians have Internet access, a number that is growing rapidly. Some 70 percent of Egypt's 78 million people have access to satellite television through legally purchased dishes, pirated connections, or cafes. Cell phones, the dominant technology in Egypt, are ubiquitous, and new phones come equipped with Facebook as a menu option. A sizable percentage of Egypt's online community is young, restless, and incessantly active on social networking sites such as YouTube, Facebook, and its Google parallel, Orkut.

Facebook activism is by no means unique to Egypt. As of August 2008, a U.S.-based group called "Support the Monks' Protest in Burma" had over 370,000 members. But American Facebook groups often swell, crest and dissipate without leaving a visible mark on the outside world, diverted into countless other outlets for political expression offered under the U.S. political system. As the Arab journalists in Dubai pointed out, few of these avenues are open to young people in Egypt, Syria, and other critical areas.

Western democracies are founded on the ancient Greek principle of participation in the agora, or public space. Arab societies have their own venues for debate, but many people face insurmountable obstacles to participation. Citizenship laws in some of the Gulf States prevent the majority of the population from voting. Social restrictions on women in Saudi Arabia bar them from participating in many aspects of public life. Political repression in Egypt and Syria close off avenues for peaceful activism among the youth.

The Internet offers a new online agora for each of these groups: immigrants are debating, women are publishing, and students are organizing, all as never before. The power of the new media is illustrated in Egypt, even after a second strike called for May 2008 fizzled out. As of August 5, 2008, Facebook listed 484,137 members in the Egypt Network. The 6 April group was alive and well with 72,274 members, six of them new.

In assessing the political impact of the Internet in Arab countries, it is important to consider some characteristics of the online experience. For example, knowledge creation through print publishing usually involves some kind of editorial scrutiny and review before an idea is propelled from private impulse to public distribution. By contrast, the mechanics of the online environment encourage instant, reflexive responses. So the Internet as we know it in the West has two powerful functions: first, as a conveyor of its own immediate data, and second, through links, as an extraordinary portal to traditional repositories of knowledge: published books, reports, journalism, legal briefs and scholarly articles. Many materials that are billed as "web originals" are generated by individuals and institutions that are anchored in print culture.

Consider how different the Internet experience is for the Arabic-speaking user. The Arab world has had a fundamentally different relationship to print culture, and modern published resources are sorely lacking. Drill down into a blog or a wiki in Arabic and—on a sheer percentage basis—you're more likely to find more blogs and wikis. There are few deep and diverse archival resources to provide ballast for the excitable surface of videos and chat. For these reasons, the Internet is every bit as powerful in the Arab world as it is in the West, and far more unsettling.

The Mixed Legacy of Arab Media

Arab media experienced an initial earthquake in the mid-1990s, when the old state-dominated broadcasting systems were challenged by the creation of regional satellite television. Now both state and satellite broadcasters are confronting the wild card of the World Wide Web. These forces are making a drastic impact on Arab society, and the reasons go deep into Arab history, culture, and demographics.

KHALED DESOUKI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Ibrahim Eissa, editor of the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Dustur*.

Arab history is an enormously complex subject about which most Westerners know little. Americans are finally realizing that "Arab" and "Muslim" are not equivalents, but few recognize how elusive the concept of "Arab" can be. One glance around the Arab Media Forum that I attended confirmed this point. The room was dominated by Gulf Arab male media professionals in white dishdashahs, and their female counterparts—reporters, editors and professors—in long black abayas. But the meeting also included Sudanese women journalists glancing shyly from the folds of their pastel robes, and Egyptian newspapermen working the room in rumpled suits and ties. In the meantime, Lebanese anchor "babes" held court in spike heels and designer minis, jeweled crosses dangling from their necks. All of them, Muslim, Christian, and otherwise, were proudly present as Arabs.

Just as "Arab" can represent a range of ethnicities, the "Arabic" language comprises scores of mutually unintelligible dialects. Defining the region is just as difficult. English speakers often use the term the "Arab world" to describe the twenty-four countries and territories where Arabic dialects predominate. But Arabs refer to the "Umma-Arabiya," which is often translated as the "Arab community" but carries the emotional weight of the Arabic word "umm," or "mother." This phrase encompasses not just the Arabic-speaking countries, but also the Arab minorities who make up 20 percent of the population of Israel, the million Baggara Arabs of Nigeria, 1.8 million Arab-Americans in the U.S. and 3.5 million Arabs in Argentina.

There is little practical solidarity across the region, which presents shocking disparities in income and social indicators. Yemen, with a per capita GDP of only $1,000 a year, shares borders with Saudi Arabia and Oman, which generate fourteen times as much per capita income. Millions of stateless Palestinians live in wretched conditions in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, with no prospects for citizenship or advancement. The vast historical gulfs between Arabic-speaking peoples have generated profound differences.

Historical Foundations

Americans find it hard to imagine democracy without literacy and public education, and in the Arab world these subjects are rife with irony. For many years Islamic societies were in the vanguard of higher education, establishing universities in the ninth century that led the way for later European institutions. But the Renaissance brought a new fork in the road. In the West, the printing press helped to secularize society by breaking the Church's control over legal norms and education. Independent newspapers began to emerge in Europe over the early 1600s, spurring the quest for individual rights and political freedoms. In the Arab world, education and the printed word took a very different path. In the early 1500s, as the Renaissance spread across Europe, the Ottoman Empire began to absorb large expanses of Arab territory, and soon dominated North Africa, the Levant, and most of what is now Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The Ottomans maintained a hold on many Arab regions until the 1920s.

Just as "Arab" the "Arabic" mutually

Ottoman rule was not friendly to public education, independent news

media, and the printed word. Ottoman culture favored the oral tradition and integrated the revered calligraphy of the Koran into every possible visual art form, from painting and ceramics to architecture and metalwork. But literacy languished, particularly among Muslim Arab populations. General Muslim literacy rates were only 2-to-3 percent in the early nineteenth century and perhaps 15 percent at its end. Prior to 1840, an average of only eleven books a year were published in the imperial capital of Istanbul.

The first Arab newspapers made their appearances in the early 1800s, but they were government-issued, publishing official news for a largely official readership. The first independent Arab newspapers emerged between 1860 and 1880, but they were often produced under British and French influence, leading many Arabs to associate the notion of an independent press with European colonialism.

can represent a range of ethnicities, language comprises scores of unintelligible dialects.

As the British and French influence grew in some regions, their cultural norms clashed with a powerful counter-movement with roots going back to the early 18th century, and founded on the teachings of Arabian fundamentalist scholar ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Wahhab condemned the spiritually lax rule of the Ottomans, and his followers extended his critique to the liberal influences of the West. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire following World War I accelerated the polarization of the Arab media culture we see today.

In the Arab countries, perhaps more than any other region, the brute force of 20th century economic globalization has derailed political evolution time after time, as Arab reformists have been sacrificed to Western business interests and Arab oil producers. After World War I, the British and the French carved their areas of influence into proto-nation-states, showing little regard for tribal sensibilities, and great concern for future oil concessions. Over the same period, the fundamentalist Wahhabis joined Arabia's Saudi dynasty to lay claim to the sacred Muslim cities of Mecca and Medina. When the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was established in 1932, it created a power base for the puritanical principles of Abd El-Wahhab. Six years later, vast oil reserves were discovered on Saudi lands and assigned to U.S. oil concessions. The possession of both Islam's holy cities and the new oil reserves converted the Saudis from local sheikhs to regional masters, and wielders of global power.

By the late 20th century, the two Arab cultural extremes were well-entrenched: at one end, the worldly former European colonies of Lebanon and Egypt, which produce the lion's share of Arabic cultural output, including books, magazines, movies, and popular music. At the other end lie the Saudi Wahhabis, who have banned the domestic production of many forms of news and entertainment.

These two poles have greatly influenced media development. Lebanese media, the most unfettered and dynamic in the Arab world, are popular throughout the region, but they carry the taint of Lebanon's bloody religious conflicts and civil dysfunction. Saudi media operates under strict government control, so absolute that international press freedom organizations were long barred from even monitoring it. But in a tense, uncertain region, Saudi Arabia projects an image of political stability, economic might, and an unshakable alliance with the U.S.

The Information Vacuum

When Westerners discuss Arab media, much of the debate focuses on the scarcity of independent newspapers and broadcasters. But I have been frequently struck by the concern Arabs express for books. One veiled Saudi woman told me that she was an avid reader of Dickens, but never had the chance to read Edith Wharton. In Dubai, a working mother and journalist lamented, "It's practically impossible to find good children's books in Arabic."

These were not isolated complaints. The 2002 United Nations Arab Development Report, compiled by leading Arab scholars and intellectuals, reported that fewer than 350 books were translated into Arabic every year, less than one-fifth the number translated into Greek. The 2003 report added that the 10,000 books translated into Spanish every year exceeded those translated into Arabic—over the entire millennium.

Another concern lies in the narrowness of content. In many countries, around 5 percent of the books published are religious titles, but in the Arab world the figure is 17 percent, and in Saudi Arabia it is even higher. This situation is reflected in the online environment. As of early August, Facebook posted the nine top book choices from its Egypt Network, which suggested a strong preoccupation with religious and mystical themes. They were: *Harry Potter*, *The Alchemist*, *The DaVinci Code*, *The Quran*, *The Holy Quran*, *Angels and*

Demons, *the Qu2an*, *I Hate Reading*, and *the Quraan*. Censorship and the banning of books are rife in the region, affecting both foreign and local authors.

In Saudi Arabia, the scarcity of books is accompanied by the struggle to modernize basic educational institutions. Author Mark Weston in his new book, *Prophets and Princes*, points out that Saudi Arabia did not have a high school until after 1930, and its first girls' school was established after 1950. The Saudis have only 250 public libraries to serve a population of 26 million and there were no hours for female readers until 2006. The Saudis spend millions of dollars translating and publishing the Quran into other languages, without devoting similar efforts to make foreign books available in Arabic.

Needless to say, the shortage of published content directly translates into a lack of content online. At the Arab Media Forum, Hamad bin Ibrahim Al Oman, a Saudi computer science professor with a PhD from the University of North Carolina, contended that 69 percent of the content on the Internet is in English and only one percent is in Arabic. How can Arab societies make the necessary strides, he demanded, if educators could not offer their students access to texts and scholarly journals in their own language?

Arab polarization extends to popular culture as well. One striking indication of this can be found on the Internet Movie Data Base. Of the 55 countries that have produced more than 500 feature films in distribution, Egypt, with some 80 million people, is the only country represented from the 22 Arab nations. Lebanon accounts for 135 films, but Saudi Arabia's listing includes only nine, and most of these are student-made short subjects. The most poignant title is the 2006 documentary *Cinema 500 km*, about a young Saudi film buff who is so desperate for the experience of watching a movie in a theater that he borrows some money and goes to Bahrain.

In some respects, Saudi Arabia has moved backwards. A few decades ago it was possible to attend movies and performances with mixed audiences, including unveiled women. But the 1975 assassination of reformist King Faisal prompted a cultural backlash, and ultraconservative clerics banned any public performances that involved mixing of the sexes, whether as performers or audiences.

Saudi journalism, on the other hand, has experienced some recent advances, especially regarding the foreign press. It

Toward a Deeper Understanding of Islam & Muslim Societies *Carnegie Corporation Grantmaking*

In April 2008, Carnegie Corporation of New York announced an initial $10 million investment to enrich the quality of America's public dialogue on Islam and Muslim societies. Many of the foundation's long-term programmatic priorities—from international security and immigrant integration to journalism and support for individual scholars—have integrated a focus on Islam into their grantmaking. The Corporation's comprehensive strategy focuses on increasing public knowledge about the diversity of thought, cultures and history of Islam and Muslim communities, including those in the U.S. These grants and allocations, along with previous investments, constitute the largest commitment by a U.S. foundation toward the development of a more complex understanding among Americans about Muslim communities here and throughout the world—revealing Islam's rich diversity. Priorities include support for the Carnegie Scholars program, which has provided fellowships to scholars, analysts and writers to pursue original projects oriented toward catalyzing intellectual discourse as well as guiding more focused and pragmatic policy discussions on Islam and Muslim societies. To date, 91 Carnegie Scholars have been funded since the program began in 2000.

"There is a disconnection between many of our public conversations about Islam and our knowledge of it," said Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian. "Carnegie Corporation has worked to help remedy this disconnect by contributing to a more fundamental comprehension about a religion of diverse expressions and cultures with 1.3 billion practitioners worldwide. We hope that our work will better equip Americans to make informed decisions about, and engage with, various Muslim communities in our midst as well as those abroad."

Selected Corporation grants include $2 million to the Social Science Research Council in support of outreach to connect the wealth of university-based knowledge on the history and culture of Islam to students, media, the business community and the broader public; $1 million to the Educational Broadcasting Corporation to produce, promote and distribute a series of 12 one-hour episodes with the working title of "Charlie Rose: Conversations in Islam," presenting an array of viewpoints on contemporary Islam from political and religious leaders, scholars and cultural figures; $800,000 to the Aspen Institute to produce a series of seminars on contemporary Islam for members of the United States Congress; and $500,000 to TheNewshour on PBS to expand the activities of the program's Overseas Reporting Unit to address the complexity and diversity of Islam in the context of global peace and security.

is now possible for Western journalists to travel in the country and Saudi Arabia's publications carry some outside perspectives, including occasional editorials by foreign columnists such as Tom Friedman. But even in the privately owned media, self-censorship is the rule, and it is a serious offense to criticize the king.

Saudi Arabia's state-owned broadcasting typifies the country's cultural isolation. The channels include Saudi 1 (in Arabic), Saudi 2 (in English), a sports channel, and a 24-hour news channel launched in 2004. Broadcasts include lengthy programs consisting of the script for Muslim prayers rolling over an image of blazing clouds at sunset, accompanied by sung recitation. News programs feature long sequences of Saudi sheikhs paying homage to other sheikhs, bowing and offering their respects one by one, as an announcer solemnly intones each name, rank and tribe.

Such programming suggests not just different entertainment values, it speaks of a concept of public media that defies the very concept of entertainment, attempting to convert real-time rituals into a broadcast television experience. Not surprisingly, when satellite technology made it possible for Saudi citizens to receive media from outside sources, they formed a ready audience. The Saudi government could not control the broadcast laws of other countries—but they still held considerable control over the purse strings.

Over the 1970s and 1980s, as Saudi clerics were turning back the clock for domestic audiences, Saudi Arabia was undertaking a bold regional strategy. In the words of scholar Marc Lynch,

> *Saudi Arabia used its dramatically increased oil wealth to establish a dominant position over much of the Arab press and electronic media. It did so partly to exercise power, partly to defend against what it saw as a threat from external media, and partly to prevent reporting of sensitive internal developments...Saudi control led to what Abd al-Wahhab al-Affendi described as "an eclipse of reason" in the Arab world.*

This damper still functions. One regional magazine editor described a life of restrictions: "Directly or indirectly, the Saudis have a controlling interest in every pan-Arab publication. I look at articles in Western publications and would love to have similar features about women in the workplace and their professional challenges. But my owners tell me, 'Women are about fashion and beauty. You must stick to that.'"

Satellite Broadcasting Makes Its Mark

For many decades, the enterprise of broadcasting was subject to licensing and prohibitively expensive equipment, making it easy for Arab governments to monopolize. Arabs who sought an alternative to the restricted Arab media often turned to the BBC, which laid much of the historical groundwork for the satellite broadcasting environment of today. The BBC Arabic-language radio service was founded in 1938, as an attempt to woo Arabs away from German and Italian fascist propaganda. Over the years, the BBC won a loyal regional audience, established a strong measure of credibility, and built up a corps of accomplished Arabic reporters.

In 1996, a group of experienced Arab journalists left the BBC to join Al-Jazeera, the region's first Arabic satellite broadcast service, launched from the Gulf state of Qatar. This innovation would revolutionize both the Arab media and the political sphere. The new company's formats borrowed heavily from both CNN and the BBC, including raucous "Crossfire"-style debates and jarring real-time reports of crises and disasters.

For the first time, Arabs could experience televised debates between individuals from different Arab countries, unmediated by their governments' ministries of information. Viewers watched news reported by BBC-trained staff, covering events in their own countries as they unfolded, without official filters. Al-Jazeera was the first Arab broadcaster to transmit a broad range of opinions from the United States, as well as the first to showcase Israeli commentators. The breadth and independence of its coverage broke open the closed circle of Arab state-run television. The region's governments were annoyed to find that they were now subject to public criticism, and pointed out that Al-Jazeera's no-holds-barred coverage extended to every government in the world—with the exception of its owners in Qatar.

Al-Jazeera also succeeded in cracking the Saudis' monopoly on pan-Arab media, thereby creating a new space for critical discourse about Arab politics. Detractors of the service deplored the strident tone of its debates, and labeled some of its programming anti-American. But Al-Jazeera ruffled a variety of feathers, and regional critics have described it as everything from a mouthpiece for the CIA to an instrument of Al-Qaeda. Al-Jazeera's unwillingness or inability to criticize Qatar compromises its reputation as a news organization (even though few would portray Qatar as a hotbed of regional news, as the relatively quiet home to 1.3 million of the Arab world's 325 million people).

The phenomenon of Al-Jazeera spawned a host of imitators, starting with Al-Arabiya, launched in 2003 by MBC, a Saudi-owned satellite company based in Dubai. Al-Arabiya portrays the U.S. and Saudi Arabia in a more favorable light, and quickly claimed a place as Al-Jazeera's primary rival. The company followed Qatar's lead in hiring many media professionals from the BBC's Arabic stable.

In November 2006, Al-Jazeera launched Al-Jazeera International (AJI),

its English-language service, hoping to expand its influence beyond the region. The public reception far exceeded expectations, and the service now reaches 100 million households. The service conspicuously employs local correspondents in its regional bureaus and has quickly become the market leader in sub-Saharan Africa. (AJI calls itself "the channel of the developing world reporting back to the developing world.") Al-Jazeera also has significant audiences in Israel, in both Arabic and English. Last October, Israel's biggest cable provider dropped CNN as too costly, substituting Al-Jazeera International. (AJI has been trying to break into the U.S. market but has made few inroads with American cable operators and satellite services. Some of its programs are available on YouTube, where it is getting over 600,000 downloads a week, 30 percent of them from the U.S.)

In 2004, the U.S. government launched its contestant in the fray, a new satellite channel called Al-Hurra, which translates as "the free one." Al-Hurra has been described as the biggest and most expensive U.S. effort to influence international public opinion over the airwaves since the Voice of America was founded in 1942. Some 500 million taxpayer dollars later, the project is fraught with controversy.

A June 2008 report published by independent journalism project Pro Publica noted that Al-Hurra's Virginia newsroom was heavily staffed with Lebanese Christians, while a State Department monitor described its broadcasts as "very pro-Lebanese, pro-Hezbollah."

Journalists attending the Arab Media Forum in Dubai tended to be dismissive of Al-Hurra. One Arab journalists called it "the Pentagon channel," while another described it as "a joke—an expensive joke." Al-Hurra has a loyal following in Iraq, where pro-American Iraqis welcome it as a respite from the sharply polarized local broadcasters. Overall, Al-Hurra accounts for a mere 2 percent of regional viewers.

In March 2008, the BBC reasserted its traditional role in the Arabic satellite television sweepstakes. Its new product, BBC Arabic News, is distinguished from other BBC television enterprises by its Foreign Office funding. This led some Arabs to label it "propaganda," in the same category as U.S. government's Al-Hurra, though the BBC claims it will maintain its tradition of editorial independence.

The political influence of satellite still growing in the its long-range prospects are

In Dubai, Nigel Chapman, the head of BBC World, reflected that the BBC's image in the Middle East had been "the wise old uncle who always comes to the wedding." Its current goal is to transform itself into something young Arabs would see as a "friend and companion our own age." Chapman describes his vision of the future as "news at the time of your choosing, on the device of your choice," offering text messaging for sports scores and stock market quotes, television for news and entertainment, and computer-based services for research and education—all delivered in the BBC's thirty-three languages and dialects.

The Americans and the British have been joined by other would-be players in the region. In 2007, the Russian government launched a 20-hour-a-day Arabic-language information channel, *Rusiya al Yaum* ("Russia Today") to "promote the creation of an information bridge between Russia and the Arab people." On July 12, 2008, the European Union became the newest broadcaster in Arabic, funding the Lyon-based EuroNews to present Arabic news "from a European perspective."

The political influence of satellite television is still growing in the Middle East, but its long-range prospects are uncertain. Satellite news, like other forms of hard-news journalism, tends to be a money-losing proposition, making the Western ideal of an independent news culture a near impossibility, particularly in the Arab market. It is estimated that the television advertising budget for all of the Arab countries combined is less than that of Israel. Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya lose tens of millions of dollars a year, underwritten by their owners' vast oil wealth.

Entertainment satellite channels have been proliferating in the region. They are making their own social impact, and enjoy a more robust advertising market. Some of the most intriguing programming on Arabic television today is hosted by Zaven Kouyoumdjian, who broadcasts on Lebanon's Future Television satellite service. Zaven, the descendant of Armenian Christians who fled the Turkish genocide, started out as a broadcast journalist and evolved into a self-described "Oprah of the Middle East." (Oprah herself, dubbed into Arabic, is also wildly popular in Saudi Arabia.)

Zaven's talk show has exposed Arab audiences to a broad spectrum of previously unmentionable topics. He presented the region's first television interviews with homosexuals, HIV/

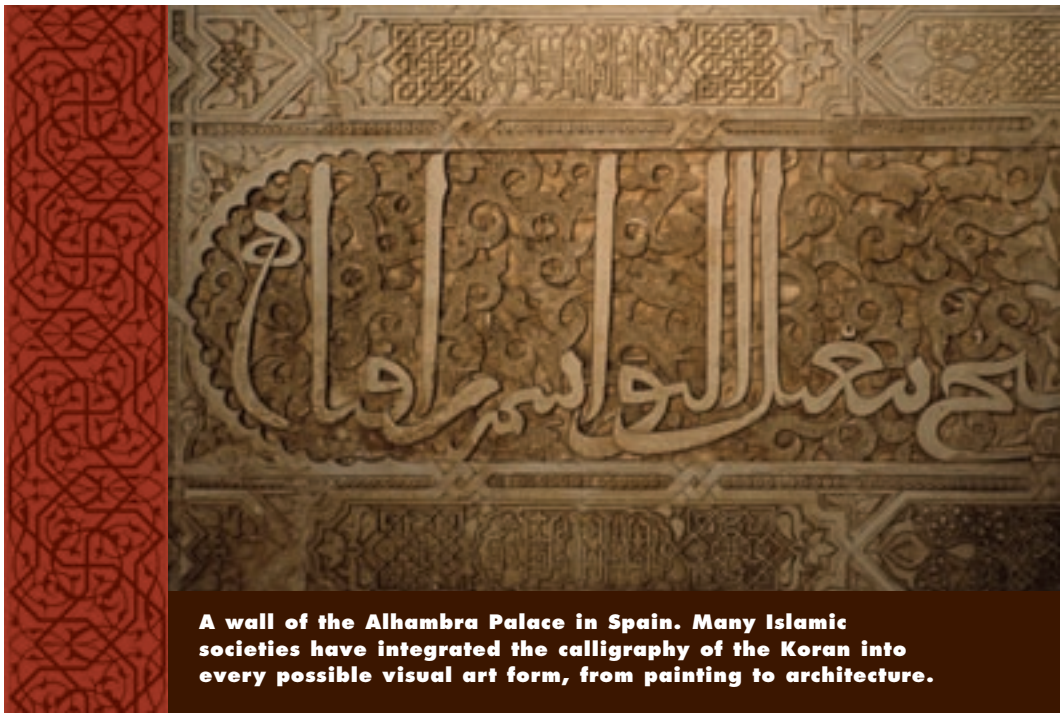
AIDS patients, transsexuals, cancer survivors and drug addicts from Lebanon and other Arab countries. "They love the feeling of free speech and expression in the Gulf," he reports. "That's where the advertising market is. It's fine for them to watch unconventional TV on satellite, but once it comes to local TV, the audience becomes offended and the authorities become less tolerant."

In many Arab countries, the tight restrictions on information can result in a backlash. Saudi audiences, barred from theaters, are addicted to home video, and there is an active market in hard-core porn videos and slasher movies. One of Zaven's most popular shows was called "How to Do Sex and Not Make God Angry!" which simply described some middle ground between puritanical Islamic prescriptions and pornographic techniques.

television is Middle East, but uncertain.

The current tensions around satellite broadcasting apply less to social questions than to political issues. Many Arab officials, accustomed to a high degree of control, are outraged by the critical content spilling into their countries from satellite news services based abroad. In February 2008, the regional ministers of information adopted a sweeping charter seeking to control regional satellite broadcasts into their countries. (The only minister to express reservations was from Qatar, home base for Al-Jazeera, the primary target of the initiative). The charter banned material that was perceived to undermine "social peace, national unity, public order and general propriety." Broadcasters were forbidden to criticize religions or defame political, national and religious leaders.

"Freedom [of expression] is to be exercised with awareness and responsibility to protect the supreme interests of the Arab states and the Arab nation," one clause stated. Violating the charter could lead to the host government's suspension or revocation of the offending broadcaster's license. The charter was announced the same week that Saudi Arabia banned live local call-in programs after one call criticized an increase in civil service salaries (interpreted as criticism of the Saudi royal family).



GETTY IMAGES

A wall of the Alhambra Palace in Spain. Many Islamic societies have integrated the calligraphy of the Koran into every possible visual art form, from painting to architecture.

By late June, it appeared that the charter was running out of steam. The ministers failed to reach an agreement on implementing the charter, despite the strenuous efforts of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. But both countries stepped up domestic efforts to expand their censorship capacity. In July, the Egyptian independent newspaper Al-Masry al-Youm reported that Mubarak's ruling party had drafted proposed legislation designed to create a new national agency to control the media. The agency would issue all broadcast licenses and regulate and censor the broadcast media, broadly defined to include the Internet and all other forms of communicating text, video or audio. Prohibited content would include anything detrimental to social peace, national unity, the principle of citizenship, public order or public ethics.

But such threats are more indicative of the government's desperation than its technological capacity. The Chinese government employs tens of thousands of specialized "cyber-cops" to track and punish dissent on the Internet, but they cannot keep pace with the volume. Arab governments have even less possibility of closing down the new Arab "agora" taking shape online.

New Media and Democratic Disturbances

So far, much of the U.S. government response to the phenomenon of the Internet in the Arab world has focused on its implications for terrorism and counter-insurgency. In June, Daniel Kimmage, a Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty analyst, created a stir with his op-ed in *The New York Times*, arguing

that Web 2.0 places Al-Qaeda at a disadvantage. The extremists' online experience suffers from feedback mechanisms, which can subject their YouTube efforts to public criticism and ridicule. Identity tracking on Facebook and its clones creates additional difficulties. "Unfettered access to a free Internet is not merely a goal to which we should aspire on principle," Kimmage wrote, "but also a very practical means of countering Al Qaeda. As users increasingly make themselves heard, the ensuing chaos will not be to everyone's liking, but it may shake the online edifice of Al Qaeda's totalitarian ideology."

Cell phones have become the dominant technology in Egypt.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

In the meantime, the "ensuing chaos" of online communications is rattling every imaginable realm of Arab political life. Once the economic thresholds of cell phones, computers and Internet connectivity have been crossed, anyone can have a say. In the United Arab Emirates, for example, some 80 percent of the population are "guest workers" with no possibility of citizenship or electoral participation. (Emiratis correctly respond that the demand for workers was generated by the international oil industry, and that they have become an endangered linguistic and cultural minority in their own country.) The Internet offers these and other noncitizens of the Gulf States a virtual sphere of political discourse, even if it conveys no rights of citizenship.

In Saudi Arabia, the legally and culturally constrained female population has taken to the Internet in great numbers, and has generated a new wave of novels, memoirs and poetry published online. In Jordan, where print and broadcast media operate under tight government control, respected journalist Basil Okoor has launched www.ammonnews.net, an online publication that has become the country's first comprehensive national news outlet—only eighty-odd years after the launch of the country's first newspaper.

Chaos is not a condition that should be evoked lightly, and social networking will not constitute a happy dash to democracy. The Egyptian experience suggests that authoritarian societies risk creating a grim cycle of web-driven protests met by official repression. The Internet may serve as a new outlet for expression to disenfranchised populations in Arab countries, but it offers few practical avenues for effecting change. And for all of the American talk about Arab democratization, the disenfranchised populations of the UAE, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia are usually left out of the conversation as the U.S. pursues its strategic alliances with their governments.

The immediate forecasts for Arab media from Dubai suggest there is more vertiginous change to come. One notable voice belonged to Ayman Abdul Nour, a reformist blogger from Syria, whose web site, syria4syria, has been repeatedly closed down by the government. Nour predicted that by the year 2010, ninety percent of Arab villages and libraries will have Internet access. Najat Rochdi, a Moroccan communications expert working for the United Nations, pointed to the recent rapid growth in Internet ad sales and added that Arab youth blog more than any other in the world. The implications were inescapable: the vast Arab population under the age of 20 will pursue its future online.

As increasing numbers of people across the globe turn to the web for news, entertainment, and social interaction, there is a pressing need to fashion new filters and frameworks to meet the pressures of the online environment. In many societies, this role is assigned to institutions corresponding to education and civil society. But many Arab countries have few institutions that can mediate between the free-for-all of the Internet and the harsh, self-serving hand of the government censor. As the Lebanese elder statesman of Arab journalism, Jihad Al Khazen, lamented at the forum, "We don't have the fourth estate here—we don't even have the three estates."

Arab countries have at least one additional characteristic that is accelerating the online revolution: the lack

of "legacy infrastructure." In the U.S. and Western Europe, existing legal and physical infrastructure has slowed the pace of innovations such as cell phones and high-speed Internet. Many of the wealthy Arab countries are starting from scratch, which makes them high-tech playgrounds for innovation. Flat-screen television screens abound, and Al-Jazeera International was launched as the world's first broadcaster with all HDTV infrastructure.

Many young Arabs are eager to proceed full speed ahead, and there are reasons for optimism. Vivian Salama, a journalist who has worked extensively in Cairo, applauds the impact of social media on Egyptian society. "The Internet is the only option for political movements to thrive at this point in time. Never have ideas been so freely exchanged in modern Egyptian history as they are now, thanks to the web. It gives people the power to speak their mind—albeit anonymously at times—and openly voice opinions that citizens once feared to even whisper."

But if these political changes are to occur peacefully, they will need to be attended by development in other realms. One body that shows a sophisticated grasp of these challenges is the United Nations' Alliance of Civilizations. Its media analysts have suggested a menu of sensible approaches, reinforcing the Internet through journalism, culture, and education to promote real dialogue over propaganda, and looking for ways to reduce violence through building social infrastructure instead of scoring cheap political shots. Many Arabs yearn to build out their institutions of civil society and education, and to reassert their cultural riches. Supporting them will not be cheap or easy—but neither are the mistakes that have been made thus far.

It is clear that whatever the outcome of last April's events in Egypt, the Internet and Facebook are neither the cause of nor the solution to Egypt's problems. Modernization is undoubtedly advancing in the Arab world, but many Arabs regard it as a double-edged sword. Friction will be inevitable, and some of it is bound to affect the West. But we are not powerless in this situation. New media technology is going to be an influential factor in the process, and it is inexcusable to adopt it in a spirit of ignorance and passivity.

In surveying this difficult landscape, one can see a few ways to soften the landing for societies in rapid transition. So far, much of the media assistance from the West has been focused on exporting hardware, as in the One Laptop Per Child Initiative. Other programs promote such American cultural values as investigative reporting and popular music. But these programs should tread with care. Computers cannot solve all the problems of classrooms that lack pencils and a living wage for teachers. New investigative journalism skills have landed many Arab journalists in jail or worse. The U.S. government's Radio Sawa broadcasts the belligerent rap artist Eminem as an American cultural ambassador, to the dismay of many Arab elders.

We should take a second look at the media bridges we are building, and seek to promote paths to information that is significant, accurate, and builds on a relationship to works of the past. We should invest in media and institutions that will ease the Arabs' approach to the West by promoting critical thinking, discernment, and high standards of utility. Partnerships between Arab and Western high schools and universities are vital—not only in the traditional technological spheres, but also in the social sciences, arts and humanities. We should integrate technological assistance into traditional educational approaches, and increase the number of student and faculty exchange programs, especially those that directly address the constructive use of technology in society. We have a long way to go in our own critical research into the optimum use of computers in modern life, work that should be expanded and actively disseminated.

The United States and its partners will win more consideration when we demonstrate that cultural exchange is a two-way street. This can be done by strengthening our support for programs that can make important content available in Arabic in print and online, such as the Kalima Program (which has set out to translate a thousand Western classics into Arabic), and making good use of the Project of Translation from Arabic (PROTA), which renders Arab classic literature into English.)

No one should regard the evolution of media as a question of superiority, as in "computers or print." The two worlds will continue to be complementary for a very long time to come, each offering different strengths. As technology advances, their roles will also shift as more of the traditional virtues of print become replicable online.

For the time being, online communications are all about access. The censors of the world are learning that the Internet and social media can't be turned on and off with a switch; they are here to stay. But neither can they be expected to replace all other forms of human interaction. Each culture has its splendid traditions and its particular ways of forging social bonds. The people of the Arab world have pressing needs for education, employment, and enhanced political and civil rights. Judiciously used, new media can help them shape their own definition of a peaceful and prosperous future, while preserving the grace notes of their cultural legacy. ■

A Teach for American training session in Houston, Texas

Teach For AMERICA: A BAND OF THINKERS

by Anne Grosso

©ASSOCIATED PRESS

de León

& DOERS

They call themselves "corps members." If they don't begin their day by shouting "Ooh-rah!" at their reflections in the mirror, they do begin each day inspired by and keenly focused on their "mission." No, they are not U.S. Marines psyching themselves up to do battle in some foreign war. They are the 6,000 young teachers deployed in all 50 states who comprise Teach For America, an 18-year-old nonprofit organization whose mission it is to wage another kind of battle in communities across America: leveling America's educational playing field by providing educational excellence in our nation's poorest urban and rural schools through skilled, inspired teaching. Oh, yes. There's a second part of this corps' mission: to carry on the struggle for educational excellence and social justice through the advocacy and cultivation of leadership in whatever professions corps members choose after completing their Teach For America service.

The gentle tone of the official Teach For America "battle cry"—"One day, all children in this nation will have the opportunity to attain an excellent education"—has a disarming, yet determined quality to it. In fact, Teach For America's 6,000 teachers and over 14,000 alumni are a very determined group, a characteristic that certainly defines Teach For America's founder and leader, Wendy Kopp, a woman of unwavering and steely resolve. That scores of corporate CEOs and foundation officers have over the years contributed millions of dollars to support Teach For America after listening to Kopp make her case for this "movement" suggests something else.

Ask Alden Dunham.

Now retired, in 1989 Alden Dunham was senior program officer for educational programs at Carnegie Corporation of New York, a position he had held for nearly 25 years by the time he met with 21-year-old Wendy Kopp, a 1989 graduate of Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. In the interest of full disclosure, Dunham is quick to point out that as dean of admissions at Princeton University from 1961 to 1966, he had advocated vigorously—without success—on behalf of the admission of women. So, when he received a letter from Wendy Kopp inquiring if she might meet with him to talk about an idea she had to extend educational opportunity for all Americans, Dunham was intrigued and eager to hear what she had to say. In a letter to Kopp on June 27, 1989, Dunham wrote, "My suggestion is that you come down the street and we could chat further about what appears to be a very worthwhile undertaking."

Kopp was already occupying free office space donated by Union Carbide in a building on 44th Street and Madison Avenue, just down the block from Carnegie Corporation's offices. At their meeting, Kopp quickly summarized the substance of her senior thesis, entitled "A Plan and Argument for the Creation of a National Teacher Corps," now freshly rewritten as a 30-page proposal. As a senior, she explained, she had witnessed a steady stream of recruiters from prestigious investment banks and management consulting firms swarming across the Princeton campus in search of talented graduates to add to their rosters. She knew that this was a process being replicated on college campuses across the nation. Why not use the same aggressive approach to recruit the best and the brightest of America's college graduates for a two-year national teacher corps? There were two parts to her proposal, she explained: first, instead of committing to working investment-banking hours on Wall Street, these young teachers would be asked to com-

---

Anne Grosso de León writes about education.

mit two years of their time, talents, and passion to teaching children K-12 in the nation's most impoverished inner city and rural schools. Second, she continued, when corps members completed their two years of service, these national teacher corps alumni would use their valuable knowledge and experience to become leaders and advocates for educational reform and social change. As a student who had wrestled mightily with "senior angst" about what to do with the rest of her life, she was certain that the nation's colleges and universities had many young men and women just like her who were determined to do something meaningful with their lives. She planned to begin this national teacher corps in 1990 with 500 corps members and a budget of $2.5 million.

And that was her plan for the first year.

By the time she met with Alden Dunham, Kopp had already sent her proposal and cover letter neatly bound with a red cover to the CEOs of numerous major corporations, including Mobil Oil, Delta Airlines, Coca Cola, Union Carbide, and Morgan Stanley. Mindful of his record of supporting educational reform in Texas, Kopp had also written to fellow Texan Ross Perot (Perot eventually agreed to offer a $500,000 challenge grant). These first overtures yielded the donation of free office space by Union Carbide and a $26,000 seed grant from Mobil Oil.

Dunham looked at the earnest young woman with the shy smile sitting in front of him. A commitment to the critical issue of quality teaching—and its limited availability in the nation's poorest urban and rural schools— was deeply embedded in the Corporation's history of giving, though its focus had traditionally been on strengthening teacher-training programs in schools of education. Dunham recalls that he was struck at that first meeting by how directly Kopp's proposal addressed the teaching issue. Moreover, he adds, the idea of national service had once again become current in the national conversation, and Kopp's proposal addressed that issue as well. In short, as Dunham saw it, Kopp had come forward with a powerful idea at the right time. As a grants officer, however, he was acutely aware that good ideas were "a dime a dozen"; moreover, he was equally aware that frequently, good timing is not enough. What ultimately persuaded him that the Teach For America proposal was "a gem of a grant" and worthy of the Corporation's support was that Kopp provided an impressive, credible "plan to follow through" on her timely, great idea. Moreover, his personal assessment of the young Kopp was that, "She was a winner, a breath of fresh air." Not only did she embody the qualities of youthful idealism but she also appeared to be "a hard-headed realist and a practical person."

A commitment to the critical issue of quality teaching has always been deeply embedded in the Corporation's history.

Struck by her maturity, Dunham says that he saw that this young woman "clearly had in mind big things" and made a judgment that she also had "the determination to follow through on them." Dunham says that he was reminded of something his mother used to say: "There are thinkers and doers." In Alden Dunham's estimation, Wendy Kopp embodied the qualities of both. Carnegie Corporation of New York became a supporter of Teach For America, one of the first major foundations to do so. Acknowledging that the $300,000 grant was "a gamble, a risk," 18 years later, it is Dunham's judgment that "[Teach For America] has made a difference" in the roiling arena of educational reform. Indeed, he concludes, "[Funding it] was one of the best things we did at Carnegie Corporation."

This grant was the first of seven additional grants by Carnegie Corporation of New York that were to follow over the years. According to Wendy Kopp, the "Carnegie name and reputation were so important in terms of signaling to others that [Teach For America] was a significant venture." In 1995, when Teach For America found itself in dire financial straits, a victim of its own brand of "irrational exuberance" as its rapid growth outstripped its capacity to manage itself, it was, says Kopp, the Corporation's "convening power" that saved the day for the fledgling organization. The Corporation swiftly rounded up a group of about 20 funders who had supported Teach For America in the past, who agreed to meet to discuss Teach For America's situation and what to do about it. While the group agreed

to provide additional funding to keep Teach For America afloat, that meeting was also extremely helpful, she says, in helping the fledgling organization to make necessary management and growth corrections.

The heftiness of the current Teach For America budget—$120 million, along with its national staff of over 800—suggests that Teach For America has indeed become "a significant venture" in American education. It is a "fledgling" no more.

COURTESY TEACH FOR AMERICA

Wendy Kopp, Founder and Chief Executive Officer of Teach for America

Wanted: A Relentless Work Ethic, Unwavering Perseverance

Kopp has written that when she began meeting with CEOs in 1989, she politely but firmly pointed out that her plan required that she start with 500 corps members and a first-year operating budget of $2.5 million. "I wasn't feigning confidence; I really was confident. I was sure that my plan would work and that it would work in exactly this way. Looking back, it seems somewhat astounding that anyone would take me seriously."[1] One could attribute Kopp's confidence to an abundance of youthful optimism and a blissful ignorance of what was actually involved in launching a new organization, but that would not explain why so many corporate and foundation leaders found merit in her plan. Perhaps they sensed, correctly, that this "plan" was more mission than plan, something that presciently tapped into that uniquely American wellspring of idealism and pragmatism. Or maybe they felt that it was time to give the brilliant, inspired amateurs a chance to succeed where the professionals continued to fall short.

Kopp raised sufficient funds to recruit 500 young teachers in 1989. In fact, Teach For America received 2,500 applications that first year, and corps members were dispatched to six high-need regions of the country. Each year since then, the number of applicants has increased steadily. In 2007, more than 18,000 college graduates from 450 of the nation's finest colleges and universities applied to Teach For America, and 2,900 were accepted. Twenty-eight percent of the 2007 member corps are people of color (Teach For America is committed to increasing the number of people of color to 33 percent by 2010). Today, corps members are working in 1,000 urban and rural schools in 26 regions across the country. Since 1990, corps members have taught about three million children. Approximately two-thirds of the 14,000 Teach For America alumni have remained in education after completing their two-year commitment, about half of them as K-12 teachers and the rest in administrative, policymaking, and leadership positions.

Teach For America applicants are a notably high-achieving group. Representing a broad range of liberal arts majors (no particular major is favored), the 2007 corps members earned an average GPA of 3.6, and 95 percent of the young men and women recruited held a leadership position in at least one activity on their respective campuses. Teach For America is, after all, looking for people who are going to lead—in the classroom and beyond. In addition to information about academic, extracurricular, and work activities, the online application requests "evidence" of an "understanding of and desire to work relentlessly in pursuit of our vision," and "perseverance in the face of challenges." (Clearly, this is not a job for the fainthearted.) According to one Teach For America staff member, an effort is made "to screen out résumé builders," although she points out wryly, "there really are far easier ways to puff your résumé."

Applicants who make the first cut—about half—are invited to participate in an eight-hour interview process that includes personal interviews and sample teaching and problem-solving sessions. The interview process is conducted by a panel of national and regional staff intent on identifying among the applicant pool those individuals possessing the characteristics—especially leadership qualities—that have distinguished the most

[1] Wendy Copp, *One Day, All Children...The Unlikely Triumph of Teach For America and What I Learned Along the Way*, Public Affairs, New York, 2001, p. 15.

Elizabeth Venechuk, a third grade teacher at Powell Elementary School in Washington, D.C. and Teach For America participant.

successful corps members in the past. At the end of this marathon-like interview process, those students selected to become Teach For America corps members are required to participate in an intensive five-week summer training institute. There, corps members study instructional planning and classroom management and participate in many hours of classroom teaching and observation. The training continues at their assigned schools, where they receive ongoing mentoring and coaching by veteran teachers and Teach For America alumni. New corps members rank their preferences as to regional assignments and what they would like to teach but ultimately assignments are made by Teach For America on the basis of the best match of skills and strengths with the greatest educational needs. An optimal match of the two is what determines where new corps members are assigned.

For all the intensive instruction and preparation they receive, new corps members are counseled to enter their classrooms with a huge amount of respect and humility, to be prepared for a new definition of the word "daunting," and to acknowledge that learning to teach is an ongoing process—even for chronic overachievers like themselves. As Elizabeth Venechuk, who teaches third-grade in Washington, D.C., recently told the Associated Press, though the Teach for America training was strong given the obvious time limitations, "I don't think any teacher is prepared for that first year."

Typically, the educational disadvantages new corps members encounter in their classrooms are unlike anything they have ever faced in their own generally successful lives as students. Wendy Kopp frequently points out that 13 million of the nation's children are growing up below the poverty line; on average, by the time these children reach the fourth grade, they already lag in achievement by three grades when compared to children growing up in higher-income communities.

Teach For America has made high expectations a fundamental article of the organization's approach to teaching. Corps members set high goals for themselves and their students, goals that are subject to measurement. For example, the Teach For America corps member is expected to improve student achievement in reading by two grade levels and in mathematics by 1.5 grade levels—in the first year. Teach For America staff like to say that while they are a mission-inspired organization, the organization is fundamentally evidence-based and data-driven in how it trains and evaluates successful teachers. They ask (relentlessly): What is the evidence that a particular instructional strategy has been effective? How can the data collected be used to improve teacher training and ultimately student learning?

Corps members serve in schools by invitations extended by the host school districts and are paid directly by the districts; they generally receive the same salary and benefits of beginning teachers within that district and are expected to satisfy the certification requirements of the host school district.

Given the magnitude of the educational challenges Teach For America corps members face, it is not surprising that skeptics scratch their heads and wonder how the greenest of teach-

ers—their excellent academic talents, idealism, intensive summer training, and ongoing mentoring and coaching notwithstanding—could possibly make a difference in meeting the needs of children in the most under-resourced, educationally disadvantaged schools in the nation. Arthur Levine, former president of Teachers College at Columbia University, and current president of the Woodrow Wilson National Foundation at Princeton University, frames the issue this way: "Teach For America makes teaching sexy. It's a good thing. My only concern is that teachers who haven't had a lot of training are [being placed] in the most difficult schools." Levine recently announced a new fellowship program (see sidebar), which, like Teach For America and the New York City Teaching Fellows, will launch a major recruiting effort to attract high-achieving men and women to a career in teaching.

The attitude of Teach for America corps members is, "I'm going to teach these kids if it takes twenty-four hours a day!"

Making a Difference

Joyce L. Vaught, superintendent of the Lakeside School District in Lake Village, Arkansas, can barely contain herself when asked about Teach For America and whether its presence in Lakeside's rural schools makes a difference to the 1,350, K-12, mostly minority students enrolled there. "We could not open the schools without them," she declares, adding, "Because of Teach For America, we have a full faculty." Not all of the schools in the Delta region are so fortunate. There are still "schools [in Arkansas] that are not fully staffed. You have no idea how many calls I get from other school districts all over the state asking for the telephone number of Teach For America." The fact is, she says, that [Arkansas] college students are not going into education. We're not turning out enough teachers."

Vaught has worked in the Lakeside School District for 62 years—"and I have no intention of retiring," she adds emphatically. Having begun her career in education as a teenage schoolteacher in a two-teacher school, Vaught explains that as a young teacher, barely educated herself at the time, she thinks she probably knows how young Teach For America corps members feel when they enter a Lakeside classroom for the first time. Recalling her own experience, she says, "I wanted to help them all. I just wanted to make a difference." She adds, "The reason I know *they* can do it is because *I* did."

Vaught, who followed an alternative path to teacher certification long before such a term was in vogue, is unequivocal about the contribution Teach For America has made in Lakeside public schools since 2002, the first year corps members were assigned: "They have made an impact on test scores—and they *have* made a difference." In a geographic area where hiring teachers at all is a challenge, hiring mathematics teachers and music teachers is at best a quixotic quest. Among the 13 Teach For America corps members assigned to Lakeside schools during a recent term, reports Vaught, were three math teachers and a music teacher. Another school superintendent, upon learning of Vaught's good fortune, said to her, "'I've never seen three young math teachers in my life!'" Says Vaught, "I had to give her a lesson about Teach For America."

According to Superintendent Vaught, Teach For America corps members "are well trained when they come, and they adjust rapidly. They take what they learned in Houston [one of five sites where Teach for America carries out its training] and use it." Moreover, "They bring a commitment, a dedication you can't find anywhere." Their attitude is, "'I'm going to teach these kids if it takes 24 hours a day!'" Observing that many appear to be on the verge of doing just that, she adds in her no-nonsense style, "Whoever picks them does a good job."

She is careful, however, to point out that Teach For America has made a difference in Lakeside schools that far exceeds rises in test scores. "They bring a diversity to the children of the Delta. They come from all over the country...east, west, north, and south... They tell what they have done with their lives...[and] bring experiences to the children that inspire them. The children say 'I could go there! I could do that!'" In their "free time," many corps members sing in the church choir and participate in community groups, says Vaught, and some stay for a third year. Corps members who opt to stay for a third year are called "the closers." Sometimes, observes

Vaught, it's a case of "they just have to see that student graduate" or if something they tried is beginning to produce the desired outcomes they want to be there to see for themselves if the outcomes materialize. After they leave Lakeside, according to Vaught, corps members often "come back to visit us. No matter where they go in the world, we get a postcard."

Reflecting on the relative brevity of the length of service of most corps members, Vaught observes: "I'd rather work with them for two years than work with someone who's taught for 25 years and is still doing the same thing." She adds, "I would take a whole school full of them."

As in Lakeside Public Schools, in the three K-12 schools and one vocational center that comprise the Leland Public School district in Leland, Mississippi, located in the heart of the Mississippi Delta, most of the 1,100 children enrolled live at the poverty level and 90 percent are minority students. Having noted these facts, Leland School Superintendent Ilean Richards is quick to point out that, "Even though poverty is a challenge—it doesn't mean that our children can't learn." She adds that, here, "Success is looked at as a team effort," and Teach For America corps members "work as a team." In any school, says Richards, "Principals must be the instructional leaders, and Teach For America [corps members] establish relationships with them." At the same time, corps members are paired with veteran peer teachers and coaches who are employed at the school.

Recently, five corps members have been working in "high needs areas" in Leland schools, namely, special education and foreign languages. Characterizing their training as "adequate," Richards observes that, "The teachers are very passionate and very enthusiastic, which serves them well, but first they have to stop and make adjustments." She continues, "Sometimes Teach For America may maintain high expectations for learning, but they [also] have to give children time to make those adjustments," adding, "Teach For America teachers get this."

Like Joyce Vaught, Richards has observed that the diverse life experiences and cultural backgrounds that Teach For America corps members bring with them into the classroom "increases [the children's] motivation to learn." Says Richards, "The children are "pretty much intrigued by things many of [them] have no experience with," and, accordingly, "[The children] want to know more about their world." At the same time, Teach For America corps members show a willingness and eager-

A Fellowship Program *to Improve Teacher Preparation*

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation has launched a national and state-based teaching fellowship program that is designed, in the words of the Foundation's president, Arthur Levine, "to get the best and brightest to enter careers in teaching—as a career, not an episode" while at the same time strengthening university-based schools of education.

A new national "Rhodes Scholarship" for teaching, funded by the Annenberg Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York, the program will provide a $30,000 stipend and one year of graduate education to 100 candidates at four of the nation's most innovative teacher education programs based at Stanford University, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, and the University of Washington. In exchange, fellowship recipients will commit to three years of service in high-need schools. The fellowships have been named the Leonore Annenberg Teaching Fellowships.

Launched with a $10 million grant by the Lilly Endowment, the state-based program will begin in Indiana where, at least initially, 80 fellows will receive a $30,000 stipend to complete a year-long master's degree program at four participating universities in exchange for a three-year commitment to teach mathematics and science in Indiana schools. According to Levine, Fellows will "owe three years on the job in rural and urban schools that are high-need but functional." These 80 students represent one-quarter of the total number of Indiana teachers currently being prepared in the state to teach mathematics and science. The plan is to increase the number of fellows to 400 a year. The universities participating in the program are Ball State University, Purdue University, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, and the University of Indianapolis. Ohio is the next state designated to participate in the program.

Recruitment of potential candidates for participation in the state-based programs will not be limited to recent college graduates, says Levine, but will also include baby boomer retirees, individuals making mid-career changes, parents returning to the work force, and military retirees. "We will try to be as redundant as we can," explains Levine.

ness to learn more about their students' world and frequently reach out to "participate in community activities." The Leland-Teach For America partnership is "a marriage of two worlds which has been positive for our children and our community," Richards explains. "We want their outside experiences, fresh ideas, creative ways of doing things. We want them in the mix." Corps members have become "part of the fabric of the educational community," and, Richards concludes, the experience has been "exciting and rewarding."

Principals of Lakeside Public Schools and principals of Leland Public Schools have repeatedly chosen to rehire Teach For America corps members. An independent national survey of "partner principals," conducted for Teach For America by Policy Studies Associates in 2007, found that their respective decisions to rehire corps members are apparently more the rule than the exception. According to the survey, 90 percent of principals say they would hire a corps member again. Moreover, 95 percent of principals say that they consider corps members as effective as other beginning teachers with respect to student achievement, and 61 percent rate them as more effective than beginning teachers. Similarly, 93 percent say that the training that Teach For America corps members receive is at least as good as that of other beginning teachers, while 63 percent say that they view their training as superior to that of other beginning teachers. The survey reflects the views of 785 principals in all 25 regions in which Teach For America placed teachers in the 2005-2006 school year.

Measuring the Difference

Daniel Fallon, recently retired Carnegie Corporation Program Director of Higher Education, points out that "education literature is rich in normative statements," and, not surprisingly, we have "a lot of received wisdom from the normative tradition." Historically, normative arguments have not been tested, i.e., supported by logical reasoning and empirical evidence. One such normative argument, he says, is that "Teaching should be a profession" and "[teachers] trained and licensed and regulated by public policy." Another is that "Graduates of Ivies are likely to have more knowledge." The problem with these arguments, he explains, is that without data to support them both have not much more than a "cocktail party quality" to them. Fortunately, he says, there is growing body of empirical data "that suggest that both arguments have validity."

Among this research is a 2004 study of Teach For America, conducted by Mathematica Policy Research (Princeton, N.J.), with financial support from the Corporation. The study had a rather straightforward objective: to compare the performance of Teach For America teachers to others teaching in the same schools in six of the Teach For America regions and to assess the impact of Teach For America teachers on student outcomes as measured by standardized tests. The study found that the average math scores of students taught by Teach For America corps members "were significantly higher among TFA students" than those taught by all other teachers, i.e., roughly ten percent of a grade equivalent higher. The impact of Teach For America teachers on student achievement in reading was about the same as that of students taught by all other teachers, i.e., the growth in both cases was equivalent to one percentile.

Another study reported on in 2007 (*The Narrowing Gap in New York City Teacher Qualifications and Its Implications for Student Achievement in High-Poverty Schools*), examined alternative pathways to teaching—specifically, Teach For America and the New York City Teaching Fellows Program. The pathways study, conducted with financial support from Carnegie Corporation, found that the gap between qualifications of teachers teaching in high-poverty schools and low-poverty schools in New York City between 2000 and 2005 has narrowed. The report attributes this gap narrowing "almost entirely [to] the substitution of academically qualified teachers, hired through the NYC Teaching Fellows and Teach For America alternative certification routes, for uncertified teachers in high-poverty schools."

Moving from high poverty schools to the universe of New York City's more than 1,300 schools and 70,000 teachers, the study found that, "Certified teachers produce greater learning in the first year," however, "by the third year [of teaching], there is no difference" between certified teachers and Teach For America teachers; furthermore, "Teach For America [teachers] who stay for four to five years produce greater learning growth." Indeed, says Daniel Fallon, "Empirical data suggest that novice teachers benefit from clinical training in the first year."

According to James Wyckoff, professor of education at the University of Virginia and an author of the pathways to teaching report, the study found that "Teach For America has contributed to improvements in student achievement." He adds, "We do know that teachers become better at what they do over time, so kids in those [Teach For America] classrooms are disadvantaged [by the brief period of service]." Still, it was "a little surprising to us that they did as well as they did. I give them a lot of credit," observes Wyckoff.

The Alumni: When Amateurs Become Pros

Not surprisingly, alumni tend to take the Teach For America work

ethic and sense of mission with them when they leave the corps to pursue their careers. They are in a big hurry and waste little time reflecting on the obvious—that the problems facing American education are dizzyingly complex and difficult. Indeed, having been on the front lines, not a day passes when they are not reminded of these problems—and driven to do something more to solve them. Among the efforts undertaken by Teach for America alums:

Forging a Path to National Service. Chris Myers Asch (Delta, '94), for one, is impatient with some of the criticism that he hears directed at Teach For America. "To critics who say traditionally trained teachers with education courses under their belts are what's needed in schools like those in Mississippi, I say 'There's nobody there! Are you kidding me?'" A Duke University graduate and public policy major, Myers points out that he never took an education course prior to becoming a Teach For America corps member and thinks that the "The [Teach For America] training was more than adequate." He reports that he readily, if unenthusiastically, completed the course work required to become a certified teacher in Sunflower County, Mississippi. Nevertheless, he insists that, "Teaching is essentially learning to do by doing." Asch taught fifth and sixth grade for three years, and was encouraged by the progress he made with his students. But in the end, "A lot of who [you are] is shaped by the Teach For America experience," says Asch, and he realized that he wanted to do more.

After completing his service at Teach For America, Chris Asch and Shawn Raymond, a fellow Delta '94 Teach For America alumnus, founded the Sunflower County Freedom Project, a program that supports 50 at-risk teenagers in middle school and high school through academic enrichment and leadership development. (Along the way, he earned a Ph.D. in history at the University of North Carolina.)

COURTESY U.S. PUBLIC SERVICE ACADEMY

Shawn Raymond and Chris Myers Asch, co-founders of the U.S. Public Service Academy and Teach For America alumni.

Today, Asch is an Echoing Green Fellow* at work—again with Shawn Raymond—trying to get a bill passed in Congress for the establishment of a U.S. Public Service Academy (http://uspublicserviceacademy.org/), a federally funded, four-year undergraduate institution of higher education modeled after the U.S. Military Academy at West Point but with a focus on developing civilian leadership. Graduates would be required to make a five-year commitment of public service. The bill, co-sponsored by Senators Joe Biden (D-DE), Hillary Clinton (D-NY), and Arlen Specter (R-PA), currently has the support of senators and representatives from at least 32 states.

Back in the 1930s and 1940s, according to Asch, there was a popular saying: "Good enough for government work." That perception has changed, he observes. "Then, it meant something positive. Over time, a phrase of praise has been transformed into an insult." His goal is "to transform how young people around the country view public service. We need our best people to improve the public sector."

Preparing Minority Students for the Global Community. A graduate of Morehouse College, where he studied international business and diplomacy, Teach For America alumnus Anthony Jewett (N.Y.C. '03) says his percep-

*The Echoing Green program was created in 1987 and has "provided seed funding and support to more than 450 social entrepreneurs with bold ideas for social change in order to launch groundbreaking organizations around the world." www.echoinggreen.org

tion has been that, "The [education] establishment was not doing a great job" in the very places that demanded a great job. "This establishment," he continues, "was under-prepared and under-dedicated." According to Jewett, "Teach For America is all about shaking up the establishment." He had no illusions about the extent to which he would "shake things up" when he was assigned to teach bilingual education to third-graders at P.S. 138 in the South Bronx, one of the poorest communities in the nation. "Teach For America is very transparent from the beginning," says Jewett. He recalls with a chuckle that, "We were told at the end of the summer [training] institute: 'You will not be a teacher of the year!'" Jewett acknowledges readily that indeed he was not. Instead, he describes his teaching experience in the South Bronx as "the hardest job you will ever love." When you find yourself staring into the expectant eyes of a class of third graders who do not speak English, says Asch, you realize with a start that "these are your children, your classroom." He acknowledges that the teaching experience, and the profound sense of responsibility that accompanies it, "continues to humble you."

"The teaching experience and the profound sense of responsibility that accompanies it humbles you."

Also an Echoing Green Fellow, Anthony Jewett sees the work of his life—the Bardoli Global Initiative, which he founded in 2005 with Michael Williams II, a former corporate attorney and business development executive—"as an extension of the Teach For America movement." As a student who was fortunate to have participated in four international programs (in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East) while a student at Morehouse, he was distressed to learn that, "Only 9 percent of kids who study abroad are people of color." Determined to change what he views as a serious impediment to the development and participation of minority leaders in an increasingly global community, Jewett says that the goal of Bardoli Global is, by 2017, to send 25,000 American students of color to study abroad.

Why Are You Upset? Evan Otero, a graduate of Stanford University, where he earned a bachelor's degree as a political science major and a master's degree in sociology, says that he has "always been public-service-minded." He explains that his determination "to give back" to America derives from "the two major influences in my life"— his father, now a federal judge, who grew up in East Los Angeles and was the first in his family to attend college and his mother, a special education teacher. He still has family who live in the old neighborhood in East Los Angeles, he says. As a result, he grew up acutely aware of the huge disparity in educational resources between poor and affluent communities. In high school, and as an undergraduate at Stanford, Otero worked as a tutor and mentor to students who lived in local low-income, Hispanic communities.

"Teach For America was just a perfect fit for me," says Otero. He was assigned as a special education teacher of students K-5 at A.J. Dorsa Elementary School in San Jose, the second-lowest performing school in the district. Despite the fact that he had a pretty good idea of what to expect, Otero describes his first class as a "humbling" experience. He saw immediately that, "The children were very shy, upset, fearful." Suddenly, they all burst into tears. "Why are you upset?" he asked, concerned that he might have been the cause of their distress. The children knew that they were "special education" students, he says, and they knew that this was not perceived as a good thing in the school community. Indeed, the children told him, they were known as the "RSPs (retarded stupid people)." He quickly realized that he had to do something to build their personal self-esteem and, at the same time, fundamentally alter how the rest of the school community regarded them. The resource room where special education students came for support was renamed "the Cardinal Corner" (his alma mater's mascot), and he and his students held a mock funeral for the room that symbolized their pain and humiliation. Otero calls it "the birth of a new identity." He sat down with them one-on-one and described his own family and background, stressing that he expected them to exceed the goals of their IEP (Individualized Education Plan). They could do it, he assured them, but they

had to work very hard—and he would be there to help them.

Acknowledging that he "didn't spend his breaks in the teacher lounge," Otero devised ways to include his students in the life of the school community in a very visible way. Learning that his students enjoyed playing tetherball, for example, he played with them on the school field every free moment he could find. The other classes saw how much fun they were having. Maybe these were cool kids after all! Before long, says Otero, he had students from other classes asking how they could get into his class.

By the time Otero's service as a Teach For America corps member ended, he knew exactly what he wanted to do with his life. Teach For America had sharpened his understanding of just how limited the educational opportunities are for so many of America's children. Now a first-year law student at the University of California Davis Law School, Evan Otero has decided to specialize in education law as an advocate for low-income, special education students.

What Have You Failed At? "The recruiters had come in droves" to the Williams College campus, recalls Kaveri Vaid. She, however, was absolutely certain she didn't want to do consulting in a corporate setting. No, she wanted to do something meaningful. Fluent in Spanish, she had entertained the possibility of going to South America to teach. Then a friend and campus recruiter for Teach For America raised the possibility of becoming a corps member. How about being a teacher in a public school in an impoverished urban or rural community in the United State of America? "I was really intrigued," she says, though she "knew it would be incredibly hard." A classic overachiever, she decided to submit an application.

Vaid, like most Teach For America corps members, had compiled a distinguished record while at Williams College where she majored in English. So she was a bit startled by a question directed at her during her Teach For America interview. "What have you failed at?" she was asked. She came to realize the wisdom of that question in the course of her two years of teaching at the New Orleans Free School where she taught seventh graders in math and science and also tutored eighth graders.

"I can't even tell you how I grew up that year," she says. "To be 21 and to be actually responsible for sixty 12-to-14-year-olds...." Indeed, explains Vaid, "You learn quickly that it's not just about you. If you fail, the children are the losers." So you learn to be patient, and you learn how to build morale among your students. The unspoken message in that question, she came to realize, was clear: "Nobody walks in on day one and becomes an amazing teacher." Indeed, the Teach For America corps member has "to be willing to fail, willing to learn." That was the heart of the Teach For America ethos that inspired and informed the relentless work ethic of corps members. After Teach For America, she knew, "Nothing else could be so hard."

The Teach For America experience, Vaid says, offers its corps members and those who benefit from their efforts a powerful lesson: "You learn that making a difference is not just aspirational but really possible." Observes Vaid, "Teach For America brings in talented people who might never have considered teaching in a public school in an impoverished rural or urban setting." She adds, "It's impossible to forget [the experience], impossible to discount it."

In 2005, after earning a master's degree in political science and international relations, Vaid joined the staff of the National Program of Carnegie Corporation of New York. The National Program focuses on strengthening American democracy through the enhancement of educational opportunity, the improvement of learning institutions, and the integration of immigrants and other disenfranchised groups. In addition to earlier support, in 2007, the Corporation made a $1 million grant to Teach For America to expand the presence of its corps and alumni in the Katrina-devastated New Orleans Recovery School District and in dozens of new charter schools over a three-year period. In 2008, Carnegie Corporation made another grant of $2 million to Teach for America to support a pilot program aimed at helping the organization to assess and evaluate how their work has helped teachers make an impact on student achievement. Vaid's praise of "Carnegie Corporation's focus on human capital in the classroom" is deeply

The Teach For America corps willing to learn." That For America ethos that inspires the relentless work

rooted in her personal experience as a young teacher in New Orleans.

About the Future

It is central to the core mission of Teach For America that the multiplying effect of the leadership, creativity, and hard work of emerging alumni such as Asch, Jewett, Otero, and Vaid will continue to close the gap between those who have abundant educational opportunity in America and the many whose opportunities are still shockingly limited. These 14,000 Teach For America alumni—now twenty-somethings and thirty-somethings, the "elders" just brushing by forty years of age—have moved from amateur status to professional. The knowledge earned has helped to shape their views of the critical role education plays in bringing about social and economic change in America. Teach For America alumni know what the problems are, and they know precisely how difficult it is to solve them. Indeed, 94 percent of them report that they continue to support the Teach For America mission through their work as professionals and through graduate study, volunteerism, and philanthropy.

Leadership of the education reform movement has been enriched by the achievements of alumni such as Michelle Rhee (Baltimore, '92), the founder and former president of the widely respected New Teacher Project (which recently received a $2 million Corporation grant), now chancellor of the District of Columbia Public Schools; and David Levin and Mike Feinberg (Houston, '92), co-founders of KIPP (Knowledge is Power Program), which has established 65 high-performing charter schools across the country serving over 16,000 students; and the many who have taken up professions in government and public service, the law, medicine, and business who continue to use their Teach For America experiences to influence public policy.

member has "to be willing to fail, is the heart of the Teach and informs ethic of corps members.

Bit by bit, the gap narrows.

"I really did envision that [Teach For America] would evolve as it did," reflects Wendy Kopp, though acknowledging that she had not expected that it would take this long—mostly because she "had no idea what was involved." Notwithstanding her current abundant understanding of what *is* involved in developing and managing a fast-growing organization, Kopp is no less optimistic and confident regarding the future of Teach For America than she was in 1989. The organization's plan for growth is characteristically ambitious: the goal of Teach For America, Kopp says, is to increase the total number of corps members to 8,000 and the number of alumni to 20,000 by 2010.

Reflecting on the Corporation's role in the development of Teach For America, Michele Cahill, the Corporation's Vice President, National Program and Program Director, Urban Education, observes, "At a critically important time for public education in the United States, Teach for America placed a spotlight on both the problems of staffing high-needs schools with talented teachers and in demonstrating the promise of innovative solutions. The Corporation is gratified to have played a part in the early years and in continuing to support advancement of this important organization for educational equity and excellence."

Carnegie Corporation of New York President Vartan Gregorian offers this view of Teach For America: "Education continues to be the engine of American democracy and perhaps the most critical item on its unfinished agenda," he says. "Insofar as organizations like Teach For America help to expand and open doors to educational opportunities for many of our citizens who still do not enjoy the socioeconomic and cultural benefits of American society, we are deeply grateful for their efforts." Ultimately, he observes, "It is my belief that academically talented, visionary young people like the Teach For America teachers and alumni—the beneficiaries of American liberal arts education at its best—will keep American democracy vibrant in the twenty-first century."

"These men and women," Gregorian adds, "are still young enough to believe passionately that they can and must transform America, which they dearly love, through hard, smart work. By the time they have completed their service, they are older and a bit battle-scarred, and they have begun to figure out what is necessary to bring about this transformation. The big plus for America is that they are at the beginning of their career trajectories and have many more years of service ahead of them." ■

A Blackwater security guard in Iraq.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Le *the* Dog

THE RISE OF PRIVATE

In this essay, Simon Chesterman, who has written widely on international institutions, international criminal law, human rights, the use of force, and post-conflict reconstruction, considers how the activities of Blackwater and other private contractors in Iraq have helped to focus public attention on the post-Cold War trend toward the outsourcing of military services. Are such scandals proof of the impossibility of holding modern mercenaries to account, or evidence that the market for force is beginning to mature?

ashing s of WAR

MILITARY AND SECURITY COMPANIES

On the morning of Sunday, September 16, 2007, U.S. Agency for International Development and State Department officials were meeting in a guarded compound in central Baghdad. At ten to twelve, a bomb exploded on the road a few hundred yards from the compound, prompting a decision to evacuate. The private security company contracted to ensure the security of State Department employees, Blackwater USA, bundled the diplomats into one convoy while a second went ahead to ensure a clear path back to the International Zone of Iraq, known more commonly as the Green Zone.

This second convoy, comprising four SUVs, was attempting to stop traffic at Nisour Square when gunfire broke out. Though Blackwater initially claimed that its personnel had been fired upon, this was not supported by subsequent investigations by the Iraqi government, the Pentagon or the FBI, all of whom concluded that Blackwater had used excessive force. Seventeen Iraqi civilians were killed in the incident; according to a report in *The New York Times* one Blackwater guard continued shooting after "cease fire" was called out several times, stopping only when another guard turned a weapon on him.

More than a year later, despite a series of damning but somewhat imprecise reports, there appears to be no prospect of prosecutions arising from this or the many other incidents involving contractors and the deaths of innocent bystanders in Iraq. Two days after the Nisour Square incident, the Iraqi government issued a statement purporting to revoke the company's license to operate in Iraq. This was quietly dropped. In April 2008, Blackwater's State Department contract to protect U.S. officials was extended through 2009.

The Fall and Rise of Mercenaries

Private military and security companies such as Blackwater, Triple Canopy, ArmorGroup and many others are frequently compared to mercenaries. This is partly accurate: they are private actors offering military services ranging from training and advice to combat. It is misleading, however, in two very different ways. The first is that no major firm today offers to fight wars for a fee. Though Executive Outcomes and Sandline International did provide such services to Sierra Leone, Angola and Papua New Guinea in the 1990s, that aspect of the industry has come to be discredited—epitomized in the move from private "military" to "security" companies. (EO and Sandline have

---

Simon Chesterman is Global Professor and Director of the New York University School of Law Singapore Program, and an Associate Professor of Law at the National University of Singapore. His books include the Corporation-supported From Mercenaries to Market: The Rise and Regulation of Private Military Companies *(edited with Chia Lehnardt) and* Secretary or General? The UN Secretary-General in World Politics.

since been wound up, though many key individuals quickly resurfaced in new corporate guises. And, as we shall see, though wars may be off limits the privatization of peacekeeping is a real possibility.)

It is also misleading in that it implies that the comparison is negative. This glosses over much of the history of mercenaries. Though the adjective "mercenary" today means motivated chiefly by the desire for gain, until around two centuries ago mercenaries were very much the norm in European armies. Indeed, the Pope is today guarded by a contingent of Swiss mercenaries first retained in 1506. Less pejorative meanings live on in terms such as "freelance," which now describes a writer operating on short-term contracts but previously denoted contractors who preferred the sword over the pen.

The discrediting of skilled warriors offering their services at a price in favor of national armies was partly a function of technology. Around the Napoleonic Wars, the introduction of the musket greatly reduced the time required to train an effective soldier. Quantity soon became more important than quality, and national conscription became a more efficient way of generating an army than outside hiring. These military and economic shifts were reinforced by politics and culture. As Deborah Avant has written, in the nineteenth century mercenaries "went out of style." Notably, the social contract and the Enlightenment transformed the individual's relationship to the state, which came to be based not on a feudal allegiance but the idea of citizenship. Reliance upon mercenaries was no longer necessary, but also came to be seen as suspect: a country whose men would not fight for it lacked patriots; those individuals who would fight for reasons other than love of country lacked morals.

Mercenaries never really went out of business, however, and continued to be important in low-technology wars where the quality of troops and their weapons still mattered. This explains both their ongoing significance in Africa through the twentieth century—frequently in attempting to overthrow weak governments—and efforts by those governments through the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations to prohibit mercenarism completely.

But it was the end of the Cold War that saw an explosion in mercenary activity. As Peter W. Singer documented in *Corporate Warriors*, the 1990s saw a proliferation of small-scale conflicts and a demand for skilled military services matched by a sudden supply of trained soldiers. State militaries by the end of that decade employed roughly seven million fewer soldiers than they did in 1989; some units that were retired, such as the South African 32nd Recon Battalion and the Soviet *Alpha* unit, kept the outline of their structure and simply reconstituted themselves as corporations.

Outsourcing Intelligence *and* "Inherently Governmental Functions"

Though it lags behind the privatization of military services, the privatization of intelligence has expanded dramatically with the growth in intelligence activities following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States. In a report published three days after those attacks, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence encouraged a "symbiotic relationship between the Intelligence Community and the private sector." In addition to dollars spent—dominated by large items such as spy satellites—this has seen an important increase in the proportion of personnel working on contract. More than 70 percent of the Pentagon's Counterintelligence Field Activity (CIFA) unit is staffed by contractors, known as "green badgers," who also represent the majority of personnel in the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the CIA's National Clandestine Service and the National Counterterrorism Center. At the CIA 's station in Islamabad contractors reportedly outnumber government employees three-to-one.

Controversy over government reliance on outsourcing in this area frequently coalesces around issues of cost (a contractor costs on average $250,000 per year, about twice as much as a government employee), "brain-drain" and periodic allegations of self-dealing and other forms of corruption. More recently, however, the confirmation by the director of the CIA that contractors have probably participated in waterboarding of detainees at CIA interrogation facilities has sparked a renewed debate over what activities it is appropriate to delegate to contractors, and what activities should remain "inher-

These trends explain the rise of Blackwater and its peers but not their attractiveness to Washington. The United States retains such companies for reasons very different than Sierra Leone, Angola and Papua New Guinea. In the 1991 Gulf War, it employed one contractor for every 50 active-duty personnel; by the 1999 Kosovo conflict, contractors made up ten percent of U.S. personnel and served as the U.S. force's supply and engineering corps. After the United States went into Iraq in 2003, contractors made up the second largest grouping of personnel after the U.S. military—far more than the number of British troops at their highpoint. A recent National Defense University report estimated that there are 100,000 contractors in Iraq today, including around 35,000 private security professionals. Other accounts put contractor numbers in excess even of U.S. personnel.

The growing reliance on contractors by the U.S. military was driven in part by the need to increase capacity swiftly (and flexibly) after the slow downsizing of the post-Cold War decade. It must also be seen in the context of the larger trend toward outsourcing in the U.S. government. A 2003 Government Accountability Office report examined these trends and concluded that outsourcing by the military provided access to specialized technical skills, enabled it to bypass limits on military personnel able to be deployed to certain regions and ensured scarce resources would be available for other assignments. What it did not support is the normal justification for outsourcing: that it saves money.

In fact, as the periodic scandals emerging from the contracts awarded to security and reconstruction firms in Iraq have demonstrated, relying on private companies can be very expensive. For a country lacking an effective military, such as Sierra Leone in the 1990s facing Foday Sankoh's Revolutionary United Front, investing in a private army might make at least short-term sense. For the United States, however, it is apparent that the turn to contractors is driven by the ideological conviction that the private sector is inherently more competent than the public sector, and the political necessity of keeping troop numbers—and casualty numbers—artificially low. The use of contractors enabled the United States to keep its troop numbers around 20,000 below what would have been required to field equivalent strength in Iraq. And though precise figures are difficult to obtain, excluding contractor deaths from official U.S. casualties have kept those figures many hundreds lower than they might have been.

Hard to Kill

Efforts to regulate this proliferation of private military and security actors at the international level have been spectacularly unsuccessful. States may generally agree on the undesirability of private actors threatening to overthrow governments, yet many rely on companies offering military services. Agreement on what should be prohibited has therefore been difficult.

ently governmental." This is, of course, separate from whether such activities should be carried out in the first place.

Privatization of intelligence services raises many concerns familiar to the debates over private military and security companies. One of the key problems posed by such companies is their use of potentially lethal force in an environment where accountability may be legally uncertain and practically unlikely; in some circumstances, they may also affect the strategic balance of a conflict. The engagement of private actors in the collection of intelligence exacerbates the first set of problems: it frequently encompasses a far wider range of conduct that would normally be unlawful, with express or implied immunity from legal process, in an environment designed to avoid scrutiny. Engagement of such actors in analysis raises the second set of issues: top-level analysis is precisely intended to shape strategic policy and the more such tasks are delegated to private actors the further they are removed from traditional accountability structures such as judicial and parliamentary oversight, and the more influence they may have on the executive.

The simplest way of containing some of these problems would be to forbid certain activities from being delegated or outsourced to private actors at all. In the United States, this question is framed in the language of "inherently governmental" functions, which are defined as being "so intimately related to the public interest as to mandate performance by government personnel." Significant loopholes exist, however. In times of military mobilization the Defense Department is allowed to determine whether such rules apply to it at all.

Uncertainty in this area appears to be intentional and thus exacerbates the accountability challenges posed by secrecy and problematic incentives for private actors. At the very least the responsibility to determine what is and is not "inherently governmental" should itself be an inherently governmental task.

The most important treaty, the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, was opened for signature in December 1989 but took over a decade to get the twenty-two ratifications needed to enter into force. None of the major suppliers or consumers of private military services is a party. The intervening period also saw a sea change in how these companies are perceived. Executive Outcomes turned around the orphaned conflict in Sierra Leone in the mid-1990s; Military Professional Resources Incorporated (MPRI) trained the Croatian military prior to Operation Storm, which helped clear the way for the Dayton negotiations.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The headquarters of Blackwater Worldwide in Moyock, North Carolina.

Weak states may not be able to exercise control over mercenaries; strong states may not want to in order to avoid responsibility for their actions.

This ambivalence as to the merits of abolishing mercenarism in all its forms explains the treaty's lukewarm reception. But in any case the Convention hardly provides a workable legal framework. Emphasizing the presumed avarice of mercenaries, it defines a mercenary as someone who is "motivated to take part in the hostilities essentially by the desire for private gain." The difficulty of proving such motivation led the British military historian Geoffrey Best to suggest that anyone convicted of an offence under the convention should be shot—as should his lawyer.

Ongoing efforts at the United Nations have continued to be abolitionist. In 1987 a special rapporteur was created to examine "the use of mercenaries as a means of impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination." Unsurprisingly, this has not been embraced by states sympathetic to the role private military companies can play, and has been ignored by the industry itself. The replacement of the special rapporteur in 2005 by a working group "on the use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination" seems unlikely to be much more successful.

Efforts to abolish private military companies at the national level have also met with limited success. Weak states may be unable to exercise meaningful control over actors brought in to make up for a lack of government capacity; strong states may be unwilling to do so because such companies are retained precisely to avoid the responsibility of the state.

South Africa is a rare case of a country that is a significant supplier of private military companies adopting strong legislation attempting to prohibit private military companies from operating. Driven by predictable problems of having former apartheid-era soldiers operating in other African states, it adopted legislation intended to prohibit South African citizens working for such companies—but inadvertently threatened to end the careers of 600 South Africans in the British armed forces and made even undertaking humanitarian work in conflict zones legally precarious.

The failure to outlaw modern mercenaries reflects the changing attitudes toward private actors providing military services, but also the inherent dif-

ficulty of regulation that is directed at prohibiting a type of company or outlawing a class of individuals. (One might apply a similar analysis to efforts to respond to terrorism.) The better attempts to address concerns raised by private actors wielding powers normally reserved to the state have focused not on *who* they are but *what* they do.

Rules of Engagement

It is frequently asserted that private military companies such as Blackwater operate in a legal vacuum. This is simply not true. In theory, at least, they are subject to the laws of the land in which they are operating, in particular the criminal law. In practice, however, these companies operate in places with weak or dysfunctional legal systems. There are occasions where contractors have been tried and convicted of crimes. In July 2008, for example, Simon Mann was sentenced to 34 years in prison for his role in an attempted coup in Equatorial Guinea. But such trials are exceptional.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Pope has been guarded by Swiss mercenaries for five hundred years.

Iraq is a rare case in which the local law explicitly provides for the immunity of foreign contractors from local suit—one of the parting gifts of the U.S. Coalition Provisional Authority prior to transferring authority to Iraqi hands. CPA Order 17 provided that contractors' home countries could exercise jurisdiction, but few states are able or willing to investigate alleged crimes in a distant and dangerous environment like Iraq by using their normal law enforcement tools.

These are not new problems, however, and arise whenever the military is deployed to foreign lands. Members of the armed forces are subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), which is designed to cover such situations. In October 2006 an amendment was included in the 2007 Defense Authorization by Senator Lindsay Graham (R-S.C.) that effectively extended the UCMJ to cover civilian contractors. Previously it had covered such persons only in time of declared war. The modest amendment—which was completely ignored by the media for three months—changed this to cover such persons during "war *or a contingency operation*." This means that contractors in Iraq or Afghanistan could be court-martialed in a process similar to that which applies to regular servicemen and -women despite the U.S. Congress not having declared a state of war.

Another possibility is the Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act (MEJA), which allows for civilian prosecution of persons "employed by or accompanying the armed forces" overseas for crimes punishable by imprisonment of more than one year. It is not clear whether this covers contractors who are not retained by the Defense Department and are operating independently of U.S. military operations—for example, the Blackwater guards involved in the Nisour Square incident, who were employed by the Department of State. Other relevant legislation includes the U.S. War Crimes Act and the federal antitorture statute, both of which allow prosecution for acts outside the United States.

These laws have gone almost entirely unimplemented. In U.S. operations in Iraq and Afghanistan there has been only one court-martial under the expanded UCMJ and only one conviction under MEJA. The court-martial concerned an Iraqi-Canadian interpreter who stabbed another interpreter in February 2008; the MEJA conviction was of a Defense Department contractor in Baghdad who pleaded guilty to possessing child pornography. One further contractor, David A. Passaro, was convicted of assault in February 2007 for his role in the torture and beating to death of detainee Abdul Wali in Afghanistan. His background is testimony to the danger of contracting out such interrogations: both his previous wives have alleged that he was abusive at home, and he had been fired from the police force after being arrested for a parking lot brawl. As Passaro's crime

Continued on page 43

The Greentree Notes

Chairman's Notes from the Greentree Conference on Regulation of Private Military and Security Companies, March 22–24, 2007 (excerpts)[1]

Private military and security companies (PMSCs) are companies that provide military and/or security services. The industry is at an early stage of development and there are different views on the appropriate breadth and depth of regulation.

Common Ground

The clients of PMSCs include states, intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations and private entities such as corporations and NGOs. PMSCs do not operate in a legal vacuum. There are, however, gaps in the applicable laws and problems of implementation due to the unwillingness or inability of states and other actors to operationalize and uphold applicable laws. ...

Public international law potentially applicable to activities of PMSCs includes:

- Human rights law: States have direct responsibility for compliance with human rights law. States also have responsibility for protecting those within their jurisdiction from certain types of harm at the hands of third parties.
- International humanitarian law (law of armed conflict): States must respect and ensure respect for international humanitarian law; the acts of all persons—regardless of status—carried out in the context of, and associated with, armed conflict must comply with international humanitarian law.
- International criminal law: Individuals may be liable for crimes under international criminal law such as genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.
- International labor law: States hiring PMSCs must respect relevant international labor law standards.
- Obligations under regional organizations: States may have further obligations through regional organizations, such as the European Union (for example, procurement regulations), the African Union, etc.

Domestic law—including criminal law, civil law and public or administrative law—of the following states may have an impact on the activities of a PMSC: (a) the state entering into a contract; (b) the state of incorporation or nationality of the PMSC; (c) the state of which its personnel are nationals; (d) the state in which it operates.

Other norms relevant to PMSCs include (a) international standards on law enforcement and use of firearms;[2] (b) other international guidelines such as the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights; and (c) industry codes of conduct. These may be sources of binding law if incorporated into domestic law, or included in licensing regimes or contracts.

Further regulation of the private military and security sector should distinguish between the various activities of PMSCs. Development of a regulatory framework must recognize the rights, interests and/or responsibilities of states and other clients, the industry (including personnel), international and national oversight bodies and affected communities. Effective state oversight capacity is necessary but insufficient to address all concerns about PMSCs. Self-regulation is necessary but insufficient to address all concerns about PMSCs.

Action Required

Victims of wrongdoing by PMSCs should have access to a remedy. If a victim does not have access to a remedy in the territory in which the wrong occurred, he or she should have access to a remedy in the state of incorporation of the PMSC or in the contracting state.

Immunity should not normally be granted to PMSCs. Where it is granted, immunity in one jurisdiction must never result in impunity.

States must exercise oversight of contracts for private military and/or security services. States should report on their contracts for private military and/or security services to an appropriate national oversight body, such as a parliament.

Nonstate clients of PMSCs (such as intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, corporations) should be transparent in their dealings with PMSCs and develop best practices for such contracts.

A global code of conduct should be adopted.

A short handbook of obligations of PMSC personnel should be drafted and widely disseminated.

[1] This text was the product of a meeting convened by New York University School of Law's Institute for International Justice as part of a grant supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York. The full text and other resources are available at http://www.iilj.org/research/GreentreeNotes.asp

[2] See, e.g., the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1955); the UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (1979); the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials (1990).

Continued from page 41

took place on a U.S. military base, however, he could be tried under civilian law. Soon after the Passaro story broke, a "Detainee Abuse Task Force" was established but does not appear to have brought any charges against contractors. The Department of Justice, which would ordinarily be responsible for investigating and prosecuting such cases, appears to have spent little time or effort doing so.

Civil suits offer another avenue to challenge companies and compensate victims. The companies Titan and CACI provided interpreters and interrogators to the U.S. military at the notorious Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. A class action brought under the Alien Tort Claims Act was lodged in 2004 and is ongoing in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California. (Four more cases were launched by the Center for Constitutional Rights on June 30, 2008.) The original case against Titan was dismissed in November 2007 as its linguists were found to have been "fully integrated into the military units to which they were assigned." The case against CACI is ongoing, but few Alien Tort actions lead to victims receiving compensation.

Contractors are also subject to international law, including international criminal law and international humanitarian law. The latter is particularly interesting as some contractors see the benefit of being subject to a regime that might constrain their behavior slightly but also offer protections—for example, if they are detained and hope to be treated as prisoners of war. Clarifying the position of contractors under the laws of war has become a priority for the Swiss government and the International Committee of the Red Cross, which launched the "Swiss Initiative" in January 2006. It will hold its fourth meeting in September 2008, possibly adopting a text elaborating the obligations of states and contractors, as well as recommending good practice in the use of private contractors.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mercenary solider Simon Mann (center, with glasses), a former British officer and South African citizen, shown in custody in Zimbabwe. He was later extradited to Equatorial Guinea.

The key barriers to meaningful accountability, then, are not legal but institutional and political: there is typically no structure in place to investigate and prosecute wrongdoing, and little political incentive to create one. Only in the wake of a scandal like the Nisour Square incident is there an effort to investigate, and that requires flying in FBI investigators. Doing so weeks after the fact makes fact-finding extremely difficult, while also making it clear that there is a very high threshold for any form of accountability when so many other incidents are ignored.

Whether or not the United States pursues such contractors, however, the country itself may be held responsible in a legal or political sense. Legally, the doctrine of state responsibility provides that some "private" conduct may in fact be attributed to the state. Politically, it is evident that some acts by contractors have undermined U.S. objectives in both Iraq and Afghanistan. This is on top of other practical difficulties posed by the presence of contractors alongside the military but operating outside a command chain and according to their own rules of engagement—as well as the resentment caused by former members of the armed services shedding their uniforms and working alongside their peers for vastly higher salaries.

The New Market for Force

Ironically, much of the energy to push for greater regulation comes from the industry itself. This is, of course, self-serving: the creation of a "legitimate" business through professionalization and the creation of industry associations may distinguish reputable companies from cowboys, raising the cost of entry for competitors and enabling the charging of higher fees for similar services. But it may also point to the most promising way of dealing with an area in which governments have failed.

Markets can be an effective form of regulation, but operate best where there is competition, an expectation of repeat encounters and a free flow of information. It is far from clear that any of these conditions exist in the modern market for force. Demand often outstrips supply, as seen in the scramble to fulfill multimillion dollar contracts in Iraq; this creates monopoly-type problems and reduces the potential leverage of the hiring agency to impose strong oversight provisions. Second, even where such leverage exists it may not be exercised because the hirer regards the contract as an exceptional event in the life of the nation that will not establish a precedent for future conduct. Finally, even where there might be leverage and established relationships—for example in the many contracts issued by the U.S. Departments of State and Defense—there has been minimal public scrutiny or active efforts to avoid it.

It is possible to shape that market, however. Scandal can be a useful discipline and is encouraging the adoption of codes of conduct by new bodies such as the International Peace Operations Association (IPOA) and the British Association of Private and Security Companies (BAPSC). Nevertheless, the limitations of voluntary codes of conduct were displayed when, three weeks after the Nisour Square incident, IPOA for the first time authorized an investigation of whether Blackwater was in compliance with the IPOA code of conduct. This code is essentially a set of ethical and professional guidelines, the worst consequence for violation of which is expulsion from the association. Two days after the investigation was announced, Blackwater withdrew from the association itself and announced that it was setting up its own association, the Global Peace and Security Operations Institute. The boilerplate web site includes a few platitudes but makes it clear that Blackwater is the only member of this institute and that it does not have a code of conduct. IPOA's code remains essentially untested.

More effective tools of shaping behavior include licensing and contract terms. Licensing of companies providing potentially lethal services can be used to ensure that they meet minimum standards in terms of hiring, training and disciplinary practices; contracts can be crafted to require company oversight and the possibility of spot inspections.

Coordination is also required to ensure that standards are implemented: a recurrent problem in places like Iraq is that even when an individual is fired for abusive behavior he can soon find employment with another company. Effective use of blacklists requires cooperation by the industry as well as those overseeing contracts.

A recurrent problem in places when an employee of a he can find employment with Cooperation by the industry could

None of this is a substitute for regulation intended to deter and punish abuse. Indeed, one might argue that poor regulation is worse than nothing, as it gives the illusion of accountability while taking away the impetus for reform. Yet focusing only on after-the-fact accountability, particularly in an environment where investigations will always be difficult and prosecutions unlikely, overlooks the role that regulation can play not just punishing companies for behaving badly but encouraging them to behave well.

Dogs of War or "Pussycats of Peace"?

In the next decade private contractors are likely to play an increasingly important role in conflict management. The most optimistic observers of the industry have suggested that the "dogs of war," as old-style mercenaries were known, will in future be seen as the "pussycats of peace."

Despite the formal opposition to mercenaries evinced by its treaties and special rapporteur, the United Nations has increasingly had recourse to private companies to provide site security and transport in conflict zones. Ideas for a more expansive role for contractors are not new. In the early 1990s, for example, Sir Brian Urquhart proposed establishing an all volunteer force along the lines of the French Foreign Legion to serve in UN peace operations. The organization routinely struggles to persuade member states to deploy troops of adequate quantity and quality. In July 2007, for example, the Security Council authorized a 26,000 strong peace operation in Darfur. A year later it had deployed fewer than 600 troops to join the 7,000 African Union troops already on the ground. The AU troops, who were intended to

ASSOCIATED PRESS

CACI International in Arlington, Virginia, one of the private contractors being sued over alleged torture at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.

like Iraq is that even private military company is fired, another company. prevent this but is unlikely.

integrate into the new UN force, were reported to have literally slapped blue paint over their green helmets.

Drawing peacekeepers from private sources is not inconceivable—indeed, before the Nisour Square incident Blackwater had offered to supply a brigade-sized force in Darfur, approximately 4,000 to 5,000 troops. It was never clear how serious the offer was or how much it would cost, but it does not appear to have received much serious consideration. (In June 2008 Mia Farrow was reported to have revisited the idea of Blackwater making up for the slow UN deployment.)

Returning to the question of whether private military and security companies should be compared to mercenaries, the nature of the market in which they operate suggests that a better analogy may be drawn with ExxonMobil, Total and other multinational corporations that assume some functions of the state in which they operate. The reasons for concern over the actions of contractors are not their status, nor their motivation, but the consequences of their actions and the accountability structures within which they operate. Efforts to address the behavior of multinationals may offer some lessons about what works, what does not work and what has yet to be tried.

A pragmatic response must focus on developing a governance regime that strikes a balance between commercial and public interests, between voluntary and imposed regulation. It must draw upon international law to establish baseline norms and domestic institutions to oversee the activities of companies and punish individuals for abuse. In the absence of such a regime, as Chia Lehnardt and I concluded in *From Mercenaries to Market*, the marketplace of war will continue to be regulated only by bankruptcy and death.

Back in Baghdad

Three weeks after the Nisour Square incident, half-a-dozen FBI investigators prepared to fly to Baghdad to examine the crime scene and interview witnesses. Under its State Department contract, initial plans provided for the investigators' security and transportation outside the Green Zone to be provided by... Blackwater. Following protests, the FBI announced that in order to avoid "even the appearance" of a conflict of interest their agents would be protected by U.S. government personnel. ■

Simon Chesterman extends his thanks to James Cockayne, Chia Lehnardt, Surabhi Ranganathan, Tan Hsien-Li, and others for their comments on an earlier draft.

by Stephen Del Rosso

Letter from NORTH KOREA

"You can check-out any time you like, But you can never leave!" –Hotel California, The Eagles

However difficult it may be to get into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—otherwise known as North Korea—it can be even more difficult to get out. So I discovered recently during a three-day, Corporation-supported "Track II" visit to the country with a small group of Asian specialists and former diplomats, when a last minute glitch involving a soon-to-expire passport and a hurriedly acquired one-entry visa for travel to Beijing (a two-entry is needed to transit back and forth between this principal gateway to North Korea), left me in the capital city of Pyongyang without a way to fly back to China. But more on that, and the rare glimpse it gave me of North Korea problem solving, later...

In the wake of the New York Philharmonic's successful visit to Pyongyang (supported, in part, by the Corporation) with 200 members of the media in tow, finding something new to say about the Hermit Kingdom is a challenge. The first of many "we're not in Kansas anymore" moments comes during the flight from Beijing to Pyongyang. A question on the customs form asks if travelers are bringing "killing devices" into the country and a message in English announces when the plane passes over "the border where the Great Leader defended the country from the Japanese Imperialists." Upon arriving at the airport, luggage is x-rayed before being released, and all cell phones, laptops and other electronic devices are deposited for return upon departure. Foreign publications are also taboo.

Like any planned capital city—from Islamabad to Canberra to Washington, D.C.—Pyongyang is designed as a national showplace with grand monuments, imposing governmental buildings and other architectural symbols of the power of the state. Clichéd images come easily to mind in describing first impressions of the city: the hagiography surrounding the late "Great Leader," Kim Il Sung, and his much scrutinized son and current "Dear Leader," Kim Jong Il; the cerulean blue-uniformed traffic control women wielding their batons with robotic precision; the hundreds (thousands?) of children practicing in the city's main square for the meticulously choreographed mass pageants; and the dimly lit nighttime cityscape. And yet, as with most clichés, there is some truth underlying these initial impressions, however fleeting and superficial. Pyongyang may lack the flair of other world capitals, but like city's old, creaking trolleys with their many coats of paint (including where tail lights should be), the country somehow rumbles along in its own peculiar way.

Other impressions of Pyongyang come more slowly into focus, even during a short and limited visit. Anyone who has ever been to a large Asian metropolis is familiar with the throngs of cell phone-wielding pedestrians on the streets. Likewise, neon lights and electronic signs with televised images typically abound. None of these icons of high tech urban life are to be seen in the time warp that is Pyongyang, where cell phones are banned and commercial advertising (with the exception of a single billboard on the airport road) is nonexistent.

Although Pyongyang has some two and a half million inhabitants, the sidewalks are relatively uncongested, with neatly but plainly dressed city dwellers walking unhurriedly along like extras on a movie set. It takes some time to sink in, but there is something odd in this tableau—no one seems to be talking. There is at least one extremely long line of people waiting passively at a bus stop, and another at what appears to be a food rationing distribution center. Clusters of people stand idly amid the walkers; again, disconcertingly for an outsider, without exchanging words. A mixed work crew of men and women laying pavement seems inordinately large given the task at hand, but people are plentiful and the needs are many. For a country with the world's fifth largest army, where military service is compulsory and the national Songun, "Military First," policy ensures that the military's needs are always preeminent, relatively few armed soldiers appear in public. But vivid reminders of the need to defend the country from outside threats are reflected in the city's many heroic posters depicting a vigilant military and in a group of civilians practicing army drills with broomsticks substituting for weapons.

There are more cars than previous visitors to the city recall—and even a traffic jam of sorts on our group's first morning—but the mix of older and newer mainly Japanese vehicles move speedily along the mostly well maintained, if under utilized, roads. Oddly, given the regimented nature of life in North Korea, jaywalking appears to be a dangerous national sport. The reason becomes clearer when the long distances between traffic controllers (there are no traffic lights) are accounted for. Bicycles are surprisingly scarce, especially compared to China in decades past and even today. But as an Asian scholar on the trip pointed out, the fact that there are any bicycles at all is a positive change. Fifteen years ago, when he last visited North Korea, they were banned to keep the populace from moving about beyond the government's control.

Many of the Soviet-style office and apartment buildings appear weathered and in need of repair, although there are some renovated

structures along the main streets. In sharp contrast to the crane-filled skylines of the other major cities in the region, most notably in China, in Pyongyang there is only one building under construction. Another lone crane sits atop the unfinished 105-story pyramid-shaped Ryugyong hotel tower looming over the city center where work was halted a decade and a half ago when the government was rumored to have run out of money for the project or when engineering flaws made the building uninhabitable. The tower remains a graphic reminder of the country's unrealized aspirations and provides yet another clichéd image.

The smallish, "boutique" hotel where our delegation stays is part of a complex on an island separated from the rest of the city by a carefully monitored causeway designed to discourage wandering by visitors. In any case, our government "handlers" are never far away. The hotel staff is cordial and attractive, clearly judged by the regime to be safe and pleasing enough to interact with curious foreigners. The food served by our North Korea hosts is of high quality and embarrassingly plentiful given the food shortages that reportedly plague the country.

Although images of the Great and Dear Leaders are no more ubiquitous than those of leaders in certain countries in Central Asia or the Caucasus, the peculiarly North Korean cult of personality seems to permeate all phases of life in the county. From our delegation's obligatory visit to the Juche Tower, built to honor Kim Il Sung's state doctrine of self-reliance, to the omnipresent lapel pins of the Dear Leader worn by North Koreans, obeisance to the father and son duo is the glue that holds the "trolley" together. Such is the symbolic power of these two iconic figures that, although the late Great Leader was quite a bit taller than his diminutive son (undiplomatically called a "pygmy" by George Bush), the many images of the two standing together somehow render them of equal stature—literally and figuratively.

But this national sense of devotion extends well beyond mere iconography. A Korean-speaker in our group translates a background song playing during our flight into Pyongyang as a paean to the Great and Dear Leaders. Similarly, during a visit to the city's impressive music conservatory, an impassioned vocalist sings a plaintive ode asking "how can we survive without being in the bosom of the Dear Leader?" In a classroom at the conservatory, instead of a lesson on music theory, the students—none of whom turn their heads to glance at the group of foreigners who had walked in—are lectured on the life and deeds of the Great Leader. We did not see any overtly anti-American imagery, as was reportedly common in the past, but one of the books prominently for sale at the hotel and Juche Tower bookstores is entitled "How the U.S. Imperialists Started the Korean War."

And now, back to my visa travails. Although I apologetically alerted my youngish North Korean handler of my need for a Chinese visa soon after my arrival in the country and was confidently assured that this would present "no problem," by late afternoon of the day before I am scheduled to fly out, I remain visa-less. Complicating matters, the visa office at the Chinese Embassy is closed for the weekend and the North Koreans are subject to a $1000 fine by the Chinese if they let a passenger board a flight from Pyongyang to Beijing lacking a visa. Without recounting all the colorful details, my final afternoon in Pyongyang is filled with a hectic series of car rides and visits back and forth between multiple offices, all perilously close to closing time. At every stop, another North Korean seems to join the moving entourage until finally our crowded car ends up at the "foreign dormitory," where non-Koreans are housed. A bevy of chain smokers of various nationalities waiting for an interminably slow elevator cast quizzical glances my way. My North Korean handler somehow convinces a China Air official—carrying the only cell phone I saw during my visit—to print me a document from the airline that, in principle, will allow me to travel on to Beijing. There are some anxious moments at the airport upon departure and, again, upon arrival in China, but my North Korean handler is true to his word. In solving the problem of one troublesome American, he demonstrates admirable perseverance, conscientiousness and a knack for improvisation that belies the stereotype of life under an all-controlling autocracy and, perhaps, gives a hint of what this strange, anachronistic and often menacing country could someday become. ■

The banner on a Pyongyang apartment building proclaims, "Let us defend to the death the revolutionary leadership whose head is the Great Comrade Kim Jong Il!"

Military figures are featured prominently in much of the city's public art.

While no longer banned, bicycles are still a rare sight on the streets of Pyongyang.

RecentEvents

At the University of the Witwatersrand; left to right: Professor Belinda Bozzoli, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Research; Thomas H. Keane; Professor Tawana Kupe, Dean, Faculty of Humanities; Professor Loyiso Nongxa, Vice-Chancellor; Rookaya Bawa, Program Officer, Manager African Libraries Project, Carnegie Corporation; Vartan Gregorian; Professor Rob Moore, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Advancement and Partnerships; Bruce Alberts; Professor Yunus Ballim, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Academic; Deana Arsenian, Vice President, International Program Coordination and Program Director, Russian Higher Education and Eurasia, Carnegie Corporation.

New Libraries for South Africa

Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian, chairman of the Board of Trustees, Thomas H. Kean, and trustee Bruce Alberts joined South African leaders in July 2008 for the dedication of new Corporation-funded model libraries — the National Library of South Africa, located in Pretoria (now known as Tshwane) and the Central Public Library in Cape Town—as well as a library portal connecting researchers to the joint information databases of three prominent South African universities: Cape Town, Witwatersrand and KwaZulu-Natal. This research commons also provides access to important international scholarly journals. The Corporation has invested more than $10 million since 2004 to revitalize the country's public library system. "The library may be the single institution that best represents South Africa's open society, Gregorian said at the dedication. "Libraries have become indispensable to the advancement of South Africa's people and to the development of their democracy." John Tsebe, the National Librarian of South Africa, agreed, adding, "The National Library must lead the way in revitalizing libraries in South Africa ... Our view is that the more people read, the more they become enlightened, the more employable they are and the more jobs they can create."

Cape Town mayor Helen Zille and Vartan Gregorian enter the new City Library of Cape Town.

South African president Thabo Mbeki at the dedication of the National Library of South Africa.

Hans Blix

Nuclear Disarmament Still Matters

In April 2008, Dr. Hans Blix, Chair of the Swedish Government's Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, was honored at a breakfast given by Carnegie Corporation and the *Boston Review*. The event was timed with the publication of Dr. Blix's book, *Why Nuclear Disarmament Matters*, published by the *Review*. From 2000 to 2003 Blix was executive chairman of the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission. He led his team in searching for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, maintaining, then and now, that there were no such weapons to be found. "The cold war has been followed by a cold peace," Dr. Blix said at the breakfast. "New tensions and new strategies could once again push the world toward deadly dangers." While he sees hopeful signs, Blix warns that the continuing development of new weapons and the threat of rogue states and terrorism make disarmament an ongoing necessity.

Podcasts of his remarks and comments by Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian can be found at www.Carnegie.org.

Deana Arsenian, Vice President, International Program Coordination and Program Director, Russian Higher Education and Eurasia, Carnegie Corporation, and Dr. Blix.

Journalism Deans at Columbia University

Columbia University president Lee Bollinger addressed the journalism school deans from the Carnegie Knight Journalism Initiative and members of the Columbia Journalism School faculty at a September 2008 strategy meeting. Bollinger, who is also a law professor and leading First Amendment scholar, has published widely on freedom of speech and the press. "This is a critical time to affirm the importance of the press," he said. "The

(left) Lee Bollinger and Vartan Gregorian

(below) Journalism school deans from Arizona, Berkeley, Columbia, Harvard, Maryland, Nebraska, North Carolina, Northwestern and Syracuse join with Columbia faculty to hear remarks from president Lee Bolinger.

press is a major national institution of enormous value to our country, and freedom of the press is one of the core principles of our society. According to Bollinger, journalism schools, like other professional schools, serve a vital function in providing the foundational knowledge for the field, and universities want their journalism schools to be intellectual leaders. The Carnegie Knight Journalism Initiative focuses on revitalizing journalism education in the United States by helping journalism schools with curriculum enrichment and by encouraging conversation among journalism educators across the country.

The Presidents Revisit African Higher Education

In June 2008, Vartan Gregorian chaired the annual presidents' meeting of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, which was founded in 2000 by four foundations: Carnegie Corporation and the Ford, MacArthur and Rockefeller foundations; the William and Flora Hewlett, Andrew W. Mellon and Kresge foundations joined later on. The Partnership initially pledged to support African Higher Education with grants totaling $100 million, a goal that was exceeded by over 50 percent. At the re-launch of the initiative in 2005, members pledged another $200 million. At this meeting, a review of accomplishments (including the bandwidth initiative, which has greatly increased Internet capacity while lowering cost to universities in member countries) and a discussion of the many challenges ahead ended with unanimous agreement to continue the Partnership's presence on the African continent.

Don Michael Randel, President, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; Luis A. Ubiñas, President, Ford Foundation; Judith Rodin, President, Rockefeller Foundation; Vartan Gregorian, President, Carnegie Corporation; Paul Brest, President, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; Jonathon Fanton, President, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

The New York Philharmonic in North Korea

The New York Philharmonic is the country's oldest orchestra, with a long history of cultural diplomacy. In February 2008 the orchestra had the unprecedented opportunity to perform in North Korea—the first time an American cultural organization had appeared there, and the largest contingent of United States citizens to arrive since the Korean War, according to *The New York Times*. This event, conducted under advisement of the U.S. Department of State, was made possible in part by a grant of $100,000 from Carnegie Corporation. The orchestra's executive director, Zarin Mehta, presented Vartan Gregorian with a signed photo taken at the Pyongyang Airport to commemorate the visit, which was viewed as an artistic triumph as well as a small but significant step toward opening one of the world's most closed societies.

(Continued on page 51)

FoundationRound up

Family Foundations Continue to Grow

The Foundation Center reported a 13 percent jump in family foundation giving in the United States, according to *Key Facts on Family Foundations*, a report released this past April by the Center. In 2006, findings showed an increase of $16 billion from the previous year.

Since the Foundation Center first began to record statistics on family foundations, giving by these grantmakers has more than doubled, accounting for 59 percent of giving by independent foundations.

Steven Lawrence, senior director of research at the Center, remarked that, despite economic fluctuations since the early 2000s, donor families have continued to establish new foundations and build the endowments of their existing foundations. Other key findings of the report indicate that most family foundations are small, with roughly half giving less than $50,000 annually. And among family foundations, education ranked as the top funding priority for those located in the Northeast, Midwest, and South.

For more information on the Foundation Center and *Key Facts on Family Foundations*, please visit: www.foundationcenter.org

---

In October 2008, Sara L. Engelhardt, a past program officer of Carnegie Corporation, retired after 17 years as president of the Foundation Center. She was succeeded by Bradford K. Smith, previously president of the Oak foundation in Geneva, Switzerland and prior to that, vice president of the Ford Foundation's Peace and Social Justice Program.

Surveys Reveal Ongoing Unease in the Big Easy

A new Kaiser Family Foundation survey focusing on the experiences of New Orleans residents, the second of three surveys being done by the Foundation since Hurricane Katrina, revealed mixed reviews in key areas of the recovery effort, with most residents feeling forgotten by the nation yet optimistic about the city's future.

The survey—designed and analyzed by the Foundation—was conducted in the spring of 2008 by telephone, web and face-to-face with 1,294 randomly selected residents of Orleans Parish, the area with the most residents affected by the storm.

Two critical areas of concern that still remain high are the crime rate and housing, in which city residents see little or no progress. To a lesser extent, progress on medical facilities, public schools, jobs and rebuilding of neighborhoods all still receive low marks from residents. Only in levee repair did residents feel that progress was being made. "Residents are not satisfied with the pace of the recovery effort, but they do see it moving in the right direction," stated Drew Altman, foundation president and CEO.

While the overall assessment of conditions in New Orleans veers toward pessimism, residents do see improvement in racial tensions and access to healthcare. However, stress and mental health problems have been on the rise, with 15 percent of residents saying that they have been diagnosed with a serious mental illness such as depression, up from 5 percent in 2006. Residents have also stressed that race and income significantly divide the city, but more (33 percent) believe that the divide is mostly between rich and poor than say it is about race (15 percent). Without pre-storm data, it is not clear to what extent this issue predates the hurricane.

For more information on the Kaiser Family Foundation or the survey, please visit: www.kff.org.

Corporate Philanthropy Hones its Giving Strategies

The Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy (CECP) is a forum of business chief executive officers and board chairpersons, focused on raising the level and quality of corporate philanthropy. In June, CECP released the report, *Business's Social Contract: Capturing the Corporate Philanthropy Opportunity*, based on research conducted by McKinsey & Co. The report found that although CEOs believe corporate philanthropy to be an important means of addressing elevated social expectations, only a small percentage of companies truly maximize both the social and business benefits of corporate community investment.

A survey of more than seven hundred executives showed that 84 percent recognize that expectations for their company's commitment to socially responsible behavior have increased, and that corporate philanthropy is an effective way to meet those expectations. However, only 11 percent of companies are truly efficient with their philanthropic programs, characterized by strategic giving that engages CEOs and senior executive leadership and is aligned with overall business strategy. The report also found that a necessary component of philanthropy is managed metrics, which hold companies accountable for their giving and gauge the impact of philanthropic initiatives.

It's well known that a corporation's efforts in philanthropy help to engage employees and enhance the company's reputation. Additionally, according to Charles Moore, executive director of the Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy, "CEOs now recognize an opportunity to not only address elevated stakeholder expectations, but, through strategic efforts, to extend into frontier territory using philanthropy to kick-start business innovations." For more information on the report, please visit: http://www.corporatephilanthropy.org

Economic Status of Women in New York Declines

The Economic Status of Women in New York State, a report released by the New York Women's Foundation, and researched and authored by the Institute for Women's Policy Research, found that women in New York State today fare worse economically than they did in 1989. The report looked at the areas of employment, earnings and social and economic autonomy. While findings pointed to the potential in women's economic progress, they showed that women in New York are more likely to live in poverty than their national counterparts (15.2% versus 12.7% of women nationally).

Despite the slightly higher education levels for most women compared to men across all races and ethnicities, women consistently earned less than men at equivalent levels of education. Part of the continued disparity between the earning potential of women and men is due to the

segregation of women into female dominated fields and jobs, many of which are lower paying than men's lowest paying job. Findings also revealed consistent disparities between white women and African-American, Latina and Native-American women across the above mentioned indicators.

"We are deeply troubled by the growing gap between the rich and poor in our state," said New York Women's Foundation president and CEO Ana L Oliveira. *The Economic Status of Women in New York State* makes a series of policy recommendations that would improve economic security, such as enacting local and state living-wage laws to ensure a basic standard of living for women, supporting a woman's ability to attain affordable childcare, increasing opportunities for women's enrollment in higher education and promoting women's entrepreneurship, to name a few.

For more information on the Women's Foundation please visit: http://www.nywf.org. and for the report http://www.nywf.org/economic_status.html

Dēmos a network for ideas & action

America's Youth Face Serious Economic Challenges

According to a new report by Demos, young adults are feeling the impact of a major shift in the U.S economy. *The Economic State of Young America* offers evidence that a combination of declines in job quality and income, quickly growing debt and high costs of education and living essentials are resulting in young people of this generation being the first not to surpass the standard of living of their parents.

Tamara Draut, director of the Economic Opportunity Program at Demos and author of the report, suggests that people in their 20's and 30's are being hit with a "one-two economic punch," where the economy no longer generates widespread opportunity and security.

The Economic State of Young America provides a portrait of the living standard of youth today broken down by race and gender. Findings report that incomes have declined for most young workers between 1975 and 2005, with rapid proliferation of debt (the average college graduate is in $20,000 debt) compared to previous generations; additionally, there are more gaps in college access by race, income and gender. At the same time, higher rents and child care costs are absorbing most of young workers' income.

Draut writes that America needs a "New Social Contract" to reverse this economic course, in order to offer broad opportunity to young people today and to future generations. This contract calls for improving access to affordable education; creating good, living-wage jobs that offer future opportunity; reducing debt and promoting savings; securing home ownership and affordable housing; and putting family needs back on the map by providing greater access to paid leave and early childhood learning and childcare programs.

For more information on the findings from Demos please visit: www.demos.org.

Recent**Events**... *Continued from page 49*

David Hamburg and Vartan Gregorian

David Hamburg on Genocide Prevention

In July 2008, a luncheon in honor of former Corporation president David Hamburg celebrated the publication of his latest book, *Preventing Genocide: Practical Steps toward Early Detection and Effective Action*. The event, current president Vartan Gregorian said, recognized the author's continuing contributions to the foundation's work, to the nation and to the world. As Elie Wiesel wrote in the book's foreword, "No one is better qualified to show, as he does in this lucid and well-documented book, what to do, what non-violent pressures to use, in order to stop a menace whose deadly shadow already broods over the new-born 21st century."

Samantha Power at the UN

Chasing the Flame: Sergio Vieira De Mello and the Fight to Save the World, is Samantha Power's ambitious biography of the Brazilian chief of the UN Mission to Iraq, who was killed in a terrorist bombing there in 2003. Written in part to help rekindle interest in and commitment to the UN's humanitarian programs and projects, the book and the author were celebrated at a reception at the United Nations in May 2008, hosted by Carnegie Corporation, the Century Foundation, the United Nations Foundation and the United Nations Association of the United States of America. Power, a journalist, human rights activist and Professor of Practice of Global Leadership and Public Policy, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, has described Vieira De Mello as "perhaps the greatest UN troubleshooter that the organization has known in its sixty years," one who embodied both its promise and its limitations.

Author Samantha Power and a poster of her book.

The Race Between Cooperation and Catastrophe

by former Senator Sam Nunn
Co-Chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative

This article was adapted from a speech delivered to the American Academy in Berlin on June 12, 2008, nearly two months before the current hostilities between Russia and Georgia began.

At the dawn of the nuclear age—after the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—General Omar Bradley said in a speech, "The world has achieved brilliance without wisdom... We know more about war than we know about peace, more about killing than we know about living."

It might surprise General Bradley, if he were alive today, to know that we have made it 60 years without a nuclear attack. We were good, we were diligent, but we were also very lucky.

However, this should not make us complacent. If we're to continue to avoid a catastrophe, all nuclear powers will have to be highly capable, careful, competent, rational—and if things go wrong, lucky—every single time.

We do have important efforts underway and some important successes, including the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program, but the risk of a nuclear weapon being used today is growing, not receding. The storm clouds are gathering:

- Terrorists are seeking nuclear weapons, and there can be little doubt that if they acquire a weapon they will use it.
- There are nuclear weapons materials in more than 40 countries, some secured by nothing more than a chain link fence.
- The know-how and expertise to build nuclear weapons is far more available today because of an explosion of information and global commerce.
- The number of nuclear weapons states is increasing. A world with 12 or 20 nuclear weapons states will be immeasurably more dangerous than today's world and make it more likely that weapons or materials to make them will fall into the hands of terrorists with no return address.
- With the growing interest in nuclear energy, a number of countries are considering developing the capacity to enrich uranium to use as fuel for nuclear energy, but this would also give them the capacity to move quickly to a nuclear weapons program if they chose to do so.
- Meanwhile, the United States and Russia continue to deploy thousands of nuclear weapons on ballistic missiles that can hit their targets in less than 30 minutes, encouraging both sides to continue a prompt launch capability that carries with it an increasingly unacceptable risk of an accidental, mistaken or unauthorized launch.

The bottom line: The world is heading in a very dangerous direction.

With these growing dangers in mind, former U.S. Secretaries of State George Shultz and Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of Defense Bill Perry and I published an op-ed in January 2007, and a follow-up piece in 2008, in The Wall Street Journal that called for a different direction for our global nuclear policy with both vision and steps.

The four of us, and the many other security leaders who have joined in our initiative, the Nuclear Security Project, are keenly aware that the quest for a nuclear-weapons-free world is fraught with practical and political challenges.

We have taken aim at the practical problems by linking the vision of a nuclear-free world with a series of steps for reducing nuclear dangers and carving a path towards a world free of the nuclear threat.

Without the bold vision, the actions will not be perceived as fair or urgent. Without the actions, the vision will not be perceived as realistic or possible.

We don't believe our example is likely to inspire Iran, North Korea or al Qaeda to drop their weapons ambitions, but we believe it would become more likely that many more nations will join us in a firm approach to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and materials and prevent catastrophic terrorism.

I believe that we cannot defend ourselves against the nuclear threats facing the world today without taking these steps. We cannot take these steps without the cooperation of other nations. We cannot get the cooperation of other nations without the vision and hope of a world that will someday end these weapons as a threat to mankind.

This will be a challenging process that must be accomplished in stages. The United States must keep nuclear weapons as long as other nations do. But we will be safer, and the world will be safer, if we are working toward the goal of deemphasizing nuclear weapons and keeping them out of dangerous hands—and ultimately ridding our world of them.

Strategic cooperation must become the cornerstone of our national defense against nuclear weapons. Even a quick glance at the steps we are proposing in our two

Wall Street Journal essays reveals that none of the steps can be accomplished by the United States and our close allies alone:

- Changing nuclear force postures in the United States and Russia to greatly increase warning time and ease our fingers away from the nuclear trigger.
- Reducing substantially nuclear forces in all states that possess them.
- Moving toward developing cooperative multilateral ballistic-missile defense and early warning systems which will reduce tensions over defensive systems and enhance the possibility of progress in other areas.
- Eliminating short-range "tactical" nuclear weapons—beginning with accountability and transparency among the United States, NATO and Russia.
- Working to bring the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty into force—in the United States and in other key states.
- Securing nuclear weapons and materials around the world to the highest standards.
- Developing a multinational approach to civil nuclear fuel production, phasing out the use of highly enriched uranium in civil commerce, and halting the production of fissile material for weapons.
- Enhancing verification and enforcement capabilities—and our political will to do both.
- Building an international consensus behind ways to deter and, when necessary, strongly and effectively respond to countries that breach their commitments.

The most difficult and challenging step is the need for redoubling our efforts to resolve regional confrontations and conflicts that give rise to new nuclear powers. The obvious candidates here can be found readily in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

There can be no coherent, effective security strategy to reduce nuclear dangers that does not take into account —its strengths, weaknesses, aims and ambitions. So, it is remarkable—and dangerous—that the United States, Russia and NATO have not developed an answer to one of the most fundamental security questions we face: What is the long-term role for Russia in the EuroAtlantic arc? Whether caused by the absence of vision, a lack of political will, or nostalgia for the Cold War, the failure of both sides to forge a mutually beneficial and durable security relationship marks a collective failure of leadership in Washington, European capitals and Moscow.

Former U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson was once asked, "How would you define foreign policy?" His reply: "Just one damn thing after another." German Philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche wrote that the most common form of human stupidity is forgetting what one is trying to do. NATO today faces one damn thing after another—but unlike the Cold War it seems that we are not quite sure what it is we are trying to do. We have not developed a sustainable post-Cold War security concept for NATO.

NATO has many important priorities, but I believe the priority that must be at the top of our list is to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction and prevent catastrophic terrorism by keeping dangerous nuclear weapons material out of the hands of terrorists.

If we are to be successful in dealing with the hydra-headed threats of emerging new nuclear weapons states, proliferation of enrichment, poorly secured nuclear material and catastrophic terrorism, many nations must cooperate. We must recognize, however, that these tasks are virtually impossible without the cooperation of Russia. It is abundantly clear that Russia itself faces these same threats and that its own security is dependent on cooperation with NATO and the United States.

Russia's erosion of conventional military capability has led it to increase dependency on nuclear weapons, including tactical battlefield nuclear weapons. And now Russia has declared—as NATO did during the Cold War—that it may use nuclear weapons first.

Winston Churchill once said, "however beautiful the strategy—you must occasionally look at the result." I believe that NATO, the United States and Russia must look at both the trajectory and the results of our current policies.

As NATO prepares for its 60th anniversary, we must address a fundamental question. In the years ahead, does NATO want Russia to be inside or outside the Euro-Atlantic security arc? The same question, of course, must be asked by the Russians. If our answer is outside, then it's simple—we both just keep doing what we are now doing. If the answer is inside, we and Russia must make adjustments in strategy and tactics informed by answering, at least, the following questions:

1. From a NATO and U.S. perspective, is early entry of additional members to the alliance more important than gaining Russia's cooperation on reducing clear and present nuclear risks—including preventing Iran from becoming a nuclear state?

2. From NATO's perspective, does the expansion of membership to distant states obligate us to incur enormous increases in defense budgets or be forever committed to Cold War concepts of deterrence, including the possible first use of nuclear weapons? Are we really examining the security implications of expansion over the long term or has this become primarily a political exercise?

3. From a Russian perspective, is it wise to keep pressuring its neighbors so they hurry to join the strongest alliance available today—in the form of NATO? Ratcheting up the pressure in various ways on Ukraine or Georgia does not encourage those countries to work with Moscow. Instead, it drives them to seek NATO's protection. Is this what Russia really wants?

4. Can the West, which stood together coherently and tenaciously during the entire Cold War, manage to clearly stand for rule of law and human rights today without giving the Russian people the impression that we are lecturing as if we have all the answers?

5. Can Russia avoid the temptation to employ its emerging energy superpower status to achieve political ends?

6. Are we and Russia destined to continue the assumption that Russia will always be outside the Euro-Atlantic security arc?

The common interest of United States, Europe, Russia, China, Japan, and many other nations are more aligned today than at any point in modern history. I believe that we must seize this historic opportunity and act accordingly.

Bottom line: in an age fraught with the dangers of nuclear proliferation and catastrophic terrorism, global security depends on regional security. Twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, establishing a more cooperative and productive relationship with Russia will require Europe's leadership as well as the United States'.

The use of a nuclear weapon anywhere will affect every nation everywhere. The reaction of many people to the vision and steps to eliminate the nuclear threat comes in two parts: on the one hand they say, "That would be great." And their second thought is, "We can never get there."

To me, the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons is like the top of a very tall mountain. It is tempting and easy to say: "We can't get there from here." It is true that today in our troubled world we can't see the top of the mountain.

But we can see that we are heading down—not up. We can see that we must turn around, that we must take paths leading to higher ground and that we must get others to move with us.

Nearly 20 years ago, U.S. President Ronald Reagan asked an audience to imagine that "all of us discovered that we were threatened by a power from outer space—from another planet." The President then asked: "Wouldn't we come together to fight that particular threat?" After letting that image sink in for a moment, President Reagan came to his point: "We now have a weapon that can destroy the world—why don't we recognize that threat more clearly and then come together with one aim in mind: how safely, sanely, and quickly can we rid the world of this threat to our civilization and our existence?"

If we want our children and grandchildren to ever see the mountaintop, our generation must begin to answer this question. ■

CARNEGIE Reporter
Fall 2008

Carnegie Corporation of New York
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

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

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.

Four Carnegie Foundations *Share a New Home*

February 2008 marked the official opening of Andrew Carnegie House in Dunfermline, Scotland, communal headquarters of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, the Carnegie Dunfermline and Hero Fund trusts and the Carnegie U.K. Trust. The building is located in the town of Carnegie's birth, on the border of Pittencrieff Park. In 1902 Carnegie purchased the 76-acre park, formerly a private estate open to the townspeople one day a year, giving it in trust to the citizens of Dunfermline. The UK-based Carnegie foundations had maintained separate offices but, after working together on the Carnegie Medals of Philanthropy, decided to move to a single site as part of their strategy to confront the philanthropic challenges of the 21st century.

Carnegie Corporation of New York
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022