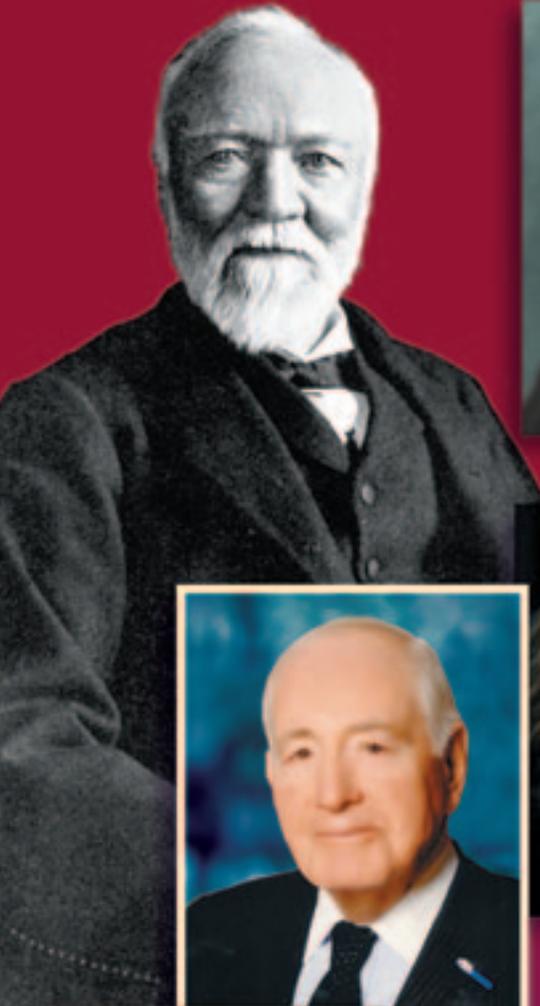


*Carnegie
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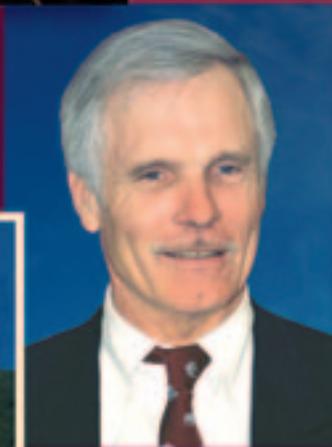
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CARNEGIE Reporter



What Are Foundations For?



**Literacy Coaches:
An Evolving Role**

Philanthropy in Russia

Scholarship in Africa

One of the great joys—indeed, the blessings—of having served as president of the New York Public Library and now, as president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, which was created by Andrew Carnegie, who founded over 2,500 libraries in the U.S. and abroad, is that I am often asked to help dedicate libraries all over the country. In the past, I've participated in library dedications and helped launch library campaigns in San Francisco, Denver, Seattle, and many other cities; as this magazine goes to press, I am soon scheduled to speak at the dedications of the James Buchanan Duke Library of Furman University in South Carolina and the Middlebury College Library in Vermont.



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I am always pleased to be involved in these events because they celebrate the best instincts of our society: to promote literacy, enrich

A Letter from the PRESIDENT

citizenship and provide opportunities for lifelong learning. Libraries are also one of

the most critical foundations of our democracy, for as writer Anna Quindlen says, reading is the ultimate democratic act.

Library dedications are particularly meaningful for me now because so many of the more than 1,600 libraries that Andrew Carnegie founded in the U.S. alone are either celebrating or approaching their 100th anniversary; many others have already passed that mark. How many? The truth is, we don't know what number of the original Carnegie libraries are still in existence, though I imagine many of them are, judging by the fact that hardly a day goes by without the Corporation receiving an announcement about yet another library centenary.

In terms of bricks and mortar, these are old buildings, but they must have ageless souls. Wherever they stand, on rural roads or on the avenues of large cities, they have served, literally, generations of Americans. And for many Americans, particularly new immigrants, what was true in the past remains true today: libraries, with their promise of free access to as much knowledge and education as a person can absorb, may represent the only door to social and economic progress that can be opened by someone with few resources. As Thomas Jefferson said, "Books constitute capital. A library book lasts as long as a house, for hundreds of years. It is not, then, an article of mere consumption."

Just about everyone makes use of a library. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, which recently surveyed over 55,000 households, 65 percent reported that individuals in the household had used the library in the last year; in the month prior to the survey 36 percent of *all* households reported borrowing from or dropping off a book to the public library and 18 percent reported visiting the library for some other purpose like a lecture or story hour.

Clearly, libraries are important to us, though perhaps we never truly realize their value until they're somehow taken away. No recent incident brings this notion more clearly to mind than a recent tragedy: the destruction of the Ramsgate Library in Kent, England. Erected in 1904 with support from Andrew Carnegie, the library was burned to the ground this past August.

Newscasts said that, "Local residents began selling photographs of the burning library within hours in an attempt to raise money to help fund the rebuilding" and reported that people had "volunteered to form a human chain" in order to rescue materials that had survived in the basement. Reading these accounts, you get a sense that the community views the destruction of the library as something akin to a death in the family, and I mourn with them. We all do.

I'm sure that eventually, another library will be built to replace the one that was lost. That has always been my experience: whether libraries are occasionally destroyed or torn down, or some pundit decides to sound their institutional death knell, they just seem to keep on becoming livelier and more relevant than ever—and their numbers keep growing. One of the newest libraries in the U.S. is the remarkable Seattle Central Library, which I had the honor of helping to dedicate. It opened in May 2004 and represents

a sea change in the way libraries will be present in our lives from now on: a soaring, beautiful glass and steel building with sweeping views and

surprising angles, it is an architectural gem as well as fully functioning and "wired" library. I was overwhelmed by it, delighted by it, awed by it—and grateful for it. This remarkable library—along with other extraordinary new library buildings and renovations, such as the Milton Freewater Public Library in Oregon and the Oak Park Public Library in Illinois—exemplify the idea that libraries are not simply utilitarian institutions serving prosaic purposes. Public libraries have become centers of civic life; university libraries are celebrated as essential to their institutions' missions. As American Library Association President Carol Brey-Casiano has said, "Many new libraries also are challenging people's ideas as a stuffy, slightly musty place. Cutting-edge architecture, innovative design and reinvention are bringing more light, more beauty and more personality to America's libraries. As our communities grow and change, so do our nation's libraries."

Libraries, old and new, are also living testaments to the fact that human beings, who first scratched out the news of their existence on cave walls and wrote down their thoughts on papyrus scrolls so that those who followed after them could benefit from what they had learned, still believe in the importance of collecting, sharing and preserving knowledge. Within their walls they contain not only the heritage of humanity, but also a record of our civilization—indeed, they can probably help us understand how we *became* civilized and perhaps even how to avoid taking the road back to chaos and conflict, as much as we sometimes seem to be trying to nudge ourselves in that direction. That so many of the libraries Andrew Carnegie had the wisdom to help create continue to do their part to cherish and preserve this extraordinary heritage should give us great comfort; that they add to it every day—one reader, one learner, one dreamer at a time—should bring us joy.

So to all the Carnegie libraries: we wish you happy birthday! We celebrate you, appreciate you, honor you and applaud you, as will our descendents, on through the years.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Vartan Gregorian". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal flourish at the end.

VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President*

CARNEGIE Reporter

2 What Are Foundations For?

Foundations, big and small, are proliferating in the United States today, but is the kind of philanthropy they practice still relevant in the 21st century? Our essayist looks at both sides of the argument.



10 Literacy Coaches: An Evolving Role

With too many of the nation's students unable to read well enough to understand the information in their textbooks, literacy coaches are helping teachers learn how imparting content and comprehension can go hand-in-hand.

20 Philanthropy in Russia: New Money Under Pressure

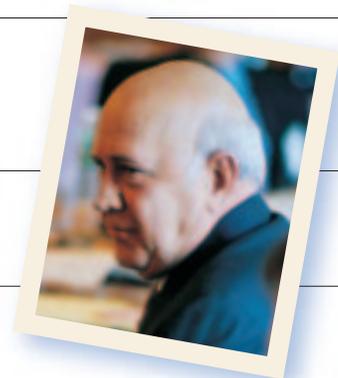
After the Soviet Union collapsed, the "New Russians" began practicing both capitalism and philanthropy—but the Russian government may have other ideas about how the money of the newly wealthy should be spent.

32 Scholarship Emerges In Africa

The continent's scholars are numerous, but their emphasis is on carrying out research that will assist national development. Is there also room for those interested in exploring the "ivory tower?"

42 F.W. DeKlerk

An interview with the former president of South Africa.



44 The International Reporting Project: Giving Journalists A New Perspective On the News

Editors from across the nation journey to Syria and Lebanon to get an on-the-ground look at the world from a Middle Eastern perspective.

47 Recent Events

Carnegie Corporation of New York holds a Forum on Social Inequality and Corporation president Vartan Gregorian is awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

49 New Books

A selection of recent books on issues ranging from Islam in Russia to preventing hatred and violence in child and adolescent development.

51 Foundation Roundup

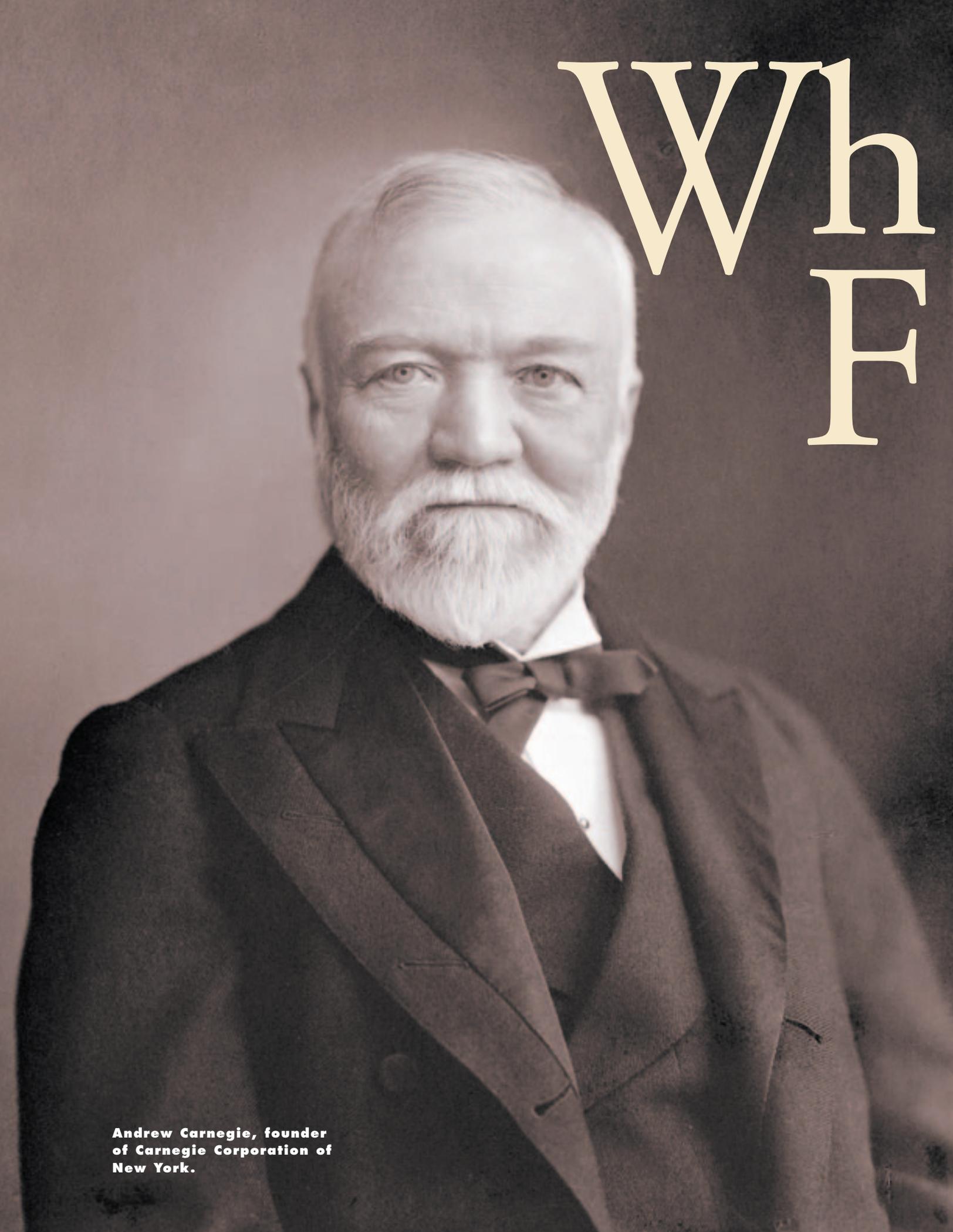
A series of quick snapshots of projects and initiatives supported by foundations around the country.



52 THE BackPage

A Dangerous Threat to Philanthropic Freedom

Adam Meyerson, president of The Philanthropy Roundtable, gives his views about how federal intervention could be a threat to the independence of American foundations.



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**Andrew Carnegie, founder
of Carnegie Corporation of
New York.**

at Are foundations For?

by
DANIEL AKST

In the U.S. today, there are about 65,000 grantmaking foundations; they have both critics and supporters. This essay by author Daniel Akst examines some of the reasons why.

When Andrew Carnegie sold his steel interests to J.P. Morgan in 1901 for a staggering \$480 million—something like \$10 billion in today's money—America was a very different place than it is in 2004.

There were only a quarter as many people. Newborn life expectancy was just 47 years. The middle class was tiny, the federal government equally so, and the social safety net was almost nonexistent aside from the voluntary associations of working men, immigrants and African Americans. Nine-out-of-10 blacks dwelled in the Jim Crow South, many in near-feudal conditions that reinforced their powerlessness and humiliation daily. Cities were booming, but 60 percent of Americans lived a rural life, and most didn't go far; although railroads were extensive, there were just 8,000 cars and fewer than 10 miles of concrete roads. Business was red in tooth and claw; cartels known as "trusts" controlled coal and other vital industries, and the rights of employees were few. Immigrants were pouring in at a rate that would never again be equaled—even today—and technology, while advancing, was primitive by modern standards. The Wright brothers wouldn't take wing until 1903. There was no income tax.

The array of needs, in other words, was vast, but the

means for meeting them scant. This was the world in which, hard on the sale to Morgan and after years of giving money away independently, Carnegie began to set up his various perpetual trusts. A decade later he inaugurated the modern era of foundation philanthropy by launching his Carnegie Corporation of New York as an enduring monument to his dreams for the future. John D. Rockefeller followed suit just two years later with a great foundation of his own.

Benevolent trusts of various kinds are almost as old as recorded history; when Plato died in 347 he bequeathed income from his estate to fund his academy, which lasted until 529 AD, when Justinian closed it for spreading pagan doctrines (even then, foundations were getting in trouble for backing controversial ideas). Before the turn of the 20th century there were just 18 foundations in this country, according to Randall G. Holcombe, author of *Writing Off Ideas: Taxation, Philanthropy and America's Nonprofit Foundations* (Transaction Publishers, 2000). The charitable focus of these organizations was largely on helping the needy.

But Carnegie and Rockefeller, who knew one another

Daniel Akst is a writer in New York's Hudson Valley.

and discussed their ideas, went off in a different direction, hoping with their vast wealth to attack the root causes of social ills rather than fund mere palliatives. Their decision reverberates loudly to this day.

A century later, in a nation of 300 million people and a gross domestic product pushing \$12 trillion, there are roughly 65,000 grantmaking foundations, a number that is up 67 percent in just 10 years. Foundation assets have grown even faster, to perhaps half a trillion dollars (depending on where the stock market happens to be when you read this). Foundations are important; even their critics—perhaps especially

look something like the age of philanthropy. The implications are huge. Writes Peter Frumkin, a Harvard University expert on nonprofits: “As philanthropy braces itself for an infusion of new funds and new practices, the line dividing public and private spheres will all but surely be redrawn in ways that will have consequences for the shape of our democracy.”

These new developments beg some very old questions. What are foundations for? Are they inherently undemocratic? Should the wealth that sustains them be taxed and allocated by government instead? Can perpetual organizations that are sheltered from competi-

long as the foundations themselves. “Foundations have been viewed with suspicion and distrust throughout the twentieth century,” Holcombe reports. Historian Ellen Condliffe Lagemann notes that even before there was a Carnegie Corporation, some people resented being objects of Andrew Carnegie’s philanthropy, while others complained that he might have done more good simply by raising his workers’ wages. Socialist labor leader Eugene V. Debs went so far as to urge communities to reject Carnegie’s library-building gifts, assuring them of libraries aplenty in the future, “when capitalism is abolished and working men are no

Detractors notwithstanding, all signs indicate that the recent proliferation of foundations is probably only the beginning of a period of explosive growth in both the number and size of these institutions.

their critics—acknowledge their influence. “The complexion and quality of the nation’s life are profoundly affected every day, for better and for worse, by the trustees and staffs of a few hundred private and community foundations,” affirms Mark Dowie, whose 2001 work *American Foundations: an Investigative History* (MIT Press) prods these trustees and staffs for their many shortcomings.

Detractors notwithstanding, all signs indicate that the recent proliferation of foundations is probably only the beginning of a period of explosive growth in both the number and size of these institutions, which though they exist elsewhere, play a role in this country’s life that is peculiarly American. Indeed, an array of social, political and demographic developments have come together to make the decades ahead

tion remain perpetually vital? In a polarized political culture, what is the future of this “third sector” that is neither government nor business?

Given the mass inheritance that will occur in the years ahead and the expected growth in foundations, these questions have never been more timely. And they reflect many of the central issues facing society, including the limits of government, the obligations of one generation to the next, and how best any of us might do good. Timely as they are, these are enduring questions, in other words, and in every era American philanthropic foundations—time-tested vehicles for channeling private wealth into public purposes—have worked hard to provide answers.

They have had to, if only because their critics have been around as

longer robbed by the philanthropic pirates of the Carnegie class.”

Rooted in the class conflicts of the Gilded Age, when the poverty of most Americans contrasted with the fabulous wealth of the new industrialists, resentment arose not just against the philanthropy of the super-rich but against the entities that they hoped would perpetuate their giving. “When the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations were created prior to World War I, critics charged that capitalist robber barons were not content only to control American business,” Holcombe writes. “Rather, through the reach of their foundations they wanted to control our educational institutions, our social services, and even our governments.”

Following World War II, when fears of Communism peaked, criticism of



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In 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville famously noted Americans' propensity for forming extra-governmental organizations.

foundations came from the opposite direction. This time foundations were accused of using their money to finance a leftist agenda aimed at undermining the free market system which produced their wealth in the first place. (This criticism persists, as we shall see, and several foundations have dedicated themselves to countering the supposed trend by diligently funding conservative causes and think tanks.)

The American propensity for forming extra-governmental associations, famously noted in 1835 by Alexis de Tocqueville—a radical idea in a world where the State was almost synonymous with society—has always generated worries about the power such groups could have. As the number of smaller foundations ballooned, possibly in response to rising income-tax rates, abuses began to crop up. “Charity has not always been the sole motive for creating foundations,” Holcombe observes with some

understatement. “Donors have used foundations to maintain family control of corporations, to aggrandize their family names, and to pass power and status on to their heirs by placing them on foundation boards.”

Exorbitant salaries and dubious philanthropic activities at some foundations provided additional ammunition to critics, and finally in 1969 Congress enacted some new rules to govern them. Among other things, the law required foundations to give away a minimum proportion of their assets (now 5 percent annually) and imposed a 4 percent excise tax on investment income. It also barred foundations from owning more than 20 percent of any one business and improved transparency by increasing disclosure requirements. Although greeted at the time with dismay among foundation executives, the 1969 act is seen today as a perfectly moderate approach to keeping foundations on the straight and narrow, and at this late date it’s worth noting what Congress considered but ultimately rejected: moves to strip away the tax preferred status of foundations and impose a sunset provision requiring them to spend themselves out of existence after a fixed number of years.*

It was during the 1970s, after this “traumatic encounter with Congress,” as Frumkin calls it, that foundations transformed themselves more fully into something like public institutions. Reflecting the rise of larger, more specialized staffs, in the 1970s and 1980s administrative expenses as a percentage of grant outlays rose sharply, reversing the falling trend that characterized the 1950s. (In 1957 the figure was 9.9 percent, but by 1989 had reached 17.6 percent.) Foundations also became much more self-aware. Today most large foundations view themselves firmly in the

context of America’s massive web of nonprofits, the vital organizations that are neither businesses nor government. They inhabit what Frumkin describes as “the contested arena between the state and the market where public and private concerns meet and where individual and social efforts are united.”

This arena has always been an essential one to Americans, and while it has long been contested, recent commentators such as Robert Putnam, author of *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Simon and Schuster, 2001) have worried more about its decline than its power. Foundations are one component of this third sector that are indisputably on the rise. But their wealth, visibility and independence make large American foundations in particular stand out from other nonprofits, and their special tax status brings special obligations. “Philanthropies bear heavy societal responsibilities by virtue of their wealth, their central role in our civil society and their power to help or, unintentionally, to harm,” says Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian, who adds that, “I see foundations as stewards of public trusts. After all, philanthropies have historical, legal and moral obligations to society as well as to their founders.”

The critics—nowadays at both ends of the political spectrum—tend to see foundations the same way. Foundations in recent decades have come under fire from the left for enabling the wealthy to avoid taxes, to maintain power over social spending that properly should rest with the electorate, and for giving Uncle Sam an excuse to shirk responsibilities to the poor. As more foundations were formed at ever higher “tax cost,” moreover, critics were emboldened in their claims that foundation

* Congress is once again turning its attention toward nonprofits: in June 2004, a Senate Finance Committee hearing was held to review current problems and best practices in the nonprofit field and, as of this writing, new legislation is being considered that would affect the governance of both charitable organizations and foundations.

assets weren't entirely private and in fact had been diverted from their proper redistribution by government.

Teresa Odendahl makes the argument in her 1990 book-length attack, *Charity Begins at Home: Generosity and Self-Interest Among the Philanthropic Elite* (Perseus Books Group, 1990). "Elite American philanthropy serves the interests of the rich to a greater extent than it does the interests of the poor, disadvantaged, or disabled," she writes, contending that voluntary organizations of the wealthy "divert decision-making in the arts, culture, education, health and welfare from public representatives to a private power elite."

Foundations, moreover, "may actually reduce the extent to which basic human services are provided on a democratic basis." And she decries the "frequency with which philanthropy is invoked by its proponents as an argument against redistribution of wealth by the government. Public policy, enacted through the tax codes, allows and encourages a relatively small group of rich people and their advisers to hold much more power over the shape of society than the vast majority in the middle and lower classes."

Odendahl's is a strangely seething book, replete with descriptions of her visits to rich people whose Teflon graciousness makes them no less transparent to her. Giving by these people is, in her view, about self-interest, status, social climbing, networking, reactionary politics and tax avoidance. Society is selling them indulgences, she seems to say, at bargain basement prices.

Other foundation critics on the left come not to bury foundations but to upbraid them. Pablo Eisenberg, for example, who was for 23 years executive director of the Center for Community Change, a low-income advocacy group, has criticized foundations for not treating grant recipients like equal partners

and for failing to give enough to liberal activist groups. "The reluctance of most American foundations to support advocacy and activism flies in the face of American history," Eisenberg wrote in 2002, adding: "If poor and working-class people are to fight successfully for social and economic justice, they must receive the support they need to level the playing field."

Conservatives, meanwhile, suffer from a degree of split personality on the whole subject. On the one hand, they accuse foundations of veering sharply to the left, as the Ford Foundation undeniably has done since its founding by the automobile-making family. In an open letter to then-novice philanthropist Bill Gates, conservative education guru Chester Finn went so far as to warn Gates that, "Big philanthropy in this country has had little if anything to do with good works as that term is generally understood and still less to do with buttressing the institutions and values of a free society. Instead, much philanthropic activity...is engaged in subverting these institutions and values." On the other hand, conservatives applaud foundations as exemplars of private initiative in the service of the public good. As the conservative thinker Michael Novak put it, "One of the most overlooked characteristics of a free society is the principle that it is not necessary—it is even dangerous—to serve public needs solely through the state."

For all their willingness to embrace the idea that they are public trusts, the ultimately private nature of foundations and their assets is precisely what sets them apart—and what gives them the unusual opportunity to do the good that they do. Critics over the years on the left and (more surprisingly) on the right seem to have missed this essential point about American foundations, which is that *it's their money*. It was given freely by their donors, for whom the cost was

always greater than the value of any tax deduction. (Carnegie and Rockefeller, among others, gave before there were any income taxes, although their foundations have since earned income sheltered from most taxes.) David Hammack, a historian at Case Western Reserve who has studied nonprofits, says: "Foundations fit in the American



system, which emphasizes private property and individual initiative." That's precisely what makes foundations special. Peter Frumkin recognizes this when he writes, perhaps idealistically, that "foundations can perform a distinctive role in society because they are free from the influence of organized constituencies and shareholders."

Hardly anybody is really free from such influences, of course. Foundation trustees, executives and staffs have personal and professional ties to major universities, business leaders and the political elite, as you might expect. But large grantmaking foundations are freer than most comparably endowed enterprises whose main goal isn't profit, and over the years they have used that freedom to

try a lot of things. In the words of Michael Katz, a historian of social welfare at the University of Pennsylvania, “Foundations fund a lot of creative stuff on the cutting edge.”

In a democratic society, the notion of large foundations wielding private assets for public purposes is especially significant given their focus on ideas and education rather than traditional good works, a focus that may account for a lot of the ideological contention that foundations seem to generate. Ideas are deceptively important in American life; embracing an idea, rather than belonging to any one tribe or race, is what makes us American.

funded Gunnar Myrdal’s powerful study of racial discrimination entitled *An American Dilemma*, which was cited in subsequent legal challenges to segregation—including the classic 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court—and continues to exert influence.

As Myrdal’s book shows, ideas lead to action, which is what makes them so scary. What could be more subversive, after all, than Andrew Carnegie’s obsession with library building, which included the goal of spreading knowledge and ideas deep into the working class? Later, Carnegie Corporation funded the Carnegie Commission on

to permeate American life. The Corporation funded the Educational Testing Service, for example; it was founded in 1947 to develop ways of measuring academic merit without regard to social or economic background, and the result—controversial to this day—was the SATs. The Corporation also funded research that led to the creation of Head Start, and helped launch the Children’s Television Workshop, which gave us Sesame Street. Of course, it’s hard to imagine Sesame Street without public broadcasting, so it’s noteworthy that when Congress in 1968 established the public broadcasting system, it was acting on a recommenda-

What could be more subversive than Andrew Carnegie’s obsession with library building, which included the goal of spreading knowledge and ideas deep into the working class?

And as Holcombe reminds us, “The ideas that are promoted with foundation money have been controversial throughout the twentieth century.”

The history of the Carnegie Corporation is illustrative on this front. In its first two decades, the Corporation funded a study documenting the inability of low-income Americans to afford legal representation; a report that led to an institute dedicated to clarifying U.S. laws; the National Bureau of Economic Research, which lives on as a leading research center in its field; and an organization that eventually would evolve into the Brookings Institution, one of America’s most respected think tanks. In the 1940s the Corporation

Higher Education, which outlined a massive program of federal assistance to higher education, which led in turn to more than \$100 billion in federal Pell grants to 30 million students. (In the realm of education, if not necessarily of ideas, the Corporation established the organization now known as TIAA-CREF, the \$300 billion retirement fund for educators.) In 1970 the Corporation granted \$55,000 to an idealistic young lawyer named Ralph Nader to launch his new Center for the Study of Responsive Law (which didn’t stop him from saying later of foundations that, “Never has so much money led to so few changes”).

Few people—including, apparently, Nader—appreciate how deeply some of the Corporation’s ideas have come

tion from the Corporation-funded Carnegie Commission on Educational Television. Subsequent Corporation studies accelerated educational reform, including the widely adopted recommendation that junior high be replaced by a middle schools of grades five through eight. Today, continuing to work actively on behalf of educational advancement, the Corporation has undertaken a \$60 million, five-year initiative known as *Schools for a New Society*, aimed at district-wide reform and reinvention of high schools, a task that Gregorian has called “the Panama Canal” of high school reform.

Carnegie Corporation isn’t the only philanthropy that has focused on new ideas, of course. The American

Enterprise Institute and the Hoover Institution are just two of the influential idea factories that have enjoyed major support from large American foundations. This willingness to fund communications-savvy think tanks—rather than just university scholars—has helped foundation-funded ideas have a greater impact than they otherwise would have.

Given the changes in society since Andrew Carnegie's day, it shouldn't be surprising that Carnegie Corporation and other foundations focus on new ideas and new initiatives. Cassandras at

tem—all natural clients of foundation grantmaking. The effect has been to exert competitive pressure on foundations, which have to work harder to make an impact. Hammack observes that in 1900, nonprofits employed only 1 percent of the U.S. labor force versus nearly 10 percent today, while charitable giving has remained constant at less than 2 percent of personal income. The difference, he says, is government; a university, for instance, gets research grants, student aid and other funding that just didn't exist 100 years ago. That's another incentive for foun-

If America's large foundations have always been "theaters of creativity," in the words of Charles Halpern, former president of the Nathan Cummings Foundation, they are likely to produce even more experimental theater in the future. That's something they are uniquely positioned to provide, as Frumkin articulates: "Drawing on their tremendous resources and independence, foundations have...shown a willingness to attempt projects that government and business are either unwilling or unable to carry out for political or financial reasons."

If America's large foundations have always been "theaters of creativity," in the words of Charles Halpern, former president of the Nathan Cummings Foundation, they are likely to produce even more experimental theater in the future.

both ends of the political spectrum may see disaster lurking around every corner, but the reality is that America is doing so darn well compared to 100 years ago that it's sometimes hard to believe it's the same country. By practically any benchmark—life expectancy, personal income, home ownership, education, or civil rights, just to name some of the big ones—most Americans are thriving compared to their forebears, not to mention the residents of most other places. Given the extraordinary gains enjoyed by the vast majority of Americans, it only makes sense that foundations should be willing to go in new directions.

At the same time, the role of government is vastly greater than in Andrew Carnegie's day, not just in providing a social safety net but in supporting science, health research and an infinitely expanded university sys-

tem to focus on new ideas, new initiatives, and new ways of doing things.

Lester M. Salamon, an expert on nonprofits at the Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies, has observed that nowadays, nonprofits even face competition from the for-profit sector. Responding to a nation of consumers armed with their own massive earnings as well as unprecedented borrowing power, for-profit hospital chains, pharmaceutical and scientific research initiatives and even universities are meeting some of the needs traditionally met by philanthropy. All this competition is probably a good thing; foundations are inevitably exempt from the commercial or electoral pressures that keep other institutions in our society on their toes. The expanded roles of government and profit-making businesses are only likely to make foundations better at what they do.

Chances are we'll see more of these projects than ever, for the simple reason that, critics notwithstanding, we are going to see a lot more foundations. One reason is that the modern American economy is proving even more adept at creating wealthy citizens than it was in Andrew Carnegie's day. There are something like 3.5 million households with a net worth of \$1 million or more in America, the vast majority of them self-made by any reasonable definition of the term. While most have managed to amass a few million dollars despite modern income and other taxes (with which Carnegie and Rockefeller did not have to contend), the very richest Americans are increasing in number as well, and they are very rich indeed. Bill Gates, for example, who came from an affluent family but made his money on his own, is worth an estimated \$46 billion, according to Forbes; his Bill &



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Swedish professor and Nobel Laureate Gunnar Myrdal used Carnegie Corporation funding to write *An American Dilemma*, the ground-breaking study of race in the U.S.

Melinda Gates Foundation, with a remarkable \$24 billion in assets, is far and away the largest grantmaking foundation in the country.

Then there is the matter of inheritance. “Over the coming decades,” Frumkin asserts, “a massive intergenerational transfer of wealth, estimated at well over \$40 trillion, is expected to redefine the landscape of giving.” Dowie figures that by sometime in the second half of this century, U.S. foundation assets could rise tenfold, and that by 2050 foundations could be granting more than \$200 billion a year (up from \$30 billion today).

There are other factors, too, some of them practical. Today’s deficits and demographics, for instance, strongly suggest that the future is likely to see higher income tax rates—which will make charitable giving of every kind more attractive on an after-tax basis. And in a development rife with poetic justice, foundations are now a possibility for more and more Americans out-

side of traditional elites because technology and private enterprise have driven down the cost of establishing and maintaining them.

Once upon a time, says Claire Costello, director of Citigroup Private Bank’s philanthropic-advisory service, \$2 million was considered the minimum capital required to make a family foundation worthwhile due to the costs associated with establishing and maintaining it. But she believes that rule no longer holds. Foundation services firms such as Foundation Source in Norwalk, Conn., will set up a foundation, including legal work and government filing fees, for just \$4,750. The company has a sliding fee scale that makes even tiny foundations plausible. For instance, they’ll take care of a foundation with just \$250,000 in assets for an annual fee of \$2,000 plus 30 basis points—or just \$2,750. The result is a typically American democratization of an entity once the exclusive province of the very rich. Now even the routinely affluent, if they really want one, can establish a foundation of their very own with nothing more than the accumulated equity of a middle-class home.

Another big factor in the foundation boom is surely our persistent distrust of government. Frumkin, citing data from the late 1990s, reports that only a quarter of Americans trusted government to do the right thing, versus three-quarters 50 years earlier. Vietnam, Watergate, Iran-Contra, the Clinton sex scandal, the failings of NASA, intelligence shortcomings on 9/11 and Iraq, doubts about public education—the list goes on and on—have undermined faith in political institutions, and this disillusionment runs across the political spectrum. While conservatives attack big government, liberals decry government war-making, unresponsiveness and restrictions on civil liberties. And in recent years the

polarization of the political process (thanks to various electoral factors, including gerrymandering on the basis of party purity) have only made it more difficult for Washington to get things done. It’s noteworthy that even among foundation critics, there is little faith that government could do more good with the money.

But trust in business is also sagging. Corporate scandals, spiraling CEO pay and companies that operate seemingly with little regard for workers or communities can only make nonprofits (like foundations) that much more attractive as vehicles for change. Indeed, corporate reformers have for years insisted that public companies put shareholders first, which would seem to leave little room for initiatives that don’t directly benefit the bottom line. Burton Weisbrod, writing almost a generation ago, understood that “there are likely to be both efficiency and equity failures in the private market,” and that “government, which might be expected to correct such failures, is not always able to do so.”

This will be no surprise to the new generation of entrepreneurial philanthropists whose cutting-edge ventures have generated so much wealth in recent years. For this iconoclastic group, not content merely to vote, pay taxes and make donations, what Peter Drucker has called “the counterculture of the Third Sector” has special appeal. And more than ever, the foundations they establish will be willing to embrace new ideas. These new philanthropists are bringing new strategies to grantmaking, including strategies more familiar in the world of business than that of foundations. Andrew Carnegie, who of course made his money in business, and whose legacy includes the men who pioneered what was then called “scientific philanthropy,” would have been delighted. ■



What is Freedom?

Word Study
Recipe Vocabulary

801 -> All of Writing Journals
Genre Study
Features of Recipes





by
BARBARA HALL

Literacy Coaches

AN EVOLVING ROLE

*The concept of literacy coaches dates back to the 1920s—
but they are increasingly in demand in 21st century schools.*

For six years, Stacy Fell-Eisenkraft has been a literacy coach at Intermediate School 131, in the heart of New York City's Chinatown. She and other literacy coaches in schools across the United States are working to increase the instructional capacity of content teachers, so that they can incorporate literacy instruction in science, math, history and other subject areas. With too many of our nation's students unable to read adequately, this new approach is aimed at equipping *all* students with strategic reading skills, so that they will be prepared for college and the demands of today's workplace.



Barbara Hall has written about education since she covered local school board meetings for a New England weekly newspaper some 25 years ago. Between then and now, she's written on learning for publications including The New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, The Washington Post, The Boston Globe, and The Philadelphia Inquirer. She also writes for children in the award-winning AppleSeeds magazine and is currently writing and illustrating a children's book.

On a morning in late spring, Fell-Eisenkraft meets with Bryce Bernards, a first-year teacher at I.S. 131. Before their thirty or so eighth graders enter the classroom, the two educators trade ideas and approaches to the day's reading and writing lesson.

Recognizing that a literacy coach should be supportive to teachers, Fell-Eisenkraft skillfully and sensitively helps Bernards refine his lesson plans. He is pleased with her suggestions, and, as students stream in, takes his place in front of the classroom. Fell-Eisenkraft remains nearby, assessing how she can be helpful in the classroom. The young teacher begins the class by engaging the students in reading exercises, intertwining the themes of "recipes" and "identities" to capture the students' interest. Like a carefully constructed painting, brushstroke by brushstroke, the morning's lesson cumulatively takes shape, forming a cohesive whole. During the to and fro between teacher and class, Fell-Eisenkraft writes key points on the board—especially helpful, Bernards says later, because of the multilingual nature of his class.

Literacy Coaching Defined

Literacy coaching is a growing development in the field of American education. Like other educational innovations, from charter schools to enriched after-school programs, literacy coaching is protean, varying from venue to venue and even described by different terms in various regions of the country.

On the West Coast, educators work with an instructional framework known as "reading apprenticeship," while an East Coast source calls literacy coaches "advisor/mentors." These terms have evolved over the years, with early studies on the subject often using the term "reading specialists." Barbara Neufeld and Dana Roper of Education Matters, Inc., a nonprofit educational

research organization in Cambridge, Massachusetts, refer to literacy coaches as "change coaches" and "content coaches" in a June 2003 report, *Coaching: A Strategy for Developing Instructional Capacity*. Hundreds of interviews with literacy coaches, principals and other administrators, along with synthesis and analysis, are gathered in the report, which was prepared for The Aspen Institute on Education and The Annenberg Institute for School Reform.

One model for literacy coaching, as it has been introduced into Boston classrooms and elsewhere, is called Collaborative Coaching and Learning (CCL) because a chief characteristic of the model involves active participation by teachers who collaborate with their colleagues. Coaches and teachers are carrying out CCL through practices that involve demonstration and observation, pre-conference meetings, lab-site activities, debriefings and classroom follow-up.

The Role and Qualifications of the Reading Coach in the United States, an important statement on literacy coaching, was published in June 2004 by the Delaware-based International Reading Association (IRA). Cathy Roller, director of research and policy for the organization, helped develop the report with the IRA board of directors; the publication is endorsed by an array of organizations representing many learning disciplines. One of the report's recommendations is for higher standards for literacy coaches, notably, a requirement of a master's degree. The report also draws attention to the marked flexibility—not necessarily a positive thing, in the authors' view—in the definition of literacy coaching.

"Some coaches are volunteers with no specific training in reading," the IRA publication notes, "where others are school district employees with master's

degrees and reading specialist certification. In some schools, tutors who work with students are also called coaches; these individuals have a variety of levels of training and they may work for companies (both profits and nonprofits) who supply supplemental services to students attending schools labeled 'in need of improvement'...There are no agreed upon definitions or standards for the roles...In the leadership role [coaches] design, monitor and assess reading achievement progress; they provide professional development and coaching for teachers...they are responsible for improving reading achievement; and they may also have staff supervision and evaluation assignments."

Roller suggests that what distinguishes literacy coaching is teacher-to-teacher communications that occur both during class and at other times as well. She also observes that the supply of literacy coaches these days is far exceeded by the demand. Her sentiments are echoed by Susan Frost, president of the Alliance for Excellent Education in Washington, D.C., who offers the idea that literacy coaching is an outgrowth of "high-stakes" testing—schools fail if students fail tests; improvement in test performance depends, in part, on a student's ability to read and comprehend the test material.

For Carnegie Corporation of New York, a concern with increasing the number of qualified literacy coaches who are currently working in middle and high schools is an element of its overall work in the area of improving adolescent literacy, which grows out of the Corporation's long history of supporting literacy efforts. Currently, grantmaking in this area is focused around its *Advancing Literacy: Reading to Learn* sub-program, which was launched in 2003 after an extensive two-year review that included consultations with the nation's leading practitioners and researchers.

Like other educational innovations, literacy coaching is **protean**, varying from venue to venue and even described by different terms in various regions of the country.

Specifically in support of literacy coaching, the foundation has made grants to the University of Michigan to help train coaches through the use of technology and to IRA to begin to review and help set standards for middle and high school literacy coaches.

Improving adolescent literacy is a particularly difficult challenge, since what is expected in academic achievement for middle and high school students has substantially increased, yet the way in which students are taught to read, comprehend and write about subject matter has not kept pace with the demands of schooling. American 15-year-olds, for example, barely attain the standards of international literacy for youngsters their age, and during the past decade, the average reading score of fourth graders has changed little. Readers who struggle during the intermediate elementary years face increasing difficulty throughout middle school and beyond.

“We’re losing these youngsters,”

says Andrés Henríquez, Carnegie Corporation program officer in the Education Division. “In high schools, a third or more of the entering ninth graders will not graduate; the problem may be exacerbated in urban communities, but it is not just an urban problem, it is also a suburban and rural problem. Our nation needs to focus on the issue of adolescent literacy.”

“It is clear to teachers and principals alike that one-day professional development workshops are not sufficient,” he continues. “Coaches are an answer to a district’s need to provide ongoing professional development for teachers in specific content areas. Literacy coaching can help teachers make the content of their subject more comprehensible to students, so they can truly understand the complex information in their textbooks.”

Tracing Developments Through the Literature

Rita Bean, an IRA board member and professor at the University of Pittsburgh, says it’s nice to be prescient. With Robert Wilson, Bean wrote a 1981 report for IRA entitled, *Effecting Change in School Reading Programs: The Resource Role*. Among its attributes, the work clearly anticipates the ascent of the literacy coach, though the authors did not use that term. Now, says Bean, “The extent of the phenomenon is surprising to me.”

In their work, Bean and Wilson trace the literacy coach movement to the 1930s. They write that, “In looking at the evolution of the reading specialist as a support person, it is interesting to note that the early specialists (1930s) were essentially supervisors who worked with teachers to improve the reading program. It was after World War II, in response to the raging criticism of the schools and their inability to teach children to read, that remedial reading

Readers who struggle during the intermediate elementary years face increasing difficulty throughout middle school and beyond.



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teachers became fixtures in many schools, public and private, elementary through secondary...

For “reading specialists,” the mid-1960s marked a shift from the remedial to the resource role. A 1967 study on the subject (“Standards and Qualifications for Reading Specialists,” *Reading Teacher*, March 1967), suggested “the need for certain personal qualifications that would enable the specialist to establish a rapport with teachers, administrators, parents, and students; communicate effectively with teachers by listening carefully before evaluation; and encourage teachers to perform their instructional tasks effectively...”

In their 1981 paper, Bean and Wilson cite the then-surfacing “resource” role as one of “colleague-ship” with classroom teachers, parents, administrators and other resource workers, noting, “...the reading specialist and the teacher must work as ‘associates and equals’ bound together by a common purpose, the improvement of students’ learning...”

The Literacy Coach: A Key to Improving Teaching and Learning in Secondary Schools, written by Elizabeth G. Sturtevant, also for the Alliance for Excellent Education, calls literacy coaches “key players in the change process” aimed at improving adolescent literacy. The report (November 2003) addresses the need to build bridges between literacy coaches and the middle and high school levels, as well as tie into teacher training in college. When asked about the greatest challenges facing literacy coaches, however, Sturtevant, associate professor and coordinator of the literacy program in the graduate school of education at George Mason University, cites “economic issues.” While reading initiatives for younger children receive ample resources, teens in the middle and high school years continue to need literacy

support, she points out, but the money to pay for it often is not available.

Sturtevant gives her own description of the history of coaching. “As long ago as the 1920s,” she suggests, “reading educators advocated that secondary content teachers teach students to comprehend their content texts [“An Historical Exploration of Content Area Reading Instruction,” *Reading Research Quarterly*, 1983, pp 419-38]. Educators of that time found that many children had difficulty transitioning from the children’s stories that were used in the early grades to more difficult content area textbooks in secondary schools.” In a word, there was a disconnect.

Two Reformers Reflect

John Goodlad and TheodoreSizer are prominent education reformers with an active interest in literacy coaching.

Goodlad, president of the Institute for Educational Inquiry and a founder of the Center for Educational Renewal at the University of Washington, wrote the classic, *A Place Called School: Prospects for the Future* (McGraw-Hill, 1984, 2004). His latest book is *Romances With Schools: A Life of Education* (McGraw-Hill, 2004).

Goodlad says that from his vantage point, “The coaching idea is not new at all. My view of it is a cultural one. The term dates back to the multi-language problem; I’d time it in with the growth of the Hispanic population, forty or fifty years ago. Simultaneously,” he continues, “there were people making their concerns known at the university level. They had the sense that you didn’t get anywhere if you couldn’t read. There was a call for vocabulary to understand social studies, science and so on.”

Math dominated the coaching landscape, he recalls. “That’s my first memory of the use of the term ‘coaching.’ Today, though, literacy coaching has become a cottage industry.” He goes on



to suggest that there should be greater evaluation of the field. “We need long-term studies of literacy coaching—it’s difficult to understand its value without ongoing studies and assessment. It’s a tough question because we don’t know the impact of shifting heavily to technology and what the computer will do to literacy in the long run. I worry some about this. The contrast between computer-based literacy and print-based literacy provokes,” he says, “a layered conversation.” Adding a cogent comment, he says that he believes “the understanding of democracy involves the written word.”

Sizer, too, has a new book: *Keeping School: Letters to Families from Principals of Two Small Schools* (Beacon Press, 2004) written with Deborah Meier and Nancy Faust Sizer. Currently visiting professor of education at the Harvard



“We don’t know the impact of shifting heavily to **technology** and what the computer will do to **literacy** in the long run.”

—JOHN GOODLAD

Graduate School of Education, Sizer is also the chairman of the Oakland, California-based Coalition of Essential Schools (CES), which “provides national networking and professional development opportunities, conducts research, and advocates for public policies” that are aimed at developing “equitable, intellectually vibrant, personalized schools.”

Infused with Sizer’s ideas about educational reform, CES is committed to the idea of literacy coaching. Sizer likens a literacy coach to the artist/teacher. “You still do your own art while you’re teaching,” he says. “You’re still influenced by current movements in the art world.”

What Sizer says worries him is coaches who end up not actually teaching—departing from what he calls the practice of “school-keeping.” “My con-

cern,” he says, “is that coaching carries a great deal of ideological freight. Moreover,” he adds, “if coaches are just thrust upon teachers, there will be resentment.” But there are directions to follow, Sizer suggests. For example, “It’s important,” he says, “to build a network of people who are very close to the action of schools, who are trained to work with others.” Overall, Sizer is optimistic about the growing practice of literacy coaching. “It’s one of the pieces of education reform most likely to be sustained,” he says.

Frictions and Mini-Epiphanies

While the practice of literacy coaching continues to make inroads in schools across the nation, even its most dedicated advocates acknowledge that it can have drawbacks. In studying literacy coaching at the Boston public schools, for instance, educators candidly caution that there are sometimes turf battles between coaches and teachers—and content teachers, who are deeply invested in the practice of imparting knowledge about a particular subject area, do not always welcome the idea of having to teach literacy and comprehension at the same time. Their feeling, often, is that by the time kids reach the middle grades, their elementary schools should have already taught them to read and understand the information in their textbooks. With the added pressure of having to ensure that students pass required tests—so that not only can the student continue his or her educational career but also so that the school itself doesn’t suffer the stigma of being a “failing school”—literacy is not always the first subject on a middle or high school teacher’s agenda.

Still, Boston and other systems have also had their “mini-epiphanies.” The term is used by Lisa Gonsalves, author of a 2003 University of Massachusetts

study of literacy coaching in Boston's public schools. But, as Gonsalves and others note, Boston's successes can, in large measure, be chalked up to a dedicated and capable team. Cathleen Kral, the instructional leader for literacy K-12 in the Boston public schools and coaching head there, has worked closely with individuals such as Ellen Guiney, executive director of the Boston Plan for Excellence in the Public Schools Foundation, and Barbara Neufeld to incorporate the literacy concept in the city's middle and high schools. (The Boston Plan for Excellence also partners with the Boston public schools in *Schools for a New Society*, a Carnegie Corporation initiative being carried out in seven urban communities that focuses on reform of school district policies and practices to help reshape teaching and learning in high schools; key elements include creating small learning communities and a citywide network of excellent schools that can provide high-quality education for all students.)

The challenges of developing a literacy coaching program have been many, says Guiney, "With coaching in the picture, teachers teach in entirely different

ways than they used to... so one key is that we've got to find just the right teachers to participate." Some 80 percent of Boston's literacy coaches are former teachers, Guiney reports.

She has a number of recommendations for schools that want to begin inculcating literacy coaching into their classroom. "I would start small," she counsels. "But don't wait too long to scale up." She also lists these points to focus on: invest in the development of professional coaches, work closely with school organizers, ensure that school leaders buy in, get the incentives right for the coach and carve out time for the coach and teacher to work together.

In describing workshops for Boston's teachers, Kral notes that the over-arching goal is to "deepen a child's thinking." Coach/teachers begin at the "pre-conference stage," she explains and continue through debriefing. "They should leave with something to do, with a kind of assignment," Kral adds.

Another developing story is taking place in rural Stafford County, Virginia. Nancy Guth, who has been the language arts supervisor for the county's public schools for the past 13 years, recently received good news:

school officials had endorsed funding for her literacy coaching program, including coaches at the secondary level. "It's horrible to live on a year-by-year basis, so this is a great relief," she says. She credits the ultimate strength of her program to a team approach, involving parents, administrators and teachers. "It was with the support of the superintendent and the superintendent for instruction that we've made progress. They said, 'Okay, show us how it works,' and we did. But once we did, they really paid attention."

Other notable initiatives include a "Reading and Writing Studio" course in Denver that asks middle and high school students reading below grade level to read a million words a year. The students' teachers are aided by literacy coaches who, among their duties, serve as liaisons to other subject teachers.

The Southern California Comprehensive Assistance Center of the Los Angeles County Office of Education sponsors a "Reading Success Network" that involves identifying reading coaches in all schools and school sites joining the network; the coaches are then provided with training, seminars and supports. Ruth

The PASS Act
Would Fund **Literacy**
Coaching
and Other
Literacy Efforts



Succeed." Introduced in August 2003 by Senator Patty Murray (D-WA), the measure would raise substantial monies to tackle the high school drop-out problem and provide extended support for teens seeking employment after graduation.

Murray cites statistics indicating that every school day 3,000 secondary students drop out of school. She says that in 2003, nearly 540,000 young people left school without attaining a high school diploma.

On average, then, high school

Schoenbach and Cynthia Greenleaf, co-directors of the Strategic Literacy Initiative (SLI) of WestEd, a nonprofit educational organization headquartered in San Francisco, work with the network. Both say they're dedicated to promoting "high rigor, high literacy, not just basic literacy." Through the network program, they explore "how teachers think of their own lives as readers." One area they work on is troubleshooting. "Say you have a *Scientific American* article," says Schoenbach. "We try to help our teachers determine where they themselves might have gotten stuck, what they didn't understand. In that conversation—working out meaning—you have teachers saying, 'Wow, there's something here that I do understand now, and here's why.' In that way, you see how different people make sense of things in terms of reading." Essentially, says Schoenbach, what they're looking for are the different ways to really dig into a text and then weave those methods into teaching—a concern that underpins almost every effort to give students the literacy skills they need to understand what they read, and help their teachers find ways to guide students

to meet that goal.

Every Child a Graduate: A Framework for an Excellent Education for All Middle and High School Students, written by Scott Joftus, policy director of the Alliance for Excellent Education, is a relatively recent report (September 2002) that provides a snapshot of the practice of literacy coaching in California's Long Beach Unified School District: "Each coach specializes in a specific subject—math, science, English, history—and works four days a week to mentor new teachers, model instruction methods and help select and use resources. In addition to these content coaches, the school district provides a variety of first-year teacher coaches who help inexperienced teachers learn classroom management, essential elements of effective instruction and other important skills." In his report, Joftus also provides insight into the reaction of a young teacher in a Long Beach school taking full advantage of literacy coaching as a collaborative tool: "First-year teacher Jason Marshall's enthusiasm suggests the positive impact the coaches have on the school: 'I go home smiling every day,' Marshall said. 'I don't feel frustrated. Just yesterday we

spent a few hours picking (our history coach's) brain and working with her to create lesson plans for the next six weeks. We've got clear ideas about how to tackle each lesson we're going to be doing. I don't feel burdened. I feel excited about coming to school."

Pitfalls and Sustainability

While support for literacy coaching is strong on many fronts—educators increasingly favor the practice, parents see its results—there are also pitfalls to be considered, such as the shifting definitions of coaching and the problem of sliding standards. The term "coach" can refer to volunteers, paraprofessionals or individuals holding advanced degrees.

Effective coaching also depends on school administrators' full understanding and approval. And there is the quandary presented by school administrators who, beset by budget woes, redirect money meant for coaches into their coffers for content teachers. Yet some administrators recognize the valuable role of coaches.

"Although states have drastically reduced education budgets and are in the worst financial shape in decades,

students are performing poorly in reading, supporters of the legislation reason. PASS Act advocates assert that 29 percent of boys and 20 percent of girls in eighth grade are reading at "below basic" levels. Worse, the reading achievement of twelfth graders has declined at all performance levels since 1998; 33 percent of twelfth grade boys and 20 percent of girls in the same grade read below the basic level, according to Senate champions of the legislation.

If approved, the PASS Act would

provide "the best possible support for students and teachers, and provide direct, targeted assistance to the students most in need of help," backers state.

High school reading programs, in particular, would be upgraded through the initiative. Literacy coaching (one coach per 20 students, ideally) is a key feature of the PASS Act. These coaches "will help teachers incorporate research-based literacy instruction into their mathematics, science, history, civics, geogra-

phy, literature, language arts, and other core courses..." As envisioned, literacy coaches would give additional reading instruction, assess students to determine their needs and coordinate services to ensure the young people receive the appropriate supports.

In addition to Murray, co-sponsors of the PASS Act include Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), Hillary Clinton (D-NY), Thomas Daschle (D-SD), Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Richard Durbin (D-IL).

scores of literacy coaches are being hired in school districts throughout the country,” Carnegie Corporation’s Henríquez says. “This may be happening, in part, because the No Child Left Behind Act requires school districts to provide data on students’ reading and math scores for third to eighth graders. And in high schools, every day 3,000 students drop out. Of course, the districts and the teachers feel pressure for their upper elementary and middle schools to be successful, and high schools want to ensure that young people stay engaged in school. Literacy coaching may be a way to help improve student literacy and reduce high dropout rates.”

Before embarking on a coaching program, Neufeld and Roper suggest that educators and school administrators ask themselves the following questions:

- What are our professional development goals and what do we want to accomplish with our overall professional development programs?
- What would we gain from having coaching as part of our repertoire of teacher/principal learning opportunities?
- What would coaches do to help us achieve our instructional goals?
- Are there other approaches to achieving our goals, and might they be more appropriate for us?
- What else, in addition to coaching, would we have to support to help us reach our instructional goals?

Expectations, many experts suggest, must be reasonable. Concurrently, there must be adequate support for coaches to meet their potential as contributors to the learning process. But the most critical issue—one on which virtually all stakeholders agree—is that the practice of literacy coaching will provide few long-term benefits if there isn’t secure, ongoing funding available to ensure that coaching has staying power on the educational agenda.



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Jane Lehrach, principal, I.S. 131

Two pieces of legislation have been proposed that address the need for such funding. The PASS Act (see Sidebar) calls for funding for literacy coaches as well as academic counselors and resources. The Graduation for All Act is co-sponsored by Congresswoman Susan Davis (D-CA) and Congressman Rubén Hinojosa (D-TX), who is Chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Education Task Force. The Act could provide \$1 billion in federal funding for schools to place literacy coaches in high schools and implement individualized graduation plans for students most at risk of dropping out of high school. Graduation for All is targeted at schools with the lowest graduation rates and allocates funding for at least one literacy coach for every high-needs middle and high school. Coaches would help teachers incorporate research-based reading and writing instruction or English-as-a-Second-Language instruction into teaching practices for core academic subjects.

In Florida, the Middle Grades Reform Act, which went into effect in May 2004, funds reading coaches for 240 middle schools. Although

The practice of literacy coaching will provide few **long-term** benefits if there isn’t secure, ongoing funding available to ensure that coaching has **staying** power on the educational agenda.

Governor Jeb Bush (R) announced grants of \$16.7 million to support this effort, many policymakers will be paying close attention to this initiative in the hope that it will provide some guidance to other districts and states around the country.

Meanwhile, Back in Chinatown...

At Intermediate School 131 in New York City's Chinatown, on a spring day towards the end of the school term, Bryce Bernards familiarizes his students with the format of recipes; features such as measurements, cooking instructions, ingredients, number of servings and required utensils are discussed. The children, quiet, intent, talk about how members of their families use recipes at homes.

Bernards then asks the children to superimpose their life stories onto the recipe framework. (What he's aiming for, in his words, is to teach a lesson in "sustained metaphor, the genre of recipes.") He offers details of his own background to get the youngsters started. He says his life has consisted of "One-fourth cup of overbearing, demanding parents. An uncle who didn't want me to become a teacher. One can of Wentworth Avenue sauce." (He explains that's the address where he grew up.) "A bag of wild friends who lived on my block and played street games. Plus two World Series championships tickets for the Minnesota Twins, a big part of my childhood," he informs the class.

The children respond in kind. One boy, for instance, offers the following: "One cup of my mother who watches out and keeps an eye on me when I get in trouble. Five packages of curiosity because I want to know everything. One cup of over-reacting parents."

"Our identities are pretty complex," Bernards observes.

The students then compose their recipes in more depth. During the class, literacy coach Stacy Fell-Eisenkraft circulates among the students, a reassuring presence for the children and for Bernards. The coach, who is also earning a doctorate from Teachers College, Columbia University, not only works closely with teachers in her New York City middle school, but also assumes tasks ranging from ordering books to running after-school book clubs for the faculty. Fell-Eisenkraft may also help Bernards adjust to his new profession. As a young teacher, he and others like him across the country are vulnerable to the demands of a new job and drop out at higher rates than their more established colleagues; a University of Pennsylvania study indicated that as many as 50 percent of teachers leave the profession within five years. Literacy coaches can provide a support system that will help these younger faculty members cope with the challenges of their profession.

Bernards agrees that Fell-Eisenkraft is indispensable to his work. "She keeps me focused on what's important," he says. "For example, I may come in with a lesson that tries to incorporate three different skills, and she will help me narrow it down, which leads to more effective teaching." He then goes on to talk about how he and Fell-Eisenkraft designed a lesson to accommodate the multiple-languages—Chinese, Spanish and English—spoken by the children in his class. "You saw Stacy writing on the board behind me," he says. "That always helps in terms of the students being able to visualize the words."

One advantage Bernards and Fell-Eisenkraft have in carrying out their teaching partnership is the support of those who run the school. "Our administrators are completely behind us," Fell-Eisenkraft reports. "They realize, as I do, that the overall level of instruction

is raised because of literacy coaching and that teachers and students really benefit."

Her words are music to the ears of Jane Lehrach, the school's principal, who often attends her school's literacy coaching sessions. The veteran educator is justifiably proud of her school. "It's a safe and peaceful place," she says, adding that "respect" is the watchword at I.S. 131. She goes on to say that "education is a journey of growing, and literacy coaching, done right, is a manifestation of that philosophy."

As she speaks, one of Bernards and Fell-Eisenkraft's eighth graders passes on his way to his classroom seat. Lehrach lets her comments waft off in the air as another idea intervenes. "I like to say that every child has treasures. And what are your treasures?" she asks the boy.

"Books!" he exclaims, providing the answer Lehrach hoped to elicit. Although the youngster has come to love books, literacy coaches at I.S. 131 and other schools across the country know they must go beyond teaching a love of reading literature and help students develop reading strategies that will allow them to comprehend the complex information presented in their textbooks.

Summing up how literacy strategies such as coaching should be inculcated into teaching and learning, Sturtevant writes in her report, "Schools and teachers have the ability to base their instructional and curricular decisions on years of research related to the types of learning environments and day-to-day teaching strategies that best support students' growth in reading, writing, and critical thinking. Schools and teachers can make a real difference in the lives of the adolescents with whom they work. The current challenge is to make this goal a reality in middle and high schools throughout the United States." ■

by
JAMEY GAMBRELL

Philanthropy *in* Russia New Money

The rise of democratic reforms and a capitalist economy in Russia has produced wealthy individuals who have begun the practice of Western-style philanthropy—but the government may have other plans for how they spend their money.

Prologue

At the end of perestroika and the beginning of the Yeltsin era, get-rich-quick schemes scurried around Moscow like cockroaches, disappearing into the cracks and crevices of the decaying system with equal alacrity when exposed to the light of investigation. Some were harmless, small fry stuff, like buying VCRs on trips abroad, and selling them back at home at the black market ruble rate. Others, like the infamous MMM pyramid scheme run by the

notorious entrepreneur Sergei Mavrodi, enriched a few and deprived many ordinary citizens of their life savings. There were also the sudden Central Bank currency reforms which had much the same effect, at least for anyone outside the loop of aspiring capitalists and bankers capable of turning ruble fortunes into foreign currency and placing it in foreign accounts on a moment's notice.

The English word “sponsor” was the word of the day. “New Russians,” as the newly prosperous businessmen

were called, were already making enough money to be looking around for interesting things to spend it on. Young, unofficial artists, writers and performers were some of the first recipients of their largesse. Cultural figures who had been part of the established Soviet system found the new situation distasteful: in Soviet times such “charity” or “patronage” was considered a demeaning, manipulative capitalist practice and was forbidden—after all, the state was supposed to take care of the citizen's every need, both material and spiritual.

During this time—the early 1990s—the culture of Russia's pre-revolutionary “Silver Age” aroused intense interest among the Russian intelligentsia. It represented a time when the arts flourished and many Russians trav-



Mikhail Prokhorov, (center, in yellow hard hat), general director of Norilsk Nickel, at one of the company's plants.

Under Pressure

COURTESY OF MIKHAIL PROKHOROV

eled abroad regularly, seeing themselves as Europeans. Interest in the art, manners and mores of the Silver Age became a symbolic way of reconnecting with the interrupted flow of national history and forging a revised, non-Communist identity. There were many exhibitions of the World of Art group, the once forbidden Russian avant-garde; and works by writers like Osip Mandelshtam, Boris Pasternak and Anna Akhmatova were published with the censor's cuts restored.

Historically, charity in Russia had been the prerogative of the aristocracy; it was only at the turn of the 20th century, with the rise of wealthy industrialists, that other classes began to engage in patronage of the arts and support of the poor. Like the post-Soviet intelligentsia, the "New Russians," for all

their conspicuous consumption and the legendary vulgarity of their tastes (they were the butt of many jokes making the rounds at the time), were looking for non-Communist models of social status. Dozens of books and articles appeared on the lives of the great Russian art patrons, people like Pavel Tretiakov, who donated his art collection and the Tretiakov Gallery to Moscow; and Morozov and Shchukin who amassed prescient collections of European and Russian avant-garde painters that now hang in the Hermitage and other Russian museums. Exhibitions and publications detailed the history of impresarios like Diaghilev, whose Ballets Russes made Russian art and dance the envy of the West (and had an indelible effect on the development

of American ballet, for example).

New Russians began to collect Russian art, both historical and, to a lesser extent, contemporary. The

Jamey Gambrell writes on Russian arts and cultural politics; her articles have appeared in The New York Review of Books, Art in America, The New Republic and other publications. From 1995-1997 she served as deputy director for programs at the Open Society Institute, Moscow, where she worked with Russian staff to develop culture and media programs. Gambrell also translates Russian literature; her books include Earthly Signs: Moscow Diaries 1917-1922 (Yale University Press, 2002) by the poet Marina Tsvetaeva, and Tatyana Tolstaya's novel The Slynx (Houghton-Mifflin, 2002).

Russian Orthodox church also benefited: businessmen gave money to restore long-abandoned churches, and at one point in the early '90s, the nightly news almost inevitably contained footage of Orthodox priests blessing some newly opened business. The focus of most of this activity was attention-getting prestige. But if patronage and sponsorship revolved around reviving lost cultural heritage, the obvious needs of an increasingly impoverished population and the growing dysfunction of the state led many to branch out or evolve into areas of charitable social welfare—aid to orphanages, sick children and the handicapped, etc.

The motivations behind much of it were, undoubtedly, genuine, but the very helter-skelter, hustling nature of Russia at that time led, unsurprisingly, to abuses that gave a bad name to even pristine charitable impulses. “Informal” and “charitable” organizations began to multiply under the aegis of more established, official institutions (since the legislation for unaffiliated organizations was lacking altogether or insufficient); they often had the right to create commercial subsidiaries, whose proceeds were supposed to go to supporting “non-commercial” cultural or charitable activities. Needless to say, in the regulatory and legislative void of newly independent Russia this was often not the case.

Scandals associated with abuses of nonprofit and charitable organizations also began to sprout like proverbial mushrooms. Particularly notable among them, and extensively covered by the press at the time, was the National Sport Fund, which received permission to import and sell liquor, tobacco and other coveted consumer goods without being subject to the usual taxes. But that was only the most prominent tip of a very large iceberg. Numerous organizations calling themselves “foundations”

or “funds” (the word is the same in Russian and English) were covers or umbrellas for shady business activities, money laundering, currency operations, and so on. Despite much truly selfless work to assuage long-standing ills, what was most visible to the public at large was the graft and corruption associated with “charity,” “foundations,” “non-profit organizations,” and the less common “philanthropy.” In Russian, the distinction between charity and philanthropy is not firmly embedded in the

to a great deal of this activity. One of the first privately owned and truly independent Russian newspapers, *Kommersant*, which was the brainchild of Vladimir Yakovlev, son of the *Moscow News* editor Egor Yakovlev, began publication in early 1990 with the express aim of creating a Russian “business middle class” that didn’t yet exist, by writing for it as though it did. The aspiration to live in a “normal country,” often expressed at the time, was so strong in Moscow and the re-



The Hermitage (above) and other Russian museums benefited from the generosity of “new Russians.”

public mind—or in the language. The word *blagotvoritel’nost’*—most often translated as “charity,” literally means “creating good deeds”—and has been used almost interchangeably with “philanthropy.” Given the natural cultural distrust of wealth after 70 years of Soviet propaganda, and numerous scandals, polls showed that the public at large associated the concept of a “charitable” or “philanthropic” foundation with shady money machinations.

However, despite rampant corruption, or, at best, inconsistency and lack of transparency in charitable activities, there was a genuine democratic pathos

named St. Petersburg, that many believed, in a sort of Soviet version of Pascal’s “leap of faith,” that if the country simply pretended that it was “normal,” it would, in fact, become so. In other words, if the outward trappings of a democratic society and middle class were imitated in sufficient detail, the moral and institutional content would magically appear to fill the void left by 70 years of deeply cynical centralized dictates and a planned economy. And one of the key features of democracy and a successful market economy was a civil society that included charity and philanthropy.

The Foreign Connection

The first foreign philanthropic foundation in Russia was financier George Soros' Cultural Initiative (CI), which opened in 1987, when the first breezes of perestroika were just beginning to be felt. CI helped support publication of many previously unpublished books and translations, and provided funds for Soviet academics, writers, and scientists—long isolated from their colleagues in the West—to travel abroad for the first time. However, most of the employees were Russian and the foundation in its initial form was subject to many of the same ills that afflicted early Russian charitable efforts; additionally, it bore the burden of being

Hard on the heels of the Soviet Union's collapse, many other foreign organizations began to arrive to assist Russia's "transition to democracy." Government aid in various forms and amounts was quickly forthcoming from the U.S., European countries and the European Union (though never on the "Marshall Plan" level envisaged by many intellectuals and Yeltsin's first government). Along with governmental agencies, other Western philanthropies began to make grants for projects in Russia or open offices with grant-making programs: notable among them, in addition to OSI, were the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the British

York began funding Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASEs), aimed at revitalizing higher education in the former Soviet Union through the establishment of university-based centers dedicated to the promotion of scholarship, publications, academic mobility, international networking and access to resources.

Many of these foundations funded, and still fund, an extraordinary range of projects within Russia, often with a strong emphasis on the development of the non-governmental sector and the institutions of civil society. Furthermore, smaller charity organizations with specific profiles, such as Alcoholics Anonymous or the British

charity, Downside Up, which works with families of Down's Syndrome children in order to avoid institutionalization, reached out to their Russian counterparts and launched projects in Russia. Likewise, foreign businesses such as McDonald's, Coca-Cola and Philip Morris brought their corporate sponsorship practices with them to Russia.

Given the natural cultural distrust of wealth after 70 years of Soviet propaganda, polls showed that the public associated the concept of a "charitable" or "philanthropic" foundation with shady money machinations.

the first such foreign presence in the Soviet Union, and its activities were closely monitored by a suspicious Soviet government. Soros eventually closed CI, and opened two new foundations, The Soros Science Foundation, which offered support for individual scientists and peer-review, awarded grants in the fundamental sciences. Later, in the mid-'90s, a Russian office of the Open Society Institute (OSI) was opened; it supported everything from civil society development, education, textbook, legal and tax reform to Russian literary "thick journals" and contemporary art. In the nearly 15 years Soros was active in Russia, his foundations funded well over \$300 million in projects.

Charities Aid Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and the Howard Hughes Medical Foundation. The Eurasia Foundation, a U.S. government-private sector partnership was created in Washington in 1992 expressly to "promote the advancement of democratic institutions and private enterprise" in Russia and other post-Soviet countries. Over the last ten years, the Eurasia Foundation has supported projects in civil society, small business and media (among other areas) with some \$225 million in USAID funding, enhanced by more than \$58 million from other private and institutional sources. And in 2000, Carnegie Corporation of New

Suffice it to say that the history of foreign charitable, nonprofit, and philanthropic organizations in Russia to date would fill several volumes. Though it far exceeds the reach of any one article, it is important to keep in mind. Foreign foundations—particularly private ones—provided both potential grantees and would-be Russian philanthropists with a model of philanthropic activity. It involved a transparent, egalitarian grantmaking process, in addition to financing hundreds of millions of dollars of projects over the first decade of post-Soviet Russia. The staff of these organizations, as well as the juries constituted to evaluate the grant applications, consisted largely of Russian

citizens. Thus, the foreign foundations served as a training ground for future Russian-funded philanthropic activity. Grant-makers and grantees alike gained valuable experience—both philosophical and practical—in their contacts with foreign philanthropy.

Concurrently, with the influx of foreign institutions, the controversial era of privatization began. In the '90s, Russian business exploded beyond the limits of perestroika-period cooperatives—essentially small businesses—into banks, advertising, media outlets (broadcast and print), publishing, utilities and large industrial and natural-resource conglomerates. Many of these were created by selling off huge state-era enterprises to private individuals, particularly people who had begun their careers in the Komsomol, the Communist Youth League, or elite Soviet institutions—usually for a small percentage of their actual (or potential) worth.

The Yeltsin era created a class of so-called “oligarchs,” whose small numbers were far outweighed by the political influence they wielded and wealth they controlled. According to figures collected by the Russian office of Britain’s Charities Aid Foundation, in 2003, Russia had 36 billionaires (whose capital represented 24 percent of the country’s GDP), 33 of whom lived in Moscow. Furthermore, of the 100 richest people in Russia, only 34 built their own business; the others accumulated their wealth as a result of their access to the legacy of the Soviet Union—mostly oil and metal production. Details of the Byzantine political and economic deals—some would call them mafia wars—of Russia’s privatization period have been emerging in recent years in books and articles on the Yeltsin era.

The oligarchs have been blamed wholesale for many of the country’s current ills, though the story is far more complex than many of the black-and-white, good guy/bad guy depictions of them would allow. What is indisputable, however, is that with the rise of the “oligarchs,” and wealthy individuals in less visible, but highly profitable Russian businesses (for instance, the telecom industry), the scale and focus of Russian charitable activity changed. Russian philanthropy, of a sort closer to the American use of the word, began to emerge.

The Charities Aid Foundation estimates that from about early 1992 (when prices were decontrolled and pri-

entirely lacking in any systematic philosophical approach.

Then, between 1993 and 1995, individual giving soared from a few thousands of dollars to approximately \$1 million. Over the same period, corporate giving again rose tenfold, to approximately \$100 million. By 1998, over 75 percent of Russian companies engaged in some form of charitable giving. Giving on the part of both companies and individuals suffered a major setback after the financial crisis of autumn 1998; by 2000, however, it had not only recovered ground, but registered another tenfold increase. In that year, CAF estimates that corporate giving reached about \$200 million dollars, while contribu-

In the last four years, Russia has seen the emergence of its first private and family foundations engaged in genuine, systematic philanthropic activities.

vatization began) to the end of 1993, corporate giving rose tenfold, from about \$1 million U.S., to \$10 million. Private donations, however, were still minimal—in the thousands of dollars. The first, tentative Russian steps into charitable activity tended to be along the lines of the “patron of the arts” or “sponsor” model. Businesses often sought to use “charity,” variously conceived, as a form of advertising—getting their name into the press, “buying” the goodwill of important people, sponsoring visible literary and artistic prizes, or special events for everyone’s favorites—orphans and emergency medical aid to children. These acts were usually isolated, one-time affairs, and

tions by individuals rose to approximately \$10 million nationwide. Furthermore, these gains were made despite the fact that the Russian tax code offers no tax deductions for donations to non-governmental organizations, and grants received by organizations and individuals are taxed as income.

Civil society was growing as well, though beleaguered by government regulation and constant re-registration requirements that often amounted to political harassment. In 1993 there were approximately 35,000 registered non-governmental organizations (NGOs); by 2003, the numbers had risen to over 350,000. While many of these organizations exist only on paper, there are

tens of thousands of genuine NGOs active in all areas of civil society and concerned with issues ranging from public health, child welfare, juvenile delinquency, AIDS education, science and humanities education, culture and the arts, to media training and monitoring, human rights, military reform, prison reform, environmental issues, monitoring of government activities,

care, child care, elementary and secondary schooling, recreational and vacation facilities for employees, etc. And in the post-Soviet era the state has often been unable to pay even subsistence wages on time, much less attend to other social needs. Companies have stepped in to at least partly fill the vacuum, in different ways and under varying degrees of political pressure from Moscow. The leaders in this area, says Kortunov, have been large enterprises and conglomerates like Interros, Yukos, Severstal, Lukoil and SUAL (Siberian-Ural Aluminum).

The Tide Turns

A real sea change became evident with the advent of the millennium, the end of the Yeltsin era and Vladimir Putin's election as president in March 2000 (after his appointment by Yeltsin when the latter resigned in late 1999). The changes over the next three years were both quantitative and qualitative. Between about 2000 and 2003, corporate giving is estimated to have jumped from \$200 million to \$1.5 billion. Until the year 2000, 98 percent of all charitable giving by Russians was corporate. By 2001, Kortunov says, you also began to see an encouraging development directly connected to a rise in private giving: the separation of philanthropic activity from the goals and tasks of the business that supports it. Leading this field, he said were the activities of Dmitry Zimin and the Dynasty Foundation; Interros and its chairman Vladimir Potanin; and Yukos and its chair, Mikhail Khodorkovsky.

"Until the end of the '90s, you couldn't talk about Russian-funded strategic philanthropy," says Olga Alexeeva, director of the Russian CAF. "In other words, there wasn't any 'civilized' philanthropy where you try to treat the disease and not the symptoms. Private philanthropy," she notes, "was

hidden in corporate philanthropy and most of it was what we refer to as 'orphanages, grandmothers and churches,'" i.e., essentially charity. However, in the last four years, Russia has also seen the emergence of its first private and family foundations engaged in genuine, systematic philanthropic activities.

CAF reports that private Russian giving has risen from about \$10 million to \$100 million a year; the amount of money funneled to philanthropic and charitable activities through CAF alone has grown from approximately four million pounds sterling to ten million. (Many Russian donors, private and corporate, prefer to have grant competitions administered by outside organizations, rather than keep large operating staffs; CAF, for instance, has run grant programs for Potanin's foundation, as well as for Yukos and Khodorkovsky's Open Russia.) Unlike much of previous private giving in Russia, these foundations are generally grantmaking, and follow a more transparent, Western-style model, using publicly announced application processes, grant competitions and expert juries to determine grantees, in addition to funding solicited projects and operating programs.

These institutions are fledgling and their numbers small: in all, there are six private and family foundations established by some of Russia's wealthiest individuals. However, the numbers are growing, and among the 100 wealthiest individuals in Russia, many were beginning to structure or institutionalize their private giving by 2003.

The Rise and Fall of Yukos

The oil giant, Yukos, has been one of the indisputable leaders in corporate philanthropy. Like most large companies, it has focused its projects largely on the geographical areas of the company's holdings, but it has instituted innova-



COURTESY OF THE OPEN RUSSIA FOUNDATION

Mikhail Khodorkovsky, embattled head of the Yukos oil company.

refugee rights, and social assistance of various kinds.

Corporate philanthropy, on the other hand, has tended to be dominated by the "company town" model, notes Andrei Kortunov, Eurasia's vice-president for Russia and director of the Corporation's CASE program, where "business takes on part of the work of the state." This is a comfortable and familiar model for many in Russia, and certainly for the state. After all, under Soviet rule, state enterprises usually provided not only employment, but cradle to grave care: housing, medical

tive, competitive grant programs for a variety of social and cultural services, many of which are featured on its web site, www.yukos.com. In 2001, Mikhail Borisovich Khodorkovsky, Yukos' president, along with several other major Yukos shareholders, established the Open Russia Foundation, financed from their private wealth. Since then, Khodorkovsky's spending on philanthropic programs, grants and activities has averaged \$15 million a year, and according to Irina Yasina, director of Open Russia, was intended to reach as much as \$30 million in 2004.

From the outset, Open Russia's priorities were unrelated to Yukos' corporate profile. The goal of the foundation, as articulated in its mission statement, is to "help create the conditions... in which people will prefer to work and earn a living in Russia, facilitating the country's emergence as one of the leading world economies. We are completely certain that this is possible if the country continues moving along the road of democratic reforms, strengthening civil society and stimulating entrepreneurial spirit."

As the very name of the foundation indicates, it was modeled on the Open Society Institute. Indeed, many of the programs financed by Open Russia are in one way or another analogous to programs initiated by OSI. The Internet Education Federation (originated by Yukos), for example, creates centers around the country to train school teachers in Internet use; Open Russia, in partnership with the Ministry of Culture and Mass Communications and professional library associations, supports the modernization of rural libraries with computer equipment, Internet access and training, as well as contemporary reference materials on economics, management and business. Like the Potanin foundation, Open Russia has initiatives targeted at young

people such as the "New Civilization" program, which exposes them to the values and practices of democracy, civil society, and market economics through a learning game called "Newlandia." In addition to these sorts of operating programs, Open Russia supports the previously established "Russian Booker Prize" for literature and the prestigious Regional Tefi awards for television (a sort of Russian "Emmy").

Two of the foundation's five priorities are directly linked to civil society issues:

and helped to expand the seminars, conferences and training programs of the ten-year-old Moscow School of Political Research; and supports a program that analyzes all new legislative initiatives from the point of view of civil society and democratic values. It has also been one of the most transparently run foundations, publishing information on grant awards, competition funds, administrative costs and the like.

Open Russia has been virtually the only Russian-funded organization to



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Visitors to Memorial, a human rights organization founded in 1989.

"assisting in the dissemination of objective and truthful information about the activities of Russian government and social institutions" and "continual monitoring and public expertise of Russian legislation." To this end, the foundation has worked with established organizations like the Glasnost Defense Foundation to create a mass media law specialty in Russian law schools; it has given grants to continue Internews Russia's regional television journalist training programs; it co-

give money to human rights organizations, many of which not only have activist monitoring functions, but conduct important research and educational programs as well. For example: Memorial, founded in 1989 to support former political prisoners and their rehabilitation, has developed an extraordinary program for secondary school students (ages 14-18) called "People in History: 20th Century Russia." Young people from cities,

towns and villages around the country conduct interviews with local sources and do original research in local archives, producing papers—often related to their individual family history—on various aspects of Russia’s forgotten or unknown 20th century history. Several hundred papers are usually entered; the forty best are chosen by a jury of eminent writers and historians, are published, and their authors

gence of a new generation of dedicated young Russians who seek the truth of their nation’s past, no matter how painful, in order that the tragedies they have chronicled not be repeated.

But Open Russia has gone further than simply supporting pre-existing programs. In February 2004, together with the human rights organizations Memorial and the Moscow Helsinki Group, Alexander Yakovlev’s Democracy

lic about its rights and remedies under Russian law.

However, in 2003, the Russian prosecutor’s office began investigating Yukos on tax evasion charges; simultaneous investigations of Khodorkovsky himself also began, in connection with the 1994 acquisition of another company. In October of last year, Khodorkovsky was arrested in a dramatic pre-dawn seizure of his private plane, and has been in pre-trial detention in a Moscow prison since then. (In Russia, the prosecutor may make arrests during an investigation, before any formal charges are brought.) His trial was underway as this article went to press. Other major Yukos shareholders are also under investigation; one, Platon Lebedev, has been in prison for over a year.

Khodorkovsky’s arrest sent shock waves through the Russian business and foreign investor community and the world of Russian private and corporate philanthropy. The business community has been assured on many occasions, by both Putin and members of his administration, that the results of privatization would not be revisited, a position hard to reconcile with government actions taken against Khodorkovsky and Yukos. In early July, Khodorkovsky proposed that Yukos’ majority stockholders turn over their 44 percent controlling interest in the company to the government in order to stave off bankruptcy—tax arrears cannot be paid because the government has frozen Yukos’ accounts—but the presidential administration has so far been unresponsive to such proposals. As of this writing, Yukos, with its stock price plummeting and its assets threatened, is in danger of going bankrupt and Khodorkovsky’s future is uncertain.

The Vladimir Potanin Charity Fund

Vladimir Potanin, president of the

Grants to university students are an emphasis of the Vladimir Potanin Charity Fund.



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awarded prizes at a ceremony in Moscow. Likewise, the teachers who stand behind these students receive special honors from the jury.

Now in its fifth year, “People in History” was originally funded largely by the Ford Foundation, the Heinrich Böll Foundation and other foreign sources. For the last three years, the program has been co-sponsored by Open Russia as well. It has produced several volumes of serious work that not only bear witness to the history the Soviet regime sought to erase, but to the emer-

Foundation, and the Russian Regions Foundation, Open Russia established the Public Verdict Foundation, which aids victims of government or law enforcement agency abuse and publicizes such abuse. On July 1, 2004, Open Russia, Public Verdict and the Regional Press Institute inaugurated a “human rights hot line” program, which will allow citizens in all seven federal districts of Russia to receive brief legal consultations by cell phone around the clock. Violations will be published online and in the press in order to educate the pub-

holding company Interros that owns Norilsk Nickel—as well as Rosbank, and companies in other sectors of the economy, including insurance, publishing, real estate and agriculture—was the first to create a private charitable foundation that is structured and operates somewhat similarly to a western philanthropic foundation. The Vladimir Potanin Charity Fund was established in 1999 and began work in 2000. Potanin, who was born in 1961, graduated with a degree in economics from Moscow's prestigious Moscow State Institute of International Relations, long a training ground for top Soviet cadres, in 1983. He is one of Russia's wealthiest men (estimated by Forbes to be worth \$4.9 billion), and considered one of the top ten businessmen in the country.

On average, over the last three years, Potanin has given \$10 million of his personal funds through his foundation, to projects and programs in education, culture and the arts. Potanin's flagship programs are scholarships and grants to university students awarded in two-stage, open competitions. Currently, over 1,400 students from over 60 Russian universities—"Potaninists" as they are called—are receiving stipends of 1,500 rubles (approximately \$500) a month—quite a decent salary in much of Russia today. The foundation also awards scholarships to 20-30 pupils who place in international academic Olympics, seeking to continue Russia's tradition of excellence in education. Additionally, Potanin's foundation provides scholarships to students at military academies and to the Russian Orthodox University (a secular university, rather than a seminary, which provides degrees in many rare subjects, such as ancient languages.)

Almost uniquely among Russian businessmen, Potanin has sought to position himself as an international cultural philanthropist and patron as well. In 2002, he made possible the purchase of one of Kazimir Malevich's *Black Squares* by the Ministry of Culture for the Hermitage Museum, which has little of the Russian avant-garde in its collection. The same year, he became a member of the board of trustees of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation and chairman of the board of directors of the new Hermitage-Guggenheim Charitable Foundation established to support joint projects by the two museums. In 2003, Interros and Potanin's foundation were major sponsors of the large Russo-French exhibition in Paris "When Russia Spoke French," in honor

not uncommon in the Russian corporate world. A total lack of tax breaks and regulation of charitable giving provides no incentive to separate corporate and charitable foundation interests. No Russian charities or philanthropies as yet have endowments because the interest on endowments, even when that income is devoted exclusively to charitable events and projects, is taxed at approximately 40 percent. Donations of up to 25 percent of pre-tax income are allowed only if the recipient is a state institution; if the recipient is an NGO, the donor may not deduct anything. Furthermore, if money or even equipment is donated to a non-governmental organization that runs a children's home or shelter, the organization is taxed on the

The lack of tax deduction is a serious obstacle for small and mid-size companies wishing to become involved in corporate philanthropy.

of the tercentenary of St. Petersburg; and Potanin was elected chairman of the board of trustees of the Hermitage Museum. In addition to the high profile support of the Hermitage, the Potanin foundation has just completed a pilot grant competition for smaller, innovative projects from museums across the country.

The lines between giving by Potanin's foundation and the Interros group itself are somewhat blurred—Interros public relations director Larisa Zelkova oversees Interros giving and is executive director of the Potanin Foundation as well, a merging of duties

value as though it were commercial income. As Kortunov and many others note, the lack of tax deduction may not be that important for the really huge, wealthy companies, but it is serious obstacle for small and mid-size companies wishing to become involved in corporate philanthropy.

To try and promote a culture of small and mid-size business contributions, CAF has worked hard with businesses and the authorities in the regions to establish a number of community foundations (there are presently 16 in all). This model allows businesses and individuals to pool resources with the

local authorities, and to receive additional funds for projects through grants from larger foundations, whether foreign or Russian. In this model, the crucial issues of equitable grant-making practices, accountability and effectiveness are addressed, and the political pressure is spread across a variety of donors. At present, given the highly charged, political atmosphere of busi-



COURTESY OF IRINA PROKHOROVA

Irina Prokhorova, editor-in-chief of the Moscow publishing house New Literary Review

ness-government relations, community foundations may prove a particularly fruitful model for support of at least some aspects of Russia's civil society.

The Fund for Cultural Initiatives

Despite the potential hazards, the example of leading philanthropists such as Potanin and Khodorkovsky has clearly had its effect on their associates and other businessmen. In March 2004, a new type of private foundation

was launched by Mikhail Prokhorov, general director of Norilsk Nickel. Prokhorov, not yet 40, is himself estimated by Forbes to be one of Russia's wealthiest individuals, next in line after Potanin. The Foundation for Cultural Initiatives (The Mikhail Prokhorov Foundation), supported by \$1 million annually of its founder's personal funds, is the first non-commercial philanthropic (or charitable) organization in the Norilsk region, an area of permafrost located north of the Arctic Circle. Adding to the inhospitable climate is the fact that Norilsk Mining Company—which has one-third of the world's nickel, and produces copper, platinum, palladium, cobalt and gold—has been one of Russia's most serious air polluters. Nor is the city's history a source of comfort: founded at the height of Stalinist forced industrialization, Norilsk, like many areas of Siberia, was home to the Gulag.

Prokhorov's foundation focuses on modernizing and stimulating Norilsk's cultural and intellectual environment. The five priority areas include structuring municipal spaces (clubs, galleries, Internet cafes, etc.); science and education (support of education programs, scholarships for gifted children, library acquisitions, museums, publications on local history, schools for non-native Russian speakers, research, etc); sports and health, which includes scholarships for young athletes, recreational facilities for children, support of drug rehabilitation centers; support for print and Internet press development; and artistic initiatives such as festivals, exhibitions, literary evenings and theater. The foundation will run both operating programs and grant competitions in all five areas.

Not only does the Foundation for Cultural Initiatives have an extremely cogent mission statement and well-articulated series of priorities, its structure is well balanced and clear, designed to

minimize pressures on the decision making process by rival local constituencies. There is a president (Mikhail Prokhorov), director (Norilsk inhabitant Irina Prokopenko), an advisory board consisting of eminent Muscovite and Norilsk professionals in a variety of disciplines and an expert council consisting of four very well known Moscow experts in the cultural field.

One of these, who no doubt had much to do with the overall concept of the foundation, as well as its thoughtful structure, is Prokhorov's sister. Irina Prokhorova, an important cultural figure in her own right, founded the Moscow publishing house New Literary Review, which has published hundreds of serious scholarly and academic books, as well as two of the most highly respected academic cultural journals. Prokhorova, a philologist by education, has had a great deal of experience working as a program expert in Soros-funded translation and publishing programs; she is a former president of the Russian Booker Prize Committee and is on the advisory board of Potanin's personal foundation. "We want to have a real impact on the city," says Prokhorova. "In part because it was artificially created, Norilsk has a very highly educated populace, and despite all the difficulties of living there, many people either do not want to leave, or have no other place to go. They love their home. We feel it is very important to create a real cultural infrastructure in Norilsk, create conditions in which different communities and groups can express their interests by having an active influence on the look of the town, and the content of the social and cultural processes that take place in it."

Family Foundations Emerge

In a sense, one could say that the Foundation for Cultural Initiatives combines the models of corporate (tar-

geted at the area of corporate presence) and private (strategic) philanthropy with another emerging model—the family foundation. There are currently three family foundations functioning in Russia: one is Dobry Vek, founded by SUAL director Viktor Vekselberg and his wife, Maria Dobrynina. It has a budget of about \$200,000 a year and supports projects related to psychiatric issues and research. Dobroe Nachalo, a Tver-based foundation, founded by Dmitri Zelenin and his wife, supports a variety of activities and projects in the Tver area, northwest of Moscow. But the Dynasty Foundation is by far the largest and most ambitious of the three now functioning. It was established in 2001 by Dr. Dmitry Zimin and his son Boris Zimin. Dr. Zimin, a physicist by education and specialist in radio electronic technology, started his business, VimpelCom, from scratch in 1992 and built it into one of the leading Russian wireless telecommunications companies. In 1996, VimpelCom became the first Russian company since 1903 to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange; its “BeeLine” cell phone service now has over 10 million subscribers in Russia.

Zimin timed the creation of the Dynasty Foundation to coincide with his retirement from active management of the company at age 70. Dynasty provides between \$1 to \$1.5 million a year in scholarships, awards and postdoctoral stipends for Russian students engaged in fundamental research in the exact and natural sciences. The foundation also supports publications and events that popularize Russian science. Though Dynasty’s focus is on the sciences, it also gives to groups working with at-risk children and their families to prevent adolescent homelessness.

“I believe that philanthropy is an inevitable process for a businessman,”

says Zimin. “You have to give something back. We have a far-reaching idea—to raise the level of intellect in the country. We were fortunate in finding a structure we could work through.” The Foundation for Fundamental Research administers most of Dynasty’s programs, though the foundation is also working in partnership with Eurasia and other foundations. As the “elder statesman” of the new Russian philanthropy, Zimin has been an active participant in conferences and seminars promoting corporate social responsibility and the development of civil society values among the business community. Following Khodorkovsky’s arrest—which he views as a disgrace—his participation in joint philanthropic projects has become particularly important, and he will be the only Russian donor on the board of the New Eurasia Foundation, which has been recently formed and is headed by Kortunov (with support from OSI, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Corporation and others). “The thing that’s different for me,” Zimin has remarked, “is that I’m the oldest—all the other Russian philanthropists are young, in their 40s. I think my greatest achievement, besides building the company, was to know when to retire.”

Implications for the Future

Despite the government’s considerable efforts to depict it otherwise, Khodorkovsky’s arrest is seen by most of the press, business community, human rights organizations and leading Russian cultural figures, as a political act, a warning to Russian enterprise. Not only has Open Russia funded human rights organizations that have rankled the presidential administration, but Khodorkovsky personally had begun to fund opposition political parties in the lead-up to the March 2004 presidential

elections. It is widely thought that the company is being deliberately driven to bankruptcy so that the government may acquire a controlling or at least blocking interest in it, and so Khodorkovsky, with his civil society allegiances and political ambitions, is removed from the company’s ownership structure. Analogies have been drawn with the way in which Vladimir Gusinsky, (founder of Most Bank and NTV, Russia’s first independent television station) and the journalists who originally created NTV, were systematically driven out through a series of engineered “business conflicts,” bankruptcies and selective jurisprudence (Gusinsky now lives abroad), and controlling blocks of



stock turned over to government-friendly stewardship.

Whatever their personal political views may be, businessmen fear the greater repercussions for the Russian economy and foreign investment. Recently, even Russia’s foreign economic partners have begun to speak out on the subject. About the actions taken against Yukos and Khodorkovsky, European Commission Director General for External Relations, Eneko Lanaburu, said in late July, that: “We interpret this as a decision of President Putin to destroy an economic empire that had certain strategic goals of political influence.... What’s happening is essentially a settling of accounts.”¹ Certainly, some

¹ Quoted in RFE/RL NEWSLINE Vol. 8, No. 142, Part I, 28 July 2004.

of Open Russia's beneficiaries have taken the political warning to heart: earlier this year the Russian State Humanities University (RGGU) was poised to sign off on a deal in which they would have received \$100 million from Khodorkovsky and Yukos over a number of years; then the RGGU's board suddenly rammed through a change in their by-laws that would have deprived the donors of any fiscal control whatsoever. The deal fell through.

"What we are seeing," says Arseny Roginsky, director of Memorial, "is the 'governmentalization' of philanthropy and charity in Russia." The same view is echoed by many others, including Kortunov and Alexeeva; "Yukos was a

targeted at the development of civil society—will be allowed to exist without the blessing of the president and the presidential administration. Some subjects—education, children's welfare, health and culture or donations to state cultural institutions (like SUAL board chairman Victor Vekselberg's recent \$90 million purchase of the Forbes collection of Russian Imperial Easter Eggs)—are considered safe territory. Others, such as Chechnya, the environment and human rights, are not.

This "governmentalization" of philanthropy is entirely in keeping with what has been the hallmark policy of Putin's presidency: establishing a vertical power structure in Russia, i.e., mak-

and retribution.

The effect of the government's actions is having a chilling effect that continues to ripple on. The work of Open Russia, for example, has already slowed down and there are fears that it will eventually have to close its doors. That prospect comes at a very inopportune time for civil-society-oriented NGOs in Russia. Soros has basically closed down at this point, and many foreign donors are in the process of conceptualizing or implementing their "exit strategy" from Russia. (New Eurasia, for example, will become a Russian spinoff of the Eurasia Foundation, with \$25 million in seed money coming from USAID alone). Memorial announced recently that its project of recording the names of all the victims of Stalin's purges could be seriously held up by the lack of Open Russia funds.

Given the extraordinary growth of Russian philanthropy and charity over the last few years, perhaps even this severe blow could

be eventually absorbed—as long as Yukos doesn't go bankrupt, throwing 70,000 employees out of work, and oil production and the economy into a tail spin. And as long as the government's recently submitted draft legislation increasing controls on NGOs and requiring the registration of every foreign and Russian grant with a special commission does not pass as proposed. Attention to matters of corporate social responsibility has been massively increased. It seems certain that Russians, particularly the country's wealthiest individuals, will continue to fund projects in a wide range of activities, even though, for the time being, their funding choices will be carefully calculated not to offend. ■

It is taken for granted that no Russian philanthropic foundation with a far-reaching social agenda will be allowed to exist without the blessing of the president.

warning," says Kortunov, "that the government sees corporate and private philanthropy as a 'voluntary obligation,' a sort of forced tax: if business has extra money, then the government will tell it what to support." Others suggest that the government sees "philanthropy" as a way to "patch up holes" in the federal budget, particularly for essentially charitable social aid programs. Activities of the sort supported by Potanin and Dynasty have been received with approbation by the Russian public and government alike. But among businessmen and NGOs, it is taken for granted that the Khodorkovsky affair means that no Russian philanthropic foundation with a far-reaching social agenda—i.e., one

ing sure that different sectors of society toe the government line. The current situation has made for what might seem strange bedfellows, forging an alliance (or at least a platform of common interest) between human rights and civil society activists on the one hand, and big business on the other. Human rights and civil society activists have held round table discussions with business leaders and other civic professionals on the issues and ramifications of the Yukos and Khodorkovsky affairs. These two utterly disparate social groups with extremely different pre-1991 backgrounds both have a vested interest in a country governed predictably by the rule of law rather than by personal or administrative whim



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Dr. Monty Jones, Executive Secretary, Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa.

scholarship EMERGES IN Africa

by
KENNETH
WALKER

As universities on the continent grow stronger, research and science with a particular emphasis on practical results to aid national development are on the upswing. But can this trend continue, given the pressures to Westernize?

Long before the murders, rapes and mutilations that resulted from one of Africa's most brutal civil wars, the Sierra Leone of Dr. Monty Jones' childhood recollections seem almost idyllic. "It was a beautiful and peace-loving country," Jones recalls, adding, "People looked out for one another."

"Certainly, no one back then could possibly dream of any Sierra Leonean doing anything like 'short-sleeving' or 'long-sleeving,'" adds Jones, referring to the practice of civil war rebels of cutting off the limbs of their victims either at the hand or the elbow.

"Sure," he continues, "there was some hunger and poverty, but I couldn't imagine a better place to grow up than Sierra Leone. Our currency was on par with the dollar."

As the son of an engineer and a teacher, Jones—currently executive secretary of the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa—lived a life of privilege. It was not unusual for government ministers and other officials to be invited to dinner. Jones recalls being enthralled with the conversations he over-

heard about the challenges facing Sierra Leone and the continent—about the need to alleviate hunger and poverty and the desire to see Africa grow. Jones and his siblings were sent to Roman Catholic schools and made to attend mass seven days a week. Jones looked forward to the rituals of the church, where he served as an altar boy.

But as Jones was nearing the end of secondary school, a

Kenneth Walker, who currently runs Lion House Productions, a South African strategic communications firm, has had a distinguished career as a journalist. In the U.S., he worked for ABC News, covering the White House as well as the U.S. Justice Department and also served as a foreign correspondent. Before that, for 13 years he reported for The Washington Star newspaper, which assigned him to South Africa in 1981 where his work earned several of the most prestigious awards in print journalism. In 1985 he won an Emmy for a series of reports he did on South Africa for the ABC news program Nightline.

great rift developed between him and the Irish priests he had loved so long.

“The fathers wanted me to go to seminary and study to become a priest,” Jones recalls. “I told them I wanted to go into agricultural science. They were very angry with me, but I said that I wanted to help produce food that would help feed the world.”

With his father’s support, Jones defied the priests and chose his own path.

This October, Jones will become the first African scientist to receive the prestigious \$250,000 World Food Prize. “When I come to America to receive the prize,” Jones says, “I hope, somehow, the priests learn about it and realize that I made the right choice.”

Jones is receiving the award for almost single-handedly transforming rice farming in West Africa. Early in his career as a research scientist, Jones noticed that West African rice, which has been under cultivation for 3,500 years, seemed to grow almost anywhere—in swamps, mountains, plains—even in areas known for recurring droughts.

Several millennia of exposure to such harsh conditions had made the rice extraordinarily hardy—resistant to pests, salinity, acidity, viral and fungal diseases, weeds and droughts. There was just one problem: the rice had very low yields.

“Asian species,” Jones said, “have more than four or five times more grain. It was obvious to me we needed to combine the two.”

That’s exactly what Jones did. The result was “New Rice for Africa,” or NERICA. The new strain of rice retained the hardiness of the African variety and exceeded the yields of the Asian rice. And the normal six-month harvest time was cut in half. NERICA is transforming agriculture in much of West Africa—benefiting twenty million farmers, most of whom are women who were previously unemployed. Its culti-

vation is spreading through much of West, East and Central Africa.

Demand for rice is growing faster there than anywhere else in the world. Imports drain an annual \$3 billion from these African economies.

“Imagine,” Jones says, “what difference that \$3 billion can make in the lives of the people in those countries.”

Research and Science: Coming Back from Diaspora

As a scientist, Jones is rare, not only for his talent, but for his continued presence on the continent. Africa never had many scientists to begin with, according to the international reference book, *African Higher Education* (Indiana University Press, 2003). In the 1960s, which many consider to be the era of African independence, the continent had only six universities and these enrolled only a handful of students.

The Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, reached independence without a single engineer, lawyer or doctor. Most of the professionals the country was able to produce were driven away by decades of tyrannical rule by the late Mobutu Sese Seko and a murderous and long civil war, which, while officially ended, still produces occasional outbreaks of violence.

Rwanda had its own unique brain drain. Joseph Karemera, the current Rwandan ambassador to South Africa, was his country’s minister of education immediately after the genocidal violence that took place there in 1994 was crushed.

“Out of 3,000 students and professors,” Karemera says, “we lost 1,500 students and 200 lecturers to the genocide. We had to bring in foreign manpower to assist us in the government and the university. We also tried to attract our people in the Diaspora to come back and assist. And we sent out hundreds of students to study in India,

the U.S. and other African countries.”

Finally, Karemera founded the Kigali Institutes of Science and Technology, Education, Health, and Agriculture as a means of rebuilding Rwanda’s academic and scientific classes.

In the years following independence, new governments, focusing on development, nurtured a small but vibrant academic community in Africa.

But over the next 25 years, as wars, economic collapse, one-party states and military dictators crippled much of the continent, many—perhaps even most—of Africa’s scientists and academics were forced overseas.

Between 600 and 700 Ghanaian physicians, for example, are practicing in the U.S. alone. That’s half the total population of doctors remaining in Ghana. An estimated 10,000 Nigerian academics now work in America. Between 1980 and 1991, only 39 percent of Ethiopian students returned from studies abroad out of 22,700 who left.

Many of the academics who soldiered on in Africa increasingly abandoned research and development activities as their universities thought them too expensive to maintain. Numerous scientists were forced into side work, like chicken and pig farming, just to make ends meet.

The result, according to the *Science Citation Index*, is that Africa accounts for 0.4 percent of the world’s R&D expenditures and produces just 0.3 percent of “mainstream science.”

But recent visits and conversations throughout much of West, Central, East and Southern Africa show that this picture is slowly beginning to change.

The number of conflict zones has decreased. Multi-party democracy is taking hold in several countries and the economies of several nations have begun a slow but steady climb. African nations also declared a new era of accountability in founding the African

Union and the launching of the New Partnership for African Development, both committed to continent-wide socioeconomic progress. In addition, many universities have initiated radical reforms in their operations in close cooperation with their governments.

International donors are also contributing. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other donors spent years refusing to fund tertiary education activities in Africa, insisting that this was a waste of money better spent on primary and secondary education.

But times have changed. The World Bank, for example, now recognizes the value of supporting higher education in Africa and other funders, such as Carnegie Corporation of New York, are emphasizing the support of African universities in their grantmaking programs. The Corporation is also part of the Foundation Partnership to Strengthen African Universities, which has pledged to provide \$100 million over five years to advance universities in six sub-Saharan countries. The other members of the partnership are the Ford, MacArthur and Rockefeller foundations.

All this has served to create a kind of nascent rebirth of scientific research

in Africa—but there is very little of what is referred to as “ivory tower” science, or basic research, in most of Africa. Virtually all of it is strictly applied and practical. The research is focused like a laser on poverty alleviation, food security, healthcare,

economic development and fundamental social issues, such as the link between cultural practices and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Research on food security addresses how to increase the production of staples like rice, corn, cassava and bananas. Elsewhere, many scientists are focused on curing or alleviating Africa’s tropical diseases.

Some scientists insist that the relative absence of basic or theoretical research will always leave African science behind. Others,

like Dr. Asifa Nanyaro, director general of the Tanzania Industrial Research and Development Organization, are not as pessimistic. “We have many challenges in Africa,” he says. “We have limited resources and capacity, and there is a great demand for solutions to problems. If we don’t alleviate poverty and grow our economies, there will be no one left to do basic research. Once African economies grow, there will be enough time and money to go off and think deep thoughts. The next generation can do that.”

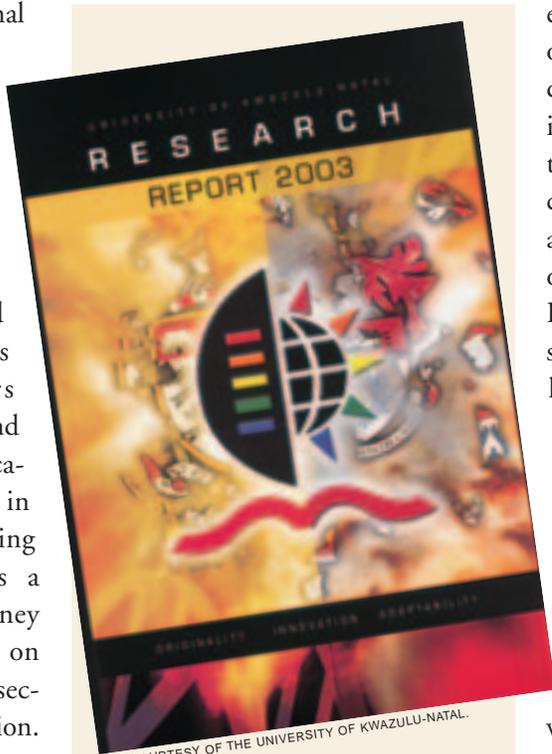
The combined efforts at reviving African universities and the research within them has led to the formation of what one scientist calls “islands of excellence” in African research, which are often focused around scientists like Monty Jones. These leading researchers have much in common. They tend, like Jones, to have received postgraduate training in top Western or Japanese universities. Most seem to come from professional and deeply religious families. Almost all share a messianic zeal to make a contribution to Africa’s development. Each seems acutely aware that, to many in the West, the phrase “African scholarship and research” is an oxymoron.

A New Breed

Dr. Keto Mshigeni, professor of marine botany at the University of Namibia, is one of the new breed of African scientists. Mshigeni has, like Jones, single-handedly created new industries for Africa’s subsistence farmers. His work has launched mushroom and seaweed farming industries where none existed before, creating jobs for mostly previously unemployed women in East and West Africa.

In Zanzibar and in Mshigeni’s native Tanzania, 40,000 women are now farming seaweed, which in some form is probably consumed by virtually everyone on earth. It is used in a wide variety of pharmaceutical and food products, including yogurt, toothpaste, shaving cream and ice cream. From zero seven years ago, the export industry in Tanzania is now valued at \$20 million annually. Mshigeni believes the kind of farming that has been spurred by his research would be sustainable in all the coastal countries of the continent.

For his work on seaweed, Mshigeni has been awarded the UN’s Boutros Boutros-Ghali Prize. But he says the



The 2003 research report of the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa exemplifies the emphasis of the continent’s research community on “knowledge production that expresses itself in practical interventions.”

biggest reward for him is to see how his work has resulted in an improved quality of life for the women who have become seaweed farmers.

“We thought, now we are being liberated,” says 70-year-old Miriam Juma Hamis, who was the first woman to take up seaweed farming in Zanzibar, where the project began. “We could earn a living.” She is speaking as part of a group of about seven women seaweed farmers, who all nod in agreement.

Ahura Abdul Aziz Isa, a 51-year-old mother of nine children, says, “The whole family depends on this money. I can pay my children’s school fees and buy the uniforms, shoes and books they need.”

Like Jones, Mshigeni’s scientific imagination was fired in childhood. He says, “In my home village, Mamba Same, in Tanzania, my friends and I used to harvest certain plants, which we put into river ponds. We caught fish that way.”

Mshigeni shares with Jones and other leading African scientists, a deep religious belief. Many of his friends refer to Mshigeni as “Almost Reverend,” because, by the age of 11, he could recite more than 150 biblical verses from memory.

One of the earliest lessons he learned while studying as a scientist, Mshigeni says, was that researchers’ imperative to publish papers in English and other Western languages was hurting African development. “These papers—many of them quite good—would just languish,” he notes. “They were of absolutely no use to most Africans because they were not in their local language. I decided, starting with the work on seaweeds, to translate them into Swahili so that the people of East Africa could easily understand them.”

Another difficulty African researchers have with the publishing imperative is that many struggle to do so

in languages not their own. Dr. Ruth Oniang’o is the editor-in-chief of the *African Journal of Food, Agriculture, Nutrition and Development*, one of the growing number of scientific journals created on the continent because of the perceived difficulties of publishing in the West. “I’m finding that, for some papers, it may take two or three reviews just to get it to the level of publication,” she says.

Mshigeni’s work is already delivering exponential benefits: new businesses have developed to add value to farmed seaweed, which is presently cultivated only for the export market. South African Klauss Rottman has a seaweed processing business in Johannesburg. He sees a wide range of new applications for the product, including medicinal uses, crop fertilization and cosmetics.

“Goiter is a huge problem throughout much of Africa,” Rottman explains. “One hundred million Africans are affected by goiter and other related disorders. Pregnant women don’t get enough iron and they have children with birth defects. Seaweeds are very high in iodine. The problem with iodized salt is the iodine evaporates during the long distances the trucks have to travel. But seaweed retains its iodine. It could be powdered, spread on food and save many lives.”

Despite the success of his scholar-



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In Zanzibar and Tanzania, women are the primary seaweed farmers.

ship on seaweed farming, Mshigeni is even more excited about his most recent research—on the cultivation of mushrooms. “The global market,” he notes, “is worth \$30 billion a year for edible mushrooms and \$10 billion for medicinal mushrooms. Africa’s share of that is .03 percent. If we just took truffles alone, which we also have here in Africa—just like France—that one crop is worth \$3-4 billion.”

Mshigeni is hoping that mushroom farming, which he has helped spread to eight African countries so far, will become the signature project for the UN ZERI project—Zero Emissions Research and Initiatives—for which he serves as Africa chairperson.

“ZERI looks into a wide range of materials that we generally conceive of

as waste in order to see how we can turn them into raw materials for new, marketable, value-added products,” he explains. “Africa, where 80 percent of the people are subsistence farmers raising maize, sugar cane, cotton, bananas, coffee, sisal and the like, produces huge amounts of organic wastes, which can cause pollution. Mushroom farming is just one example of what we can do with this biomass, which can be used as a substrate to produce not only mushrooms but also bio-gas for energy, construction materials and other products not yet dreamed of.”

The UN’s ZERI project in Africa, now headquartered in Namibia, aims to have “Centers of Excellence” in eight African countries to research and distribute information throughout the continent about the marketable utilization of so-called organic wastes.

A growing number of African medical researchers are exploring another offshoot of Mshigeni’s work—medicinal mushrooms. One variety, the garadema mushroom, is producing promising results.

Dr. Waza Kaunda is the son of Zambia’s founding president, Kenneth Kaunda, a Pan-Africanist. Waza Kaunda has been studying the use of medicinal mushrooms on HIV/AIDS patients. “These mushrooms grow on dead trees,” Kaunda says, “and are a very good immune booster. In our research project, patients treated with the mushrooms stop losing weight and keep improving. We surprise doctors at the hospital when, after one year, we send them patients who they thought should have been dead.”

Dr. Daniel Mtaengo, senior research fellow at Tanzania’s Institute of Traditional Medicine, doesn’t think the mushroom is a cure for HIV/AIDS, or a substitute for anti-retroviral drugs—an assertion that Kaunda agrees with. “It’s an immuno-stimulator,” Mtaengo says.

“This mushroom has long been used by traditional healers as a rejuvenator, a tonic, an aphrodisiac. When we tried it on HIV/AIDS patients, we proved it works for them. It improves appetites, skin and complexion. It builds blood vessels and improves circulation. It revives the linings of the intestines and helps cure fungus infections much quicker. The mushroom seems to extend patients’ lives but we can’t say how long yet.”

Traditional Practices Resurface

The garadema mushroom is one example of the growing interest in just about every African country in traditional medicine. Throughout the continent, scientists are studying ancient plants and herbs. The aim is to try and reestablish traditional medicine as an integral part of the primary health care system.

“Africa must return to traditional medicine,” says Dr. Ragasian Mahunnah, with the Institute of Traditional Medicine in Tanzania. “The key to health care in Africa is to be more preventive, because most Africans, once they get sick, can’t afford to treat diseases in the Western ways. We can’t afford the machines, or the drugs, or the Western trained physicians who know how to use them.”

Compared to the science in Asia, Latin America—even Europe and the U.S.—research in traditional medicine in Africa lags far behind. Mahunnah says the main reason for this is colonialism. “When the colonists came, they suppressed the traditional medicine system. It was seen as something evil—voodoo or witchcraft. The colonists used force in suppressing traditional medicines. People were killed in public for using them.”

The focus on traditional medicine in Africa today is on taking an inventory of the customs and traditions all across

the continent. The African Union (AU) has a scientific technical committee on traditional medicine consisting of medical doctors, botanists, pharmacologists, chemists and traditional healers who do ethno-botanical surveys.

So far, in 19 countries, plants are being collected and identified and compiled into an ethno-pharmacopeia for each particular nation. “We are trying to document the botanical folklore in each country,” says Mahunnah, a member of the AU committee.

“Whenever a traditional healer dies,” he says, “it’s like a library being burned. That’s what I say when I attend their funerals.”

Some of the special plants themselves are being burned, says chemistry professor Dr. Mayongo Nkunya, the chief academic officer of the University of Dar es Salaam. Nkunya, who has long researched the efficacy of traditional plants on a variety of African diseases, said one tree was discovered that was “very rare, but apparently the bark is effective against malaria parasites. The people in that area use it for firewood, so soon, the tree will disappear.”

Nkunya says another danger is biopiracy by pharmaceutical giants from developed countries. “They are taking large quantities of our plants and herbs,” he reports. “They will make the compounds and then sell them back to us.”

But the biggest problem, according to Mahunnah, is the way information has been passed on since antiquity. “The tradition was always for knowledge to be passed from one person to another—usually within the same family—and regarded as holy secrets. Its possession guaranteed status in the community. Colonialism was successful in suppressing traditional medicine because it didn’t take much to disrupt the transfer of knowledge, since there was no documentation.

“Another factor in the loss of this knowledge,” Mahunnah continues, “is that today’s traditional healers may not have learned exactly the time of year or month to harvest the plants, or precisely how to process them. Was it the leaves, the roots, the stems or some combination of them that produced the cure? Many healers today will cure some people and have no effect on others, and not know why. Every time you pick a plant, the concentration of the active ingredient is different.”

African governments are striving to institutionalize traditional medicine. Even in South Africa, where Western medicine is very advanced—the country inaugurated heart transplants—traditional medicine is being rediscovered as a method of primary health care in a nation where, like much of Africa, Western methods are too expensive to be practical for many people.

“The challenge,” says Mahunnah, “is to bridge the gap between Western and traditional medicine, as they have done in China. There is mistrust between so-called modern and traditional medicine. Most of our doctors were trained in the West. Once this divide is conquered,” he predicts, “over the next five-to-ten years, we will have cures for several diseases, including malaria, hypertension, diarrhea and many others.”

Dr. Nana Kofi Ayisi, head of the vitrology unit of the Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research in Ghana, believes he already has several treatments for HIV/AIDS.

“I have worked on twenty-six plants, and five of them have anti-HIV properties,” Ayisi says. “One particular plant has properties that no drug has in the world: it kills chronically infected cells. HIV infected cells produce new ones. One of our plants was able to kill these new cells without affecting the uninfected cells.”

“I also found another plant,” he continues, “which, when used in combination with two others, can be used as a vaginal microbicide. You don’t have to wait for the person to be infected. It can be used in formulations by women to prevent infection. It prevents the virus from attaching to the cells. I asked the American National Institute of Health to test the plants. Their results were even better than I was getting here. The plants inhibit the replication of HIV.”

Ayisi’s experience suggests another challenge for African scientists and governments—very few universities or nations have policies on intellectual property rights that enable researchers to profit from their discoveries or to prevent developed nations from pirating their bio-resources.

Ayisi tried to patent some of the traditional medicines himself in the U.S., but found the experience prohibitive. “Placing a patent on a product in Africa is not really effective. The U.S. has come to dominate the market on intellectual property rights, so you have to apply there. But in the U.S., the process is so complicated and expensive that very few people in developing countries have access to it.”

Despite the disappointments, Ayisi remains determined. “I always felt that God has given a purpose to my life—that there is something I have to accomplish here in science on this continent. So that when children in the future read history, they won’t think that their ancestors didn’t do everything they could to make the following generations’ lives better.”

Researchers in the fields of psychology and psychiatry have also engaged with traditional healers.

Dr. Ntomchukwu Sylvester Madu is the head of the psychology department at the University of the North in South Africa and has spent much of the past



Dr. Ragasian Mahunnah, Institute of Traditional Medicine in Tanzania

ten years researching psychotherapy in Africa, starting in his native Nigeria.

“Here, psychotherapy differs from the concept of psychotherapy in Europe and America,” says Madu, “because it must include concepts like religious and traditional healing. In the typical African environment, these are very important. Eighty percent of Africans consult traditional or religious healers.”

Madu was trained in Austria, but when he returned to Nigeria in 1985, he was only one of five psychotherapists for 135 million people. Madu was soon “confronted with a lot of problems. The clients’ attitudes were completely different than in Austria. First, psychotherapy is completely new to them, so a certain amount of psychoeducation had to take place.”

There are also three different kinds of patients in Africa, Madu says. “There are the Westernized patients who are used to seeing a Western medical doctor. There are the rural patients who are used to seeing the traditional healer. And there are those born in the villages but who moved to the townships. They consult both types.”

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Madu sees a growing body of research that suggests many methods used by traditional healers “can be categorized under psychotherapy. They are similar to typical psychological methods we use for treatment. They also use herbs and concoctions.”

The recently deceased Dr. Thomas Adeoye Lambo is widely regarded as the founder of African psychotherapy. The British-trained Lambo rejected notions of European superiority by hiring regional traditional healers at the Neuropsychiatric Hospital in Aro, Nigeria to assist Western-trained psy-

scholarship and research in Africa. Many researchers insist their work is informed by the need to reclaim and emphasize indigenous knowledge.

Professor Jacob Songsore, dean of research and graduate studies at the University of Ghana, believes that Africans “must reject the notion that we are the oldest humans on the planet, yet we know nothing. The resilience of Africa is something we have to build on. If you bring Western technologies to Africa’s subsistence farmers, they can’t use most of the techniques because they are too expensive. If you bring

Western medicine here, without accounting for local beliefs and traditions, and for poverty, it also won’t work. Even Western methods of construction are problematic because sometimes materials used are not available or not cost effective because they have to be transported great distances and to places where there may be no roads. This requires that we take what we have—what we know works—and then use whatever we can from the outside to improve it.”

Professor William Rugumamu, the associate dean of research and publications for the University of Dar es Salaam, agrees.

“There is a battle between indigenous ways and Western knowledge. We have to directly address the way resources are used by the majority of the people. In the area of law, people have to go back to traditional institutions, the way they are in Rwanda, in order to maintain peace. Most people can’t afford access to Western courts and lawyers. Traditional leaders have an

important role to play.”

Dr. Bagele Chilisa, the head of the Department of Education Foundations at the University of Botswana, says many African researchers who were trained in the West are beginning to challenge Western assumptions. He says, “Western philosophies...tend to dominate the way we carry out research. The way we formulate questions, and the way we analyze and report. These Western methodologies are taught as if they are universal and apply across all cultures. They don’t. The consequence is that we misrepresent the people we are researching.”

Emerging African Definitions

Nowhere is this drive to reclaim African memory more intense than in the research of history.

Much Western history of Africa, says Bertram Mapunda, who heads the archeology unit in the history department at the University of Dar es Salaam, “would like to paint a picture of denying the responsibility of colonialism in the lack of development in Africa. They insist that Africa had been culturally, economically and socially weak, even before whites came here. Some go even further and suggest that imperialism actually did improve Africa. Most Africans find that argument ridiculous.”

Mapunda believes that African historians and researchers face the challenge “of rewriting this crooked history.” In Tanzania, Mapunda’s department is spearheading a research project on the early 19th century war of the Maji Maji—a campaign of resistance by Tanzanians against German occupation.

“The Germans would like us to believe,” Mapunda says, “that there were a bunch of savages committing barbaric acts against gentle white people. We need to investigate the savage, barbaric acts the Germans



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Dr. Nana Kofi Ayisi, Head of the Vitrology Unit, Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research, Ghana

chiatrists in the treatment and interpretation of mental illness. They work side by side. The programs have been so successful that the UN produced a film about the hospital, which has served as a model for other African mental health systems.

The continent-wide reaffirmation of traditional medicine represents a strong underlying current in much

committed against Africans. We are focusing on the African perspective. I see this trend as reclaiming our history and heritage.”

Something like Tanzania’s research of the Maji Maji war is occurring in most African countries, as researchers seek to redefine themselves, not least in many school textbooks that retain the Western point of view.

Literary scholarship in Africa is also struggling with African definitions. John Conteh-Morgan of Sierra Leone is the editor of *Research in African Literatures*, a journal published by Indiana University Press. Conteh-Morgan and others challenge Western perceptions that, prior to colonization, Africa had no literature—no written tradition.

“In both East and West Africa,” he says, “there were written traditions dating back centuries before colonization. Ethiopia’s Amharic is one of the world’s most ancient written languages.”

Still, until relatively recently, Conteh-Morgan acknowledges, literature in Africa was an interest of only a handful of people. “Certainly since colonization, literary scholars tend to be Westernized elites who mainly were writing for one another, or for critics in the West,” he asserts. African literature after colonization also had a political bent, Morgan adds. “When African nations were struggling for independence, the writers postulated a homogenous people. All Africans were one. They were constructing identities in opposition to and in contrast with the identities of the imperial powers.”

Writer Helon Habila recently stated that, “Most African writers will readily confess to not having written for a mass domestic audience, because there was none. These authors were the first to go to university, the first to travel abroad, the first to get government jobs. Because they were part

of the elite, in many ways, this limited their contact with and understanding of African people, most of whom were peasants.”

In addition to being Westernized, these first modern literary scholars also tended to be male, Conteh-Morgan notes.

“African literature today is about widening the landscape. There are more women and more writers dealing with the many different peoples and places of Africa. Literature in Africa has entered the post-nationalist phase. There is a greater recognition of indigenous traditions. Writers are more prepared to examine the societies in which they live — warts and all. Nobel Prize Laureate

in Literature, Wole Soyinka has always been a part of this modern tradition.”

Habila concurs, saying, “The new African writer is in many ways better placed to understand and represent Africa than his predecessors. The new writer is part of the new, powerless middle class. He has no privileges. Often the best job he can hope for is as a teacher or a journalist. He is also luckier than those who went before him because he has an emerging, indigenous, educated audience to address.”

The study of philosophy is also an emerging field in Africa: it simply did not exist on the continent 50 years ago. Dr. Sanya Osha, one of Africa’s leading philosophers, says that one of the first tasks within the discipline “was to debate whether there was such a

thing as African philosophy. We wasted several decades on that question. But now we have moved beyond it to define it.”

African philosophy is different than in the West, Osha says, “because of the unique nature of our experiences—out of which all philosophy arises—which include slavery, colonization, apartheid, decolonization and genocide.”

The “relevance” challenges confronting all African academics are hitting

philosophers particularly hard, Osha notes, saying, “Within universities and governments, there is an unrelenting demand to know how the study and teaching of philosophy matters to the pressing developmental issues of society. This is forcing philosophers to adopt a more multi-disciplined approach—delving more into the social sciences, like history. Philosophers must now deal with issues like democracy and human rights in order to justify funding for research and even their very existence within universities.”

Western methodologies are taught as if they are universal and apply across all cultures. They don't. The consequence is that we misrepresent the people we are researching.

South Africa

Not surprisingly, perhaps the one country to have largely escaped such overarching demands for “relevance,” as well as many of the other issues confronting other scientists on the continent, is South Africa, which many scholars across Africa do not regard as a developing country.

Dr. Loyiso Nongxa, the vice chancellor of South Africa’s University of the Witwatersrand, acknowledges that the apartheid government “built a considerable research infrastructure” at universities there—a tradition the new government is maintaining. And whereas research in most of the rest of the continent is rigorously applied, South African scholars still find the funds and time for so-called basic research, or, as Nongxa put it, to do research for its own sake.

Not surprisingly, South Africa has the continent’s best-equipped laboratories and many of the continent’s most distinguished scholars. The vast majority of them, however, are white, as are the leaders in virtually every South African institution. “We face multiple challenges as black academics,” says Nongxa. “The primary challenge is to transform the universities so that the student body and faculty come to more closely resemble the black majority population.”

There are several budding South African scholars beginning to draw attention. One may be the only black astrophysicist on the continent. The cosmic imagination of Dr. Thebe Medupe of the South African Astronomical Observatory and North-West University, was fired as a child when he grew up in a poor village without electricity, looking up at the African sky while listening to the elders tell traditional stories about the African animals depicted there.

Another new researcher attracting a

lot of attention is Tebello Nyokong, professor of physical-inorganic chemistry at Rhodes University, who recently achieved a breakthrough that may greatly improve treatments for cancer in its early stages. After 13 years of research, Nyokong has identified new molecules that, in combination with lasers, would destroy cancer cells.

Hard as it was for a black scientist to rise in a society where until the late 1980s such courses were reserved for whites, Nyokong, who is female, insists the difficulties for women are just as pressing. “I have been ostracized by men in the sciences. It’s definitely an old boys’ club. When it comes to socializing or mentoring or just being helpful, the men stick to themselves.”

Hard science research such as Nyokong’s has proceeded without much interruption in South Africa, but the social sciences have undergone a revolution, in that they have tracked the trends in the rest of the continent to emphasize more practical outcomes. Professor Deborah Posel, the director of the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER), says that after the democratic government was elected ten years ago, “Those of us in social sciences realized that we had a responsibility to help reconstruct the country. A process of social engineering had to take place in order to redress the social engineering of apartheid.”

Many social scientists, Posel says, moved aggressively into applied research—either through the universities or as a result of an explosion of private consultancies. “That produced a very technocratic approach to knowledge production,” Posel adds. “We became fixated on knowledge that could be used to fix things. That is why we positioned WISER as one of the relatively few institutions left that reemphasizes basic research on the big ques-

tions,” she says. One of these “big” research questions, according to Posel, revolves around what she calls “the meanings of money.”

One of the problems posed by the many “meanings of money” presents a serious challenge to the development of scholars in South Africa, as well as throughout the rest of the continent. Most scholars interviewed for this article voiced serious concern about the continent’s ability to produce a new generation of scientists and researchers.

“A black graduate who has talent,” Posel says, “is snapped up by other fields. There’s the temptation of money, and there are huge sums of money to be made outside academia.” The story is the same all over Africa. Many scientists themselves say they would not encourage their children to pursue a path similar to theirs because “there’s no money in it.”

“It’s a very serious problem,” agrees Professor Mayunga Nkunya of the Faculty of Science at the University of Dar es Salaam. “Law and economics are the most popular programs at the university. Developing countries need good scientists and engineers. If every good person becomes a lawyer, then the prosperity of Africa is at very serious stake.”

Dr. Monty Jones, the NERICA rice inventor, was perhaps the one voice of optimism regarding the future. “Not everyone can become lawyers or business people,” Jones said. “There will always be some students who are attracted to research and scholarship. As African countries continue to stabilize and grow, there will be more scholars. That is why, when I come to the U.S. in October to accept the World Food Prize, I will accept it on behalf of all of Africa. I will accept it for what we have done, we are now, and for what we will become.” ■

F.W. DeKlerk was the president of South Africa from 1989 to 1994. His lifting of the ban on the African National Congress in February 1990 and releasing Nelson Mandela from jail paved the way for the negotiations which led to the end of apartheid and white minority rule. DeKlerk and Mandela were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 for their work towards the peaceful termination of the apartheid regime and for laying the foundation for democracy in South Africa. He is interviewed here by Susan King, Carnegie Corporation of New York vice president, public affairs.

F.W. DeKlerk

AN INTERVIEW

Susan King: We've reach the ten-year anniversary of—as it's been described so often—a miracle in South Africa. How do you judge it?

F.W. DeKlerk: If I look back, I think we have achieved most of the goals that were achievable within a short span of ten years, such as the creation of a constitution and the acceptance of that constitution as truly embodying the value system of the nation. As Albie Sachs, one of our constitutional court judges says, our constitution is the autobiography of the nation—of the new South Africa. Our democracy is developing quite satisfactorily. This spring, we had our third general election. The first two went peacefully, and I think the third one was even better.

In one sense, though, ours is not a very healthy democracy. I believe there's too much power in one party's hands, and that sometime or another we will have a realignment that will bring us away from ethnically based and racially based politics and towards value-based political parties and value-driven political debates. I hope that will take place. I think only then will we be able to say we have achieved our goal of becoming a truly non-racial democracy, which is embedded in our bill of rights and constitution.

Economically things are going well. We need a much higher growth rate, but in American and European terms, our growth rate of around about three percent in real terms is already quite impressive. I

think through the implementation of well-balanced economic policies we have overcome the skepticism that originally existed in the foreign investor community.

SK: But in terms of housing, education, jobs—those have been difficult areas because so much ground needs to be made up?

FWDK: That is the challenge of the next ten years. We've done a lot already in housing and in bringing fresh water and electricity to more people. In terms of education, lots of preparatory work has been done. But at the school level, things haven't changed all that much. There are still good schools that are now fully integrated and multiracial. That's a great achievement, which happened without much pain, but real improvement in the education provided by the majority of our schools is still to come.

As for unemployment, it's extremely high. So, poverty is clearly at the root of many of our socioeconomic problems. There are so many children, for example, living in homes where parents can't even help with the schoolwork because of illiteracy among the older generation.

The F.W. DeKlerk Foundation, which I created in 1999, is focusing its activities in South Africa on trying to make a contribution to assure that we bring everybody onto the playing field with regard to the challenge of socioeconomic transformation—of black empowerment, of affirmative



AMNEE SISCO 2004

action—in a positive way that draws all the energy in the country into this process rather than becoming a new divisive factor.

SK: Some people would think government is the driver that really moves some of these socioeconomic issues forward. How does a foundation contribute?

FWDK: My foundation does that in two ways. First, by trying to motivate all facets of civil society to be involved. Second, by promoting a constructive dialogue between civil society and the government on transformation issues.

What that means, specifically, is that we bring together a multidisciplinary group—positively oriented people from education, from charitable organizations, from the church, from the private sector—and sit down with government to discuss the burning issues involved in the process of black economic empowerment, affirmative action, strengthening the constitution, etc.

We've already had two brainstorming sessions with President Mbeke and I think we have built up trust. Now, we're preparing for a third meeting where we will propose a joint action plan that draws everybody in with regard to socioeconomic reform.

SK: The government of South Africa is currently led by the African National Congress (ANC) which, for many years, saw you as the enemy, although perhaps they wouldn't be where they are if it wasn't for your leadership in ending apartheid. Do they now see you as a real player in a new South Africa?

FWDK: There was a time when I think they might have been suspicious that I still had a political agenda, but it's been accepted now by the powers that be within the governing party that I don't, and that I am making and can make a contribution. And there is a new openness and a new sense of trust on their part towards me, which really strengthens my hand. I have regular meetings with President Mbeke; President Mandela and I have become quite good friends. We're doing some things together: as part of this greater dialogue, for instance, a group led by President Mandela's foundation and a group led by my foundation have already had a two-day get together. And we're now working towards a more structured agenda for a follow-up meeting, where we are looking at how to stimulate this dialogue at the local level, the city level, the town level so groups within each area can tell us what they feel are the challenges facing us in achieving socioeconomic transformation.

SK: And these are dialogues between blacks and whites?

FWDK: Absolutely.

SK: Between all racial groups?

FWDK: Absolutely. But my team also has blacks on it, and also has people of color on it. So, it is a truly non-racial group from both sides.

SK: With unemployment so high, there is frustration and anger among those in South Africa whose lives are not improving. Many people thought that the end of apartheid would bring a better life. What is the most important thing that you must work on when so many people are disappointed? Is it building the job base? Is it education? Or do you have to work on everything at the same time?

FWDK: I don't think there's a quick fix for the vast problem of unemployment that we have. It is not just the result of former policies, and so on. Unemployment is rife in other countries in Africa where they've been self-governing for almost 50 years now—it's a problem of the developing world in general. And South Africa is sort of a hybrid country. It has a first-world dimension, but it has always had a third-world aspect as well. So we're struggling with the same problems that the rest of the developing world is struggling with.

Our skills base cannot meet the demands of the new economy and the new industrial setup that has developed through the technological revolution of recent years. If you look at Africa, only four percent of African youth gets tertiary education as opposed to nearly sixty percent in developed countries. That disparity tells you immediately why our workers don't have the skills needed for today's economy.

In a country like South Africa, it is fundamentally important that we get new fixed investments, that new factories are built. That new sources of revenue are tapped, new mines opened, new jobs created in new businesses. In some ways, we are beginning to see that happening, such as in the motor industry. South Africa has become an impressive exporter of cars to Southeast Asia, Australasia, and other Indian Ocean realms, which has created many jobs. And we've had hundreds of millions of dollars in new investment in South Africa. We need to make that happen in other spheres, too.

SK: Some people worry that South Africa could go the route of Zimbabwe, which for many years was doing pretty well as a democracy and where the black and white communities seemed to have a rapprochement. But Zimbabwe has now fallen into disarray; there's violence and chaos. Can you avoid the same fate?

FWDK: I have no doubt that we will avoid becoming a Zimbabwe. I say that because

there is a broad, firm consensus among the overwhelming majority of South Africans—who are moderates—that we will make our constitution work.

SK: In the U.S., we always feel that our first president, George Washington, helped us establish a vibrant democracy because he didn't want to stay in office too long. It must have been also a positive thing to have Nelson Mandela serve his term and then leave office.

FWDK: I think it was a very good exercise to have a change of presidents after one term. In a sense, I think Mandela is missed, but he's still doing so much in the field of reconciliation and in working toward socioeconomic transformation that not having him as the president isn't so hurtful. But the fact that there was a peaceful transition, that a former president could stay involved in the country's development, is an example to the rest of Africa that presidents needn't cling to power in order to play a constructive role in their country.

SK: That goes for you as well?

FWDK: Absolutely. I experience it from day to day when I'm in South Africa, where I continue to live and which is the country that I love. The recognition and respect that I get from black South Africans is a great inspiration to me.

SK: You could have walked away after your presidency. What made you say, I've got to keep investing in this country?

FWDK: Well, I feel I have a residual responsibility. It would be arrogant to say I started it all, but I was one of the leading figures who promoted the initiatives that led to the creation of a new South Africa—which led to the peaceful transition towards a full and free democracy. But that new South Africa is still like a young, tender plant. It needs nurturing, it needs water, it needs to be trimmed from time to time. And as long as I have the energy and the capacity, I feel that I have a responsibility to do my part—not from the perspective of a member of a political party, but from who I now am, a member of South Africa's civil society. ■

Editor's Note: In August 2004, F.W. DeKlerk announced he was withdrawing from the New National Party (NNP), of which he is a member, citing the fact that the NNP's merger with the African National Congress would leave "a gap in South Africa's political spectrum."

It was almost dark on the Syria-Lebanon border. Like most border crossings, there were the nondescript, almost decrepit, colorless office buildings just beyond the armed guard passageways where everyone had to enter for passport control. For the group on the bus that had just pulled up, it was going to be at least an hour-long wait. But there was no time for boredom among the passengers: with laptops

intellectual program the project staff had carefully arranged from their headquarters in Washington, D.C.

The day had begun with a fleet of small government cars waiting outside the Omayyad Hotel in downtown Damascus where the journalists had stayed the night. Drivers dressed in black suits whisked them through the city behind a motorcycle police escort with sirens

campaign to connect with the American people and present a different picture than American policymakers are currently painting.

After the meeting with Assad, most of the editors filed stories. Excerpts include this, from AP's Laura Myers, who wrote, "Assad disputed the case that the Bush administration had made to impose the embargo, saying Syria does not have weapons of mass destruction

The International Reporting Project: Giving Journalists a

propped on the gray concrete barriers separating the border from the road, a group of thirteen men and women who make decisions about foreign news for some of America's leading news organizations energetically typed their stories with a single-minded passion. It was almost deadline back in the States.

There is something about filing a story that animates a reporter and transforms a group of thoughtful individuals into a pulsating, animated force. Newspeople seem to get their nourishment from knowing that an article they are working on will soon get into the paper or on the air. And this group had a story guaranteed to attract attention: President Bashar al-Assad, the son of the long-time Syrian dictator, had given them 90 minutes for what was billed as a briefing, but which later morphed from an off-the-record conversation into a major newsmaking event.

The day before, the United States had imposed long-talked about sanctions against Syria for what the government described as Syria's continuing support for terrorism. In this context, the fact that *The Boston Globe*, Knight Ridder, *USA Today*, the *Baltimore Sun*, Newsweek.com and even the far-reaching Associated Press had their own journalists on the spot to question the little-seen Assad meant they had a story and an inside perspective for their news organizations. They had something their competition did not.

For the International Reporting Project (IRP) at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Study, which had organized this trip to introduce American journalists to Islam and the Middle East, such a newsmaking opportunity was a welcome addition to the serious, diverse and challenging



COURTESY THE INTERNATIONAL REPORTING PROJECT

The Gatekeeper Editors with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad.

blazing. They traveled past the UN building that had been bombed only ten days before, to the palace on a desert hill built to impress and exude control. From this huge cement palace, designed by a Japanese architect with little reverence for anything Syrian, the entire sprawling, ancient city of Damascus, with its souk and wandering neighborhoods, could be observed at a glance.

The journalists walked through the wide corridors of the palace, which was devoid of furniture or art, past flowing fountains and into a large elongated room where, without warning, President Assad waited to greet them, one by one. The tall young man with a receding chin hardly looked like the formidable enemy described by U.S. diplomats. He also didn't seem as crafty as he joked about his love of computers and e-mail. But clearly, this unusual meeting, arranged by Assad's ambassador to the United States, was part of a Syrian

and there is no evidence of foreign fighters crossing the border from Syria to Iraq."

From Steven Butler, Knight Ridder's foreign editor: "Assad strongly disputed the premise of the American demands while calling for a common effort with the United States to pursue peace in the Middle East and fight terrorism. U.S. officials acknowledge that Syria has provided important intelligence on terrorists."

From *The Boston Globe's* James Smith: "In a rare meeting with American journalists at his palace, Assad said Syria was still assessing the impact that the sanctions could have, but he downplayed their potential affect... Still, the president suggested that even a symbolic U.S. move against Syria could hinder efforts to gradually implement internal reforms and ease Syria's longtime suppression of political opposition."

For Assad, the morning spent with leading U.S. journalists was a worthwhile exercise. For



Journalists Mark Bowden and James Smith walking the "Green Line."

New Perspective on the News

the reporters, it was a high. They were in the Middle East to learn, attend seminars, meet with leaders, both those in power and from the opposition. They were here to experience the different perspectives of the Muslim world in Lebanon and Syria, but getting a story firsthand, feeling the pulse of a world leader was a special experience, one bound to animate and energize these intelligent, well-educated and well-traveled journalists.

But there was another benefit that these thirteen "Gatekeeper Editors"—as the group was collectively known—were reaping, as well: journalism is arguably the most prominent American profession that makes little investment in its best and brightest. According to the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, the business world spends approximately two percent of its payroll on training employees, the technology world about four percent, but journalism, by comparison, invests less than one percent in professional development. To be awarded an IRP Fellowship in International Journalism, an editor must apply and be accepted. His bosses must agree to give him the time off.

All the journalists on this trip, from large and small papers from both coasts and points in between, as well as from radio and television, had similar motivations for applying to participate in the current study tour, which they shared with one another in a small conference room at an airport hotel a few hours before taking off from Washington for Beirut. For more than a year, these editors had been planning, managing, and editing copy focused on the war in Iraq and other conflicts in the Middle East. Since 9/11, there had been little let up for the foreign editors who daily have to assess the

needs of their audience, the demands in the newsroom and unrelenting competition.

"I manage nine foreign reporters," Steve Butler, the Washington foreign editor for the Knight Ridder chain, told the group, "I don't feel I have the background I need to make informed decisions about their work." This was an interesting admission from a man who was hardly a neophyte in his profession. Fluent in Chinese, he had lived and reported in Asia for many years but felt less grounded in Middle East issues. He came on this trip hungry for information, insight and knowledge.

"We publish fast and on the fly," confessed Arlene Getz, a South African who had covered much of the anti-apartheid struggle and the transition to democracy in her home country for *Newsweek* magazine. Now she is deputy editor of the magazine's web site and working and living in New York. She, too, wanted a deeper grounding in the Middle East, now the center of so much journalistic attention.

James Smith, a foreign correspondent for 22 years, explained that he manages six correspondents for *The Boston Globe* and 80 percent of his time is focused on Middle East coverage. He had recently opened the paper's bureau in Baghdad but said, "I'm not as familiar as I need to be with the Middle East. I hope that this experience will help me to direct our coverage more knowingly."

No one was saying it in quite so many words, but in journalese, for these editors, the next two weeks of their lives could be headlined: *Crash Course In Arab Public Opinion*.

And that was almost exactly the preview they received from Samer Shehata, the Islamic scholar from Georgetown University who gave them an hour lecture on the region they would

be visiting before they left the U.S. "During your travels, at meetings you'll attend, you'll hear that the war on terrorism is a war on Islam," Shehata told the group. His talk provided a grounding in ideas that echoed throughout the trip.

John Schidlovsky had organized the IRP program to pack in what he felt every reporter and editor would need to know in order to better cover this part of the world. Schidlovsky had founded the International Reporting Project seven years ago with the backing of the Pew Charitable Trusts, the sole funder before they ceased support so they could direct their resources toward other initiatives. (The International Reporting Project has since received grants from Carnegie Corporation of New York, as well as other foundations.) After many years as a foreign correspondent, he wandered into the world of journalism education through the door of the Freedom Forum, a foundation focused on a free press.

Creating his own international program for journalists was Schidlovsky's dream. "I was increasingly disappointed that there were fewer news bureaus overseas at many U.S. news operations," he said, "meaning, not only was the public getting less international news but journalists had few opportunities to cover international news." He created a semester-long training program for young working journalists drawing on the expertise of Johns Hopkins scholars. Each semester a new crop of fellows— young or mid-career journalists who compete for the fellowships—come for four months of classes and seminars at Johns Hopkins followed by weeks of on-the-ground travel and reporting in a chosen part of the world.

After a few years of working with young and mid-level reporters, Schidlovsky realized that, "We really had to reach their bosses. We learned that many editors in charge of foreign coverage had not been to key countries in the world, yet they were making decisions about how international news was presented." Thus the Gatekeeper Editors program was launched, a yearly trip designed to give leading editors a crash course in the culture, politics, history, issues and perspectives of a particular region of the world. "As a result of these trips," says Schidlovsky, "we could eventually have hundreds of participants who assume increasingly important roles in their news organizations. Editors in chief; publishers—people in positions to implement pretty substantial changes and have substantial impact on their business."

As this particular Gatekeeper trip progressed, it was clear that no news organization could have put together as deep, multi-faceted, varied, or colorful a ten-day experience in

Lebanon and Syria as had Schidlovsky and his deputy, Louise Leif. Leif, also a former journalist and veteran of television as well as print, is fluent in Arabic and she had made the arrangements on the ground, which included a meeting with members of Hezbollah, the terrorist group that had become infamous in the 1970s for kidnapping journalists and holding them hostage for months, and which—with an irony lost on none of the journalists on this trip—was now hosting the Gatekeeper Editors at their headquarters. Leif has also arranged for seminars on Arab television, women's rights, the United Nations, politics, diplomacy and visits to the American embassy, the Hezbollah television station and Beirut's famous "Green Line," the now busily traveled main avenue that had been the dividing line between Islam and Christian Beirut during the long Lebanese civil war.

It was a great deal to absorb. "The evaluation at the end of the trip will help us really

that the media often gives the impression that every street in Lebanon and the entire region is filled with demonstrations and conflicts with police, military and civilian targets. I will certainly be looking for more in-depth material that goes beyond the news of the day."

For most of the editors, the exhilaration of on-the-ground-learning had meant success. They shared an enthusiasm that comes from having pulled back a curtain and looked in on a world that was no longer so obscure.

"This will help me to steer my reporters harder in the right direction. They know more than I do, but I can push them for more depth. I now know what questions to raise," Steve Butler of Knight Ridder said. Butler and others admitted that the Iraq war required a depth of knowledge no Pentagon briefing could prepare them for. Understanding the conflict in Iraq meant having a better understanding of the Shiite religion, the forces and power that

shape Islam and the relationships between groups like the Sunnis and Shiia.

"I wanted to know more about the Islamic world and really see what life is like in a society rising up out of the conflict in Lebanon," Arlene Getz said. Once leery of the heavily lecture-dominated schedule of the trip, she now saw it as a good mix and such a foundation-sponsored study

tour as a major plus. "At the moment," she continued, "American society is in the thick of a conflict and people really need to know and understand exactly what's going on. Good journalists have a critical role to play in informing the public."

For James Smith, the real motivation for participating in IRP was to learn about this part of the world where America's daily coverage is focused. But he discovered something equally enriching in becoming part of a community of editors. "I wanted a chance to share impressions with colleagues and talk with peers who face the same challenges as I do all the time." On the domestic side of the news business, Smith pointed to problems such as tightening budgets, 24/7 decision-making and news operations that are perpetually short-staffed, then segued into concerns about the security of reporters working in war zones. Realizing that just about everybody had these same problems

"was an unexpected benefit," Smith said, "and very helpful."

Iowa's *Cedar Rapids Gazette* does not have a string of foreign correspondents making sense of the world for its readers, a group who become unduly important every four years when the presidential election season begins in that state. Mark Bowden, the *Gazette* editor, shapes the world view of many of those voters, and for him, this trip was his first experience in the Middle East. "We hear so much in the news about Islam being the precipitator of the conflict and what we have learned in a very short time is that the issues are much more complex: there is a conflict between religion, culture and tradition at work here. It's been a very helpful experience from that context." If this study tour ends up helping Bowden think differently about foreign coverage, he also insisted it would have an impact on how he will assign and tell stories about events in his local area where there is a strong Syrian Islamic community.

For Miriam Pepper, the editorial page editor at the *Kansas City Star* who directs the paper's policy and chooses the op-eds that expand opinion for her readers, meeting some of the analysts and journalists whose work from the Middle East she sometimes publishes was critical. "One problem we've always had is finding pro-Palestinian pieces to run in the paper that are factual and reflect honest opinions. I think I'm in a lot better position now to recognize what views are truly representative of the region."

Based on the comments of the journalists who participated in the Gatekeeper Editors' trip to Syria and Lebanon, the program, with its objective, in-depth and open-minded introduction to the Islamic world and how many Muslims living in the Middle East view America, was clearly an unqualified success, and reinforced the idea that journalism can best serve a nation when it tells a story informed by the facts, buttressed by experience, and unclouded by bias or political influence. How much the program will be able to improve journalism as a whole is a question open for debate, but there was no doubt that it had deeply affected these thirteen editors, who left with more understanding than when they arrived.

"If there are foundations that want to help shape American foreign policy, the International Reporting Project is certainly an effective mechanism to consider," Smith concluded, echoing the sentiments of many others in the group. "As editors and reporters, we are a channel to a far greater number of people. Our work magnifies the impact of the news. Our readers are the American people, and they depend on us to tell them the truth." ■



COURTESY THE INTERNATIONAL REPORTING PROJECT

The editors with Sayyed Fadlallah, the spiritual leader of Hezbollah. Women were required to wear head coverings for this meeting.

understand whether we met the editors' expectations," said Leif, "and how, if at all, their experiences will influence the way they handle foreign coverage from this region in the future. We haven't pushed any particular point of view," Leif added. "We haven't told the journalists what to ask or tried to achieve any outcome other than adding to their depth of knowledge." But would any of this make a difference—would it really enrich and broaden the editors' understanding of the international issues they'd be asked to deal with when they got back to work? For Schidlovsky and Leif, an affirmative answer to those questions would define success.

"We have always tried to be fair in selecting stories and pictures from the region," Ron Royhab the editor and chief of the *Toledo Blade* in Ohio wrote in his evaluation, "but now I am asking myself if we do enough to explain the serious and complex issues. I am also concerned

Recent Events

Carnegie Forum On Social Inequality

In 2000, Carnegie Corporation of New York partnered with the Russell Sage Foundation to explore a topic high on America's agenda: income inequality and the social impact of this growing inequity. The foundations commissioned forty-eight social scientists organized into six working groups to examine whether the recent increases in economic inequality have, in fact, exacerbated social inequities of the kind that might make the widening gap between rich and poor Americans difficult to reverse.

The first phase of that research is complete, and was published recently in the report *Social Inequality* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), edited by Kathryn M. Neckerman, associate director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy at Columbia University.

On August 12, 2004, Carnegie Corporation of New York and its president, Vartan Gregorian, hosted a Forum on Social Inequality featuring some of the key researchers who contributed to this first publication presenting their findings. "We think the time is ripe—now, when the country is focused on the kinds of national concerns that challenge us every four years—to bring the insights and policy implications detailed in the report to the forefront of our national discussions," Gregorian told the forum.

Eric Wanner, president of the Russell Sage Foundation, led a panel discussion by three of the scholars who worked on the project: Larry M. Bartels,



DENNIS MILBAUER

**Panelists (l. to r.)
Jane Waldfogel,
Larry M. Bartels and
Barbara L. Wolfe**

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University (Bartels is also a 2004 Carnegie Scholar); Barbara L. Wolfe, Institute of Poverty Research, University of Wisconsin; and Jane Waldfogel, School of Social Work, Columbia University.

In opening remarks, Wanner said, "The United States has been through an inequality shock over the past few years and this economic trend will have important social consequences." Wanner explained that the four-year-long research project sought to examine specific areas of society—education, politics, work and family—and to understand the dynamic effects that income inequality had on each sector. "In each social domain," he said, "we asked how the lives of the rich and poor changed over the last three decades, as economic inequality rose. Did inequality in family structure and investments in children, in educational quality and opportunity, in health care and outcomes, in job quality and satisfaction with work, in political participation and influence, and in many other aspects of social life

become more or less pronounced?"

The answer, in all cases, seems to be that economic equality—which has risen sharply since the late 1970s when the United States experienced a series of economic shocks, such as stagflation, along with demographic changes—seems to be having both lasting and debilitating effects on our nation. Access to education, to satisfying and economically rewarding employment, to decent housing—to so many of the benefits that we hope and believe should be available to those who play by the rules—remain out of reach of the economically disadvantaged. Income is one important indicator of these disparities: according to *Social Inequality*, "From 1979 to 2002, families in the top fifth of the income distribution increased their share of the national income from 44 percent to just under 50 percent, with almost all of this gain going to families in the top 5 percent. Every other



DENNIS MILBAUER

**Vartan Gregorian
introducing
Eric Wanner**

quintile lost income share...the bottom fifth of all American families saw their meager share of national income decline from 4.3 percent to 3.5 percent."

The Carnegie Forums comprise an occasional series of working luncheons and roundtable discussions that focus on national and international issues. An essential component of these events are the comments and questions from the audience of academic and policy leaders, foundation colleagues and journalists. This forum helped launch what both the Corporation and Russell Sage Foundation hope will create a deeper understanding of the consequences of social inequality and the role policy plays in narrowing the gaps of inequality.

(Continued on page 48)

Vartan Gregorian Receives Presidential Medal of Freedom

On June 23, 2004 Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, was one of thirteen individuals awarded the 2004 Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civil award. Established in 1945 by



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Vartan Gregorian receives the Medal of Freedom from President George W. Bush.

President Harry Truman, the award is given each year by the president of the United States to distinguished leaders for service in a range of disciplines. In the White House announcement, Gregorian was recognized as a scholar and historian, for his work in revitalizing the New York Public Library, for his years of service as a professor and leader at six universities in the United States and for his philanthropic endeavors.

"It is a great tribute to Vartan who is a teacher's teacher, a scholar's scholar and a philanthropist's philanthropist," said Helene Kaplan, chairman of the board of trustees of Carnegie Corporation. "To be recognized

for a lifetime's work can be daunting, but what we on the Corporation's board know only too clearly, is that no honor will slow down the vitality and creativity of Vartan. He has taken the subjects and skills he has mastered at each job and brought them to the foundation in a way that has made the Corporation a powerhouse of ideas and possibilities. It is wonderful to see the White House recognize his life's work and his continuing contributions."

"This is wonderful choice by President Bush," said Governor Thomas Kean, immediate past chair of the Corporation's board of trustees. "It reveals a deep respect for the role of a scholar in public life and recognizes the great importance of both universities and libraries to America. Vartan has been honored by both the academic and library community many times, and this Medal of Freedom honors not only Vartan personally, but also, both communities whose work is vital to our nation."

Gregorian was named the president of Carnegie Corpor-

ation of New York in 1997 and joined as the twelfth president after serving for nine years at president of Brown University. As president and chief executive officer of the New York Public Library before that, Gregorian is credited with returning the fabled city institution to its international esteem and grandeur. Gregorian is an historian and teacher who recently authored *Islam: A Mosaic Not a Monolith*, (Brookings Institution Press, 2003) and his autobiography *The Road to Home* (Simon & Schuster, 2003). He has won numerous awards and honorary degrees, including the highest award of the American Library Association, its honorary membership.

Gregorian is the third president of Carnegie Corporation of New York to be honored with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. John Gardner was awarded the medal in 1964 and David Hamburg in 1995.

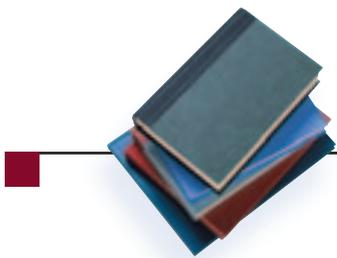
This year, the other recipients of the Medal were: Robert L. Bartley, the late conservative journalist, editorial page editor

of *The Wall Street Journal* and Pulitzer Prize-winner; Edward W. Brooke, first African American elected to the U.S. Senate since Reconstruction, a Republican who represented Massachusetts from 1967 to 1979; Doris Day, singer and icon on the American movie screen; Gilbert M. Grosvenor, chairman of the National Geographic Society; Gordon B. Hinckley, president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; Pope John Paul II; Estee Lauder, the late cosmetics pioneer; Rita Moreno, Grammy-, Tony- and Emmy-award winning actress; Arnold Palmer, winner of 92 golf championships; Arnall Patz, a world-renowned ophthalmologist and researcher of eye disease whose breakthrough work has helped prevent blindness; Norman Podhoretz, neoconservative author and longtime editor of *Commentary*, the American Jewish Committee magazine; and Walter B. Wriston, former chairman and chief executive of Citibank and chairman of President Reagan's Economic Policy Advisory Board.



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The medal winners and their representatives in the White House.



NewBooks

America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy

BY IVO H. DAALDER AND
JAMES M. LINDSAY
Brookings Institution Press, 2003

When George W. Bush took office, he was widely criticized for his inexperience in world affairs, and many thought that the more seasoned members of his cabinet would dictate his foreign policy. In *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, Ivo H. Daalder, a senior fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, and James M. Lindsay, vice president and director of studies of the Council on Foreign Relations, explain how President Bush has brought about a foreign policy revolution based not on deep knowledge of international politics but on firm convictions about America's international role. Moreover, they argue that Bush, not his advisors, has orchestrated this revolution, noting that he chose cabinet members and foreign policy advisors who share his "hegemonist" worldview, which sees America as a unique power that must not be bound by international coalitions and treaties unless they are in its own interest. Daalder and Lindsay, both members of the National Security Council under President Clinton, also analyze how the war against terrorism has tested this principle, offering their assessment of the Bush Administration's successes and failures in Afghanistan and Iraq. Regarding Iraq, the authors say that while the war itself was an extraordinary success, the

attempt at what they call "nation-building lite" was a failure. Daalder and Lindsay suggest that although it is too early to judge whether Bush's foreign policy revolution will ultimately be successful, in one respect—assuming that overwhelming power alone is enough to achieve America's goals—it has already been proven wrong.

Franchise Value: A Modern Approach to Security Analysis

BY MARTIN L. LEIBOWITZ
John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 2004

Inside the Yield Book: The Classic That Created the Science of Bond Analysis

BY SIDNEY HOMER AND
MARTIN L. LEIBOWITZ
*Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1972; Bloomberg
Press, 2004*

Martin Leibowitz, vice chairman of Carnegie Corporation of New York's board of trustees, is currently a managing director in the research department of Morgan Stanley; prior to that, for nine years he was vice chairman and chief investment officer of TIAA-CREF, overseeing more than \$300 billion in investments. The author of several previous books and more than 130 articles, Leibowitz has now written *Franchise Value: A Modern Approach to Security Analysis*, which provides investment practitioners with a comprehensive guide to price/earnings ratios and equity valuations. The franchise value (FV) approach, explains Leibowitz, springs from work he and an associate, Stanley Kogelman, undertook in the late 1980s at Salomon Brothers. Discussing the development of FV, Leibowitz writes, "We had been asked to develop a valua-

tion model to advance our understanding of a foreign equity market...One of the key questions was how much an investor should be willing to pay for the market's exceptional rate of growth. Since it was well known that not all forms of earnings growth contribute to a firm's value, Stan and I tried to probe more deeply into the value-additive component of growth, which we chose to characterize by the term 'franchise value.'" One reviewer said the book was "A bold investigation into the basis for common stock valuation that will challenge conventional thinking about such basic ideas as earnings and growth."

Along with the late Sidney Homer, who was the founder and general partner in charge of Salomon Brothers' bond market research department, Leibowitz is also the co-author of *Inside the Yield Book*, first published in 1972 and reissued this year. This updated edition of the classic volume, which has been in print for over 30 years, "explains and makes sense of essential mathematical relationships that are basic to an understanding of bonds, annuities, loans...any securities or investments that involve compound interest and the determination of present value for future cash flows." Frank J. Fabozzi, Editor of the *Journal of Portfolio Management* and Frederick Frank Adjunct Professor of Finance at Yale University's School of Management has written of *Inside the Yield*, "This book transformed the markets' understanding of bonds. The new material in this expanded edition extend those insights to equities and other investments..."

The New York Times Guide for Immigrants in New York City

BY JOAN P. NASSIVERA,
IN PARTNERSHIP WITH
THE LOWER EAST SIDE
TENEMENT MUSEUM
Thomas Dunne Books, 2004

Many immigrants who arrive in New York City have neither family nor friends in their new home, and nobody to help them solve basic problems like finding housing and employment. Those from countries where government officials and the police are feared often distrust groups that can help them. *The New York Times Guide for Immigrants in New York City* is an important resource that provides answers to many critical questions immigrants may have, such as how to find a job, enroll their children in school, open a bank account or get medical care. The *Guide*, which was supported by Carnegie Corporation and other foundations, also offers advice for dealing with a host of legal and practical problems including how to work towards citizenship as well as where to take free English classes. While there are many places in New York where immigrants can go for help, recent arrivals may have no way of connecting with them. That is why one of the most valuable sections of the *Guide* is probably the resource directory, which lists names and contact information for the many agencies, services, and groups that be of assistance to immigrants and details the services each provides, in what languages and for whom. Helpfully, the book is divided into three sections where the information is provided first in English, then Spanish, and then Chinese.

**Islam in Russia:
the Politics of Identity
and Security**

BY SHIREEN T. HUNTER
M.E. Sharpe, 2004

Islam in Russia: the Politics of Identity and Security is a thorough study of Islam's influence on post-Soviet Russia. Shireen T. Hunter, director of the Islam Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, explores the role of the "Islamic factor" in developing Russia's national identity and its impact on Russia's relations with both the West and Muslim nations. Hunter begins with a history of Russian-Arab relations, from the Mongol invasion to the present day, explaining how the patterns of conquest, assimilation, and resistance have made Russians and Muslims view one another as the "hostile other." Since the fall of the Soviet Union, many predominantly Muslim areas of Russia have struggled for both cultural and geographic independence; however, many Orthodox Russians have increasingly asserted their nation's cultural and religious homogeneity, a conflict that complicates the development of a civic, multiethnic Russian identity, and may eventually endanger Russia's stability. *Islam in Russia*, which was supported by a grant from Carnegie Corporation, also painstakingly examines the way Islam has shaped Russia's foreign relations, particularly since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and analyzes the international importance of the wars with Chechnya, as well as the way they have radicalized both Islamic fundamentalists and Russian nationalists. The book is an important study of the interplay of religion, history, politics

and national identity, providing critical new insights for policymakers, scholars and the public.

Hunter is also the author of *Modernization and Democratization in the Muslim World: Obstacles and Remedies* (Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 2004), which provides a wide-ranging and objective overview of the Muslim world, incorporating politics, history, economics and development issues, while also exploring the "Muslim world's modernization and democracy gap."

**Learning to Live
Together: Preventing
Hatred and Violence in
Child and Adolescent
Development**

BY DAVID A. HAMBURG, M.D.
AND BEATRIX A. HAMBURG,
M.D.
Oxford University Press, 2004

In *Learning to Live Together*, David Hamburg, president emeritus of Carnegie Corporation of New York and his wife, Beatrix Hamburg, a visiting scholar in the Department of Psychology at Cornell University's Weill Medical College, apply their experience in the field of conflict resolution and human development to examine how children can be taught cooperation and tolerance rather than hatred and prejudice. The authors argue that despite the historical pervasiveness of warfare, it is preventable, and the immense destructive power of modern weaponry makes conflict avoidance a necessity. In attempting to avert violent group conflicts, scholars have focused on political and economic means of deterrence, as Hamburg did in his 2002 book *No More Killing Fields*. Now, in *Learning to Live Together*, the

Hamburgs examine the potential of education to prevent hostility and violence on all levels: in families, in communities, among diverse ethnic and religious groups, and among nations, postulating that, if hatred can be taught, so too can tolerance and cooperation. They note, however, that prejudice is to some degree inherent in group psychology, and hence "education everywhere has been ethnocentric—and all too often virulently prejudicial." As a remedy, the authors—in this profoundly hopeful book—advocate an expansion of "peace education," a form of conflict-resolution instruction that addresses large-scale group conflicts. They explain how, with the help of universities, international organizations, and foundations, both industrialized and developing nations can realize the potential of peace education to teach intergroup cooperation.

**The Promotion of
Social Awareness:
Powerful Lessons from
the Partnership of
Developmental Theory
and Classroom Practice**

BY ROBERT L. SELMAN
Russell Sage Foundation, 2003

The social behavior that children learn in elementary and middle school can vitally affect their futures, yet teachers everywhere rarely include social skills education in their lesson plans. How can educators promote positive, healthy social interactions while still teaching basic academic skills? Since the early 1970s, the Group for the Study of Interpersonal Development, an informal coalition of researchers, has investigated this question in schools from Boston to Iceland. Robert L. Selman,

professor of education and human development at Harvard Graduate School and professor of psychology at Harvard Medical School, documents their 30 years of creative research in *The Promotion of Social Awareness* which was written, in part, with Corporation support under its focus in prior years on early childhood development. The original foundations of Selman's research were the theories of moral development established by the psychologists Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, which postulate that moral development comes primarily through recognizing different points of view and having positive social relationships. Selman and his colleagues began researching these theories by presenting at-risk children in Boston-area public schools with brief stories that made them consider moral or social dilemmas. This allowed the researchers to expand their predecessors' theories by identifying different stages of social skills development. Their work also showed that literature can be very effective in making children consider different points of view. Selman and his colleagues next addressed a practical problem: integrating their theories into the curriculum. Together with the Voices of Love and Freedom, a group that tries to advance cultural and social awareness in elementary schools, they developed a program to combine literacy education with social and conflict-resolution skills. *The Promotion of Social Awareness* describes this program using extensive examples from the classroom, and offers insightful conclusions about both the potential and the difficulty of bringing developmental theory to our public schools.

Foundation Roundup

PUBLIC RADIO CAPITAL

Extending the Reach of Public Radio

The Ford Foundation has recently joined other funders in supporting Public Radio Capital (PRC), an organization that works with public broadcasters to acquire new channels and stations to extend the reach of public broadcasting and bring its programming to underserved areas.

Working closely with public broadcasting stations and affiliation groups, PRC offers a range of services to support these transactions: an intermediary to purchase radio stations, a representative for organizations deciding to buy or sell stations and as a financial advisor to public broadcasters for strategic business planning. PRC has also introduced the use of tax-exempt financing to public broadcasting, enabling nonprofit entities to participate in the highly competitive media marketplace.

Since its creation in 2001, PRC has been involved in transactions around the country that have advanced the reach of public broadcasting, resulting in the addition or preservation of 12 locally owned public stations that provide news, information, music and cultural programming to over 10.5 million listeners.

Original funding for PRC came from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting through the Station Resource Group. Since then, the Surdna Foundation, the Open Society Institute and other foundations have also provided support. Ford Foundation funding will enable PRC to break new ground with additional broadcast partners and to insure that additional broadcast channels are owned and operated by local public broadcasting organizations. For more information: www.pubcap.org.



Youth Vote a Force to be Reckoned With

Research and polling data show America's 18-to-24-year-old registered voters now represent a voting bloc sizable enough to affect the outcomes of elections over the next several years.

According to the New Voters Project's (NVP) *2004 Youth Vote Briefing Memo*, Generation Y—the largest generation since the Baby Boom—has nearly 25 million eligible voters, and for the first time in 20 years, young people's interest in politics and civic participation is on the rise.

NVP predicts that youth voters could tip the scales in several 2004 state elections, including Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Missouri, and that they might have a significant impact on the presidential race as well. The numbers haven't been lost on political parties: both have supported major grassroots efforts targeting young voters and GOP and Democratic leaders have appeared on MTV.

The nonpartisan NVP is coordinating projects in six states—Colorado, Iowa, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon and Wisconsin—with the goal of registering 265,000 young voters, coordinating person-to-person contact among one million youth, and organizing voting initiatives on 300 campuses.

NVP is a joint project of the Graduate School of Political Management at The George Washington University, the State Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) and The Pew Charitable Trusts. For more information: www.newvotersproject.org.



Solutions Proposed for Spiraling Tuition Costs

America's college students and their families, especially those from the middle and lower-income strata, are facing spiraling tuition costs that may limit access to higher education and ultimately, lifetime opportunity.

A new policy brief from Lumina Foundation identifies conditions responsible for the jump in cost, including a greater demand for college diplomas, shortages of space and learning support programs, national and fiscal economic problems and the public's demand for accountability from colleges and universities over academic standards.

Lumina's report—*Collision Course: Rising College Costs Threaten America's Future and Require Shared Solutions*—suggests a set of sweeping remedies for these problems such as bolstering the purchasing power of Pell Grants, the lynchpin of student financial aid and streamlining related federal regulations.

Other suggestions: state governments can reassess funding priorities by considering the economic benefits a college education brings—higher salaries, increased tax revenues, social cohesion, decreased crime rates and improved quality of life. Recognizing that more graduates want to earn a college degree, high schools can offer academic rigor to ensure their students are well prepared. Colleges and universities can nurture academic achievement by providing support programs, reallocating financial resources, and building institutional endowments. For more information: www.luminafoundation.org.



New Guidebook for Foreign Policy Advocacy

The Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, D.C. has announced publication of a “how-to” book that offers nonpartisan strategies for engaging Congressional members on national security issues and promoting effective policy changes.

Policy Matters: Educating Congress on Peace and Security lays out new ways of thinking about today's security needs and offers user friendly tips for formulating strategies to engage Congress that can be employed by a diverse constituency, including religious groups, veteran's organizations, grass-root activists and academics.

Because, as polls indicate, most Americans favor cooperative security arrangements based on shared values and common good, they also mistakenly assume that legislative policy reflects public opinion, according to a recent study by the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University. As a consequence, they remain passive when it comes to advocating for balanced, long-term and cost-effective approaches to U.S. security.

Countering this misconception and pushing for legislative change are major challenges to Americans hoping to revise national security.

Drawing on their expertise in the security field and their considerable Capitol Hill experience, authors Lorelei Kelly and Elizabeth Turpen offer an inside-out view of navigating peace and security issues in Congress and informed insights into promoting balanced solutions to the nation's most pressing foreign policy and security challenges. For more information: www.stimson.org.

THE BackPage

Adam Meyerson is president of The Philanthropy Roundtable, a national association of 500 foundations, philanthropic families, and corporate giving programs. Its mission is to foster excellence in philanthropy, to help donors achieve their philanthropic intent, and to help donors advance freedom, opportunity, and personal responsibility in America and abroad. This article is adapted from an editorial in the July-August 2004 issue of the Roundtable's magazine, Philanthropy.



COURTESY, THE PHILANTHROPY ROUNDTABLE

as important, provides interested parties such as The Philanthropy Roundtable with a valuable opportunity to share their views.

The Philanthropy Roundtable is strongly committed to protecting the philosophical diversity of the philanthropic sector, and to preserving the freedom of private foundations and other philanthropic vehicles to make fundamental decisions about how best to achieve their charitable objectives. And from this perspective, we have seven principal concerns

power to review and revoke the tax-exempt status of every foundation every five years—especially when this is combined with another proposal allowing state attorneys general to enforce federal tax laws. This automatic power, unless it is very carefully circumscribed, would give individuals in positions of authority an opportunity to use the IRS as a weapon against charities and foundations they disagree with philosophically. As recently as 1997, allegations were made that the IRS targeted for audit tax-

general to make contributions to charities of the AGs' choosing, to change the composition of their boards (without any findings of wrongdoing by directors), and to open up the board meetings of private institutions to the public. Private foundations currently have the legal authority to make their own decisions about such important internal questions. We are concerned that a five-year review power in the hands of state attorneys general would put private foundations at their mercy. This is because the threat

A Dangerous **Threat** *to* **Philanthropic** *Freedom*

by
ADAM MEYERSON

The Philanthropy Roundtable applauds the Senate Finance Committee for its leadership in working to reduce abuses of tax-exempt status in charities, private foundations, donor-advised funds, and other 501(c)(3) organizations. In many cases, the remedy for these abuses may require additional resources for the enforcement of existing laws and more timely and accurate reporting and disclosure. In other cases, as demonstrated by published reports on the overvaluation of donated vehicles, new laws may be needed to provide targeted remedies for specific categories of abuse. The June 22, 2004, Senate Finance Committee discussion draft describes several of the issues and identifies several possible solutions, and equally

about the Senate Finance Committee discussion draft.

First, we are troubled by a proposal giving the Internal Revenue Service the power to review foundations' and other tax-exempt organizations' "management policies regarding best practices" and "a detailed narrative about the organization's practices" as part of a review process for determining continuation of tax-exempt status. We are not aware that the IRS has any expertise in judging a foundation's internal management policies and procedures. Even more important, this new power would represent a substantial intrusion by federal authorities into the internal workings of a private organization. It has no place in a free society.

Second, we are concerned by a proposal to give the IRS the

power to review and revoke the tax-exempt status of every foundation every five years—especially when this is combined with another proposal allowing state attorneys general to enforce federal tax laws. This automatic power, unless it is very carefully circumscribed, would give individuals in positions of authority an opportunity to use the IRS as a weapon against charities and foundations they disagree with philosophically. As recently as 1997, allegations were made that the IRS targeted for audit tax-

exempt organizations that were critical of Clinton Administration policies. And while an investigation by the staff of Congress' Joint Committee on Taxation "found no political bias in the IRS's selection of tax-exempt organizations for audit or the conduct of such audits, the Joint Committee staff did identify certain procedural and substantive problems with IRS processes that may have contributed to a perception of unfairness."

A likely greater danger, again unless the power to revoke tax-exempt status is very carefully circumscribed, is that state attorneys general would abuse this power to put inappropriate political pressure on private foundations. This is not an idle threat. Our members tell us they are frequently asked by state attorneys

to revoke tax-exempt status of a foundation imperils its very existence and can tie it up in administrative knots, making it much more difficult to carry out its philanthropic mission.

Third, we are concerned about a proposal to make a foundation's continued tax exemption contingent on approval by a private accrediting agency for charities or foundations. Unless there is a wide variety of philosophically diverse accrediting agencies, or unless there are very minimal standards for accreditation, an accreditation requirement could pose a serious threat to independent thought in charitable and philanthropic organizations. The experience of colleges and universities, which must be accredited in order for their students to be eligible for

federal loan guarantees, illustrates the problem. Beginning in the early 1990s regional accrediting monopolies threatened to deny accreditation to some very fine colleges, such as Thomas Aquinas College in California, because they did not agree with the colleges' curricula. The president of Stanford University, Gerhard Casper, wrote that the accreditors' pressure for conformity "would ruin a system of higher education that allows Stanford and Thomas Aquinas College to serve students of different tastes." This threat to academic and intellectual freedom diminished somewhat when the U.S. Department of Education authorized a new accrediting agency (the American Academy of Liberal Education) as a competitive alternative to the regional monopolies.

Fourth, we are concerned about proposed micromanagement by the federal government of internal decisions involving staff and trustee compensation and travel budgets. This is a departure from a long tradition in federal and state law of respecting the diversity of the philanthropic sector in terms of mission, philosophy, size, operating style, and division of staff and trustee responsibilities. The tax exemption has been framed broadly to encourage this diversity and flexibility, and regulations such as those guarding against self-dealing and investment abuse have not interfered with the ability of a foundation to make its own decisions about how to achieve its charitable objectives. By contrast, the Finance Committee discussion draft suggests that government knows better than foundation leaders how their organizations should be run.

To cite one example, the dis-

ussion draft would sharply limit, and perhaps eliminate altogether, compensation for foundation trustees. There is a long tradition in the foundation world of expecting trustees to make a gift of their time and serve on boards without compensation. There is another long tradition which believes in paying busy trustees for their time and judgment. Our experience is that philanthropic excellence—and philanthropic mediocrity—is well represented in both traditions. More important, this is a judgment for the foundation itself to make.

Some foundations might prefer to spend relatively more on trustees than on staff, or vice versa. The travel needs of a foundation with international charitable objectives will differ substantially from those of a foundation focused on a local community. These are judgment calls for the foundation. It would be better to have an overall cap on administrative expenses as a proportion of total expenses (allowing room for additional operating-foundation-type expenditures of a genuinely philanthropic nature), than for government to second-guess most individual expenditures on travel and compensation.

As demonstrated by the recent jury trial of former officers of the King Foundation in Texas, there are examples of fraudulent and grossly excessive compensation in the foundation world. In the King Foundation case, existing laws were sufficient to punish the wrongdoers. Should new laws be necessary to guard against other cases of excessive compensation, they should be narrowly targeted to address the abuses in question—without interfering with the discretion of foundations to

make internal decisions about how best to carry out their charitable mission.

Fifth, we agree with the concerns articulated by Derek Bok of Harvard University at the June 22, 2004, hearing. "There is a danger," Professor Bok argued, "that in enacting rules in response to a few particularly flagrant, widely publicized abuses, regulators will impose burdens of paperwork, record-keeping, and other costs on all non-profits that will more than equal any benefits achieved by government intervention." We are particularly concerned that the imposition of Sarbanes-Oxley-type requirements on foundations with small staffs or boards would impose very substantial costs with very uncertain benefits.

Sixth, we are concerned by a proposal in the discussion draft to require the public disclosure of contributions by donor-advised funds. Private foundations have prospered under their public disclosure requirements of the past 35 years, and they would not suffer under proposals in the discussion draft to ensure more accurate and timely filing of IRS Form 990-PFs. However, individual donors have always enjoyed the right to keep their charitable contributions confidential if they wish. Disclosure requirements for donor-advised funds would most likely reduce charitable giving by taking away a highly efficient vehicle for living donors who cherish their privacy. Some other regulations may well be necessary to ensure that expenditures by donor-advised funds are made for charitable purposes.

Seventh, we are concerned by a proposal for government to subsidize efforts within the philanthropic sector to encourage best practices and set accrediting

standards. The money would come from the tax on net investment income on foundations. The Philanthropy Roundtable believes that it would be totally inappropriate for the philanthropic sector to turn to government to raise resources for its own self-improvement. Philanthropists and the organizations that serve them have the resources to raise this money themselves. Turning to government for financial help would also be deeply corrupting to the spirit of independence and voluntary initiative that animates philanthropy at its best.

The Philanthropy Roundtable is not reflexively opposed to all regulation of foundations and other philanthropic vehicles. Our interest is in preserving the freedom and philosophical diversity of the philanthropic sector. Freedom thrives under the rule of law. Freedom thrives under conditions of robust debate, competition, and exchange of ideas. Freedom thrives when there are standards of excellence and vigorous watchdog groups monitoring performance. These watchdogs include the press, professional associations and gadflies, and, where necessary, regulatory agencies. There is a role for the public sector and a much larger role for the private sector in creating the conditions where philanthropic freedom will thrive.

In sum, The Philanthropy Roundtable applauds the Senate Finance Committee for its work to reduce foundation and other abuses in the tax-exempt sector, and we are committed to ensuring that reforms of the law will preserve the freedom of philanthropists to make key decisions about how best to achieve their charitable mission. ■

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

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A FOOTNOTE TO History

At his own request, Andrew Carnegie was buried in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in North Tarrytown, New York. The site was designed by the famous landscape architect Frederick Olmstead, who gave shape to Central Park and other historic outdoor spaces. Interred with Carnegie are his wife Louise and servants who were valued members of the Carnegie household. His grave is marked by a simple Celtic cross cut from stone quarried near Skibo, his summer home in Scotland.

While the reason Andrew Carnegie chose to be buried outside New York City has been lost to history, his great-granddaughter, Linda Thorell Hills, says the general feeling in the family is that America was chosen because Carnegie, above all, felt himself to be an American. It was with immense gratitude that he recognized this country enabled him to realize his potential, which he did beyond his wildest dreams. In addition, Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, which covers about 100 acres and has forty thousand burials within its grounds, was the final resting place for a number of Carnegie acquaintances and contemporaries, including William Rockefeller, Walter Chrysler and others.

In recent years, Carnegie's last living grandchild, Barbara Miller Lawson, who died in 2002, urged Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, to investigate the condition of her grandfather's resting place, worried that the perpetual endowment established by her grandmother was no longer adequate to ensure the gravesite's upkeep. When Gregorian and other staff visited Sleepy Hollow, they found the gravesite of our founder a place somewhat neglected and forgotten, hidden by trees and overgrown bushes.

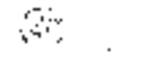
To ensure the dignity of the Carnegie gravesite, the Corporation supported the landscaping of the plot and, in August of this year, installed a new bronze marker on the walkway outside the gravesite so that those who go to the beautiful and historic cemetery will know they can walk into the glade and see Carnegie's resting place. Carnegie's face is engraved in bronze and the names of the 21 institutions he founded and endowed are etched on the marker—"the living legacy of Mr. Carnegie."

Hills wrote to thank Gregorian for the Corporation's attention to the gravesite saying, "It's almost a pilgrimage of sorts to visit Sleepy Hollow. Grandpa 'Naigie' continues to positively impact so many lives today, and I think he would be very honored by the continuing significance and profound influence of his philanthropy."

EVEROD NELSON



The new marker at Andrew Carnegie's gravesite has a plaque commemorating Carnegie's legacy, which lives on in the 21 different institutions that he established in his lifetime.



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