

**Open Letter from the National Security and Human Rights Campaign Staff  
of the Open Society Institute's U.S. Programs**

**December 15, 2008**

Dear Friends,

In January 2008, with one year remaining of the Bush administration, the Open Society Institute (OSI) and Atlantic Philanthropies launched the National Security and Human Rights (NSHR) Campaign in order to take advantage of the opportunities that a changed political environment could offer to promote progressive national security policies that respect human rights, civil liberties, and the rule of law. OSI and Atlantic have each allocated \$20 million for grantmaking for the three-year period from January 2008 through December 2010 and have been working with, and are seeking, additional funding partners.

Because the Campaign has only a three-year term of operation, it engages in strategic grantmaking to achieve short-term policy objectives while it builds the capacity of the field for the long-term. OSI has decided to channel the predominant portion of its \$20 million allocation into a docket of grants that further the NSHR Campaign's goals, and Atlantic Philanthropies is pursuing a similar course. At the same time, the foundations have dedicated a substantial portion of their allocations to support increased collaboration between NSHR funders and advocates, and to leverage and make strategic use of the limited pool of resources available to the NSHR field. In order to promote funder collaboration, OSI and Atlantic have established two NSHR Campaign structures: (1) the NSHR Pooled Fund, which is managed by the Proteus Fund<sup>1</sup> and allows contributing funders to participate in joint grantmaking toward field-building, developing communications capacity for the field, and rapid response funding to address emerging threats and opportunities; and (2) the NSHR Funders' Roundtable, which offers all interested funders – whether or not they contribute to the NSHR Pooled Fund – a forum to discuss grantmaking strategies.

From its inception, the Campaign has sought the advice, feedback, and participation of advocates and experts. OSI and Atlantic convened 20 leaders from emerging Muslim, Arab, South Asian, and Middle Eastern (MASA) community organizations in February 2008. And OSI, Atlantic, and Proteus convened 85 leaders for a field convening in May 2008 and 75 advocates for a communications convening on November 21, 2008, at which original communications and research projects were presented.

This open letter further describes the NSHR Campaign's activities during its first year.<sup>2</sup>

**THE NSHR CAMPAIGN'S CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES, POLICY GOALS, AND FUNDING STRATEGIES**

**Challenges and Opportunities**

In response to the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration declared a "war on terror" and asserted unchecked executive powers that depart drastically from the rule of law. Terrorism suspects have been held in prolonged and arbitrary detention in Afghanistan, Iraq, Guantanamo Bay, the U.S., and elsewhere, and many have endured torture and abusive interrogation and detention conditions. In some cases, suspects have been placed in secret CIA imprisonment and rendered to countries that routinely

---

<sup>1</sup> The Proteus Fund is a 501(c)(3) organization. Atlantic Philanthropies and the Open Society Policy Center have established a separate fund that is being managed by the Proteus Action League, a 501(c)(4) organization affiliated with the Proteus Fund. The Proteus Action League has the ability to fund lobbying activities.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is written by OSI's NSHR Campaign staff and does not reflect the views or funding priorities of any other foundation.

practice torture. MASA individuals and communities in the U.S. have been targeted by law enforcement based on their ethnicity or religion, and MASA non-citizens have been rounded up and held in indefinite detention before being deported and have been singled out for special immigration registration requirements. Law-abiding Americans have had their privacy invaded by the National Security Agency under a secret program of warrantless wiretapping; by the FBI, which has loosened its surveillance guidelines; and by state and local police working in coordination with the Department of Homeland Security. Compounding matters further, the Bush administration has sought to shield these actions in secrecy to evade public scrutiny and stifle debate, and it has gone to extraordinary lengths to thwart litigation that threatens to pierce this veil of secrecy. These and other counterterrorism policies have not only undermined the credibility of the U.S. as a champion of human rights, but have eroded support for human rights by governments around the world.

In the fall of 2007, with the November 2008 election and a new administration on the horizon, OSI interviewed more than 50 NSHR advocates and experts and commissioned a review of the disproportionate impact of counterterrorism policies on MASA communities. This research confirmed OSI's starting premise that the change in administration will present a pivotal moment to restore the human rights and civil liberties that have been eroded since 9/11, and that if this moment is lost, the post-9/11 suspension of our constitutional system of checks and balances that is the cornerstone of American democracy may become permanent. The NSHR Campaign was launched to make the most of this critical window of time.

The past year has brought some important successes. In a historic decision issued in June 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Boumediene v. Bush* that foreign terrorism suspects held in Guantanamo have a constitutional right to challenge their detention in U.S. courts by petitioning for a writ of *habeas corpus*. This ruling – a strong rebuke of the Bush administration's arbitrary detention of the Guantanamo detainees and a decisive victory for human rights and the rule of law – represents the culmination of six long years of tireless work on the part of an army of dedicated attorneys and advocates. To date, however, not a single Guantanamo detainee has been released on *habeas* review. President-elect Barack Obama's pledges to close the Guantanamo Bay detention center and end U.S.-sponsored torture, and his support of government transparency and oversight, provide hopeful indications that reforms may be forthcoming. But it remains to be seen whether the Obama administration will take a firm stand against calls for the creation of a special national security court to try terrorism suspects that would deny suspects the core procedural protections mandated under the U.S. Constitution in criminal prosecutions. And it remains to be seen whether the Obama administration will investigate the abuses committed by the Bush administration in conducting its "war on terror" and bring criminal charges against government officials who authorized or engaged in torture. In July 2008, Senator Obama voted in favor of amendments to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Amendments that vastly expand the government's surveillance powers and offer immunity to telecommunications companies that cooperated with the National Security Agency's secret program of warrantless eavesdropping.

## **Policy Goals**

The Campaign has identified five policy goals as essential to restoring respect for civil liberties, human rights, and the rule of law to U.S. national security policies:

1. End arbitrary detention and the use of secret prisons, restore due process, eliminate the use of torture and extraordinary rendition of terror suspects, and close the Guantanamo Bay detention center.
2. Reform surveillance laws and policies to restrict warrantless and unchecked surveillance and restore broad privacy protections at the federal, state, and local levels.

3. Ensure that anti-terrorism laws and law enforcement activities do not target freedom of speech, association, or religious expression.
4. Reduce the practice of racial, ethnic, and religious profiling of Muslim, Arab, South Asian, and Middle Eastern (MASA) individuals and communities and build the capacity of MASA organizations to fight abusive national security policies disproportionately directed at them and promote the acceptance of MASA communities in American society.
5. Decrease government secrecy, restore strong oversight of Executive action taken in the name of national security, and expose and hold U.S. government officials and private actors accountable for abuses and violations of the law.

### **Funding Strategies**

The Campaign employs an array of grantmaking strategies to strengthen collaboration and capacity within the field of organizations that are working to challenge and dismantle abusive counterterrorism policies and to promote a progressive national security policy. These strategies include: strengthening the capacity of anchor advocacy organizations that work on multiple issues; promoting policy reform through advocacy, litigation, public education, and use of the media; engaging new voices and constituencies; supporting the development of innovative solutions through research and scholarship; building the capacity of grassroots organizations to strengthen and mobilize their constituencies; and connecting national advocates with advocates working at the regional and local levels.

### **STRUCTURES FOR COLLABORATION**

OSI and Atlantic have established two structures to improve coordination and collaboration among funders, as well as among advocates and between funders and advocates: the NSHR Pooled Fund, managed by the Proteus Fund, and the NSHR Funders' Roundtable.

#### **The Proteus Fund NSHR Pooled Fund**

The Proteus Fund NSHR Pooled Fund was initiated with significant contributions from OSI and Atlantic to support three targeted Campaign strategies that are particularly suited for joint grantmaking: (1) building the national security and human rights field by supporting grassroots advocacy and by increasing collaboration between field advocates, their allies, and affected constituencies; (2) building collaborative communications capacity for the field; and (3) responding rapidly to emerging opportunities and threats.

The Pooled Fund is governed by a Grants Committee consisting of all participating funders, which will hold its first grantmaking meeting on January 8, 2009.<sup>3</sup> At that meeting, the Grants Committee will fine-tune grantmaking strategies and recommend a docket of grants to the Proteus Fund. Earlier this year, OSI awarded a grant of \$2 million over two years to the Proteus Fund to establish the NSHR Pooled Fund. Atlantic will match this with an equivalent contribution to the Proteus Action League. An anonymous donor has provided a grant to the Pooled Fund of \$250,000 over one year, and the Open Society Policy Center has pledged a contribution to the Proteus Action League of \$250,000 over two years. A pledge for a major three-year contribution has been made, and a number of additional funders have expressed interest in becoming Pooled Fund members.

---

<sup>3</sup> The minimum contribution to become a member of the Pooled Fund is \$100,000 per year in the case of small foundations and \$250,000 per year in the case of large foundations. The staffing and administrative costs of the Proteus Fund NSHR Pooled fund will be covered out of contributions from OSI and Atlantic.

The Proteus Fund has been charged with developing a docket of grants to assist MASA groups working to advance NSHR Campaign goals in order to develop their organizational capacity so that voices from these communities are heard in the national security and human rights debate, and form partnerships within MASA communities and between these communities and their allies to strengthen policy reform efforts. In July 2008, the Pooled Fund released a Request for Proposals (RFP), which was developed in consultation with the Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy and advisors from MASA communities. The RFP generated a number of strong applications, and a round of more than a dozen grants to MASA organizations is expected to be approved at the Pooled Fund's membership meeting in January 2009.

In addition, the Proteus Fund Pooled Fund was retained by OSI and Atlantic to organize the NSHR Campaign's first field convening in May 2008 in Washington, D.C., in coordination with a steering committee of five advocates. This three-day convening featured leaders from progressive movements where successes had been achieved who shared strategies and insights, and the convening participants engaged in a set of facilitated discussions to explore how the NSHR field could strengthen grassroots organizing and constituency building, coordinate communications strategies, and collaboratively advance policy agendas. Advocates were joined by funders for the convening's plenary sessions.

Surveys of the convening participants conducted both before and after the May convening by ReThink Media identified major gaps and weaknesses in the communications capacity of the NSHR field, particularly among smaller organizations. Armed with these insights into the needs and priorities of the NSHR field, the Proteus Fund, OSI, and Atlantic decided to explore the possibility of creating an online communications "hub" structure to facilitate the media work of the NSHR field by providing participants with ongoing message development and guidance, rapid media response capability, media training, and access to a shared website offering state of the art, on-line media tools. And toward the goal of developing shared, overarching messages for the field, the Proteus Fund, OSI, and Atlantic commissioned a media audit by Spitfire Strategies that analyzes how NSHR issues are being reported, a polling meta-analysis by Public Agenda that analyzes how the public thinks about NSHR issues, social science research by American Environics on how Americans respond to fear, and an analysis of communications research by U.S. in the World that looks ahead to the development of effective, overarching messaging for the NSHR field.

This body of communications research was presented at a November 21, 2008 field convening in Washington D.C., *Building Communications Capacity for the National Security and Human Rights Field*, organized by the Proteus Fund, OSI, and Atlantic. At this convening, advocates were once again joined by funders during the plenary sessions. With the advice of a Communications Field Committee composed of 20 NSHR advocates with extensive media experience that met throughout the fall, the NSHR Pooled Fund will recommend grants for approval at its January 8, 2009 Grants Committee meeting that will support the creation of a communications hub structure, messaging development, and communications research, to enhance the NSHR field's communications capacity.

The NSHR Pooled Fund will also make Rapid Response grants that are advised by a subcommittee of its Grants Committee and consistent with guidelines designed to target these limited funds on urgent priorities and opportunities. These grants will take advantage of the Proteus Fund's ability to move quickly in response to unanticipated opportunities and threats.

### **The NSHR Funders' Roundtable**

The NSHR Funders' Roundtable is open to all interested funders that engage in grantmaking in support of the NSHR Campaign's goals, whether or not they contribute to the NSHR Pooled Fund. The purpose of

the Funders' Roundtable is to facilitate communication, information sharing, and coordination among funders on matters of common interest, and to provide a forum at which funders can meet with and hear from leading advocates and experts. The first meeting of the Roundtable was held in conjunction with the May 2008 NSHR Campaign field convening and featured discussions on communications strategies and paradigm-shifting. The second meeting was held in conjunction with the November 2008 communications convening and was joined by a panel of experts on the openings that the transition presents to the NSHR field. In addition, the Roundtable held conference calls for funders in April and August of this year. To date, grantmakers from two dozen foundations have participated in these conversations, and interested funders are welcome to join our 2009 Funders' Roundtable meetings and conferences calls.

## **THE OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE'S 2008 DOCKET OF NSHR CAMPAIGN GRANTS**

In 2008, OSI's NSHR Campaign staff awarded 38 grants totaling \$8,647,784, and managed 18 grants totaling \$2,299,635 that OSI's Civil Liberties Portfolio had awarded prior to the Campaign's launch.<sup>4</sup> These grants, which are described below, support a diverse group of organizations that are using a broad arsenal of tools and strategies to advance the NSHR Campaign's goals.

### **Anchor Organizations**

OSI's NSHR Campaign staff funds a core set of anchor organizations that have been at the center of the post-9/11 fight for human rights and civil liberties, including the **Brennan Center for Justice**, the **Center for Constitutional Rights**, the **Center for National Security Studies**, and **Human Rights First**. Additional anchor organizations receive general support grants from OSI, including the **American Civil Liberties Union Foundation**, the **American Constitution Society**, the **Center for American Progress**, the **Foundation for Criminal Justice**, **Human Rights Watch**, the **National Institute of Military Justice**, and **Physicians for Human Rights**.

### **Torture, Arbitrary Detention, and Extraordinary Rendition**

OSI grantees are making significant headway in efforts to end U.S.-sponsored torture, arbitrary detention, and extraordinary rendition, and to close the Guantanamo Bay detention center. The **Center for Constitutional Rights** won a groundbreaking lawsuit on behalf of Guantanamo detainees this June in which the Supreme Court established the right of the detainees to seek *habeas* review in U.S. courts. **Human Rights First** is effectively using policy advocacy, popular culture, and retired military officers and interrogators as credible spokespersons to expose the ineffectiveness of torture to acquire intelligence information. The **Center for National Security Studies** and the **Brennan Center for Justice's** Project on Liberty and National Security are advocating for a new framework for terrorism detentions, transfers, and interrogations that complies with the laws of war, human rights law, and protections mandated for criminal defendants. The **University of California at Berkeley's Human Rights Center and School of Law's International Human Rights Clinic** have released "Guantanamo and Its Aftermath: A Study of Detainees Released from U.S. Custody at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba," and they are promoting the report's key findings and recommendations for reform. **Yale Law School** brought academics and advocates together in April of this year to analyze legal issues pertaining to the detention and trial of terrorism suspects.

OSI grantees have also broadened the constituencies that oppose the use of torture. **Amnesty International USA** is actively mobilizing grassroots support on college campuses and in communities

---

<sup>4</sup> Atlantic Philanthropies has awarded a number of grants in this area. For more information on Atlantic's grantmaking, see <http://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/>.

nationwide; the **National Religious Campaign Against Torture**, **Evangelicals for Human Rights**, and **Rabbis for Human Rights North America** are mobilizing faith-based communities to denounce the use of torture from a religious perspective; a project led by the **Center for Victims of Torture** enlists support from foreign policy, military, intelligence, law enforcement, and religious communities for an Executive Order against torture; **Psychologists for Social Responsibility** exposes the ethical issues raised by psychologists' participation in abusive interrogations; and the **New York University School of Medicine's** Survivors of Torture Clinic documents the physical and psychiatric harms that result from the use of torture. The **National Security Archive Fund** created the *Torture Archive*, a searchable online database of primary source documents related to U.S. detention and interrogation practices, and it is also conducting a public education and outreach campaign centered on the documentary film, *Torturing Democracy*.

## Surveillance

OSI grantees are at the forefront of the fight to stop unchecked and unwarranted domestic surveillance and to restore broad privacy protections. The **American Library Association** is spearheading a three-year public education and advocacy campaign to engage librarians in the effort to advance privacy rights. The **Center for Democracy and Technology's** Freedom, Security, and Technology Project and Digital Fourth Amendment Project are advancing a comprehensive strategy that both defends against attacks on freedom of speech in the digital age and proactively promotes privacy through the overhaul of arcane surveillance laws and the creative use of technical design solutions. The **Center for National Security Studies** has completed a comprehensive review of domestic surveillance authorities and is advocating with its allies for the roll back of unconstitutional arrogations of presidential power since 9/11. The **Electronic Frontier Foundation's** Civil Liberties Project and Freedom of Information Act Litigation for Accountable Government Project are challenging the National Security Agency's warrantless wiretapping program and exposing other secret electronic surveillance programs. Additionally, the **Electronic Frontier Foundation's** Security Training for Organizers Project provides activists, community organizers, and nonprofits with tools to evaluate threats of electronic surveillance and defend against government intrusion. The **Cato Institute** has been educating policymakers and the public on the threats to privacy of creating a national system of identification through the implementation of the REAL ID Act of 2005 or through amendments of the immigration laws.

At the state and local levels, the **Center for Investigative Reporting**, in partnership with the **Center for Public Integrity**, is conducting a "follow the money" investigation of how Department of Homeland Security funds are being spent by state and local law enforcement agencies. And the **New York Civil Liberties Union Foundation** is studying the growing threat to the privacy rights of law-abiding individuals posed by the New York City Police Department as it recasts itself as an intelligence-gathering, counterterrorism agency.

## Dissent

OSI funds work to protect the freedoms of speech, association, and religious expression. The **PEN American Center** mobilizes its membership of writers to speak at public forums against the adverse impact of anti-terrorism laws on free expression. **OMB Watch's** Charity and Security Network Project, a collaboration between humanitarian aid providers, development organizations, charities, civil liberties organizations, civil rights organizations, grantmakers, and foundations, is working to reform draconian counterterrorism measures that place U.S.-based organizations at risk of criminal prosecution and conviction for providing "material support" to a terrorist organization when they provide humanitarian aid in regions of the world that are under the *de facto* control of groups designated by the U.S. government as terrorist.

## Secrecy, Oversight, and Accountability

OSI supports grants to decrease government secrecy, restore strong oversight of the executive branch, and seek accountability for human rights abuses and violations of law. **OMB Watch's** Transparency and Accountability Program advances federal policies to counter expansive notions of government secrecy and increase public access to government information. The **Federation of American Scientists'** Project on Government Secrecy promotes public access to government information, with a focus on intelligence, national security, and foreign policy information; the **National Security Archive Fund** documents past abuses and has worked with the broader Right to Know community to develop a transparency and accountability agenda for the next Administration; and **American University's** Collaboration on Government Secrecy serves as a source of scholarly research on freedom of information and government secrecy and transparency. Through a grant to **Harvard University**, OSI is also supporting public education and outreach through the dissemination of the film, *Secrecy*, which explores the corrosive effects of government secrecy on the democratic process. OSI continues to support the **Project on Government Oversight's** Inspector General Reform Initiative and efforts to equip Congressional members and staffers with training and tools to conduct thorough and aggressive oversight of the federal government.

Many of the organizations that OSI supports seek to hold the Bush administration accountable for abuses of U.S. and international law in conducting its "war on terror." The **International Center for Transitional Justice** is sharing its global expertise of transitional justice practices and international lessons learned with these advocacy organizations.

## Profiling and Discrimination

As noted in the section above on Structures for Collaboration, OSI provides substantial funding to the **Proteus Fund NSHR Pooled Fund** to build the capacity of MASA community organizations working to promote the Campaign's goals. In addition, OSI provides direct support to three organizations that are combating profiling of MASA communities and individuals: **Muslim Advocates**, which builds the capacity of Muslim lawyers and community leaders across the U.S. to advocate against abusive national security policies targeted at their communities; **Arab Community Center for Economic & Social Services (ACCESS)**, to support its Network for Arab American Communities' capacity building and civil liberties advocacy; and **OneAmerica** (formerly known as **Hate Free Zone Washington**), which engages in community organizing and advocates on behalf of Middle Easterners, East Africans, South Asians, Muslims, Sikhs, immigrants, and other groups that face profiling and discrimination.

OSI also supports **Active Voice's** screenings of the highly acclaimed film, *The Visitor*, which are followed by discussions with the audience that raise awareness of the problems explored in the film – profiling on the basis of ethnicity and religion and the detention and deportation of non-citizens without due process of law.

## Field-Building

OSI funds a number of collaborative ventures that are building the field of advocates working on NSHR Campaign goals. As outlined in the Structures for Collaboration section, above, OSI's grant to the **Proteus Fund NSHR Pooled Fund** supports convenings of the field and grantmaking to support the communications capacity of the field. A grant to the **New Democracy Project** supported its work with the Center for American Progress in producing and disseminating a non-partisan, agency-by-agency *Progressive Blueprint* for the new administration that includes a chapter on reversing the damage done to human rights during the Bush administration. A grant to the **Constitution Project** supports its Rule of Law Program and its production of a *Human Rights/Liberty and Security Transition Catalogue* for the

new administration and Congress. This document indexes the field's key policy objectives, presents proposals for reform and points of consensus, and provides weblinks to transition reports prepared by participating organizations. OSI continues to support the **Bill of Rights Defense Committee**, which builds and engages a grassroots network of hundreds of community groups from across the nation that working to restore civil liberties post-9/11. Through a grant to **Yale Law School**, OSI supports national security and human rights litigation.

### **Paradigm-Shifting Research and Scholarship**

OSI supports two research projects that address how fear impacts the way in which the public and policymakers approach national security threats and responses. OSI supports the Proteus Fund's Peace and Security Program in its coordination of **American Environics** and other partners in the Putting Fear to Work Project, a social science research project that is studying the uses of fear as a political motivator in the national security context. A grant to Demos supports the Helping Progressive Leaders Counter the Political Use of Fear Initiative of **U.S. in the World** and the **National Security Network**, which works with policymakers, new media experts, advocates, and thought leaders to understand fear's impact on public thinking about security-related issues and build broad and sustained public and political support for a progressive U.S. security policy.

OSI also supports the **Cato Institute's** Civil Liberties and Counterterrorism Initiative, which is engaging national security, counterterrorism, and foreign policy experts from across the political divide to develop, publish, and disseminate policy analyses and recommendations outlining an effective counterterrorism strategy that protects civil liberties. Cato will sponsor a conference, "Shaping the Administration's Counterterrorism Strategy," in Washington, D.C., on January 12 and 13, 2009. A grant to the **Migration Policy Institute** supports the research and development by its Mobility and Security Program on rights-sensitive approaches to immigration and migration in U.S. national security policies that prevent security concerns from distorting U.S. immigration policy. Finally, a grant to the **Eisenhower Project** supports efforts to promote deeper and more reasoned dialogue on high school and college campuses about the forces that shape American military and foreign policy.

### **Future OSI Grantmaking**

OSI plans to continue to fund projects that advance the NSHR Campaign's goals through the strategic use of policy advocacy, litigation, research, communications, grassroots mobilization, public education, and engagement of compelling messengers and new constituencies. OSI's funding priorities for 2009 include projects that: build constituencies to tackle profiling and discrimination; seek accountability for human rights abuses and violations of law committed by the Bush administration in the name of national security; and advance research, scholarship, and the generation of creative ideas that will serve to dismantle the flawed "war on terror" paradigm on which national security policy is now based. Given the limitations of OSI's funds and the urgency of advancing all of the Campaign's goals over the coming years, there is – and will remain – a critical need for additional support from other funders.

OSI accepts letters of inquiry on a rolling basis from U.S.-based 501(c)(3) organizations that are working to promote the NSHR's Campaign goals and that meet other eligibility requirements. For information on submitting a letter of inquiry to OSI's NSHR staff, see [http://www.soros.org/initiatives/usprograms/focus/security/focus\\_areas/](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/usprograms/focus/security/focus_areas/).



## **PUBLIC EVENTS ON NSHR CAMPAIGN ISSUES SPONSORED BY THE OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE**

OSI has held several public events on issues that are central to the NSHR Campaign, and it plans to host additional events in the future. Most recently, on December 9, 2008, OSI sponsored an evening forum, “Obama’s Dilemma: Guantanamo and Its Aftermath” that featured Professors Eric Stover and Laurel Fletcher of U.C. Berkeley, who released a human rights report, *Guantanamo and its Aftermath: U.S. Detention and Interrogation Practices and Their Impact on Former Detainees*, on November 14, 2008, and Jonathan Mahler, author of *The Challenge: Hamdan v. Rumsfeld and the Fight Over Presidential Power*, and a Soros Justice Fellow. Jamil Dakwar, the Director of the Human Rights Program at the American Civil Liberties Union, moderated the event. An audio recording of this discussion is available at: [http://www.soros.org/initiatives/usprograms/focus/security/events/guantanamo\\_20081209](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/usprograms/focus/security/events/guantanamo_20081209).

On July 17, 2008, OSI hosted a discussion of the book, *My Guantánamo Diary: The Detainees and the Stories They Told Me*, by Mahvish Khan, a Pashto-speaking attorney of Afghan heritage who, while in law school, served as a translator for attorneys representing detainees held in the Guantanamo Bay detention center. An audio recording of this discussion, which featured Mahvish Khan and Amrit Singh, an ACLU attorney and the author of *Administration of Torture: A Documentary Record from Washington to Abu Ghraib and Beyond*, was moderated by OSI President Aryeh Neier and is available at: [http://www.soros.org/initiatives/usprograms/focus/security/events/guantanamo\\_20080717](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/usprograms/focus/security/events/guantanamo_20080717).

On November 17, 2007, OSI hosted a discussion of the book, *Less Safe, Less Free: Why America Is Losing the War on Terror*, by law professors David Cole of Georgetown University and Jules Lobel of the University of Pittsburgh. The discussion featured David Cole and Noah Feldman, a law professor and expert on the Middle East, and was moderated by Jane Mayer, a staff writer for *The New Yorker* who wrote *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How The War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals*. An audio recording of this discussion is available at: [http://www.soros.org/initiatives/usprograms/focus/security/events/cole\\_20071114](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/usprograms/focus/security/events/cole_20071114).

### **LOOKING AHEAD**

The transition to a new administration on January 20, 2009 presents a promising opportunity to reverse the post-9/11 counterterrorism policies that have undermined the rule of law and America’s standing in the international community. Through the NSHR Campaign, OSI and Atlantic Philanthropies look forward to working in coordination with other funders and the national security and human rights field to restore the rights and liberties that have been eroded since the 9/11 attacks; to investigate, reflect on, and seek accountability for abuses and violations of law that have been committed in the “war on terror”; and to develop and implement measures designed to ensure that, in the event of a future national security crisis, Americans adhere to Constitutional and human rights principles.

*From the National Security and Human Rights Campaign Staff of the Open Society Institute’s U.S. Programs,*

*Ann Beeson, Director of U.S. Programs*

*Nancy Chang, National Security and Human Rights Campaign Manager*

*Sophia Conroy, National Security and Human Rights Campaign Senior Program Associate*

*Hyon Seo Kwon, National Security and Human Rights Campaign Program Associate*